AN INVESTIGATION INTO PATTERNS OF INTERACTION

IN SMALL TEACHING GROUPS AT RHODES UNIVERSITY,

WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE EFFECT OF GENDER,

MOTHER-TONGUE AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The assumption underlying this study is that knowledge is constructed through interaction. Small teaching groups, or tutorials, are often regarded as a particularly effective context for learning in the setting of tertiary education in that they provide an environment for free interaction between students, and thus facilitate active learning. Factors which systematically affect the degree of participation of the individual in tutorials directly affect the learning experience of that individual and raise questions about the equality achieved in tutorials, in terms of opportunities for learning.

This study focuses on one such type of factor: culturally acquired norms of interaction. The individual is seen as a composite of cultural identities, utilising norms acquired through socialisation and experience in appropriate contexts. Previous research has demonstrated that gendered norms of interaction and those associated with the individual's mother-tongue are particularly salient. In the educational context, norms acquired through previous experience of education are likely to be carried over to the new setting of the university. Thus these factors form the focus of this study.

One first-year tutorial from each of five departments in the Faculties of Arts and Social Science at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, was video-recorded and the data thus obtained was analyzed for patterns of interaction in terms of gender, mother-tongue and educational background. A model of utterance types was developed to provide a structured description of the patterns found in the tutorials. Interviews and video-sessions with a sample of the tutorial members were conducted, which add a qualitative dimension to the investigation and allow for triangulation.

The recorded tutorials and interviews reveal a marked awareness amongst students of the composition of tutorial groups in terms of gender and ethnicity and this composition appears to affect the relative participation of students, in that members of numerically dominant groups are more willing to participate. This is particularly clear in the case of female students. With regard to second-language (L2) speakers of English, a number of factors are highlighted which tend to decrease participation. Apart from problems with English as the medium of instruction, these students tend to be reluctant to participate due to cultural norms, according to which students, as subordinates, should not take the initiative in interaction, in order to show appropriate respect. Patterns of interaction by L2 students from racially integrated schools, however, do not conform to this set of norms as strongly.

It is argued that sensitivity is required to address this situation and a number of options are presented.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION:
THE SCOPE AND CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

1.0 OVERVIEW

With the new dispensation pertaining to education in South Africa, all citizens are entitled to equal access to education and personal advancement. However, in addition to the more conspicuous practical problems concerned with equitable education, such as funding and the legacy of apartheid schooling, tertiary institutions face far more subtle problems as far as the provision of an environment for learning is concerned. As this study is intended to demonstrate, the playing field is far from level in terms of the opportunities for learning available to various groups of students, simply due to the norms and expectations regarding interaction that they bring with them to the educational setting. The aim of this study is, therefore, the description and analysis of interaction in small teaching groups (tutorials) at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, with particular reference to the interplay of factors such as gender, mother-tongue culture and educational background.

1.1 SMALL GROUP TEACHING

While no particular form of teaching guarantees learning, tutorials are often regarded as an especially effective method, because they are designed to foster active participation by students. There are many variations on the group work theme (as well as some instances of individual task work posing as group work), each of which has particular advantages and disadvantages. However, for the purposes of this initial discussion, group work in its ideal form will be taken to mean that group work which is designed to encourage individual participation in a non-threatening setting, thereby facilitating cooperative learning. Tutorials may therefore, if so designed, provide a stimulus for peer discussion, which may facilitate learning in several forms: students may amend their understanding as a result of the input of others (including both the tutor and fellow students) or may, simply by attempting to articulate their own understanding, come to see the material more clearly or in a different light. In addition, tutorials provide a means for the tutor to monitor the students' grasp of the content without formal testing.

The impetus for this study formed over several years of tutoring and teaching in the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

During this time I became aware that there was a consistent tendency for male students to participate (in whatever form) more than female students, and for white students to participate, on the whole, more than black students. As a strong believer in the importance of interaction for learning, I was very concerned about this situation, particularly as conversations with other members of staff, in Linguistics and other disciplines, at Rhodes and other institutions, indicated that I was not alone in this perception and that this tendency was not restricted to my own department. A pilot study (Hunt 1992), in which I audio-taped five first year tutorials in the Linguistics department and compared the participation of the relevant groups (male-female, black-white), confirmed my impressions as well as indicating an important aspect which I had not taken into account. Certain students participated much more than was expected. Informal investigation revealed that many of these students had attended private schools. I decided that it was time to investigate this thoroughly and hence this study came into being.

1.1.1 FACTORS AFFECTING INTERACTION

The active participation of the individual student is essential to the operation of the learning processes discussed above. If the students do not participate, they cannot benefit from verbalising their ideas, nor can they receive feedback in order to develop their understanding. Thus, factors which influence the degree of participation of the individual in tutorials directly affect the learning experience of that individual. More specifically, patterns of interaction which predispose certain members to dominate and which work against the participation of others would seem to have important consequences for the learning experiences of various members of the tutorial group. Against this background the present study investigates the interplay of gender, mother-tongue and educational background and examines the effect of these factors on discourse patterns in tutorials.

1.1.1.1 INTERACTION AND MOTHER-TONGUE CULTURE

Discourse norms are learned at an early age and are so entrenched, and usually unconscious, that they are usually carried over when one learns a second language (Scollon and Scollon, 1981: 28). Therefore the mother-tongue of the students will affect the expectations that are brought to the tutorial situation and will have an impact on their participation in discussion as well as their interpretation of the discourse behaviour of

other participants. This is particularly relevant in the light of cross-cultural differences between the discourse norms of Nguni speakers and English speakers.

1.1.1.2   INTERACTION AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

The pilot study conducted in 1992 (Hunt 1992) suggested that, as far as second-language (L2) speakers of English were concerned, educational background played a role in the discourse norms available to the student in the tutorial situation. Those students who had attended private or Model C schools, which afforded them extensive interaction with mother-tongue (L1) speakers of English, appeared to have access to English discourse norms approximating those of L1 speakers of English and used these in the tutorial situation rather than the norms displayed by other L2 speakers of English. For the purposes of this study, then, educational background has been isolated as a further independent variable.

1.1.1.3   INTERACTION AND GENDER

With reference to gender, there is much evidence to support the contention that discourse between L1 speakers of English is dominated, on many levels, by males, at the expense of females. For various reasons which will be discussed more fully in Section 2.2.5, a similar trend is anticipated amongst speakers of English as a second language. Of particular relevance to the current research is work by Spender and others which suggests that, because speakers are used to males dominating discourse, teachers (and, in this case, tutors) may perceive themselves as interacting equally with male and female students, while they are, in fact, interacting more with the males (Spender 1982, cited in Graddol and Swann 1989: 71/2). My study explores the relationship between gender and interaction with reference to both L1 and L2 speakers of English.

1.2   PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

It has been demonstrated in previous research (e.g. Cohen 1994: 24, 27/8; Furnham 1979, cited in Argyle 1982: 72) that the variables gender and culture affect everyday interaction [1]. However, the operation of these variables in small group [2] undergraduate

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[1] The extensive literature in these areas will be reviewed in detail in Chapter Two.

teaching in South African tertiary institutions has not been explored (however, see De Klerk 1994, 1995 for similar work on post-graduate groups). It is envisaged that a deeper understanding of the influence of these and related factors on participation in tutorials will aid educators in creating a more equitable learning environment.

1.3   METHODOLOGY

In order to explore the influence of the factors under investigation, namely gender, language and educational background, on interaction in tutorials, both quantitative and qualitative research methods have been used. The initial phase was quantitative: one first-year tutorial from each of five departments in the Faculties of Arts and Social Science was video-recorded and transcribed and the data thus obtained analysed for conversational interaction patterns. The major features of turn-taking, such as mechanisms of speaker change, length of turns and overlaps, form the focus of the analysis and have been correlated with the independent variables mentioned in 1.1.1 above. It is postulated that gender and mother-tongue, as well as educational background, will be found to have significant effects on the degree and nature of participation by tutorial members. Discourse analysis constitutes a major analytical orientation in this study and key concepts in conversation analysis relevant to this study are explained and operationalised in Chapter Three.

In addition to the quantitative analyses, triangulation in the form of in-depth interviews with selected student and the tutors from the recorded groups adds a qualitative dimension to the study. The purpose of this aspect of the research was two-fold. Firstly, it was an attempt to verify my analysis of the recorded tutorials. Secondly, it aimed to explore the perceptions of those involved as to the purpose and value of tutorials and the factors which predispose individuals to participate or not and thus influence the efficacy of tutorials as facilitators of learning in terms of the opportunities they provide for student interaction. An ethnographic approach underlies the qualitative aspect of the research and rests, in part, on an understanding of theory concerning social groups.

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² The term 'small group teaching' is sometimes hyphenated in the literature, viz. 'small-group teaching'. For the sake of consistency, it will be used without hyphenation in this discussion, except for direct quotations.

In combination, these parallel research approaches were designed to provide an in-depth examination of the perceptions surrounding tutorials and their operation as teaching tools, within the framework discussed above.

1.4 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The remainder of Chapter One contextualises the study through a discussion of the relevant research into learning and teaching generally, and small group teaching more specifically.

Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature pertaining to interaction and culture and educational background, and interaction and gender. The application of previous research to the context of this research is drawn out at each stage.

Chapter Three provides an outline of the methodology employed in this study, as well as detailing the model of discourse analysis developed for this purpose.

In Chapter Four the data obtained is described and analysed. Relevant raw data is included for the purpose of exemplification, with supporting data included in appendices.

In Chapter Five the data is discussed in the context of the literature, and the conclusions and implications of the study are drawn out and recommendations made on the basis thereof.

1.5 THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH: SMALL GROUP TEACHING

1.5.1 INTRODUCTION

This section forms an important part of the theoretical backdrop to the research undertaken for this study. [3] The context of the study is the small group teaching

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[3]In view of the conspicuous lack of relevant research in South Africa, much of the literature discussed in this chapter has had to be drawn from research conducted elsewhere - particularly in England and America. Where the generalisability of foreign work to the South African situation is questionable, this will be pointed out. The

situation and thus it is appropriate to start by discussing this environment for learning and its attendant aims, necessary conditions, advantages and drawbacks in order to frame and contextualise the remainder of the thesis.

1.5.2 THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE

This discussion takes as a central premise the non-foundational social construction view of knowledge (Bruffee 1993). In other words, knowledge is "a consensus among the members of a community of knowledgeable peers - something people construct by talking together and reaching agreement" (Bruffee 1993: 3). This view of knowledge is shared by proponents of collaborative learning which aims to facilitate learning through the negotiation of meaning. In terms of this approach, knowledge is not an external object which may be viewed transparently through a book or a lecture. If it were, teaching would be a simple matter of transmission, i.e. the teacher 'telling' information that he or she had been told by someone else. Stones (1983: 3) suggests that "this simplistic view is one of the most intractable obstacles to the development of effective teaching ... and results in the commonly reported problems of the lack of transferability of student learning to new situations and students' inability to solve problems related to the learning".

Related to the view that knowledge is created, rather than an object to be passed from teacher to student, is the notion that every representation of knowledge is subjective and is intertwined with how the author or speaker views the particular issue. Each person has a particular set of associations and interpretations which he or she will apply to a particular unit of knowledge. It cannot be assumed that because two people have heard the same lecture, or read the same article, that they 'know' the same information. What they know may be similar in some ways, and both may share aspects with the mental image the lecturer was trying to convey. But individuals accumulate throughout their lifetimes a network of assumptions which forms what Abercrombie (1985 n.p., cited in Pastoll 1992: 7) terms a "selectively permeable membrane". This filter determines in

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quotation of overseas sources does, however, lead to some oddities such as references to black people as 'minorities' in the sense of numerical minority. It is hoped that such unavoidable inconsistencies will be understood in the context of the discussion.

part how we interpret our environment, as well as how we learn.

This notion of a selective filter is allied to what other authors have called a schema. Schemata are said to be "higher level complex (and even conventional and habitual) knowledge structures" (Van Dijk 1981: 141), and function as "ideational scaffolding" for the interpretation of our environment (Anderson 1977, cited in Brown and Yule 1983: 247). They are taken, in the strong view, to be deterministic in that they predispose us to interpret our experience in a certain way (Brown and Yule 1983: 247). Like Abercrombie's membrane, they are built up gradually through experience.

However, with reference to discourse, the weaker view of schemata is the more common approach. In this view "schemata can be seen as the organised background knowledge which leads us to expect or predict aspects in our interpretation of discourse" (Brown and Yule 1983: 248). In fact, Tannen (1979) calls schemata "structures of expectation". Schemata are learnt partly as a result of one's cultural background, but also as a result of individual experiences. Thus an individual's schemata will have much in common with those of other individuals of a similar social and educational background, but will also, to some extent, be idiosyncratic. If the schemata of the speaker and hearer of information differ, or if the hearer lacks the schemata assumed by the speaker, interpretation will not occur as intended and comprehension may fail altogether.

1.5.3 TEACHING AND LEARNING

Given that the acquisition of knowledge is mediated by an individual's own schemata, teaching/learning is not a simple matter of transferring material or transmission. As Stones (1983: 3) points out, transmission teaching mistakes the medium (words) for the message (the meanings or concepts), when it is simply the carrier of the message. The medium is 'translated' by the schemata to create the individual's perception of the message. Against this background, learning is revealed as a complex process. One cannot assume that when information is presented, learning will take place. According to Pastoll (1992: 5), "learning is about the construction of meaning, a highly active process which we perform *using* information".

Both Piaget and Vygotsky acknowledge the negotiated nature of constructed meaning. In this approach, an individual develops new understanding through interaction with another individual, either directly in face-to-face interaction, or indirectly, through written or other means. While Piaget argues that higher-order development in particular will only take place when the individual is cognitively ready, Vygotsky, in contrast, considers interaction with a more knowledgeable person to be beneficial in that it presents a challenge to the learner which may stimulate development. In particular, Vygotsky focuses on the learner's Zone of Proximal Development (Z.P.D.), an area of potential development, and says that intervention (teaching/instruction) is most beneficial when it is contingent on the Z.P.D.. He stresses the importance of the social aspect of thinking and holds that learners develop their thinking skills by internalising processes originally experienced socially. Thus learning is a cooperative venture and interaction at an appropriate level allows learners to develop their understanding, both by providing them with new information and insights and by confirming those aspects which they already understand (Cowie et al. 1994: 44-46).

In sum then, if knowledge is not something tangible and immutable, but rather something which is created by the individual, then interaction with a more knowledgeable person may hasten and enhance this process.

Pastoll (1992: 9) identifies two orientations to teaching which he terms the X-process and Q-process approaches. He defines the X type orientation as examination-geared teaching, while the Q approach is seen as inquiry-based and dependent on meaningful interaction. These orientations could be seen as 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to learning respectively. The approach adopted influences strongly the kind of learning activities which take place. Pastoll (1992: 11) cites research which suggests that 'ideal' learning experiences are those which involve active autonomous learning, and further speculates that courses are enjoyed "to the extent that they make possible Q-type experiences". This latter point is supported by Sharan (1985 cited in Cowie, Smith, Boulton and Laver 1994: 62) who found that children enjoy school more when group work (involving interaction) is used.

However, the specifics of the 'ideal' learning experience vary according to what one sees as the goal of learning and how one defines and measures achievement. Cohen (1994) distinguishes four different meanings of effectiveness in learning or, as she terms it, "productivity". The most common view measures productivity in terms of conventional standardised academic testing and productivity is based on performance in areas such as the memorisation of facts and basic skills.

Secondly, productivity may be viewed in terms of Vygotsky's high-level discourse. This view emphasises "conceptual learning and higher order thinking" and the use of small groups is advocated to maximize these skills (Cohen 1994: 3).

Productivity may also be measured in terms of interaction within groups. According to Cohen, those groups which show equal levels of interaction by members who have differing statuses would be deemed most successful. [4]

Lastly, Cohen says productivity may be measured in terms of "desirable pro-social behaviors", such as cooperation between individuals of different ethnic or social groups (1994: 3).

The last two views are most pertinent to this study. Taking Vygotsky's view that interaction fosters learning, groups which demonstrate equal interaction and cooperation between students of different statuses would seem to be most likely to enjoy a climate conducive to learning. This is not to say that academic achievement is not important, rather that if interaction leads to conceptual learning and a deepening of understanding, then academic achievement will flow naturally from that.

1.5.4 INTERACTION AND COOPERATIVE LEARNING IN SMALL GROUPS

There has been a considerable movement in educational circles towards what several authors call "cooperative learning" [5], which focuses on interaction as a means to

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[4] The notion of status in learning groups is an important and complex issue, which will be dealt with in more depth below.

[5] Bruffee (1993) uses the term "collaborative learning" which will be retained only in direct quotations for the sake of clarity.

learning. Cohen defines cooperative learning as "students working together in a group small enough that everyone can participate on a collective task that has been clearly assigned" (1994: 3). Like Cohen, many of the authors advocating cooperative learning presuppose a small group setting and thus it is appropriate to discuss interaction and cooperative learning in the context of small group work.

According to Barnes, Britton and Rosen (1969), teacher-centred talk devalues pupils' contribution, and discourages them from "thinking and talking creatively" (cited in Cowie et al. 1994: 49). Barnes et al. argue that "a crucial aspect of the learning process arises through dialogue which is personally meaningful - the kind of talk which can be facilitated best in the context of the small group" (ibid).

Cowie and Ruddock (1988) draw attention to the importance of the individual contribution of each learner to the group when they say that "the central feature of cooperative learning is the opportunity to learn through the exploration and expression of diverse ideas and experiences in cooperative company" (1988, cited in Cowie et al. 1994: 48). They contrast this form of learning with the traditional, more competitive, individualistic type of learning typical of X-process teaching and argue that learners in the cooperative classroom will tend to work collaboratively in that they will "be predisposed to use the resources of the group in order to share ideas, deepen knowledge and understanding, and that they will come to acknowledge the variety of perspectives which people bring to any issue or situation" (ibid).

Allwright (1982: 4/5) also mentions the efficacy of peer discussion in learning: "better understanding is likely to result if learners discuss their learning, and share their various understandings ... They may learn directly from each other, or, more likely, they will learn from the very act of attempting to articulate their own understanding".

Cowie and Ruddock (1988, cited in Cowie et al. 1994: 48) point out that teachers will have to adjust their teaching styles in order to facilitate a democratic and participatory climate. Bruffee (1993: vii) advocates a change in the way that tertiary education itself is viewed, saying that it should be seen as a "process of cultural change". He adds that

teachers at tertiary institutions should be seen as, and serve as, agents of this cultural change. Their role then, according to Bruffee, is to organise the way students learn so that they learn collaboratively.

Cowie and Ruddock (1988: 13, cited in Cowie et al. 1994: 48) list the characteristics of successful groups, i.e. groups that work well together, as follows:

♦ group members are, between them, putting forward more than one point of view in relation to the issue or task they face;
♦ group members are disposed to examine and to be responsive to the different points of view put forward;
♦ the interaction assists with the development of group members' knowledge, understanding and/or judgement of the matter under scrutiny;
♦ they are engaged in a task designed in a way which supports the distinctive potential for learning through group work.

This formulation focuses on the positive effects that learners may derive from being exposed to each other's viewpoints.

Pastoll (1992: 4) emphasises the personal construction of meaning and derives three "vital ingredients of a climate conducive to learning":

♦ Allow him (sic) to construct hypotheses in relative safety
♦ Give him feedback about these hypotheses
♦ Motivate him (by personal example and incentive) to want to "construct hypotheses" (or interpretations, or meanings).

An underlying assumption of the approach evident in both expositions is the view discussed in Section 1.5.2 that knowledge is not an object in the possession of the teacher which is then transferred to the learners, but something which is constructed and developed by individuals in interaction.

Cowie et al. (1994) trace the increasing recognition in Britain of interaction as an important part of learning. The British Plowden Report in 1967, which represented a progressive commitment to child-centredness in education, as well as the 1975 Bullock Report, both recommended the greater use of "exploratory talk in small interactive groups as a means of enabling pupils to develop in their capacity to relate new knowledge to

previous understanding" (1994: 43). Many curriculum projects in British schools in the 1970s were characterised by the attention paid to ways of fostering cooperative learning through the use of meaningful interaction in small group work. However, Cowie et al. lament the fact that two decades later, group work is still not accorded the prominence it deserves.

Pastoll (1992) and Cowie et al. (1994) both make mention of 'fraudulent' group work, or individual work which masquerades as group work by virtue of seating arrangements and other superficial characteristics. Cowie et al. note several studies which indicate that although pupils may frequently be seated in groups, given group projects to work on and so on, actual cooperative learning occurs only in a very small percentage of these settings. So-called group work which lacks any of the necessary features of group work is seen to be individual task work posing as group work and as such does not offer the benefits attendant on true group work. Thus teachers may be under the impression that they make extensive use of group work but what the learners are doing is actually accomplished alone. On this basis these teachers may claim that group work makes no appreciable difference to achievement when in fact what they are doing is not true group work. Pastoll (1992: 4) claims that such 'pseudo-tutorials' are "largely responsible for the lack of proper recognition of the importance of tutorials".

In addition, Hertz-Lazarowitz (1992, cited in Cowie et al. 1994: 60) notes that even in tasks which are designed to promote interaction, the students' actual level of cooperation may range from low to high. Thus the external features of group work are no guarantee that the benefits of cooperative learning are being accorded the students. The missing ingredient is cooperation or collaboration. [6]

1.5.4.1   POSITIVE EFFECTS OF COOPERATIVE LEARNING IN SMALL GROUPS

Many educators support cooperative learning for various reasons and there are many

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[6] For the sake of clarity, in this discussion the terms *small group work*, *small group teaching* and *small group learning* are taken to mean true cooperative small group work, i.e. group work which displays the characteristics discussed above, unless specified otherwise.

variations on the small group work theme, each of which draws out particular benefits and problems. However, one feature which they have in common is that they are designed to encourage individual participation in non-threatening settings. In fact, as Cowie et al. (1994: 43) note, "committed users of cooperative learning strategies often claim that some topics can only be understood fully through the active interplay of different perspectives from members of an involved group".

(a)   Academic Achievement

Research has linked the interaction which is basic to cooperative groups with learning. With particular reference to the university context, Pastoll (1992: 1) says the tutorial is "an occasion for students to receive feedback about their own constructions of meaning", which acts as a further stimulus to enhancing understanding. Cohen (1994: 1) notes that "small groups offer special opportunities for active learning and substantive conversation ... that are essential for authentic achievement". She cites research that "correlates observed interaction with achievement, holding constant prior academic achievement" (1994: 7).

Slavin (1987), in a meta-analysis of 46 empirical studies, found that there was a link between cooperative learning and academic achievement. He found that in only 2% of the studies did learners in a traditional classroom achieve more highly than those in a cooperative learning situation, while in 63% of the studies the cooperative setting showed significant gains. An important feature is that these gains were found across all educational levels, in rural and urban schools, and across all subjects. Slavin (1987: 1161) concludes that "research has established that under certain circumstances the use of cooperative learning methods increases student achievement more than traditional instructional practices".

(b)   Cognitive Development

Many educators support cooperative learning, claiming that it affords learners cognitive benefits as they "challenge one another's beliefs and work together to solve problems collaboratively" (Cowie et al. 1994: 44). Slavin, in his 1987 work discussed above, found that most studies showed that all students, from low to high achievers, derived

cognitive benefits from cooperative learning.

(c)   Intergroup relations

In view of the unequal access to learning situations which may result from disproportional interaction on the part of members of groups of differing status in the classroom, teaching methods which minimise differences in status would seem to be particularly important in a multicultural classroom. Cohen (1994: 1) refers to the capacity of cooperative learning for not only producing learning gains and developing higher level thinking, but also for fostering "prosocial behavior, interracial acceptance, and as a way to manage academic heterogeneity in classrooms with a wide range of achievement in basic skills". She notes that small groups are frequently recommended as a means to achieve equity and to improve interracial relations.

Slavin (1987: 1161) also mentions this aspect of small group work, saying "these methods consistently improve students' self-esteem and social relations among students, in particular, race relations and acceptance of mainstreamed students".

There is considerable potential in cooperative learning for empowering learners from different social or ethnic backgrounds and of both genders. American research suggests that students were more likely to make friends from ethnic groups other than their own than were those students who experienced more traditional teaching situations. Other effects include increased altruism and self-esteem, as well as an increase in "tolerance, acceptance and trust between children from different ethnic backgrounds" (Cowie et al. 1994: 61). However an initial drop in self-esteem amongst minority children often accompanies their entrance to multi-ethnic classrooms. Kagan (1986: 235, cited in Cowie et al. 1994: 61) suggests that these and other results indicate that "with relatively little time and expense, by reorganising the social structure of the classroom, radical improvements in race relations can be obtained consistently". Sharan (1990) agrees and supports the contention that the social integration and academic achievement of children from marginalised groups are restrained by traditional classroom structures, adding "by contrast, when conditions are created for greater interaction on an equal basis among children from different ethnic groups, there are positive outcomes in terms of social status

and academic attainment" (Cowie et al. 1994: 62).

A key phrase here is "on an equal basis". Interaction *per se* is not sufficient to generate these positive outcomes - it must be interaction on an equal basis i.e. each group member must participate and have equal access to the interaction. In the light of the discourse differences which will be discussed below, it will be seen that on that level alone interaction on an equal basis is very difficult to achieve in practice.

1.5.4.2   CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL SMALL GROUPS

It is clear that a supportive environment in which the learners have a certain amount of confidence in themselves is necessary before cooperative learning can take place. If students feel threatened by the idea of interacting with their peers, for one reason or another, they are unlikely to fulfil their potential in group work.

Pastoll (1992: 3/4) lists four fairly concrete components of a tutorial, which enable students to construct meaning: stimulus material, an interpretation task, "airing and sharing" (an opportunity for students to talk about their own interpretations or constructions of meaning) and feedback.

Cohen (1994: 17-23) looks at a number of conditions which enhance small group work, such as controversy (as opposed to consensus) and unstructured procedures in tasks, the assignment of roles and specific topics. According to Cohen, ill-structured problems facilitate the development of higher order thinking. She points out that the amount of interaction is far more critical when the answers are not clear-cut and require discussion: "for conceptual learning, effective interaction should be more of a mutual exchange process in which ideas, hypotheses, strategies, and speculations are shared" (Cohen 1994: 4). She adds that if "an extensive mutual exchange of ideas and strategies is desired, then too sharp a division of labor or limited participation of low-status students may impede the very interaction necessary for the achievement of conceptual learning" (1994: 4).

Cohen (1994: 5) reviews studies of interaction and concludes that if teachers want students to operate on a high level cognitively, i.e. not at the most basic concrete level,

they need either to provide some form of motivational device or actually to instruct the students in these skills, as they are "not an automatic consequence of cooperative learning". She contrasts two bodies of literature on achievement and interaction. Firstly, she points out that frequency of interaction on the part of individuals does not predict their achievement when the work is such that it may be done largely without consultation with others. Secondly however, research shows that when complex instruction is utilised, achievement is consistently linked to frequency of interaction. Complex instruction "is a method of small group learning featuring open-ended discovery or conceptual tasks that emphasise higher order thinking skills" (1994: 7). She concludes that "given an ill-structured problem and a group task, productivity will depend on interaction. More specifically: given a problem with no one right answer and a learning task that will require all students to exchange resources, achievement gains will depend on the frequency of task-related interaction" (Cohen 1994: 8). Thus the volume of interaction "is a powerful predictor of learning when tasks are open-ended, conceptual in nature, and require reciprocal interdependence of the participants" (Cohen 1994: 16).

Cohen stresses the necessity for the interdependence of students in group work and cites the Johnson (1990) model of cooperative learning which distinguishes between two types of interdependence: positive goal interdependence and positive resource interdependence. The combination of both types of interdependence was found to lead to better performance than either type alone.

Reward interdependence is another issue in cooperative learning. Based on 41 studies of cooperative learning that contrasted various types of cooperative learning conditions with traditional individualistic learning, Slavin (1987) concluded that learning was enhanced by group rewards only if there was individual accountability to group performance, for instance if group marks were generated from an aggregate of members' individual marks. Cohen (1994) notes that research has shown that conditions stressing goal and resource interdependence, but without reward interdependence, produce the least favourable achievement scores of the cooperative methods. However, she notes that it is possible to motivate students to participate without reward interdependence and individual accountability, particularly if the material and activities are intrinsically interesting. She

points out that reward interdependence appears to be particularly applicable in activities which are not strictly group work i.e. where the tasks could be completed individually. In this context reward interdependence stimulates interaction.

1.5.4.3 CONDITIONS WHICH MILITATE AGAINST SUCCESSFUL SMALL GROUPS

Pastoll (1992: 22) mentions some factors which may inhibit discussion in small group teaching. Chief among these in his view is the size of the group: "The more people present, the more likely participants are to hold back and refrain from having their say". He mentions several reasons why individuals may be hesitant to participate: politeness, reticence to dominate, self-consciousness in a large group or lack of confidence in "their ability to make sense or to hold people's attention" (1992: 22). In this regard he cites Buber (1965) who states that the "genuineness of the dialogue is called in question as soon as even a small number of those present are felt by themselves and by the others as not being expected to take any active part" (cited in Pastoll 1992: 22). Although neither author makes this link explicit, it should be evident that those discourse norms which predispose an individual to non-participation would be factors which would decrease the likelihood of genuine discussion.

In addition, the tutor's expertise may be perceived as a barrier to discussion in two ways: firstly, if the students are afraid of asking questions which may be seen as ignorant by the more knowledgeable tutor or, secondly, if a pattern develops in a group in which the tutor is too hasty in offering an explanation when a student has difficulty in formulating an idea or response (Pastoll 1992: 37). Pastoll suggests that student participation may be better in tutorless discussions. This echoes the comments of Barnes, Britton and Rosen (1969 cited in Cowie-et al. 1994: 49) who found that groups were more likely to display a "tentative, exploratory stance" when there was no teacher present, and that they often "drew on their own experience to make a point or to help the group to arrive at a new level of understanding". It may, however, be argued that this would be a risky step to take to enhance participation. The teacher or tutor represents a resource for the students in the form of a "more knowledgeable other" and may also prevent the learners from misleading each other. In addition, groups without teachers or tutors to lead them tend to reflect the same inequitable patterns of interaction between males and females that are

found in casual conversation [7].

Another potential barrier to productive interaction in small groups is differences in status between members of the group. These differences are chiefly based on such variables as gender and social class or ethnic group.

> Status problems make small group discourse nonproductive according to at least two of the definitions of productivity: Inequitable interaction as well as unequal learning outcomes. Inequities in participation based on gender, race, and ethnicity within cooperative groups should be a source of serious concern for those who recommend cooperative learning for heterogenous settings. If the participants in cooperative learning have preexisting stereotypes about lesser competence of minorities and women confirmed in their groups experience, then the effects of cooperation are far less desirable than many proponents of the technique would have us believe. These inequalities in participation are worrisome for another reason: They are linked to learning gains. Cohen (1984) demonstrated that the status of a student was correlated with interaction within the small group. Interaction, in turn, was a predictor of learning gains .... Clearly, the operation of these status effects is particularly detrimental to small-group productivity where interaction is critical for learning.

(Cohen 1994: 24)

Cohen (1994: 17-23) cites several studies which indicate "systematic inequalities in participation among members of cooperative groups .... related to academic status differences between students". She adds that low status students interact less frequently than high status students and have less influence. This could be related to the necessity for a supportive environment for interaction mentioned by Cowie et al. (1994) above. However it is significant that status in this context is defined as perceived status, rather than actual ability. The studies were structured in such a way that they demanded no academic skills but those students who were perceived to be better at school work relative to the others interacted more.

It is also important to distinguish between absolute ability and relative ability, and their effects on interaction. It would appear that a medium ability student, grouped together with students of low ability, would benefit from his or her greater relative ability and thus

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[7] Research related to this issue will be discussed in 2.2.4.1 .

behave more confidently and interact more than if placed in a group of peers or high ability students. This is crucial in a learning context such as a South African university where certain educational backgrounds are devalued and where L2 speakers of English may feel insecure about their English competence.

Also of relevance is Cohen's (1994) finding that leadership behaviour was disapproved of in students with perceived low academic status. This would seem to indicate that these students would be less likely to initiate interaction. Popularity (peer status) is also often highly correlated with high academic status i.e. the more popular students have higher status.

Cohen (1994: 24) explains that status characteristics, "socially evaluated attributes of individuals", affect interaction through a process known as "status generalization" in which "the prestige and power order of the group reflects the initial differences in status". This results in a self-fulfilling prophecy situation in which high status students are more active and influential than low status students, because they and the others expect them to be more competent. This occurs regardless of whether or not their status is reflective of any objective differences in ability relevant to the particular task.

> When status generalization takes place, not only are low status students cut off from access to the resources of the group, but the group lack the contributions and ideas of all its members. The process by which specific status characteristics generalize to new collective tasks is the same as that by which diffuse status characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and gender affect interaction.
>
> (Cohen 1994: 24)

As mentioned above, Cowie et al. (1994) note that a supportive environment is necessary for interaction. In view of the effects of status differences, the need for a supportive environment would seem to be particularly important in multilingual South African educational institutions such as Rhodes University where students come from different linguistic groups, as well as different educational backgrounds. A student who is insecure about his or her command of English or academic preparation, or who is bewildered by unfamiliar norms of interaction, may well choose not to risk losing face even in a group

of fellow students. In particular, a second-language speaker of English may interpret the talkativeness of English-speakers as confidence, and may conclude that they know much more than he or she does (i.e. may accord them high relative status), and thus hold back as they are no longer perceived as peers but as more knowledgeable others.

1.6 CONCLUSION

The most important point to emerge from the literature is that unless interaction occurs and is on an equal basis, small group work cannot offer to all participants in equal measure the cognitive, academic and social benefits that are claimed for it. Given that differences in status may lead to disproportional interaction patterns, it is crucial that factors which may lead to the self-fulfilling prophecy of status generalization be examined. The effects of gender and ethnicity, as well as educational background, on interaction must be investigated as they have the potential to undermine the very *raison d'etre* for tutorials.

CHAPTER TWO: CULTURE AND GENDER

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the relevant literature pertaining to culture and gender and their role in interaction, with particular reference to interaction in education.

2.1 CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTER-CULTURAL ISSUES

The aim of this section is to place the current research within the context of previous work on interaction among members of different cultures.

In terms of cross-cultural and inter-cultural research [8], an understanding of the issues underlying contexts of interaction is based on the notion of culture and its pervasive influence on the individual's perception of self as well as group membership. Thus a brief discussion of my approach to culture will introduce a discussion of the relevant aspects of group theory which developed within the field of social psychology. Group theory is of particular importance in that it offers a general perspective of the ways in which cultures may differ, allowing differences in terms of norms of interaction to be predicted, understood and explained while firmly grounded within a social framework. Work on cross-cultural differences provides a platform for the understanding of intercultural communication problems in much the same way that phonetic charts may allow linguists to predict with some accuracy the problems learners will have in learning the sound system of a second language. Following a general discussion of trends in research into inter-cultural interaction internationally and the problems they reveal, this chapter will focus on the somewhat limited research done on cross-cultural differences in

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[8] The usage of these terms is inconsistent in the literature. In this discussion they will be used as follows, after Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff (1987: 7): The term 'ethnic' refers to groups identified by a shared language, religion or other such boundary. Culture is usually taken to be the defining criterion to distinguish ethnic groups. Thus in discussing the differences between ethnic groups the terms 'inter-cultural' or 'cross-cultural' will be used. The term 'cross-cultural' is used with reference to instances where the same feature, form or function is studied across various cultures (and often languages), while the term 'inter-cultural' refers to the study of actual interaction between members of different cultures and sub-cultures. In inter-cultural communication one of the interlocutors is typically using a language which is not his or her mother-tongue.

interaction norms in South Africa, with particular emphasis on the implications of these differences in the educational setting.

2.1.1 CULTURE

While it is not necessary for the purposes of this study to evaluate the differing approaches to culture in any great detail, in order to begin a discussion of cross-cultural differences and their impact on inter-cultural interaction, some initial explanation of what is meant by culture is necessary. More than two hundred definitions of culture were listed in 1952 by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, cited in Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff 1987: 4), and, given the expansion of the research area in recent decades, there are certainly many more by now.

Most early definitions of culture refer to an **abstract body of shared knowledge** within social communities, generally on the scale of geographically and politically defined nations. This knowledge is seen to involve the relationship between surface phenomena and

> world views, value orientations, norms, manners and customs, orientations
> towards social and interpersonal relations, preferred styles of thinking and
> arguing etc. that are taken for granted by the members of a social
> community and that more generally explain the occurrence of and give
> meaning to these surface phenomena

(Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff 1987: 4).

Another early definition with an emphasis on culture as a **system** is offered by Adler (1977, cited in Sukwiwat 1981: 216): "an intertwined system of values and attitudes, beliefs and norms that give meaning and significance to both individual and collective identity".

However, later definitions reflect a move to seeing culture located within the individual. Pederson (1994b), for example, offers a broader definition of culture which includes ethnographic, demographic and status variables as well as affiliations, all of which reside **within the individual**. Pederson (1994b: 229) explains what is meant by each of the aspects of culture as follows:

ethnographic variables such as ethnicity, nationality, religion, and language; *demographic* variables such as age, gender, and place of residence; *status* variables such as social, educational, and economic; and *affiliations* including both formal affiliations to family or organizations and informal affiliations to ideas and a lifestyle. In this broad definition each person has perhaps a thousand or more different cultures or cultural identities, with each identity becoming *salient* at different times and places.

In terms of this formulation of culture, the question of context becomes crucial in determining the salience of variables and affiliations. Clearly, in interaction, individuals' perceptions of their own cultural identity in each situation, as well as their expectations regarding the appropriate behaviour of their co-conversants, are extremely important in the negotiation of successful interaction.

It is this view of culture as located within the individual which allows a more realistic view of individuals as composites of multiple identities, any or all of which may influence their behaviour in a given context. In contrast to the external view in which culture exists almost autonomously as a system upon which individuals draw, Pederson's approach allows for variation in an individual's behaviour while acknowledging the affiliations and variables which underlie it. Thus cultural systems are not discarded although their role is no longer deterministic, and choices between alternative behaviours and responses to context are firmly situated within the individual.

In terms of this broader definition, cultures may therefore be seen as groups which share norms that influence the behaviour and interpretation of the individuals who belong to them. They may range from small sub-cultures (special-interest groups or professions, for example) to larger groups delineated by nationality or language, which conform more to the conventional view of a culture or cultures [9]. As will be discussed in Section 2.2, contact between men and women is also often seen as inter-cultural contact, in that it too

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[9] Much of the research discussed below refers to cultures as these large groups, although this should not be taken to imply that smaller groups are any less important, or that the discussion may not be generalised to contact between groups of a smaller scale. It may well be simply that contact, and the resultant clashes, between cultures on the scale of ethnic groups is more spectacular and more easily observable, resulting in the research focus which has developed.

involves contact between members of groups with different norms. For the remainder of this section, however, the term culture will be taken to refer to broader groups unified by such variables as language or ethnicity.

In terms of my study, an individual student's behaviour may therefore be influenced by a multitude of group affiliations and variables. An individual may approach the educational context as a speaker of an African language [10], as a male, as a student, as the product of a (predominantly English) private school and so on, in each case displaying the behaviour he deems to be appropriate to his role. The choice of behaviour is to some extent subjective in that it represents the individual's impression of what constitutes appropriate behaviour according to role, but at the same time is informed by broader norms acquired through socialisation. It should be noted that in terms of South African education, norms regarding classroom behaviour will have been affected by many decades of segregated schooling. Thus it is appropriate to view cultural norms of education in this country as rather more homogeneous within broad groupings than might otherwise be expected. It is, therefore, fairly accurate to speak of typical norms of DET (Department of Education and Training) education [11] with regard to black students and different norms as typical of

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[10] The terms '(South African) black culture' and 'African culture' are used more or less interchangeably in the following discussion, more for the sake of stylistic variation than anything else. In this sense, then, 'black' is taken to refer to people of African descent and African culture, and not, as it is sometimes used politically, to refer more broadly to those South Africans who are 'not white' (i.e. including 'Coloureds' and Indian people). Similarly, in this and later chapters, the term 'L2 speaker(s) of English', as well as its shortened form, 'L2', is used to refer to first-language speakers of African languages. Of course, there are other L2 speakers of English in South Africa but as contrasts between the interactional norms of African languages and those of English are one of the main focuses of this study, it is hoped that this apparent inaccuracy will be tolerated in this context. Furthermore, the designation 'L2' should not be taken to imply that English is viewed as superior in any way to other languages. The term is used because, in the context of education at an English-medium university, the nature of individuals' competence in English (i.e. first or other language) is taken to be an important indicator of the cultural norms they will bring with them in terms of interaction in the educational context.

[11] While the term 'former DET education' would be more accurate, I have used the shorter form 'DET education' instead: partly because it reads better but also because, although the DET may have ceased to exist, in practice it remains, at the time of writing, largely intact in that the schools which fell under its jurisdiction operate in much the same

state education for white students, each having been reinforced and intensified by generations of separation. A third set of norms, closer to the white state school norms, characterises private schooling which has, longer than any other system in South Africa, featured an element of ethnic integration. [12]

2.1.2 CULTURAL CONTACT

In addition to its role in shaping an individual's behaviour, culture also allows that person to make sense of the behaviour of others. As long as the behaviour of others conforms to expectations built up through experience, the process of assigning explanations and intentions to that behaviour will go on, for the most part, unnoticed. In inter-cultural interaction this can be a problem in itself in that individuals will interpret the behaviour of others according to their own norms, which may or may not coincide with those of their interlocutors, and thus reach conclusions which may or may not be appropriate. In addition, the individual may find his or her own actions having rather different consequences than expected. As Mullavey-O'Byrne (1994: 207) explains:

> An individual's experience in his or her own culture allows the individual
> to make generalizations about role expectations, functions, and
> performances within that particular culture with a reasonable degree of
> accuracy. In another culture, all or many of the dimensions associated with
> a particular role or roles may be different. Differences in roles and role
> expectations can also be a cause of anxiety and may have a negative impact
> on the individual's sense of self-worth.

2.1.2.1   ATTRIBUTION

Attribution is arguably one of the most significant processes at work in cultural contact. In an attempt to make sense of the behaviour of others, individuals try to identify the causes of this behaviour. As Mullavey-O'Byrne (1994: 208) notes: "Judgments about the causes of behavior are called *attributions* ... The information people draw on to make these attributions is arrived at within the context of a specific culture". Thus the attributions made in a cultural context other than the individual's own are less likely to be

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way as they did under the previous government. In addition, in the context of this study, the students participating in the recorded tutorials matriculated while the DET was still in place.

[12] For a discussion of South African education systems see Coutts 1992.

accurate. A simple example is the meaning of gestures. The same gesture may be entirely innocent in one culture and offensive in another. A member of the second culture is likely to attribute the use of this gesture to deliberate rudeness, even if this meaning was not intended by the sender.

Bochner (1982a: 19/20) distinguishes between two types of explanations or accounts for behaviour, especially unusual behaviour:

♦   **within-skin** accounts - the person's traits, or features inherent in them, are seen as responsible for their behaviour e.g. ethnic group, gender etc., and

♦   **between-skin** accounts - the person's social circumstances are responsible, e.g. their situation.

The less information available for the making of attributions, the more likely it is that within-skin accounts will be made, while more understanding and information make it more likely that actions will be seen as being caused by situation. In this view it is clear that within-skin accounts are likely to fall back on stereotypes, based on easily-observable group membership such as ethnic group or religion. The person is not seen as an individual with individual circumstances, pressures, personality traits, and so on, but as a member of a group. Thus unusual, inappropriate or apparently rude behaviour may be attributed to the person's gender or ethnic group, particularly if, as Bochner says, the formation of 'us' and 'them' groups is inevitable.

Kaschula (1989: 101) gives an example of this process from his work on interaction between South African farmers and labourers and points out that

> if one draws extensively on one's own cultural background in talking to and interpreting others, communication breakdown may well result. When this does occur, and conversations are stressful between farmers and labourers, it is rarely accounted for in sociological or cultural terms, but rather in psychological terms. Although one [white] farmer pointed out that 'a lot of their customs and things sometimes create difficulties leading to confusion', most believed that mis-communication was caused primarily by the [black] labourer's inherent unintelligence, or inability to pay attention.

This 'us' and 'them' division leads to the establishment of an in-group and out-group situation which results in hostility and negative stereotyping, due to competition for scarce resources (Bochner 1982a: 11). Harmony in this case is only possible if groups share some superordinate goal, which necessitates cooperation for success, and is impossible to achieve if they compete. Thus the distinction between groups may be blurred by the desire to achieve a common goal. When applied to education, this illuminafes the argument described earlier that the traditional, individualistic classroom, where success depends on achieving more than one's peers, tends to encourage competition. In contrast, cooperative environments for learning would seem to foster the blending of groups in that cooperation between individuals is necessary for success [13].

The process of coming to see another person as an individual is termed individuation. The deindividuation of out-group members also explains the trend towards within-skin attributions concerning their actions. There is in this view the implication that the better individuals get to know each other, the more similarities will become apparent and judgements will tend to be in situational terms rather than in terms of personality. If this is true then discriminatory stereotyping against out-group members could be reduced by offering opportunities for individuation, for instance by integrating classes. However, Bochner (1982a) points out that although contact between groups is promoted as a way to solve intergroup hostility, it does not necessarily work. Increased contact may lead to increased hostility, rather than an increased awareness of and tolerance and even

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[13] There is evidence, however, that the mere existence of groups, even without any hostility or competition, "trigger(s) in-group - out-group distinctions and discriminatory behaviour" (Bochner 1982a: 11). People construct and acquire a subjective social order based on 'us' and 'them' and learn that it is appropriate to favour a member of the in-group and discriminate against a member of the out-group. Thus there is a generic norm of discriminatory behaviour towards out-groups, even if there is nothing to be gained by such division. This has been contradicted in other research, for instance, that on leniency shown to strangers for, for example, the transgression of a local custom or in cases of reverse discrimination. However, one must question the level on which this tolerance operates. I would suggest that these tolerated errors would be more likely to be of a very overt nature. In contrast, discourse norms tend to be less conscious and as such would seem to be less likely to be correctly attributed and excused. A within-skin account based on negative stereotypes, is, I would suggest, far more likely to occur with this type of mismatch.

appreciation for other cultures.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that cultural groups in contact are seldom equal in terms of social, economic or political power. The terms 'minority' and 'majority' culture are used to refer to less powerful and more powerful groups respectively. In South African society, although L2 speakers of English are clearly not in the minority numerically, the term is used to indicate a complex set of attributes, such as power differentials, and not necessarily numerical minority. As Edwards (1984: 88) says:

> Minority status need not always be a function of numbers; groups holding
> subordinate economic, social or political positions within a larger society
> may also reasonably be seen as minorities ... In fact, regardless of
> numbers involved, minority-majority issues are mainly ones of relative
> status and power.

Edwards goes on to point out that the delineation of society into various groups along the lines of ethnicity, language or religion for instance, is essential to the formation of minorities and majorities. It is the process of comparison between groups which sets up differences in social, economic and political power. At an English-medium university such as Rhodes, members of the majority culture are those who wield power, those who have set up and keep in place the mode of learning. The historical dominance of whites is manifested in the fact that the predominant academic culture at Rhodes is Western, rather than African. Thus English-speaking students have far more of an advantage than simply sharing a language with the majority culture; they share, in addition, a wide variety of norms and expectations with regard to education. By contrast, L2 students in cultural contact with the Western culture of academia, are in the position of 'visitors' to the 'host' culture and experience all the conflict and anxiety associated with minority-majority cultural contact. In order to succeed within this cultural setting, they need to conform to the norms of the university and thus some form of adaptation is required. With the possibility of assimilation (rejecting one's own culture and embracing another - Bochner's 'passing' [14]), and its attendant disadvantages for the self-image of the

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[14] See Table One in Section 2.1.3.1 below.

individual concerned, any attempts to integrate L2 students into the dominant culture must be undertaken with extreme sensitivity.

The separateness of minorities is of course not static (Coutts 1992). Groups, or group members, may become assimilated (such as those black staff members who have adopted to some degree the majority academic culture at a university); also, some types of separateness may result in an elite, which then may vigorously resist change. Once again, it is a matter of relativity and comparison - if one group is seen as somehow inferior in some sense then it constitutes the minority group (Edwards 1984).

2.1.2.2 FACTORS AFFECTING THE SUCCESS OF INTERCULTURAL CONTACT

Several factors influence the success of intercultural contact. Bochner (1982a: 16) lists the following which, he says, foster successful integration of the members of different cultural groups:

♦ equal status of the participants;

♦ close, rather than casual interaction;

♦ the existence of a superordinate goal which necessitates cooperation between groups for success;

♦ pleasant situations of contact;

 and, most importantly,

♦ "a social climate that favours inter-group contact and harmony".

Obviously, the opposite of these conditions would increase the likelihood of contact resulting in prejudice and hostility. The similarity between these conditions and those necessary for the success of small teaching groups (discussed in Chapter One) is evident.

In addition, Berry (1990: 242-252), in a discussion of "psychological acculturation", mentions several variables which are likely to affect the success of contact between different cultures. They include:

♦ voluntariness of contact;

◆   acculturation attitudes [3];

◆   acculturative stress [4];

◆   attitudes and policies regarding culture in the dominant culture;

◆   the extent to which those policies limit or prevent the individual's access to resources;

◆   social supports and networks;

◆   and the degree of acceptance by the dominant group of the acculturating group.

It is clear, therefore, that although a policy of integration may sometimes ameliorate problems associated with attribution in situations of cultural contact, it should be applied very carefully and should not be seen as a 'cure-all', independent of context. In terms of tertiary education, the policies and attitudes of the dominant culture within the university towards members of other cultures would seem to be crucial to the success of the contact, particularly from the perspective of the minority members, because these policies and attitudes would determine the access of minorities to resources essential for success in that context, as well as the degree of acculturative stress experienced by minority students. However, the equality of status required for the success of contact between groups is unlikely to occur in this context, where some students share the dominant, powerful, culture of the university and others are clearly identifiable as members of the relatively powerless minority 'visiting' culture.

2.1.3 MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism refers broadly to the situation where two or more cultures are in contact with each other more or less indefinitely. It can refer to contact between groups of people living in one country, such as the United States of America or South Africa, or, indeed, to individuals from one culture who, by choice or circumstance, find themselves living within another culture, such as exchange students. The multicultural society, as

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[3] This refers to the ways in which a particular group or culture views strangers, and thus how they relate to each other.

[4] This refers to stress related to the acculturation process. Some modes of acculturation seem to be more likely to generate stress than others: these differences will be discussed below in 2.1.3.1 .

opposed to a monocultural one such as Japan, presents a particular set of problems and challenges as a result of the contact between two or more cultures.

Extensive contact between members of different cultures is commonplace worldwide, whether it be occasioned by business, education or travel. In South Africa, the day-to-day reality of cultural contact is even more obvious, with several cultures in daily contact and interdependent upon each other simply by virtue of sharing one country. One of the likely consequences of the new dispensation would seem to be increasing interaction between members of cultural groups, particularly on an educational level. As institutions become more integrated, the consequences of intercultural contact become more significant and education for multicultural life ever more crucial.

As Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff (1987) point out, to acknowledge a society or an institution as multicultural does not solve any of the problems. Years of building up of institutions and ways of thinking perpetuate a monocultural myth, long after racist laws are repealed. Murray and Sondhi (1987: 20-23) argue, convincingly, that the monocultural myth still persists in England, for example. As they say

> To characterize Britain and other European countries as *racist* societies is therefore merely to pay due attention to the structural discrimination which is present in these societies whatever the political complexion of the government of the day or whatever the particular policies on race and race relations that government might adopt. Racism, in the current usage of the term, refers to deep-rooted policies, procedures, practices, and attitudes which operate at every level of society, including ideological, and are dignified by and articulated through hundreds of years of tradition. These work in favor of the interests of white people and against the interests of black people. This is the socio-political context in which cross-cultural encounters take place: one in which there is no possibility of an equal exchange between black and white.

Despite the optimism associated with the 'new' South Africa, it would be naïve to suggest that the hang-over effect described above is not operating in many, if not most, aspects of daily life in this country. For an L2 speaker of English at an English-medium university such as Rhodes, the cultural contact is essentially that between member of a minority culture and the dominant culture.

2.1.3.1   RESPONSES TO MULTICULTURALISM

In situations of cultural contact, individuals may respond to multiculturalism in a number of ways. Several possible outcomes for these individuals and the ramifications for the society in which they live, should they form a general trend, have been isolated. The details of these outcomes, or possible responses to the challenge of multiculturalism, are not important for this discussion. What are of great relevance, however, are the ethical implications of each outcome in that they must influence the choice of strategies developed to help individuals cope with the reality of multiculturalism. Bochner's (1982a :27) table showing the possible responses [5] and their outcomes [6] is reproduced below in its entirety in the interests of clarity and for ease of reference.

The outcome of Passing (or assimilation) holds grave implications, both in general and (of particular relevance to this study) for students who attend educational institutions embodying a culture different from their own. Teaching which presents the discourse norms of the dominant culture as an ideal, and which implicitly or explicitly demands their acquisition, runs the risk of being seen as, and, in fact, of functioning as, an agent of cultural imperialism. Bochner (1982a: 25) says

> Advocates of assimilation may or may not realize that the policy implies a
> superiority of the majority culture relative to the minority, often to the
> extent of denying any worth in the culture being absorbed. Groups
> undergoing assimilation do not find the process psychologically satisfying,
> because of connotations of inferiority, self-rejection and, in extreme
> instances, self-hatred.

The Western style university in a Third World country, such as South Africa, is modelled on the British (and American) university system and as such supports a monocultural view

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[5] Bochner's distinctions are not based on the individual's personal feelings towards the cultures in question, but rather on which norms are rejected or exaggerated as a result of contact.

[6] Although these responses could conceivably apply to members of either culture in a contact situation, it is more likely that in a minority-majority context it would be the members of the minority culture who are more challenged by the contact, representing as they do the 'visitors' in a host/visitor situation. The following discussion focuses therefore on the implications of their response to contact.

Table One: Responses to Multiculturalism (Bochner 1982a :27)

Response	Type	Multiple group membership affiliation	Effect on individual	Effect on society
Reject culture of origins; embrace second culture	Passing	Culture I norms lose salience; Culture II norms become salient	Loss of ethnic identity; Self-denigration	Assimilation; Cultural erosion
Reject second culture; exaggerate first culture	Chauvinistic	Culture I norms increase in salience; Culture II norms decrease in salience	Nationalism Racism	Intergroup friction
Vacillate between two cultures	Marginal	Norms of both cultures salient but perceived as mutually incompatible	Conflict; Identity confusion; Over-compensation	Reform; Social change
Synthesize both cultures	Mediating	Norms of both cultures salient and perceived as capable of being integrated	Personal growth Intergroup harmony; Pluralistic societies and ,cultural preservation	

of tertiary education. This stance

> takes for granted the superior (normally formulated as "more advanced")
> status of the dominant white culture: other cultures, especially from the
> third world, are treated as alien, if not primitive, and members of such
> cultures who hope to live within the dominant culture are expected to
> assimilate to the norms and values of the majority.

<div align="right">(Murray and Sondhi 1987: 20).</div>

In his discussion of the assimilatory model as applied to South African schools, Coutts (1992: 41/2) agrees, saying

> In South Africa many private schools have, since the mid-seventies, opened
> their doors to 'persons of colour'. Inevitably, such private schools and,
> more recently, some state schools, have frequently confined their efforts to
> the integration of small numbers of black pupils, in an attempt to ensure
> .that the traditions and ethos of the schools involved were not too drastically
> altered .... Entrants are assimilated, gradually assuming the common
> culture, sometimes with a resultant loss of home cultures.

