

SPOKEN DISCOURSE IN THE E.L.T. CLASSROOM:
A SYSTEM OF ANALYSIS AND A DESCRIPTION

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SYNOPSIS

General

The thesis proposes a system of analysis for the structure of spoken discourse in the E.F.L. classroom, and offers a description of the discourse structure of an informal E.F.L. lesson. Certain changes need to be made to the model put forward by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) whose pioneering research on classroom discourse was not concerned with the language classroom and therefore did not allow for the two 'layers' of discourse involved there. These layers consist of the 'Outer' layer, where language is used interactively for genuine communication, e.g. organisation, and the 'Inner' layer made up of the target language forms which constitute the subject matter of the lesson and which are often quoted and repeated as citation forms in a non-interactive way, dependent upon the 'Outer' layer for structural cohesion. Complications, however, arise from 'quasi' interactive use of target forms, as in pairwork, but where the turntaking, content and form of the student discourse is prescribed by the teacher.

Chapter One gives a general socio-linguistic survey of the E.L.T. classroom and shows how the 'norms' of the classroom can affect the structure of discourse.

Chapter Two briefly reviews the literature available on studies of classroom interaction and on methods used to analyse classroom behaviour, comparing content classrooms with F.L. classrooms. Methods used for discourse analysis are then outlined, and various applications of certain models to the F.L. classroom are examined, including the relevance of the work of the ethnomethodologists.

Chapter Three outlines the procedures used for the data collection and gives a general background to the lesson used for the main analysis.

Chapter Four explains the proposed system of analysis, discussing and justifying the adaptations made in the light of the current, less formal, data and of the views of other analysts in the same field.

Chapter Five presents some of the more interesting findings, and examines in particular the relationship between the two layers of discourse both from the Teacher's and the students' points of view.

Chapter Six summarises the main body of the thesis, suggesting implications for E.F.L. teaching and teacher training, and identifying areas where further research is still needed.

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NOTE: The following abbreviations are used throughout the text:

E.L.T. English Language Teaching

E.F.L. English as a Foreign Language

T.E.F.L. Teaching of English as a Foreign Language

F.L. Foreign Language

L' Mother tongue

Other abbreviations used in connection with the system of analysis are explained in Chapter FOUR, and summarised in Appendix A.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Classroom interaction and casual conversation

What happens inside classrooms tends to be very different from what happens outside classrooms. Classroom conventions are unlike normal social conventions; for example, in casual conversations people are not expected to put their hands up if they wish to speak. The concept of formality in the classroom is different from the concept of formality in other social situations; the classroom is considered 'formal' if the teacher retains firm control of classroom interaction, whereas outside the classroom the term 'formal' is used to denote a certain standard of dress, of speech and of behaviour, but does not imply the total control by one member of the gathering over all that is said and done by others present. The use of language in the classroom is unlike ordinary conversation; Barnes (1971) observes that teachers rarely ask questions to which they do not already know the answer; in real life people normally ask questions to find out something they do not know. Delamont (1976) confirms this: "Cross questioning, checking up and interrogations are rude in everyday life, but the staple of classroom life". Teachers are expected to follow up a pupil's response with some kind of evaluation, like 'Good girl, that's right', but outside the classroom this type of follow-up would be quite out of place. In casual conversation, there exists quite a complicated 'machinery' for ordering speaker turns sequentially, (Sacks.H. et al, 1974); in the classroom it is usually the teacher who decides who will speak next and for how long. In fact, as these last two points show, the linguistic structure of classroom discourse differs in some respects from that of casual conversation; Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) among others have shown that classroom discourse has by nature a tripartite structure: the teacher initiates, the pupil responds, the teacher then evaluates the

response. If a teacher withholds feedback, the pupils take this as a sign that the response was wrong and try again. In normal conversation this type of evaluative feedback would sound strange and could even be offensive. A hypothetical example follows.

A foreign student, in the street, wishes to know the time. He remembers how his teacher asked the time during a lesson on telling the time, and produces, remembering to be polite:

Student: Excuse me, what time is it please?

Stranger: Oh, er, twenty past four.

Student: Well done! Thank you very much.

In real life, you might well acknowledge someone's response ('Oh, yes, I see, but...') but you would rarely evaluate the response itself.

(See Berry, (1979) and Burton, (1978))

Differences such as these could have implications for the teaching of English as a foreign language, or indeed any foreign language; where students are in a classroom and subject to the norms of classroom conventions, language and discourse, but trying to acquire a different set of conventions, language and discourse patterns that will be acceptable outside the classroom.

In order to work out what exactly these implications could entail, it is necessary to look at the reasons for these differences. They are largely due to the sociological factors of setting, status and role.

1.2 Classroom setting and teacher status

The physical setting of a classroom must be seen in relation to the whole school or college, itself part of a larger education system. A classroom is part of an institution with a highly complex system of organisation necessitated by the large number of people in a comparatively small space and the pressures of time, timetables and other factors. Control devices such as timetables, duty rotas and school rules are drawn up to ensure the

smooth running of the institution so that its educational aims can be carried out as efficiently as possible. Control devices are also apparent (usually) inside the classroom: 'Keep your desks/trays/drawers tidy!', 'Put your books back on the correct shelves!' and also in the way that the teacher controls the knowledge that is to be learnt and the proceedings for dealing with that knowledge: 'Hands up, those who know'. Interaction outside institutions, particularly casual conversation, rarely needs to be organised in the same way because of the lack of the pressures defined earlier. That is not to say that there is no organisation in social interaction; there is, but of different types.

The teacher's status stems in part from the physical setting, the hierarchical structure necessary in a sizeable institution: from local authority, board of governors, head master, head of department, teacher, prefect, form captain to pupils; and in part from his or her apparent professional status as a qualified and capable teacher. I add capable because for a teacher's status to have an affect on the social relationship, it must be recognised and accepted by the class. Stubbs and Delamont (1976)^(p.94) describe an unruly class who refuse to accept the teacher's authority not because he is not qualified or backed by the headmaster (which he was) but because he has shown himself incapable of keeping control. His classroom in fact appears much of the time to be a perfect setting for the study of casual conversation. Most students, however, accept that the teacher controls the interaction and the knowledge input; on the whole they go along with it all, waiting to be told what to do, asking permission to move around, interrupt or comment, responding when nominated and giving answers of the required type and length. In fact, it has been found that pupils do not merely go along with it but expect and demand their teacher to behave in a different way inside the classroom. Stuart (1969) in Delamont (1976)^{p94} describes what happened when he

tried to be a silent teacher; he walked into a class who were expecting a lesson on Jane Austen, sat down in a desk and said nothing. The effects, during the following ten minutes were 'melodramatic' (ibid.). I suspect it was not due solely to his prolonged silence, (he could after all have said the previous lesson that they would be beginning this lesson with twenty minutes silent reading, which would probably have changed the effects somewhat) but due to the fact that he was not acting according to his role, in that he refused to exert the control expected in the classroom setting. Had the same teacher walked into the school snack bar, sat down and said nothing, his behaviour may well have gone unnoticed.

This leads on to the comparative roles that a teacher can adopt in relation to his students. Role in fact seems to mediate between status and setting. However, I feel it would be more useful to discuss 'role' more specifically in terms of the English as a Foreign Language classroom and the normal 'subject' classroom.

1.3 The E.F.L. classroom and the normal 'subject' classroom

By normal 'subject' classroom I mean subjects like geography or physics as opposed to a foreign language; these are sometimes referred to as 'content' classrooms as opposed to 'language' classrooms. The difference is that in the language classroom English is used in two ways: it is both the topic and the medium of instruction; it constitutes the subject matter of the lesson as well as providing a means of communication for the organisation of the learning process, unless of course the teacher can speak the students' language, in which case varying amounts of the medium of instruction may be L' or another common language.