Bochner's Chauvinistic response (see Table One) is equally unsatisfactory, implying as it does an increase in polarisation between groups, reminiscent of the apartheid era. While, according to the model, individuals do not run the risk of a lowered self-image as is associated with Passing, they cannot reap the potential benefits of the enrichment found in inter-cultural contact. I would argue, moreover, that the tendency towards hostility -- between groups competing for scarce resources described above would have significant effects on individual self-esteem in view of the context of historical dominance by one group in South Africa.

In addition, according to Berry (1990), the separationist strategy results in a greater degree of acculturative stress for the individuals concerned than either the assimilationist or the mediating strategy (see Table One). With reference to L2 students at an institution such as Rhodes, a chauvinistic response on their part may do them more harm than good, particularly in view of the fact that many gate-keepers at Rhodes are, or have become through assimilation, members of the dominant culture and thus represent it to an extent, regardless of their own personal ideology.

Murray and Sondhi (1987: 23) also make this point, stating (with reference to the influence of the residue of racist policies in Britain) that this shapes the behaviour of people involved in cross-cultural interaction.

> If the encounter takes place in an institutional setting, then the white participant representing the institution, the "gatekeeper", will hold all the power conferred on him [sic] by the institution, whatever the color of the client.... [This factor] will influence the process of the encounter whatever the personal views or qualities of the individual gatekeeper, since gatekeepers are members of an institutional culture, whose norms, values, and attitudes they have assimilated to a greater or lesser extent.

The term "marginality" was coined by Stonequist (1937, cited in Bochner 1982a) to refer to the situation in which people

> are members of, or aspire membership in, two racial or cultural groups that have mutually incompatible norms, values or entrance qualifications. Stonequist used the term 'marginal' in connection with the inability of such individuals to become or remain full members of either group, therefore finding themselves on the margin of each. Such persons, unless they can resolve their conflict, are doomed to vacillate between their two cultures, unable to satisfy the contradictory demands that their two reference groups make upon them

> (Bochner 1982a: 29).

The Marginal outcome results in more acculturative stress than either integration (mediating) or assimilation (Berry 1990).

The Mediating outcome refers to the situation where individuals use the norms of one culture in specific situations and those of the other in different contexts. This integration in Bochner's terms means cultural plurality. It may be seen as equivalent to Berry's (1990) integrationist strategy where the individual maintains some aspects of the old culture while choosing to interact with members of the new culture. Berry sees this as a middle path between the two extremes of separationist and assimilationist strategies, and suggests that such an approach is likely to result in successful contact. This plurality, while it may appear idealistic, is already at work within groups - special-interest pockets form and co-exist with and within the main grouping of broad aims and identity without conflict.

In relation to tutorials, it would seem that only if both (or all) modes of interaction represented by the participants can be accommodated and valued, can all participants really be on an equal footing. This equality is an important ingredient in creating a suitable climate for successful small group interaction and for intercultural contact in general.

There are, however, potential disadvantages associated with the Mediating outcome. It could be argued that this kind of 'culture switching' could lead to 'situational passing'. Ultimately the individual may view his/her cultural norms as inadequate in certain situations and, if these are important enough to the individual, this could conceivably lead to total passing. Edwards (1984) says that while cultural pluralism, as opposed to assimilation, is seen as the liberal enlightened response to the problems of a multicultural society, there are some problems with it.

Firstly, he suggests that cultural pluralism and assimilation may not be polar opposites but may "exist in some state of symbiosis" (Edwards 1984: 93). He notes that cultural pluralism is usually most strongly supported by the most secure groups and by the most assimilated of "ethnics" (1984: 94).

Secondly, he states that "cultural pluralism may be seen as an elitist phenomenon which does not reflect very well the views of the masses. Many 'ethnics' appear generally assimilationist in outlook, unlike those who presume to speak for them" (Edwards 1984: 94). Coutts (1992: 42) comments on a similar tendency in South Africa:

> Although criticism can be levelled at the assimilatory school model, many
> parents from a variety of communities will probably favour it. For
> political, economic and educational reasons, many people will want their
> children to be absorbed or assimilated into a single, unified national
> culture. It will probably reflect the Western, industrial culture at its core,
> but be composed of a strong input from African and Asian traditions.
> Where communities desire such assimilation, it should be respected as a
> valid approach to state schooling.

This relates to Berry's (1990) point, mentioned above, that the individual's attitude towards acculturation is central to the success of the contact. He stresses the importance

of the degree to which the person wants to retain the old culture (by seeking contact with members of that culture etc. - a separationist or chauvinistic approach) or give it up and take on the new culture (an assimilationist strategy).

Thirdly, Edwards points out that cultural pluralism assumes a rather static society, which is not borne out by history. It implies, naïvely, as he says, a continuing state of "ethnic solidarity, commitment and boundaries" (1984: 94).

Lastly, cultural pluralism may serve to keep people in the groups they originally came from which may not be what they want. As Fishman (1980: 171) says,

> Stable bilingualism and biculturalism cannot be maintained on the basis of open and unlimited interaction between minorities and majorities. Open economic access and unrestricted intergroup interaction may be fine ...but they are destructive of minority ethnolinguistic continuity.

Thus the very principles of democracy and equality which demand respect for different cultures, may, in the long run, be the forces which dissolve groups and blend cultures. Put the other way, strict adherence to cultural pluralism may run contrary to democracy.

Edwards' (1984) major point is that the simplistic view that sees cultural pluralism as good and assimilation as bad is naïve. He notes that this misunderstanding is of particular importance if educational decisions are based on it. He speculates that if the 'ethnics' themselves were asked they may in fact be in favour of assimilation. He also suggests that these groups should be consulted as to which aspects of group identity are essential and which they regard as dispensable.

It has been argued above that L2 speakers of English at Rhodes are faced with a system which represents, broadly speaking, a Western concept of education and are therefore, in a sense, 'visitors' in a host community. Moreover, their attainment of success depends on their conforming, to some extent, to the norms of gatekeepers who are members of the university's dominant culture, either by birth or by assimilation. Thus the pressure on L2 students to assimilate themselves is strong and, it may be argued, is reinforced by mechanisms such as academic development programmes, which essentially 'train' students

to conform to academic norms. In addition, the students' own expectations of education and those of their parents may further predispose them to assimilation. One area of extreme significance in assimilation is that of learning styles, and within that, norms of interaction. As has been argued in Chapter One, small group learning is advocated and practised on the grounds that it is an effective means to active learning. However, it must be noted that, in addition to differences in language background, L2 students, for the most part, arrive at Rhodes with a very different view of how teaching and learning occur to that which is utilised at the university. Their interaction with the university system and the individuals which represent it is likely to be made up of occasions of communication with a foreign cultural system - in short, inter-cultural communication.

This view is shared by Clarence (1992: 146), who looks at some aspects of the university context which she says "intermesh to contribute to the total experience of an unfamiliar social and academic environment" for black students. She notes with reference to an incident reported in her research that unexpected discourse contexts may function to disempower individuals, rendering them unable to exercise control on any level, regardless of preparation.

> It is important, then, that students are encouraged to understand and critique the less visible dynamics of the university, most especially the power relationships which shape it. In the light of both the authoritarian and unquestioning school systems and numerous alienating experiences reported by black students especially during their first university year (Hart 1988), a context for the development of a more interrogative relationship with the institution needs to be developed.

(Clarence 1992: 149)

In order to fully appreciate the cultural contrasts faced by these students, and the difficulties they raise in terms of education, it is necessary to examine the ways in which cultures differ and the implications of these differences for education.

2.1.4 DIFFERENCES IN "NATIONAL CULTURE"

In considering intercultural communication, it is imperative to place cultural discourse norms within the broader context of the general cultural 'character' of the groups involved. An understanding of the national culture must rest on the broad norms and

values that unify the group and distinguish it from others. Areas which reveal and allow us to characterise national culture include norms and 'commonsense wisdom' regarding such issues as work, social relations, self orientation and orientation to the world (Lustig and Koester 1993). In this way cultures may be characterised, for example, according to whether their members evaluate activity on the techniques used or according to the goals achieved, whether roles are achieved through the actions of the individuals concerned or whether they are ascribed, whether time is seen as linear or cyclical and so on.

One of the most extensive attempts to identify, measure and contrast elements of culture was conducted by the Dutch social psychologist, Geert Hofstede (1980, 1991), whose work is discussed in detail in Goodman (1994) and Lustig and Koester (1993). Hofstede identified four dimensions of national culture which he used as a basis for comparing the dominant value systems in these national cultures [7]. In correlating the mean values scores with nationality, he derived an aggregate of national 'personality'. On each dimension the average score across nations is given a value of zero, which allows for easy comparison. The implications of these national personalities for inter-cultural interaction and particularly for multicultural education are significant in that these broad trends in norms inform norms on a more particular level, such as politeness norms and educational practice. Goodman (1994), for instance, successfully uses this type of analysis in order to explain case studies of problematic interaction, with particular reference to education. Hofstede (1980: 306) himself claimed that the "role patterns and value systems" in a particular society were "carried forward from the school to the job

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[7] Lustig and Koester (1993: 135) caution that most of Hofstede's informants were male, middle-level managers and as the employees of a large multi-national corporation, they may have had various other features in common and that sufficient time has elapsed since the data was collected for significant changes to have occurred in the cultures examined. It should also be noted that several cultures were omitted from the study. Of particular relevance for this study, no African country other than South Africa was surveyed and given the political situation here at the time of Hofstede's study, it would seem safe to assume that the bulk of the middle-level managers surveyed would have represented 'Western' culture. In this regard, it would appear that Hofstede has equated nation with culture in that he has analysed his data in terms of politically-defined groups (i.e. countries), ignoring the possible cultural heterogeneity within them. Despite these problems, Hofstede's work provides a useful way of conceptualising and referring to differences between cultures.

and back". The impact of cross-cultural differences in terms of these norms and values on intercultural settings in education is clear. The dimensions outlined by Hofstede are subtle and not immediately apparent as issues on which people could disagree. They are more likely, in fact, to be taken by the individual as common-sense explanations of the way the world works. Thus they represent the cultural schemata which individuals from different groups bring to situations of contact. Comparison of different cultures in these terms enables one to predict and explain instances of miscommunication in terms of mis-attribution. Hofstede's Four Dimensions of National Culture are explained below. In each case the implications for education are explicated.

(a)   Power Distance

Power Distance means "the degree to which a society accepts the idea that power is to be distributed unequally" (Goodman 1994: 137). Societies which accepted stratification received higher scores on this dimension. A high-PDI may be reflected in the language, for example in the hierarchical distinctions it makes, such as Korean, which has separate terms for siblings according to gender and relative age (Lustig and Koester 1993: 139). It is interesting that similar distinctions are apparent in the African languages.

Lustig and Koester (1993: 139) explain that in high-PDI cultures children are expected to obey their parents without question, while those in low-PDI cultures are encouraged to seek reasons or justifications for their parents' actions.

In terms of education, this explains why teacher-centredness is a feature of societies in which there is a great power distance. The teacher, as the bearer of wisdom and, in addition, as an older person, is respected both in the classroom and outside of it and public contradiction is not tolerated. Thus students do not initiate communication with the teacher and will not speak unless invited to do so by the teacher. Information flow is only from the teacher to the student and formal presentations are valued. Education tends to include a large amount of rote learning.

In low-PDI cultures, "the educational system itself reinforces the low-PDI values by teaching students to ask questions, to solve problems creatively and uniquely, and to

challenge the evidence leading to specific conclusions" (Lustig and Koester 1993: 139/40).

(b)   Individualism-Collectivism

> The degree to which a society feels that individuals' beliefs and actions should be independent of collective thought and action. The more this idea is accepted, the higher the rank on this measure. Individualism contrasts with collectivism, which is the belief that people should integrate their thoughts and actions with those of a group (e.g., extended family, organizations)

(Goodman 1994: 137)

In predominantly Collectivist societies, there is a great respect for tradition and the group. Working within a group for a collective goal is more satisfying to individuals than working alone for their own achievement, particularly as students are not expected to volunteer answers as this would call attention to themselves. Situations involving the potential loss of face by either the teacher or the student are avoided. These factors lead to a preference for group work for assignments. As described in Chapter One, an individualistic ethos results in an emphasis on individual achievement, where one can only succeed relative to others, thus leading to competition for passing grades. This approach also emphasises the independent contribution of the individual and collaboration in certain contexts is outlawed as 'cheating'. Argyle (1982: 71) points out that America and Europe are generally more individualistic, while in more collectivist cultures, like Japan, China, Israel and Russia, the stress on cooperation rather than competition translates into a tendency not to speak out, due to there being no need to display (for competitive purposes).

(c)   Uncertainty Avoidance

This dimension refers to the extent to which a society is threatened by and tries to avoid ambiguous situations through regulation and intolerance of any deviance. The higher the score, the more the society avoids ambiguity.

Learning environments in societies that are high in Uncertainty Avoidance are particularly structured. As Goodman (1994: 138) notes,

Both the student and the teacher prefer structured learning situations with precise objectives, detailed assignments, and adherence to a schedule set up well in advance. In such an environment, lecturing is most common and there are no interruptions or disagreements with the "all-knowing" teacher. Learning the subject as precisely as possible is more important than learning how to learn.

High Uncertainty Avoidance cultures include several South American countries, Japan, Korea, Portugal and Greece. Western countries and those situated in northern Europe account for most of the nations found to be low in Uncertainty Avoidance.

High UA cultures see uncertainty as a continuing threat and develop many rules and rituals to control and resist change. In contrast, low UA cultures are more relative, more flexible, and tend to 'take each day as it comes'. They will accept dissent and change and will take risks (Lustig and Koester 1993: 139).

(d)   Masculinity/Femininity (also termed the Achievement-Nurturance scale: Lustig and Koester 1993: 147)

The degree to which a society focuses on assertiveness, task achievement, and the acquisition of things as opposed to quality of life issues such as caring for others, group solidarity, and helping the less fortunate. The more assertiveness, competitiveness, and ambition are accepted, the higher a country's rank on this measure.

(Goodman 1994: 137)

In masculine cultures, academic performance is valued and so teachers praise achievement and encourage competition.

Failure, however, is detrimental to success and leads to low self-esteem. In order to prove themselves, students try to make themselves visible and they choose academic subjects that have clear career paths. In highly masculine societies, there is more gender segregation in careers, so males tend to avoid feminine academic subjects.

(Goodman 1994: 138/9)

In contrast, feminine cultures value social accommodation and cooperation more highly. Small group teaching, it seems, would be ideal in feminine cultures.

As mentioned above, being able to characterise cultures in terms of these broad dimensions is useful for the analysis of intercultural communication and, in particular, as a means of placing clashes in terms of discourse norms in a wider cultural context.

2.1.5 INTER-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

It is well established in the literature that there is more involved in language-learning than the acquisition of the vocabulary, semantic patterning and the syntactic rules of the language (for example, Hymes 1971, Sukwiwat 1981, Hill 1988). Other aspects, such as knowledge of and skill in the application of rules of appropriacy and discourse norms, form part of communicative competence [8]. These other aspects dovetail with, and are in fact part of, the broader culture of the speakers of the particular language. Sukwiwat (1981: 216) points out that a "knowledge of certain features and characteristics of this so-called 'intertwined system of values and attitudes, beliefs and norms' is needed for understanding".

Even young children vary their speech styles in their mother-tongues according to the interlocutors. This shows an awareness of roles according to such variables as age, sex, social proximity and occupation. But the speech of L2 speakers is "relatively inflexible" in comparison and demonstrates an "inability to adjust to role factors" (Richards and Tay 1981: 43). This may be ascribed to the fact (discussed above) that the rules or norms of the L1 usually form so intrinsic a part of the individual that they are applied subconsciously and are also carried over to the L2.

Candlin (1981) also emphasises the fact that utterances do not carry their meaning in their words and structure alone - that there is a difference between signification and value (Widdowson 1973), between sense and force (Leech 1977) and form and function. He refers to the "creative and dynamic process of interpretation" (1981: 166/7). In addition, relationships between form and function differ in appropriateness according to the situation. Brown and Levinson's (1978) Politeness Theory shows how the manifestation of a speech act would vary according to the power, social distance relations between the

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[8] Communicative competence will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

interlocutors and the cost-benefit ranking of a request, for example. However the operation of these considerations cannot necessarily be generalised across cultures. These clines need to be adjusted according to the society/culture one is describing. Candlin (1981: 171) cites Gumperz (1977): "How can we be certain that our interpretation of what activity is being signalled is the same as the activity that the interlocutor has in mind, if our communicative backgrounds are not identical?". In the context of the present study, if the tutor asks what he or she thinks is a leading question to open the floor and stimulate interaction, is that same force perceived by all the other members of the group? Those students from a high PDI culture could well interpret it as a rhetorical question from the 'all-knowing' teacher.

Strevens (1981: 7) in a discussion of the use of English for international communication says:

> the pragmatics of discourse constitute a major part of our rules for
> regulating both inter-personal relations in general and at the same time the
> subtle ways in which we express our own requirements and understand
> what other human beings are doing. Such rules are learned within our
> particular culture from a very early age - certainly before mastery of
> language - and over a long period, perhaps one's entire lifetime. Yet they
> are made explicit only very rarely. Consequently we tend, as learners of a
> foreign language, to be only dimly aware, if at all, that the rules of
> discourse for using a foreign language in its cultural setting will be
> different from those of our native language. As teachers of a foreign
> language, we have only recently begun to describe, and hardly at all as yet
> to incorporate into teaching materials, the rules for constructing discourse,
> for taking and ceding a turn, for producing with our language a desired
> effect through choice and manipulation of illocutionary force, and so forth.

With reference to South Africa, Peires (n.d.: 10) also stresses the importance of discourse norms, especially when they vary across cultures:

> they may however be more important [than features of grammar etc.] as
> factors leading to misunderstanding or false assumptions in conversations
> between L1 and L2 speakers. The mother-tongue English user will
> generally 'make allowances' for overt errors in the speech of second-
> language users ('foreigner-talk'), but will be unaware and therefore more
> intolerant of culturally differently defined discourse conventions.

However the context in which interaction in the L2 will occur should also be taken into

account (Strevens 1981: 18). If, as is often the case in South Africa, the learner of English as L2 will be using English primarily to communicate with other speakers of ESL then it may be argued that the acquisition of L1 discourse norms is unnecessary. Their importance, however, in the context of intercultural contact in universities discussed above cannot be overemphasised.

2.1.5.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH INTO CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTER-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Kim (1984) describes three main areas of inquiry into intercultural communication on a group level: an anthropological approach, acculturation studies (such as those conducted in the United States of America) and a sociological approach.

While the more anthropological approach, which studies a culture and attempts to understand it as a whole, is useful to studies of inter-cultural communication, it lacks the essential focus on actual communication between members of different groups. "Cross-cultural comparisons of communication patterns do not describe or explain directly what actually happens when individuals from two different cultures come into direct or indirect contact and begin to communicate for varying periods of time" (Kim 1984: 21).

This study, which focuses on **inter**-cultural communication i.e. the communication which takes place when members of two cultures interact, is more akin to the acculturation study which aims to explore the mechanisms of the interchange of culture between groups in contact and to investigate the changes which occur. The sociological studies focus on issues related to racial relations and the "social consequences of minority-majority group relationships" (Kim 1984: 22), in rather similar vein to Bochner's (1982) explication of the dynamics of assimilation, discussed above.

Research into cross-cultural and inter-cultural communication may be further divided into two broad areas approximating Thomas's (1982) distinction between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure or miscommunication. The former refers to "the inappropriate transfer of speech act strategies from one language to another" (1982: 101) while the latter concerns essentially social miscalculations regarding the conditions placed on

language use. These conditions, which vary cross-culturally, are broadly those seen by Brown and Levinson (1978) and Leech (1983) as considerations in politeness and include the magnitude of the imposition entailed in the utterance, social distance between speaker and hearer and "relative rights and obligations" (Thomas 1982: 104). Sawyer and Smith (1994: 301) explain:

> pragmalinguistic breakdowns occur when language learners do not know the actual means by which a communicative function is implemented in the target culture, whereas sociopragmatic breakdowns occur when learners choose not to use the accepted cultural way of communicating because the learners feel that to do so would in some way violate one of their own cultural values. An example of the former type of breakdown is the use of an inappropriate term of address because the learner does not know the appropriate term. A familiar example of the latter type of breakdown is a learner's insistence on using a formal way of addressing a host culture teacher even though he or she knows that the teacher strongly prefers being addressed by given name only. The former kind of breakdown is relatively easy to minimise with increasing knowledge; the latter generally is not. By keeping this distinction in mind, teachers should be able to avoid a certain amount of frustration.

Possibly due to the difference in tangibility between the two types of breakdown, much of the research to date has been of the variety which compares speech acts across cultures (parallel to Kim's 1984 anthropological approach), in what is essentially a mapping procedure between form and function in different languages while conventions such as those regarding rights to the floor and obligations according to role have been relatively neglected. Thus a fair amount of previous research may be found on even rather narrow topics such as compliment responses, both overseas (e.g. Pomerantz 1978, Holmes 1986) and in South Africa (e.g. Herbert 1989, Chick 1995), but comparatively little on the impact of sociopragmatic failure in intercultural communication. What makes this imbalance more important is the fact that this second type of failure is arguably more significant in that it relates to norms which are not often consciously recognised and which, as argued above, are usually regarded as common-sense. Their invisibility means that their transgression is not easily tolerated, but rather tends to reinforce stereotypes through attribution.

Most of the work which has been done on sociopragmatic norms has focused on English.

One major exception is the work of Scollon and Scollon (1981, 1995) on the interactional norms of the Athabaskans. This general tendency to focus on English means that the tasks of comparing the norms of two cultures for possible clashes of this nature and interpreting sociopragmatic failure when it occurs are not particularly easy in that there is seldom much data available on cultures other than English.

2.1.5.2   SOCIOPRAGMATIC NORMS AND CULTURAL VARIATION

Tannen (1984: 189 - 195) provides a list of eight aspects, or "levels", of "communication differences" which are culturally relative. This list is useful in that it may be integrated quite neatly with cultural explanations for differences in terms of Hofstede's characteristics of National Culture, discussed above. Those aspects which indicate strong clashes between South African cultures are discussed below [9] :

(a)   When to talk:

Cultures vary in terms of the norms regulating in which situations it is appropriate to talk as well as the precise placement of utterances. In certain situations, the 'one-at-a time' rule [10] may be strictly enforced. For example, in Western culture it would generally be regarded as inappropriate for members of the audience at a public lecture to conduct long conversations with each other while the invited speaker is talking. In high PDI cultures, there may be a specific hierarchy according to which participants may talk and certain speakers may have unequal rights to the floor.

Related to this component is the question of how much talk is appropriate. In some circumstances, extensive monologues are accepted on the basis of hierarchy or context,

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[9] The following list should not in any way be construed as an exhaustive treatment of the differences between the norms of the African and English cultures. Rather, the discussion focuses on those aspects which are directly relevant to interaction, particularly interaction in an educational setting. Norms such as those regarding sitting and standing (with regard to status), cohesion, formulaicity and greetings are not strictly relevant to this study and have been omitted. No implication in terms of their overall significance is intended.

[10] This refers to the norm in Western culture, amongst others, which stipulates that generally only one speaker may hold the floor at any given time. The concept of 'floor' and 'floor types' will be discussed in Chapter Three.

but even on a more limited scale variation exists in terms of the appropriate length of time for which one speaker should hold the floor, such as in norms regarding small talk.

As mentioned above, relative status is often crucial, particularly in high PDI cultures, in the establishment of a hierarchy for the right to the floor. Turn-taking in black African culture is affected by rank or status (Kaschula 1989). Ramphele and Boonzaier (1988: 160), in a discussion of the relationships between men in South African black culture, characterise the situation as follows:

> Age ... is an important stratifying device, and young males (especially those who have not gone through initiation rituals) also find themselves in a relatively powerless position. The *izibonda* system, in particular, is monopolized by older men who should be revered and consulted on all important matters where wisdom is needed.

Their description demonstrates the importance of status in interaction in African culture. Duyvené De Wit and Ntuli (1994: 7) explain that in greetings between members of African cultures only the superordinate may initiate the exchange, but has the option of ignoring or avoiding the subordinate by failing to greet. In contrast, white South African culture tends to follow the trend of Western cultures in which status is not institutionalised to the same extent and equality in terms of access to the floor is valued.

Peires (n.d.) reports gender variation in volubility in African students. Three groups of between 10 and 12 students each were observed: the first two groups included six females each, and the third group seven females. However in no group did more than two females speak. Only in the third group did a single female take up much of the conversation, and she was slightly older and more senior academically. Peires notes a general unwillingness to participate amongst African female students and points out that this is of concern to teachers. Although similar tendencies are observed amongst white females, they seem to be extreme in African culture: "in general, females take a more passive role in mixed society than is usual among English first language speakers of a similar age and status" (Peires n.d.: 11). Clarence (1992: 147) also notes the extra difficulties faced by black females as a result of the "traditional and unequal gender

relations, which are so stringently defined within many black communities". [11]

Chick (1985: 309) notes that monologues are more easily tolerated in Nguni conversations. In addition, openings and small talk in African culture are regarded as more important than in white culture, often focusing on where the conversants come from, which clans they belong to and where they are going (Duyvené De Wit and Ntuli 1994: 7).

Perhaps due to the strict hierarchy evident in interaction or perhaps due to the rather longer pauses between utterances characteristic of African culture (see below), Peires (n.d.: 11) notes that "interruption is much less frequent than it would be in an English first language situation. In general, the participants wait until the current speaker has finished, and then self select to respond". She notes that selection by name is rare.

A further contrast in this regard is of particular importance in education. In African culture, the person with more status, the "superordinate" (to use Scollon and Scollon's 1981 terminology), is expected to fill the role of "exhibitionist", while the "subordinate" takes on the role of "spectator" (Gough 1992). Thus the teacher, having greater status, is expected to do most of the talking, thereby displaying his or her knowledge, while the subordinate pupils should receive this wisdom respectfully i.e. without self-selecting. In addition, the role of caregiver is linked to that of the superordinate, meaning that he or she must take responsibility for caring for the subordinate. "All that has to be done is for the need to be made known for the care to be given" (Gough 1992: 2).

This system operates exactly the other way around in white South African culture, as Gough (1992: 1/2) explains:

> the person in the superordinate role (e.g. the interviewer) is linked to the
> spectator role. This means that inferiors should display their abilities to
> their superiors, who, in turn, watch and monitor this display. The person
> in the subordinate role is thus expected to do a lot of speaking, especially
> in the presentation of self.

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[11] Gender in relation to black African culture will be discussed more fully in Section 2.2.5 .

In the past, this direct clash has had little impact on the classroom situation in South Africa as, for the most part, legislation kept black and white pupils and teachers apart. In private schools and universities, where some measure of integration took place, the absorption of a small number of black students into the dominant white culture was generally in the form of a process of assimilation and took place without much disturbance to the system (Coutts 1992). (Indeed the situation was often viewed in terms of the black pupils having a 'problem' to 'fix', without any responsibility for change on the part of the educational system being implied.) Through assimilation, black pupils at private schools learned the discourse norms of that culture which was dominant, i.e. the white culture, and so, it is argued, experienced a far easier transition to university than their peers at black state (DET) schools, who brought with them expectations based on the mainly teacher-centred mode they experienced at school (Walters 1996).

Now, however, as universities and schools respond to the challenge of integration, this clash of norms is likely to become more salient at school level. It cannot be assumed that the strategy of assimilation, which went, for the most part, unchallenged, should continue, especially in view of the importance of equality, in terms of access to interaction, to the success of small group learning. This particular difference between the interaction norms of black and white cultures is arguably one of the most important, and far-reaching, clashes in terms of its implications for education in South Africa. In particular, in the university setting, where learning rests on the use of small group teaching (and thus, by implication, on the quality of interaction in those groups), the legacy of DET education places a decidedly unfair burden on the shoulders of its pupils in their journey into tertiary education. This view is supported by Hart's claim (1988, cited in Clarence 1992: 159) that differences in interactional style are partly responsible for the alienation experienced by black South African university students.

In the light of these differences between state and private education, particularly for black South Africans, the categorisation of students according to their educational backgrounds is essential in studies, such as this one, where the effect of culture on interaction is investigated.

(b)   Pacing and Pausing

As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, conversation is seen as a "locally managed system" which is constantly negotiated by the participants (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1978). This means that speech networks negotiate a 'normal' pace for conversation, the usual length of inter-utterance pauses and so on. If differences of this nature are fairly extreme, they can be disruptive to the smooth flow of conversation, even causing miscommunication. Speakers accustomed to rather longer pauses between turns may find themselves constantly 'interrupted' by speakers who interpret the time elapsed as quite sufficient for a response and are trying to fill an uncomfortable silence. Allied to this are norms regarding intra-utterance pauses. The length of pause permissible within an utterance before interlocutors 'help out' or take the floor themselves may vary considerably.

In terms of the interactional norms in African culture, the intervals between turns and the length of intra-utterance pauses allowed in one speaker's turn without interruption are longer than would be comfortable for L1 speakers of English. In addition, the reported lack of floor-holding devices and hesitation markers indicates no need to try and hold the floor (Peires n.d.), which relates to the acceptance of monologue in African culture mentioned above.

The implications of these differences in terms of misinterpretation in inter-cultural communication are many. In conversations involving one or more members of each cultural group, the following impressions are likely to be formed:

From the perspective of the norms of speakers of African languages:

♦   English L1 conversations sound 'rushed', impolite and inconsiderate;

♦   it is difficult to know when to speak, how soon to speak, or how to take a turn;

♦   one is frequently interrupted (because the turn is not 'held' while pausing).

From the perspective of the norms of English speakers:

♦   the conversation of black speakers of English is slow with uncomfortably long pauses between turns;

♦ Nguni speakers do not take many opportunities to speak;

♦ the longer intra-utterance pauses normal in African languages appear to be cues to speak, which results in unintentional interruptions of the African speaker, who is perceived as seldom producing a whole coherent idea.

(c)   Listenership

Tannen (1984) discusses two main aspects of listenership: gaze and minimal responses. Although gaze is a paralinguistic rather than linguistic feature, its role in listenership is important in its complexity and because of the attributions which are likely to arise when interlocutors do not share each other's norms in this regard. Amongst L1 speakers of English, the norm is for the listener to maintain eye-contact in order to show interest and trustworthiness, while the speaker makes eye-contact at the beginnings and ends of utterances and when emphasising points, but frequently breaks eye-contact in between. In contrast, in African cultures, and, in fact, amongst African-Americans as well (Tannen 1984: 192), the listener avoids eye-contact as a signal of respect for the speaker. This difference in norms may frequently result in mis-attribution. Kaschula (1989: 101) noted the reactions of white farmers to the lack of eye-contact on the part of the farm labourers: "One farmer stated that he regarded this as rude and unacceptable, and even a sign of untrustworthiness". South African blacks, on the other hand, may experience the white listener's gaze as overwhelming and intrusive.

The frequency and form-function relation of minimal responses also vary in terms of the listener's role across cultures. It has been noted that even within English-speaking culture, different interpretations are attached to minimal responses by men and women and frequencies differ (Condravy 1991: 16). As Sawyer and Smith (1994: 304) say, "In some cultures the constant signalling of understanding is expected, whereas in others such signals would be considered distracting and annoying. They might even be mistakenly considered attempts by the listener to assume the initiative in the conversation".

The usage by L1 speakers of English of 'yes' (with a falling-rising intonation) is a cue for the current speaker to continue, but is interpreted at face value by Nguni speakers i.e. as a preclosure to a completed point (Peires n.d.). Thus this difference may also function,

without deliberate intention on the part of the L1 speaker, to cut short the contribution of the L2 speaker, resulting in similar interpretations to those discussed in Section 2.1.5.2 (b) above.

(d)   Paralinguistic Features: Stress, Amplitude and Tone

Stress is used by L1 speakers of English to show emphasis (Chick: 1985) but is not used to the same extent for this purpose by speakers of African languages, thus the latter may fail to perceive the salient element of what the L1 English speaker is saying.

Smooth speaker change or the development of discussion is often dependent on speakers sharing an understanding of the usage of paralinguistic features (loudness, rate of speech etc), accent placing and tone grouping and thus may be seriously disrupted by clashes in interpretation. For example, African speakers may speak more loudly to show that they are not gossiping while loudness may signal strong emotions (often negative) amongst English speakers.

(e)   Indirectness

While a culture's norms surrounding directness/indirectness may appear, on the surface, to be concerned with largely pragmalinguistic features such as the formulaic ways to apologise, receive compliments etc, they have a critical role in sociopragmatic terms as well. The norms regarding the amount of small talk that is usual to establish or maintain contact, for example, are closely related to the culture's attitude to this aspect of communication. Cultures in which facework is a central concern due to strict hierarchies (i.e. high PDI cultures) would place a great deal of emphasis on the appropriate application of the norms relating to directness.

Mullavey-O'Byrne (1994: 211) notes that the concept of facework is common to all cultures although 'saving face' is associated mainly with the Eastern cultures:

> Although people in all societies engage in facework to present a particular image of themselves in public, the values that support these particular behaviors, the rules that govern facework may differ across cultures. This leads to misinterpretation and misunderstandings in intercultural communications

She adds that in individualist cultures, putting your authentic self forward, being 'straightforward', is valued. It is important to maintain a consistency between your private self and your public self. The inner self is seen as more important and there is an emphasis on making your feelings and beliefs known to others. On the other hand, in collectivist cultures, the self is viewed more in relation to others and the presentation of the public self is subject to norms of mutual obligation. Facework is thus very important in that the ideal is to maintain your own face while helping others to maintain their appropriate public face. Loss of face is serious and brings shame to oneself and to one's family in this context. In collectivist cultures the preferred mode for communication, particularly for risky subjects, is an indirect mode, as it is considered less likely to lead to embarrassment and loss of face through confrontation. In cultures such as these, the communication relies much more on the context, less is said, communication is more indirect and more must be implied. As a 'visitor' to the culture one needs to understand the context or miscommunication will almost invariably result. This conflicts directly with individualist cultures where it is preferable to be direct and indirect communication may be regarded with some suspicion.

Duyvené De Wit and Ntuli (1994: 8) note that as far as the African languages are concerned it is widely accepted that there is a general orientation to the group in contrast to white individualism. They say that while it is true that some 'Westernised' black people are becoming increasingly individualistic, the broad black public are nevertheless more collectivist, as opposed to the white tendency towards equality. They say that in terms of Roberts' (1986) psychological competence in which the speaker projects their personality in verbal behaviour, the black speaker will tend more towards conforming to group loyalty, while whites will be more individualistic. This will result in black people tending not to express their wishes, opinions or intentions as strongly or directly as whites.

Kaschula (1989) supports this view, noting that Xhosa politeness rules dictate that one should only allude to a desired favour rather than being forthright and getting to the point, which is favoured in English culture. Thus attempts to be polite are misconstrued and the L1 speaker of English may become impatient and intolerant, as he explains below

(Kaschula 1989: 103):

> It is my opinion that the maxims of quantity, relation, and manner may
> well differ in the Xhosa and European cultures. As was pointed out
> earlier, conversational ability (owing to the Xhosa's rich oral tradition and
> social norms) is of great significance, hence their diplomacy resulting in
> the giving of more information than is required, which, in turn, may not be
> entirely relevant, let alone brief and to the point.

2.1.6 CONCLUSION

The approach taken in this discussion is that cultures are groups which share norms and

beliefs that influence the behaviour and interpretation of the individuals who belong to

them. As members of a culture we interpret the world and the behaviour of others in

terms of our culture and make attributions about their behaviour with reference to our

own norms. While the worldview of one culture is not intrinsically superior to any other,

some groups are more powerful, socially, economically or politically, than others and

thus the norms of these cultures tend to be more highly valued and more entrenched in

societal institutions than those of less powerful groups. The implicit devaluing of the

norms and cultures of less powerful groups has important implications for their members,

particularly in situations of intercultural contact, where their response to a more powerful

culture has far-reaching psychological and social ramifications. The attitude of

institutions such as universities, which represent largely the dominant culture, to members

of other cultures is important in that it may create a context in which minorities feel

welcome, or one in which they feel alienated and pressurised to assimilate. An

investigation of the differences between cultures may allow for informed decisions to be

made concerning the strategies to be implemented in this regard.

As was pointed out in Section 2.1.4, cultures may be distinguished from each other with

reference to four dimensions: Individualism/Collectivism; Power Distance; Uncertainty

Avoidance and Masculinity/Femininity. The position of a given culture on each of these

dimensions has implications for norms of communication in that culture, and, by

extension, for norms of communication in education in that context. These dimensions

are particularly useful in that problems as a result of differences in norms between

cultures may be accurately predicted and those reported may be explained. Although

explanation is not in itself a solution, understanding may facilitate sensitivity and, I would

argue, may allow pre-emptive strategies to be devised to minimise the negative impact of such clashes in terms of stereotyping and unequal access to learning opportunities.

In the particular context of this study it is significant that African culture may be characterised as largely collectivist with a high Power Distance index while white culture is more individualistic with a low Power Distance index. In terms of interaction, this suggests that black students who behave according to African norms are unlikely to self-select in situations, such as tutorials, where they perceive themselves as being of lower status with respect to the tutor; indeed this tendency is reported in the literature. Moreover black students at historically white universities in South Africa find themselves as visitors in the predominantly Western culture of the institutions, in a context in which self-selection by subordinates in order to display knowledge is valued and, it is argued, is an important factor in academic success.

Assimilation by minorities, although often supported by conservative members of the dominant culture and some members of the minority culture, is not an ideal response to this situation, despite the fact that it appears to be one route to success within the university system. It constitutes a deficit view of the situation i.e. that black students have the 'wrong' norms and must be trained into a 'better' way of behaving, which is problematic because of the implications regarding the relative worth of different cultures, and the effects it has on the individual members of minority cultures. A more accurate way of viewing the situation is that there is a clash between systems of norms, a very serious clash, because one system has status in the university and empowers those who use it, while the other effectively precludes its adherents from obtaining the full benefit of the tuition.

2.2 GENDER ISSUES

2.2.0 INTRODUCTION

The study of the interface between language and gender presents two distinct avenues for investigation: one which aims to describe the way women and men are represented by and codified in language (e.g. studies of the lexis as it pertains to men and women) and a

second which explores the sometimes different ways in which language is used by women and men (including all levels of language use - grammatical, lexical etc). Only the latter is of direct relevance to this study. The focus of this study is further narrowed to exclude grammatical and lexical features which may vary between the sexes, and concentrates instead only on gender-differentiated features of interaction, i.e. the discourse level of conversation, and their origin and implications. Thus the review of the literature which follows is limited to this explicit focus, while at the same time drawing on broader generalisations regarding the conversational norms of women and men where appropriate [12].

2.2.1 SEX, GENDER AND GENDERLECTS

A brief explanation of the terms 'sex' and 'gender' is necessary at the outset. While the two are often conflated, or rather gender is assumed to be a consequence of sex, as in this study, the two terms do have distinct meanings which should at least be acknowledged. Sex, following Graddol and Swann (1989), for the purposes of this study, is assumed to be that collection of biological features already present in the individual at birth by virtue of their chromosomal make-up. Leaving aside the very interesting cases of, for example, chromosomally-male children being raised as females because they were born with female genitalia, the category of sex is usually divided into two: male and female. On the basis of their membership of one of these groups, individuals are then socialised into acquiring gender, which is a socially rather than biologically constructed attribute that people "learn as a set of behaviors and attitudes appropriate to their sex" (Condravy 1991: 21). Condravy (1991: 9) cites Bate and Taylor (1988) who "neatly describe the distinction by noting that children are born with a sex, but are taught gender". In this study, the focus is on language use as a function of gender, as a culturally learned behaviour, behaviour which is presumed to have been acquired on the basis of the individual's biological sex.

The relationship between the ways in which members of different genders interact has

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[12] Much of the work referred to in the preliminary sections of this chapter deals with the relationship between language and gender in a Western cultural context. Research specifically focused on language and gender in African cultures will be discussed in Section 2.2.5 .

been characterised in several ways, the most prevalent views being the genderlect view and the cross-cultural view.

Several authors (such as Condravy 1991, Tannen 1986 and 1990, McConnell-Ginet 1988) have pointed to the body of research which has accumulated over the past few decades regarding women and men and language, concluding that the differences revealed in the way that women and men use language are sufficient to postulate the existence of a 'genderlect', a term parallel to 'dialect', i.e. a way of speaking that can be identified as characteristic mainly of women or men [13]. Tannen (1986) sees the differences between gendered norms of language usage as being so large that she characterises conversation between adult males and females as a cross-cultural experience. McConnell-Ginet (1988) raises the issue of power differences when she cites Goffman (1977), who likens the relationship between the sexes to that between parents and children, having elements of both affection and asymmetrical control.

2.2.1.1 APPROACHES TO GENDERLECTS

Several approaches to women's language are evident in the literature, each representing a different theoretical backdrop to the interpretation of data. The major approaches are reviewed briefly below.

Explanations in the literature for the discourse differences between genders may broadly be categorised as accounts in terms of biological factors, social factors or power

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[13] See however, Corson (1993: 127) who claims that different languages (or dialects) of the sexes do not exist. He cites Susan Philips (1980) who says that the differences between men's and women's languages are not of the scale of dialectal differences, arguing that if they were, communication difficulties would occur similar to those between speakers of different dialects. However, too many researchers report that women do experience problems in inter-gender communication to disregard these differences. It should be borne in mind that typically speakers from the more powerful group would not perceive the difficulties as intensely as the powerless speakers and would generally ascribe them to deficits within the other person - a 'within-skin' account.

differentials (Holmes 1995: 7) [14]. A blend of the socialisation and power explanations is used in this study.

(a)   Socialisation

Much of the literature supports the view that the trends found in adult conversation have their origin in early socialisation. In a much-cited study, Maltz and Borker (1982) explain that girls and boys develop two different normative models of conversation in their mainly single-sex peer groups in childhood. The boys "learn to use language to create and maintain dominance hierarchies; the girls create horizontal ties through their words and negotiate shifting alliances" (McConnell-Ginet 1988: 90).

This socialisation approach (also called the cultural model by Kramarae 1981, cited in Condravy 1991) centres around the idea that men and women represent different subcultures. According to this view, individuals are socialised into the styles that make them acceptable in their gender groups, which accounts for the different strategies and other features that research has revealed. Males and females use discourse styles which identify them as members of their gender group and maintain that identity, much like the members of any other cultural group.

Condravy (1991) also discusses the formation of subcultures during childhood when girls play mainly with girls and boys with boys. At this time they formulate their ideas about communication and so norms and expectations are set up which can lead to

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[14] Kramerae (1981 cited in Condravy 1991) adds a further two to this list:
(i)   Speech Accommodation:
This approach takes speech accommodation theory (based on the work of Giles 1977) as its theoretical paradigm. However, it is difficult to use in practice, according to Condravy (1991), because each participant, as a composite identity, is constantly shifting in terms of allegiance and role.

(ii)   Strategy:
The strategy model is focused on the context of situation, especially in terms of the relationships between participants. In terms of this approach women and men use different strategies, by virtue of having been socialised into different ways of behaving, of having had different experiences and by being sensitive to different expectations for men and women. This reflects a connection between the socialisation and power approaches.

miscommunication between adult males and females which, again, is likened to intercultural miscommunication. She notes that Maltz and Borker (1982) stress a non-evaluative approach to these differences.

Corson (1993) suggests that the gains made by feminists in, for example, lowering the incidence of such surface phenomena as the use of the generic 'he' may in fact serve to deflect attention from the deeper instances of sexism which are more resistant to change. "It is easier to change forms of language use than to change the institutional values, practices, and attitudes that subordinate women" (Corson 1993: 151).

Oxford (1993: 542) acknowledges the importance of what she calls "generalized socialization", which includes but is not limited to the subordinate role of women in Western society. She also lists other factors such as physiology ("brain sex") and personal motivation, which she says "can overcome the influences of generalized socialization and physiology" (Oxford 1993: 542).

(b)   Power

There is a certain amount of overlap between the socialisation view and the view that linguistic differences have their origin in the differential distribution of power. Corson (1993) says that in most societies women are an oppressed group as compared with men as a group and so it follows that "almost any gender differences in discourse are interpretable with respect to this clear difference in power between men and women" (1993: 130). He therefore urges that this dominance aspect must be brought in to balance the 'difference' explanation. However, in addition to the recognition of the acquisition of roles appropriate to one's status, this third view notes the emphasis in oppressed groups, such as women, on in-group solidarity (Brown and Levinson 1987). Thus features of women's conversation such as the facilitation of cooperative egalitarian interaction are seen as functions of their powerless position in society and the dominance of males in conversation is seen as a result of their power in society generally. Early studies such as Zimmerman and West's 1975 investigation of interruptions exemplify this approach. The work of O'Barr and Atkins (1980), amongst others, suggests that this approach may make the variable of gender somewhat obsolete, in that power (or status) may be a more far-

reaching indicator of conversational behaviour. They found that it was power as manifested in occupational status or in educational level that correlated more closely with the use of discourse features such as politeness forms which have traditionally been associated with the speech of women. Thus they reject the term 'women's language' in favour of 'powerless language'. Corson (1993) counters this conclusion, citing other research which shows that power in a particular context does not necessarily mean that expert women behave more powerfully than, for example, non-expert males, that their contextual power is "not always enough to outweigh structural and historical differences in power that are based on gender" (1993: 135). Nonetheless he sees power as the great variable that separates men and women in societies, rather than gender itself. He (1993: 129) notes that

> routine female exclusion from public spheres of action also often excludes them from access to the creation, maintenance, and elaboration of dominant ideologies and the language used to express them.

He adds that while, in many cultures, women may be excluded from significant public roles and genres, men are not excluded from the important domains usually associated with women. He concludes (1993:129):

> In short, the men have more power and control than the women, and to that extent, greater command of the discourses of power; they are able to define the activities that attract status.

The present study adopts an approach which is essentially a combination of these two views. While the broad influence of power is acknowledged, it seems premature to dismiss gender as a separate variable, especially in view of the evidence for conscious and pervasive socialisation into gender roles in childhood and their continued reinforcement and social sanction throughout life. While the relative power between groups and members of groups is important in the analysis of different discourse norms, one cannot ignore the categories on which those groups are based. Gender, as Arliss (1991: 46) points out, is "a variable that can generate status in and of itself". Women are rendered powerless because they belong to the group 'women', just as powerless ethnic groups are treated differently because of their membership of that particular group. In each case it may be argued that the experience of powerlessness is different according to

the rationale for the discrimination. Thus the study places particular focus on the cultural model, and approaches genderlects as culturally acquired modes of interacting. In my view, men and women represent distinct cultural groups, possessing characteristics and norms acquired through socialisation, not only on the more practical level of conversational norms, but also on a higher level in terms of assumptions and expectations as to the goals of and values underlying interaction. In other words, women and men differ in terms of their communicative competence, particularly with regard to what is regarded as appropriate behaviour in social encounters. It would be no exaggeration to say that women and men operate using different rule systems, with predictable miscommunication.

2.2.1.2   GENDERLECTS AND FEMALE DISADVANTAGE IN INTERACTION

Interaction between men and women is described by McConnell-Ginet (1988: 89) as follows: "conversation is not an equal-opportunity activity". Indeed these different rule systems have the effect of leaving women with a significant disadvantage (a term frequently applied to other [minority] cultural groups) in cross-gender interaction. Corson (1993: 132) suggests these are much more than just linguistic trends, they show the "conventional levels of respect that dominant members of societies show for the thoughts, interests, views, activities, and rights of women". The research discussed below displays this cultural difference in a recurring theme: that women tend to view conversation as a cooperative and collaborative undertaking, while men tend to view it as competitive interaction (see, for example, Maltz and Borker (1982), Coates (1988) and Condravy (1991)). McConnell-Ginet (1988: 90/1) explains the implications of women's more collectivist approach to communication:

> in trying to mean, 'she' may pay more attention than 'he' to whether her
> intentions can be expected to be recognized by their intended recipient: she
> tends to be more attuned to the social dimensions of her acts of meaning
> and the attendant potential problems. Her cultural experience provides a
> less individualistic view of the world and recognizes more social
> interdependence.

Condravy (1991: 6) echoes McConnell-Ginet's characterisation of feminine culture as collectivist, saying that psychological research into gender suggests that women have a moral framework which values connection and care, while men focus on individuation

and justice.

This generalisation seems to underpin many of the surface manifestations in terms of gendered norms of interaction. In addition, it explains why women are at a disadvantage communicatively when using their own rule system in mixed company. Given the pervasive dominance of males over females in terms of economic, legal and social power, it is hardly surprising that the male mode of interaction has become the norm for public interaction. Women interacting collaboratively are doubly subjugated in that their mode is not valued and they are easily silenced when interacting with competitive interlocutors. While women may see the adoption of the male interactional norms as a suitable solution, and many are able to do this successfully, I would agree with Corson (1993: 134) that this option entails all the disadvantages of assimilation, such as self-denigration, discussed above.

However, women and girls as a cultural group differ from other disadvantaged cultural groups in several important ways. Firstly, females can not be said to represent a homogeneous group in that they do not share a dialect. Most studies of disadvantaged groups, particularly those which have focused on the educationally disadvantaged (such as the work of Basil Bernstein 1971-5), have pointed to the use by these groups of a non-standard (often regional) variety as the source of their disadvantage. This can not be said of women who, firstly, do not share a common dialect and, secondly, have been shown in fact to tend more towards the standard form of the language (Coates 1987: 156). The dynamic however is nonetheless similar. In order to succeed in the classroom, and more broadly in most aspects of public life, participants need to 'play by the rules' of that particular context. As has been discussed in Chapter One, learning requires active participation by students. It is precisely this aspect of their socialisation into the feminine mode of interaction that contributes to the disempowerment of women and girls in the educational arena. Girls are taught to be quiet and cooperative, and competition and disruptive behaviour are discouraged (Coates 1987: 157). However, a more aggressive mode is valued in the classroom as well as, in later life, in the business world.

Another difference between females and most other groups who experience discrimination is the fact that women and girls do not represent a minority. However, in this sense, there is a similarity between the feminine 'culture' and the historically disadvantaged African-language speakers in South Africa. Despite, in both cases, a numerical advantage, these groups are at a disadvantage because of entrenched power differences, both social and economic. In addition to the more overt handicaps which flow directly from this hegemony, females and black people are at a disadvantage in that their modes of interaction, or discourse norms, are devalued by virtue of their association with powerless groups. Thus because the economic and public sectors have been dominated by white males, their mode of interaction has passed into folk wisdom as the 'natural' way to achieve success. As McConnell-Ginet (1988: 91) explains

> . to the extent that men dominate language production where audiences include both sexes ... a 'woman's eye' view of the world will be less familiar to the general (mixed-sex) public than a 'man's eye' view. There is not *a* view of the world common to members of each sex. The point is rather that men (and dominant groups generally) can be expected to have made disproportionately large contributions to the stock of generally available background beliefs and values on which speakers and writers rely in their attempts to mean and which are particularly critical in attempts to mean to an unfamiliar audience.

She goes on to say that this helps us to recognise women as a "'muted' group" who are denied the "power of naming" (McConnell-Ginet 1988: 91). This arrangement implies a strong pressure on powerless groups to assimilate to this mode if they wish to succeed in "a (white) man's world".

However Graddol and Swann (1989) disagree, saying that Spender (1982) and other authors have over-simplified the picture of men as the sole inventors of language norms. They suggest that attention should be paid to the interaction of other variables with gender - for example it might be found that middle class white women have more power than men from minorities. In this study which attempts to describe interaction patterns in terms of gender, language and educational background, their suggestion is indeed relevant, especially in the light of O'Barr and Atkins's (1982) findings concerning the interaction of power or status and gender.

2.2.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON 'WOMEN'S LANGUAGE' [15]

2.2.2.0 INTRODUCTION: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Early research, such as that by Lakoff (1975), investigated a range of features that were supposedly characteristic of 'women's language'. These features included lexical, grammatical and discourse elements. Many aspects of this early work by Lakoff (1975) have been held up as examples of how not to do research into gender and language. In terms of discourse, her widely discredited observations included the greater use by women of linguistic features such as tag questions and hedges. Not only has her methodology been strongly criticised, but her rigid stance that only women produce these features went against her stated acknowledgment that the characteristics were not biologically determined. However, her work has been credited with initiating investigation into the conversational styles of men and women. The following section outlines some of the common methodological flaws which have emerged over past two decades of research into the genderlects.

(a) Gender Polarisation

The terms 'sex' and 'gender' have proved to be problematic in the literature and folk wisdom. There is, as with sex, a range of genders. Females are not necessarily feminine, nor have any desire to be feminine, and femininity is a matter of the degree to which an individual conforms to the norm, rather than an absolute attribute. But, as with sex, there is a tendency to polarise, so that predominantly people are deemed to be, and indeed, see themselves as, either masculine or feminine. What is potentially problematic with the confusion between the terms sex and gender and the tendency to polarise in classification, is the possibility that socially acquired, i.e. learned, behaviours are

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[15] It must be noted that the bulk of research into women's language has been focused on the language of English speakers and thus its generalizability to other language groups is questionable. However it is reasonable to expect that other societies, particularly those which are highly stratified in terms of gender, such as the African societies, will display features similar in function to those which, in English, serve to subjugate women in interaction with men. Discoursal aspects of women's language in African culture are discussed in more detail in 2.2.5 .

sometimes misconstrued as biologically determined. Actual physiological differences between the sexes are then illegitimately invoked to lend further weight to stereotypes regarding socially constructed differences in appropriate gendered behaviour.

(b)   Dualism and Interpretation

Another potential problem with research into genderlects is that of dualism. The identification of distinct genderlects may easily lead to polarisation, or the comparison of one set of norms with the other, with implicit evaluation. In view of the pervasive tendency to see the male as norm, it is more than likely that in this scenario, male norms will achieve some kind of 'yardstick status', against which female norms will be judged. Thus research results tend not be interpreted as 'women and men speak differently' but as 'women speak differently'. Cameron (1985), amongst many others, expresses her concern at the dualist view which renders women 'other', saying that the critical problem is the interpretation of findings, the value judgements made about the differences found, rather than the findings themselves.

Condravy (1991) also notes that a similarly problematic dichotomy is evident in research which sees conversation as a 'mini-battle' with attendant roles such as dominant and submissive. Clearly this would set in motion a process similar to that described above: certain conversational features would be ascribed to each pole (for instance, supportive features versus competitive features) and the interaction styles would be polarised once again.

What is far more problematic, however, is when value judgements are attached to these differences. As Condravy (1991) points out, empiricism is regarded as objective and therefore factual and unquestionable, but is in fact grounded in the dominant societal views of the day. Spender (1980a) asserts that (male) theorists develop a theory, test it and then evaluate it in terms of their own standards. Kramarae (1981) echoes this view, saying the interpretations are often not bias-free but reflect the stereotypes of the researchers, who are, after all, members of the broader society and often share its prejudices.