The terms which I shall be adopting for these two different uses of language in the E.F.L. classroom are 'Inner' and 'Outer', following Sinclair

in 'Teacher Talk' (forthcoming). Inner refers to the taught language or target forms that constitute the subject matter or topic of the lesson, while Outer refers to the language used as medium of instruction, which forms, as it were, the framework of the lesson. See Chapter Four, section 4.2 for a fuller explanation of this.

The target forms which constitute the subject matter of the lesson, i.e. the Inner discourse, are normally phrases, clauses or sentences, and these are often presented, repeated, referred to, quoted and practised in a vacuum, as discrete items, the sequence of utterances bearing little or no relationship with possible sequences in 'normal' discourse. Also, the target forms, even if they are presented in meaningful situations, are devoid of their normal communicative value once they have been presented as target forms. Widdowson (1980) alludes to this Inner discourse as 'pedagogically processed' language and calls it 'contrived' as opposed to 'natural' language. (By 'natural', he means the language "that native English speakers produce in the normal business of everyday life".) He points out that the meaning of contrived language in the classroom is usually duplicated by a situation or a parallel grammatical structure, chosen by the teacher to make the meaning clear, for example, 'I'm walking to the door'. In natural language such a sentence would be redundant because one does not need to use language to express what is already perfectly evident. What one says about the situation will extend from, not duplicate, the information and carry a particular illocutionary value which will predict the type of response. Widdowson adds: "Meaning is a function of the relationship between utterance and situation ... It is not something you know beforehand but something you negotiate ex tempore, so that it is not a property of language as such but something achieved by human activity". It is precisely Widdowson's 'negotiations' that foreign learners of English often fail to get practice in; negotiations which may become

easier to teach or to demonstrate if we can first identify typical linguistic patternings in spoken discourse above the rank of sentence or utterance. What Widdowson fails to take into account, however, is the 'Outer' discourse. He does not mention here that natural language can and often does occur in the E.F.L. classroom, for example, when the teacher is socialising and chatting to students personally, perhaps at the beginning or the end of a lesson, whenever there is organisation to be done, like collecting in homework or setting up groupwork, or when a student does not have something that is necessary for the lesson and needs to ask. The problem of identifying and distinguishing 'real' or 'communicative' or natural language from that which is mechanical or 'pseudo' communication or 'contrived', i.e. the 'Inner' from the 'Outer', is a problem which faces all Foreign Language classroom analysts, (McTear, 1976, Nearhof, 1969, Bratt Paulston, 1972). This will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Two.

1.4 Formal or Informal? The varying roles of the language teacher

First I will define as far as possible what is meant by formal and informal as appertaining both to the content classroom and the language classroom.

Sociologists, at least, those concerned with education and classroom studies, rarely define exactly what they mean by 'formal' and 'informal'. Formal classrooms seem to be those where the teacher is in sole control and allows little pupil initiation in verbal interaction and little mobility within the classroom. Rows of desks facing the front and 'chalk and talk' appear to be the attributes of the formal scene. Boydell (1975) defines an informal primary classroom as a place 'where children interact with each other, and there is an increased emphasis on independent and group work and 'learning by doing' ". Elsewhere, he rightly points out that "informality of structure, physical setting, does not necessarily

indicate informality of function." (i.e. how the lesson is actually taught). Certainly there will be times during the day in an informal classroom where a teacher will need to call the whole class together, stand in front of them and address them in the same way as one would address a formal class. Is it then the interaction that we refer to when we call a classroom formal or informal? Adams and Biddle (1970) as reviewed in Bowers (1979) associate formal with predictable, and informal with 'open, less teacher-centred'. There is no explicit mention here of mobility, which is one of the factors that make informal classrooms so difficult to collect and record data in.

It seems to me that 'informal' when used of an E.F.L. class reflects mainly the interaction that goes on, and the atmosphere of ease and friendliness in the classroom rather than the arrangement of desks or the mobility of the students. McTear (1975) would confirm this.

The classrooms which Sinclair and Coulthard analysed for their research project in 1972 on 'The English used by teachers and pupils' were content classrooms deliberately chosen for their formality. The formal classroom seemed to offer an easier starting point for their analysis of discourse, since more of the usual variables were controlled, for example, the teacher being in sole charge of turntaking and topic change, not only deciding who should speak, when, and for how long, but also sometimes prescribing the form the answer would take. Their resulting analysis revealed the tripartate structure of discourse that we have touched on already, with almost complete verbal domination of the teacher.

In 'Teacher Talk', (forthcoming), Sinclair goes into this at depth. It is useful to look at this in detail, since I believe that verbal 'dominance' (Brazil et al. 1980) is one of the more vital parameters of the concepts 'formal' and 'informal', especially as used of the E.F.L. classroom. It obviously has a great influence on the structure of discourse.

This then is what Sinclair means by verbal dominance:

- "1. The teacher has to fill silences. Depending on the particular teaching style, pupils may or may not speak spontaneously to each other or to the teacher, but they never have the responsibility for the talk.
2. The teacher speaks most of the time. Estimates vary as do factors in the teaching situation - subject matter, type of activity, age, sex, etc. of pupils, personality of teacher. But the range of variation is between most of the time and all the time.
3. The pupils have a very restricted range of verbal functions to perform. They rarely initiate, and never follow-up. Most of their verbal activity is response, and normally confined strictly to the terms of the initiation.
4. The teacher determines the nature of the discourse and in particular what freedom the pupils have to construct their own utterances." (m.s. p. 53)

A teacher who acts in accordance with these four 'rules' would be seen as teaching in a very formal way. The students would be getting little or no practice in formulating and using questions themselves or creating their own responses choosing what they would like to say. Do E.F.L. teachers bend the rules of 'normal' classroom interaction?

Sinclair suggests they do:

"Some school subjects are taught fairly directly through classroom discourse; particularly foreign languages in the "Direct Method". The foreign language is supposed to be the only one used. From point 2 above we can deduce that the teacher would have to be rather skilful to be any good at all, and that he would get plenty of practice. On the other hand, by point 3 we see that teachers will have to change the normal rules to give pupils any practice at all in most of the normal functions of language. Point 4 makes it clear that teachers have power to change the rules, in order to construct drills and other exercises. Sometimes there is a blanket rule over the whole language-learning experience, like "Talk in whole sentences" to counteract the effect of 3.

Other teachers in subjects where the development of a pupil's powers of expression is an important aim, use point 4 to reduce the amount and range of their own contributions and increase the participation of the pupils. This can be achieved by building up a discourse within a discourse, which means that teacher and pupil adopt different roles.

Various simulations are popular, and many different types of game. Normal classroom discourse only appears in management and disciplinary utterances.

Other methods concentrate particularly on point 1, by replacing teacher-pupil talk with pupil-pupil talk, and with pupils initiating to the teacher. This method does not result in impromptu drama, but the teacher controls factors in the situation of the classroom that lead to variations in the talk. The talk is natural, whereas the talk in role-play work and language-learning drills is artificial. On the other hand, the teacher is not able to participate fully and direct the talk as he does in his traditional role, and his function as a model, critic and leader is only intermittent." (M.S. p. 55.)

It can be seen from Sinclair's interpretation of the way teachers manipulate the rules in order to give students practice in the normal functions of language that there are varying degrees of dominance in the E.F.L. classroom. It is impossible to say at which point on the 'cline of formality' the interaction begins to be 'informal'. I think we need to look at the E.F.L. classroom as potentially informal rather than informal. The degree of informality teachers achieve could be seen as being parallel to the degree to which they lessen their own verbal dominance but it is impossible to measure precisely. At the informal end of the cline, we could place the type of verbal interaction used among friends in a leisure setting where they feel completely at ease to say what they like (as opposed to a setting at work where they may feel constrained by the possibility of the boss walking in.) Most of the data examined by the ethnomethodologists is of this nature. In the classroom it is virtually impossible to achieve this degree of informality, because even when the teacher allows informal discussion and student to student interaction he or she still has the undisputed right to interrupt and bring things to a close. The time when conversation is the most informal and natural in the classroom is probably the time when the teacher is not present, for example after the end of a lesson.

When teachers change the 'rules', we often see this as a change in role. Many different names have been suggested for the various roles an E.F.L. teacher adopts during the course of a lesson, for example, teacher as 'instructor'/'presenter'/'knower' or as 'chairman'/'manager'/'adviser';

different teachers spend different amounts of time in each role and use different methods to proceed from one role to another. Broadly speaking, (and these divisions are not intended to be hard and fast), the teaching cycle progresses through presentation of a new item or theme with a high degree of verbal dominance from the teacher, to practice stages of a fairly controlled nature, whence, gradually to freer production stages where the teacher releases the reins and lessens his or her verbal dominance to allow students to practise what they have learnt in a less contrived way, in wider situations, in conjunction with the body of language they have already acquired. Some teachers will progress slowly through this cycle, perhaps taking more than one lesson over it, others will take smaller items and complete several cycles in one lesson. Some will allow digressions in what they consider to be 'useful' areas, and let the students take control of the lesson whenever a topic arises that stimulates interest and gives a chance for more natural language use. Others never seem to progress beyond a controlled stage where the language is still contrived and the structure of discourse bears little resemblance to normal spoken discourse.

I have attempted to show this process diagrammatically, see Figure 1. The diagram shows essentially the teacher in two basic roles: as instructor and as manager. Despite the division implied by there being two distinct titles, I must make clear that these two roles fade into each other and overlap with each other and are not, in practice, clear cut. As 'instructor', the teacher presents or elicits language, as 'manager', he or she tries to set up situations where the students can use it for themselves. The students, while accepting the different types of interaction made possible by these roles, also regard their teacher as a permanent source of linguistic advice, and normally demand that the teacher act as linguistic adviser whatever the stage in the lesson, whenever the need arises. This factor also

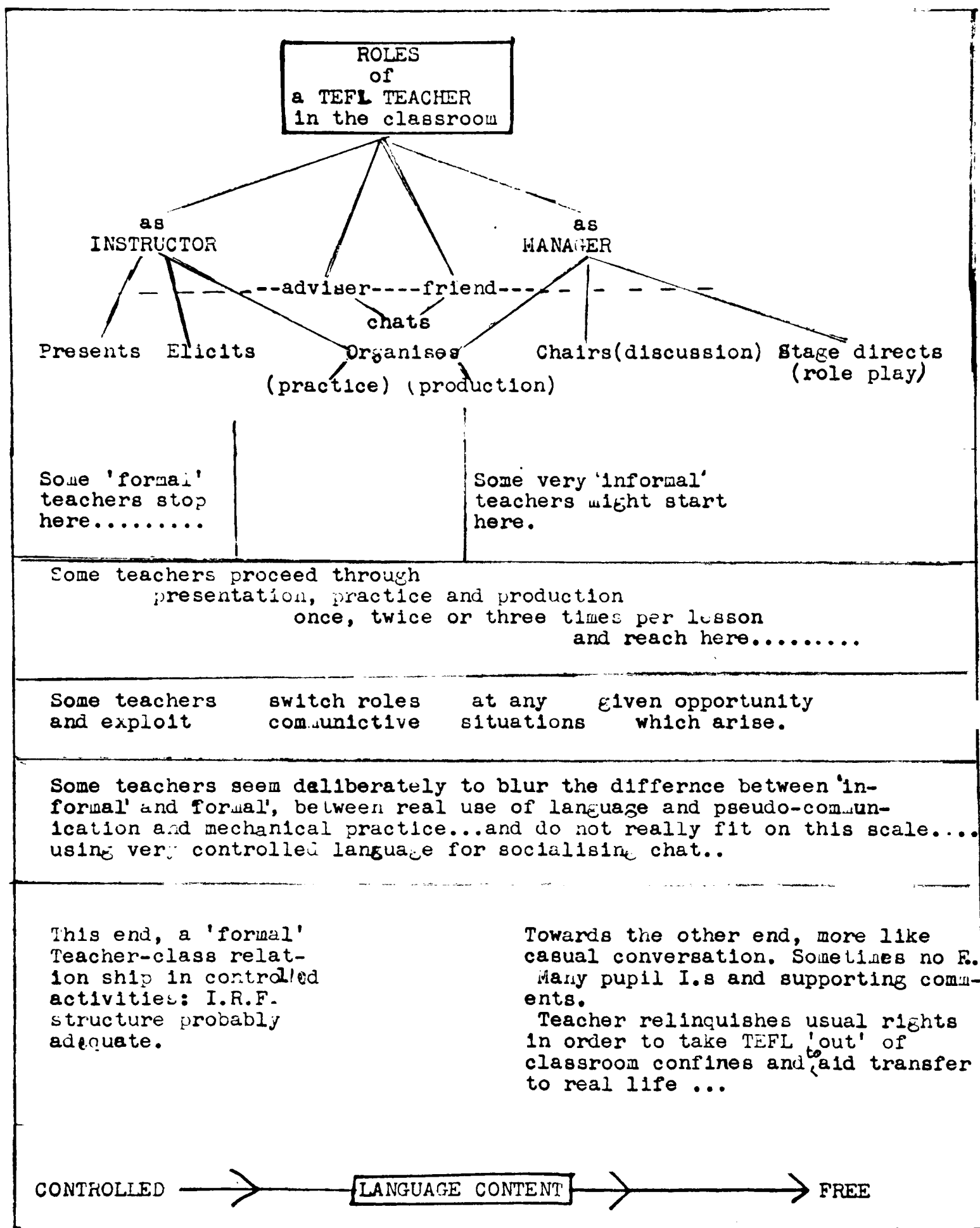


Figure 1.

changes the normal patterns of discourse; students often pause in mid-sentence to ask or check on a particular word or linguistic item before proceeding with the rest of their utterance. A further permanent role is that of social or personal adviser or simply friend; most teachers socialise at times during the lesson, often when organising activities or when there are learning problems. Bowers (1979) refers to the "operational language of instructions and motivation which, as it were, cements together the bricks of the lesson plan". (ms)

Figure 1 itself is vastly oversimplified but is intended to make the point that there is a 'cline' of formality (here shown as running from left to right, formal to informal) in most classrooms, and that this affects the structure of discourse in the E.L.T. classroom in different ways.

1.5 The purpose of this research

The purpose of this research is to try to identify typical patterns in the structure of E.F.L. classroom discourse from transaction down to act, using data from 'potentially informal' classrooms. I shall be looking in particular at features like the following: how students manage to recognise switches between the Outer and Inner layers of discourse and know how to respond appropriately: truthfully or mechanically; how far students in an informal classroom make Initiating moves themselves; how the teacher gains and/or releases control of the interaction; whether the same kind of Follow-up move is consistent throughout the lesson despite the changing role of the teacher; how the structure of the Outer layer of discourse compares with the structure of the Inner layer. The results of this could then form the basis for a comparative study using data from casual conversations, which would then have implications for the teaching of English as a foreign language, or indeed for any foreign language. In order to do this, I shall first need to devise a means of adapting the system of discourse analysis set up by Sinclair and Coulthard so that it will distinguish

and separate out, as far as possible, the Inner, non-interactive, layer of discourse from the Outer, interactive layer, bearing in mind that there can exist, in the Inner layer, a certain amount of teacher controlled 'quasi-interaction' between students which the system should also reveal. If it proves possible to devise a sufficiently simple model for the analysis of the E.F.L. classroom discourse, it may also prove possible to use it as the basis for a method of real-time coding language classroom discourse structure. This would be particularly useful if we had a formalised means of describing the structure of casual conversation, or at least, interaction outside the classroom, to which the findings from the real-time coding of classroom interaction could be compared.