(c)   Ambiguity in Function

McConnell-Ginet (1988: 86) also notes the ambiguity inherent in many linguistic forms in that one form may support contradictory interpretations. For instance, the same form which indicates closeness and solidarity, which may be used to show friendliness, may also be taken as condescension or manipulation. McConnell-Ginet cites the "pronouns of power and solidarity" as an example of this kind of inherent ambiguity. On the other hand a feature such as rising intonation may be an encourager to continue but may be interpreted as a manifestation of insecurity or as deferential. This underlines the difficulty in interpretation experienced by even the most well-intentioned researcher. This view is echoed by Condravy (1991: 1) who cites Preisler (1986) in saying that the function of the unit of study is often assumed without proper investigation. She emphasises the importance of context in this regard.

Belenky et al. (1986 cited in Sommers and Lawrence 1992), for example, suggest that females' interaction patterns are not indicative of tentativeness but are, instead, the result of a belief in personal truths. Their female subjects suggested that personal beliefs should not be imposed on others and that variation should be expected. Thus Belenky et al. attributed the frequent use of hedges, personalized language, and presentation-of-self markers to a reluctance to challenge another's private beliefs.

McConnell-Ginet (1988) criticises the counting of frequencies of usage of various forms just for their own sake, without any attempt at explaining why the distribution may have arisen. In her view, an interpretation of the distribution is crucial in explaining how gender affects production. Taking a strategy approach, McConnell-Ginet applauds the application of Brown-and Levinson's (1978) work on politeness to language and gender, claiming that "the change of emphasis from a system one acquires simply by virtue of one's social identity to a set of strategies one develops to manage social interactions is one of the most promising developments in research on language production and producer's gender" (McConnell-Ginet 1988: 85). She notes that once functional values have been assigned to politeness forms (i.e. either positive politeness or negative politeness), they may legitimately be counted and thus give information about strategies used by men and women (1988: 85).

(d)   Overgeneralisation

Claims such as Lakoff's on women's language have also been criticised for being over-generalised. Sommers and Lawrence (1992: 6) note that several authors argue that interaction patterns are shaped by such factors as context, purpose, personality and mood, in addition to gender, status and power.

Despite these problems, a considerable amount of research has been focused on genderlects in Western culture, resulting in the broad characterisations discussed below.

2.2.2.1   THE CHARACTERISATION OF THE GENDERLECTS

The broad generalisations regarding the genderlects are based on research into the interaction in both single-gender and mixed-gender groups. Coates (1987: 151/2) summarises the differences between the patterns of interaction typical of all-male groups and those typical of all-female groups. According to her, adult females tend to discuss emotional issues, involving self-disclosure, while adult males prefer factual topics and compete to display their knowledge. Females are said to avoid domination of the floor by any one member and respect the turns of others, while males tend to establish a hierarchy, with dominant males taking most of the available floor time. Of particular importance to this study is the observation that females are claimed to prefer one-to-one interaction, while individual males frequently address the entire group.

These characteristics are carried over into mixed-gender interaction, which Condravy (1991: 16) describes as follows:

> Women typically appear to facilitate conversation by offering evidence of active listening through minimal responses, asking questions, and acknowledging and building on each other's utterances. On the other hand, empirical research suggests that men's communication style is based on competition. Men typically appear to control conversation by trying to seize a turn, possibly through interruption or changing the topic, and then hold onto it by speaking longer than women.

2.2.2.2   SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE GENDERLECTS

Various authors, such as Fishman (1983), Coates (1987), McConnell-Ginet (1988), Graddoll and Swann (1989), Poynton (1989) and Arliss (1991), discuss the features of

women's and men's interaction patterns in an attempt to explain why the differences between them result in miscommunication between women and men. In general, these features show the cooperative, facilitative nature of women's conversation in contrast to the competitive interaction typical of men. As Corson (1993) puts it, men focus on the outcome, while women are concerned with the process of conversation. Some of the most important features are discussed below.

(a)   Verbosity

Contrary to the pervasive myth of women as verbose conversationalists, research shows that, in general, men talk more, and more often, than women in mixed-gender groups [16]. West and Zimmerman (1983), for example, found that men took longer turns and more of them in mixed-gender conversations. Corson (1993: 128) notes that there seem to be few characteristics of women's speech that apply across cultures. One of those that does, however, is the claim that women as a group talk less than men in inter-gender interactions.

The consistency of this finding may relate to issues of power and relative status. Just as socially defined relations of dominance found in such constructs as the parent-child relationship and employer-employee relationship explain the superior-subordinate positions found in their interactions, the relative dominance of men over women in conversational terms may be explained with reference to differences in status and power. Spender (1980a: 42) offers a rather more extreme explanation for the view of women as incessant chatterers, despite evidence to the contrary: "The talkativeness of women has been gauged in comparison not with men but with *silence* .... When silence is the desired state for women ... then any talk in which a woman engages can be too much".

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[16] It should be noted, however, that much research shows that women value talk as an activity more than men do and thus engage in talk more often and for longer periods in single-gender groups (Arliss 1991: 46). This does not in any way invalidate the generalisations concerning inter-gender conversation, but may explain the origin of the folk wisdom view of women as more verbose.

(b)   Questions

Lakoff saw questions as indicative of weakness or incompetence. Although some research indicates that women use more questions than men, it has been shown that they do not use them as simple requests for information, as do men. Instead, women's questions are one of several strategies to facilitate conversation. As first pair parts of adjacency pairs they require a response, thus ensuring that conversation continues. An important study by Fishman (1980) suggested that questions are, in contrast to Lakoff's view, a powerful device used by women to keep conversation going and to increase the likelihood of their topics being successful. She found that "when her female subjects used a question to introduce a topic, the success rate of getting their topics to become actual conversations jumped from 36% to 72%" (Condravy 1991: 29). What is important is that she did not see questions as a feature exclusive to women but rather as a device used by both men and women when they had difficulty in a conversation i.e. when their conversational partner took on a more powerful social role. Thus it may be argued that women do not use this and other strategies because they are in some way inferior but because questions are a useful strategy for anyone when they find themselves in a subordinate position. Because men often adopt a dominant position, women use questions more often in cross-gender talk. Johnson (1980, cited in Condravy 1991: 30) supports this strategy view, concluding that "question-asking is not linked to sex, but rather to the purpose and intent of a speaker for a particular situation".

With reference to Fishman's (1983) work, McConnell-Ginet (1988: 89/90) concludes that women bear a

> disproportionate share of the maintenance work in cross-sex conversations, helping men develop their topics through providing minimal encouraging responses (mmhmm), asking questions, and listening. In contrast, the men did not so help their female conversational partners, whose attempts to develop their own topics tended quickly to run out of steam through the men's non-responsiveness. [17]

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[17] It would appear that there exists scope for research into types of questions, into the differences across genders of those questions which may loosely be described as procedural (which do not alter the course of the conversation in terms of content - utterances similar to backchannels, such as spelling and hearing checks) and substantial, facilitative questions (which add to the topic and develop it). A further distinction could

(c)   Links between Turns

Research has shown that, typically, women acknowledge explicitly the contribution of the previous speaker and relate their contribution tò that person's topic. On the other hand, men tend to ignore what has gone before, feeling no compulsion to link their contribution to that of the previous speaker, and focus on establishing their own point (Treichler and Kramarae (1983) cited in Corson 1993: 133, Coates 1987: 152). These factors contribute to the abrupt topic shifts in all-male conversations mentioned above, whereas in all-female situations the topic is generally developed through cooperation, with each speaker building on what has gone before. This links to the assertion above that women's interaction patterns are typically more collective and those of men typically more individualistic.

A related feature is that of minimal responses. Generally backchannels are strongly supportive and it is therefore significant that women offer more minimal responses than men do (Corson 1993). Minimal responses are important in the support of topics and it could be argued that men's topics succeed more often than women's precisely because women offer more of this form of conversational support. In addition, it would seem that in cross-gender conversations women have more opportunities to make minimal responses in view of the fact that men hold the floor more often and for longer periods than women do. Other forms of support such as eye-contact are also more typical of female speakers (Corson 1993).

Fishman (1983) found interesting trends in terms of the timing and function of minimal responses used by men and women, in that, when men do produce backchannels, they tend to offer delayed minimal responses which serve to discourage rather than support continuation by the speaker (Zimmerman and West 1975; Arliss 1991).

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be drawn between those questions of the latter type which are simple requests for information and those which present scenarios for discussion. This distinction would appear to be of particular relevance to the educational setting. A step in this direction has been made by Holmes (1984, cited in Holmes 1995: 83) in her work on tag questions. It would appear that the link between questions in general and, more specifically, tags, and status is far from clear.

(d)   Self-disclosure

Women's conversation tends to be an appropriate place for the sharing of problems and experiences, with discussion offering support and reassurance (Coates 1987). As men generally do not regard the disclosure of personal information as a normal part of conversation, disclosure by another speaker is typically seen as a request for advice (Treichler and Kramarae 1983, cited in Corson 1993: 133). From a female point of view, this may result in an inappropriate response as men generally "do not respond by bringing up their own problems, but take on the role of expert and offer advice, often lecturing the other speaker(s)" (Coates 1987: 153). This differences illustrates the link between gender and status.

Related to this is the finding by Sommers and Lawrence (1992) that while both males and females engaged in discussion in small groups commented on weaknesses in their class member's arguments, the females usually followed these with suggestions or advice for improvement. The males on the other hand, did not. Males "tended to make more definitive and certain comments than females" (Sommers and Lawrence 1992: 27). This underlines once again the tendency for the interaction of females to be focused on supportive actions, while that of males is more concerned with dominance.

(e)   Interruption

Interruptions, or, more accurately, overlaps, are a particularly important feature in that they demonstrate clearly the difference in orientation - supportive versus competitive - between female and male interaction patterns. In all-women interaction, overlaps (including interpolated remarks, displays of enthusiasm and minimal responses) are generally of the supportive kind, demonstrating active listenership, and are not intended as bids for the floor.

> Edelsky (1981) has proposed that women fare much better when
> conversationalists suspend the 'one at a time' rule that usually prevails in
> favor of a 'shared floor.' Her analysis found some instances of mutual talk
> that was not interruptive; this occurred when participants knew one another
> well and were very much engaged in the conversation.

(McConnell-Ginet 1988: 90)

In contrast, Arliss (1991) and West and Zimmerman (1983) report that men's overlaps tend to be of a violative nature in that they are intended to be, and recognised as, attempts to take the floor before the current speaker has completed his or her turn. These overlaps are associated with dominance and indicate "a lack of concern for the other's turn, or at least the judgment that the interrupter's utterance takes precedence" (Arliss 1991: 61).

In mixed-sex conversation this difference in use and interpretation results in women being pushed off the conversational floor. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that interruption (i.e. violative overlapping) is typical of the superordinate person in such overtly stratified pairs as doctor-patient, parent-child and employer-employee (McConnell-Ginet 1988: 89/90). Corson (1993: 124) echoes this parallel, noting that "Fathers also tend to interrupt children more than mothers [do], establishing this pattern very early in children's lives, and they interrupt girls more than boys".

Both the Zimmerman and West (1983) and Corson (1993) interpretations demonstrate the 'mini-battle' view of interruption, characteristic of early studies of conversation. More recently, however, Edelsky's (1981) conception of an alternative to the 'one-at-a-time' rule, the 'all-together-now' floor, has been taken up, allowing a different interpretation, one that is centred on a more female, cooperative mode of interaction [18]. In this view, interruptions may be interpreted, as discussed above, as supportive moves, rather than competitive ones. Corson (1993: 150) notes Cheshire and Jenkins' optimistic 1991 finding that women's interactional style is now recognised in Britain at least as an "essential attribute of successful group discussion". It appears that, in official reports and oral language assessment policies at least, women's more cooperative style is no longer negatively evaluated. However it must be pointed out that this may not necessarily reflect any shift in perception in practice.

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[18] It has been suggested that this characterisation may only reflect the politically sensitive way women talk at feminist gatherings (often the context in which female-only interaction is researched) but the fact that these trends are found in the interaction of groups of female children would appear to disprove this suggestion (Cameron 1985).

2.2.3 GENDERLECTS IN CHILDREN

Research indicates that the discourse norms of boys and girls are parallel to those of men and women, for example, Esposito (1979) found that boys interrupt twice as often as girls (cited in Corson 1993: 138). It could be argued that if schools, especially co-educational schools, fail to take cognizance of these different interests and patterns, they run the risk of implementing language and teaching policies which may be unjust.

2.2.4 GENDERLECTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Most of the research surveyed on discourse differences between boys and girls is centred on the classroom, which is of direct relevance to this study in that the classroom is the context in which educational norms of interaction are acquired. These norms, it is argued, are subsequently transferred to other educational contexts such as the university. Females display a greater aptitude than males in the acquisition of discourse competence, due to being more sensitive to the interpersonal dimension of communication (Oxford 1993), and thus learn, all too well, the norms that serve to subjugate them.

Indeed, the literature indicates a clear bias in favour of boys in classroom interaction. A number of factors combine to facilitate this situation. Firstly, classroom interaction is strongly competitive. According to Graddol and Swann (1989: 60), this 'competitive dynamic' which operates in the classroom means that the first one in gets the floor. Secondly, on the reflection/impulsivity dimension [19], Oxford (1993: 545) found that females tended towards reflecting before judging, with "language modes of deference and increased empathy" while males jumped "quickly to conclusions and interrupted, showing a slant toward the learning style of impulsivity and toward the language mode of lack of deference and decreased empathy". In other words, in order to dominate by capturing the floor, males sacrifice accuracy, while females are more concerned with being fair and accurate.

Thirdly, boys are offered more opportunities for interaction. In a survey of previous

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[19] Oxford (1993: 545) defines reflection as "the tendency to stop and consider options before responding to a question or problem, often resulting in greater accuracy, while impulsivity is the tendency to respond immediately and often inaccurately".

research, Corson (1993: 142/3) notes that boys are offered the floor by gaze more often, receive more encouragement, and are asked more open-ended questions whereas girls tend to be asked yes-no questions. Spender (1982, 1989) found that teachers pay more attention to boys and yet are unaware of it. This has been confirmed in subsequent research (Corson 1993: 143/4).

In combination, these factors mean that boys are likely to claim more floor time than girls in the classroom, and thus acquire more opportunities for learning through interaction and more feedback from teachers. These predictions are borne out by the literature. Spender (1982, 1989) found that male students held the floor for up to two-thirds of the time in the classroom, while Sadker and Sadker (1990) found that, in whole class discussions, males talk more and for longer times, interrupt more and ask more questions, have more control of over topics and their suggestions are more likely to be considered by the class. Arliss (1991: 47) notes that "male students initiate communication with teachers more than female students, and receive more feedback on their performance, both positive and negative". She points out too that these trends are evident from elementary classes through to tertiary education. On the basis of this kind of research, Corson (1993: 148) argues strongly that girls are "systematically excluded from genuine participation in the kinds of intellectually developing activities in schools, that are appropriate to their acquired discursive interests, because of the interactional styles and the classroom techniques that schools traditionally use and which teachers adopt".

Coates (1987: 151) observes that in contrast with work on miscommunication in adult conversation which tends to take a different-but-equal stance, research into classroom interaction tends to focus on and be critical of "the social pressures which bring about linguistic sex differences", claiming that girls do not reach their full potential at school as a result of factors including language. In this regard, the recent literature on gender in the classroom suggests that it is differences in power or status which account for the differences between male and female speech, and the less active roles that females take up in the classroom, particularly in terms of frequency of participation. Sommers and Lawrence (1992: 6) suggest that females are aware that their sex accords them less status and behave accordingly, "recognizing that their voices and contributions are devalued

because of their lesser power and status", because of their positions as members of the 'muted' group.

The trends noted above with regard to classrooms overseas are true also of South African education. Research by Light (1993), amongst others, indicates that boys in our classrooms display the same features of dominance as their counterparts in the United States and England, including impulsivity and the tendency to interrupt, as well as enjoying more than their fair share of the teacher's attention. Thus the implications of these trends for equitable education may be generalised to the South African context. Here, as is the case overseas, female students may become used to being denied equal access to active learning through interaction, and could thus be expected to carry these expectations into their tertiary educational context. Indeed, these effects may be long-lasting, as work on post-graduate classes by De Klerk (1995) indicates. In addition, other factors such as socio-cultural background and, of particular significance to South African L2 speakers of English, educational background, may work together with gender to produce a kind of 'double deficit' for female L2 students. According to Corson 1993: 144) "gender seems to interact with other variables to produce multiple disadvantages in classroom interaction". In discussing minority children and the way "culturally different children are disempowered by the interactive norms that the school requires them to possess", he notes that the "compounding effect produced when sociocultural background interacts with gender in classroom discourse, receives only incidental attention in the research to date" (Corson 1993: 144, 145). This study sets out specifically to investigate this particular form of interaction in the South African context.

2.2.4.1   GENDER AND INTERACTION IN SMALL GROUP LEARNING

In Chapter One, previous research into interaction in small teaching groups was presented, with particular reference to its potential for the facilitation of equitable access to opportunities for active learning through interaction. In this section, research into gender in this context will be discussed.

In general, the literature suggests that, under certain conditions, female students may benefit from the use of small group work. Sommers and Lawrence (1992: 5) cite several

authors who suggest that females "seem to prefer and benefit more from collaborative learning" rather than traditional, whole class modes. Linked to the view discussed above of females as more cooperative and males as more competitive, Reay (1991 cited in Corson 1993: 147) attributes the preference of girls for groupwork to their priority on consensus, which is not as strong in boys.

Tannen (1991) notes that if they are put into small groups to work, less talkative females often open up and adds that, if facilitated by the teacher, this may be carried over into larger groups. All these students need is a little help and practice to learn to talk in a group. She advocates the use of modes which specifically encourage the participation of 'muted' groups such as women, saying teachers need to recognise that "treating people the same is not equal treatment if they are not the same" (1991: B3).

Oxford (1993: 544) points out that there are gender differences in ways of knowing: a "thinking" (or objective) way of knowing versus a "feeling" (or subjective) way. A study conducted by Belenky and colleagues (1986) supports research done with the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) that men tend more towards "abstract analysis" while women tend to know more often through "personalized experience", which involves "social interaction, cooperative learning and a high degree of empathy" (Oxford 1993: 544). This means that females might benefit more from small group work than males, but the male's tendency to impulsivity (see Section 2.2.4) might dilute this benefit.

However while research into class format preferences (Sommers and Lawrence 1992 and Corson 1993) and theories concerning learning styles (Oxford 1993) may suggest that group work teaching would be the most beneficial mode for female students, factors such as the lack of teacher intervention may derail any attempt to facilitate equal interaction through group work.

Sommers and Lawrence's (1992) study of interaction in teacher-directed and student-directed small group revealed that in teacher-directed groups, in which the teacher consciously tried to ensure equity in participation by insisting on each participant taking a turn before general discussion ensued, the participation of women and men was about

equal both in terms of turns (Males 49, Females 46 - a difference of 1,4%) and word count (a 2,3% difference in favour of males). On the other hand, when groups were student-directed, the differences in the amount of interaction by males and females were quite marked (Turns: Males 137, Females 82 (a 25,1% difference); Word count difference: 18,2% in favour of males). They note that the differences between the genders in the student-directed contexts are quite similar to the differences between male and female speech found in informal conversation, i.e. the males dominate. In addition, the conversations were dominated by an individual or individuals, and the other members had less opportunity to take the floor. They found that

> Overall, female group members in the student-directed groups responded less frequently than their male counterparts. Furthermore, female respondents tended to acquiesce more, to be interrupted more, and to initiate less. In other words, females in these groups did not have equal opportunity to speak and were often dominated by the male speakers in the group.

> (Sommers and Lawrence 1992: 21) [20]

This demonstrates that, with strict control, discussions in small groups can be equitable, but, when left to progress without deliberate intervention, small groups tend to follow the inequitable patterns usually found in conversation between males and females.

> This study also challenges the conjecture that cooperative learning is more equitable, indicating that these student-directed peer response groups often provide fewer opportunities for females. Many females in these groups not only lacked equality of opportunity but were demonstrably denied such opportunity on a number of occasions.

> (Sommers and Lawrence 1992: 28)

Both Corson (1993) and Cohen (1994) echo the claim that group work, without the supervision of a teacher, may display the same inequitable trends as everyday conversation. However, I would like to emphasise that the mere presence of a teacher is not sufficient to ensure equitable participation. Inexperienced teachers or tutors may well

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[20] This tendency in female interaction patterns in mixed groups is echoed in research by Aries (1982, 1987 cited in Sommers and Lawrence 1992: 5) which found that female members were reactive, and responded to male input rather than constructing or negotiating their own agendas.

be incapable of controlling interaction, or be hesitant to do so, to the extent of the teacher in Sommers and Lawrence's study. It has been my experience, as first year course coordinator and unofficial mentor to many new tutors, that inexperienced tutors are often so relieved when a student talks that they are unlikely to halt the flow of a talkative student and are quite likely to give up on a quiet one. Thus a pattern similar to that found by Sommers and Lawrence can be expected when interaction is not controlled, despite the presence of a tutor or teacher.

Sommers and Lawrence (1992) acknowledge that those who are more committed to student-centred instruction than to gender equality might find the suggested structuring by the teacher too controlling. They argue however that equality of opportunity has to exist first before students can move into a peer-response student-centred mode and reap the benefits of that mode.

A second factor which may affect the relative participation of males and females is that of class composition. Cohen (1994: 24) notes:

> In majority-female groups, females directed most of their interaction to males and showed lower achievement than males. In majority-male groups, males tended to ignore females and showed somewhat higher achievement than did females. These differences were not observable in groups with equal numbers of males and females.

She also discusses research in which it was found that single-gender pairs worked more productively than mixed-gender pairs and that mixed-gender pairs showed social dominance by the males and no improvement over their individual performances, whereas the single-gender pairs worked collaboratively and more productively together than individually (Cohen 1994: 27/8). This would appear to suggest that the presence of a member of the opposite sex introduces status differentials which work contrary to the intended purpose of group work and diffuse its benefits.

In other research, the status of participants in a tutor-directed student group discussion has been found to have a significant effect on the frequency of interruptions (Beattie 1981 cited in Gordon 1990). Those with high status interrupted more and were interrupted

less. This has implications for interaction patterns in terms of gender because, as noted above, status is linked to gender. An additional finding was that, contrary to expectations, students interrupted the high-status tutor more than the tutor interrupted them, which leads Gordon (1990) to comment that interruption can not be taken as a reflection of dominance. She does note however that in tutorial groups students are "under pressure to contribute to the discussion and often can only do so by interrupting the tutor or another student" (Gordon 1990: 24). I would add that the tutor is under pressure to restrain him or herself from interrupting the students so as to give them the maximum amount of time to express themselves. Therefore it seems that factors other than status are responsible for interruptions of the tutor by the students, and that this phenomenon should not be taken as an invalidation of the operation of status in interruptive behaviour in general.

2.2.5 GENDERLECTS IN (SOUTH) AFRICAN CULTURE

As was mentioned above, there exists a relative paucity of discourse analysis research available on gendered norms of interaction in the African cultures represented in South Africa. In African culture, males have a superior status to females, and females must accordingly be particularly polite (i.e. deferential) to males (Moeketsi 1994: 86). According to Moeketsi, African women should neither agree nor disagree with the views of males but simply state their ignorance. Clearly this conflicts directly with the aims of small group teaching and, if adhered to, would severely reduce the chances of black women deriving the intended benefits of such a mode.

Duyvené De Wit and Ntuli (1994: 7) note that in African culture it is customary for the superordinate to initiate interaction, in greetings, for example. All other determinants of status being equal, therefore, African males would be expected to initiate interaction, rather than African females. Similar trends in terms of norms regarding sitting and status, and entering and status are also reflected in gender norms.

The lower perceived status of African women in relation to African men has important implications for interaction in the context of tertiary education. It is likely that black women will be hesitant to initiate interaction, particularly if they disagree with the views

of high-status participants, and that, if nominated, will tend to downplay their knowledge. As has been discussed in 2.1.5.2, in African culture it is expected that the person of higher status will display knowledge, while the subordinate remains quiet and listens. Thus if black female students are automatically assigned to an inferior position by the presence of men, it means that they are doubly 'muted': firstly by their perceived role as subordinate women and secondly by their perceived role as subordinate students.

2.2.6 CONCLUSION

In reviewing the literature it is abundantly clear that the interaction patterns of English-speaking males and females are substantially different. The scale and nature of these differences is such that the existence of distinct genderlects, or gendered norms of interaction, may be asserted. Moreover, these genderlects may be broadly characterised in terms of orientation: males tending to be assertive, competitive and individualistic and females tending towards collaboration, supportiveness and collectivism. On the basis of research indicating that these patterns originate in childhood, the view is taken that these patterns reflect culturally acquired norms, in other words, genderlects are acquired as part of an individual's socialisation into his or her gender role as a member of a given culture. Although much of the research cited was conducted abroad, there are sufficient grounds to generalise the trends revealed from one patriarchal society to another. In fact, it may be argued that in a traditional African society, in which greater stratification in terms of gender and other determinants of status is evident, the effects of these norms may in fact be more pronounced than in the British or (U.S.) American cultures.

Of particular relevance to this study is the fact that these gendered patterns of interaction are evident in the classroom, particularly in the context of whole-class modes of teaching. It has been demonstrated in several pieces of research that the use of small groups may facilitate more equitable interaction of males and females, which would seem, in turn, to promote a more equal distribution of opportunities for active learning. It must be remembered, however, that factors such as the degree and quality of the teacher's control over interaction may affect the success of small groups in ensuring equal participation, and thus their efficacy in promoting equal access to opportunities for learning.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0   INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to describe the methodology employed in this study, in the context of theory and research in the relevant areas. An initial outline of this study will include its orientation within the broad spectrum of methodological approaches. An explication of the discourse analysis model developed in this study precedes a more detailed discussion of the methodology of the study.

3.1   OUTLINE OF STUDY AND ORIENTATION

The methodology for this study is a blend of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Both approaches carry with them advantages and disadvantages and it is hoped that a balance between the two will imbue the study with both rigour and depth. In addition, approaching the object of research from several angles provides multiple corroboration (Bochner 1982a: 22).

Kim (1984: 25) contrasts the "analytic-reductionist-quantitative" approach to interaction with the "holistic-contextual-qualitative orientation". A weakness of the analytic approach is the fact that it is not sensitive to the "complex, transactional nature of human communication" (ibid), whereas the holistic approach, based on a phenomenological view, emphasises the "connectedness" of individuals and the "reciprocal perspective-taking" in communication. Also in support of naturalistic descriptive studies, Shuter (1984: 203) says these studies generate descriptive data, without which theory building would be stymied. On the other hand, descriptive studies may be seen to be impressionistic, diffuse and lacking in rigour.

In this study, the interaction in tutorials has been investigated in three ways:

◆   naturalistic observation of the interaction (i.e. video-recording of tutorials) analysed in terms of number of utterances and time on the floor per speaker and by means of a categorical rating device (see below)

◆   follow-up interviews with participants

◆   video-analysis sessions with participants (for triangulation).

Although observational methods (often included in ethnography) are particularly suited to exploratory work, they are also useful for more controlled studies especially if a detailed coding scheme is used. In this study a categorical rating device has been used, which is a series of behavioural and or linguistic categories used while observing an interaction or on prerecorded material from a natural setting. It constitutes a quantitative naturalistic method (Shuter 1984: 200/1). One advantage of the inclusion of a coding scheme is that it has the effect of making the study systematic, controlled and focused. In addition it forces the operationalisation of concepts (which makes them conscious), makes observational procedures explicit and makes the researcher more deliberate in the decision-making process in that the areas of relevance must be outlined and put together with an appropriate mode of analysis (Sarett 1984: 206/7). In this case the device takes the form of a branching set of options which has the additional advantages of economy and implied vertical and horizontal relationships between nodes. The use of a coding device in this context has been criticised in that the replication of interpretation and coding may be difficult, leading to semi-rigorous studies. However, in this study, a selection of excerpts has been coded by an independent, trained coder with a correlation of 93,25%.

Ethnography involves looking at all aspects of a group, the "life of a group in its totality" (Sarett 1984: 208). The focus of communication researchers, however, is narrower. As Sarett (ibid) explains: "it is simply inappropriate to claim that an observational account of an individual family, supplemented by interviews, constitutes a full ethnography if it lacks full reference to and description of the larger cultural group". Thus while this study is not a true ethnography in that it is not a full description of the "life of a group in its totality", certain elements of ethnography are incorporated into the methodology. Most significantly, the notion of culture is invoked in the explanation of observed trends. In-depth interviews with members of the groups under investigation, characteristic of ethnographic studies, provide triangulation, as do the video-analysis sessions.

3.2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

3.2.0 INTRODUCTION

Discourse analysis is concerned with the analysis of language in use, and particularly with the interactional function in language (Brown and Yule 1983: 1). Its development in recent decades may be seen as a reaction to the idealisation of transformational syntax, which focused on the ideal speaker and hearer. Chomsky's 1965 formulation saw the ideal speaker as possessing a body of knowledge about a language ("competence") used in context, often imperfectly ("performance"). Taking performance as being a less than perfect manifestation of a speaker's knowledge of a language system, he focused on competence as an abstract theoretical ideal which he took as the basis for his largely syntactic descriptions.

In contrast with transformational syntax, discourse analysis generally focuses on the utterance, i.e. the actual use of pieces of language in context, rather than the more abstract concept of the sentence. Thus the main thrust of discourse analysis is to describe and explain performance.

Another contrast with the formal syntactic focus on the sentence is that discourse analysis addresses units of language both larger and smaller than the sentence. Indeed, much of discourse analysis explicitly investigates links between utterances.

3.2.1 COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

In 1966 Hymes introduced the concept of **communicative competence** which refers to "that aspect of our competence that enables us to convey and interpret messages and to negotiate meanings interpersonally within specific contexts" (Brown 1987: 199).

Hymes argued that it was too convenient to disregard the actual use of language, simply because it did not fit into the model neatly. He suggested that although speakers may not always exhibit their full knowledge of a language in use, this may simply be a question of efficiency. He postulated that other rules may exist which allow speakers to make sense of others' "imperfect manifestations" of their knowledge of language.

Hymes called the knowledge of, and skill in using, these rules of interpretation, communicative competence. In this term, he used "competence" to refer to the language "capabilities" of a person and said that a person's competence depended on "both (tacit) knowledge and (ability for) use" (Hymes 1971: 282). He added the word "communicative" to show that this knowledge and ability went beyond the then usual notion of grammatical competence. In fact he saw the grammatical competence of a speaker as being only one of four aspects of that speaker's communicative competence. He said that mother-tongue speakers of a language have knowledge of:

1.   Whether (and to what degree) something is formally **possible**;

2.   Whether (and to what degree) something is **feasible** in virtue
       of the means of implementation available;

3.   Whether (and to what degree) something is **appropriate**
       (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in
       which it is used and evaluated;

4.   Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done,
       actually **performed**, and what its doing entails.

(Hymes 1971: 281)

Hymes pointed out that an individual speaker's knowledge with regard to these questions may be slightly different from a generalised communicative competence accepted by the community as a whole. These differences between individuals and society and between individuals themselves are not problematic to the functioning of the system as a whole - the slight adjustments in usage allow individuals to express their personalities - and others rely on these subtle differences in order to form opinions about the kind of person they are dealing with.

Hymes' concept of communicative competence has since been adapted and expanded by several authors. Arguably the most important of these attempts to refine the concept has been that of Canale and Swain (Canale and Swain 1980, and Swain 1983). They postulate four components for mother-tongue communicative competence: grammatical competence, discourse competence, sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence.

Sociolinguistic competence, relating to the appropriateness of the utterance in context, is of particular relevance to this study because it is this area which is often neglected in second language instruction and is thus a major source of inter-cultural miscommunication.

To a large extent, discourse analysis is an attempt, or a series of attempts, to make explicit some of the rules which constitute communicative competence - those rules which allow the interpretation and generation of meaningful collections of utterances and written texts. In the study of inter-cultural communication, differences between languages in terms of their rules of communicative competence are of prime importance in explaining miscommunication.

3.2.2 CLASSROOM INTERACTION

Much research has been conducted into the interaction typical of the classroom situation. Models designed for the coding of classroom interaction during observation abound, such as Sinclair and Coulthard's "System of Analysis" (1975), Flanders' FIAC (1970) and Moskowitz's FLInt (1976). Quite apart from the limitations of these rather cumbersome models in application in the classroom for which they were designed, their application to the small group teaching situation is inappropriate. The rationale of small group teaching, i.e. to acknowledge the worth of the knowledge of students and thus empower them in their learning, is in direct opposition to the limited ability of models such as FLInt to accommodate the full range of student behaviour other than that typical of teacher-centred classrooms. For this reason, Conversation Analysis has been used as the basis for the analysis of data in this study since the interaction in small group teaching, despite the constraints of the specific context in terms of power and purpose, has more in common with conversation than with the interaction found in traditional classrooms.

3.2.3 CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

Harvey Sacks was arguably the father of conversation analysis (hereafter CA). His work, as well as that of his sociologist colleagues, notably Jefferson and Schegloff (particularly 1978), forms the basis of CA today. He was concerned with the way utterances constrain those following them and attempted to describe and explain the patterns found in natural

conversation. In contrast with traditional discourse analysis (the domain, mainly, of text grammarians such as Van Dijk and speech act theorists like Searle), CA is empirical and inductive (Levinson 1983: 286/7) and takes its methodological base from ethnomethodology (ibid: 295). The CA perspective takes hearers into account as co-participants who can accept or refuse the status offered to them (Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 292). Work on "participation frameworks" (Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 292) examines the reflexive relationship between action and participation.

In a ground-breaking article, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1978) investigated the organisation of turn-taking *per se* in conversation, rather than its application and consequences, and arrived at several conclusions (1978: 9):

(i)   that, overwhelmingly, one person speaks at a time;

(ii)   that the transition from one speaker to the next is finely coordinated;

(iii) that there are techniques for turn-allocation;

(iv)   that there are "techniques for the construction of utterances relevant to their turn status that bear on the coordination of transfer and on the allocation of speakership".

Thus it was observed that during conversation, speakers take turns according to certain rules and follow particular cues with remarkable skill. Speaker change in casual conversation amongst speakers of English is usually effected with minimal periods of silence between speakers - normally in the order of a few tenths of a second. Gordon (1990) notes that these observations by Sacks et al. (1978) have been elevated to the status of facts and so to that of maxims. However Coulthard (1985) points out that the rule that not more than one person speaks at once is only a normative rule and not an empirical fact. In other words, although conversation may contain short overlaps and small pauses, speakers attempt to achieve this norm and invoke various remedies should overlaps and silences occur, in order to return to the 'ideal' state. [21]

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[21] The notion that a 'one-at-a-time' rule operates in English with regard to the floor has been challenged by authors such as Edelsky (1981) who posits an 'all-together-now' rule which operates in certain circumstances. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Sacks et al. (1978) introduced the notion of the transitional relevance place (T.R.P.), "the first possible completion" of a turn, a point at which speaker change may potentially occur (1978: 12). They postulated that each speaker is initially entitled in each turn to one unit, which may be sentential, clausal, phrasal or lexical in length and structure, which allows for the "projectability" of T.R.P.'s. While Sacks et al. restricted their model to the analysis of naturally occurring conversation, subsequent research has indicated that in certain circumstances specific speakers may have additional rights to the floor [22].

At a T.R.P. several possibilities exist for what may happen next. Sacks et al. (1978: 13) provide a set of rules for "the allocation of a next turn to one party, and coordinating transfer so as to minimize gap and overlap", which has been represented as a flow chart by Coates (1987: 98). Sacks et al.'s rule numbers have been inserted at the relevant points for ease of reference.
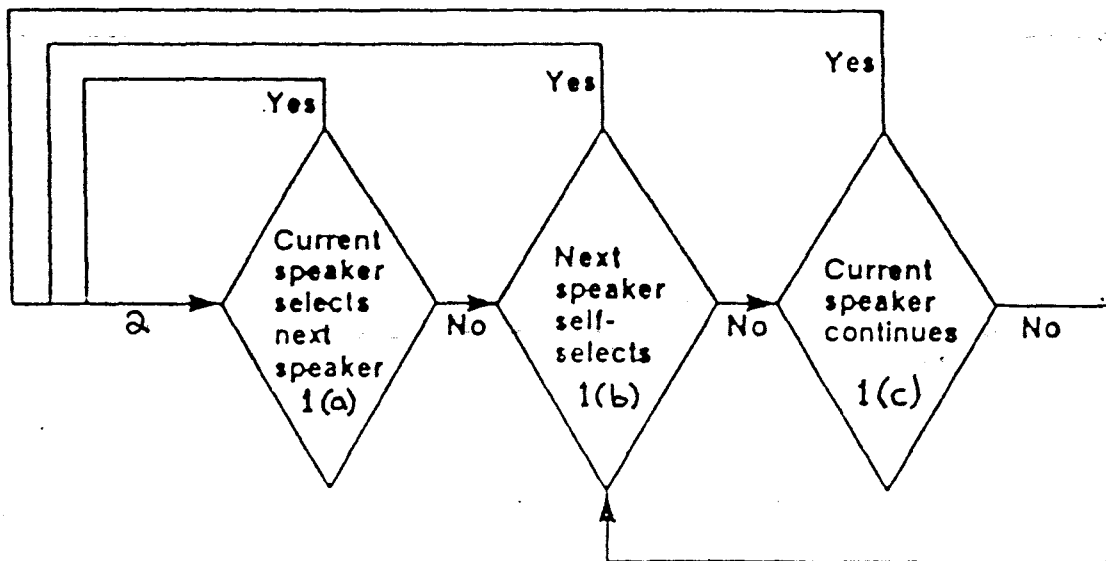
Figure One: Diagrammatical Representation of Sacks et al.'s rules of turn-taking (Coates 1987: 98)

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[22] For example, story tellers require more than one unit per turn and need to activate the slightly different norms for this genre in order to acquire additional rights (Schiffrin 1984). Other more specialised communicative contexts such as the classroom may also imbue the speaker with additional rights to the floor and allow him or her to have more control of the floor relative to the other speakers by virtue of status or power differences (Stubbs 1984).

Levinson (1983: 298) argues that Rule 1(c), concerning the right of the current speaker (hereafter C) to continue if no other speaker self-selects, is not redundant, although it may appear to be a special form of Rule 1(b). He points out that Sacks et al. (1978) based their formulation of the rules on research which indicated that the length of time which elapses between a T.R.P. and the next speaker (hereafter N) self-selecting is slightly less than between a T.R.P. and C resuming, which suggests that an opportunity for others to speak is specifically provided for.

C has several levels of control over the next utterance. C may specifically select N, for example by name or by gaze or by some formal means such as hearing checks; C may constrain the form of the next utterance, for example by uttering the first pair part of an adjacency pair; or C may simply leave the floor open for any N to self-select in whatever form he or she chooses (Sacks et al. 1978).

Up to this point the terms 'speaker' and 'hearer' have been used uncritically. However, their meanings and relationship are not as transparent as they may appear. Goodwin and Heritage (1990) argue that "the term 'hearer' can (thus) refer to three quite different objects. First, it might designate the complementary position to 'speaker' provided by the activity of conversation. Second, it might refer to the addressee of an act by a speaker. Third, it might designate a party performing acts of their own relevant to the positions of hearer" (Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 291/2). They point out that these distinctions are important because, for example, a person "may be an addressee without acting as a hearer" or a group may hear the message although they were not explicit addressees - they use the term "recipient" in this regard. In addition, "a speaker can focus on a subset of those present (for example, through use of restricted gaze or an address term) while still designing aspects of his (sic) talk for those who are not explicitly addressed" (Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 292). This is particularly relevant to the tutorial situation where the tutor's explanation to one student is nonetheless overheard by other students and, in fact, is often designed with this in mind.

The third option relates to what Goffman (1974, 1981, cited in Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 292) calls "ratification". "The identity assumed by one party is ratified, not by her

own actions, but by the actions of another who assumes a complementary identity toward her" (Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 292). This is of particular relevance to the model used in this study as each utterance's right to the floor is established and ratified by the behaviour of the other participants, i.e. the relative right to the floor of a particular utterance cannot be identified in isolation but only with reference to the context.

The work of Sacks et al. (1978) led to the establishment in the literature of terms such as the "turn", "Transition Relevance Place" and so on. In the following discussion of the model developed for the purposes of this study, the most important of these basic terms will be discussed and operationalised. [23]

3.2.3.1   THE MODEL OF ANALYSIS

I developed a branching model for the analysis of utterances in this study. Such a model is far more economical and intuitively satisfying than the simple labelling of utterance types. In the model described below, each node represents an option of increasing delicacy, although it should not be taken to refer to any psychological process on the part of the speaker. Rather it is useful for analysis in that it allows for trends in terms of classification to be more readily apparent. It has undergone some modification since its original conception and that development is detailed below. The original model is shown in Figure Two.

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[23] It should be noted, however, that most of the theory developed around these issues is Anglocentric, although it is frequently presented as a generalisable truth. As Sawyer and Smith (1994: 304) comment with regard to backchannels: "In some cultures the constant signalling of understanding is expected, whereas in others such signals would be considered distracting and annoying. They might even be mistakenly considered attempts by the [English-speaking?] listener to assume the initiative in the conversation". The concept of 'floor' is one which appears to show considerable cross-cultural variation. Where possible, the norms of cultures other than the English-speaking groups will be integrated into the discussion that follows.

Figure Two: Model of Analysis (Version One)

Turn-types

External selection   Self-selection

by

name   gaze   formal constraint

valid   non-valid

minimal   open   general   go on after
response   floor   invitation   interruption

violative   inadvertent

misinterpreted   simultaneous
TRP   self-selection
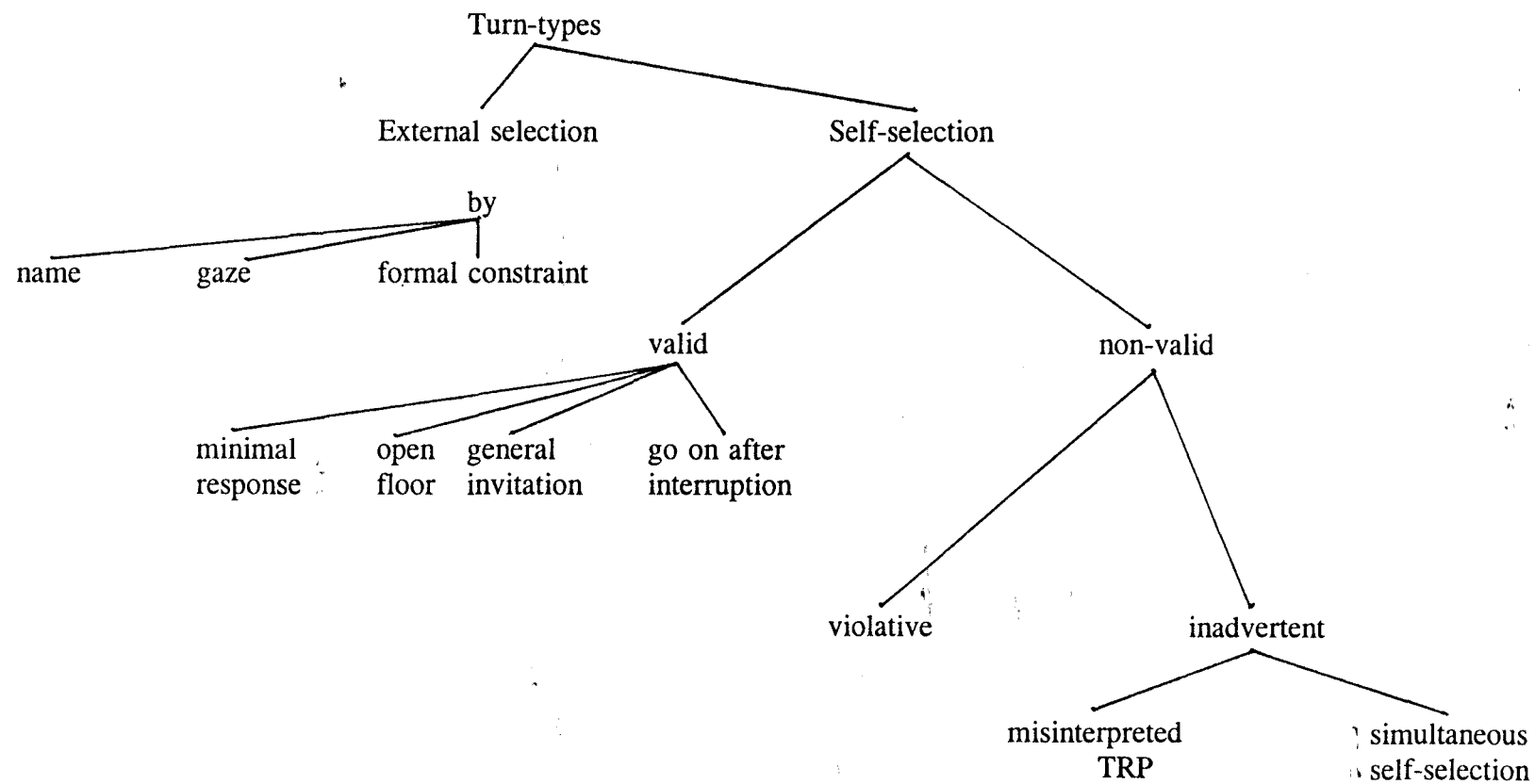
This model was modified by De Klerk (1995) for use in her work on interaction in post-graduate seminars. Several nodes were expanded, namely the 'Violative' node, which acquired the options 'successful' and 'unsuccessful', and the 'Misinterpreted TRP' and 'Simultaneous self-selection' nodes, which were also expanded to indicate success or the lack thereof. 'Success' in this context refers to whether or not the speaker appeared to complete his or her utterance. For the purposes of this study the model was further refined and expanded (see Figure Three). The changes were quite extensive.

The first change involves the name of the top node. The term 'turn' is a hotly debated concept in CA and the model at hand is not in fact a model of turn types but a set of motivations for utterances i.e. a set of potential justifications for a given utterance's place on the floor. Some background on the turn is pertinent at this point.

(a)   The Turn

The basic unit in CA is the turn, which may be defined either technically in terms of the onset of vocalisation and silence, or more semantically in terms of the message contained in the utterance (Gordon 1990: 13). In terms of the technical approach, Goodwin (1981) defines the turn as a stretch of speech by one speaker bounded by speech by other speakers, while Feldstein and Welkowitz (1978 cited in Gordon 1990: 13) define the turn as a unit which "begins the instant one participant in a conversation starts talking alone and ends immediately prior to the instant another participant starts talking alone".

There are a number of drawbacks to this approach which illustrate its lack of flexibility in application. For example, it effectively attributes any silence following C's utterance to C, when in the case of N-nomination for instance, it is more appropriately attributed to N. This is supported by work on preference organisation [24] in which N's silence may in fact be taken as a marker of a dispreferred second, and thus part of N's utterance.

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[24]Preference organisation refers to the markedness of certain second pair parts in adjacency pairs which will be discussed in more detail below.

Figure Three: Model of Analysis (Version Two)

Utterance type

External selection   Self-selection

by

name   formal constraint   gaze
(1)   (5)

after   T/P   T/C   valid   non-valid
(9-12)   resp   fills gap
(2)   (3)   (4)

motivated   backchannels   general   open
SS by formal   invitation   floor
constraint   (13)   (14)

go on   go on   go on   simple   checks   prompts   echoes
after   after   after (17) encour-   (10)   (11)   (12)
deep   (15)   or (19)   agers
int
(6)   (7)   (8)   (9)

                                                    inadvertent   violative

                                        simultaneous   misinterpreted   no   yes
                                        self-selection   TRP   (19)   (20)

                                        no   yes   no   yes
                                        (15)   (16)   (17)   (18)

Note: T = tutor   P = previous speaker   C = current speaker

93

A definition of what constitutes a turn implies the categorisation of at least some vocalisations as non-turns. While most analysts agree that nods and murmurs of agreement are not turns, Duncan (1973, 1974 cited in Coulthard 1985: 68/9), amongst others, has suggested a broader category of contributions which do not constitute turns, called backchannels [25] [26]. Duncan's backchannels include "sentence completions", "requests for clarification" and "brief restatements" - all of which Sacks et al. (1978) would consider to be turns. It would appear that these utterances serve a supportive function, steering or prompting without actually adding substantively to the discourse. In other words they serve a similar function to the facial expressions and murmurs which hearers use to display attentiveness. Although Duncan himself expresses reservations about the border between long backchannels and turns, the most helpful criteria in these cases would seem to be those of function and intention. However, attempting to intuit, or, more realistically, making guesses about, the speaker's intended function does of course raise methodological problems in terms of the subjective interpretation which must occur during analysis. In terms of the technical definition discussed above, any vocalisation constitutes a turn, which effectively elevates backchannels to the level of floor-holding turns. In practice, this would mean that backchannels could be coded as interruptions if they, by definition, end C's turn and are defined as turns themselves. This clashes with the function of minimal responses as supportive mechanisms and illustrates another pitfall of this rather simplistic definition. One solution is to adopt Stenström's definition of a turn which is "everything the current speaker says before the next speaker takes over" (1994: 4). As will be discussed more fully below, moving the shift of focus from vocalisation onset and cessation to the notion of floor-holding at least settles the tricky question of the status of backchannels. In this view they would not constitute turns. This view does however introduce problems of its own, which will be discussed below.

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[25] The term backchannels is also sometimes spelt 'back channels'. In the interests of consistency, the one-word form has been used throughout except in direct quotations.

[26] Although they will be discussed more fully below, a brief explanation of backchannels at this point is necessary in order to demonstrate the weakness of the technical definition of turns.

Goodwin and Heritage (1990: 290) point out that "the same event can be categorized in different ways at different moments". They illustrate this with reference to the model by Sacks et al. (1978) which allows for continuation by C if no other speaker self-selects at a possible completion point. The silence at the possible completion point would, at that moment, be classified as a between-turns gap, assuming that N would self-select. However, failing self-selection by N, when C resumes his or her turn the silence is reclassified as a within-turns pause.

Bennett (1981 cited in Gordon 1990) criticises the technical definition of a turn and in fact de-emphasises the need for any definition at all, arguing that "in actual conversation the turn itself is a process which the participants themselves are actively involved in arranging and rearranging" (Gordon 1990: 14).

The points discussed above indicate that a purely technical definition of the turn is inadequate. The semantic, or message-bearing, aspect of the turn, as well as the intention of the speaker in terms of whether he or she wishes to gain the floor or not, cannot be ignored. Thus, because in terms of the broader definition of a turn some of the utterances classified by their motivation for being on the floor (or 'right' to the floor) would not be classified as turns, the top node has been renamed 'Utterance type'.

The formulation of Sacks et al. (1978), described above, forms the basis for my model of analysis which is used in this study. Following Sacks et al. (1978), the model has at the outset a division into two: utterances occasioned by external selection and those by self-selection. External selection is again divided into selection by name, formal constraint and gaze. Selection by name is taken to be the strongest form of N-selection, followed by certain types of formal constraint (which will be discussed in more detail below). Gaze is claimed to be weaker than either selection by name and formal constraint due to the fact that it may be overridden by either of the other two and may be absent altogether, as in telephone conversations. In addition, the use of gaze to signal N together with a question may be misinterpreted by unobservant participants as a general invitation, which again indicates its weakness as a method of N-selection.

Self-selection is clearly less motivated than any of the external selection categories. Some instances of self-selection, however, are motivated by formal constraints. While they may not be as strongly motivated as those occasioned by external selection in that their absence would not be conspicuous (as would a response to a question for example) there are utterances which are more motivated than simple self-selection on an open floor. An example is the self-selection by a speaker whose earlier attempt at self-selection was thwarted by the fact that it occurred at the same time as another self-selection i.e. unsuccessful simultaneous self-selection.

Together with backchannels, responses to general invitations and open floors, these motivated instances of self-selection make up the category of valid self-selection. A separate category of non-valid or problematic self-selection is postulated as catering for less motivated utterances (in terms of right to the floor) [27]. In the case of an utterance which is initiated at the same time as another (causing simultaneous self-selection), the self-selection itself is not non-valid as long as it was occasioned by a valid self-selection situation or an external selection motivation. However, these situations are problematic in that they violate the rule of 'one-at-a-time' on the floor. Simultaneous self-selection is difficult to classify in terms of other systems. For example, Gordon (1990) codes simultaneous speech as a timing error, which is clearly not appropriate in the context of two participants responding simultaneously, and equally validly, to a general invitation on an open floor. Misinterpreted TRP's also fall into this category of non-valid or problematic utterances in that they violate the current speaker's right to the floor. The least motivated, and the only strictly violative utterances, are those classified as non-valid violative overlaps - often referred to in the literature as interruptions. In contrast to the inadvertent overlaps of simultaneous self-selection and misinterpreted TRP's, violative overlaps are intentional attempts to wrest the floor from C.

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[27] Following Gordon (1990: 41), an inadvertent overlap is defined as "an interruption that occurs two or fewer syllables away from a grammatical completion point. A grammatical completion point can be signalled by terminal intonation, pitch fall, and/or idea unit completed". Note that this definition of the end of a turn is mainly grammatical but also includes elements both of Duncan's turn-taking cues (see below) and the more semantic conception of an idea unit. A deep intrusion, also following Gordon (1990: 41) is defined as being more than two syllables away from a grammatical completion point.

(b)   Turn-taking Cues

Psychologists such as Duncan (1974 cited in Levinson 1983) have suggested that a quite different mechanism for turn-taking exists - that of turn-taking signals or cues. According to this view, speakers may signal that they are about to finish speaking by means of "turn signals" (Duncan 1974), which sets up the possibility of speaker change at the end of the utterance. Duncan (1974 cited in Coulthard 1985) discusses some of the cues speakers use to signal an impending T.R.P. and says that a turn signal is the display of one or more of these cues. The more cues used, the more likely it is that smooth speaker change will occur. These cues, which are listed below, may be grammatical, paralinguistic or kinesic and are given at the end of a phonemic clause:

1.   Intonation: the use of a combination of pitch level and terminal juncture.

2.   Paralanguage: an elongation of the final syllable or of the stressed syllable of the phonemic clause.

3.   Body motion: the termination of hand movement or the relaxation of a tensed hand position.

4.   Sociocentric sequence: the use of stereotypical phrases such as "you know".

5.   Paralanguage: a drop in pitch and/or loudness, with a sociocentric sequence.

6.   Syntax: the completion of a grammatical clause involving a subject-predicate combination.

(Adapted from Coulthard, 1985: 68)

To this list should be added the feature 'gaze'. Gaze has been investigated in the literature on a number of levels, for example, as a means of N-nomination and turn-signalling for the speaker, and as an indicator of hearer status. Research in English conversation indicates that speakers make eye-contact with their hearers at the beginning of the utterance, while emphasising points and at the end of the utterance, averting gaze in between (see Beattie 1983: 57 - 67 for a detailed review). Thus the simultaneous occurrence of eye-contact and syntactic completion would be a strong indicator of a T.R.P.. Gaze also serves as a checking mechanism for the speaker who, in English-speaking societies, gauges the attentiveness of the hearer by whether or not they maintain eye-contact. However this is not universal, as gaze-avoidance may be used to signal politeness in other cultures, such as in traditional African cultures. It is worth noting that

according to Beattie (1983: 29) gaze is better determined by video-recording than by one-way mirror or by gaze receiver.

Research by Kendon (1967 cited in Gordon 1990) suggests that gaze has a regulatory function as well as its expressive one. He postulates that gaze withdrawal serves a regulatory function in two ways: firstly by "shutting off any input from the listener" and secondly in order for the speaker to concentrate on his or her "speech plan" (Gordon 1990: 14/5). Insofar as it signals the speaker's intention to continue speaking and hold the floor, gaze may therefore function to reduce interruptions.