I wish at this point to make clear that this research is concerned with the linguistic structure of interactive discourse, not the semantic content of the interaction, or the 'meaning structure' as it is sometimes called. In other words we are studying the vehicle which carries the meaning, and the function of the utterances that 'service' and 'drive' the vehicle and allow it to proceed smoothly, rather than the contents of the vehicle. Obviously, one will influence the other, and both will be influenced by external features like setting and participants, but it is the vehicle, the structure of interactive discourse, that we are concerned with.

There is one final point to clarify at this stage. When analysing spoken discourse, it is essential to be aware of what Sinclair calls the "now-coding" aspect of real-time interaction. Unlike reading a speech or reciting a sermon, the speaker is creating the message in real-time while the hearer is assimilating the message and predicting what will follow, perhaps waiting for a point where he can interrupt or should reply. It is important, then, that we look at the linear structure of discourse prospectively, i.e. asking ourselves, 'What does this utterance predict at this point in the discourse, given the present situation, the particular participants and other external stimuli?' There may be little or no

correlation between grammatical form and discourse function, and the function of any utterance can be cancelled by the speaker in favour of a subsequent utterance. So we shall be coding the process of interaction prospectively, in the light of potential following moves, not retrospectively, in terms of the finished product.

To summarise my purpose in more general terms: the current trend in T.E.F.L. is towards a more informal approach to teaching in order to allow a higher proportion of what Widdowson terms 'natural' language use in the classroom in an attempt to help students achieve a reasonable level of communicative competence in English. Sinclair in 'Teacher Talk' defines this trend thus:

"The exploitation of the classroom as a flexible arena for talk of all kinds is likely to be an increasing concern in education over the next few years, and it starts with an understanding of the nature of classroom discourse." (ms p.56)

This research I hope will go some way towards furthering our understanding of the nature of discourse in the E.F.L. classroom. If in addition it will help provide an answer to the question posed by Bowers (1979)

"Finally, how do the patterns of interaction incorporated into the whole process of classroom interaction relate to patterns of interaction outside the classroom, and particularly to those which form the communicative competence which the course aims explicitly or otherwise to develop?" (ms)

all to the good.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Studies of Classroom Interaction2.1.1 General

There is a bewildering variety of approaches, perspectives, purposes and procedures now in existence in the field of classroom interaction research. Interest in live observation of classroom events concerned with process variables, that is what actually goes on in the classroom, as opposed to psychological and social variables, such as social class, began to take hold in the 1960s. (See Wragg, 1975, for a history of such studies). Since then, both in Britain and in the U.S.A. the classroom has become a focus for researchers from the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology, and sociolinguistics, as well as education. Chanan and Delamont, (1975) give details of the variety of research projects already undertaken and show that the purposes for such studies are likewise varied.

Rosenshine and Furst (1975) were able to identify four broad purposes for which classroom observational systems have been used:

- i to describe current classroom practice (i.e. process studies)
- ii to train teachers (mainly prescriptive studies)
- iii to monitor instructional systems (process/product studies)
- iv to investigate relationships between classroom activities and student growth (also process/product studies)

(in Chanan and Delamont, 1975, my brackets throughout)

My own purpose is different from these in that the emphasis will be on the linguistic structure of discourse in the E.F.L. classroom, a description of a process. It will relate to i above and hopefully have implications for ii and iv.

The original purpose of Sinclair and Coulthard's analysis of the

language used by pupils and teachers, begun in the early seventies, was to try to find a generalisable model for discourse analysis, in other words for the study of the "way in which units above the rank of clause and sentence are related and patterned and the way in which such language functions as question and command are realised through grammatical structure and position in discourse." (Sinclair and Coulthard, p.8, 1975). Their choice of a classroom setting was made because the formal classroom yields a simpler type of spoken discourse than 'desultory conversation' (ibid.) (See also 1.4) The classroom for them, then, was a means to an end not an end in itself. The results of their study, however, have proved most enlightening to those with a concern for what happens in classrooms; a large amount of teaching is achieved through talking after all, and the quality of the talk and the interaction must affect the learning that takes place, especially in the classrooms where the subject is language.

Sinclair and Coulthard saw their study as being primarily sociolinguistic; as we saw earlier, the sociological setting has a great influence on the language used; the two cannot possibly be divorced.

I shall then confine my review of the literature to relevant sociolinguistic studies of the classroom, beginning very briefly with the 'content' classroom before proceeding to the foreign language classroom.

First, however, it would be useful to summarise the various procedures generally used when observing classrooms; most procedures seem to be common to both content classrooms and language classrooms. I can then refer back to this section when describing methods of analysis.

2.1.2 Procedures

I have tried to display in diagram form, for ease of reference, (see Figure 2,) the variety of procedures used for classroom observations. It is, in fact, an oversimplification: the fact that different styles of

observation procedures are shown as discrete models does not mean that they may not be used in conjunction with each other; some styles often overlap. The various procedures and combinations thereof produce results with varying degrees of objectivity, formalisation, and generalisability. A fully researched and validated category system would, for example, be likely to produce results which could reliably be compared to others and perhaps form a basis for specific recommendations for future changes. At the other extreme, procedures like 'diary studies' (see below) can be subjective, selective, and as such produce no formal basis for comparison and so are only useful if undertaken by a number of researchers, who, after taking into account the possible variables, amalgamate their findings.

There is, then, a cline of objectivity in these procedures as they are set out in the diagram below; see the arrowed line.

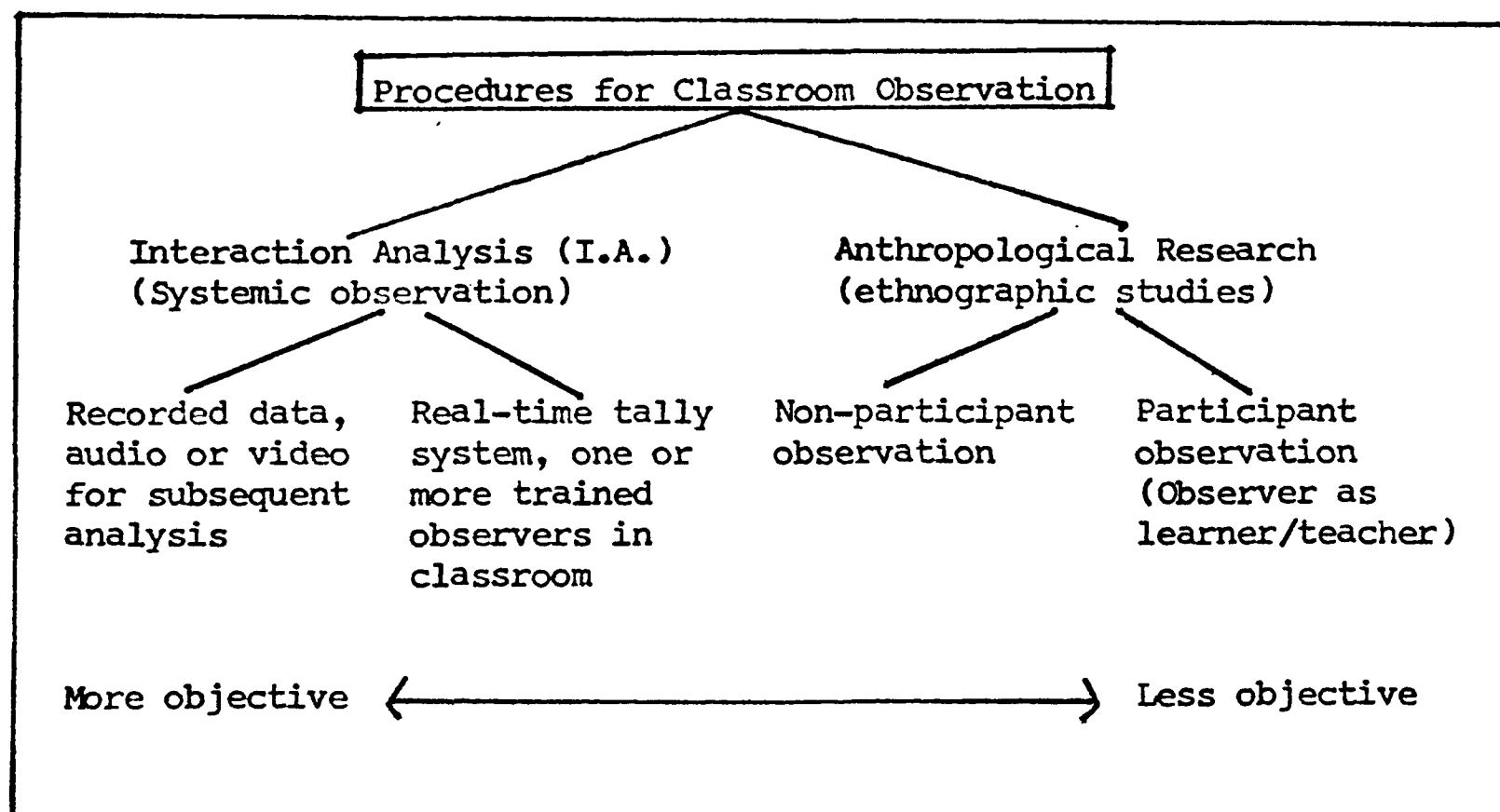


Figure 2

Long (1979) discusses the advantages and disadvantages of all the above procedures at length. Edwards and Furlong (1978) cover I.A. fully; they refer to I.A. as 'systemic observation'. I.A. differs from anthropological research in that a set of predetermined categories are used for

the recording of events, either in the classroom, or later from the recorded data, or both. 'Events' can include verbal events, activities, samples of teacher or pupil behaviour. Relatively inexperienced observers can be quickly trained to use the categories for tallying, and the experience gained from doing this can help to sensitise teachers or trainee teachers to particular aspects of classroom performance in a fairly objective way, the results of which are easily comparable with other surveys. Flanders' category system for real-time coding classroom behaviour proved very popular and practical. (See page 22 for more on this.)

However, as Long (1979) points out, there is a danger of the categories themselves being "as subjective as the impressionistic comments they were designed to replace". In other words, by opening observer's eyes to the types of events classified, we may be closing their eyes to other events that may prove to be more crucial.

Some systems concentrate on the teacher and analyse the teacher's behaviour far more delicately than the pupils'; Flander's system for example has only two categories for pupil talk out of a total of nine.

Another danger that Edwards and Furlong point out is that 'Some of the categories ... may seem obvious enough, as when a teacher is recorded as 'lecturing' or 'correcting'. Others, however, depend on a high level of inference, as when the observer has to "distinguish genuine praise from mere verbal habit", (Edwards and Furlong, op.cit.).

Recognising the function of a particular grammatical form can present problems even to a trained observer. The question form cited by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) 'What are you laughing at?' outside the classroom would most likely elicit a response like, 'What you said reminded me of a joke I heard ...'. In the classroom, however, the same utterance from a teacher directed at a pupil who was laughing would normally function as a command to stop laughing rather than a question eliciting a reply.

The differences between the I.A. system using real-time coding and those using recorded data, (for example Bellack, et al, 1966) is well documented by Bowers, 1979, who gives a thorough and evaluative survey of many methods of classroom analysis. Briefly, using recorded data, one can attempt a far more thorough analysis, preserving the sequence, and, therefore, the structure, of the interaction; other researchers can also use the data or examine it for themselves, which helps to make the results more generalisable. Instruments designed for real-time coding rarely preserve the sequence of the interaction; they are normally used for statistical purposes only, for example, to compare the amount of time spent on various aspects of verbal behaviour, or the quantity of pupil talk with teacher talk. It is also possible, of course, to make statistical displays from recorded data. It might well be possible to adapt the Sinclair Coulthard model for real-time coding in the normal content classroom, this would then combine the two approaches, revealing the structure of the interaction as well as the functions of language used in the lesson. This, however, has so far proved difficult to do in the E.F.L. classroom; if one wants to analyse the use of language on both Inner and Outer levels, there must be a means of distinguishing between real use, mechanical and quasi-communicative use.

In order to investigate all possibilities, it seemed essential for the current research project to have recourse to recorded data, thus avoiding the subjectivity inherent in a 'category' system, and allowing exhaustive and generalisable research.

Anthropological research (sometimes referred to as 'ethnographic' studies) differs from interaction analysis in that the observer enters the classroom with as few preconceived ideas as possible, and observes classroom events, taking copious notes. Participant observation usually means that the observer is involved in some way with the learning process, either

as teacher, helper or student; he records his feelings and comments as the lesson progresses. Such studies include Diary studies, (see Schumann, 1978). Long, 1979, gives a more detailed account of such studies.

Non-participant observation is described in detail in Stubbs and Delamont, 1976, and summed up rather neatly thus: "Starting with a wide angle of vision he (the observer) zooms in and progressively focusses on those classroom features he considers to be most salient". Observers may also interview pupils informally to chat to them about their lessons; some also liaise with the teachers to see if their side of the picture converges with the observer's angle. This is sometimes referred to as 'angulation'.

The advantage of this type of research is that the observers really get to know and understand the scene they are observing, and share knowledge in a way that an outside observer cannot hope to do. The meaning of particular signals, verbal allusions, in-jokes (like the 'strawberries, strawberries' in one of Delamont's classes) are clearer to an insider; they enable teachers to take shortcuts that would baffle an outsider. The disadvantages, as we have already mentioned, are the lack of generalisability, objectivity and formalisation that enable the results to be used in comparative studies. Also, the task of assembling the data collected in this way is often mammoth and time consuming. It would be an impractical way of going about the kind of research I wanted to do; however, the insights gained by anthropological methods are undoubtedly useful, and a combination of procedures may prove practical for my purposes.

A combination of audio and/or video recording with participant observation has, in fact, been used successfully by Mehan et al. in San Diego who were researching the social organisation of the classroom. One of the team taught the class of junior children, sharing the class with another teacher; video cameras were installed in a corner where they were not too obvious and a series of lessons was recorded at regular intervals.

They made an exhaustive analysis of their data the findings of which they subsequently displayed. They also tried to 'ensure convergence' between the structure as seen by the observers in events and that which oriented the participants, thereby taking two different perspectives into account. See 2.3.1.2. in this chapter for more on their work, which they referred to as 'constitutive ethnography'. A similar process is described by Walker and Adelman, 1975, and called 'participant recording'.

Thus, the insights gained from the experience of other researchers, such as those mentioned above, should prove to be of value when selecting procedures for the collection of data relevant to the current project.

2.2 Analyses of 'content' classrooms

'Content' classrooms have been well documented elsewhere (Bowers, 1979, Edwards and Furlong, 1979, Chanan and Delamont, 1975) so I intend only to give a short summary of the work of Flanders, (1970) and Bellack, (1966). These are the works that I shall subsequently be referring to since many studies of both content and language classrooms have been based on adaptations of the systems they evolved. I shall then give an over view of the model set up by Sinclair and Coulthard for the analysis of classroom discourse which I shall discuss in a later chapter in the light of the opinions of others who have reviewed or applied their system to the classroom. Finally, I will discuss briefly the work of Barnes, (1971) who analyses the functions of questions in 'content' classrooms.