While these features undoubtedly exist in conversation, their status as the major regulators of speaker change is questionable. As Levinson (1983) points out, research into telephone conversations, where the visual component is missing, has not found any evidence of less efficient turn-taking, neither has it found any compensatory heightening of the audible cues. Thus while correlations are found between, for example, the cessation of body motion and the end of a turn, it seems more likely that these cues operate in conjunction with the turn-taking model by Sacks et al. (1978) discussed above.

These and other problems raise questions about the legitimacy of the option 'gaze' in the model. Black students are less likely than white students to maintain eye-contact. In addition, many students look down to avoid being called upon. Apart from practical problems with camera position, it was deemed likely that gaze would not be particularly effective anyway due to these two tendencies, and although it was included in the model for the sake of completeness, in practice it's role was difficult to ascertain. Therefore that option was used only in very specific cases (for example, if a student was looking straight at the tutor and the tutor was apparently looking at that student and no naming was used and no formal constraint was in operation that would make that particular student respond). This raises an important point about multiple motivations. In cases where a particular utterance qualifies for more than one motivational category, it has been coded for the strongest (i.e. left-most) category as it has been assumed that other categories would simply be supporting the major one.

(c)   Adjacency Pairs

The recognition of the presence of sequencing in interaction, as embodied in the theory of adjacency pairs, was a CA innovation which stimulated the accumulation of a vast body of empirical research (Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 287). In contrast to formal linguistics, CA focuses explicitly on utterances as part of an ever-developing context, which both shapes and is shaped by each utterance. Heritage (1984) refers to each action in conversation being "context shaped" and "context renewing". As constraints on turn-taking, adjacency pairs are of particular importance. They may be defined as pairs of utterances which are normatively linked to one another with the first pair part constraining the second pair part. They are usually subsequent although they may be separated by inserted sequences. However, the reality of adjacency pairs is not established only by the many instances in which an appropriate second pair part follows the first, but by those occasions on which it does not. Schegloff (1968) points out that, in greetings for example, where the second pair part is missing or inappropriate it is "noticeably absent". In a sense, then, the flouting of the normative rules of sequencing lends further support for their existence, as remedial strategies are called into play and interlocutors respond to the lack of appropriate second pair part. Adjacency pairs demonstrate the reflexive nature of conversation in context in that a speaker's input is not only associatively linked to the on-going discourse but is legitimated (or not) only with reference to the previous utterances. In addition it serves to constrain those following it. This explains what Sacks et al. (1978) meant when they termed conversation a "locally managed system" which is constantly negotiated by the participants.

Thus the framework of adjacency pairs in CA may be seen to go beyond the debate discussed above as to whether conversational patterns are statistical facts or normative rules. Instead, as Goodwin and Heritage (1990: 288) point out, the theory of adjacency pairs "describes a procedure through which participants constrain one another, and hold one another accountable, to produce coherent and intelligible courses of action." From this perspective it is evident that the relationship between an utterance and the negotiated context which surrounds it is crucial in its interpretation as each speaker's input is to some extent a reflection of his or her analysis of the context at that point, including the

prior actions of other participants. [28]

This reasoning underlying the theory of adjacency pairs has been extended from the rather narrow ambit of adjacency pairs to encompass the analysis of various forms of the more generic notion of next-positioning, such as acknowledgment tokens (Schegloff 1982). [29] Goodwin and Heritage (1990: 288) state that this approach has allowed the simultaneous analysis of "the organisation of action" and "understanding in interaction". Of particular importance to this study is the fact that CA's focus on conversation has allowed the investigation of interaction involving differences in status, gender and ethnicity, in order to determine what is distinctive about this kind of interaction (Goodwin and Heritage 1990: 289).

A major category in the model revolves around this concept of the developing context and the setting up of conditional relevances. Utterances which are seen to be justified by virtue of being part of such structures as adjacency pairs and other constraints are termed utterances "motivated by formal constraints". These are taken to be strongly motivated, as their absence, as noted above, would be conspicuous, and those by the tutor are seen to be even more strongly motivated than those by other participants, given the special rights and obligations accorded to the tutor in view of his or her responsibility to maintain interaction and respond to the utterances of students (as discussed with reference to other special speech situations above). Thus two nodes of formal constraints are included in the model:

♦ external selection motivated by formal constraints

and

♦ self-selection motivated by formal constraints.

Included in the first node, in order of 'strength of justification' are:

♦ utterances which continue following a backchannel (only if there is a pause after

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[28]This underlines the importance of a semantic or 'intention' component to the definition of a turn as discussed above.

[29] The model of analysis used in this study utilises this broader focus in an attempt to determine the justification or 'claimed right to the floor' implied in each utterance.

the first turn, otherwise it would be deemed to be part of the first turn as backchannels are taken as non-turns)

♦ a response by the tutor or the previous speaker (P) to a second pair part or first pair part

and

♦ tutor or current speaker (C) fills gap after no self-selection (after a first pair part for example).

The other node under self-selection includes:

♦ C continues after a deep intrusion (not necessarily a non-valid intrusion)

♦ P takes floor following an unsuccessful simultaneous self-selection

♦ P takes floor following an unsuccessful inadvertent misinterpreted TRP or unsuccessful violative overlap.

(d) Backchannels

Backchannels are generally accepted as being supportive, typically short, interjections on the part of a hearer which provide the speaker with feedback. As noted above, the role of the hearer is not passive and backchannels can be used to show "empathy, enthusiasm and indignation, but they can also reflect a lack of interest, indifference and impatience, although such feelings are generally expressed in a different form" (Stenström 1994: 81). McLaughlin (1984 cited in Gordon 1990: 16) sees backchannels as having "functional import" by which she means that in addition to their role of confirming and acknowledging, they may also be used to avoid participation, to discourage a topic or to seek clarification.

Gordon (1990) offers a detailed discussion of previous research on backchannels and considers the question of whether or not backchannels constitute turns. She notes that what some authors have termed "listener responses", "side comments" or "encouragers" would constitute interruptions should they be categorised as turns. She points out that Sacks et al. did not distinguish turns from non-turns and did not address the question of backchannels. As mentioned above, according to Sacks et al., turns can be lexical, phrasal or clausal in length, which implies that length cannot be introduced as a criterion

for distinguishing backchannels from turns. Gordon (1990) cites Ynge (1970) who distinguishes between having turns and having the floor. Backchannels, in his view, would be turns but would allow the original speaker to continue having the floor. This is quite an interesting option as it means that the backchannel category is not limited to short utterances - they may be quite lengthy, just as long as the original speaker continues holding the floor. This, however, obscures the difference between backchannels and the second pair parts of inserted sequences. In addition, in practice it would be quite difficult to determine which speaker had the floor without reference to who was taking a turn. Essentially it would seem that this distinction simply shifts the problematic aspects to a different term. Instead of having to define turns, the researcher now has to define "having the floor".

Edelsky (1981) argues that backchannels are not turns because "they have no referential content and are simply responses to another's turn" (Gordon 1990: 16). This suggested criterion for turns as having referential content would seem to be most useful as it removes the need for distinguishing between long and short backchannels.

Stenström (1994) notes that backchannels, inserted as they are in the current stream of talk, may often cause partial overlaps. However, she does not categorise this overlap as an interruption, due to its function of acknowledgement and encouragement of the current speaker. She categorises backchannels as non-turns because "they do not involve a speaker shift" (1994: 5). It is interesting to refer back to Stenström's definition of a turn which emphasises the point that the end of a turn occurs when another speaker "takes over" (1994: 4), which appears to draw once again on the notion of the floor.

For the purposes of the model of analysis, backchannels are not counted as turns, neither are they limited in terms of length. Backchannels are assumed to be interjections into the flow of talk which do not constitute assumption of the floor and as such cannot be classified as overlaps of any kind, even though they may physically overlap other utterances. Their function is typically supportive ('simple encouragers') but they may also function to give feedback of any other nature such as hearing and meaning checks, prompts and echoes (when the speaker repeats the last few words of C's utterance).

Despite the fact that they are not classified as turns, backchannels do contribute to the developing context. For example, a hearing check such as "Huh?" following C's utterance will serve to cause C to paraphrase, repeat or otherwise alter his or her utterance in the next turn. This following utterance will then be classified as being motivated by a formal constraint. Thus backchannels, while not counting as turns, are far from irrelevant in the analysis of the interaction.

(e)   Floor

As mentioned above, one of the assumptions of the original Sacks et al. formulation was that a normative rule existed to the effect that only one party spoke at any given time (i.e. held the floor) and that remedial strategies were invoked when exceptions occurred. Edelsky (1981) challenged this notion, claiming that the "one-at-a-time" floor (F1) was only one possible way for talk to be regulated. Moreover, she claimed that the more collaborative "all-together-now" floor (F2) was a typically feminine mode of interaction, in which overlaps were not necessarily competitive but could be interpreted as supportive.

This important contribution to the understanding of the notion of floor has been adapted by Morgenthaler (1990) who suggests that more than the simple binary distinction between single (F1) and multiple (F2) party floors is necessary to describe, in particular, the interaction between women. In the context of this study, I would argue that a 'one-at-a-time' rule does in fact apply and is frequently invoked by the tutor. However, this may shed light on the behaviour of women in tutorials if Morgenthaler's hypothesis is correct. A brief summary follows which, despite the fact that it does not display the complexity of her description, should suffice for the purposes of this discussion. She coins the term "exclusive floor" for the original notion of F1 put forward by Edelsky which is "characterized by monologues, single-party control and hierarchical interaction where turn takers stand out from non-turn takers and floors are won or lost" (Edelsky 1981: 416). The term "non-exclusive floor" is used to denote "single party floors which allow in-floor comments and are not aptly described by a contest metaphor" (Morgenthaler 1990: 556). Edelsky's F2, characterised by multiple speakers with a single focus, is termed a "cooperative floor". Finally, the "interweaving floor" refers to the situation where two or more speakers are engaged in one floor in an overlapping fashion. This is seen by

Morgenthaler as an intermediate option between single and multiple party floors by virtue of being both at once.

(f)   Overlaps

Duncan (1974, cited in Coulthard 1985) claimed that overlaps signalled the breakdown of the turn-taking system. However Goodwin and Heritage (1990: 290) point out that this assumption was never implied in the original formulation by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1978) and subsequent detailed investigation into overlaps has suggested otherwise. For one thing, not all overlaps are of the same nature. Overlapping speech may be divided into two types: violative overlaps (or interruptions) and inadvertent overlaps. Violative overlaps are seen to be attempts to take the floor in violation of the rights of the current speaker, while inadvertent overlaps are unintentional, as in the case of misinterpreted T.R.P.'s. A potentially tricky case is the classification of backchannels when they overlap other utterances. For the purposes of this study, however, backchannels are seen as supportive non-turns, and therefore it is clear that they cannot be construed as interruptions, as they do not represent an attempt to gain the floor [30].

Much (apparently contradictory) research has been conducted on violative overlaps as an index of conversational power. I would suggest that much of the confusion stems from differing definitions of overlaps and interruptions, as well as from unsophisticated applications of the term 'floor'. In this study, violative overlaps are deemed to be competitive in the context of a 'one-at-a-time' floor, but they may be more supportive in nature in the context of an 'all-together-now' floor where they may simply signal enthusiasm on the part of the second speaker. The classification of such utterances needs to be done with sensitivity to the context.

3.2.3.2   SUMMARY OF THE MODEL

At this point a brief summary of the revised model (see Figure Two), used to classify the utterances in the recorded tutorials, is provided. It is repeated in Appendix One for ease

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[30] A detailed discussion of the status of backchannels as violative overlaps may be found in Gordon (1990).

of reference. It is a branching model, with the characteristics of particular nodes being implied in their daughter nodes. The utterances are classified in terms of their motivation in the developing linguistic context. Thus both turns (defined as attempts to hold the floor) and non-turns (utterances which are characteristically supportive and do not represent an attempt to take the floor) are catered for in the model. The model is arranged so that there is a progression from 'most strongly motivated' nodes on the left side, to 'least motivated' on the right. Nodes are numbered simply for ease of reference and coding, and no implication of measurement should be attached to these labels. Each node is explained briefly below. Numeric labels are provided in bold type in brackets after the name, where applicable, and indents indicate levels of detail.

External Selection: This refers to an external motivation for a particular utterance and comprises three daughter nodes:

♦ External Selection by Name **(1)**: Utterances which are occasioned by nomination of C by the previous speaker (P);

♦ External Selection by Formal Constraint: Utterances which are motivated by formal constraints, such as next-positioning. There are three daughter nodes:

   ♦ After Backchannels **(2)**: Resumption of floor by P after a backchannel. This categorisation is only applied if a gap occurred after P's initial utterance; if no gap is measured, P's contribution on either side of the backchannel constitutes one utterance;

   ♦ Tutor (T) or P responds **(3)**: Utterances which form an on-going discussion are motivated by the transitional relevance set up by adjacency pairs. N-selection of P is implied by these sequences. T has additional rights by virtue of his or her role;

   ♦ T or P Fills Gap **(4)**: Utterances by T or P which fill the gap after a first pair part which has generated no self-selection. T has additional rights by virtue of his or her role;

♦ Gaze **(5)**: Utterances motivated by nomination of N by P through eye-contact;

Self-selection: Utterances which are not occasioned by external selection and are thus to some degree less motivated by context. There are two daughter nodes:

◆ Valid Self-selection: Utterances which do not disrupt smooth speaker change and are not problematic in terms of rights to the floor:

    ◆ Motivated Self-selection by Formal Constraint: Utterances in which P has additional rights to the floor by virtue of previous contribution but which are optional in terms of transitional relevance:

        ◆ Go on after Deep Intrusion (6): The resumption of the floor after an extensive intrusion, which may or may not have been non-valid;

        ◆ Go on after Unsuccessful Simultaneous Self-selection (7): The resumption of the floor by the unsuccessful P in a case of simultaneous self-selection;

        ◆ Go on after Unsuccessful Misinterpreted TRP or Unsuccessful Violative Self-selection (8): The resumption of the floor by the unsuccessful P in either case. This is distinguished from (7) because (15) involves no 'error' on the part of the unsuccessful P; -

    ◆ Backchannels: Non-turns which provide feedback to C without taking the floor from him or her:

        ◆ Simple Encouragers (9): Minimal responses which serve a supportive function to C and encourage him or her to retain the floor;

        ◆ Checks (10): Hearing or meaning checks on C's utterance;

        ◆ Prompts (11): Characteristically short utterances which provide C with words, facts or ideas to enhance his or her utterance and which usually co-occur with evidence of 'floundering' on the part of C;

        ◆ Echoes (12): Utterances which echo a portion of P's utterance, indicating acceptance or support;

    ◆ General Invitation (13): The assumption of the floor in response to the first pair part of an adjacency pair where no external selection or motivated self-selection is evident;

    ◆ Open Floor (14): The assumption of the floor when no N has been selected and no first pair part issued;

◆ Non-valid Self-selection: Utterances which are in some way problematic in terms of smooth speaker change in that they overlap with another speaker's turn (i.e.

backchannels can not be overlapped non-validly as they do not constitute turns):

◆ Inadvertent Non-valid Self-selection: Self-selection which unintentionally violates a speaker's right to be the only speaker on the floor;

    ◆ Simultaneous Self-selection: The simultaneous assumption of the floor by two or more speakers who have equal rights to the floor. No violation on the part of either speaker is implied, but this occurrence is classified as non-valid due to the fact that it disrupts smooth speaker change and usually requires remedial action. Utterances which are apparently incomplete in this context are coded as unsuccessful (15), while those which are apparently (or potentially) complete are coded as successful (16). It is possible for both utterances to be given the same classification.

    ◆ Misinterpreted TRP: Utterances which overlap C's utterance but are within two syllables or less of a possible completion point by C. The violation of C's right to the floor is taken to be unintentional and thus such an utterance must occur in the vicinity of a TRP. The overlapping utterance may be coded as successful (18) or unsuccessful (17), depending on whether or not it appears to be potentially completed. [31]

◆ Violative Self-selection: Utterances which overlap C's utterance and are not within two syllables or less of a possible completion point by C. Successful violative overlaps are coded as (20) and unsuccessful ones as (19). The violation of C's right to the floor is taken to be intentional and thus, in the context of a 'one-at-a-time' floor, constitutes competitive behaviour. Sensitivity to the context is crucial in interpretation as even this type of overlap may be, if not indicative of support, at least suggestive of enthusiasm in the context of an 'all-together-now' floor. The semantic relations between the overlapped and the overlapping utterances (whether adversative or additive) are central to this distinction.

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[31] The coding of C's utterance does not reflect the overlap as it has no bearing on the justification for C's assumption of the floor.

Utterances which were inaudible could not be classified and are coded as **(21)**.

3.2.4 CONCLUSION

Discourse Analysis forms the basis for the interpretation of the data in this study. The notion of Communicative Competence provides a perspective from which to understand intercultural miscommunication in terms of the different rules of competence in different languages [32]. Of particular relevance to this study are those aspects of communicative competence which differ from language to language in terms of the norms of interaction. Conversation Analysis, which has developed within the domain of Discourse Analysis, is the most appropriate approach to the explication and comparison of different norms of interaction. This section has reviewed the key concepts within CA with a view to their application in the analysis of data.

3.3 DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE METHODOLOGY

The pilot study (Hunt 1992), mentioned in Section 1.1, was useful in that it informed certain aspects of the current investigation. The inclusion of educational background as a factor and the use of video-recording in data collection (as opposed to audio-recording) were the two most important adjustments made as a result of the experience gained in the pilot study.

3.3.1 VIDEO RECORDING OF TUTORIALS

While there are a number of problems associated with the use of video-recording as a means of data collection, it was decided that this method would yield the most accurate representation of the interaction in the tutorials under study. Goodwin and Heritage (1990: 289) advocate the use of video recording for data collection in Conversation Analysis as it allows for the repeated and detailed examination of data from real life situations. It is also indispensable for the accurate attribution of utterances to particular participants, as well as providing information regarding gaze and other paralinguistic cues unavailable from an audio recording. For these reasons it was decided to use video

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[32] The term 'intercultural miscommunication' may also be applied to miscommunication between men and women, and between other groups who do not share norms of interaction.

recording, despite its greater intrusion into the setting.

All academic departments at the Grahamstown campus of Rhodes University were contacted and requested to allow access to their first year tutorials. Only two refused and one department was disregarded because the head of department, despite a request to the contrary, informed both staff and students of the particular aims of the study, which, it was decided, would alter the behaviour of the recorded subjects and invalidate any data thus obtained. Tutorials held in languages other than English were not considered to be relevant to the study in that they would favour speakers of languages such as Xhosa or Afrikaans and thus different dynamics would come into play. Classes from some departments were observed before video-taping, in order to eliminate those which failed to meet the criteria for a tutorial as described in Chapter One, i.e. cooperative group work. Many of those rejected were not the 'pseudo-tutorials' criticised by Pastoll (1992) but were, by design, tutorials in name only. Ultimately it was decided to restrict the tutorials observed to those in Humanities departments as, on the whole, these departments expressed a commitment to the type of 'real' tutorial described above. In addition, this restriction would serve to constrain the operation of external factors such as subject matter on the participation of students. It may be argued, for instance, that it is far easier to generate discussion amongst first year students on political topics than mathematical ones. Thus comparing the interaction in a Physics tutorial with that in a Sociology tutorial would be the research equivalent of comparing apples and orangutans. The inclusion of departments for whom the aims of tutorials differed from my assumed definition would be unfair because these departments did not necessarily intend their tutorials to display the features I would be looking for.

The particular tutorial group selected for recording within a department depended on the composition of the group. In order to collect data relevant to the study, I specified in my communication with the contact-person in the department that I would prefer a tutorial with at least one member of each category under investigation, i.e. one male, one female etc. Groups with equal proportions of each category would have been ideal. Due to fluctuations in attendance, the selected tutorials did not always have the desired composition. Beyond this one request I did not have any control over which group was

selected as the choice was also subject to the availability in a given department of a tutor who was willing to be video-recorded. These constraints also meant that I could not select tutors for matching characteristics. It should also be noted that I had no control over the structuring of tutorials, and had to assume them to be attempts to engage students in interaction.

Finally five tutorials were selected for analysis. Many more than this were actually taped and rejected for various reasons. There were several practical problems, related to the video-recording: in an attempt to record interaction in as natural a context as possible, the tutorial groups were recorded in the room in which their tutorial was usually held. Many of these rooms are small and, for the purposes of video-recording, inadequately lit (it was felt that the additional presence of lighting equipment would jeopardise the naturalness of the setting). The absence of a wide-angle lens meant that, without adequate distance between the camera and the participants, several tutorials were rejected on the grounds that up to half the participants were not visible and thus input from 'invisible' people could not reliably be attributed to particular individuals. One recording was discarded due to camera failure 17 minutes after the beginning of the tutorial.

All participants were informed of the presence of the camera and had there been any objections, the recording of that group would have been abandoned. No such cases occurred.

As all the recordings were completed within a month of each other, in the second semester, it was assumed that tutors would be fairly familiar with the students and that this familiarity would be of a comparable nature across departments. One tutorial in which the tutor was new to the group was thus discarded on the grounds that the interaction could not be compared reliably with that in groups where the tutor knew the names of the group members and, perhaps more importantly, where the groups were familiar with the tutor and thus more likely to be relaxed and participate.

Several precautions were taken in response to concerns regarding the effect of the video camera on the participants: as mentioned above, the approval of participants for recording

was obtained; in addition, in order to minimise intrusion the camera was running before the group members entered the room and no one saw who set it up. This was done in an attempt to keep the recording as impersonal as possible. It was reasoned that participants were more likely to alter their behaviour during the tutorial if they had a mental picture of the person who would be watching the recording.

An additional, perhaps trivial, precaution was taken to make the recording as unobtrusive as possible: a piece of Prestik was attached over the camera's red recording light which faced the group as it was felt that its glow would serve as a reminder of the recording.

A third measure to minimise the effect of the video camera on the participants' behaviour involved the instructions given to the tutors of each group: these were deliberately vague, although true, and I stressed that the behaviour of the tutor and students would in no way be evaluated. In addition, I requested the student number of each participant, rather than his or her name, for identification of factors such as school background and assured tutors that the identity of all participants would be protected in any publication flowing from the research. Judging from the recordings, the instructions given by the tutors in all of the five groups analyzed conformed to mine. Two tutorials in which these instructions were ignored or violated were discarded.

In the analysis of the video data the first ten minutes of the tutorial was discarded in order to allow participants time to acclimatise to the presence of the video camera. The remaining time was assumed to be 'natural' or as close to that as possible. Subsequent interviews with members of the groups included several unsolicited comments to the effect that they had forgotten about the camera almost immediately.

3.3.2 INTERVIEWS

From each tutorial four members were selected for a subsequent interview with the aim of introducing triangulation into the study. These individuals were selected on the basis of their membership of the categories under investigation i.e. an attempt was made to interview one male, one female, one L1 speaker of English, one L2 speaker, one ex-state school student and one ex-private school student from each tutorial. In some tutorials this

was not possible because a particular category was not represented in the tutorial as a whole. In a few cases this was not possible because the sole representative of a particular group refused my request for an interview, or cancelled the appointment.

At the outset of each interview, I reassured the interviewee about the confidentiality of any remarks they might make in the course of the interview and stressed the importance of honesty. I described the interview as an opportunity for students to voice their opinions about tutorials and so influence the quality of teaching at Rhodes. The interviews themselves were semi-structured. I prepared a list of questions (see Appendix Two) but introduced additional questions as required to follow up on specific issues introduced by the interviewees. My experience both as a linguist and as a journalist was invaluable in this aspect of the study. The initial questions (i.e. "Tell me about your favourite tutorial" and "Tell me about your least favourite tutorial") were deliberately phrased in a general way to elicit the interviewees' perceptions of the aims of tutorials. These were followed by questions which probed the reasons for the success, in their view, of some tutorials above others. The shift to eliciting the factors influencing the degree of participation of particular groups of students proved to occur naturally as participation was, almost invariably, cited immediately by students as the one of the main components of a successful tutorial.

Finally, interviewees were asked to discuss the most vocal and least vocal participants in the tutorial which had been recorded. Invariably, they spontaneously ranked each member of the tutorial and offered explanations for their participation or lack thereof. This aspect was introduced in an attempt to verify the results obtained in recording regarding the relative verbosity of the participants, thus enabling me to reject concerns that the process of recording had altered the balance in participation in the tutorials. My impression is that a good rapport was established during the interviews and that both parties found them satisfying.

One interviewee from each tutorial was randomly selected to participate in a follow-up session which involved the analysis of an extract from the video recording of their tutorial. While my impression concerning the good relationship developed in the

interviews was confirmed in that none of the students refused, and several were very enthusiastic, this aspect of the research proved to be fraught with problems.

The initial plan was to play an extract from the video several times and then audio-tape the student 'talking through' the interaction in the extract. This failed completely as the first student found it impossible to comment quickly enough before another episode in the video distracted him. I introduced a typed transcript of the extract which I asked the second student to analyze after playing the extract several times and explaining the transcription conventions. This too yielded very little as the student seemed unable to grasp what was required and simply paraphrased the interaction using the features of indirect speech. Finally, with the third and fourth students, I demonstrated the kind of commentary I required using another video and transcript and then asked the student to do the same with his or her particular extract and transcript. This was only moderately successful.

Another area within the interview section of the research was the interviewing of the tutors. One tutor literally disappeared from the campus within a few days of the video recording and proved uncontactable. All but one of the remaining tutors refused to be interviewed, despite an initial willingness. The last remaining tutor was interviewed, along similar lines to the interviews conducted with the students, and participated in a video analysis session in its final form, about which she was most enthusiastic, but which, from my point of view, was not particularly successful.

3.3.3   ANALYSIS OF DATA

All the data collected were transcribed and the transcriptions of the tutorials were subjected to detailed analysis as follows: the length of each utterance was timed in hundredths of a second using a stopwatch, as well as the length of each silence between utterances. Each segment was timed twice and the results averaged, with a third timing by a different person being added to check for accuracy. Despite the fact that several famous studies (e.g. Zimmerman and West 1975, according to Beattie 1983:29) have been based on timing by hand, I felt that this was too open to error, as factors such as the reactions of the person doing the timing and the time of day appeared to affect these

results, albeit only in the order of tenths of seconds. For these reasons I commissioned the development of a computer program to measure turns and silences, after an unsuccessful plea on the internet for a suitable program. However, various factors, chiefly noise in the environment, meant that this method too was hugely variable in terms of accuracy. It appears that in order to obtain reliable measurements of this nature using this method would require a 'clean' recording such as could be obtained in a sound-proofed room. Quite apart from the fact that this news came too late for this study, it would seem obvious that this would have a negative effect on any attempts to maintain a natural setting for the data collection. I was thus advised to abandon these attempts at precise machine-timing of events and reluctantly relied on my results obtained with the stopwatch.

The total number of utterances, total length of time on the floor and average length of utterances were calculated for each student. Students' scores within each tutorial were tabulated according to the group membership of each student i.e. in a three-way table showing gender, L1 or L2 speaker of English and schooling. The actual scores were calculated as a percentage of the expected scores. Additional calculations for the three factors were performed: one-way ANOVAs, with an alpha level of 0.05, were applied to the data in order to measure the significance of differences between males and females, L1 and L2 speakers of English and state and privately educated students in terms of total length of contribution per student, total number of utterances per student and mean length of utterance (MLU) per student. Additional ANOVAs testing for the effect of the specific speaker on MLU were performed.

The utterances were also analyzed in terms of their 'right to the floor'. The revised model, described in 3.2.3.1 and 3.2.3.2, was used to categorise each utterance in terms of its motivation or legitimacy on the floor. As Gordon has pointed out, often coding from the written transcription is less reliable than checking back with the recording because subtle changes in tone and volume can be lost which would signal what was going on (Gordon 1991: 38). Therefore, during coding, constant reference was made to the appropriate section of the video tape in order to check the interpretation. The results are presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

4.0   INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes in detail the data gained by means of the methodology outlined in Chapter Three. The following aspects of each tutorial are discussed:

◆   number of utterances per speaker

◆   time on the floor per speaker

◆   classification of utterances in terms of right to the floor

◆   data from interviews and video sessions (where appropriate to the particular

tutorial)

The following transcription conventions apply to excerpts from the tutorials quoted in the discussion below [33]:

1099   utterance number (within tutorial); the first number indicates the number of
                the tutorial (1 - 5); the remaining three numbers indicate the utterance
                number

1A:L1MP   identification of speaker: participants are coded as follows:
                First Section (before the colon ':'): the number (1 - 5) refers to the
                tutorial; the letter (A - M) to the participant in that tutorial. T always
                indicates the tutor.
                Second Section (after the colon':'): **L1** indicates a first-language speaker of
                English, **L2** a second (or other) language speaker of English; **M** indicates a
                male participant, **F** a female; **P** indicates a student who obtained his or her
                Matric from a private school, **S** a student from a state school.

1099   1A:L2FS
100   1B:L1MS
        1A:L2FS   loop and absence of utterance number indicates continuation of turn
                        despite intervening utterance

xxx   (within an utterance) indicates an indecipherable stretch of talk

...   (within an utterance) indicates the omission from the transcription of a
                stretch of speech irrelevant to the discussion

(10,56)   (at the end of an utterance) indicates the length of the utterance, in seconds.

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[33] This list is repeated in Appendix Three for ease of reference.

(1,43)   (at the end of an utterance) indicates the length of silence, in seconds, before the following utterance [34]

end //
    // So   indicates speaker change with no measurable silence between the end of C's utterance and the beginning of N's utterance, but without overlap

and // then
    // So   indicates overlapping speech (to the right of double slashes)

/ but
\ so   indicates simultaneous self selection by two or more speakers

(laughter)   transcription notes

WHAT   Bold capitals indicate emphasis (raised pitch, increased volume and/or elongation of syllable)

Data of general relevance from the interviews are discussed separately. Information from the video sessions has been integrated into the coding and analysis of the tutorials. The chapter concludes with a general discussion of the data and the trends evident therein.

4.1   ANALYSIS OF RECORDED TUTORIALS

The total floor time and the total number of utterances in a given tutorial are classified in two separate parts: time and utterances by the tutor; and time and utterances by the students. The tutor's behaviour is taken to be most strongly shaped by his or her role as tutor, rather than by his or her composite identity as a male, female, L1 or L2 speaker of English etc. For this reason, and also because the focus of this study is on the interaction of **students** in tutorials, the share of the floor taken up by the tutor is separated from that of the students for the purposes of analysis. The raw data for each tutorial for the number of utterances per student, for the total time on the floor per student and the mean length of utterance (MLU) per student are in Appendices Four, Five and Six respectively. The same data are shown below as percentages of expected scores by category of speaker. In other words, in a group of five students one would expect each student's utterances to comprise one fifth of the total number of students' utterances, and one fifth of the total

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[34] This information is only included where relevant to the discussion.

time on the floor for all students, all other things being equal. In an analysis by category of speaker (i.e. one in which the scores of all L1 females from state schools, for example, are grouped together) the expected score may be determined for each category. So if a tutorial group of five students includes two L2 females from private schools, then we would expect that their combined number of utterances would be two fifths of the total, if interaction was progressing in an equal manner. Thus individual scores have been grouped into scores according to category of speaker and expected scores for each category calculated based on the mean for the entire tutorial, multiplied by the number of students represented in that category. Actual scores obtained are reflected as percentages of this expected score. A horizontal line at 100% makes clear the score of each category in relation to this 'ideal' level of interaction. The advantage of this way of reviewing the data is that whereas the raw data fluctuates from tutorial to tutorial in terms of the actual length of time available to the students for interaction and the number of utterances which occurred, percentages of floor time and utterances by category of speaker offer a consistent and comparable picture of the division of floor time in the different tutorials. In addition, this method shows very clearly any trends in terms of relative dominance or reticence of different categories of speaker (male, female etc). The results of the one-way ANOVAs performed on the data are in Appendix Seven. The Table of Means for each statistically significant relationship is included in Appendix Seven.

The classification of utterances per student is displayed graphically in Appendix Eight. The important trends are integrated into the discussion below.

4.1.1 TUTORIAL ONE [35] [36]

Composition of the Group:

L1	MALE	FEMALE	L2	MALE	FEMALE
PRIVATE	1	1	PRIVATE	1	1
STATE	1	6	STATE	1	1

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 13

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[35] Categories of speakers are designated as follows in the tables:

L1 / L2   indicates whether the speaker is a first or second language speaker of English

M / F   indicates whether the speaker is male or female

P / S   indicates whether the speaker has a private or state educational background. Thus, for example, a column labelled 'L1FP' reflects the combined score of all participants in the category of first language females with a private school background for that tutorial.

[36] In each graph, the Y axis represents the actual score expressed as a percentage of the expected score. Thus a score of 400% for the category L1FS means that the combined score of all female, L1, state-educated participants in the tutorial is four times that which it would have been had all participants enjoyed an equal share of the floor.
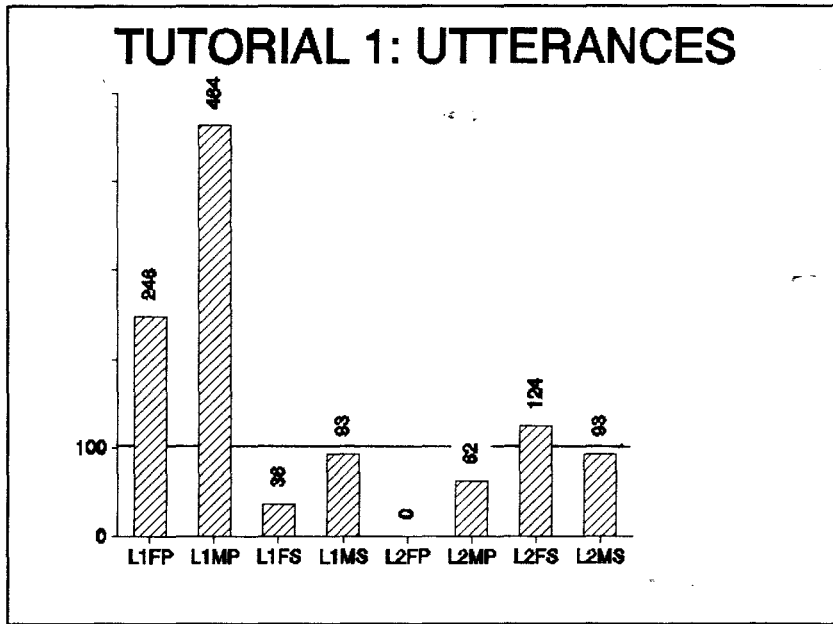
Figure 1: TUTORIAL 1: Utterances as Percentage of Expected Number, by category
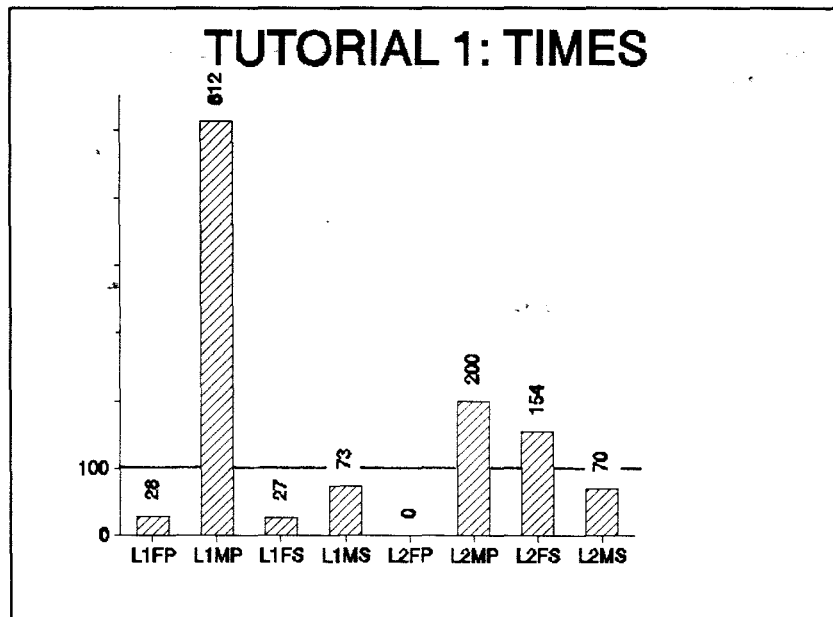
Figure 2: TUTORIAL 1: Times as Percentage of Expected Length, by category

In Tutorial One the tutor [37] was a male L2 speaker of English in his second year of study and his first year of tutoring. His inexperience both as a student at Rhodes and as a tutor is reflected in several features of the recorded tutorial. The tutorial began late and ended early. In addition, the tutor dominated the available time with extensive turns, some as long as three and five minutes, without a pause. His total time on the floor was 20 minutes 19,03 seconds, compared with a total combined student floor time of 3 minutes 15,79 seconds [38]. With so little time remaining for student participation and given that there were 13 students in this tutorial group, it is obvious that each individual student had very little opportunity for interactive learning in this situation. Indeed, three of the students, all of them female, did not speak at all and the total number of utterances for the students was 42. Of these, 15 were by one student, a male L1 student from a private school background (designated 1L:L1MP). His contribution totalled 1 minute 32,11 seconds - over three times longer than the next longest time and nearly half the student total for time on the floor. His role in the tutorial is particularly interesting in that he made use of several opportunities to take the floor (in response to one general invitation and six open floors - 46,67% of his utterances) as well as responding to questions directed to him by other students. His behaviour is particularly dominant in contrast to the other students. He posed substantive questions to the tutor (Extract One) and the group as a whole, answered questions from the group (Extract Two) and even prompted the tutor (Extract Three) and clarified what the tutor had said. The following

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[37] At the outset of this research project I had no intention of evaluating the tutors in any way, and although trends evident in a sample of five tutors can not be justifiably generalised, the differences between tutors of differing levels of experience were so pronounced that a discussion of the results obtained would be incomplete if this aspect were omitted.

[38] An interesting insight into this imbalance was given by 1L:L1MP in an interview in which he said that the tutor was especially animated on the day of the recording and would usually have made less effort to speak. He reported that the usual pattern was for the tutor to ask whether the students had any questions and having answered those, end the tutorial. What is interesting is that the camera clearly influenced the tutor's behaviour, which he adapted to give the impression of being what he considers to be a good tutor. Clearly, his idea of a good tutor is one who speaks a great amount - a typically teacher-centred view and one which may be explained by the fact that he is a former DET student.

extracts are typical of his interaction:

Extract One

1064	1L:L1MP:	So when say for example a politician says I love dogs ... the sexually deviant politician says that he loves dogs or say xxx I don't know (22,78)
1065	1M:L1FS:	xxx (0,50) *(turns to face 1L:L1MP)*
1066	1L:L1MP:	Ja (0,42)
1067	1T:	Well if you want do it as it is, if you want to put it as it is the best way if he says he loves dogs just put (9,81)
1068	1L:L1MP:	I love dogs said the politician (1,50)
1069	1T:	Ja in quotation and as it is if you say it's okay today in most cases ... you end up misquoting what people say (16,31)

Extract Two

1049	1C:L1FS:	So what's the point of writing it then? (1,29) *(looking at tutor)*
1050	1L:L1MP:	Sensationalism (0,77)

Extract Three

1033	1T:	Ja but at times it happens like in cases in case like the // (4,08)
1034	1L:L1MP:	// OJ
		Simpson. That's right (1,09)
	T:	In the OJ Simpson case (2,08)

Note 1L:L1MP's use of the evaluative "That's right".

It is important to note that his average length of utterance was over six seconds, while the other students' averages were, on the whole, much shorter [39]. His contribution is likely to be responsible for the fact that gender was found to be a statistically significant factor in terms of total time on the floor ($p = 0.049$). In terms of total number of utterances, educational background was not significant although the value of p was higher than for the other factors ($p = 0.079$). The composition of the group, with six very quiet L1 females from state schools, would seem to be responsible for the fact that language was not a statistically significant factor.

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[39] For tables showing the average length of utterances per student, please see Appendix Six.

The tables in Figures One and Two seem to suggest that private school students dominated this group. However on closer investigation of categories L1FP and L2MP it is revealed that each category exceeded the expected score on only one level, either number of utterances or time on the floor, and that this apparent domination is misleading. An examination of the contribution of the individuals in these categories will demonstrate why.

The only students other than 1L:L1MP to claim their fair share or more than their fair share of floor time were 1F:L2MP (30,08 seconds), 1A:L2FS (23,2 seconds) and 1D:L1FS (20,12 seconds). However, as the equal division of floor time meant a share of 15,05 seconds per student, none of these scores can really be taken as excessive domination.

The only students other than 1L:L1MP to exceed the fair share of utterances were 1E:L1FP and 1A:L2FS. 1E:L1FP had eight utterances as opposed to the 'norm' of 3,23. However the longest of these measured only 1,05 seconds and constituted the initial part of a protracted sequence functioning as a hearing check as may be seen in Extract Four below:

Extract Four

1025	1T:	What happens at times they filmed the man saying ... it means that it's the camera that lies I mean // I (13,00)
1026	1E:L1FP:	// It's the camera that what? (1,05)
1027	1T:	camera (0,35)
1028	1E:L1FP:	Ja it's the camera that? (0,85)
1029	1G:L2MS:	lies (0,4)
1030	1E:L1FP:	*/ Oh lies (0,63)
1031	1T:	\ So it's usually the way from (xxx) you can not report about ... and things like that (15,18)

In most of her utterances, 1E:L1FP's role is strongly supportive, with prompts and other backchannels forming the bulk of her contribution (50%). An example is given in Extract Five:

Extract Five

1060	1F:L2MP:	Is it is it acceptable for a journalist to say for instance somebody ... or whatever // change the way the person actually meant it when
1061	1E:L1FP:	// change (0,6)
	1F:L2MP:	it's not politically concerned (25,18)

One of her two attempts to take the floor is thwarted by the fact that it occurs at a misinterpreted T.R.P.:

Extract Six

1038	1T:	Ja, make up a story not um not supporting what actually happened you know just putting all the information in a story (14,30)
1039	1E:L1FP:	/ Surely (0,47)
	1T:	\ What obligation does a journalist have with that (3,08)

She does not make a second attempt in this section of the discussion.

The other female to claim slightly more than an equal share of the floor is 1A:L2FS (4 utterances) but her difficulty in gaining access to the floor is evident in the following extract:

Extract Seven

1015	1G:L2MS:	And now you supposed to say like in the court room you seem as though he's not the killer even though you saw him // kill (6,34)
1016	1A:L2FS:	// you say (0,87)
1017	1T:	You know what yes you know what happens you go to court to give evidence ... but if evidence is not enough to convict the person //
1018	1A:L2FS:	// But
		then how do you say (0,88)
	1T:	unless you want to write a book about it (104,43)
1019	1A:L2FS:	How do you say so and so I saw this and this and this and this but not say he killed (6,30)
1020	1T:	No he could he's reporting in court (1,67)

These three utterances constitute three quarters of her total number of utterances so her apparently excessive share is misleading, as the bulk of her contribution consists of attempts to take the floor, rather than successful floor-holding utterances.

4.1.2 TUTORIAL TWO

Composition of the Group:

L1	MALE	FEMALE	L2	MALE	FEMALE
PRIVATE	0	0	PRIVATE	0	2
STATE	1	1	STATE	1	0

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 5

TUTORIAL 2: UTTERANCES
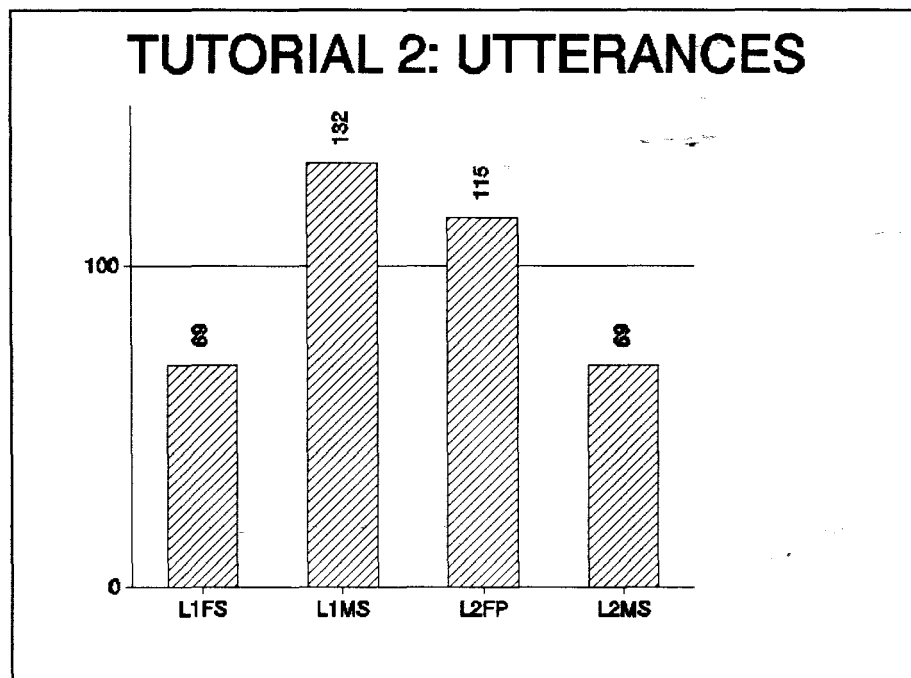
Figure 3: TUTORIAL 2: Utterances as Percentage of Expected
Number, by category
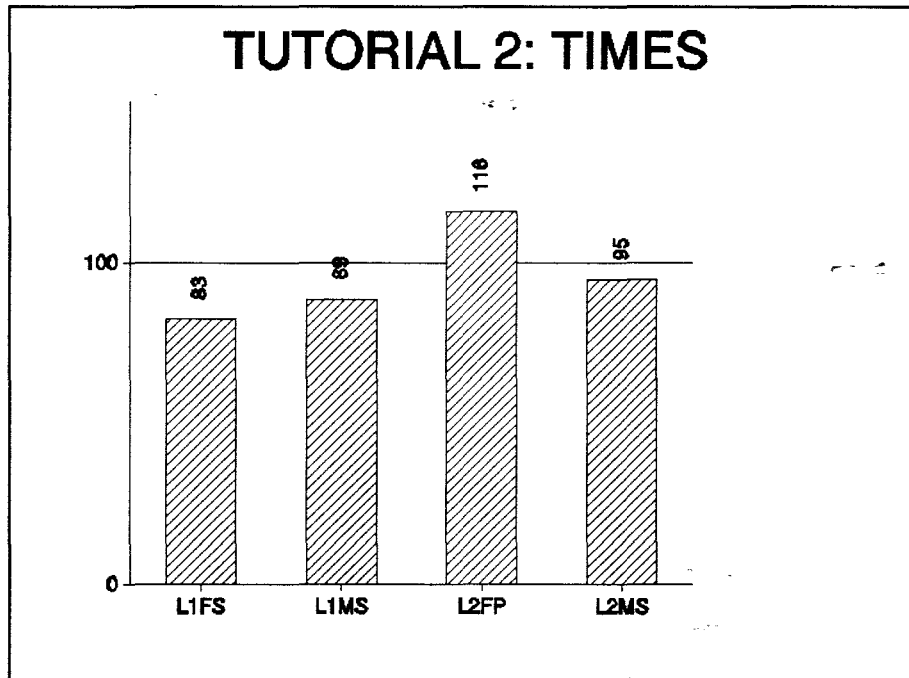
TUTORIAL 2: TIMES

Figure 4: TUTORIAL 2: Times as Percentage of Expected Length, by category

The tutor in this tutorial was an L2 male Master's student, an experienced tutor and in his sixth year of study at an English-medium tertiary institution. Given his extensive experience in this environment, his familiarity with the dominant Western culture of the university is presumed, and a certain amount of assimilation into the educational norms of the institution may be deduced from his academic success. The tutorial consisted of five students and the tutor's contribution totalled 21 minutes 26,64 seconds (69 utterances), with 13 minutes 17,25 seconds (72 utterances) of total student time on the floor in the section for analysis.

The contrasts between particular students are not as stark in this tutorial as in Tutorial One, and this is reflected in the fact that none of the three factors proved statistically

significant. The only category which has more than an equal share both in terms of time

on the floor and number of utterances is that of L2 females from private schools, i.e.

participants 2B:L2FP and 2E:L2FP. 2B:L2FP's total floor time is almost double that of

the other participants at 4 minutes 5,02 seconds but her number of utterances (13) is

approximately the expected number. This indicates that 2B:L2FP took roughly the same

number of opportunities on the floor as the others, but spoke for much longer once she

had gained the floor. 2E:L2FP's contribution was average in terms of length (2 minutes

5,08 seconds) but was double most of the others in terms of number of utterances (20),

which indicates many short utterances. The following extract is characteristic of

2E:L2FP's participation:

Extract Eight

2045	2B:L2FP	I think Britain is just justifying itself why it wants ... because I'm sure you could do without them (140,0)
2046	2T	/ But you (0,35)
2047	2E:L2FP	\ Not in the cold war I don't think they could do without // them
2048	2B:L2FP	// no I mean before the cold war you could have you know stayed out of the cold war whatever but like (6,87)
2049	2E:L2FP	/ But I think (0,62)
2050	2D:L2MS	\ How would you stay out of it? (0,86)
2051	2E:L2FP	Exactly - Britain was a major power, Britain and France and the United States ... America had started the thing with Hiroshima aah and the and the atomic bomb (19,52)
2052	2D:L2MS	Nagasaki (0,92)
	2E:L2FP	Thank you and so um so I mean it just started all that so they couldn't exactly stay out cause they were major chains in the whole thing (9,78)
2053	2T	Mmm who was that again one of the states in terms of ... but actually give to the expense of social spending (134,47)
2054	2E:L2FP	Ja the Russian people I know they had to give up a lot ... and all their military expenditures that they had compared to other countries (15,90)
2055	2T	Mmm any response to what (2E:L2FP) said? (3,0)

Note how in 2047, 2E:L2FP is successful in a case of simultaneous self-selection with the

tutor. When a further inadvertent overlap occurs in 2049 and 2050, 2D:L2MS is

successful, but 2E:L2FP takes up his point immediately in 2051 and develops it herself.

The tutor's opening of the floor in 2055 may be interpreted as an attempt to prevent

2E:L2FP from dominating the floor, given the context of the preceding discussion. Her

grasp of the subject is evident in her questions and may in part account for her frequent self-selection:

Extract Nine

2060	2E:L2FP	But can I ask um NATO was was a start of America's defense against the Warsaw Pact right? (5,66)
2061	2T	Umm I think there's a x // xx You know that's a response to NATO
2062	2E:L2FP	// Is it? (0,35)
	2T	but I'm not so sure I think we can make ah (9,7)
2063	2E:L2FP	But if that's the case then what stopped NATO from having a xxx now because the Russian like the big //
2064	2T	// ja (0,3)
	2E:L2FP	Russian you // know whatever has fallen so why do they still have a
2065	2T	// revolution (0,68)
	2E:L2FP	NATO? (13,63)
2066	2T	Ja that's that's a good question. I think what is happening with ... aah rectifying its role you know with the (11,52)
2067	2E:L2FP	But I mean if they need like an international body like ah like ah NATO ... new wing to the UN one that's for the whole world (12,67)
2068	2T	Well I think that is one of the issues to be considered but ... *(changes topic)*

Both extracts show examples of how other participants prompt 2E:L2FP in her discussion. In an interview, 2C:L1MS commented favourably on 2E:L2FP's participation, saying that it was unusual for a student from a DET background [40] and ascribing her volubility to a personal interest in the subject.

The only student to take the floor a comparable number of times was 2C:L1MS with 19 utterances. However, like 2E:L2FP, his total time was close to the average (2 minutes 21,94 seconds) which indicates many utterances of shorter duration.

It is interesting to note that 2C:L1MS's utterances were evenly spread between formal constraints (5, i.e. 26% of his utterances), backchannels (5, i.e. 26%) and the assumption of an open floor or response to a general invitation (6, i.e. 31,6%). He, of all the students in the group, made the most use of this last type of access type, double that of 2A:L1FS, the closest score, indicating a measure of confidence. The following example

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[40] He was incorrect in this assumption; however, his comment is perhaps more enlightening as a result.

illustrates how nomination followed by formal constraints, in the form of the tutor's probing questions, motivated 2C:L1MS's participation:

Extract 10

2031	2T:	Mmm but I mean they also do mention deterrence. I mean what do you guys think about this deterrence (name: 2C:L1MS)? (7,59)
2032	2C:L1MS:	Um well it's something that deters or or prevents something from happening (7,93)
2033	2T:	Mmm between who and what? (0,92)
2034	2C:L1MS:	And um // probably probably deterring the aggressor
2035	2T:	// cause I think that that answers the question (2,36)
	2C:L1MS:	I should imagine (3,72)
2036	2T:	Mmm so who's the aggressor in this instance (2,63)
2037	2C:L1MS:	Well the communists who the like you know the Warsaw Pact (4,79)

2E:L2FP's high score, on the other hand, was classified mainly as formal constraint motivation (7, i.e. 35%) with only two responses to general invitations and two assumptions of an open floor (i.e. 10% each). Thus it would seem that her participation, although substantial, was slightly more motivated in terms of the classification of utterances. Similarly, 2B:L2FP scored high on formal constraint motivation with five utterances (out of her total of 13, i.e. 38,5%) being classified as such. It is interesting that this tutor made a point of selecting each participant once by name, with the exception of 2E:L2FP, whom he did not nominate at all [41], and 2C:L1MS, whom he nominated three times [42], although once 2C:L1MS did not take up the nomination.

An outstanding feature of Tutorial Two is that it demonstrates approximate equality across categories (male, female, L1, L2 etc) in terms of time on the floor. This is apparently significant in that just over half the students were L2 speakers of English. However, two out of three of these were from private schools and the remaining one, 2D:L2MS, scored the lowest in terms of number of utterances (10) and all but 24,5 seconds of his time on the floor is accounted for by one utterance, which was motivated by nomination.

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[41] It should be remembered that this student had the highest number of utterances (20) in this tutorial which may be a possible explanation for the tutor's failure to nominate her.

[42] The comment above regarding a possible explanation for the tutor's failure to nominate 2E:L2FP may be countered by the fact that 2C:L1MS was the second-most frequent speaker on the floor, with 19 utterances.

4.1.3 TUTORIAL THREE

Composition of the Group:

L1	MALE	FEMALE	L2	MALE	FEMALE
PRIVATE	0	0	PRIVATE	1	1
STATE	0	5	STATE	1	0

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 8

TUTORIAL 3: UTTERANCES

152

100

32

0

L1FS   L2FP   L2MP   L2MS
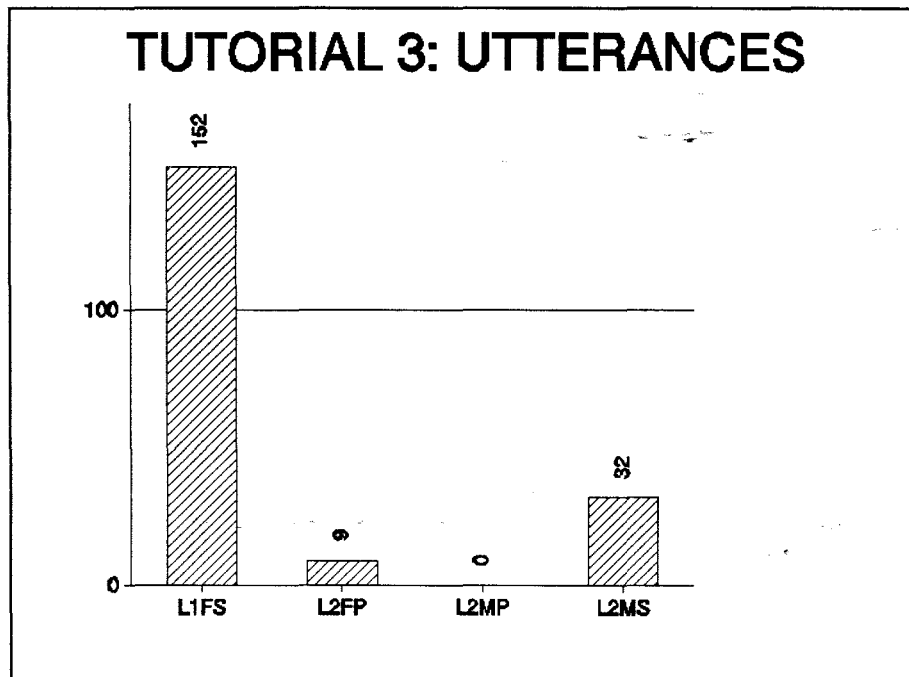
Figure 5: TUTORIAL 3: Utterances as Percentage of Expected Number, by category
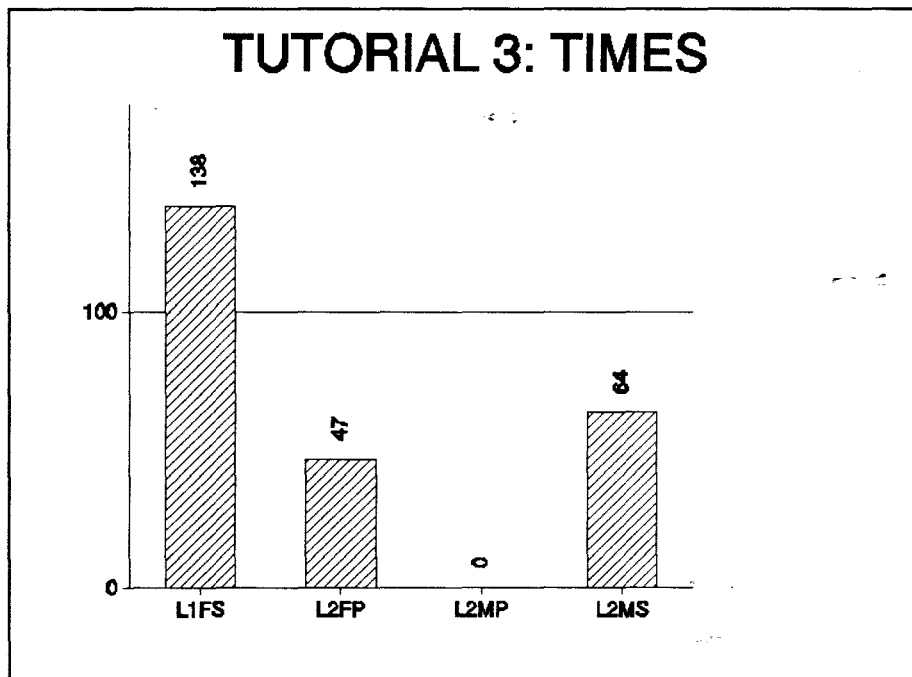
TUTORIAL 3: TIMES

Figure 6: TUTORIAL 3: Times as Percentage of Expected Length, by category

This tutorial was run by a 'coloured' male Honours student and consisted of eight students. The composition of the group is interesting in its relation to the patterns of interaction observed. Five of the eight students were L1 female students from state schools. They were well known to each other as they mixed socially, and two of them lived in the same residence. The other students were somewhat isolated in contrast to the close-knit relationship between these females. Extracts from the transcript below show clearly how these students formed a supportive unit, story-chaining and inter-weaving their utterances to dominate the floor. Particularly noticeable was the collaboration in the interaction of 3E:L1FS and 3F:L1FS, who had clearly prepared some work for the tutorial together and frequently wove their contributions together cooperatively without competitiveness. It is worth quoting an extended example:

Extract 11

3099	3E:L1FS:	.... Ok, um .... because they were .... attempted to gain their their // (28,87)
3100	3F:L1FS:	// achieve their goals // (0,83)
	3E:L1FS:	// achieve their goals, ja. Um, they also would attack smaller, less prominent *(laughs, as does 3F:L1FS)* because they were a in Britain sorry, I lived in Britain so this is just a personal ... orange hair ... All over, not just concentrated in Britain *(laughs)* (37,99)
	ALL	*(laughter)* (1,11)
3101	3C:L1FS:	Whoo! Yay! (1,58)
	3E:L1FS:	Uh, they were prominent for only .... they can also be seen in like the uh // (17,93)
3102	3C:L1FS:	// xxx // (0,57)
3103	3E:L1FS:	// Sorry? // *(To 3C:L1FS)*(0,62)
	3C:L1FS:	*(Mouths to 3E:L1FS)*// xxx (2,09)
		(3E:L1FS pulls a face at 3C:L1FS)
3104	3E:L1FS:	No xxx *(general laughter)* (2,18)
3105	3F:L1FS:	And just, ja, there were other like .... became more like a trend *(looks to 3E:L1FS)* // (13,75)
3106	3E:L1FS:	// Ja // (0,56)
3107	3T:	// And the xxx .... you said ....like // a ..
3108	3E:L1FS:	// Um, we
	3T:	xxx (3,49)
	3E:L1FS	decided that as a social movement .... the punk leaders had no authority // (31,03)
		// outside the // (0,85)
3109	3F:L1FS:	// outside the punk movement. So um, they
	3E:L1FS:	were .... they achieved through the publication *(Looking at 3F:L1FS)* Is it publication? *(3F:L1FS just looks at her)* Publicisation of their acts of violence .... and they were um *(giggles)* // (21,17)
3110	3F:L1FS:	// That's how they used the media // (0,86)
3111	3E:L1FS:	// Ja // (0,68)
	3F:L1FS:	// the media ja. Like the media focused on it a lot // (3,17)
3112	3E:L1FS:	// ja, they were all over postcards // (1,64)
3113	3F:L1FS:	// Ja, their radical, their radical hairstyles and clothing and stuff. That was one way they achieved something. (7,07)

A couple of features of the interaction between these two students are evident in this extract: the frequency with which these two speakers exchange the floor with no perceptible gap between their utterances and the supportive way their utterances intersect.

In 3111, 3E:L1FS supports 3F:L1FS's point with a minimal response and expands on it in 3112. Frequent prompts and the extensive use of non-verbal communication between the two indicate a closeness in their relationship not found between the participants in other tutorials. It may be that the presence of a close friend is connected in some way to the volubility of these participants. In several of the interviews (e.g. those with 2C:L1MS and 1L:L1MP) the opinion was expressed that the presence of friends may encourage interaction as a result of a perceived supportive environment, particularly amongst female students. It should also be pointed out that there were no L1 males in the tutorial group, although it is impossible to gauge what effect the presence of L1 males might have had on interaction. Another important aspect is the fact that six of the eight participants are female, which may have contributed to the 'all-together-now' type of floor evident in the interaction as it is regarded as typical of female-dominated groups [43].

Of the five L1 females, only one (3A:L1FS) had fewer turns than expected (4 as opposed to 22), and another scored close to the expected score (3D:L1FS : 24 utterances). The same two had less time than expected (3A:L1FS : 42,6 seconds as opposed to an expected length of 2 minutes 30,5 seconds; and 3D:L1FS : 1 minute 1,34 seconds). The other females in this category all exceeded the expected scores by a significant margin and their volubility masks the smaller degree of participation by 3A:L1FS and 3D:L1FS (and may be responsible for the fact that gender differences were not found to be statistically significant):

PARTICIPANT	UTTERANCES	TIME
3C:L1FS	40	7 minutes 31,88 secs
3E:L1FS	52	4 minutes 52,33 secs
3F:L1FS	47	3 minutes 9,22 secs

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[43] The participation of the two males in this context is discussed in detail below.

Although 3E:L1FS and 3F:L1FS dominate the floor when discussing their prepared work, their presence on the floor is not diminished during the rest of the tutorial. 3C:L1FS's contribution also was not limited to her prepared work although this factor certainly resulted in her having the longest time on the floor of all the students. 3C:L1FS's contribution is at times somewhat disruptive, e.g. one of her frequent 'whoops' is quoted in utterance 3101 in Extract 11 above and her comment in 3102, although apparently a humorous prompt, delays 3C's explanation and results in 3C:L1FS pulling a face at her. While undoubtedly intended to be supportive, 3C:L1FS's exuberance does tend to disrupt the flow of the current speaker's discourse.

The remaining students (all L2 speakers) all failed to gain a fair share of the floor and 3B:L2MP did not speak at all. 3G:L2FP had two utterances and 1 minute 10,44 seconds on the floor, while 3H:L2MS had seven utterances lasting a total of 1 minute 36,24 seconds. It is interesting to note that while 3G:L2FP only had two utterances, once she had the floor her utterances were generally longer than most. Her 1 minute 10,44 seconds comprised only two utterances (average 35,22 seconds each) whereas the average for the category L1FS was only 5,61 seconds each (167 utterances in 17 minutes 17,37 seconds). Her high MLU explains the statistical significance of the relationship between language and MLU ($p = 0.0305$), education and MLU ($p = 0.0071$), and speaker identity and MLU ($p = 0.0461$).

In terms of the differences between categories, the tendency of some L1FS participants to dominate results in stark contrasts between males and females:

		ACTUAL	EXPECTED	A/E as %
UTTERANCES	MALES	7	44	16
	FEMALES	169	132	128
TIME	MALES	1m 36,24s	5m 1s	32
	FEMALES	18m 28,21s	15m 3s	123

between L1 and L2 students:

		ACTUAL	EXPECTED	A/E as %
UTTERANCES	L1	167	110	152
	L2	9	66	13,6
TIME	L1	17m 17,37s	12m 32,5s	138
	L2	2m 47,8s	7m 31,5s	37

and between state and privately educated students:

		ACTUAL	EXPECTED	A/E as %
UTTERANCES	STATE	174	132	132
	PRIVATE	2	44	4,5
TIME	STATE	18m 54,01s	15m 3s	125,6
	PRIVATE	1m 10,44s	5m 1s	23

Turning to the classification of utterances, it is particularly significant that a fair proportion of the utterances by the group of L1FS participants were self-selections on an open floor or in response to a general invitation. In other words, they were confident in taking the floor and more motivated conditions such as formal constraints or nomination were not necessary to elicit contributions from these students:

PARTICIPANT	SELF-SELECTIONS	TOTAL UTTERANCES	% SELF-SELECTIONS
3C:L1FS	13	40	32,5
3E:L1FS	14	52	27
3F:L1FS	18	47	38,3

These three students' utterances were unusual in their classification in that each of them had utterances in almost all of the categories in the model, although there were individual trends within this general spread. The quieter members of this group, 3A:L1FS and 3D:L1FS, tended to self-select even more: half of 3A:L1FS's four utterances and 10 of 3D:L1FS's 24 utterances (41,6 %) fall into this category.

There was also an unusually large amount of violative overlapping in this tutorial, mostly by the vocal female group: a total of 10 violative overlaps came from 3C:L1FS, 3E:L1FS and 3F:L1FS, with 3E:L1FS accounting for five of them, all of which were successful [44].

By contrast, the very quiet members of the tutorial seldom self-selected and their utterances were strongly motivated, on the whole, by external selection: 3G:L2FP's three utterances comprise two motivated by formal constraint and one by gaze; 3H:L2MS's seven utterances were mostly coded as formal constraint (3), hearing checks (2) and one each as motivated by nomination and gaze. Strangely, for a generally reticent participant, his utterances also included one violative overlap.

While the closeness of the relationships between 3C:L1FS, 3E:L1FS and 3F:L1FS may be responsible for their confidence and volubility, it may also be responsible for the reticence of the other group members. It is perhaps significant that 3H:L2MS directs all

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[44] Although counted separately because of their questionable legitimacy on the floor, overlaps are frequently alternately classified as instances of self-selection, which would increase the percentages of self-selection for speakers 3C:L1FS, 3E:L1FS and 3F:L1FS.

his English utterances at the tutor and alternates between staring at his papers and glancing at the tutor throughout his time on the floor. When requiring clarification, he addresses 3G:L2FP in Xhosa. Most of 3G:L2FP's time on the floor is taken up by an utterance in response to gaze by 3H:L2MS when he appears to be floundering in his explanation. She responds only once to an utterance by one of the other members of the group. Thus it is suggested that the light-hearted in-group support generated by the three voluble L1FS students has the effect of alienating 3H:L2MS and 3G:L2FP, discouraging participation on their parts. This is supported by the fact that the relationship between language and number of utterances was found to be statistically significant (p = 0.0414).

A unique feature of this tutorial is the reduced participation of the tutor. This is the only tutorial where the number of utterances by the tutor (70) is significantly exceeded by the total number of student utterances (168) [45]. Whether this has anything to do with the disproportionate share of the floor cannot really be determined. 3T nominates the next speaker three times: once each for 3E:L1FS, 3D:L1FS and 3H:L2MS, and in each instance the nominated speaker takes the floor. Whether 3T could have shared out the floor more equitably through the greater use of nomination is impossible to predict; similarly it is not clear whether 3T would have utilised additional turns on the floor for nomination anyway.

4.1.4 TUTORIAL FOUR

Composition of the Group:

L1	MALE	FEMALE	L2	MALE	FEMALE
PRIVATE	1	0	PRIVATE	0	0
STATE	2	4	STATE	1	0

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 8

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[45] In Tutorial Five there is a small margin between the number of utterances by the students and the number by the tutor in favour of the students.
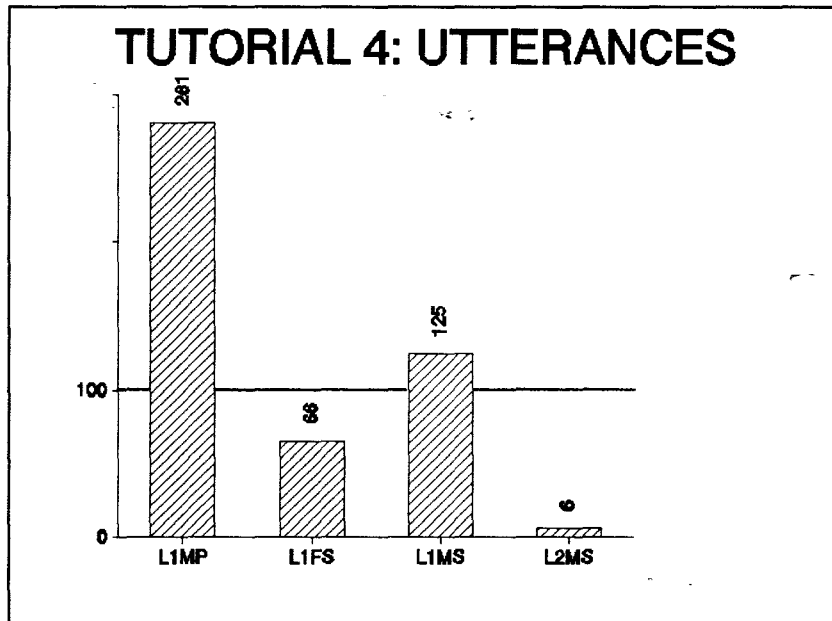
Figure 7: TUTORIAL 4: Utterances as Percentage of Expected Number, by category
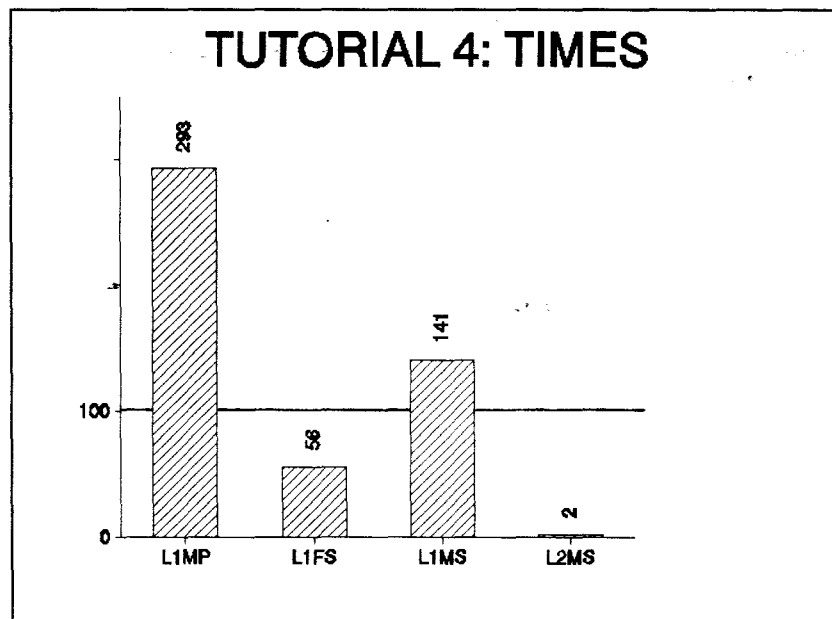
Figure 8: TUTORIAL 4: Times as Percentage of Expected Length, by category

The tutor for this class was an L1 male masters student. The group consisted of eight students, four of whom were L1 females, all from state schools. However the phenomenon described in Tutorial Three did not occur in this tutorial with respect to this group of females. Nowhere in the transcription is there any indication that the females in Tutorial Four knew each other particularly well and their records indicate that they live in different residences and in fact in different halls. This adds weight to the assertion that the females in Tutorial Three behaved in the way they did because of pre-existing social relationships between them. In Tutorial Four the most voluble members of the group, both in terms of number of utterances and time on the floor were:

PARTICIPANT	UTTERANCES	TIME
4G:L1MP	42	4m 9,7s
4H:L1MS	39	4m 0,32s
4A:L1FS	30	2m 13s

Given that, all things being equal, the expected number of utterances would have been 16 per student, and the expected length of floor time would have been 1 minute 25,98 seconds per student, it is clear that the two L1 males in particular dominated the floor in both aspects.

There is a sharp contrast between the scores of these students and those of the rest of the group, notably 4B:L1MS, 4C:L1FS and 4D:L2MS. 4B:L1MS did not speak at all, neither did 4C:L1FS, and 4D:L2MS spoke once for a total of 1,56 seconds. 4E:L1FS, with four utterances and a total floor time of 9,97 seconds, and 4F:L1FS, with 10 utterances in 47,43 seconds, spoke slightly more, but still well below their fair share.

What is significant about the contrasts between these scores is the effect it has on the category scores. For example, in the category L1MS, 4B:L1MS's zero score and 4H:L1MS's high scores mask each other, giving a category total of 40 utterances (as

opposed to 32 utterances for the category's expected score) and 4 minutes 0,32 seconds (as opposed to the expected 2 minutes 50,5 seconds). Thus the scores for this category as percentages of the expected scores are not extreme at 125% and 141% respectively. However, the masking effect mentioned above obscures the dominance of 4H:L1MS's behaviour in this tutorial. In reality, 4H:L1MS's scores are of the order of 4G:L1MP's which represent 281% of expected score for utterances and 293% for time on the floor - in other words, a significant excess. This is also evident statistically in that the relationship between education and the total number of utterances per speaker shows the greatest significance with $p = 0.0991$ - presumably because 4G:L1MP is the only private school student in the group.

A masking effect is also found in the category L1FS where 4A:L1FS's high scores raise the percentage scores of this category substantially, although due to being combined with the low scores of three students, 4C:L1FS, 4E:L1FS and 4F:L1FS, not sufficiently to approach the expected scores.

Clearly the bulk of the utterances and time in this tutorial is attributed to the L1 students, and within that group, to two of the three L1 males. The classification of the utterances yields further insights.

A total of 19 of 4A:L1FS's 30 utterances were classified as responses to a general invitation or an open floor (i.e. 63%). The remainder were mainly attributed to formal constraints (6 i.e. 20%) and two minimal responses. 4G:L1MP had 21 out of a total of 42 utterances classified as self-selection (i.e. 50%), while 4H:L1MS had 19 self-selections out of 39 utterances (i.e. 48,7%). It is interesting to note that 4G:L1MP, emerging as a dominant speaker in this tutorial, was the only participant other than the tutor to exhibit the use of violative overlaps. There were two clearcut cases and a possible further one where classification was uncertain:

Extract 12

```
4317    4T              \   You get you get a lot of the um ex-servicemen coming back // and
4318    4G:L1MP         )                                                           // ja
        4T             /    stamping it out and left this //
4319    4G:L1MP                                           // ja it's xxx
```

Because 4T does not continue with his utterance and due to insufficient knowledge of the subject matter on my part, it is impossible to tell whether he was one syllable away from the end of his turn (which would render 4319 a misinterpreted T.R.P.) or further away (which would mean that 4G:L1MP was overlapping violatively).

4F:L1FS's turns, while few and short, are indicative of confidence in terms of the model of classification. 50% are self-selection in response to a general invitation or an open floor, 40% are motivated by formal constraint and one utterance, 10%, is a misinterpreted T.R.P. in which she wins the floor. This represents a fairly high proportion of self-selection, unusual in a participant whose scores fall so far short of the expected share.

The tutor's role appears to support the dominance of 4G:L1MP and 4H:L1MS - he only nominates a particular participant to speak once and that participant is 4H:L1MS. Over 25% of the tutor's utterances are supportive minimal responses and many of these are interpolated within the long utterances of 4G:L1MP and 4H:L1MS, as well as those of 4A:L1FS. Extract 13 (on page 141) is a typical example of the interaction in Tutorial Four.

It is interesting that these two males are also usually the ones who support the tutor through minimal responses, as may be seen at the beginning of Extract 13 above. The impression created is that of a discussion between the tutor and these two students, with occasional input from 4A:L1FS; the roles of the other members of the group are reduced, for the most part, to the status of on-lookers. When laughter occurs, it is typically only these four who laugh, further supporting the assertion that the conversation is really only taking part between these particular participants. Interviewee 4C:L1FS suggested that this is the usual pattern, and ascribed the dominance of 4G:L1MP and 4H:L1MS to their interest in and knowledge of the subject matter. Conversely, the interviewee suggested a lack of interest in the subject as a possible cause of the reticence of the other members, as well as the fact that this department has a policy of frequent tutor change-overs which, she says, has the effect of increasing the shyness of the quieter students. In this context it is perhaps significant that 4T was relatively new to the group at the time of the recording.

Extract 13

| 4042 | 4G:L1MP | When did the industrial revolution come to Russia? (2,28) |

4043 4T — Umm well towards the end and uh, we gonna go we're gonna talk about it now. The reforms that came in under the court xxx the finance minister ummm they eventually got through the industrial revolution as // such they just used the Western technology so they

4044 4G:L1MP — // ja ja (0,98)

4T — created a kind of an artificial industry // umm they built up factories

4045 4H:L1MS — // uhmm (0,56)

4T — and and towns uh artificially which uh // um which led to a lot of

4046 4H:L1MS — // ja (0,94)

4T — dislocation um (31,77)

4047 4G:L1MP — Cause they ... the industrial revolutions // (6,35)

4048 4T — // mmm // (0,35)

4049 4G:L1MP — // Won't it, won't it have something to do with the industrial revolution? But the farming system in Russia - didn't that change? (4,7)

4050 4T — / Ja (0,29)

4G:L1MP — \ It change it changed from a system when people just owned the land // themselves right and then um they changed the system

4051 4T — // mmmm (0,37)

4G:L1MP — where there were like landlords and uh the kulak people like controlling the farms // almost like a collective system // but then I

4052 4T — // jaaa (0,33)

4053 4T — // mm (0,88)

4G:L1MP — can't see umm how the population would have doubled because that insists on it re-working // cause like it wouldn't benefit the

4054 4T — // ja (0,51)

4055 4H:L1MS — // uhh

4G:L1MP — people (22,64)

It should be pointed out that 4T's delivery style in the recorded tutorial is strikingly monotonous, with frequent hesitation markers and problems in information structuring in explanations, for example. He appears to have a good grasp of the subject matter and this may simply be his usual manner. Another possible reason, boredom, is suggested by this utterance near the beginning of the recorded section:

Extract 14

4012 4T Okay well we'll try and cover it now. I'm not gonna go into any detail. We've done this tut three years in a row ... so we'll just look at the origins and results and how the war affected it (16,59)

Whatever the cause, 4T has trouble initiating and maintaining interaction. The fact that

Figure 9: TUTORIAL 5: Utterances as Percentage of Expected Number, by category
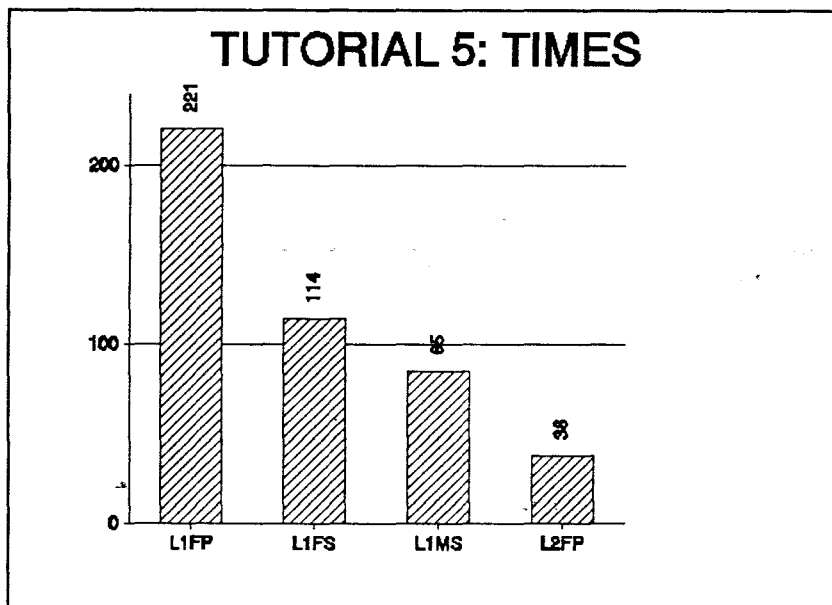
Figure 10: TUTORIAL 5: Times as Percentage of Expected Length, by category

The tutor in this group forms a contrast to those already discussed in several important respects. She is the only full-time member of staff recorded, and female, with over 20 years' experience as a university lecturer. This is also one of two tutorials where the number of utterances by the tutor (106) is exceeded by that of the students (141).

5T also contrasts with other tutors in that she makes fairly extensive use of echoes in her responses to student contributions. Typical of 'teacher talk', these are frequently used as a springboard for elaboration and as a way of acknowledging the input of students, as the following extracts show:

Extract 16

5104	5T	... to deal with that question what do you begin to think about? (80,16)
5105	5D:L2FP	an example of deception // (1,79)
5106	5T	// mhm mhm (1,47)
5107	5C:L1MS	I think first you would think about about exactly what it is xxx // xxx (5,45)
5108	5T	// alright and how do you arrive at a definition of what enchantment involves? (4,17)
5109	5G:L1FS	magic? (0,33)
5110	5C:L1MS	yeah (0,23)
5111	5T	magic yes - like card tricks? (2,34)
5112	5C:L1MS	/ no (0,38)
5113	5G:L1FS	\ fairy magic (0,49)
5114	5T	fairy magic yes you'd automatically focus on the fairies ...

Two of the tutor's utterances in this extract deserve mention: in 5108 is an example of a tactic she frequently uses i.e. to pick up on a student's main point and ask the class to develop it. Similarly in 5111, she simultaneously acknowledges a point and requests clarification.

Extract 17

5148	5G:L1FS	oh yeah the lecturer went on and on // ... reality big emphasis on
5149	5A:L1FP	// jaa (0,3)
	5G:L1FS	reality (10,95)
5150	5T	so what's the opposite of reality? (2,36)
5151	ALL	illusion (0,57)
5152	5T	so illusion ...

Once again, in addition to the straightforward echo in 5152, the tutor picks up on the main concept in 5G:L1FS's utterance in 5148 and develops it in 5150.

The tutorial is characterised by much laughter and the relationship between the tutor and her students is relatively familiar and informal. Much of the initial part of the section analysed consists of a series of attempts by the students to find out more about the forthcoming exam (see Extract 18 below) and much of the laughter occurs here as the students are clearly aware that they are pushing the limits of their friendly relationship with the tutor, causing them mild embarrassment [46]. They also seem to be aware that the tutor is successfully avoiding answering their questions and this 'battle of wits' adds to the humour of the situation. All in all, the laughter appears to reflect and contribute to a relaxed atmosphere in the group.

Extract 18

5032	5H:L1FS	So would they ever repeat a question? (1,87)
5033	5T	I doubt that they would repeat it (1,34)
5034	5A:L1FP	/ What else would they ask? (1,02)
5035	5H:L1FS	\ And the pairs ... could you write something on that? (3,67)
5036	5T	You could if you were asked to (1,45)
	ALL	(laughter)
5037	5D:L2FP	Could you be more specific? // would we be asked to? (3,5)
5038	5G:L1FS	// you can turn off the video while we
	ALL	// (laughter for entire length of 5038)
	5G:L1FS	ask this question and then ask really innocent ones when we put it back on again (5,59)
5039	5A:L1FP	Are they asking us context questions // xxx essay questions or (5,5)
	ALL	// (laughter)
5040	5T	You'll find BOTH kinds of questions on // this exam (2,33)
	ALL	// (laughter)
5041	5A:L1FP	Really? So you can we // does that mean we can answer a
	ALL	// (laughter)
	5A:L1FP	contextual question ... and a proper question on somebody else? (14,87)
5042	5T	You think a contextual // question is IM // proper? (1,79)
5043	5A:L1FP	// No (0,28)
	ALL	// (laughter)
5044	5A:L1FP	// No I don't think I oh well you know what I mean (1,96)
5044	5T	Yeah (0,4)
5045	5G:L1FS	So there's gonna be four questions? // (1,22)
	ALL	// (laughter)

---

[46] While these utterances are not strictly 'opportunities for learning', they nonetheless still reflect patterns of willingness to speak and have therefore been included in the analysis.

Although 5G:L1FS's question in 5045 is legitimate, laughter follows. I ascribe this to an ongoing state of hilarity in the group, who are aware of their 'cheek' in asking the preceding probing questions.

The group consists of eight students: six females and two males, and thus the expected number of utterances per participant is nearly 18 (17,75) and the expected length of floor time 55,3 seconds each. Two females stand out as dominant: 5G:L1FS, with 36 utterances and a total floor time of 141,07 seconds, and 5H:L1FS, a third year student, with 37 utterances in 64,34 seconds. The two appear to be friends; this is supported by their frequent interaction 'off the floor' and the fact that they often answer each other's questions. On two occasions they speak in chorus for an extended period and the fact that neither finds it necessary to relinquish the floor is further evidence of the relative closeness of their relationship. The extract below is an example.

Extract 19

5228	5H:L1FS	that's in the one paper // and then the other paper is Township
5229	5G:L1FS	// then the other one is plays: Township
	5H:L1FS	Plains, Godot, Midsummer Night's Dream and MacBeth (6,87)
	5G:L1FS	Plains, Godot, Midsummer Night's Dream, Macbeth (5,31)
5230	5T	I see (0,38)

In terms of classification, self-selection accounts for around 50% of their utterances for both students and this frequency of self-selection also provides more opportunities for external selection by formal constraint, as is demonstrated by the following extract.

Extract 20

5076	5G:L1FS	you just have to write ... what I was told // by one of the the
5077	5H:L1FS	// but how do you know
	5G:L1FS	lecturers (3,96)
	5H:L1FS	what they want? (1,19)
5078	5G:L1FS	pshew (shrugs, looking at 5H:L1FS) (0,4)
5079	5T	you think ... what they want? (2,46)
5080	5H:L1FS	/ mm (0,3)
5081	5G:L1FS	\ well I was talking ... what we think is the right answer (14,74)
5082	5T	this was a lecturer who told you this? (1,84)
5083	5G:L1FS	yes so basically I mean if you ... serious point on one of the books // ... and you write your own thing // xxx (12,83)
5084	5T	// mhm (0,43)
5085	5T	// well I can give you ... evidence for your own position (12,28)
5086	5G:L1FS	yeah and if you back it up surely they should ... (2,1)

The initial self-selection by 5G:L1FS in 5076 starts a series of questions and responses which account for a further four utterances by this speaker. The fact that both 5G:L1FS and 5H:L1FS are unusually successful in situations of overlapping speech (see below) is further evidence of their dominance. It is particularly noteworthy that 5G:LIFS interrupts the tutor violatively - and succeeds:

Extract 21

5045	5G:L1FS	So there's gonna be four questions? (1,22)
5046	5T	A regular essay question on // (1,45)
5047	5G:L1FS	// just four questions on ... is that it?
		(7,13)

The only other participant who exceeds the expected score in terms of number of utterances is 5A:L1FP, with 22. Seven of these are clustered in the first few minutes of the analysed section, where she is one of the main speakers trying to obtain information concerning the exam, and two of these utterances are motivated by external selection. Another five of 5A:L1FP's utterances, later on in the tutorial, are as a result of external selection; all in all one third of her utterances fall into this category. However, nearly half (45%) are coded as self-selection, plus two inadvertent overlaps and one violative overlap. In terms of floor time, 5A:L1FP is clearly dominant, having the second longest time on the floor of all the students in this tutorial: 122,24 seconds, which gives her a MLU of 5,56 seconds, the highest in the tutorial group. As she was one of only two students from a private school, this explains the statistically significant relationship between MLU and education ($p = 0.0378$).

The other five participants have less than a fair share of the floor. The two males, 5C:L1MS and 5F:L1MS, have 14 utterances each and 29,32 seconds and 17,7 seconds on the floor respectively, while 5E:L1FS (eight utterances, 39,54 seconds), 5D:L2FP (eight utterances, 20,88 seconds) and 5B:L1FS (three utterances, 7,64 seconds) are even quieter. It is interesting that the three highest MLUs were those of female students and the two males' MLUs were two of the lowest three. This relationship between gender and MLU is reflected statistically, although it is not of the required level for significance ($p = 0.0755$).

In terms of classification, 5E:L1FS's contribution is interesting. 5G:L1FS and 5H:L1FS make eight and six inadvertent overlaps respectively and are successful every time. 5E:L1FS, in contrast, makes two bids for the floor which are simultaneous with those of other participants, and loses out both times. The tutor apparently notices 5E:L1FS's difficulty in gaining the floor as the following extract demonstrates:

<u>Extract 22</u>

5131	5T	... like self-deception? and delusion? and dreams? (10,12)
5132	5A:L1FP	/ like fairy juice (0,83)
5133	5E:L1FS	\ xxx *(gestural bid)*
5134	5T	fairy juice but what were YOU going to say? *(looks at 5E:L1FS)* (2,13)
5135	5E:L1FS	um like you know ... or something // like that *(trails off)* (16,69)
5136	5T	// mm (0,27)

Despite 5T's prompting, 5E:L1FS's response in 5135 is hesitant, as is evident in the hedges at the start of the utterance and the sociocentric sequence with declining pitch and volume at the end.

In terms of categories, the interaction in this tutorial appears to favour L1 female students slightly, with the category L1FP having 123,9% of her expected number of utterances and 221% of her expected time on the floor and the category L1FS having 118,3% of the expected score for utterances and 114% in terms of expected time on the floor. In category L1FP the impression is accurate. 5A:L1FP is the sole member of this category and speaks more than her fair share. This is particularly significant because she is not a mother-tongue speaker of English. It is possibly her educational background at a Zimbabwean private school which prompted her to claim English as her L1 and this is important in terms of the discourse norms she would bring with her to university.

With reference to category L1FS, however, once again a masking effect obscures the very different behaviours of the four students in this category. The two particularly voluble members, 5G:L1FS and 5H:L1FS, have been discussed in detail above; the other two score significantly below the expected scores individually. When considering this difference it should be borne in mind that 5H:L1FS is a third year student, which could result in greater confidence in this context, and 5G:L1FS appears to be her friend. It has

been reported above that the presence of a friend or friends in a tutorial may serve to increase certain individuals' volubility. However, the presence of two quieter members in this category means that the very high scores of 5G:L1FS and 5H:L1FS are masked in the analysis by category.

4.2   ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

On the basis of category membership, up to four students per tutorial were selected for interviews. As with the participation in recorded tutorials, participation in interviews was voluntary and several students who were requested to give interviews declined.

Altogether 12 students were interviewed. The categories were represented as indicated in the table below:

L1	MALE	FEMALE	L2	MALE	FEMALE
PRIVATE	2	1	PRIVATE	0	2
STATE	1	4	STATE	2	0

The data gleaned from the interviews is presented below [47]. It is organised thematically, rather than with reference to the particular tutorial under discussion, as students displayed a remarkable similarity of opinion across subjects. Data of especial relevance to particular tutorials has been integrated into the discussion of interaction in Section 4.1.

In addition to a general summary of points made by the students in the interviews, a selection of quotations which exemplify the points discussed is provided. 'I' is used to indicate utterances by the interviewer and the interviewee is identified according to the conventions used in the preceding sections of this chapter. Other relevant quotations are in Appendix Nine. The specific excerpts referred to are indicated by means of numbers preceded by §, in brackets, at the end of the relevant paragraph e.g. (§1).

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[47] The Questionnaire which formed the basis for these interviews is to be found in Appendix Two.

Something which stood out from the data from the interviews was an extraordinary sensitivity amongst students to the composition of groups in terms of gender and culture. Interviewees frequently mentioned that one or other category (male, female, L1, L2 etc) may interact more if they were in the majority. Similarly, many comments showed an awareness of their own membership of the categories and an alignment with those who shared these characteristics. Interviewees frequently showed this membefship with comments like "I'm the only female in that group" or revealed assumptions through comments like "he talks a lot because he went to a private school" (although the person in question was in fact from a state school). Often these implicit meanings were more revealing than the interviewees' stated opinions and sometimes contradicted them.

4.2.1 WHAT MAKES TUTORIALS ENJOYABLE?

Without exception, and without prompting, all the interviewees mentioned interaction or active participation as one of the key factors in their enjoyment of tutorials. Being able to bring in one's own ideas and hearing the different viewpoints of other students were both mentioned frequently as positive aspects of the lively interaction in 'good' tutorials (§1, §2).

4.2.2 WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF TUTORIALS?

Students appear to perceive a strong link between interaction and tutorials, particularly in opposition to the kind of learning that takes place in lectures, by virtue of the difference in the size of the group (§3).

The importance of interaction and the link between interaction and the purpose of tutorials is underlined in 4C:L1FS's last two utterances (§3) (§4).

4.2.3 WHAT BENEFITS (IF ANY) ARE THERE IN INTERACTION?

Although they did not use the terminology, students recognised the importance of active learning through interaction. One student (2C:L1MS) made the point that learning through interaction, through sharing ideas, is unlike being taught, saying that his tutor facilitates the learning process by helping the students to teach themselves.

Several students also mentioned that a good debate or discussion made time pass quickly (§5, §6). An instrumental view of the value of tutorials is evident in some responses, for example that of 1H:L2FP who mentioned that interactive tutorials give one more material for essays and examinations (§7, §8). Many students said that discussing a topic makes one remember the content much more clearly and for a longer time afterwards than reading about it or hearing a lecture on it, even if the information discussed was not new (§5, §9, §10).

The idea of learning from peers was stressed by several students (§11). 1H:L2FP, for example, pointed out that she is forced to evaluate her own views when she hears the views of others (§12). An appreciation for the way debate can challenge one's preconceived ideas was echoed by several students, for example 2A:L1FS, who said:

> it's the time in your life when you should be making your opinions about things and deciding what you think about certain issues and it helps when you've got someone who knows what they're talking about and other people have got different experiences and you sometimes realise how isolated your view was and you think God I really was closed in my own little world there and I hadn't thought about it from that point of view and so it does help.

4C:L1FS agreed, saying that arguing one's own ideas helps with understanding and that sponge-like passivity is not as beneficial (§13). 4D:L2MS however pointed out that many students do not recognise the value of the input by other students and only take down what the lecturer or tutor says (§14).

Student 2B:L2FP contrasted learning through interaction with learning by writing out answers to set questions, concluding that, for her, more learning takes place through interaction because it necessitates personal involvement: "you don't experience what you're writing".

1G:L2MS mentioned the importance of speaking in tutorials as practice for putting forward one's ideas in later life, as well as practice in using English and exposure to "how people they associate the language with their culture". Familiarisation with terms was also mentioned as one of the ways in which interaction in tutorials is beneficial.

4.2.4 WHAT ENCOURAGES INTERACTION?

The role of the tutor in the promotion of interaction came through strongly in the interviews. 2C:L1MS said that tutors should relate well to students: either by virtue of similarity in terms of age or experiences, or simply through having strong personalities. 4G:L1MP also stressed this aspect, saying of one of his tutors "she's like one of us, she knows our problems". The tutor's enthusiasm for the subject was also an important aspect for this student, as well as several others. Tutors who were seen as cold, unreceptive or superior in their attitude were mentioned as being particularly off-putting (see Section 4.2.5).

4C:L1FS pointed to the tutor's role in setting up a group dynamic early on which becomes the pattern for the rest of the year. 2A:L1FS echoed this saying that one tends not to be motivated to prepare for what is usually an unproductive tutorial. In discussing her least favourite tutorials, she commented:

> Second to that would have been my Z tut and that's only because nobody really puts anything into that and it gets a momentum of its own cos if you get a tut that you get nothing from you tend not to prepare for it and you put less and less effort into it because you know that you're not going to get anything out of it and because of that it's self-perpetuating if you went there and you had something and you'd worked it all out perhaps you could change the whole dynamic for it.

The tutor was seen as responsible for setting the tone, creating a relaxed atmosphere, conducive to interaction (§15). 2B:L2FP, amongst many others, mentioned this need for a relaxed atmosphere, emphasising the way the tutor responds to students' ideas and stimulates interaction. She specifically commented on the fact that the tutor should not be critical but should encourage students to express and justify their own viewpoints, allowing self-selection but avoiding nomination, which 2B:L2FP said would make her feel anxious. 2A:L1FS also seemed to feel strongly about receptivity to student input as a necessary quality in a tutor, rating it above knowledge of the content:

> most importantly I think is well firstly for the tutor to know his stuff cos otherwise if you don't have someone who can put in some of his input you gonna get a bit lost but probably more importantly to be receptive to everyone in the group you know if you open your mouth and say something, not to just slate you and to say no well actually I think it's this way. My other Z tut ... is like that where nobody says anything cos it's really it's awful you walk in there you just wanna leave you get nothing out of it and it's like everybody's too scared to say anything because

when you do there's this long pause and like "oooh - it's not what you think" and "well actually I was thinking more this way" and because they're not receptive to what you're saying or thinking you think oh well why bother so I think it's important that they're receptive to what you're saying and also maybe encourage you a bit like say "yes and what about this" and steer it a bit you know say when the conversation gets going between two people to stimulate that, stir a bit you know, throw in some things that people can react to

A relaxed atmosphere is perhaps of particular importance to second language speakers of English, who expressed reluctance to speak due to their perceived lack of competence in English (§16). The size of the group appears to be important in the creation of atmosphere, smaller groups providing a feeling of intimacy conducive to interaction.

5D:L2FP   just because in this smaller group we've gotten to know each other quite well and we feel comfortable with one another and it's like more intimate than a bigger group I don't think people would feel comfortable like sharing their ideas in such a big group they might feel like they're stupid or someone will put them down for saying that

A bigger group also means that an individual's lack of participation is more likely to go unnoticed (§17).

Preparation was also seen as an important part of the tutor's role: "The whole idea of tuts is to throw ideas around and if you don't have any ideas to throw then how can you throw them around?" (2C:L1MS).

In particular the aim of the tutorial needs to be clarified so that the tutor can steer discussion. 1L:L1MP said that tutors should

sort of channel the energies of the tut to one learning experience. In other words they always have an aim to the tut - you don't just have a tut, you have some sort of guidelines what they have to teach us in that tut and if they're successful you'll find that they'll try and evoke some sort of reaction ... some sort of input some interpretation from people and that interpretation in itself is the learning experience, not exactly what they teach us, but how we learn to interpret things.

2B:L2FP pointed out that the tutor needs to prepare questions that will stimulate discussion, while 1H:L2FP suggested that tutors devise debates and other class activities that would encourage discussion and participation. This would seem to be important as several students, including 1L:L1MP and 2A:L1FS, mentioned the role of differences of opinion in the generation of discussion, saying that if everyone agreed with each other, discussion was often boring (§18, §19, §7).

This view of the tutor's role as guide came up repeatedly. 3C:L1FS commented as follows:

> I don't think they're there to run it as in do all the talking but you can tell when they know what's going on especially when it enters into a debate or whether ... when to move on, when everybody's getting involved and totally off the track, to keep the tut flowing the whole time I think that's what they're supposed to do and when they don't they just don't flow at all and we'll never finish the work ever that we need to cover

Students too have a role to play in promoting interaction: according to the interviewees, students must prepare and participate. 2C:L1MS's comment in this regard is particularly interesting in view of the cultural differences regarding the display of knowledge. He claimed that it was "basic manners" to show one's superior (the tutor) that one has the knowledge, to justify one's position, and to show that one has done the work:

> how you perceive the other person [is important] - as your equal or above you. I mean above you you try and make what you're saying as tight as possible or try and come across as intelligent as possible

Black students, however, indicated that this was not appropriate behaviour in the presence of an authority figure. Part of 1G:L2MS's comments in this regard are quoted below (§20).

I	if you think generally about all tuts do you think that white students talk more than black students?
1G:L2MS	ja they do maybe it's because we are from different cultures - it must be because they are used to speaking. According to our culture it is not bad to speak too but some find it very difficult because it's being seen as too much whenever we speak more frequently
I	can you explain that?
1G:L2MS	we are from different cultures OK one culture may regard speaking frequently as not good while in other cultures there's no problem in that so

it's like all blacks from DET especially from rural areas they are not used
to speaking in public that's the way they live

I   is that because the tutor is someone in authority?

1G:L2MS   ja so they respect that and maybe they think he will say something if you
speak too much. It's not that they don't know that at Rhodes it's
impossible you can't say too much in a tut but because they are used to that
thing it's not easy for them to speak like that

1H:L2FP, despite her private school background, was aware that she is likely to speak

more freely with her friends after the tutorial than in the more formal teaching situation:

> even if it is just an honours student you think this person has studied for longer
> than I have, has more experience in this field and everything and I'd much rather
> just listen and that's it. From school you are just taught to just listen ... so in that
> way you just feel that you have to listen rather than talk if there is an authority
> figure there .... I will just ask a friend of mine or some other student I'll say
> listen I just heard this could you ask about it for me cos maybe you just feel if it
> comes from somebody else then you don't sound clever or someone who's always
> talking

It is interesting that she was concerned about being perceived as trying to sound clever

because, as mentioned above, she judged 1L:LIMP's talkativeness harshly, interpreting it

as an attempt to display knowledge. She acknowledged that her private school

background was different ("it was different in my school you were encouraged to give

your own views") but explained that at home she tended to "clam up" when in the

company of grandparents or older uncles. 4D:L2MS also made the link between

behaviour that would be appropriate in the company of one's family and with the tutor:

I   what is expected of a DET pupil?

4D:L2MS   basically you sit there and you listen

I   why?

4D:L2MS   I dunno basically I'd say that the teacher has the right to know that and
even if he you don't question what he's saying he kind of the stereotyping
that develops you know the teacher is right and all that whatever the
teacher's saying that's correct you don't need to question it

I   do you think is it maybe a cultural thing?

4D:L2MS   I dunno I dunno if you can say it's cultural in a way ja it's just respect you
know when basically when my mom talks to me even when I know that I
am justified to have acted like this I just have to keep quiet listen to her let
her finish I cannot be like what you see on TV "No you drive me crazy
and never do this" you just don't talk like this to your parents and then
another thing is like the next person who is the same age as your mother
you treat her like your mother give her the same kind of respect. The

> neighbours they can say you whatever they want to say you and you have to comply they're basically your parents so it carries on on to the classroom as well

I   and to university?

4D:L2MS   no in fact your input is important as well - they wanna hear your view "OK this is the theory but what do you think?"

The personalities of individuals were also recognised as affecting the degree to which they interact, although 2C:L1MS (a third year student) observed that confidence to take part increased with experience at university. He added that first years do not hold as strong opinions as older students and therefore participate less (§21, §22a). He suggested that having friends together in the same tutorial may give especially first year students added confidence, thus enabling them to interact more.

2A:L1FS, however, pointed out that the same person can behave in completely different ways in different tutorials, "you can be a clown in the one and really withdrawn in the other", and attributed this variation in behaviour to the composition of the group and the atmosphere set by the tutor. Her comments underline the importance of these factors and suggest that they may result in otherwise confident students being reluctant to speak or basically quiet students feeling free to contribute.

Interest in the subject (and commitment to it as a major) was seen to increase enjoyment, and therefore interaction (§22b). An important feature of material which stimulates interest seems to be its relevance to the individual and more broadly to South Africa (§23, §24):

2A:L1FS   I'd say because the tut [Tutorial Two] is a very mixed group we came from all different walks of life and it made for a very vibrant discussion often - the closer the topic was to home the more vibrant the discussion and I also get a lot from that

2B:L2FP ascribed 2E:L2FP's talkativeness to the fact that the tutorial material was related to her life in Katlahong - "although she's black she just doesn't stop talking". She attributed her own relative quietness in this tutorial to the fact that she (2B:L2FP) is Zimbabwean and thus has little knowledge of South African issues in the subject.

Another factor cited is confidence in the material. 1G:L2MS said understanding most of the content makes students feel freer to participate and this comment appeared frequently in the interviews with L2 speakers of English (e.g. 5D:L2FP). 4D:L2MS commented that when there were no readings to prepare for a tutorial, he was less likely to contribute to the discussion and that readings or lecture material bolstered his confidence in expressing his views. It seems clear that some L2 students feel uncomfortable displaying knowledge and doubt the validity of their own opinions, preferring to rely on 'received wisdom'.

It is interesting to note that interviewees generally did not place much explicit emphasis on academic ability as a determining factor in an individual's willingness to participate. There was one exception: 4D:L2MS [48] mentioned that he had not studied the subject in Tutorial Four since the equivalent of Standard Eight and therefore did not feel as confident as other group members to contribute to the discussion as he felt that they had more background knowledge. Other interviewees, often L2 students, mentioned differences in academic competence only in an oblique fashion: in discussing their unwillingness to self-select in the presence of the higher status tutor, some mentioned that the tutor presumably knew more than they did.

4.2.5 WHAT DISCOURAGES INTERACTION?

Again the tutor's behaviour was seen as pivotal. A cold, unreceptive tutor was cited many times as a cause of reluctance to participate on the part of students. 5B:L1FS said that one factor necessary for a relaxed atmosphere in the group was "personalization", which she described as the display by tutors of even a mild degree of interest in the students' well-being apart from their understanding of the content. 1H:L2FP mentioned a "couldn't care less" attitude which she perceived as underlying such comments by tutors as "I don't care if you don't come to tutorials, it's not me who has to pass this course". She also mentioned inflexibility and dogmatism, particularly on the part of the tutor, as a discouraging factor in interaction. Interaction is inhibited if the tutor gives the impression

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[48] This is the same student discussed immediately above, who expressed a need for prescribed readings.

of "right answers only" (§25). 2A:L1FS had particularly strong feelings about sensitivity in tutors and related her personal experience in another department, when asked about the tutorial she liked least:

2A:L1FS   [Subject W] and it's easy to say why it's quite a large tut and there's absolutely no interaction between people in it during the tut at all besides sort of "you haven't done the questions". Our tutor for the first half of the year was very arrogant and very cold not receptive to people at all and we'd walk in there and he'd always pick on the same people to answer the questions ... and if you haven't done the question or you don't know it that's tough luck and you walk up to the board or you say I don't know this question and he wouldn't say OK well can anybody help her he'd say well what do you think it is until you're totally gone, floundering around on the board drawing the totally wrong thing eventually you'd sit down 15 minutes later having got nowhere and feeling completely degraded and he'd get someone else to do it which was just too late and although he'd explain it well there was just no kind of good feeling you'd just creep into the tut thinking oh God not this tut again and creep out again ....

It is interesting that the most strongly expressed views on this point came from female students, whereas male students tended to focus on the tutor's grasp of the subject matter or interest in the content (§26).

A tutor lacking in self-confidence was also a problem for some, who felt that students could not trust the input of tutors who were unsure of themselves (§27).

Underprepared and unmotivated tutors were also criticised and students reported a dislike for tutorials that were poorly structured or which appeared to have no structure at all. Specifically mentioned were tutorials in which the set questions were too simple, too short or seemingly irrelevant to the students - again the notion of a self-fulfilling prophecy was mentioned (§28). The problem with poorly structured tutorials seems to rest on the fact that they do not generate controversy (§29) or arguing (§26), both of which stimulate interest and discussion in the students interviewed. However, 3C:L1FS pointed out that if too much preparation is expected on the part of the students (for example if the reading is very long) it may result in a superficial approach to the work which negatively affects the group's involvement in the topic and the discussion around it.

However, the success of the tutorial in terms of interaction is not the sole responsibility of the tutor. Unmotivated students are also seen to inhibit participation. Interviewees claimed that certain students do not feel any responsibility for the success of the tutorial (§30) and thus do not participate themselves.

Unfamiliarity with the other participants was said to decrease interaction, although a familiar tutor could lessen this shyness with other members (§31, §32). Continuity of tutor was seen as important for a relaxed atmosphere, which enhances interaction (§33). In this regard, tutorials which are held infrequently, every fortnight or every month for example, were cited by 4G:L1MP as largely unsuccessful in terms of interaction because the group did not get a chance to get to know one another.

The personal characteristics of participants also seem to have an effect: the fear of looking stupid is very prominent in interviewees' responses, as is the fear of being labelled a "suction" (i.e. one who attempts to curry favour with the tutor by participating). While the presence of friends was claimed to increase interaction, people one disliked were said to have the opposite effect (§34).

Competence in English was seen as a factor in volubility and was mentioned by both black and white students, although always with reference to black students (§35, §36, §37, §38, §39, §40). The lack of experience in speaking in general and particularly in English at school was mentioned as a related factor (§41a). 1G:L2MS mentioned an black acquaintance who speaks freely because her language is good, which shows clearly that reticence or confidence in terms of willingness to speak is frequently connected with competence in English (§36).

Of particular concern for L2 students was their difficulty in claiming turns, particularly in large groups (§37). 1G:L2MS expresses problems with gaining the floor, explaining that by the time he has formulated an answer an L1 student has already self-selected and he loses out. He suggests nomination as one way to encourage quieter students (§41b).

In general students were unsure about the approach tutors should take with regard to quiet

students (§42). 2C:L1MS also suggested that tutors direct questions at quiet students but had some reservations (§43). 3C:L1FS said it is up to the tutor to ensure that everyone gets an opportunity to speak by controlling the dominant ones and drawing out the quieter ones with fair questions (§44). Interviewees generally expressed concern about quiet students but seemed cautious about nomination as a possible solution, commenting that it may cause the quiet student some distress if his or her quietness was as a result of shyness.