2.2.1 The work of Flanders, 'Analysing Teaching Behaviour', was intended to sensitise teachers to the effects of what they actually said in the class-room. It aimed thereby to improve teacher performance. Flanders equates teaching behaviour with verbal behaviour, coding utterances directly as pedagogic acts. His instrument, designed for real-time coding, contains ten categories, seven for teacher talk, two for student talk and one for silence and confusion. Delamont, (1976)^{p. 95} summarises Flanders's instrument thus:

Flanders's Interaction Analysis Categories (FIAC)

Teacher talk	1. Accepts feeling
	2. Praises or encourages
	3. Accepts or uses ideas of pupils
	4. Asks questions
	5. Lecturing
	6. Giving directions
	7. Criticizing or justifying authority
Pupil talk	8. Pupil-talk - response
	9. Pupil-talk - initiation
Silence	10. Silence or confusion

The observer codes classroom talk into one of these ten categories every three seconds. A 40-minute lesson produces 800 tallies.
(Adapted from Flanders, 1970, p.34.) (p. 95)

The system has the advantages and disadvantages already summarised in 1.2 above; certainly FIAC, as his system is called, has proved influential in teacher training fields and easy to adapt to meet the specific needs of different types of classrooms, even language classrooms, (e.g. Muscovitz 1970, as reviewed in Bowers, 1979).

The basic failings of this system as far as the present research project is concerned, are that it does not record or preserve the whole structure of the discourse, that it treats verbal events as being synonymous with teaching behaviours, and that there is little attempt to define in linguistic terms what is intended by the categories. Finally, with the three second tally system, many shorter, but nevertheless vital, utterances like 'Well, now', which Sinclair and Coulthard found highly significant in classroom interaction, are unlikely to show up as often as they should. (For a longer report on Flanders' work, see Stubbs, 1975, 'Teaching and Talking'). Since, however, Flanders' work was not intended as a contribution to theory, but as "a tool of action" (his own words) in the teacher training field, we must admit that as such it has been successful, especially in micro teaching, where trainees are taught to analyse their own video tapes (Brown, 1975). For us, though, it is not sufficient, for the reasons stated above.

2.2.2. Bellack et al, 1966, set out to analyse the language of the classroom in order to investigate the functions that "verbal actions serve in classroom discourse and hence the meanings that are communicated" (p.4) It was a large scale project, based on sixty protocols, four from fifteen high school classes, all of whom were taught the same unit on trade, and tested before and after the series of lessons. Bellack viewed interaction as a kind of language game, after Wittgenstein, where teachers and pupils make moves which predict the subsequent move, following the accepted rules of the 'game'. Working from recorded data, Bellack identified basic types of

verbal actions which he termed pedagogical moves. See the following extract for details.

Categories for Analysis

Examination of the transcripts of classroom discourse suggested that the verbal actions of students and teachers could be classified in four major categories. We labeled these basic verbal actions pedagogical moves and classified them in terms of the pedagogical functions they perform in classroom discourse:

Structuring. Structuring moves serve the pedagogical function of setting the context for subsequent behaviour by either launching or halting-excluding interaction between students and teachers. For example, teachers frequently launch a class period with a structuring move in which they focus attention on the topic or problem to be discussed during that session.

Soliciting. Moves in this category are designed to elicit a verbal response, to encourage persons addressed to attend to something, or to elicit a physical response. All questions are solicitations, as are commands, imperatives, and requests.

Responding. These moves bear a reciprocal relationship to soliciting moves and occur only in relation to them. Their pedagogical function is to fulfill the expectation of soliciting moves; thus students' answers to teachers' questions are classified as responding moves.

Reacting. These moves are occasioned by a structuring, soliciting, responding, or prior reacting move, but are not directly elicited by them. Pedagogically, these moves serve to modify (by clarifying, synthesizing, or expanding) and/or to rate (positively or negatively) what has been said previously. Reacting moves differ from responding moves: while a responding move is always directly elicited by a solicitation, preceding moves serve only as the occasion for reactions. Rating by a teacher of a student's response, for example, is designated as a reacting move. (ibid.) p. 4.

He identifies two basic types of teaching cycles: the first, formally ordered, for example, SOL RES REA, the most common, which Sinclair also identified, but as Initiation, Response, Feedback. The second type of teaching cycle is the 'temporally ordered'. Of these, the 'augmented cycles' seem to correspond roughly to Sinclair and Coulthard's bound exchanges which will be discussed later in Chapter 4. Bellack also analyses the likely sequences of teaching cycles; he finds, for example, that in 40% of cases pupil initiated cycles appear after a preceding pupil initiated cycle and only 10% after a teacher initiated cycle. His cycles combine together to form 'Sub-games', groups of which in turn form the game,

these two units comparing roughly with transactions and lesson in the Sinclair and Coulthard ⁽¹⁾ model. The concept of a hierarchical system is common to both works. The difference is that Bellack was far more concerned with the conveyance of meaning in the classroom, for educational purposes, than Sinclair and Coulthard. Each move, for example, is analysed to a far greater degree of delicacy; he records meaning, reference and cognitive demands made on the student, as in the following example:

T. SOL: SUBSTANTIVE-LOGICAL defining general

which shows an elicitation from the teacher referring to the subject matter in hand, expecting some cognitive process (analytical or empirical) of the student, in this case "defining the characteristics of a class or term with example of items within class explicitly given" (ibid. p.38). The breadth of analysis thus permitted is similar to that of Fanselow's system "Foci for Observing Communication as Used in Settings". (This is described at length in Fanselow, 1978; unfortunately it does not reveal the structure of the interaction much beyond the adjacency pair when real-time coded.) Bellack, however, additionally preserves the sequence of the interaction and it is infinitely useful for educational research. However, there are shortcomings in Bellack's work which make it less suitable for adaption for the present research; as Sinclair and Coulthard point out, Bellack "was not working within a linguistic framework"; he does not attempt to formalise his moves in linguistic terms. He has, as Bowers (1979) remarks, "potential linguistic validity", and for his time he did well producing results which have given us many insights into classroom language and discourse as well as an analytical model which many others besides myself have found useful. His work, though, fails to provide an easily assimilable visual display system which reveals at a

(1) Henceforward, the Sinclair and Coulthard model will be referred to as the S & C model.

glance the patternings in the structure of discourse in his protocols; he has clearly tabulated statistical analyses of completed lessons, but the interaction of a class in progress is not clear enough.

2.2.3. 'Towards an Analysis of Discourse'

The third major work on classroom interaction which in turn has attracted many followers is the work by Sinclair and Coulthard. Unlike the work of Flanders and Bellack, the purpose of this work was linguistic rather than pedagogic, (See page 15). In this section I intend only to give an overview of the Sinclair Coulthard model. Since the main body of my research is concerned with adapting and applying the model to the E.F.L. classroom I shall necessarily go into much greater detail in the main part of my thesis, where I shall also examine the comments made by other analysts on their model in the light of my own research.

Sinclair and Coulthard (henceforward S & C) begin by defining the four minimum criteria they believe necessary for a valid descriptive system. It is impossible to summarise their criteria meaningfully, so I reproduce below the criteria as they stand:

- A The descriptive apparatus should be finite, or else one is not saying anything at all, and may be merely creating the illusion of classification. To take a concrete example, if someone has a pile of objects in front of him and says

This is a wonk, this is a dibble ...

we do not know what is happening. Perhaps he is giving us the equivalent labels in another language; we have no idea what will be said next. If, however, he begins

I am going to show you how all objects can be put into one of two classes. This is a wonk, this is a dibble ...

we know a tremendous amount more. We can predict the next utterance except for the simple choice of wonk or dibble and we shall have even had some guidance in guessing that.

- B The symbols or terms in the descriptive apparatus should be precisely relatable to their exponents in the data, or else it is not clear what one is saying. If we call some phenomenon a 'noun', or a 'repair strategy' or a 'retreat', we must establish exactly what constitutes the class with that label. The label itself is

negligible - it is the criteria which matter. If for example we are told

Anything with a right angle in it is a wonk. Everything else is a dibble ...

we don't need any more. The number of classes and the criteria are provided, and off we go. The classification is replicable and clear. There will be problems of interpretation, marginal choices, etc., but that is a feature of all practical classification.

- C The whole of the data should be describable; the descriptive system should be comprehensive. This is not a difficult criterion to meet, because it is always possible to have a 'ragbag' category into which go all items not positively classified by other criteria. But the exercise of building it in is a valuable check on the rest of the description. For example, if we find that 95% of the text goes into the ragbag, we would reject the description as invalid for the text as a whole. If we feel uneasy about putting certain items together in the ragbag, this may well lead to insights later on.
- D There must be at least one impossible combination of symbols. This is the basic notion of linguistic structure, although here couched as a prohibition. A, B and C above could be general standards for linear string analysis, but this one is linguistic. Language, it seems, never exhausts the possibilities in its structure, thus leaving elbow-room for two major features: style and change. So if a descriptive systems of wonks (w) and dibbles (d) allows all two-symbol structures (ww, dd, wd, dw) then it is worth looking at three-symbol structures, perhaps to find only wwd, wdd, dwd, ddd. It is now clear that no three-symbol string can end in w, and we have made a structural statement.

There will probably be all sorts of limitations on four-symbol strings and above, but at the very least we can say that a descriptive apparatus which does not meet this criterion is certainly not showing anything of the structure of what it is describing.

(S & C 1975, pp 15-16)

They adopted a hierarchical system with a rank scale, modelled on Halliday's 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar' (1961) because it offered a flexible and powerful model. Halliday's system was able to account for the grammatical organisation up to the rank of clause and sentence and therefore was seen to have implications for the handling of the structure of the discourse above the rank of sentence. The highest unit on the rank scale, 'lesson' ⁽¹⁾ is made up of a series of 'transactions' each

(1) 'lesson': in 1979 the term 'interaction' was proposed instead, as a more general term which would include 'interview', 'doctor/patient visit' etc.

of which consists of a series of 'exchanges', which in turn consist of 'moves' made up of one or more 'acts', the smallest unit of discourse, comparable to the morpheme in grammar. The whole 'level' of discourse they see as lying between the level of grammar and that of non-linguistic organisation, see the table below taken from their text, page 24:

Levels and ranks		
Non-Linguistic Organization	DISCOURSE	Grammar
course		
period	LESSON	
topic	TRANSACTION	
	EXCHANGE	
	MOVE	sentence
	ACT	clause
		group
		word
		morpheme

So far then, the first criterion for a descriptive system is satisfied: there is a finite number of five ranks. The elements of structure at each rank are named and possible structures (i.e. orderings of units) given; for example, a 'teaching exchange' can be made up of an Initiation, an optional Response and optional Feedback, recorded as I (R) (F). This satisfies the fourth criterion: there are some combinations of units which are impossible; you could not, for example, have F.R.I. with the Feedback preceding the Initiation.

Each type of exchange, move and act is defined according to its functional properties, its placement within the structure of discourse and sometimes also its grammatical realisation, for example, "An elicitation as an act the function of which is to request a linguistic response, or a non-verbal surrogate such as a nod. Realised by a question." (pages 28 and 40). This satisfied criteria two and three.

The diagram on the opposite page, Figure 3, makes clearer, I hope, how the model works. The page references on the right of the model refer to the pages in 'Towards an Analysis of Discourse' where definitions are given. These obviously cannot be summarised any more than they are in the text.

S & C make it very clear that there is "a lack of 'fit'" between grammar and discourse. We have already discussed the function of the utterance 'What are you laughing at?' in the classroom situation. The notions of 'tactics' and 'situation' help us to define the function. In 'situation', 'we use information about the non-linguistic environment to reclassify items as statement, question or command' (ibid) for example, 'Can you swim a length John?' in the classroom would be a question whereas on the edge of the swimming pool it would probably be a command. 'Tactics' help us handle sequence relationships in discourse; the example given is the teacher saying:

What about this one? This I think is a super one. Isobel,
can you think what it means?

The first utterance does not in fact function as an elicitation because the teacher immediately continues with 'This I think ...' showing the class they do not need to respond yet. So what at first looked like an elicitation becomes a 'starter'. (ibid.pp 34-35) Later on in the text, analysed transcripts are given, which, though not always consistent, are most useful to followers of the system.

The system or model of discourse outlined here has in fact been further developed since 1975, largely in the light of the results of further research into discourse intonation by Brazil, (1979) and Coulthard and Brazil, (1979) and also with the added insights given by research into discourse in other settings, namely radio interviews, doctor/patient interactions and casual conversation, (Pearce, 1976, Ashby, 1973 and Burton 1978, in that order). See section 2.4.1. later in this chapter, on the

analysis of discourse in non classroom settings.

2.2.4. The work of Barnes (1971)

Barnes analysed data from first year secondary school classrooms, looking in particular at the functions of teacher questions to see what is expected of pupil respondents in differing circumstances. His work may be of relevance to the present research because he distinguishes between 'pseudo-questions' where the teacher already knows the answer, and genuine questions, as used in ordinary interactions; it may be possible to use Barnes' criteria for distinguishing whether or not the language teacher requires a truthful response, i.e. in the Outer layer of discourse, or a mechanical response, i.e. in the Inner layer.

At first sight, Barnes seems to shed some light on the distinction, with the criteria he set up for his 'open' and 'closed' questions, though nowhere does he define these terms formally. "Closed questions", he says, writing for his analysts, "have only one acceptable answer, whereas to open questions a number of different answers would be acceptable. Open questions might be factual in some circumstances for example, ... where the range of choices open to the pupil is unusually wide." Barnes continues, talking to the prospective analyser: "It is necessary to check apparently open questions by examining the nature of pupil replies which may show that he will accept only one reply to a question framed in apparently open terms. Such questions might be called 'pseudo-questions'." He offers no suggestions as to how open questions can be recognised by the pupil before he replies, however, which is similar to the problem recognised by Long (1979) and McTear (1975) in the language classroom.

"Open" and "closed", however, are not the only categories that Barnes has. He also has:

Factual	('naming', 'information')
Reasoning	('recalled', 'not recalled' and 'open')
Social	('control', 'appeal', other)

"Open" and "closed", then, do not represent an exhaustive classification, although we see that some of Barnes' other categories include 'open' as a 'sub-class', i.e. 'reasoning', and 'factual' with wide range of choice. However, some 'factual' questions only have one right answer, e.g. "What date is Ghanaian Independence?", and so can also be 'closed'.

So when we look into the matter carefully we see that Barnes does not offer us a system that is sufficiently watertight. It certainly does not conform to the criteria proposed by S & C, 1975, for a valid descriptive system. However, his concepts of open and closed questions may be useful when adapting the S & C model to the language classroom if it is necessary to examine Initiating moves at a greater degree of delicacy.

2.3 Foreign Language Classrooms

2.3.1 Analyses using the Sinclair and Coulthard model

In this section I shall give an overview of the work of McTear, 1975, Mehan et al, 1976, Chaudron, 1977 and Lorsch, 1979, all of whom have adapted the S & C model for use in E.F.L. or E.S.L. classrooms, for differing purposes. I shall be taking various aspects of their work up again in a later chapter so this review will be very brief.