4.2.6 IS THERE ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES IN TERMS OF INTERACTION?

Several female interviewees claimed that interaction increased in an all-female tut (§45) and some suggested that if females dominate numerically in a group, they interact more (§46). 5B:L1FS made a similar comment about male students "there's not many of them I think they're intimidated". She pointed out too the effect of the subject, saying that males appeared to feel more comfortable with factual subjects such as commerce and less so with emotional ones (§47). 1L:L1MP claimed that many males (other than him) talk less because of a fear of "suction" and the association of subordinate status with compliance. He also suggested that the fear of looking stupid is stronger for males than for females (§48). These assertions are interesting in the light of claims in the literature that male conversation is concerned with the establishment of hierarchies and the display of power and status. In this regard, 5B:L1FS characterised the input of males by saying that "the girls will be talking and then one of the [white] males, they kind of 'issue statements'". This relates to an earlier point concerning the hesitance of [black] males to speak unless their views were supported either by the reading for the tutorial or by another speaker.

4.2.7 IS THERE ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN L1 AND L2 SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN TERMS OF INTERACTION?

The impression that L2 students are quieter in tutorials came through strongly (§49), although 1H:L2FP and 4G:L1MP both pointed out that this is not the norm in less formal contexts.

This reticence was ascribed to several factors. Firstly, the English medium of instruction was said to create a language barrier - students felt there was not enough time to find words to express themselves (§50, §51). An L1 student pointed out that jokes and other cultural content in a tutorial were opaque to L2 students, who would find the discussion difficult to follow as a result (§50). The lack of sufficient practice in using English at school, discussed above, is of course relevant here too (§52).

More broadly, the culture at Rhodes was seen to be foreign to L2 students. Several pointed out that Rhodes is essentially a "white setting", and university culture a "white culture" (§53). It was suggested that the presence of black tutors may encourage participation because of "unconscious allegiances" (§54, §55, §56), but 1H:L2FP said that an awareness of the setting as predominantly Western would continue even if the tutor was black (§57). Most L1 students do not experience this sense of being foreign. 2A:L1FS attributes this to educational background:

> the whole university system is a kind of heritage from the white English side of history and the [historically white] schools basically groom you for university and you just get sort of spewed out of school and into the next thing and unless you've had that kind of upbringing it must be quite a culture shock

An awareness of group membership comes through strongly in this section of the interviews. Several students mentioned that being in the minority (either as an L1 or an L2 speaker) would decrease willingness to speak, but familiarity with the other participants may help if one is the sole representative of one's group (§58, §59). Conversely, being in the majority was seen as encouraging interaction amongst L2 students, a view which is corroborated by an anecdote from 4G:L1MP who, after missing his assigned tutorial, went to a tutorial in which he was the only white person; there, he said, there was a different atmosphere with much talking and laughing.

There was a common impression amongst L1 students that black students tend to speak only when nominated (§60). This tendency can be understood in terms of the African norms discussed above, according to which the tutor represents an authority figure who should neither be contradicted nor questioned. Black females were specifically mentioned as being particularly quiet (§39).

A lengthy discussion took place with 1G:L2MS around the norms of interaction in DET schools and the fact that they clash with the university's norms of interaction in tutorials. He was insistent that learning the English norms of interaction at university would stand students in good stead in the workplace, despite the devaluation of African culture implicit in assimilationist strategies (§20). He suggested that ADP (Academic Development Programme) support be offered to students in this situation, or possibly a compulsory bridging course. 3C:L1FS also suggested extra language courses and bridging programmes for students from DET backgrounds until the primary and secondary education system is able to prepare students equitably.

4.2.8 IS THERE ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STUDENTS FROM STATE SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS FROM PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF INTERACTION?

Many interviewees commented that students from private schools were more confident and talkative than those from state schools and this contrast was more strongly perceived with reference to L2 students. In fact, as mentioned above, one student gave English as her L1 as a result of attending a private school although her mother-tongue is an African language.

Black Zimbabweans were also frequently mentioned as having discourse patterns closer to those of L1 speakers of English and being "far more confident" (3C:L1FS and 5B:LIFS) than black South Africans (§61). 2B:L2FP, a black Zimbabwean herself, reported that she was used to discussing at school and feels freer to ask questions in tutorials than in lectures (§62). She said that in her experience in residence, in other subjects, in practicals, in group work and assignments, black South Africans talked less than black Zimbabweans. This difference she ascribed to language problems and cited one exception who, she said "came from a convent I think so she probably got used to interacting so there's not much difference [between her and white students]". With reference to tutorials, this student said that if one uses a language which is not one's mother-tongue, one will talk but will not say as much and agrees that DET students do not seem to get as much from tutorials (because she enjoys tutorials where she can talk) (§40).

5D:L2FP recalled her own experience at a private school, at which there were small classes and students were encouraged to talk and to offer their own views. She also mentioned being used to being taught by L1 speakers of English, commenting that L2 students from state schools are not used to that, neither are they used to mixing with people of other races. These factors, she suggests, may result in L2 students from state schools feeling uncomfortable in multicultural situations.

Incorrect assignment of fellow students provided some interesting insights. 2C:L1MS, for instance, identified 2E:L2FP as fairly dominant in their tutorial and commented that the fact that she is from a state school and talks a lot is "quite interesting" (§63). The perceived mismatch between state education and dominance is all the more interesting because 2E:L2FP is from a private school. Similarly, 2B:L2FP identified 2C:L1MS as talkative and attributes this (incorrectly) to his being from a private school. Thus the connection in students' minds between private education and talkativeness is revealed through these attributions.

4.3   CONCLUSION

Due to differences between the tutorials in terms of total floor time available for student interaction, direct statistical comparison between the groups is not possible. More importantly, behaviour in one context cannot be justifiably compared, statistically, with behaviour in another, precisely because that behaviour is shaped by the context: in this setting, by, for example, the composition of the group and the intervention of the tutor. From the results presented above, it should be evident that each tutorial group generated dynamics of its own, influenced, at least in part, by these elements of the context. In the discussion that follows, the features of the interaction in each tutorial are interpreted with reference to the contextual features of that group, in an attempt to capture the character of each group and to highlight its outstanding features in terms of patterns of interaction.

In Tutorial One the inexperience of the tutor appears to have resulted in too little time for students to talk. Possibly out of a desire to display his knowledge, the tutor, an L2 speaker of English, dominated the interaction with exceptionally long utterances. One voluble L1MP student dominated the remaining available time, while most of the rest of

the students fell far below the expected scores. One exception is a L2FS student. Given the small expected scores her excess is not extreme (a matter of a few seconds and a few utterances) and interviewees claimed that she does not usually participate as much. There was also very little tutor control over the patterns of interaction by students. A statistically significant relationship was found between total time on the floor and gender.

In Tutorial Two the contrasts between students in terms of participation were not particularly stark. The category L2FP was slightly over the expected scores, both in terms of number of utterances and time on the floor, while the category L1MS was mixed (the number of utterances being above the expected number, time on the floor being just under). The other two categories represented in the tutorial, L1FS and L2MS, were just less than the expected score in terms of times, but quite down on utterances. The tutor utilised nomination to quite an extent and the interaction as a whole appeared to be a lively discussion. It should be pointed out that there was only one L1 male in the tutorial and that three out of the five tutorial members were female. No statistically significant relationships were found.

In Tutorial Three the L1FS category dominated, particularly three of the participants in this category, while the scores of the other participants were way below the expected scores. The three most dominant members of the group were close friends. Although all speakers were given space on floor through allocated homework, they spent varying amounts of time on the floor and groups tended to have spokespersons (even if the post was shared). It is possible that the sole L2MP was not one of these spokespersons, which might explain his low participation, although the fact that his utterances 'off the floor' were spoken in Xhosa may suggest that a lack of confidence in his competence in English affected his willingness to participate. He was also the only male in the group and one of only two L2's. In terms of two characteristics then, he was in the minority and his quietness may be attributed to this factor. The fact that his utterances were spoken to the only fellow L2 supports the suggestion that he felt the lack of 'unconscious allegiances'. It is also worth noting that there were no L1 males, and no private school L1 students at all in this group - both categories which might be expected to be fairly dominant. Statistically significant relationships were found to exist between MLU and each of

language, educational background and speaker identity. In addition, a significant
relationship was found between language and the total number of utterances per speaker.

In Tutorial Four the interaction was overwhelmingly dominated by two L1 males - one
ex-private and one ex-state school student. Of these, 4G:L1MS's scores were very nearly
as high as those of the sole L1MP but were diluted in an analysis by category by the
absolutely silent 4B:L1MS. It is interesting that there was no "all-together-now" effect,
such as that found in Tutorial Three, with the females in this group. A number of
possible explanations exist for this: it could be due to the fact that the female students in
this group did not appear to know one another; or it could be because there were L1
males present. The fact that the students were not familiar with the tutor (and vice versa)
could also be significant, particularly as this fact was mentioned repeatedly by
interviewees from this tutorial as resulting in an unsatisfactory disjointedness in the
group. Even 4G:L1MP, the most voluble student in the group, was dissatisfied with the
level and character of the interaction in this tutorial. No statistically significant
relationships were found.

In Tutorial Five, two L1FS students dominated in terms of number of utterances, one
older student and her friend. Once again the presence of a friend is a possible factor in
the participation of a female student. Another student, a black Zimbabwean L1FP,
dominated substantially in terms of time on the floor. A statistically significant
relationship between education and MLU was found.

In the interviews, students expressed a very clear preference for tutorials in which there
was vigorous interaction. A clear link was made between such interaction and learning.
Several factors were seen to encourage interaction in tutorials, such as a relaxed
atmosphere and controversial topics. Factors which were seen to discourage interaction
included a large group and a perceived lack of competence in English. Interviewees
reported that L2 students appeared to participate less than L1 students, and state-educated
students less than privately educated students. Female students were said to interact more
freely in female-dominated groups. In fact, many interviewees displayed a tendency to be
aware of the composition of tutorial groups in terms of ethnicity and gender. Being part

of a numerically dominant group was often mentioned as a factor which would increase an individual's confidence and willingness to participate.

CHAPTER FIVE : CONCLUSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Small teaching groups are often regarded as an effective way of facilitating active learning through discussion. This mode of learning, termed cooperative learning, rests upon a social constructionist view of knowledge. Several advantages are claimed for it over transmission teaching, including academic, cognitive and social benefits. However, the potential advantages of the tutorial system may be undermined if certain conditions are not fulfilled. This study has shown that at least some students may not reap the full benefit of the tutorial system as a result of systematic factors, such as differences in norms of interaction in an educational setting.

5.1 STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS

The claims made for tutorials as effective sites for the promotion of learning through interaction are supported by the students interviewed for this study, who said that discussion and debate in groups were aids to learning and enabled them to retain information for a longer period of time. Moreover, they reported enjoying tutorials more where interaction was vigorous, which impacted on their motivation in that subject.

In the literature, groups which work well together to create a climate conducive to learning through interaction are claimed to share certain characteristics, such as a supportive environment in which ideas may be freely expressed and debated. This is also supported by the interviews. It is indeed noteworthy that every characteristic of successful groups mentioned in the reviewed literature was raised by the students as well. Some, such as the importance of controversy and well-designed tasks, were mentioned repeatedly. This is important in the light of Cohen's (1994: 16) claim, mentioned in Chapter One, that the volume of interaction in the context of open-ended tasks which involve discussion is a "powerful predictor of learning". Thus the assertion underlying this study, that the proportion of interaction by individuals reflects their relative access to opportunities for learning in tutorials, is supported by the students themselves, with several mentioning it explicitly.

Some unsuccessful tutorials were described by students and a recurrent feature of these 'pseudo-tutorials' was a lack of sufficient or meaningful interaction. Interviewees acknowledged that the success of tutorials was the joint responsibility of the tutor and the students, although their comments suggest that the role of the tutor may be more important initially. In particular, the tutor's role was seen to determine the success of the tutorial in terms of the preparation of questions and material which would stimulate discussion and the facilitation of an atmosphere conducive to uninhibited interaction. It appears that the tutor's role is somehow logically prior to that of the students in that a 'bad' tutor can discourage interaction in most students, including the more confident ones, while a 'good' tutor can draw out students who are usually reticent.

The size of the group was also frequently mentioned in the interviews as a factor influencing willingness to participate. Indeed, the unusually small amount of student participation in Tutorial One may be explained by the fact that it was the largest group recorded, with 13 students present (although the tutor's relative verbosity may have also been a factor). It is impossible to determine whether the students would have participated more had the tutor spoken less, but interviewees from this group did express reluctance to participate in such a large group. Pastoll's (1992) comments regarding the size of tutorial groups, discussed in Chapter One, are most pertinent. He says that if even a small number of the students present do not feel as though they are expected to take part, it throws the legitimacy of the entire discussion into question. Indeed, some interviewees cited this lack of a sense of responsibility for the success of the group as a factor resulting in the reluctance of some individuals to participate.

However, the interviewees all conceded that participation in tutorials was not evenly distributed between all the members of the particular categories under investigation (gender, L1 and educational background), even when conditions such as the role of the tutor were seemingly ideal. Certain features of individuals were seen to predispose them to interact more freely, including interest and confidence in the subject matter and competence in the medium of instruction, English. Membership of certain groups, described as having characteristic patterns of behaviour, was also mentioned as a factor affecting the amount of participation. In particular, black students were frequently

mentioned as taking less than their fair share of the floor in tutorials, particularly those from DET schools. Private school students, both L1 and L2 speakers of English, on the other hand, were seen to be quite confident in the small group situation.

Perceived differences in status, especially those based on gender or ethnic group, are important in terms of their influence on patterns of interaction. Students who lack confidence in their competence in the medium of instruction, English, would seem to be particularly vulnerable to issues of status. As was discussed in Section 1.5.4.3, status generalisation may result in a self-fulfilling prophecy, in which less confident students are assigned, and take on, a lower status position and behave in terms of that role, i.e. are less active in the group. Interviewees mentioned this phenomenon, commenting that the patterns of relative dominance which are set up early in the life of a tutorial group are likely to remain in place. Thus the tutorials under analysis, recorded in the second semester, may be claimed to represent a synchronic picture of the patterns of dominance which have stabilised over the year. This claim is supported by the comments of the participants who were interviewed shortly after the recordings.

In addition to the issue of status, the perceptions discussed above regarding the relative reluctance of black students to participate may also be explained with reference to the differences between the Western discourse norms of L1 speakers of English and the African norms of many L2 speakers, as well as the differences in previous educational experiences between these two groups, particularly striking between those who received segregated education.

In terms of cultural norms, many L2 students may be expected to have been socialised into traditional African norms of politeness and interaction. This culture may be broadly characterised as collectivist, with a high Power Distance index. In other words, when utilising the norms of traditional African culture, individuals who perceive themselves as of subordinate status will be reluctant to participate, preferring to defer to those they perceive to be higher status participants, such as tutors. Western culture, by contrast, is classified as individualistic with a low Power Distance index. L1 speakers of English and assimilated L2 students would therefore be expected to view the display of knowledge as

appropriate behaviour for a participant of subordinate status, at the same time perceiving a smaller power distance between themselves and tutors, especially student tutors. The contrast between African and Western cultures in this respect is shown clearly in comments made by the interviewees, in particular a black male, 4D:L2MS, who said keeping quiet in the presence of an authority figure was "just respect", and a white male, 2C:L1MS, who said the display of knowledge by students to tutors was "basic manners".

What is crucial in this context is the fact that not only the tutor, but also L1 speakers of English, may be perceived by L2 students as having a relatively higher status. If the expected role for subordinates is relative quietness, L2 students may perceive the volubility of more talkative students as indicative of higher status and therefore defer not only to the tutor as superordinate, but to the more talkative students as well. I would suggest that L2 students therefore assign themselves low status positions in the group based on these norms, and their adherence to these norms denies them equal opportunities for learning, in addition to any unwillingness to participate that may be occasioned by less than L1 competence in English.

Both L1 and L2 students are aware that the dominant culture at Rhodes is a Western one. For L1 students, this makes the transition between secondary and tertiary education somewhat smoother, representing usually merely a shift in terms of the degree of participation that is expected. For L2 students from DET schools it may be, instead, an abrupt change of system from a passive, teacher-centred learning environment, characterised by large classes (of fellow L2's) with very little opportunity for interaction in the L1, let alone the L2, other than rote recitation and response, to one in which genuine, meaningful interaction is valued as a means to the generation of knowledge. While some L2 students realise that an adjustment is required in terms of their expectations and behaviour in class, it is difficult to act contrary to years of socialization. I would suggest, in fact, that an individual's feelings of insecurity in a new situation would cause them unconsciously to apply even more fervently those 'rules' which in the past brought them approval from authority figures. The reluctance to self-select, compounded by language difficulties, works together with a very real sense of being visitors in an alien system, to make a Western institution such as Rhodes a rather

inhospitable environment in which to study. Given the importance of a relaxed atmosphere in the promotion of successful group work, it is clear that tutorials, while better in this respect than lectures, are not likely to facilitate free interaction by L2 state-educated students. In addition, the perception by L2 students of themselves as visitors in a host culture links back to the issue of status discussed above, with out-group members automatically having less status than integrated members of the dominant culture. This seems to preclude a tutorial group from satisfying the condition of equal status relations between members of the group, which is essential to the success of the group.

It is important in this discussion to distinguish between those L2 students from state schools and those educated in private schools. It has been argued in Chapter Two that private schools have acted as agents of assimilation into their (Western) culture in that L2 students attending these schools have often acquired L1 norms of interaction both from their L1 peers and from the general ethos prevalent in these schools. These students become, as one interviewee described them, "like coconuts - brown on the outside but white on the inside". It is argued that these students experience a less traumatic transition to the university culture than other L2 students. Indeed, their assimilation has already occurred and they have been prepared by their schools, like their L1 peers, for the norms of a system which values interaction and active participation on the part of students. Interviewees confirmed this difference in the willingness to participate between private and state school students, particularly with reference to L2 students. Being used to mixing with people of other races, and, in particular, becoming familiar with the way L1 teachers conduct their classes, were mentioned as important effects of having attended racially mixed schools. Of course, while this early assimilation of the individual may result in fewer problems upon entering the university culture, it does not make the issue of assimilation *per se* any less problematic ethically. However, one interviewee, himself an L2 student from a state school, while acknowledging the problematic implied devaluation of African culture inherent in assimilation, pointed out that learning another culture at Rhodes would not only serve his interests at university, but would better prepare him for the competitive job market, which, in his view, is dominated by the Western culture. Thus a degree of assimilation into Western culture is part of what he hopes to derive from his time at Rhodes. I should point out that my own reservations

concerning assimilation may partly be a function of my identity as a 'liberal' member of the dominant culture, just as his views in its favour are representative of an instrumental approach to aspects of culture, common amongst those members of the minority culture who aspire to escape its historically subordinate, powerless position.

While interviewees were mixed in their responses as to whether, in general, males or females speak more in tutorials, one point in this regard came through strongly, namely that if one gender dominates numerically, then members of that gender are more likely to participate. The interaction of females was seen to be more cooperative, while that of males was characterised as competitive, dominant behaviour. These observations are in agreement with the studies reviewed in the literature. In addition it was mentioned that females interact freely in the tutorials of academic subjects which require a personal, emotional response, while males are seen to be reluctant to offer this kind of input and prefer factual or argumentative topics. Once again this corroborates the impressions gained in other studies and reflects the reported divide between a typically female mode which favours nurturance and cooperation, with the emphasis on social relations and social analysis, and the typically male one which stresses hierarchical relations based on status derived from the possession of information.

While much of the literature available on genderlects is based on research conducted in Western cultures, that which is available on gender roles in African culture shows quite clearly that status differences between the sexes are even more pronounced in African culture than they are in Western culture. In terms of the African norm of a spectator role for subordinates, it follows that African females would be socialised into an even more passive mode in interaction with a perceived superordinate than their Western counterparts. Again, the relative formality of the tutorial situation (as opposed to friendly conversation with peers) may be expected to activate appropriately subordinate behaviour in females socialised into these norms. In concrete terms this translates into rare self-selection and a tendency not to display knowledge. Although there were relatively few L2 females from state schools in the recorded tutorials, interviewees confirmed this tendency from their own experiences. In particular, 1H:L2FP's criticism of 1L:L1MP's talkativeness in tutorials as an attempt to "try and look clever" links with her own

reluctance to participate in this context, preferring to go through a third party when unclear about a concept or to discuss interesting issues after the tutorial with her friends. This suggests that, despite her multiracial education, she perceives active participation in tutorials as inappropriate behaviour and makes negative attributions, according to her own norms, about those students who do participate.

It must be reiterated that students were strongly aware of the composition of tutorial groups, particularly in terms of gender and L1, and of the effect of membership of these categories on interaction. Membership of a category (such as males or L2 students) which was in the majority numerically came through strongly as a factor in the relative ease with which students participate. In other words, if a tutorial group was predominantly female, interaction by females would be freer, and interviewees suggested that males would feel intimidated in this context. Familiarity with the other members of the group was claimed to alleviate to some extent the isolation felt by the sole representative of a particular category. Conversely, an awareness of being in the majority in terms of some characteristic was claimed to increase the amount of interaction by an individual. An interesting comment in this regard was provided by an L2 cultural informant outside the study who suggested that the composition of tutorials should be arranged so that black students were at least equal in number to whites in each group, and preferably in the majority, even if this meant that some groups were entirely white, as this would prevent black students feeling like interlopers in a white group.

The perceptions regarding the reluctance of certain groups to participate have serious implications, particularly because one of the aims of small group work, possibly one of the most important, is the facilitation of equal access to opportunities for learning. While obstacles to interaction such as a lack of interest in the subject matter are important, it may be argued that these problems would be distributed across all gender and cultural groups. In addition, a liking for a particular subject over another is a variable factor that may be seen to reside, to some extent at least, in the individual and his or her personal preferences. Where relevance is an issue this may be remedied by the 'Africanisation' of content, with the emphasis on South African examples and issues where applicable.

However, obstacles to interaction of a more systematic nature are far more serious, I would argue, since these represent the systematic exclusion of certain individuals from equal access to opportunities for learning. Problems in terms of the medium of instruction may be alleviated, to some extent at least, by foundation and 'basic English' courses, although I would argue that these can never really compensate entirely for the difficulties of instruction in a second, or other, language. However, this-type of course, in addition to the problems it generates in fostering a deficit approach to L2 students, does not generally address the systematic obstacles that occur as a result of differences in cultural norms, except somewhat superficially and from an assimilationist perspective. I would argue that differences in discourse norms are far more wide-reaching and far more important than has previously been recognised in this context. Although cultural norms are not seen as deterministic, because an individual is a composite of many different cultural identities and selects appropriate behaviours from several systems of norms available to her or him, there are those which, because of past experience, have salience for the individual in a particular setting and which are therefore more likely to be activated in similar contexts to those in which the norms were acquired. Discourse norms are acquired during secondary education and through general interaction with others displaying various gender, language and status roles. These norms which, when translated into the tutorial situation, promote the confident participation of certain categories and discourage the participation of others render the tutorial situation unjust and potentially self-defeating.

5.2 DATA FROM THE RECORDED TUTORIALS

The tutorials recorded and analysed in this study confirm this disquieting suggestion. What is striking is that each tutorial has a distinctive 'personality', a flavour as it were, and each contributes important insights into the permutations which may result in terms of trends in interaction with different combinations of participants. In combination the tutorials represent some of the scenarios which may result when different categories of people are put together with a variety of external factors.

The only L2 students with high scores on both measurements were from private schools (Tutorial Two) and in combination the scores were only slightly above the expected level

- one student's scores being average in terms of time but high in terms of number of utterances and the other student's scores being the other way around [49]. Female students from state schools achieved above expected access to the floor only if their first language was English and only in contexts where they were friendly with other participants. The remainder of the high scores were those of L1 males, from both private and state schools.

Although the classification of utterances aspect of the analysis was not subjected to statistical analysis, certain trends may be seen. In general, dominant students displayed a high proportion of self-selections to an open floor or responses to general invitations, the highest being around 50%. Although the numbers are too small to bear statistical analysis, it is indeed interesting that, of the females who claimed more than their fair share of the number of utterances, all but one of them utilized self-selection of this type far less than 50% of the time, the average being 33,5%. Amongst the dominant males, every one self-selected around 50% of the time. In many cases, self-selection resulted in an on-going discussion, with subsequent utterances being motivated by formal constraint. Thus the male students were making further opportunities for themselves through self-selection. In general, higher numbers of utterances seemed to result in broader spreads in terms of classification.

With the quieter students it is more difficult to interpret as several students spoke only once or twice, but again there was a slightly greater proportion of self-selection amongst the males.

The model was valuable in lending clarity to the analysis of the discussion in each tutorial. In particular, it enabled me to perceive more clearly the elements which contributed to the distinct flavour of each tutorial. It also demonstrated, quite clearly, how one utterance may lead to further access to the floor in an on-going discussion. Self-

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[49] In Tutorial One 1A:L2FS exceeded the expected scores by 8,15 seconds and 0,77 utterances. These 'excesses' are so slight that it would be misleading to classify them as high scores. For this reason they are not deemed to warrant inclusion as instances of the domination of discussion.

selection, therefore, may result in multiple motivated opportunities to learn through articulating his or her ideas in interaction with other tutorial members and the tutor.

Although it did not form the focus of this study and therefore has not been addressed in any detail, the classification of the tutor's utterances in each case, would, I believe, yield equally interesting insights, particularly if performed on a large amount of data and interpreted in conjunction with student evaluations of the tutoring style.

5.3   IMPLICATIONS

Despite all the (very valid) arguments in favour of it, small group teaching is no panacea. Various factors impede the facilitation of conditions for successful group work in the context of a Western English-medium university such as Rhodes. The fact that Rhodes embodies a Western culture creates status differences in terms of in-group/out-group membership which detract from the creation of a climate conducive to free interaction. In addition, if it is accepted that knowledge is created, not transferred, and that interaction fosters active learning, then culturally acquired discourse norms which result in uneven patterns of interaction are a source of inequality in terms of opportunities for learning. In very concrete terms, L2 students from state schools, in particular, are not getting a fair share in terms of interaction. This is especially important because these are, in many cases, the very students who are disadvantaged from the outset due to the residue of an inferior educational background and as a result of difficulties with the medium of instruction. L2 students from private schools do not suffer the same transition problems because, it is argued, their assimilation into Western culture has already taken place at secondary level and they are more accustomed to English as medium of instruction.

Gendered norms of interaction, and their attendant preferred learning styles, also have an impact on interaction in tutorials. White females are claimed to be more collectivist than white males, as are members of the African culture. Thus small group teaching would appear to be the ideal learning environment for these students. However there is a fox in the proverbial chicken coop: the cooperative mode preferred by females and L2 students may be undermined by the presence of individualist, impulsive, competitive L1 males. The cooperative mode is only egalitarian if all participants are behaving in a cooperative

fashion. The cooperative mode may in fact function to subjugate its adherents further in the presence of an individualist. As long as a nurturing, supportive mode is maintained, dominant behaviour is unlikely to be challenged, as this would itself constitute dominant behaviour. Thus it is indeed significant that the one tutorial (Tutorial Three) where a category of females significantly exceeded their expected share of the floor both in terms of number of utterances and time on the floor, was the one in which there were no L1 males present. One interviewee reported that black students interacted more freely in a group which consisted almost entirely of black students. Thus, group composition appears to have an effect on the behaviour of participants, in that those in the majority participate more freely.

These trends raise, once again, the issue of assimilation. Should female and L2 students in mixed groups be expected to change their modes of interaction to that of males and become competitive in order to claim their fair share of opportunities for learning through interaction? This may well shed light on why female students fare better when in the majority in a tutorial or when in all-female groups. In Tutorial Five, for example, where the category 'private school female' dominated significantly in terms of time on the floor, males were outnumbered three to one.

The experience and skill of the tutor and the support they receive in terms of teaching materials and training would seem to be additional factors contributing to the success of the tutorial in terms of interaction, particularly given the importance attached by the interviewees to well-structured discussion.

In short, this study shows that tutorials are not necessarily accomplishing what we intend them to; they do not necessarily provide a space in which all students feel free to articulate and clarify their understanding.

5.4   SUGGESTIONS

Several factors may be seen to impact on the success of tutorials. Suggestions regarding the rather more concrete obstacles to interaction will be dealt with briefly before moving on to the main focus of this study: factors which systematically discourage interaction in

specific groups of students.

Drawing on the observations of the interviewees regarding the factors which discourage interaction, some constants stand out. Several students made particular mention of the importance of the structuring of discussion questions so as to stimulate debate. This is clearly one area where departments could support their tutors by, for example, supplying a range of material for discussion, particularly items which present different points of view on the same topic, which could then be tailored to the specific interests of group members.

Related to this is the choice of topics for tutorials. Material of relevance to their situation encourages personal responses in students and allows them to engage with concepts and theories in a meaningful way, a way which allows them to apply their pre-existing knowledge and experience to new contexts. In Vygotsky's terms, topics should utilise the student's Zone of Proximal Development as a springboard for the generation of new knowledge. This would include the Africanisation of courses in the sense of using South African examples wherever possible to explore concepts.

In terms of the creation of a climate conducive to interaction, students stressed the importance of familiarity both with each other and with the tutor. This suggests that the policy of swopping tutors at the end of each subsection of a course or at the end of each semester is counter-productive. Also, tutorial groups which meet irregularly or less than once weekly run the risk of a lack of continuity which is also unlikely to produce a sense of belonging and unity within the group. Thus a certain level of group trust, which appears to be so crucial in reducing the inhibitions of group members and would seem to rest on this sense of unity, is therefore also unlikely to be reached. Similarly, when members of a group share no sense of belonging, they are unlikely to feel much responsibility for the success of the group and consequently less pressure to contribute.

Options for change directly related to the focus of this study, i.e. the relative participation of males and females, L1 and L2 students and those from state or private schools, range from the most radical option of doing away with tutorials altogether to the retention of the

status quo i.e. non-intervention. Those suggested by this study are presented below.

5.4.1 ABANDON TUTORIALS

The most radical response to the inequalities in tutorials would be to abandon tutorials altogether. It may be argued that if tutorials do not provide equal opportunities for learning to all participants, i.e. that they favour historically advantaged L1 males and serve to further disadvantage L2 students, then they are not compatible with the broad aims of the new dispensation, namely to offer equal access to education to all citizens and to redress the imbalances of the past. While it is true that the tutorial system is not perfect, students claim to derive much that is of benefit from tutorials, and although L2 students may not feel as free as their L1 counterparts to take part in tutorials, they undoubtedly feel less inhibited than in lectures. Thus the removal of the tutorial system would further serve to deprive them of the one, albeit imperfect, point of contact with staff which is relatively personal. The mention of the scrapping of tutorials should not be taken as a serious suggestion therefore but rather as a contrast to the alternative: to improve tutorials and to make them more equitable in terms of access to opportunities for learning through interaction.

5.4.2 CHANGE THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

Within the alternative of improving tutorials, a number of possibilities exist. Having English as the medium of instruction makes participation in tutorials particularly difficult for L2 students and introduces another factor into their disadvantage in this context. The issue of English as the medium of instruction at Rhodes and other tertiary institutions has been debated at length and these discussions are beyond the scope and focus of this study; suffice it to say that it seems that English is likely to remain the medium of instruction at most tertiary institutions for the foreseeable future (Reddy 1996). A variety of reasons have been put forward for the retention of the status quo in this respect, such as the relative availability of texts in English as opposed to the African languages and the status of English as an international language, giving students access to scholarship and study opportunities overseas. One of the most compelling reasons, however, in the light of the preceding discussion, must be the fact that many L2 students specifically choose to study in English because of the market value of proficiency in English in this country. It

cannot be ignored that many L2 students, and their parents, regard improvement in their command of English as an important by-product of study at an English-medium university. However, it must be pointed out, if only for the sake of completeness, that Xhosa medium or dual medium Xhosa/English instruction would seem to benefit L2 students in terms of ease of interaction.

5.4.3 ADOPT ASSIMILATIONIST STRATEGIES

Another possibility, which again I would not support, is that of strategies to encourage the assimilation of L2 students into the dominant, Western culture of the university. This constitutes, in essence, as I have argued above, a deficit approach, locating the 'problem' of the failure of tutorials to provide an equitable learning environment for all students, and the 'blame' for it, firmly on the shoulders of the L2 students. This approach, while often resulting in positive steps such as the creation of foundation courses and academic skills programmes, removes all responsibility from the teaching staff within academic departments. Crudely, lecturers and tutors teach the content and if their teaching styles do not match the learning styles of any of the students, these students may be sent off to a specialist department, geared to 'fixing' the problematic students so that they do not disrupt the mainstream. This response may have been justifiable in the past, when the numbers of L2 students at universities such as Rhodes were insufficient to warrant a total overhaul of the teaching system, but I would argue that that is no longer true. Rhodes, for example, has increased its intake of L2 students from 40% in 1994 to 47% in 1996 and has committed itself to increasing the proportion more sharply in the future. Clearly, when half or more of the student body comprises speakers of English as a second or other language, there must be some adaptation on the part of the teaching staff to the composition of the learners and their needs. This does not, I believe, necessarily involve any shift in standards, as is so often protested. What it implies is a creative adaptation of teaching styles to ensure a better fit between them and the needs and preferences of the student population. This necessarily has implications for tutorials, especially because, in their current form, they are clearly not successful in providing L2 students with equal access to opportunities for learning through interaction.

5.4.4 INSTITUTE SEGREGATED TUTORIALS

Thus the question remains, how may tutorials be adapted to further this aim? If it were not so reminiscent of apartheid, separate groups for L1 and L2 students might be an option as this would serve to alleviate L2 concerns about their competence in English in contrast with their L1 peers in mixed groups. Separate groups would also tap into the apparently encouraging effect of being a member of the majority group and would avoid the converse effect that being in the minority seems to have. Assuming again the maintenance of English as the medium of instruction, separate groups would give members a more equitable chance at opportunities for self-selection in that they would all have roughly similar requirements regarding processing time in an L2. In addition, they would be operating on the same discourse norms as their fellows - thus the 'fox in the chicken coop' phenomenon with competitive individualists would be less likely to occur. Some half-courses operate in this fashion (although not by design) in that they specifically cater for 'at risk' students and are therefore at least mainly composed of L2 students, if not totally so. The success of these unintentionally segregated courses in terms of their pass rate stands testimony to their potential for levelling the competition for access to opportunities for learning.

However, one cannot be naïve about the opposition this suggestion would face. In the first place, segregated tutorials would deprive L2 students of one important site for interaction with L1 speakers of English and this is, as has been discussed above, an important consideration, given that many L2 students seek to improve their competence in English at university through exposure to L1 speakers.

This option also has the attendant risk of lowered self-esteem amongst L2 speakers who may feel, even more keenly, like 'second class citizens' in the host culture. This is a consideration which foundation courses routinely face and they have to guard against the taint of the 'remedial' label, so easily attached to strategies which involve conscription in their selection procedures. Segregated tutorials would, it is argued, encounter the same problem, especially if segregation were compulsory. In a sense, they would perpetuate the division that state education started and would hamper attempts to create a sense of genuine transformation in the university and it would be difficult, again, to avoid the

appearance of a deficit approach to L2 students.

The last, and probably most convincing, argument against segregated tutorials to be considered here is simply that it is not generally acceptable to segregate, for whatever reason, in South Africa today. In my view, the claim of 'separate but equal' would not hold with many South Africans and I would anticipate a clamour of protest against any attempts to divide classes racially, even if segregation were voluntary.

While the interviewees suggested that tutorials segregated in terms of gender might similarly facilitate the increased participation of females, several of the reservations discussed above would apply in this case as well.

5.4.5 INCREASE THE PROPORTION OF L2 AND FEMALE TUTORS

Although in principle of course it would be ideal to have a representative number of black teachers and tutors amongst the teaching staff at an institution such as Rhodes, presenting the use of black tutors as a potential solution to the problems of L2 students is a mirage, in my view. While black students may respond to "unconscious allegiances" with a black tutor, it may also be argued that the presence of a member of African culture may serve to stimulate even more strongly the activation of norms appropriate to African culture. It should be borne in mind that three of the five recorded tutorials were tutored by L2 speakers of English and that the tutorial which displayed the most gross imbalance in terms of dominance by an L1 male was one of these three tutorials. While this tutor's inexperience may be largely responsible for this feature, one cannot overlook the fact that his mere presence did not appear to stimulate the participation of the L2 students in the group.

Also, a black tutor, while patently African in an ethnic sense, may in fact embody the norms of an assimilated member of the dominant academic culture, especially those tutors with many years' experience in a Western context, either as a student or as a member of the teaching staff. Thus I question most strongly the suggestion that black tutors may alleviate problems in terms of the reticence of black students.

The effect of the presence of a female tutor cannot be ascertained with any certainty in the context of this study, as only one tutor was female, but it is noteworthy that her tutorial was one in which female students dominated. In addition, research by De Klerk (1995) suggests that this tendency may be generalised.

5.4.6 MODIFY TUTOR TRAINING PROGRAMMES

One strategy which would take the considerations discussed above into account would be to train tutors to be sensitive to the different needs and expectations of the various constituencies which make up the student body. A variety of tutor-training programmes are already in place. However, there is a tendency, in my experience, for these to approach the question of differing levels of participation in a way which again locates the 'problem' within the student. Characterisations of types of behaviour as different animals, for example (such as the elephant who never forgets, the quiet mouse and so on), are appealing for their 'fun value' but they obscure, I would argue, the real nature of the source of dysfunction in tutorials. This kind of view implies that some people are intrinsically difficult to deal with in the tutorial context, that they cause the problems and that their behaviour needs to be altered. It assumes that the tutorial system as it stands is immutable and perfect - if there is any lack of fit it is between the tutorial and the individual and the responsibility for change is placed on the 'difficult' student, via the intervention of the tutor.

A more accurate view would be that tutorials are currently structured within a particular set of norms and that all people have their own norms and expectations, some of which correspond with those of tutorials as they stand and some of which do not. These differences between people, and between people and the tutorial system, in combination, create a clash of norms of behaviour which works against the stated aim of tutorials: to foster learning through interaction. The difference between these two approaches is subtle but important. It is only through adopting the second view that sensitivity and relativity can be fostered, because the first demands that the student body be homogenised in order to facilitate the success of the tutorial. Thus I would argue that any tutor training programme needs to address explicitly cross-cultural differences in terms of norms of interaction, as well as cross-gender differences in the relevant cultures,

emphasising understanding and acceptance of the different systems and drawing out areas in which clashes of norms are likely to result in inequality for participants. I would further suggest that this is an area in which much more research needs to be done, particularly in view of the dynamic nature of culture. It is particularly important that research which focuses on the (changing) African culture takes into account the differences between rural and urban culture and the effects of racially mixed education and the Western culture on African culture more broadly.

This view is echoed by Cushner (1994: 119) who says that "because of the extent to which communication differences can result in significant misattributions or misjudgments about the motivations of others, considerable attention should be paid to this area in any teacher training program". He adds that not only should cross-cultural communication be a subject of study but also cross-gender communication and communication between, for example, able-bodied and disabled individuals. Such tutor training would not only have the advantage of encouraging sensitivity amongst tutors concerning access to opportunities for learning but would have the additional benefit of decreasing the chances that differences in behaviour would result in misattribution. Given that students' perceptions regarding the tutor's attitudes towards them appear to be important in the creation of a climate conducive to interaction, any strategy which decreases the chances of stereotyping and misjudgments on the part of the tutor would improve the conditions in the tutorial. In addition, misattribution can have serious consequences if inappropriate assessments of ability result in a self-fulfilling prophecy, given that tutors are often gatekeepers to academic achievement.

5.4.7 PROMOTE THE CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL SMALL GROUP WORK

Tutors can also be trained in more concrete ways of facilitating equality in terms of access to active learning. Armed with a knowledge of and sensitivity to differences in terms of preferred learning styles and norms of interaction, tutors can make use of strategies which provide safer spaces for students to interact, such as the pair-work format. It may be argued that constraining factors such as status issues would fall away when students interact with one another in pairs and that even those students who are insecure about their grasp of the content would be more willing to offer their views to the

whole group if these ideas had been confirmed by another student in the relative safety of pair-work. Tutorial designs which increase the interdependence of students in tutorial tasks would also seem to fulfil this aim. In general, tutorials in which a variety of styles and formats is utilized would seem to stand a better chance of accommodating the learning style preferences of all their members.

Tutors with a knowledge of the discourse norms represented in the student body may draw on these norms to encourage interaction from usually reticent students. For example, students using African norms of discourse tend to hang back because they perceive their role to be that of a subordinate student. The tutor can alter the perceived status relations in the tutorial by calling on these students as expert informants on appropriate topics. In my experience, elevating students to higher status roles has positive effects on their level of participation and confidence, which far outlast the topic for which they were assigned this role. Cohen (1994) calls this status generalisation, which she sees as essentially problematic but which I would argue can be used positively to encourage the participation of L2 students in ways which are congruent with their norms of appropriate behaviour according to role, in other words, without forcing assimilation.

In addition, measures to reduce the formality of the tutorial context may be important in reducing the reticence of those students whose system of norms discourages display in a formal context. It may be argued that the use of students as tutors, as opposed to older staff members, may be effective in this regard.

5.4.8   WELCOME ON-GOING EVALUATION

While tutor-training is crucial in making tutorials more equitable, the process should not stop there. Departments concerned about these issues need to engage in an on-going process of self-examination and reflection, utilising expert personnel where necessary. Experienced teachers are not immune to complacency (and sheer habit) and the changing composition of the student body at most tertiary institutions demands a fresh evaluation of teaching styles and strategies in the light of the different expectations and requirements of students who, in the past, constituted only a minority of the campus population. When

even conscientised teachers like Dale Spender perceive grossly unequal distribution of interaction as equal [50], it is clear that none of us can take for granted the perception that we are running successful, 'equal opportunity' tutorials. Despite the defensive feelings evaluation may arouse, it is crucial that such monitoring processes are put in place and that they be seen not as a threat but as an opportunity to improve the service we offer.

5.5   CONCLUSION

Tutorials can be extremely effective in providing an environment where students can articulate, debate and refine their understanding of content and where knowledge can be generated through the sharing of different points of view. But we must acknowledge that tutorials come with no guarantee of success. For tutorials to be successful requires, amongst other things, training, expertise and understanding on the part of the tutor and a caring relationship of mutual respect between tutor and students. Recognising the factors which affect the relative success of tutorials is the first step to improving them and moving towards a more equitable learning context for all students.

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[50] Dale Spender, a feminist author, analyzed her interaction with students (which she perceived to be evenly distributed between males and females) and found that she addressed the males roughly twice as much as the females (Spender 1982, 1989).

APPENDIX ONE:

SUMMARY OF THE MODEL

External Selection: This refers to an external motivation for a particular utterance and comprises three daughter nodes:

◆ External Selection by Name (1): Utterances which are occasioned by nomination of C by the previous speaker (P);

◆ External Selection by Formal Constraint: Utterances which are motivated by formal constraints, such as next-positioning. There are three daughter nodes:

  ◆ After Backchannels (2): Resumption of floor by P after a backchannel. This categorisation is only applied if a gap occurred after P's initial utterance; if no gap is measured, P's contribution on either side of the backchannel constitutes one utterance;

  ◆ Tutor (T) or P responds (3): Utterances which form an on-going discussion are motivated by the transitional relevance set up by adjacency pairs. N-selection of P is implied by these sequences. T has additional rights by virtue of his or her role;

  ◆ T or P Fills Gap (4): Utterances by T or P which fill the gap after a first pair part which has generated no self-selection. T has additional rights by virtue of his or her role;

◆ Gaze (5): Utterances motivated by nomination of N by P through eye-contact;

Self-selection: Utterances which are not occasioned by external selection and are thus to some degree less motivated by context. There are two daughter nodes:

◆ Valid Self-selection: Utterances which do not disrupt smooth speaker change and are not problematic in terms of rights to the floor:

  ◆ Motivated Self-selection by Formal Constraint: Utterances in which P has additional rights to the floor by virtue of previous contribution but which are optional in terms of transitional relevance:

    ◆ Go on after Deep Intrusion (6): The resumption of the floor after an extensive intrusion, which may or may not have been non-valid;

    ◆ Go on after Unsuccessful Simultaneous Self-selection (7): The

resumption of the floor by the unsuccessful P in a case of simultaneous self-selection;

♦ Go on after Unsuccessful'Misinterpreted TRP or Unsuccessful Violative Self-selection **(8)**: The resumption of the floor by the unsuccessful P in either case. This is distinguished from (7) because (15) involves no 'error' on the part of the unsuccessful P;

♦ Backchannels: Non-turns which provide feedback to C without taking the floor from him or her:

   ♦ Simple Encouragers **(9)**: Minimal responses which serve a supportive function to C and encourage him or her to retain the floor;

   ♦ Checks **(10)**: Hearing or meaning checks on C's utterance;

   ♦ Prompts **(11)**: Characteristically short utterances which provide C with words, facts or ideas to enhance his or her utterance and which usually co-occur with evidence of 'floundering' on the part of C;

   ♦ Echoes **(12)**: Utterances which echo a portion of P's utterance, indicating acceptance or support;

♦ General Invitation **(13)**: The assumption of the floor in response to the first pair part of an adjacency pair where no external selection or motivated self-selection is evident;

♦ Open Floor **(14)**: The assumption of the floor when no N has been selected and no first pair part issued;

♦ Non-valid Self-selection: Utterances which are in some way problematic in terms of smooth speaker change in that they overlap with another speaker's turn (i.e. backchannels can not be overlapped non-validly as they do not constitute turns):

   ♦ Inadvertent Non-valid Self-selection: Self-selection which unintentionally violates a speaker's right to be the only speaker on the floor;

      ♦ Simultaneous Self-selection: The simultaneous assumption of the floor by two or more speakers who have equal rights to the floor. No violation on the part of either speaker is implied, but this occurrence is classified as non-valid due to the fact that it disrupts smooth speaker change and usually requires remedial action.

Utterances which are apparently incomplete in this context are coded as unsuccessful **(15)**, while those which are apparently (or potentially) complete are coded as successful **(16)**. It is possible for both utterances to be given the same classification.

◆ Misinterpreted TRP: Utterances which overlap C's utterance but are within two syllables or less of a possible completion point by C. The violation of C's right to the floor is taken to be unintentional and thus such an utterance must occur in the vicinity of a TRP. The overlapping utterance may be coded as successful **(18)** or unsuccessful **(17)**, depending on whether or not it appears to be potentially completed.

◆ Violative Self-selection: Utterances which overlap C's utterance and are not within two syllables or less of a possible completion point by C. Successful violative overlaps are coded as **(20)** and unsuccessful ones as **(19)**. The violation of C's right to the floor is taken to be intentional and thus, in the context of a 'one-at-a-time' floor, constitutes competitive behaviour. Sensitivity to the context is crucial in interpretation as even this type of overlap may be, if not indicative of support, at least suggestive of enthusiasm in the context of an 'all-together-now' floor. The semantic relations between the overlapped and the overlapping utterances (whether adversative or additive) are central to this distinction.

Utterances which were inaudible could not be classified and are coded as **(21)**.

<u>APPENDIX TWO</u>:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS: PREPARED QUESTIONS

Think of your favourite tutorial.
What makes it your favourite?
Think of the people in the tutorial, including the tutor.
How do they behave? Tell me about a typical tutorial.

Tutor: What makes a good tutor?
How does the tutor in your favourite tutorial behave?
Does this tutor contribute to it being your favourite tut? How?
What makes him or her a good tutor i.e. what are his or her good points?
What are his or her bad points?
Could this person be a better tutor and how?

Students: Who is the most talkative person in the tutorial (other than the tutor)?
What do you think of this behaviour?
Who is the quietest and why? What do you think of this?
What is your role in the tutorial? Do you talk a lot or a little compared to the other students? Why?

Male/Female Differences:
Is there any difference in the way the boys and girls behave in the tutorial?

Differences between L1 and L2 speakers of English:
Is there any difference in the way the L1 and L2 speakers of English behave in the tutorial?

Are there any other people you would like to mention?

Now think about your worst, or least favourite tutorial.
What makes it your least favourite?
Think of the people in the tutorial, including the tutor.
How do they behave? Tell me about a typical tutorial.

Tutor: Does the tutor contribute to it being your worst tutorial? How?
How does the tutor in your least favourite tutorial behave?
What makes him or her a good tutor i.e. what are his or her good points?
What are his or her bad points?
Could this person be a better tutor and how?

Students:
Who is the most talkative person in the tutorial (other than the tutor)?
What do you think of this behaviour?
Who is the quietest and why? What do you think of this?
What is your role in the tutorial? Do you talk a lot or a little compared to the other students? Why?

Male/Female:

Is there any difference in the way the boys and girls behave in the tutorial?

Differences between L1 and L2 speakers of English:

Is there any difference in the way the L1 and L2 speakers of English behave in the tutorial?

Are there any other people you would like to mention?

How should a tutor behave in a tutorial? What is their role?
How should students behave in a tutorial? What are their roles?

APPENDIX THREE:

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The following transcription conventions apply to excerpts from the tutorials quoted in the discussion below:

1099   utterance number (within tutorial); the first number indicates the number of the tutorial (1 - 5); the remaining three numbers indicate the utterance number

1A:L1MP   identification of speaker: participants are coded as follows:
First Section (before the colon ':'): the number (1 - 5) refers to the tutorial; the letter (A - M) to the participant in that tutorial. T always indicates the tutor.
Second Section (after the colon':'): **L1** indicates a first-language speaker of English, **L2** a second (or other) language speaker of English; **M** indicates a male participant, **F** a female; **P** indicates a student who obtained his or her Matric from a private school, **S** a student from a state school.

1099   1A:L2FS ⎫
100   1B:L1MS ⎬
      1A:L2FS ⎭   loop and absence of utterance number indicates continuation of turn despite intervening utterance

xxx   (within an utterance) indicates an indecipherable stretch of talk

...   (within an utterance) indicates the omission from the transcription of a stretch of speech irrelevant to the discussion

(10,56)   (at the end of an utterance) indicates the length of the utterance, in seconds.

(1,43)   (at the end of an utterance) indicates the length of silence, in seconds, before the following utterance [51]

end //
   // So   indicates speaker change with no measurable silence between the end of C's utterance and the beginning of N's utterance, but without overlap

and // then
   // So   indicates overlapping speech (to the right of double slashes)

/ but
\ so   indicates simultaneous self selection by two or more speakers

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[51] This information is only included where relevant to the discussion.

(laughter)   transcription notes

WHAT   Bold capitals indicate emphasis (raised pitch, increased volume
                         and/or elongation of syllable)

APPENDIX FOUR:

TOTAL NUMBER OF UTTERANCES PER STUDENT FOR EACH TUTORIAL
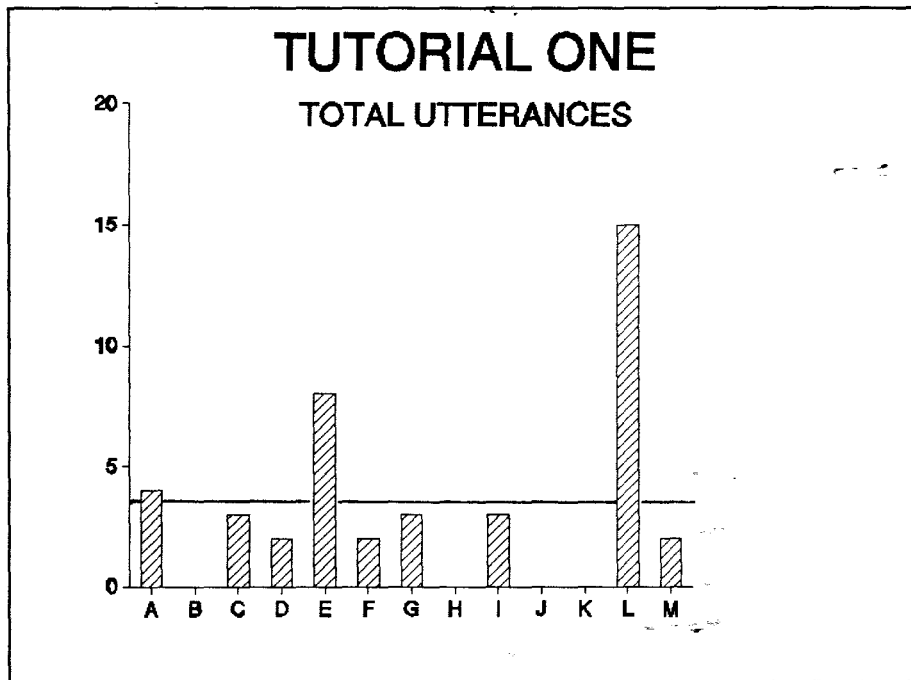
Figure 11: TUTORIAL 1: number of utterances, by speaker
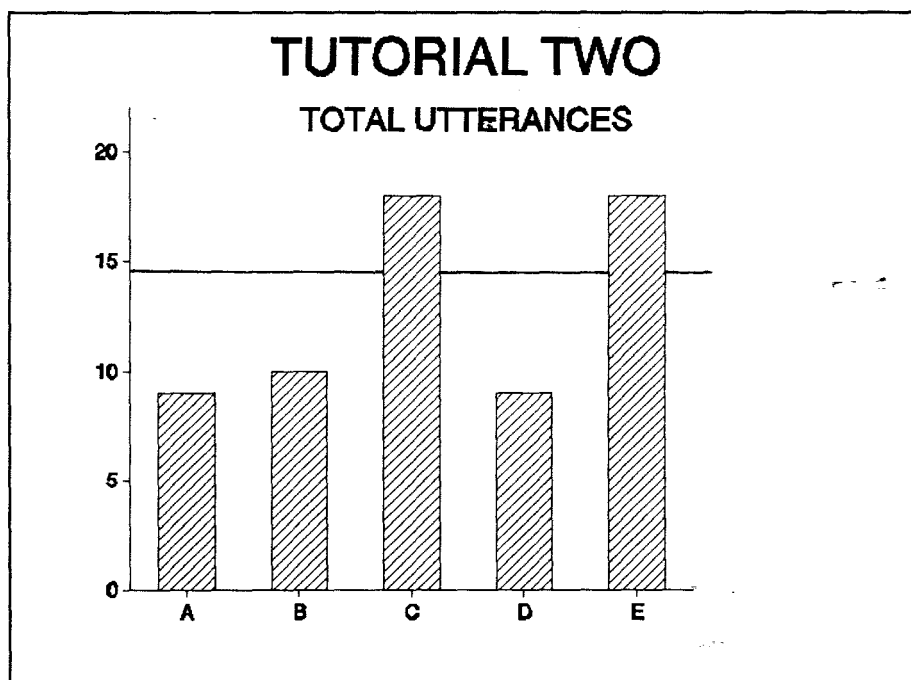
Figure 12: TUTORIAL 2: number of utterances, by speaker
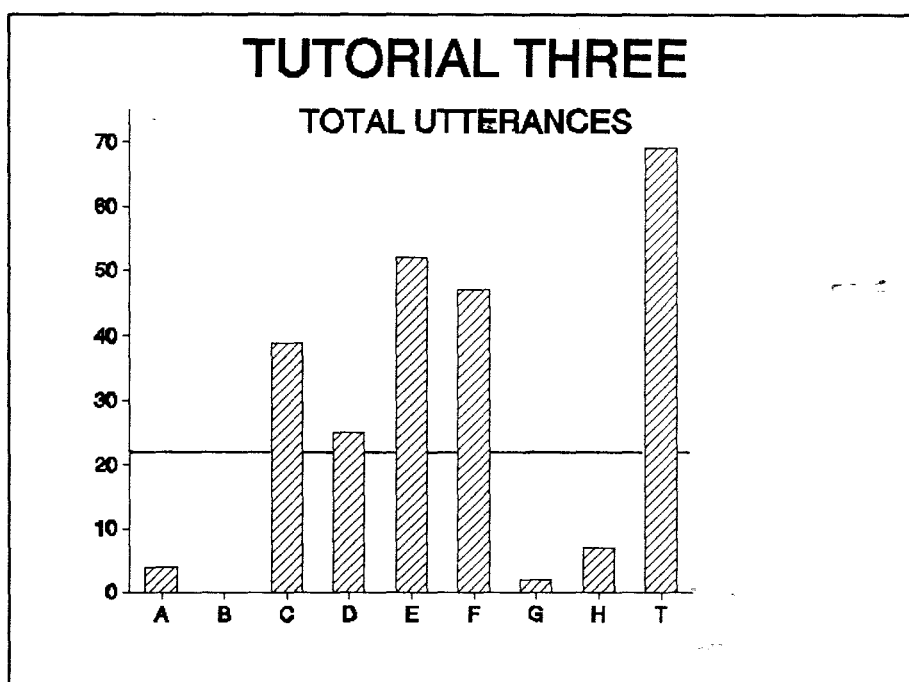
Figure 13: TUTORIAL 3: number of utterances, by speaker
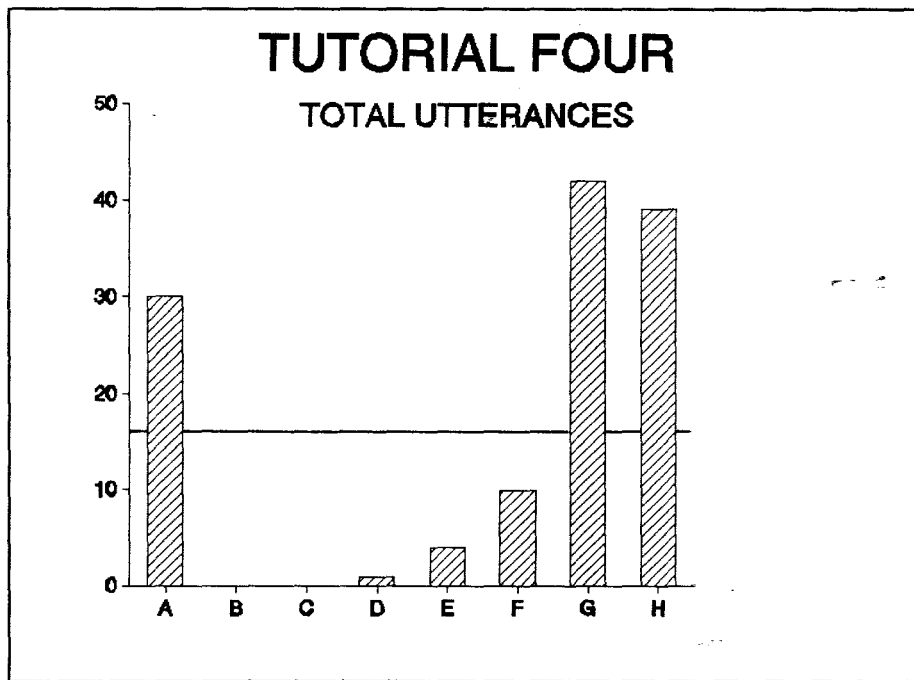
Figure 14: TUTORIAL 4: number of utterances, by speaker

TUTORIAL FIVE

TOTAL UTTERANCES
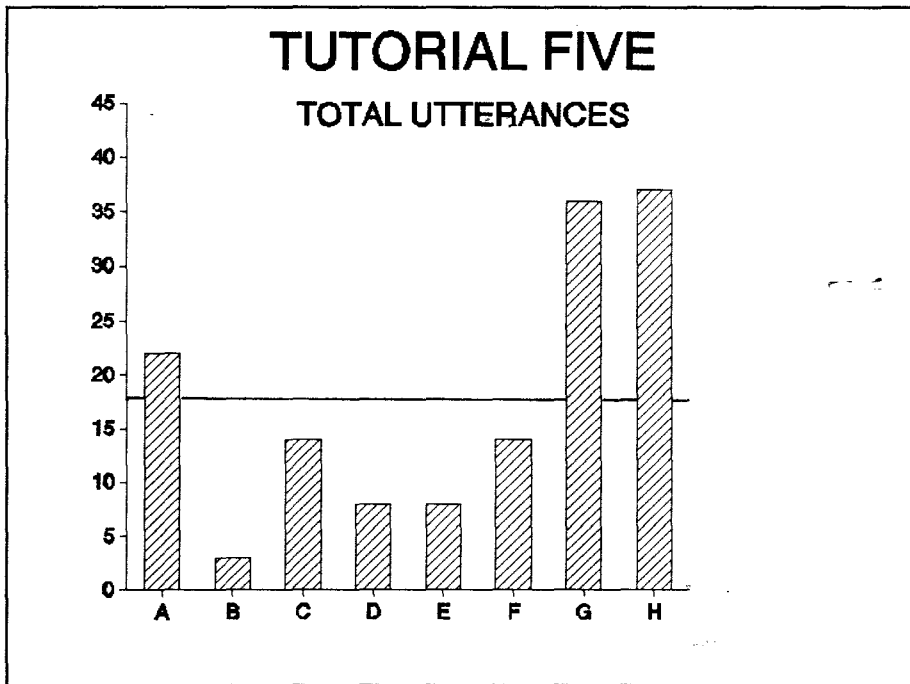
<u>APPENDIX FIVE</u>:

TOTAL LENGTH OF TIME ON FLOOR PER STUDENT FOR EACH TUTORIAL
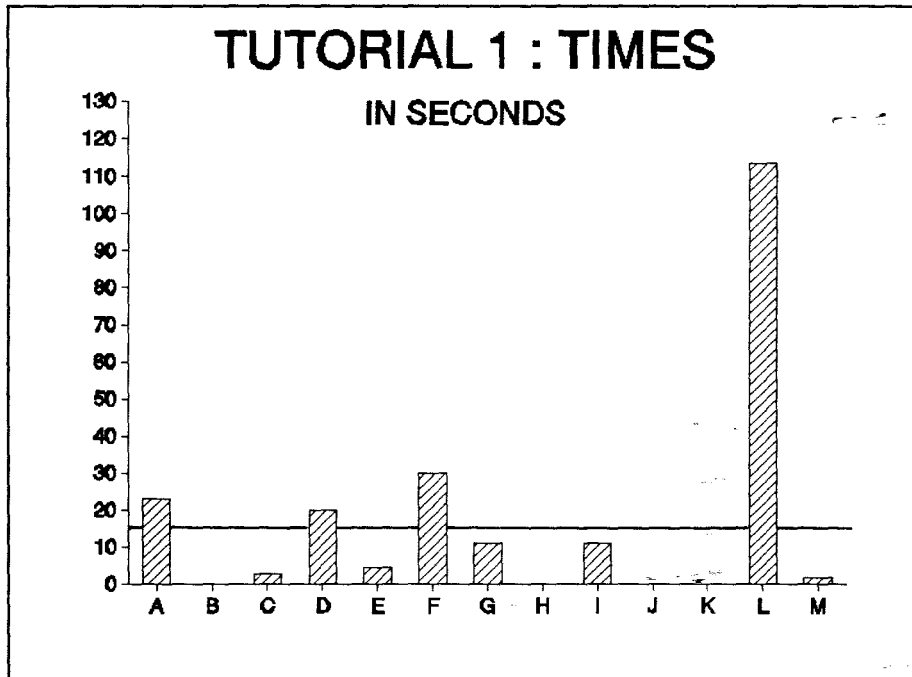
Figure 16: TUTORIAL 1: total time on floor, by speaker

TUTORIAL 2 : TIMES IN SECONDS
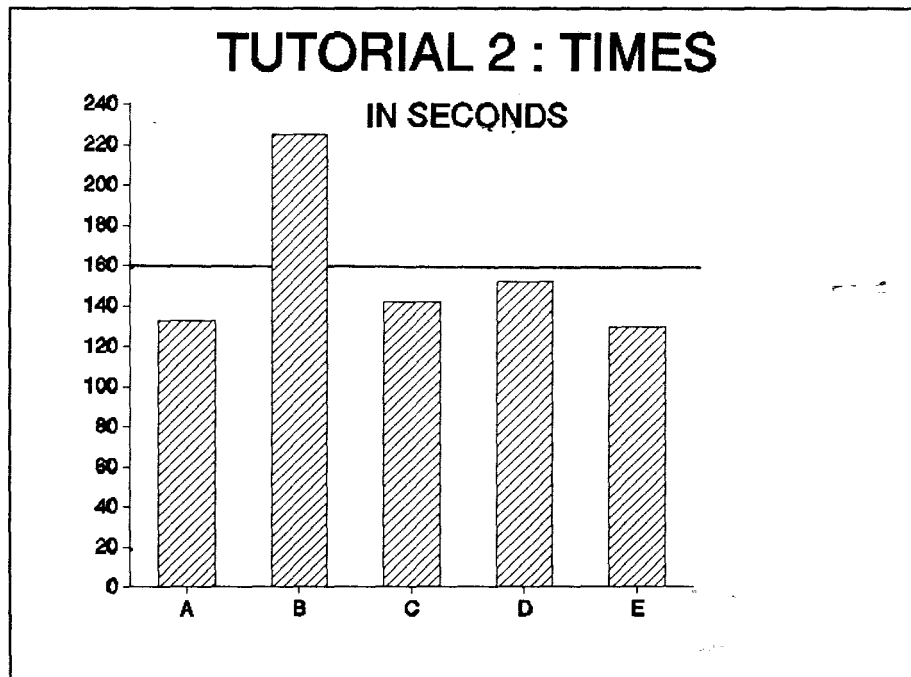
Figure 17: TUTORIAL 2: total time on floor, by speaker
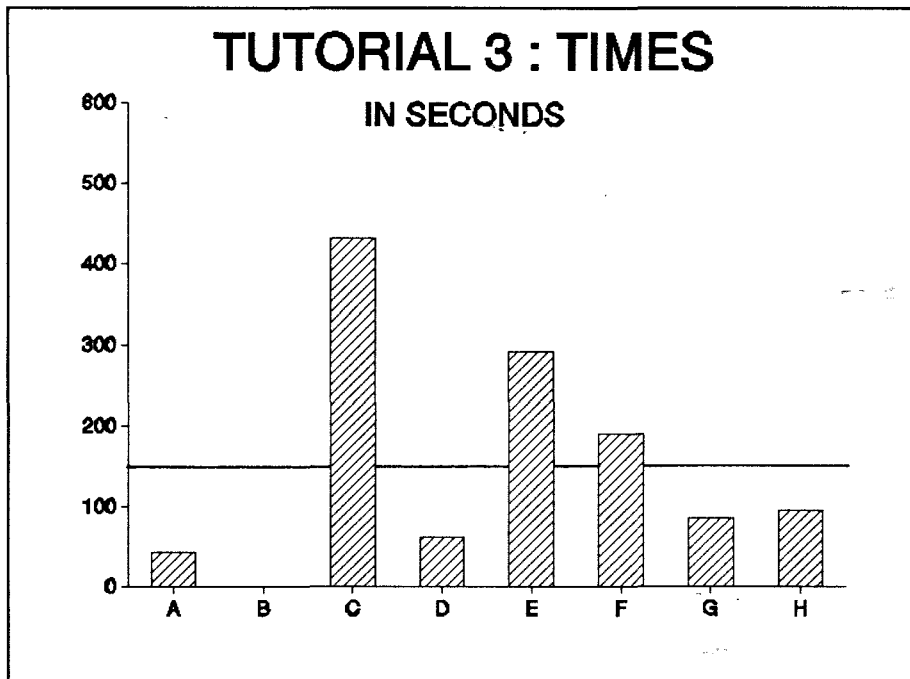
Figure 18: TUTORIAL 3: total time on floor, by speaker
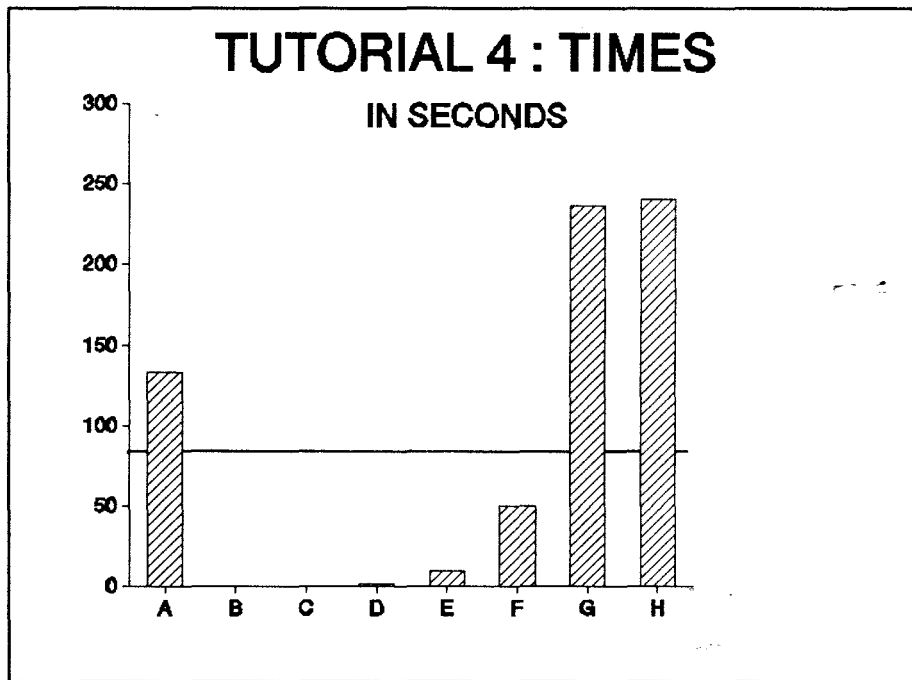
Figure 19: TUTORIAL 4: total time on floor, by speaker

TUTORIAL FIVE
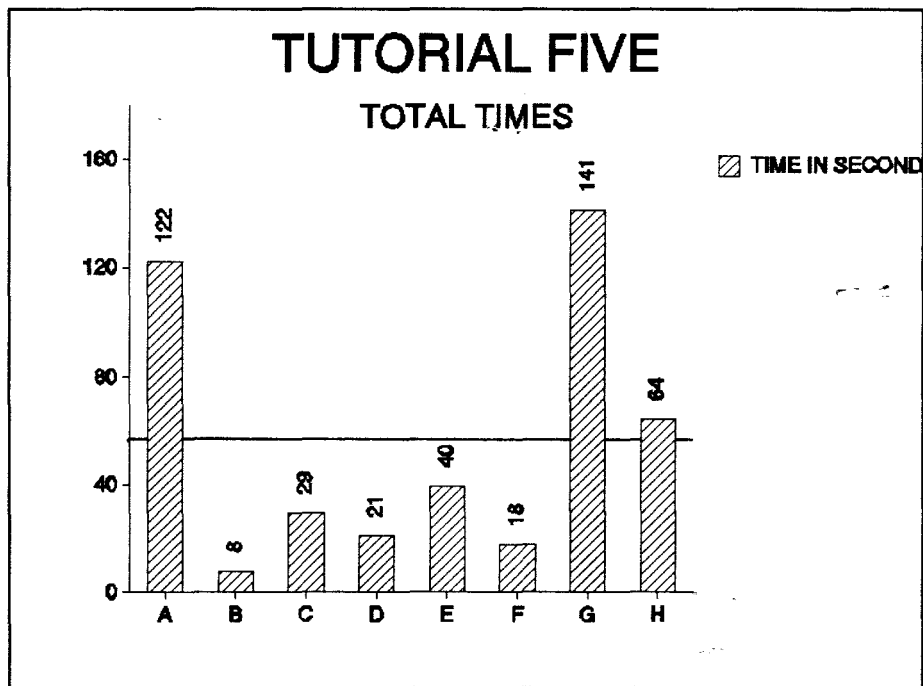
TOTAL TIMES

APPENDIX SIX:

MEAN LENGTH OF UTTERANCE PER STUDENT

TUTORIAL ONE

STUDENT	TOTAL TIME	UTTERANCES	MLU
1A	23.22	4	5.81
1B	0	0	0.00
1C	2.74	3	0.91
1D	20.12	2	10.06
1E	4.55	8	0.57
1F	30.08	2	15.04
1G	10.88	3	3.63
1H	0	0	0.00
1I	10.99	3	3.66
1J	0	0	0.00
1K	0	0	0.00
1L	113.52	15	7.57
1M	1.83	2	0.92

TUTORIAL TWO

STUDENT	TOTAL TIME	UTTERANCES	MLU
2A	133.06	10	13.31
2B	245.02	13	18.85
2C	141.94	19	7.47
2D	152.15	10	15.22
2E	125.08	20	6.25

TUTORIAL THREE

STUDENT	TOTAL TIME	UTTERANCES	MLU
3A	42.6	4	10.65
3B	0.00	0	0.00
3C	451.88	40	11.3
3D	61.34	24	2.56
3E	292.33	52	5.62
3F	189.22	47	4.03
3G	70.44	2	35.22
3H	96.24	7	13.75

TUTORIAL FOUR

STUDENT	TOTAL TIME	UTTERANCES	MLU
4A	133.13	28	4.75
4B	0.00	0	0.00
4C	0.00	0	0.00
4D	1.56	1	1.56
4E	9.97	4	2.49
4F	47.43	10	4.74
4G	249.7	45	5.55
4H	240.32	40	6.01

TUTORIAL FIVE

STUDENT	TOTAL TIME	UTTERANCES	MLU
5A	122.24	22	5.56
5B	7.64	3	2.55
5C	29.32	14	2.09
5D	20.88	8	2.61
5E	39.54	8	4.94
5F	17.7	14	1.26
5G	141.07	36	3.92
5H	64.34	37	1.74

APPENDIX SEVEN:

STATISTICAL TABLES

One-way ANOVAs on Total Time on Floor per Student (UTTTIM)

and

One-way ANOVAs on Total Number of Utterances per Student (UTTTOT)

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T1ANOVDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	3497.5187	1	3497.5187	4.898	.0490
Within groups	7855.4294	11	714.1299		

| Total (corrected) | 11352.948 | 12 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T1ANOVDS.UTTTIM by T1ANOVDS.GENDER

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
F	9	5.828889	3.049951	8.907737	-8.051023	19.708800
M	4	41.367500	24.470511	13.361605	20.547633	62.187367

| Total | 13 | 16.763846 | 7.411685 | 7.411685 | 5.215062 | 28.312631 |

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T1ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	2.986	1	2.9856	.003	.9586
Within groups	11349.963	11	1031.8148		

| Total (corrected) | 11352.948 | 12 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T1ANOVDS.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	2374.7882	1	2374.7882	2.910	.1161
Within groups	8978.1599	11	816.1964		

| Total (corrected) | 11352.948 | 12 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T1ANOVDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	36.66880	1	36.668803	2.350	.1535
Within groups	171.63889	11	15.603535		
Total (corrected)	208.30769	12			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T1ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	5.55769	1	5.557692	.302	.5996
Within groups	202.75000	11	18.431818		
Total (corrected)	208.30769	12			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T1ANOVDS.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	52.66880	1	52.668803	3.722	.0799
Within groups	155.63889	11	14.148990		
Total (corrected)	208.30769	12			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T1ANOVDS.UTTTOT by T1ANOVDS.EDUCATN

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
S	9	1.8888889	.5121969	1.2538381	-.0648242	3.8426020
P	4	6.2500000	3.3757715	1.8807572	3.3194303	9.1805697
Total	13	3.2307692	1.0432564	1.0432564	1.6051817	4.8563568

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T2ANOVDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	512.9468	1	512.9468	.170	.7118
Within groups	9046.8972	3	3015.6324		

| Total (corrected) | 9559.8440 | 4 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T2ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	1606.0083	1	1606.0083	.606	.5008
Within groups	7953.8357	3	2651.2786		

| Total (corrected) | 9559.8440 | 4 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T2ANOVDS.EDUCATION

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	2184.5333	1	2184.5333	.889	.4247
Within groups	7375.3107	3	2458.4369		
Total (corrected)	9559.8440	4			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T2ANOVDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	.033333	1	.033333	.001	.9762
Within groups	93.166667	3	31.055556		
Total (corrected)	93.200000	4			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T2ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	.033333	1	.033333	.001	.9762
Within groups	93.166667	3	31.055556		

| Total (corrected) | 93.200000 | 4 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T2ANOVDS.EDUCATION

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	14.700000	1	14.700000	.562	.5153
Within groups	78.500000	3	26.166667		

| Total (corrected) | 93.200000 | 4 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T3ANOVDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	27954.52	1	27954.518	1.233	.3094
Within groups	136086.29	6	22681.048		
Total (corrected)	164040.81	7			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T3ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	43270.99	1	43270.994	2.150	.1930
Within groups	120769.81	6	20128.302		
Total (corrected)	164040.81	7			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T3ANOVDS.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	35442.45	1	35442.452	1.654	.2459
Within groups	128598.36	6	21433.059		

| Total (corrected) | 164040.81 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T3ANOVDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	912.6667	1	912.66667	2.307	.1796
Within groups	2373.3333	6	395.55556		

| Total (corrected) | 3286.0000 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T3ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	1732.8000	1	1732.8000	6.694	.0414
Within groups	1553.2000	6	258.8667		

| Total (corrected) | 3286.0000 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T3ANOVDS.UTTTOT by T3ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
E	5	33.400000	8.7384209	7.1953689	20.949613	45.850387
N	3	3.000000	2.0816660	9.2891813	-13.073380	19.073380

| Total | 8 | 22.000000 | 5.6884386 | 5.6884386 | 12.157105 | 31.842895 |

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T3ANOVDS.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	1176.0000	1	1176.0000	3.344	.1172
Within groups	2110.0000	6	351.6667		
Total (corrected)	3286.0000	7			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T4ANOVDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	11328.888	1	11328.888	.962	.3747
Within groups	70690.684	6	11781.781		
Total (corrected)	82019.572	7			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T4ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	8007.220	1	8007.220	.649	.4594
Within groups	74012.352	6	12335.392		

| Total (corrected) | 82019.572 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4ANOVDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T4ANOVDS.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	30902.035	1	30902.035	3.627	.1055
Within groups	51117.538	6	8519.590		

| Total (corrected) | 82019.572 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T4ANOVDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	242.0000	1	242.00000	.649	.4593
Within groups	2236.0000	6	372.66667		
Total (corrected)	2478.0000	7			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T4ANOVDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	257.1429	1	257.14286	.695	.4450
Within groups	2220.8571	6	370.14286		
Total (corrected)	2478.0000	7			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4ANOVDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T4ANOVDS.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	961.1429	1	961.14286	3.802	.0991
Within groups	1516.8571	6	252.80952		

| Total (corrected) | 2478.0000 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T4ANOVDS.UTTTOT by T4ANOVDS.EDUCATN

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
S	7	11.857143	6.0096295	6.009629	1.458481	22.255805
P	1	45.000000	.0000000	15.899985	17.487726	72.512274

| Total | 8 | 16.000000 | 5.6214936 | 5.621494 | 6.272942 | 25.727058 |

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5ANOCDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T5ANOCDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	2701.943	1	2701.9426	1.080	.3387
Within groups	15010.532	6	2501.7553		

| Total (corrected) | 17712.474 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5ANOCDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T5ANOCDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	1357.232	1	1357.2317	.498	.5141
Within groups	16355.243	6	2725.8738		

| Total (corrected) | 17712.474 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5ANOCDS.UTTTIM

Level codes: T5ANOCDS.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	701.461	1	701.4609	.247	.6417
Within groups	17011.014	6	2835.1689		

| Total (corrected) | 17712.474 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5ANOCDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T5ANOCDS.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	37.5000	1	37.50000	.201	.6743
Within groups	1120.0000	6	186.66667		

| Total (corrected) | 1157.5000 | 7 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5ANOCDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T5ANOCDS.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	108.6429	1	108.64286	.621	.4686
Within groups	1048.8571	6	174.80952		
Total (corrected)	1157.5000	7			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5ANOCDS.UTTTOT

Level codes: T5ANOCDS.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	20.1667	1	20.16667	.106	.7587
Within groups	1137.3333	6	189.55556		
Total (corrected)	1157.5000	7			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-way ANOVAs on MLU by Category

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1.UTTTIME

Level codes: T1.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	127.6351	1	127.63506	2.355	.1327
Within groups	2167.5707	40	54.18927		

| Total (corrected) | 2295.2058 | 41 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1.UTTTIME

Level codes: T1.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	68.8718	1	68.871776	1.237	.2726
Within groups	2226.3340	40	55.658350		

| Total (corrected) | 2295.2058 | 41 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T1.UTTTIME

Level codes: T1.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	9.4210	1	9.421042	.165	.6912
Within groups	2285.7847	40	57.144618		

| Total (corrected) | 2295.2058 | 41 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2.UTTTIME

Level codes: T2.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	106.365	1	106.36501	.186	.6728
Within groups	34975.227	61	573.36437		

| Total (corrected) | 35081.592 | 62 | | | |

1 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2.UTTTIME

Level codes: T2.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	151.585	1	151.58501	.265	.6142
Within groups	34930.007	61	572.62306		
Total (corrected)	35081.592	62			

1 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2.UTTTIME

Level codes: T2.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	3.675	1	3.67524	.006	.9374
Within groups	35077.917	61	575.04781		
Total (corrected)	35081.592	62			

1 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T2.UTTTIME

Level codes: T2.SPKRID

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	2192.602	4	548.15059	.967	.4328
Within groups	32888.989	58	567.05154		
Total (corrected)	35081.592	62			

1 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3.UTTTIMES

Level codes: T3.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	349.449	1	349.44945	.960	.3389
Within groups	63315.628	174	363.88292		
Total (corrected)	63665.077	175			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3.UTTTIMES

Level codes: T3.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	1693.683	1	1693.6833	4.755	.0305
Within groups	61971.394	174	356.1574		

Total (corrected)	63665.077	175			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T3.UTTTIMES by T3.LANGUAGE

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
E	167	6.104850	1.377693	1.4603696	4.066760	8.142941
N	9	20.187778	11.398088	6.2907113	11.408466	28.967090

Total	176	6.825000	1.422541	1.4225406	4.839703	8.810297

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3.UTTTIMES

Level codes: T3.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	2607.248	1	2607.2478	7.430	.0071
Within groups	61057.830	174	350.9071		

| Total (corrected) | 63665.077 | 175 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T3.UTTTIMES by T3.EDUCATN

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
S	174	6.412356	1.383541	1.420108	4.430454	8.394258
P	2	42.725000	41.455000	13.245887	24.239049	61.210951

| Total | 176 | 6.825000 | 1.412016 | 1.412016 | 4.854391 | 8.795609 |

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T3.UTTTIMES

Level codes: T3.SPKRID

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	4596.326	6	766.05432	2.192	.0461
Within groups	59068.752	169	349.51924		

| Total (corrected) | 63665.077 | 175 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T3.UTTTIMES by T3.SPKRID

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
C	39	11.091282	5.103214	2.993665	4.774345	17.408219
E	52	5.631923	2.003443	2.592590	.161295	11.102551
F	47	4.045745	.772846	2.727009	-1.708521	9.800010
D	25	2.453600	.479257	3.739087	-5.436252	10.343452
H	7	13.748571	10.477698	7.066210	-1.161847	28.658990
G	2	42.725000	41.455000	13.219668	14.830161	70.619839
A	4	10.650000	5.414020	9.347717	-9.074629	30.374629

| Total | 176 | 6.825000 | 1.409221 | 1.409221 | 3.851400 | 9.798600 |

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4.UTTTIMES

Level codes: T4.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	58.4548	1	58.454812	1.380	.2424
Within groups	5252.9244	124	42.362293		

| Total (corrected) | 5311.3792 | 125 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4.UTTTIMES

Level codes: T4.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	14.3876	1	14.387591	.337	.5689
Within groups	5296.9916	124	42.717674		

| Total (corrected) | 5311.3792 | 125 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4.UTTTIMES

Level codes: T4.EDUCATN

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	5.6281	1	5.628078	.132	.7213
Within groups	5305.7511	124	42.788316		
Total (corrected)	5311.3792	125			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T4.UTTTIMES

Level codes: T4.SPKRID

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	101.1768	5	20.235357	.466	.8009
Within groups	5210.2024	120	43.418353		
Total (corrected)	5311.3792	125			

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5.UTTTIME

Level codes: T5.GENDER

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	74.5396	1	74.539604	3.207	.0755
Within groups	3230.3893	139	23.240211		

| Total (corrected) | 3304.9289 | 140 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5.UTTTIME

Level codes: T5.LANGUAGE

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	2.3817	1	2.381732	.100	.7554
Within groups	3302.5472	139	23.759332		

| Total (corrected) | 3304.9289 | 140 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5.UTTTIME

Level codes: T5.EDUCATION

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	101.3411	1	101.34109	4.397	.0378
Within groups	3203.5878	139	23.04739		

| Total (corrected) | 3304.9289 | 140 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T5.UTTTIME by T5.EDUCATION

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
S	111	2.6991892	.3741025	.4556689	2.0621334	3.3362450
P	30	4.7706667	1.3107715	.8764967	3.5452653	5.9960680

| Total | 141 | 3.1399291 | .4042978 | .4042978 | 2.5746936 | 3.7051646 |

One-Way Analysis of Variance

Data: T5.UTTTIME

Level codes: T5.SPKRID

Labels:

Means plot: Tukey   Confidence level: 95   Range test: Tukey

Analysis of variance

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean square	F-ratio	Sig. level
Between groups	310.0195	7	44.288505	1.967	.0642
Within groups	2994.9094	133	22.518116		

| Total (corrected) | 3304.9289 | 140 | | | |

0 missing value(s) have been excluded.

Table of means for T5.UTTTIME by T5.SPKRID

Level	Count	Average	Stnd. Error (internal)	Stnd. Error (pooled s)	95 % Tukey HSD intervals for mean	
E	8	4.9425000	2.4174077	1.6777260	1.2888569	8.5961431
G	36	3.9186111	.8654916	.7908876	2.1962672	5.6409550
F	14	1.2642857	.5547980	1.2682416	-1.4976089	4.0261803
H	36	1.7872222	.3387556	.7908876	.0648784	3.5095661
A	22	5.5563636	1.7475943	1.0117068	3.3531340	7.7595933
B	3	2.5466667	1.0519875	2.7397150	-3.4197075	8.5130408
D	8	2.6100000	.7658958	1.6777260	-1.0436431	6.2636431
C	14	2.0942857	.6321477	1.2682416	-.6676089	4.8561803

| Total | 141 | 3.1399291 | .3996285 | .3996285 | 2.2696440 | 4.0102142 |

APPENDIX EIGHT:

CLASSIFICATION OF UTTERANCES PER STUDENT FOR EACH TUTORIAL

TUTORIAL ONE
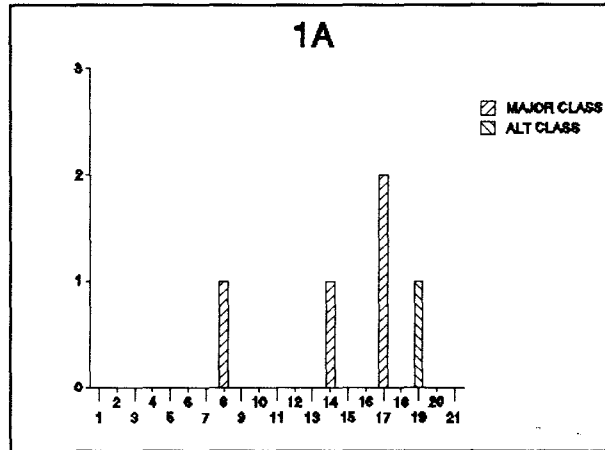
Figure 1: Classification of Utterances: 1A:L2FP
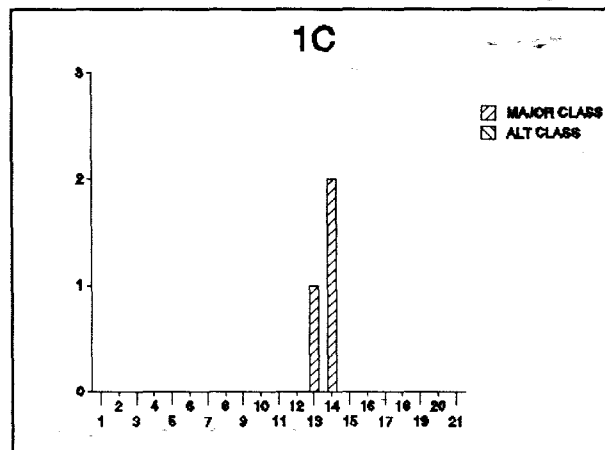
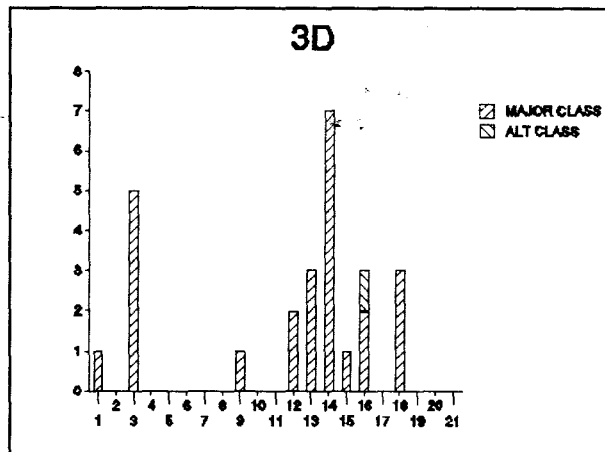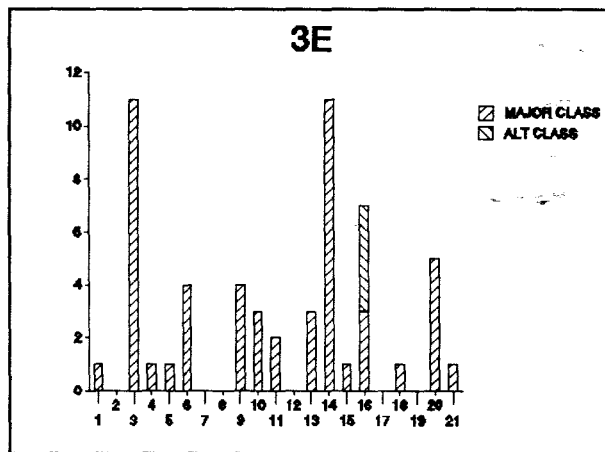**Figure 2**: Classification of Utterances: 1C:L1FS
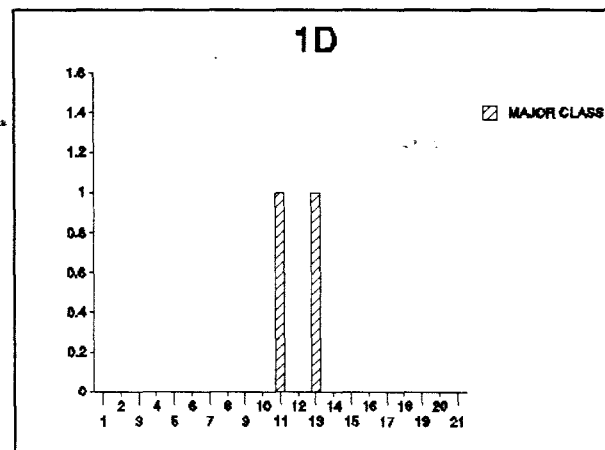
Figure 3: Classification of Utterances: 1D:L1FS
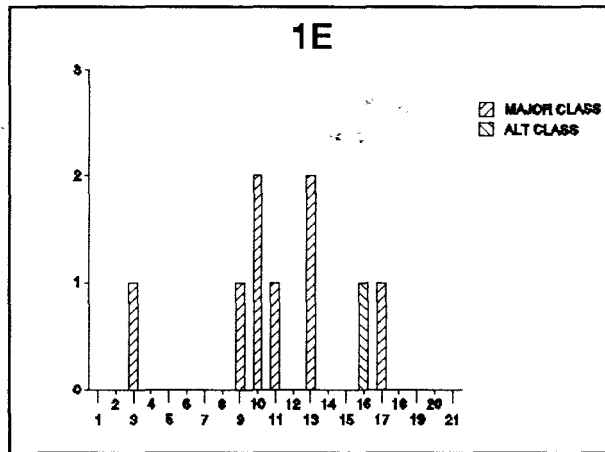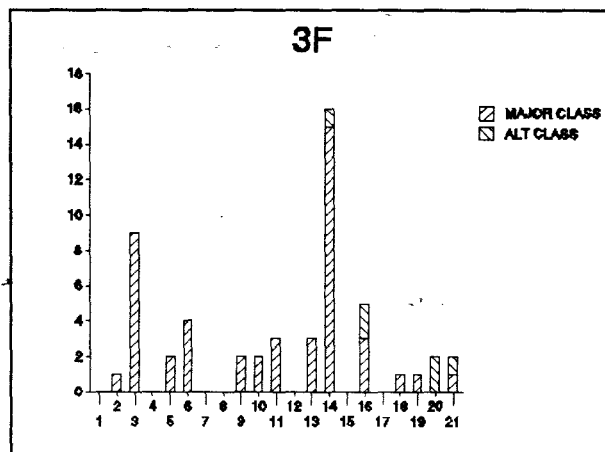
Figure 4: Classification of Utterances: 1E:L1FP
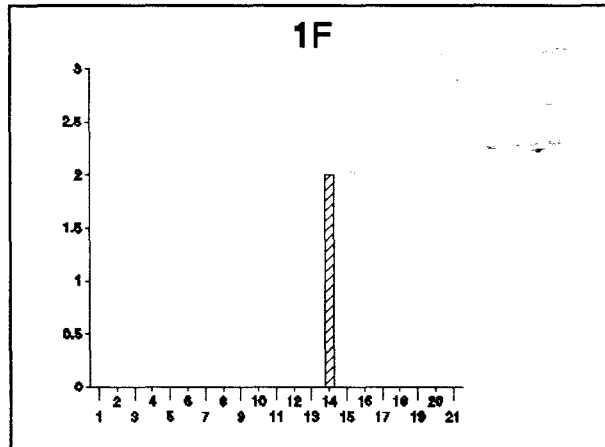
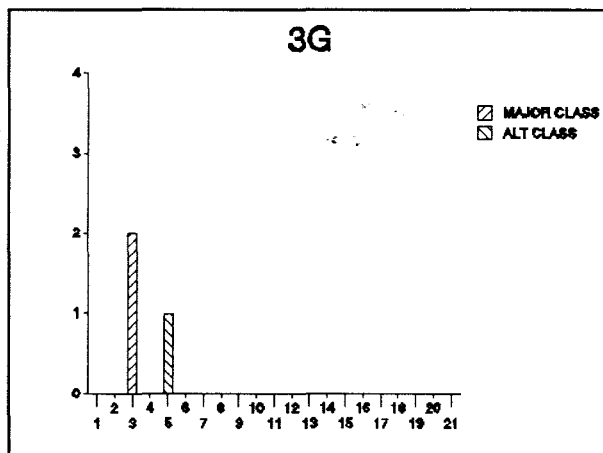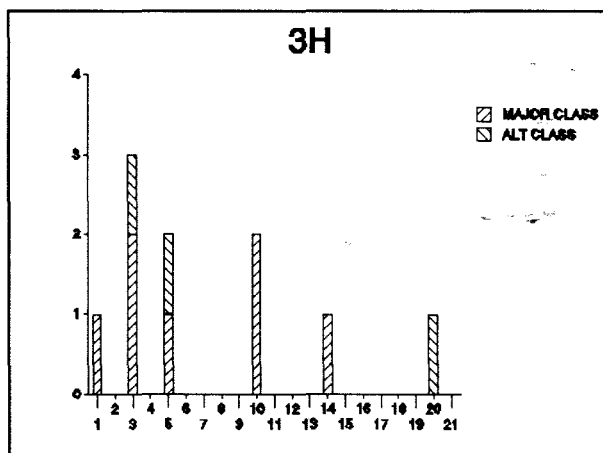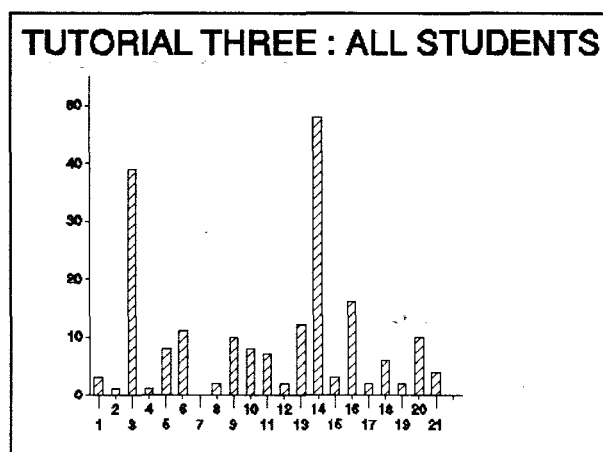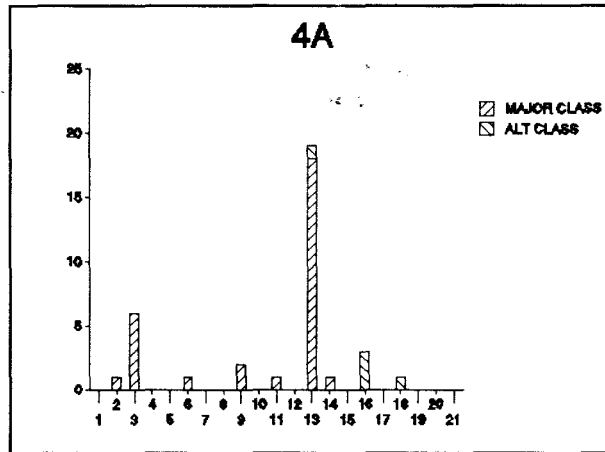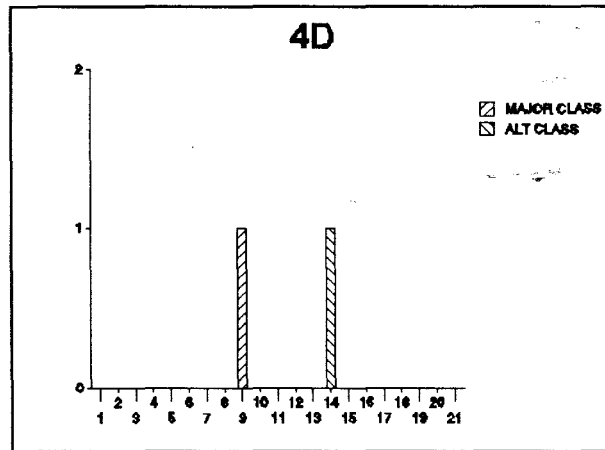**Figure 5**: Classification of Utterances: 1F:L2MP
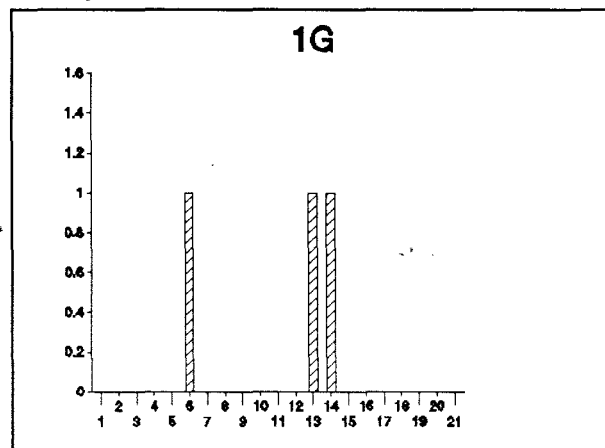
Figure 6: Classification of Utterances: 1G:L2MS
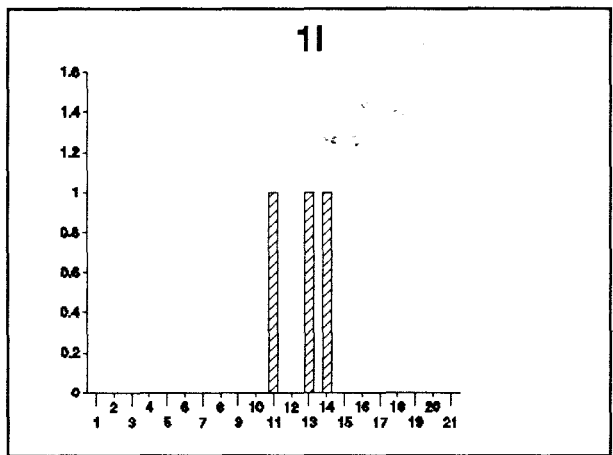
Figure 7: Classification of Utterances: 1I:L1MS
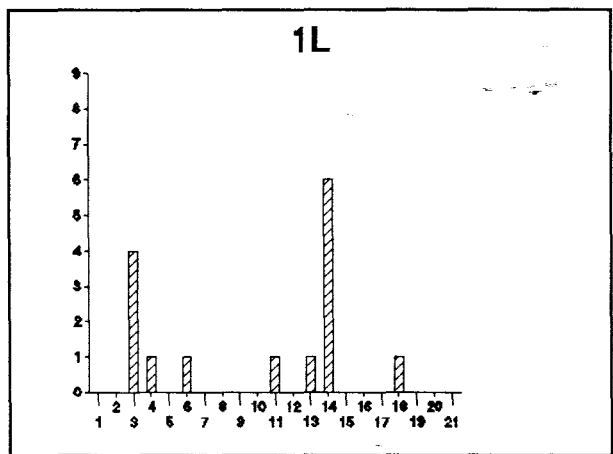
Figure 8: Classification of Utterances: 1L:L1MP
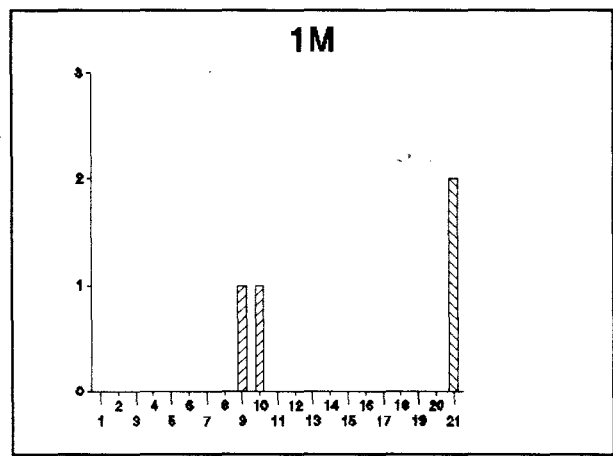
Figure 9: Classification of Utterances: 1M:L1FS
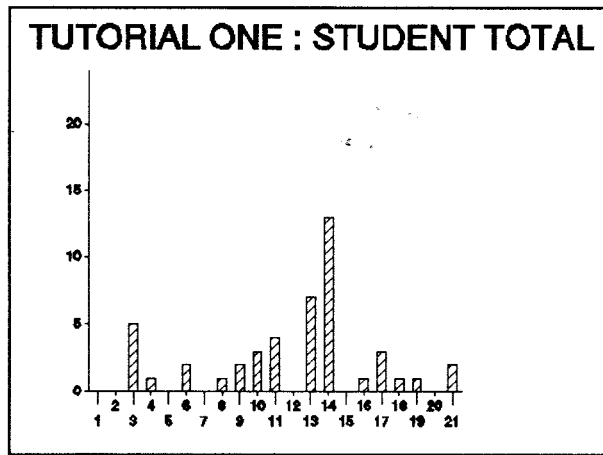
Figure 10: Classification of Utterances: Combined Students

TUTORIAL TWO
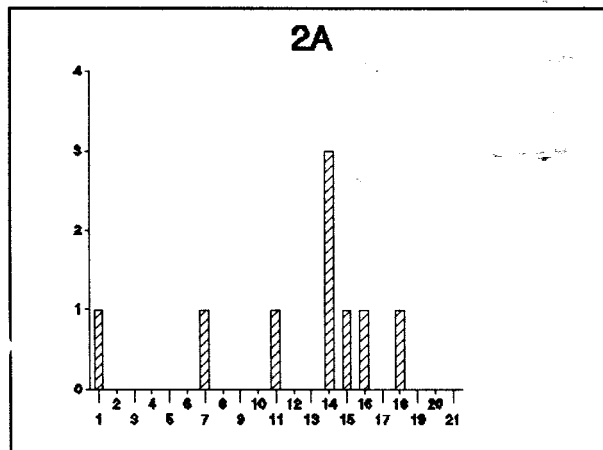
Figure 11: Classification of Utterances: 2A:L1FS
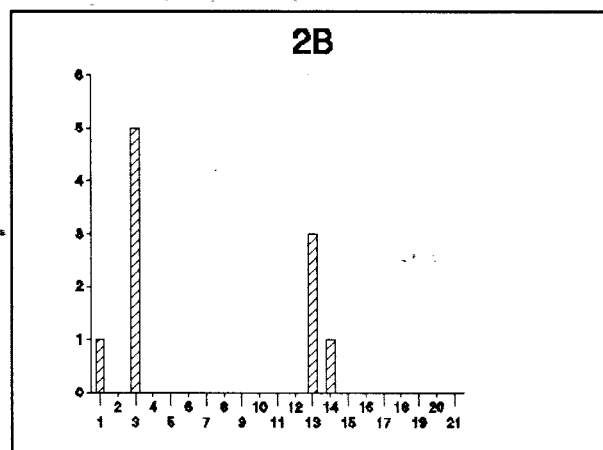
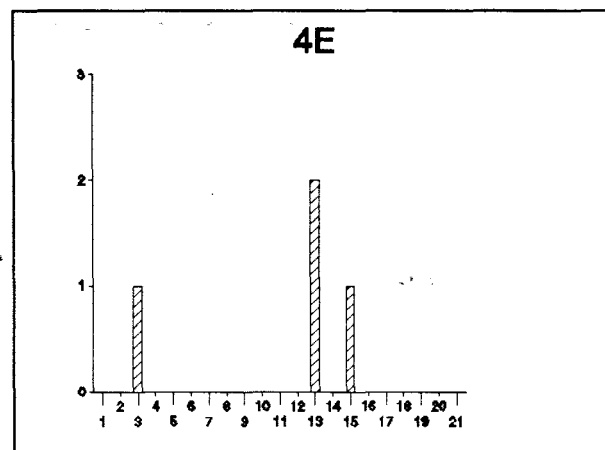**Figure 12**: Classification of Utterances: 2B:L2FP
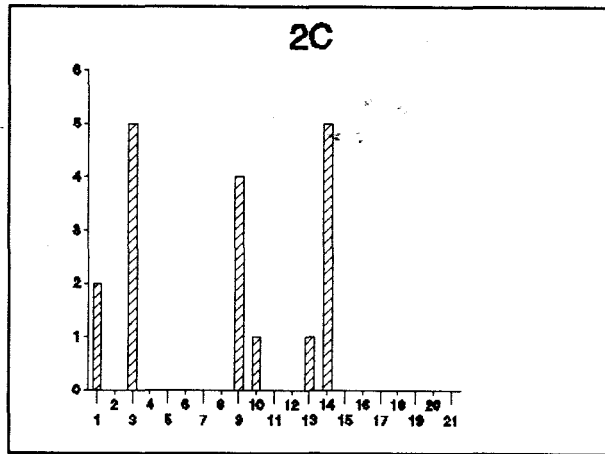
Figure 13: Classification of Utterances: 2C:L1MS
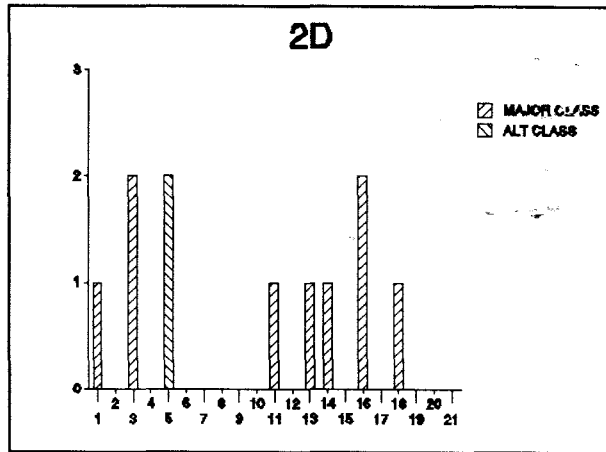
Figure 14: Classification of Utterances: 2D:L2MS
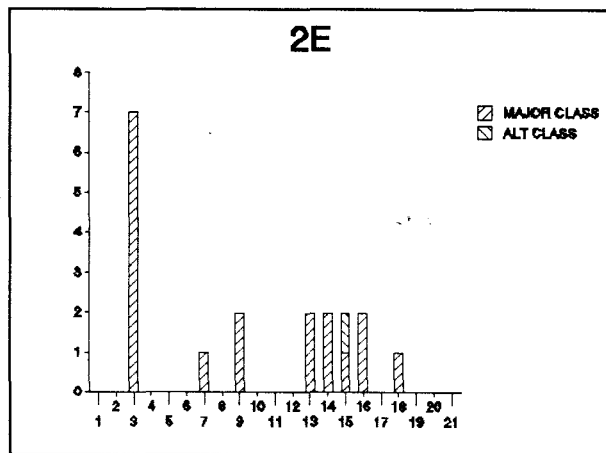
Figure 15: Classification of Utterances: 2E:L2FS
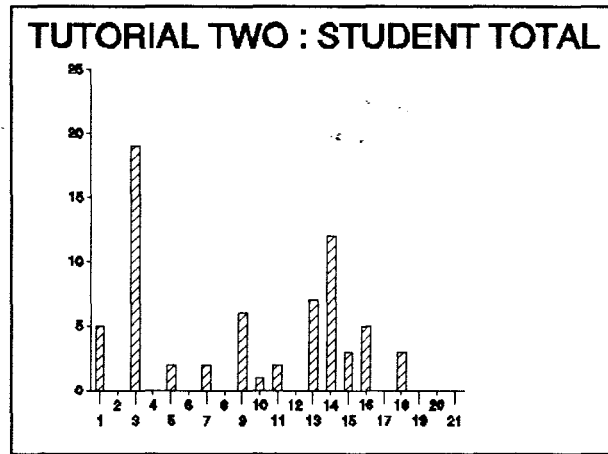
Figure 16:: Classification of Utterances: Combined Students

TUTORIAL THREE
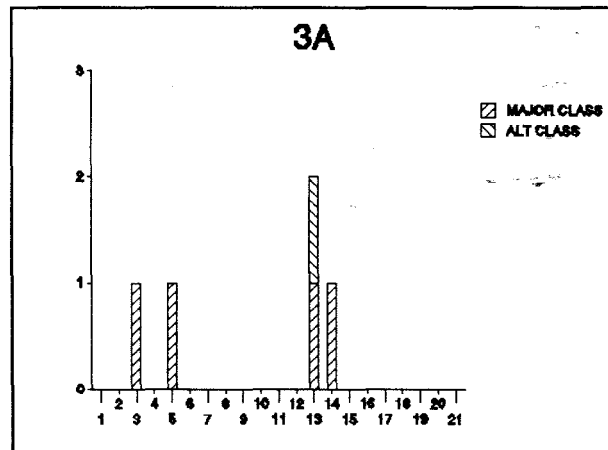
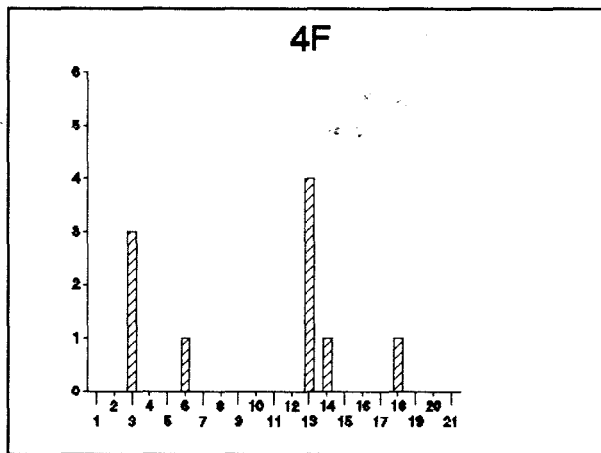**Figure 17:** Classification of Utterances: 3A:L1FS
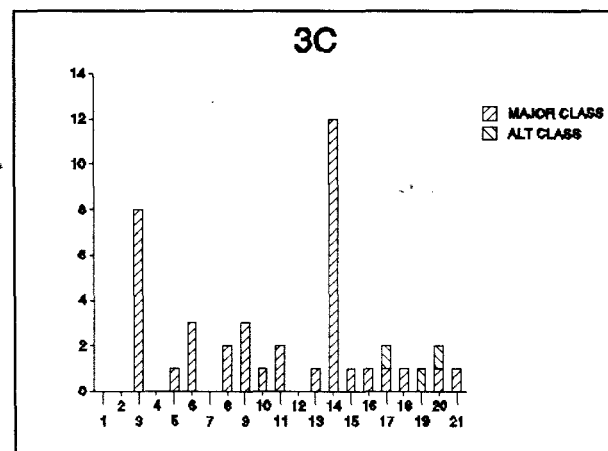
Figure 18: Classification of Utterances: 3C:L1FS

Figure 19: Classification of Utterances: 3D:L1FS

Figure 20: Classification of Utterances: 3E:L1FS

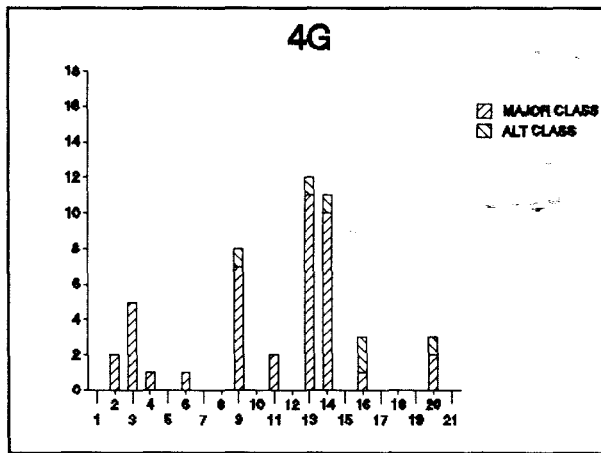**Figure 21**: Classification of Utterances: 3F:L1FS

Figure 22: Classification of Utterances: 3G:L2FP

Figure 23: Classification of Utterances: 3H:L2MS

Figure 24: Classification of Utterances: Combined Students

TUTORIAL FOUR

Figure 25: Classification of Utterances: 4A:L1FS

Figure 26: Classification of Utterances: 4D:L2MS

Figure 27: Classification of Utterances: 4E:L1FS

Figure 28: Classification of Utterances: 4F:L1FS
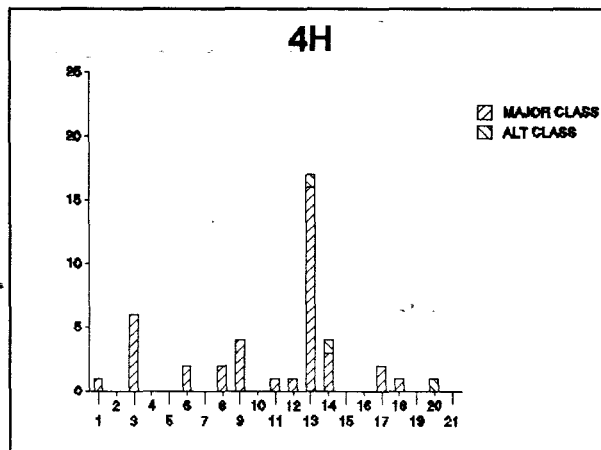

Figure 29: Classification of Utterances: 4G:L1MP
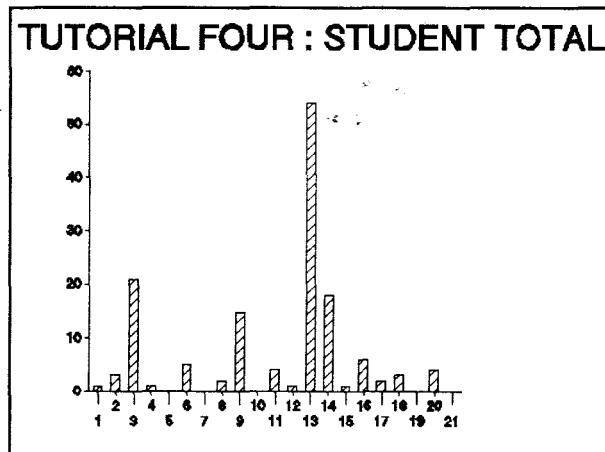

Figure 30: Classification of Utterances: 4H:L1MS

Figure 31: Classification of Utterances: Combined Students
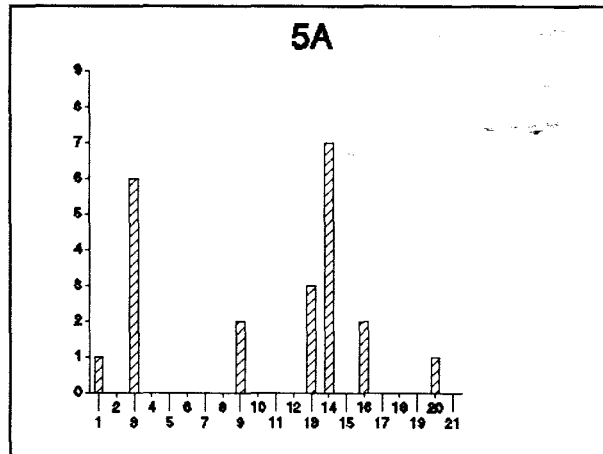
TUTORIAL FIVE

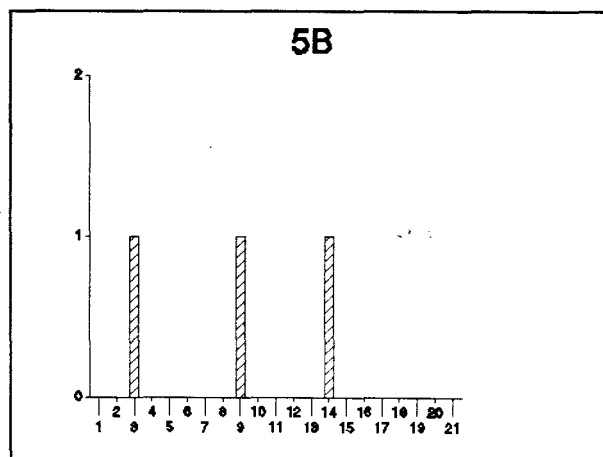**Figure 32**: Classification of Utterances: 5A:L1FP

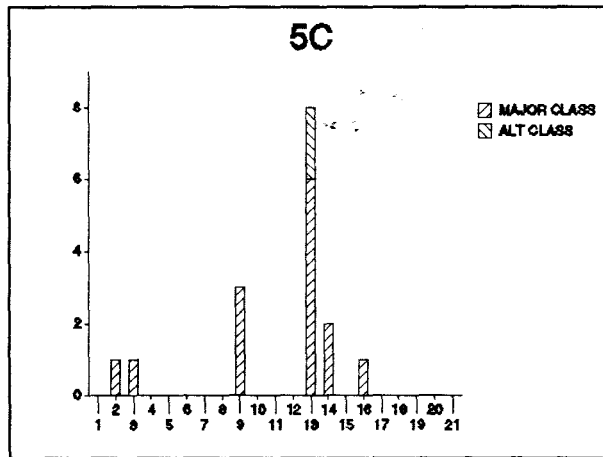**Figure 33**: Classification of Utterances: 5B:L1FS

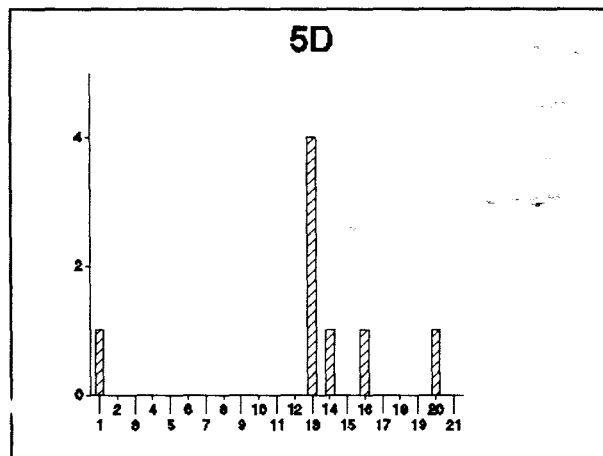**Figure 34**: Classification of Utterances: 5C:L1MS

Figure 35: Classification of Utterances: 5D:L2FP

Figure 36: Classification of Utterances: 5E:L1FS

5F

Figure 37: Classification of Utterances: 5F:L1MS

5G

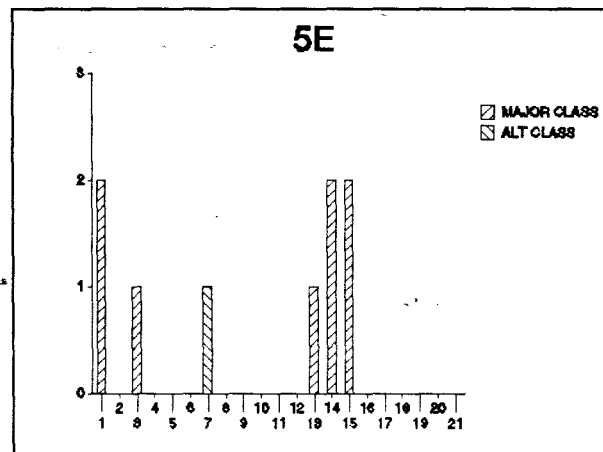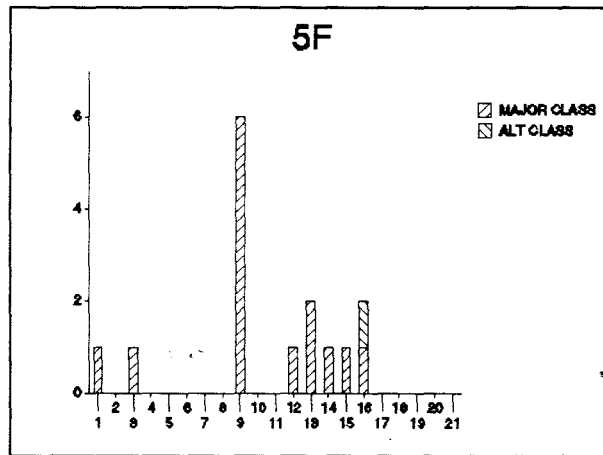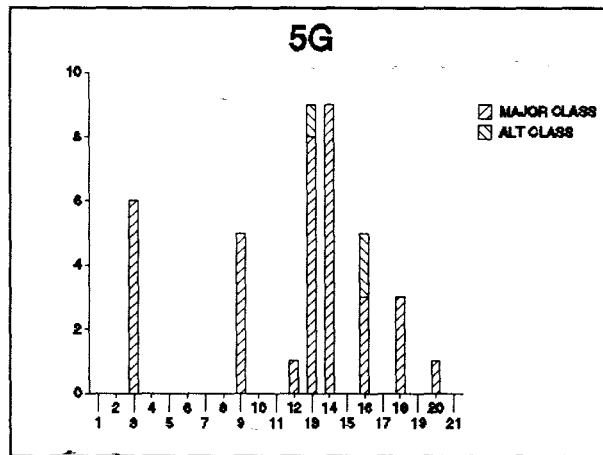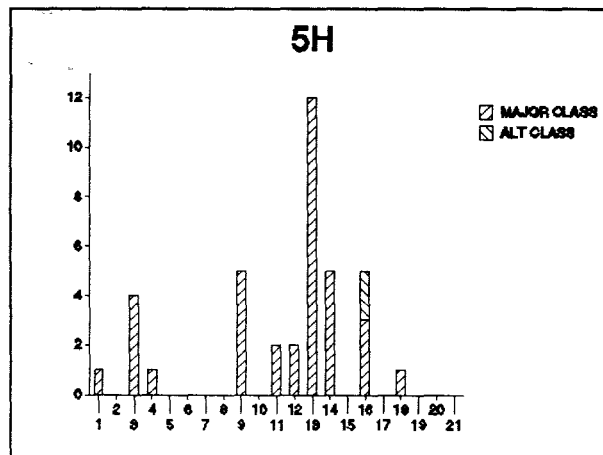**Figure 38**: Classification of Utterances: 5G:L1FS

5H

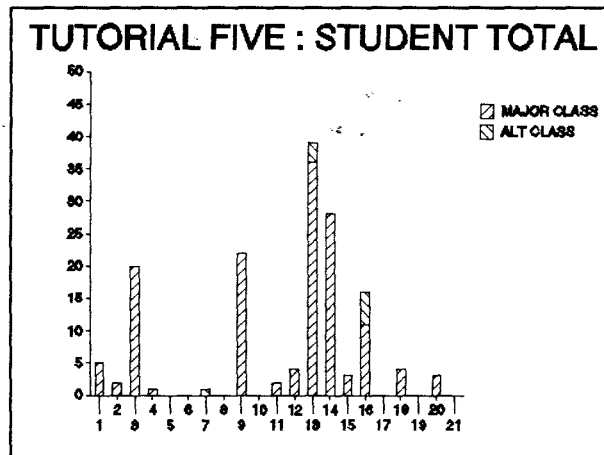**Figure 39**: Classification of Utterances: 5H:L1FS

Figure 40: Classification of Utterances: Combined Students

APPENDIX NINE:

EXEMPLIFYING QUOTATIONS

In the quotations below 'I' is used to indicate utterances by the interviewer and the interviewee is identified according to the conventions used in Chapter Four. Each excerpt is numbered for ease of reference to the discussion in 4.2 . For the sake of anonymity, the names of departments, staff and students have been removed. In references to the recorded groups, the number of the group has been substituted for the department's name.

§1   I   what makes it such a good tut?

2B:L2FP   um OK the place well the questions relate to everyday life and so you can bring in your own stuff and not xxx the stuff in the module, what the module's saying, you can actually bring what you think about the stuff and everything and so everyone participates and it is quite interesting - like people have their own different viewpoints and get to discuss it and it's quite cool

§2   4C:L1FS   ... my tutor's very   very involved, very. she has a very good sense of humour she gets everybody involved and we have some quite lively discussions and nice debate. I enjoy that and she doesn't necessarily stick to the whole structured questioning. We can diverge a bit we're quite free to sort of escape from the rigid planning and things like that - that makes it a lot better and it's much better than all other my tuts, well not all of them but most of them, because everybody gets involved and it doesn't seem like anyone feels sort of left out or there isn't anyone who sits there and doesn't say anything.

§3   I   And what do you think the purpose of a tut is?

4C:L1FS   Um well to get you to talk about things to get you to listen to other people's points of view so that you understand the work better and also so that you don't just sort of learn things that you've been given in lectures and then regurgitate them unknowingly - that you can think for yourself and make up your own mind about things

I   What do you think the responsibility of a student in a tut is - to make that tut work?

4C:L1FS   I think it makes a big difference if you prepare something unless you're good at talking just absolute rubbish (laughs) but it helps if you do prepare something and also if you've prepared something, you shouldn't just sit there and keep quiet, you should say something um I mean otherwise what's the point you know? If you just listen to what everyone else is saying, everybody's else's ideas, you might learn something new but you'll never know you'll never get to argue your own ideas through so you won't come to sort of any clearer understanding ... it's a bit of a waste of time going if you're not going to say anything [mm] I mean that's the whole point

of tuts (laughs).

I To talk?

4C:L1FS Well I think if you're going to sit there and not say anything it's similar to not going at all. ·

§4 2B:L2FP ... I believe that tuts are meant to are meant for discussion to help students in their work and if you don't understand something you're meant to ask so if the tutor if the students just sit there and the tutor says everything it's more like a lecture and then since tuts are smaller you should be able to interact and see that you understand things better than a lecture

§5 4G:L1MP in [Subject Three] there's always huge arguments everybody's always got a different point of view it always ends up in a great big debate and before you know it, time's up and so then you have learnt a lot and you haven't had to go and sit with books for ages

§6 .I why do you like the interaction?

5B:L1FS because the tut goes much faster if everyone speaks and you just get more into it if you don't speak at all you just get bored you just sit there and the tutor normally just dictates the whole time whereas in those two tuts we're basically full xxx and we speak and discuss and it's much more interesting

§7 I why do you like debating issues?

1H:L2FP well it's sort of like trying to see not how far you can push people but how much you can say until they either say yes or whatever they're gonna say usually we'll just end up having a really silly conversation at the end of it all cos people will start saying like giving you ridiculous examples but I mean we're all able to argue about it and then you actually get more material for your essays and than if you all agree then you're not learning anything new cos everyone says what you're going to say so what the point but if you're all going to disagree about something then you add that much more spice to the topic

§8 1H:L2FP ... and if you say no I don't think democracy is the best thing I think we should have a totalitarian xxx and then someone says no we shouldn't yes we should why? I don't know why and then that way you can listen to their views besides that way you can gather essay material

§9 3C:L1FS well if you participate you take it in more you remember it more you're not just drifting off to sleep or whatever you're involved in it the whole time so you're not losing out but I also think it also depends on the subject cos say for example my favourite tut my X tut and - in that we basically cover the work we've already done so we don't really learn much anything new but I definitely remember

things more from those tuts and things that I have learnt have really stuck

I so talking about your ideas and the work makes it stick in your head?

3C:L1FS mm but also I think it depends when everybody gets involved you get so many more ideas too instead of just your perspective and when everybody's just sitting there saying nothing you've just got your own perspective and maybe your tutor's

§10 I is there any link [between interaction and learning]?

5B:L1FS ja cos we'll debate say one side of the topic and then the tutor will open up another side - he'll say what if and we'll all go ah ah what about this and have a huge big session on that and like quite a few conflicting ideas will come up which is good because then you remember those and like I've found that I've remembered the ideas that we've discussed more than those that we've just OK now here's question two let's just go through it, see if it's right

§11 1G:L2MS ... I don't think that what the person is thinking is what all the other people is thinking and whenever people are speaking to you about something then it's actually opening your mind to think not narrowly and think broadly because they have different ideas and you can compare and I think it's OK.

§12 I so you think it makes you think more deeply about your own views as well?

1H:L2FP mm mm I mean if I sat and I didn't xxx I wouldn't know anything I would still stick to my own principles my own values and everything I wouldn't know I wouldn't actually appreciate that - - people might have different values and everything and if people disagree then maybe I am forced to question what I believe in so I can't just sit and say oh well everybody believes what I believe so it must be right so if somebody doesn't believe what I believe then I think OK well certain things which I believe in must just go out the window - it's better that way really.

§13 4C:L1FS I think I get a lot more out of that tut than I do out of the others because you know that you're going there and you're going to achieve something and you put more work into it in the first place and then by involving yourself more you do get a lot more out of it because like the issues that you're supposed to discuss you come away knowing them a lot better

I So discussing helps?

4C:L1FS Yes it does

I Tell me a bit more about that

4C:L1FS Well if you have an idea on a question and you have to um ... OK most of the time you go to the tut with this idea in your head and then you're asked the question and you have to argue it - you have

to prove your point and in doing that you think through the whole idea. So most of the time it becomes a lot more clearer to you and also you can see the faults in your own thinking and you might change your mind, whereas if you hadn't gone to the tut and discussed it you'd still be stuck with the original idea - you wouldn't have thought it through.

I So you develop your ideas by talking them through?

4C:L1FS Mmm

I And do you think that you learn from your peers at all?

4C:L1FS Yes I think if you're discussing something and someone else disagrees with you or puts forward another point of view that you haven't thought of before then first of all you are opening yourself up to that and also you might change your own mind [mm] so you do learn something

§14 4D:L2MS you find even in the lecture theatres it's the same old people who ask questions they're always people who questions other people if you're taking notes in a lecture and a good question is asked then obviously you're gonna jot it down ... as long as the lecturers not gonna say that's a good point cos obviously they're gonna say that it's a good point but then if it doesn't come from them originally you just see people sitting with their hands on their heads not taking it down

§15 I You've said that the tutor is very good and gets everyone involved - how?

4C:L1FS Um well she has got a very good sense of humour and she gets everyone to laugh at her and the whole atmosphere kind of relaxes a bit and then she also encourages people like if someone says something she doesn't let it rest she'll either challenge them or encourage them to say more and she's also quite sarcastic she can provoke you to disagree um with you by being sarcastic to you then you sort of respond and defend yourself

§16 I What can a tutor do to make a tutorial good?

1G:L2MS she or he must try to create that atmosphere so that students can understand each other and get used to each other and when you are used to each other you feel free to speak. Students when they are feeling unfree it is rarely that they will participate. It's like if he's scared of saying something bad because he's not free he or she does not think what she's going to say is good or so you must feel free to say everything

§17 3C:L1FS it's more focused on individuals you can't really get a way with saying nothing. I say something in every tut and in Y I generally never say anything, keep very quiet, most people do there's about one or two that talk

§18   I   Think of your favourite tut - what makes it a good tutorial?

1L:L1MP   Probably [Subject] probably cos I'm the only male .... my Y tuts and Z tuts people interact a lot and I like that cos we get a chance to argue, we get a chance to say the things we want to say and um as far as [Subject] is concerned I usually go in there, I'm a Catholic and I'm from a slightly conservative background, and a lot of these girls are pro-life feminist sort of things and I enjoy that because it's a different view and we get we're almost given a freedom to talk but in [Tutorial One] there isn't that sort of incentive .... I think I've got a fair amount to contribute. Quite often I have a point of view on something - I don't agree with everyone else necessarily - I might agree with them but if I don't I'd like them to know that I don't agree with them and why I don't agree with them but I'll accept that they have a different point of view to me and I find communication is basically it's the best form of social interaction you can have .... Especially if the tut is related to what you are doing in lectures that way you can draw on your knowledge from the lecture and you can share it with people and you can share your interpretation of what you've learnt in a tutorial - [Subject] is a good example of that because often our tutors don't agree with the actual lecturers themselves and have different points of view and we're able to throw ideas at each other and come out with a more rounded perception instead of just hearing the one view from the lecturer and that's it. It's nice to have some sort of interpretations and input from other people. Quite often people have interpretations that basically you've never thought of before and it helps definitely .... quite often if I just go to the lecture I hear what the lecturer says and I agree with what she says because I don't hear any other arguments but if my tutor tells me that my lecturer's - - speaking rubbish and my lecturer tells me my tutor's speaking rubbish and they both give me alternative points of view and it gives me the opportunity to make up my own mind, weigh up the differences, and maybe even go and do my own research so it's almost like a powder keg. As soon as I hear two points of view i'm forced to make up my own mind - I can't just have an unsolved problem in my head so ja ... tutorials are of value but it depends what kind of tutorial.

I   What role do your peers play? Your fellow students in the tut in your powder keg brain thing?

1L:L1MP   A lot of the times people go to tuts without reading what they have to read and going to lectures and that sort of thing and I find myself as giving them information which they don't already have or if they have done their research then they can give me information that I don't already have and if we have that sort of interaction where it's spontaneous we can talk to each other - I find it's a growing experience but if they're sort of quiet and I find that I have to sort of push on with the tutorial which does happen quite a lot I don't really get much from that because I'm just sort of giving out

information, not getting anything back. I enjoy other people's interpretation and input and I love it the way we can talk together but if there isn't that sort of vitality or enthusiasm on their part it kind of doesn't work and also I don't enjoy it when tutors agree with me (laughs) well it's OK if they agree with me but maybe if they could expand on what I say or if I could maybe if there could be an interaction at least with the tutor that would help because that kind of interaction would spark interaction from other people I think

§19   2B:L2FP   there's a white guy he's quite talkative. It's like most of the time he and this woman usually have conflicting things in that he says one thing and she disputes it with her own viewpoint and that can be quite interesting in that he comes from a private school um Joburg I think

§20   I   you mentioned earlier that one of the problems for you was that at school you weren't expected to talk, that the teacher just did all the teaching and you just sat quietly [ja] how do you think that people from DET schools can be helped when they come to place like Rhodes?

1G:L2MS   I think they should have more ADP - there must be something like a compulsory course for DET students cos education out there is not good

I   but there's no more DET so what are we going to do about that?

1G:L2MS   in principle it's not there but in practice it's still there we still have DET

I   do you think there's a difference between students who come from a DET school and those who come from a private school?

1G:L2MS   ja there's a lot of difference ....

I   why is it easier for them?

1G:L2MS   because they understand the language

I   because they've had practice talking to other English people?

1G:L2MS   ja ja ja

I   do you think the classroom is different in private schools - do you think the students talk more in private schools maybe?

1G:L2MS   ja i think so

I   if you think generally about all tuts do you think that white students talk more than black students?

1G:L2MS   ja they do maybe it's because we are from different cultures - it must be because they are used to speaking. According to our culture it is not bad to speak too but some find it very difficult because it's being seen as too much whenever we speak more frequently

I   can you explain that?

1G:L2MS   we are from different cultures OK one culture may regard speaking frequently as not good while in other cultures there's no problem in that so it's like all blacks from DET especially from rural areas they are not used to speaking in public that's the way they live

I		is that because the tutor is someone in authority?
1G:L2MS		ja so they respect that and maybe they think he will say something if you speak too much. It's not that they don't know that at Rhodes it's impossible you can't say too much in a tut but because they are used to that thing it's not easy for them to speak like that
I		so these students are used to a system where the person in authority speaks and everyone else listens .... what should be done?
1G:L2MS		it's not easy to remove such thoughts in one's mind as time goes on everyone can try to adapt
I		do you think a person should adapt?
1G:L2MS		ja it's a very different situation here you are starting you are expected to do very different things which you are not used to so you should
I		maybe change the system at Rhodes?
1G:L2MS		i don't know it's the society we are living in it's very difficult you can't change it. From Rhodes you are going to a work place it's very there's no big difference
I		so rather learn that way at Rhodes?
1G:L2MS		ja
I		because you're going out into another system?
1G:L2MS		ja
I		[I explain problem with implicit evaluation of assimilated culture]
1G:L2MS		it does not end here in Rhodes this is maybe it's for a lifetime you are going to work and going to work means another job
I		so it's not just for Rhodes?
1G:L2MS		in a way you are being prepared for the work place it's not just that you are studying for the love of education - when you leave here you are going to work

§21 2C:L1MS ... it's like a personality thing if you've got a confident personality then um then you tend to dominate just like in the world

§22a 4C:L1FS ... well it comes out, your personality comes out I mean there are two girls who are doing drama and they're very sort of voluble (laughs) talk a lot ja I'd say everybody's personality kind of comes out that's the nice thing about it. I wouldn't say everyone participated exactly equally but like those girls they'll talk a lot but they don't necessarily say anything relevant (laughs) and then there're some people who'll just occasionally say something but you know it's always on the point or whatever - it just sort of goes well together

§22b 4C:L1FS Um well I don't talk as much as some people but I do talk quite a bit um I really love [Subject] so I think that's part of it cos I'm quite shy so in some of my other tuts I don't say that much but I love [Subject] and I'm really interested in what I'm doing so - I make an effort.

§23 4D:L2MS The tutors as well they don't have to stick to that this is what happening - I dunno just get some ideas going like in treating a section then there was a similar event here in South Africa and then once they're talking about that you get people going then you introduce the other thing, show some correlation between different countries might help as well. Otherwise it's just "what's it to me?"

§24 2A:L1FS ja it depends on the topic as well like the South African sections in [Subject Two] is something that would interest me - ... something about Cuba is very distant and I don't really have any reaction to it and so because of that you less inclined to say something

§25 1L:L1MP In my recent X tuts - in X they changed their tutors every term I think, my latest one kind of I'd like you to go actually and have a look how he does it how he does it but what happens is we'll sit in a tut and we're quite used to our old tutor in which we had it pretty free, her name was J, pretty free we said just about anything and everything. Now if we say something if we make a suggestion, he'll sort of say yes OK but this is what you should be thinking and I have a problem with that cos it's not kind of acknowledging the fact that I have my own points of view and he's kind of saying OK you can think that if you like but this is how you're supposed to be thinking it's kind of denying me my freedom. A lot of people have a problem with him in that way and we have spoken to him about it but he seems to slip back into the rut every time

§26 4G:L1MP it's like there's no arguing - in [subject] there's a lot of arguing - it is the atmosphere if you've got someone who's keen to take the tutorial you walk in there and you sort of feel welcome but if - - you've got somebody who's not really keen on the idea ....

§27 3C:L1FS there's two [tutorials] I don't particularly like and both of them the tutors are quite unsure of themselves I don't like that at all
I why?
3C:L1FS just every time I ask a question or any of us asks a question it's very um they very nerv ... and they don't control people as well ... the tutor can't really control our group and certain people in the group are very noisy and the tutor kind of gets very nervous with us or something and she appears to be quite nervous and the tut doesn't really achieve anything sometimes I don't feel like I've learnt anything
I do you think the students are controlling the tut and they're taking it off the course?
3C:L1FS um ja the thing is instead of making the tut exciting because the tutor's a bit nervous of us she kind of like everything the whole group sort of feels (???) every exercise we do and ... I enjoy those courses more than I enjoy the other courses so they should be a lot more fun but everybody sort of it's a drag for everybody maybe it's

just the people also in the tut but I find also when you ask questions and it's very unsure the whole time you don't feel like you're learning anything and you don't feel confident in what the tutor tells you which sounds quite mean but ...

§28   I   Mmm OK let's turn a bit now - um your worst tut [mm laughs] why is it your worst tut?

4C:L1FS   Um Most of the time the topics we're given we given a topic and said OK this is what the tut will be on and then we go to the tut and it's so ... most of the time it's so arbitrary it's so it's such a waste of time nobody every gets anything out of it cos we don't do it's hardly ever relevant to the lectures most of the time it's on a completely different sort of topic and any questions usually they're simple and they're answered quickly in the first ten minutes type thing and then you've got nothing left to talk about and the tutor seems very bored she doesn't seem particularly interested in what she's doing and often she doesn't prepare - not that there's much to prepare but still - and I think everyone's just a bit apathetic about it and as we've gone through the year now everybody just doesn't bother to prepare cos they know they can get away with not doing anything so they don't and tuts are a bit of a waste of time

I   So what is the interaction like there?

4C:L1FS   Well um most of the time people just sit there and they'll say something if they're asked but no one volunteers much and there's no real discussion

I   Do you think the tutor could do something to make it better?

4C:L1FS   Um maybe by encouraging people to talk more although she does I mean she's not bored all the time she does encourage people to talk it's just that they ... the topics for the tut the tuts are very poorly structured and because people don't prepare and they've become so apathetic about it they don't really have much to say even when they're encouraged to say something

I   So there does seem to be something the students could do about that too hey? [Ja] If they wanted to get more out of it [Mm] Why do you think they don't?

4C:L1FS   It's easier not to - it's less work (laughs)

I   What is your role in that group - do you also go with the flow?

4C:L1FS   Ja most of the time well um I'm not enjoying the subject anyway so ... I dunno I'm just I don't feel motivated I'm not interested I think well you know they obviously don't think tuts are that important because we never get anything out of the tuts the tut topics never seem to relate to anything so ... I dunno

I   Do you think it's important that the tut topic should relate to the lecture .. to the lectures that are going on at the time?

4C:L1FS   Well if you have a problem in lectures if there's something that you want to bring up but you don't feel free to bring up in the lecture and also that you benefit by talking about it and you can't because the tuts are on something totally different then it is a bit of a waste

of time ... I dunno. Sometimes I mean in some of my other tuts though the tuts don't go exactly with the lectures but you still get a lot out of it because um it's related in some way firstly and also it's still interesting, there's still a lot of talk, there's still a lot of discussion.

I   So if I understand you correctly, basically what makes a person talk in a tut according to you, is some interest in the subject and a tutor who can stimulate discussion and if a point comes up which is provocative or whatever to the student then they'll say something [mm usually] is that the gist of it?

4C:L1FS   Ja I suppose.

§29   I   Are there some students who are quieter than the rest?

4D:L2MS   not particularly quiet but there are those who always have something to say something controversial and all that and that's what keeps people going cos if we gonna agree on one thing you gonna run out of steam and all that but if you gonna say something controversial then I'll respond you know and it goes on like that

§30   I   Why don't the other students feel that pressure?

1L:L1MP   I don't think that they want to feel that pressure. When I'm in a social circumstance or social situation especially like a tut I like people to interact and I know that we're all there for a purpose and the purpose is to learn and if people aren't giving me the opportunity to learn I get frustrated and hence I talk. A lot of people just walk into the tut because they feel you know this is a tut and that's it I don't have to do anything nobody told me that I have to say anything I don't have to work I mean there's no responsibility on my shoulders and therefore why participate and it's sad but that's what happens and that is a view that sort of restricts the tut quite a lot. If we had a sort of like a lot of enthusiastic people in the tut which I try to be we can get a lot more sort of what you call it participation ja ...

§31   4C:L1FS   Ja well I dunno ja just it [Subject Four] tuts I dunno in the beginning we were all very quiet and we didn't say anything and we didn't really get to know each other at all and it's one of your tuts that the group hasn't really got to know each other that well.

I   Why do you think that is?

4C:L1FS   Partly because most of us are shy and also because we switched tutors - a lot

I   So having the same tutor can help you get to know each other?

4C:L1FS   Ja I'd say so

I   That's interesting that

4C:L1FS   I think. Because if you're relaxed, more relaxed because you know the tutor you're likely to talk more anyway and you're likely to argue with someone or whatever and because everybody's talking more you get to know each other better

§32   I   are there some who don't say anything?

1G:L2MS   I think it's only one or two and it's like one she does not attend tuts she comes once in a blue moon so I can't say she is quiet she is not used to us something like that.

§33   I   And you've had different tutors during the year there haven't you? [mm] Do you think that makes a difference to the group?

4C:L1FS   Ja I think it does um in the tuts that we've had one-tutor all year we've had a tutor to get used to and we've had .. the group gets to know the tutor and themselves and it seems to work a lot towards the end of the year. When they keep changing tutors then you have to keep getting used to another tutor and if you're shy you get shy all over again of the tutor even though you've sort of got to know the people in your group. I think it works a lot better if you stick with one tutor through the year.

§34   I   what personal characteristics of a person makes them either interact or not - you mentioned earlier if someone had prepared they're more likely to interact but as people what makes people interact?

1L:L1MP   I know that you get an extrovert and an introvert, introverted people sort of a quiet they don't want to make a fool of themselves they have this idea that if they open their mouth and say something stupid everyone's going to laugh at them - that's a very school sort of point of view I mean maybe that would happen in junior school, maybe in high school, but at varsity if you say something stupid you'd usually realise it was stupid no one would really laugh at you unless it was absolutely ludicrous. it's that kind of fear that stops people from actually talking and also there's peer pressure quite often that if you say something you're a suction, you're sucking up to your tutor when a lot of people often don't realise that your tutors usually have nothing to do with your marking so it's an individual thing if you want to contribute it's you it's not you're doing it for marks or anything like that. it's also your attitude as well I think. If you sort of go in there with a negative sort of attitude oh my god I've got another tut and I can't wait for lunch and that sort of thing you more than likely try to keep people as quiet as possible so that you can get it over with, learn what you have to learn and leave and if you go in there with a preconceived notion of cool, this is great, enthusiasm that sort of thing you more likely to participate and also if you like the people in your tut, if you hate them and you think that they're all fascist pigs I don't think that you're really gonna want to talk to them but if they are your friends you usually have a lot in common that sometimes helps and sometimes if you have nothing in common with the people in your group that also helps because they have alternative points of view, they look at things differently to you and it's nice to learn from them

I   And you're free to say what you think in front of them?

1L:L1MP   definitely ja

§35   1G:L2MS   I told my tutor I never spoke English before at school so I'm still learning so if I'm keeping quiet for a long time she mustn't be surprised that's my problem

§36   1G:L2MS   ja it's like when it is quiet it seems it is not the way they want - they want to keep us always in the conversation   - - -

    I   male or female?

    1G:L2MS   both female

    I   how's their English?

    1G:L2MS   it is good they are fluent like [student's name] is black like me but she can speak English better than I do

    I   did she go to a government or a private school?

    1G:L2MS   DET but her English is still good

§37   I   I recorded your [Subject One] tut. What's your role in that tut are you noisy or quiet or what?

    1G:L2MS   I'm just quiet

    I   why are you quiet in that tut?

    1G:L2MS   sometimes I don't know what they are speaking about and in that tut there are something like 12 [participants] if I'm not wrong. Those who knows their language they can speak it. When you are still thinking what you are going to say creating ... you are still constructing your sentences someone is already speaking so it's not easy to participate. When you are five [people in a group] it's at least better. When there are lots of people it's very difficult

    I   does it not help that your tutor is [Tutor One] at least then you don't have to worry about if you are going to make a mistake in your language with [Tutor One]

    1G:L2MS   no I'm not saying I feel like that but when you are many I don't get a chance to speak because I take time to construct my sentences so others are already speaking and you keep quiet and you waiting for another turn I'm still constructing my sentences and one is already in and it's too late

§38   I   what could the tutor do to involve everybody?

    1G:L2MS   to get everybody speaking? [mm] it's a very tough job to do to get someone speaking cos if he doesn't feel like speaking or if he cannot speak the language that's a very big problem people need to go to ADP maybe it will be better

§39   I   And what about also generally now black students and white students - do you see any difference in the amount of interacting that they do in a tut - the amount of participation?

    4C:L1FS   Well um sometimes the black students tend to be quieter in some of my tuts and it's a bit difficult to get to know them or to get participating with them cos they do tend to be quieter especially the

		girls I find
I		Why do you think that is?
4C:L1FS		I dunno. There is one black girl in my [subject] tut - she participates a lot but then she went to a private school and maybe it's because she has always been with whites - because she's used to that kind of situation - maybe the others aren't, and so they don't feel comfortable, they don't ... also maybe the language because I know there are a couple of girls in my res who really have a problem with expressing themselves in English and maybe they feel they're gonna say something stupid if they talk a lot
I		So they're basically just shy do you think?
4C:L1FS		Ja or they ... ja but I think the language thing plays quite a big ... important role too

§40	I	are there many black students in your [subject] tut
	2B:L2FP	2 in a group of 8
	I	how do they interact - any differences?
	2B:L2FP	no no differences cos one of them she came from a convent I think so she probably got used to interacting so there's not much difference
	I	what is your impression - do DET students interact less [I repeat what she said] does this mean if she came from a DET school she might have talked less?
	2B:L2FP	(laughs) I know somebody from my tuts last year and also from my pracs and maybe cos I remember we did a [subject] research project on interaction at Rhodes and all that and it came out like that cos part of your school background does affect the way you interact influence the way you interact and you come from a DET school you maybe feel more relaxed to feel more relaxed in your own home language and when you don't you don't talk that much I think
	I	maybe it's a language thing - if you're not using your mother tongue then you'd rather not say anything?
	2B:L2FP	you will say something but not that much
	I	not as much as if you were speaking your mother tongue
	2B:L2FP	ja
	I	don't you think that's rather worrying for DET students here?
	2B:L2FP	mm i think it should be
	I	I mean you enjoy the tuts where you talk more
	2B:L2FP	ja true
	I	so maybe they're getting less out of the whole experience cos they're talking less
	2B:L2FP	ja like in our [subject] pracs we um we did this project and there were six blacks three of us were Zimbabwean and the other three were South African even in our own prac we noticed that the South Africans hadn't talked much so I don't think they get that much from tuts I don't know
	I	[I attempt to clarify: South African's didn't talk as much as the Zimbabweans?]

	2B:L2FP	ja
	2B:L2FP	in res you notice that it's the Zimbabweans that interact more than the black South Africans
	I	Have you ever asked anybody why that is?
	2B:L2FP	it's the language we're used to I know that in Zim English is the official language it's the main language that means everybody from grade one until you finish school studies in English I'm not quite sure about South Africa but maybe you're speaking your own home language in the school you come from and so Zimbabweans it's easier to communicate in English when you come here than it is for the South Africans who are probably used to their own home language
§41a	I	do you like talking in that group?
	1G:L2MS	me I like to but sometimes I find it difficult cos I'm not used to speaking in public but I do since I must and most of the work I do speak
	I	why are you not used to speaking in public?
	1G:L2MS	at my school we were not used to such types of things. The teacher just come and speak everything not giving us chance
	I	do you like having a chance to speak?
	1G:L2MS	ja it's now that I realise that it's important
§41b	1G:L2MS	ja sometimes giving the other people a chance - like those that struggle in constructing their sentences they must also sometimes be given a chance - "what about you?" "what do you think?" - it is there now that I can get a chance cos I cant fight for a turn with other students.
§42	4C:L1FS	... it's difficult to single them out I mean if I was a tutor I don't know whether you know they might feel that they were being singled out unfairly if especially if they're shy and then you single them out and tell them they must talk more, they're likely especially if they're shy to talk less so it's difficult for the tutor I think.
§43	2C:L1MS	... but you see if they draw them out then they're almost forcing them to say a whole conversation which is also often very demanding and intimidating especially for first years like I remember in my first year we always used to like introduce the person next to us and that was quite scary um but ja you know I suppose you have to so ja I'd say you do have to but I don't really know how
§44	3C:L1FS	that's largely up to the tutor to get people involved to ask people instead of cos I know sometimes I talk a bit much and if there's somebody really quiet and the tutor doesn't bring them in they can just sit there the whole time and say nothing. I think it is encouraging if people ask them what do you think or whatever

I	so you think they should be drawn in - the quieter students?
3C:L1FS	mm ja I don't think they should be forced to do something I mean I can't really relate to really shy people I can't really say how they feel but apparently I've got some friends who are quite shy and it's really horrible to be forced to do things so I don't think they should be but I think if they are asked and everybody's given a fair chance to speak then it does make a difference
I	how can the tutor create an atmosphere so quiet students wouldn't feel threatened to speak?
3C:L1FS	I think by not letting the loud people get too too loud the whole time by keeping it on even kind of role also by not asking the quiet students really like ... turning to them with these really difficult questions and nobody else can answer them and suddenly boom zap the quiet one, by making it really sort of fair
I	so maybe an easier question to a quiet student just to get them going?
3C:L1FS	perhaps but not necessarily - just a fair one you know often everybody else is rambling on the whole time and as soon as a difficult question comes everybody keeps quiet and then the person who hasn't said anything is the one who-gets asked and it must be quite intimidating to land up that way it's not like they really need an easier question but just not that they get the rotten ones that nobody else wants to answer

§45	I	do you perceive any difference in terms of the way that males and females interact?
	4C:L1FS	Well it's an all female [mm] tut ja [oh really?] ja ja maybe that's got to do with why we're all so relaxed as well cos there are no guys in there but I don't know but that doesn't really make much of a difference I don't know. I think cos at the beginning of the year there were a couple of guys in the tut but then they dropped [subject] but we tended to be the same but then with all the tut groups as you go through the year everyone sort of participates more as you get used to each other

§46	I	In your other tuts just thinking generally would you say girls talk more than boys or the other way around?
	4C:L1FS	In most of my tuts there are more girls than guys so girls do tend to talk more I think the guys feel a bit outnumbered I'm just trying to think which tut is more or less equal ... um ... well in my [subject] tut I'd say the guys talk more but then there are only a few girls - ja the guys are in the majority - they do talk more in that tut
	I	Why do you think that is?
	4C:L1FS	Um ... dunno maybe girls feel less sort of confident with lots of guys around watching they'd rather not talk so much
	I	Would you feel better in an all-girl's group?
	4C:L1FS	Um not necessarily I dunno I think if I was if there like only a few girls and it was quite a large group I probably would not talk as

much as I would in an all-girl's group but on more or less equal basis I don't think ...

I   it doesn't affect you?

4C:L1FS   no, it might but I dunno but I don't think it would affect me that much

§47 2A:L1FS   in [commerce subject] you know the business side the guys are more kindof confident cocky you know they know that this is kind of theirs, their terrain and they're more inclined to ask a question or say something but it's the opposite in [arts subject]

2A:L1FS   [males are] maybe just not used to talking about emotional things or saying I feel this or like this book made me angry here they're less likely to react emotionally to some things whereas with numbers they're kind of "Oh now we know where we are now" but that's a generalisation but I think it's often true

§48 I   Have you ever noticed any difference in the amount of interaction between males and females?

1L:L1MP   Yes definitely. I find for myself I think I'm actually a little bit of an exception to the rule - men don't usually talk as much as women talk amongst one another and inter-gender-related. But I find that usually in the tut a male will probably only react or talk if he's actually either upset about something or if there's something that he strongly disagrees with but usually it's kindof he takes the quiet part of the tut and only speaks when spoken to

I   Why do you think that is? Is it the suction thing again?

1L:L1MP   I think so ja. It's kindof like a pressure on you if you're a male you sort of you know everything as well, you know, you don't have to talk it's subordinate you've gotta be cool and that actually obviously limits the person themself they're not able to benefit like another person would be able to benefit from that sort of tut. Females on the other hand as far as I've noticed, women, ladies, girls, sorry - females is a harsh term

I   I used it don't worry!

1L:L1MP   I find that they are usually a lot more liberated and uninhibited and say what they feel and even if they say something stupid they'll laugh at it and forget about it but a man kindof thinks oh my god if I say something that's stupid and people laugh at me it's a mortal sin, I'm gonna die, burn in hell, have no friends, that sort of thing so it's different that way I think

I   So there's a lot of pride at stake?

1L:L1MP   Definitely - it's immaturity I suppose but it's there and it can't be denied

§49 3C:L1FS   There's definitely a difference between the black and the white students - definitely - most of the black students are far quieter they don't get involved at all and I think um it's possibly coming from

such a different educational backgrounds and everything it's far more new to them I don't know but um perhaps they're not as confident or whatever but they're very very quiet on the whole um an exception is a girl in my [subject] tut otherwise in every other tut they are by far the quietest

§50 3C:L1FS I think a lot of the issues we talk about we can relate to, a lot of the jokes that are cracked we can relate to and they can't. I think also the language barrier is quite a thing I don't think they understand a lot of - not that they're stupid or anything but they just don't understand some of the things we come up with especially when people are being sort of clever in tuts and making like jokes the whole time and that kind of thing with double meanings I don't think that they understand it really

§51 4D:L2MS ja I'd say you see the problem with Africans the problem with expression you see you really want to get something through but you just don't have the words you know and sometimes that puts you off you just sit there but then with Western students it's like they can talk they can express themselves much better so it's like you want to say something, first you gonna have to think about phrases, sentences and all that and by the time you are through with that they are onto another thing

§52 4D:L2MS I know that in DET schools with the black teachers when they make a point or if there's a discussion then they use the African languages so you don't get that practice arguing in English and all that so when you get here it really is a problem to interact

§53 1H:L2FP it's a feeling of intimidation ... I suppose it's the setting I mean I don't want to be racist but it's a very white sort of setting ... if someone says something and I agree with them I'll say I agree with them as long as someone else puts it up but I feel should I put it up by myself if someone doesn't say anything I won't no ways it's not going to happen

§54 I What would encourage black students to take part?
     2C:L1MS I suppose black tutors
     I You have a black tutor in your [subject Two] tut do you think that helps?
     2C:L1MS I think subconsciously like we all have kinda allegiances the white students would kinda feel this bond (laughs) with other whites like a white tutor more than they might feel with a black tutor I think
     I Think it works that way with gender too?
     2C:L1MS shoo ja might be

§55 4C:L1FS ... it's difficult to single them out I mean if I was a tutor I don't know whether you know they might feel that they were being

singled out unfairly if especially if they're shy and then you single them out and tell them they must talk more, they're likely especially if they're shy to talk less so it's difficult for the tutor I think.

4C:L1FS   I dunno it's quite a problem especially when they're outnumbered they'll feel shy I know I do

I   Do any of your tuts have black tutors?

4C:L1FS   Um ja it did

I   Do you think that might help the black students in that group? Did it appear to?

4C:L1FS   It did seem to, it did seem to ja

I   Maybe having someone to identify with?

4C:L1FS   Ja I think it does help ja

§56   1G:L2MS   ja sometimes giving the other people a chance - like those that struggle in constructing their sentences they must also sometimes be given a chance - "what about you?" "what do you think?" - it is there now that I can get a chance cos I can't fight for a turn with other students

§57   1H:L2FP   ... but also from school I remember the black kids used to sit at the back and the white kids sat at the front and did more talking ... and you used to feel oh my gosh I'm in a white school I must just sit and listen it's education ... it does carry over though cos most of the time it is still sort of the same even if the tutor is a black guy most of the culture will still be white and you still carry on in that most of the white kids were the ones who used to talk most in school

§58   I   have you ever noticed any difference in the amount that males interact and the amount that females interact?

2C:L1MS   no

I   Think they're about equal?

2C:L1MS   ja absolutely I think the university is one of the most modern kind of sites where women are as dominant here as men obviously there's this whole thing about lecturers and inequality but I think the students especially ... maybe not the black students maybe the black students because of the cultural thing the way that ... I think at schools interaction wasn't such a big thing there but then I really don't know plus there's a language thing like English and a lot of them battle to communicate in English

I   so why do you think black students battle to take part?

2C:L1MS   the language like I said I think too that they're in the minority often in the tuts I remember in one of the [subject] II tuts there was something like 15 of us whites and one Black guy and the tutor asked the black guy how do you feel about you know being alone and stuff like that he said ja I do feel quite alone because you know ... it's harder to relate and stuff but like he knew some of us so he said that that was fine as long as he had kinda some security or like

able to relate to someone initially it was fine ... ja

§59   I   OK so what about differences between black students and white students do you notice any?

1L:L1MP   Yes um quite often - I've only been in white-dominated tuts I've never been in a black-dominated tut so I wouldn't be able to speak from their perspective but what I've noticed is where the blacks are in the minority often they'll speak only when spoken to and usually it's not a conscious racial thing but usually the whites interact with one another and the blacks tend to keep to themselves and only really answer when spoken to or if they're really upset. They don't seem to be included in the social groups much but not excluded not consciously excluded so if they want to contribute they may and that's fine but quite often they tend to hold a lower profile than the whites do and I'm sure that if a white was the only one in a black group it would be the same way

I   Do you think?

1L:L1MP   Ja I think so ja

I   Do you think that's it's the fact that they're in the minority that holds them back?

1L:L1MP   Possibly ja there are obviously exclusions I mean exemptions sorry but usually you kind of stick to your own cultural language group as far as I've seen people that you have something in common with as I've said before you usually feel secure with them and if they don't want to talk you won't talk and if they do talk then you'll talk too so you kind of react as a group and stick together. If you actually have a look at how they sit how people sit together whites would usually sit together and blacks would usually sit together not as a conscious decision but it's because they feel more secure as far as I can see it. People tend to categorise one another and themselves, they like to fit, they like to be part of a group and ja that's probably why I say. As I said I'd like to be in a black-dominated group just to see what would happen and then again I don't know that I'd be a very good example of that

I   You have a black tutor though in your [subject One] tut

1L:L1MP   ja

I   Do you think that alters anything?

1L:L1MP   As far as uh OK at the beginning of the year when we didn't understand him, because he doesn't speak he isn't as eloquent as some other black tutors, I have another black tutor in my [subject] tut, the colour thing isn't a problem obviously I think we've all sort of grown out of that well I hope we have, but the language barrier you have to almost tune into what he says all the time instead of having to just decipher what he says if you know what I mean that is the only real problem that we have I don't see any other major problem

I   You mentioned at the beginning well I got the impression that he views the purpose of the tut differently to what you do [mhm] you

	said he's not usually so enthusiastic - what do you mean by that?
1L:L1MP	Ok as I said the camera makes a little bit of a difference
I	Tell me about how it usually is
1L:L1MP	Usually I would say as far as our tut is concerned, and when we had a white tutor her name was Y, at the beginning of the year, she could, well, first Z [current tutor] was in who's a black tutor and Y came to take over while he was overseas and then he came back and Y said that we were very unresponsive and I think that our actual reaction to him as a tut ourselves had actually forced him to react like he does because he does want input and he is willing to listen but his enthusiasm's gone because of our enthusiasm, our lack of enthusiasm, in other words a lot of us don't want to talk, a lot of us, cos it's right next to lunch, a lot of us are really hungry and sort of want to get through it. Z, basically, he is enthusiastic if we are enthusiastic in other words if I start answering questions, he'll be happy and he'll start you know going for it but otherwise he just tries to slog through it as quickly as possible and that's good cos that's what we want he's very sensitive to what we want I don't think it's a fault on his part - it's cause and effect almost

§60	I	well why do you think they are quiet and are they male female black white - who are they?
	2B:L2FP	um it's mostly it's a combination of males and females there are only in my tut about 8 and there's only about three who are quite quiet the others seem to be talkative um there are two blacks who are quiet and then well I don't know really if they're quiet they do contribute but only when they feel it's necessary the rest [of the time] they just say something once in a while
	I	what makes them talk? You said they only say something when they have to so what is the 'have to'?
	2B:L2FP	OK occasionally the tutor does ask them to say something but everyone has to contribute so occasionally he might say OK X or Y what do you think about something you know but then sometimes after somebody's said something then at the end they'll feel compelled to just say the last sentence or just to wrap it up or something

§61	I	Do you think generally there's a difference between black students who went to government schools and students who went to private mixed schools?
	1L:L1MP	Yes definitely
	I	In what way?
	1L:L1MP	Um I'll take an example of my [subject] tutorial um [name] she's from Port Elizabeth she's a black girl but she doesn't sit with the black group she doesn't speak Xhosa all that fluently as far as I know and all her friends or most of her friends are white she's a lot more fluent and eloquent and she participates in the so-called white area of the tut. Definitely a difference she was ja she came from a

		private school I went to the school that she went to, Woodridge. Ja definitely a big difference.
	I	So could you go so far as to say that a black student who goes to a white school learns to interact like a white student?
	1L:L1MP	Yes but I'd also say that if a white student went to a black school they'd probably learn to interact like a black student so I think it's very subject to your environment
	I	To your educational background?
	1L:L1MP	Definitely

§62 I   do you think the desegregated educational system in Zimbabwe prepared you in any way for the tut situation that you find at Rhodes I mean are you used to the idea of everybody discussing?

2B:L2FP ja

I   did you do some discussing at school?

2B:L2FP ja

I   must be difficult for those who did not do much discussing at school...

2B:L2FP mm I feel more comfortable discussing and talking in tuts than I do in lectures. Like in the lecture if you think of the number of people and sometimes you don't want to say the wrong thing or ask the wrong thing cos the lecturer might think you didn't understand xxx what she was saying so I feel freer to ask things from my tutors if I have a problem than of the lecturer directly usually I prefer asking my tutors any of the stuff I don't understand in lectures

§63 I   who is most dominant in [Subject Two] tut other than your tutor? Who speaks the most?

2C:L1MS a girl black girl I'd say and myself I'm quite loud they others aren't really withdrawn but they don't frequently volunteer stuff they'll like answer questions but they won't do any more than that

I   So they wont select themselves to speak they only speak when they asked to speak?

2C:L1MS ja

I   you said earlier you thought black students were generally quieter what do you think makes this black girl so chatty

2C:L1MS -it's a personality thing she's got a very dominant personality

I   where does she come from?

2C:L1MS Tokoza - ja - it's quite interesting

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