2.3.1.1. In 1975, McTear undertook a short term research project applying the S & C model of discourse to the E.F.L. classroom; his, I believe, is the first attempt to do this. It is interesting that, although our respective samples of data are small, we have both independently come up against very similar problems and phenomena in our analyses.

McTear's work, 'Structure and Sequences in the Foreign Language Classroom', was based on data from six fairly informal lessons taught to elementary students from Venezuela, newly arrived in Britain. The teachers had not taught them before. The lessons were recorded on video for research purposes. McTear was, at the outset, aware of the problems already outlined in the Introduction of analysing in a language classroom. He lists four types of language use, in terms of new information provided by the utterance

- i mechanical (no meaning involved)
- ii meaningful (contextualised, but no new information conveyed)
- iii pseudo-communicative (new information conveyed, but in the context of the E.F.L. classroom)
- iv real communication (spontaneous speech, i.e. opinions, jokes, classroom management, teacher evaluation, comments,) arising naturally out of the context, not introduced as a means of instruction.

McTear puts forward the opinion that the 'rules of the game' (à la Bellack) are not necessarily understood by all the participants in the F.L. classroom, largely because of these different types of language use;

students do not realise whether they are supposed to answer truthfully, (communicatively) or mechanically. As he points out, it can be a cause of confusion in the F.L. classroom. It can also be, as Long (1979) suggests, a source of humour:

Teacher: (modelling) I'm a student. Teacher.
 Student: I'm a teacher.
 T: Are you?
 Ss: (laughter)

In my data, there are examples of students doing this on purpose to break up a drill which was beginning to grow boring!

The point is, however, most coding systems cannot discriminate between such uses of language. McTear feels that this is a shortcoming of the S & C model as it stands but does not suggest a solution; his purpose was solely to describe what he found, after all, but my purpose is to find a way of coding this aspect of language.

McTear also studied the 'sequence' in the F.L. classroom. He identifies two types of 'sequence' or structure:

- structure i $I R (F/I)^n F (R)$ where the follow up move acts also as an elicitation;
- structure ii $I R^1 / I (F/I R/I^1)^n (F) R^2 (F/I R^2) F (R)$, a highly complex sequence, arrived at when the teacher asks one pupil to ask another a question which yet another pupil answers, with the teacher following up at each step.

Both structures are typical of the F.L. lesson, and are in some respect similar to S & C's bound exchanges. However, it seems to me that some new machinery, or at least a different gear, is required to disentangle this. I will go into this further later on.

Although McTear's work is useful in that it highlights problems that seem common to most E.F.L. classroom interaction, it is a pity that he does not give us more account of relevant para- and non-linguistic features which would have been useful in helping us to define more precisely features like the boundaries of sequences; he offers no

formal definition of the end of a sequence, for example. He does not seem to have exploited his video recordings as fully as he might have done, in the ways that Mehan et al. did a year later, but we must remember the limitations of a short dissertation and as such, it sets the scene nicely for further research. His work is certainly reassuring in that it serves to confirm my opinion that the data collected for the current project, being similar to that of McTear, is representative of the informal language lesson today.

2.3.1.2. The methods used for the research conducted in California by Mehan et al. have already been described briefly on page 20. It was essentially an E²L classroom and they were interested in the social organisation of the interaction. They explore the idea of 'topic related sequences' which they identify by such means as closed sets of verbal markers (similar to S & C's 'frame' and 'focus'), para-linguistic and kinesic signals like pace of teacher talk, postural shifts and so on. It seems that these sequences may well relate to Brazil's 'pitch sequences' and perhaps even McTear's complex sequences. I will examine this hypothesis again later in the light of my own data.

Mehan et al. were also interested in interactional analysis; i.e. studies of ways in which social events like turn-taking are structured by the participants. They build on to S & C's acts in a way reminiscent of Bellack and Barnes, distinguishing between different types of elicitation, for example a 'product' elicitation is one where the respondent must provide a factual response; a 'choice' elicitation offers the respondent a choice of 'yes' or 'no', or A or B or C etc. If a directive includes a reason ('Move your chair so you can see the board') that too is shown by '(+ grounds)'. Their acts then are more informative than those of the S & C model. They keep to a similar hierarchy as S & C up to the rank of exchange; thereafter they suggest that there normally occurs a

series of topically related sequences that together make up the lesson. S & C did not want to confuse pedagogic structures with linguistic structures; it seems, however, that Mehan's sequence could either be similar to an S & C transaction, or perhaps nearer to a 'pitch sequence', and in either case, the two, i.e. pedagogic (or topic) and linguistic may go hand in hand. We shall see.

One basic failing of Mehan's study is that they do not seem to distinguish between the different levels of language use as discussed earlier; perhaps because theirs is an E.S.L. situation, rather than E.F.L., there is less focus on language itself.

2.3.1.3. Chaudron was also working in a second language environment, in French immersion classes, in Canada. He was aware of the problem of the shift of focus from subject matter to language because he was particularly interested in correction techniques. The students were learning French through other subjects; the corrections, however, seemed nearly always to be language rather than content, but it seems it was not always clear to the students which was wrong and what they had to correct. The purpose of his study was to propose a descriptive model of discourse in the corrective treatment of learner's errors, in order to sensitise both students and teachers to the functions of various types of feedback, thereby enhancing the learning process. He proposes a synthesis of S & C's descriptive system at the rank of move and Allwright's (1975) suggestions for basic options open to the teacher in corrective reactions. He identifies over thirty features and types of corrective reactions which he plots on to an expanded model of discourse (See Figures 4 and 5). These, though complex, display well the choice of potential moves that can be made at each stage. This confirms McTear's fears: how potentially complex even the average correcting exchange or 'cycle of exchanges' can be.

Chaudron's 'acts' combine to form moves in different ways from S & C's

acts. Some seem to bridge the follow up and the next initiating move; others seem to take an evaluating move to a far greater degree of delicacy, exploring the use of emphasis, repetition and so on. As Bowers (1979) says, "In Chaudron's system, a new order of relationships is being introduced." I feel sure that had Chaudron managed to distinguish between the two levels of language used, i.e. the switch from topic to language, he might have been able to simplify his model. Chaudron gives no explicit description of the structure of the most common corrective cycles, apart from saying that repetition of various kinds is the most common form of reaction. He has, however, drawn my attention to many of the various possibilities for corrective sequences that I will be able to look out for in my own data, and to the necessity of separating out the Inner and Outer layers of discourse.

2.3.1.4. The only major attempts to apply the S & C model of discourse exhaustively in the F.L. classroom have been made in formal classrooms in Germany, by Lörscher (1979), and by Wachendorf (forthcoming). They have both used video recordings of classes in German Secondary schools, and they too have come up against some fairly complex exchange structures.

Since the work of Wachendorf is not yet complete, I shall limit myself at this stage to a brief outline of Lörscher's analysis.

Lörscher, as Mehan et al., was not content with analysing solely the structure of discourse; he was concerned about capturing the propositional content and cohesion of the interaction as well, dealing with the concept of functional hierarchy, or "the fact that certain elicitations or directives dominate the following elicitation or directive in a way that can only be interpreted in connection with the dominant act."

He has devised an exhaustive, complex but nevertheless enlightening analytical system, based on the S & C hierarchy, but expanded to accommodate the kind of information that both Bellack and Barnes included. He also

Beispiel für die Anwendung der Analyse kategorie
und die hierarchische Stufung des Unterrichtsdiskurses

			tr?	1	So the boat is in sovereign territory?
E _{tr} /tc	OP _{tr}		tr!		
	ANS _{tr} /tc		tc		
	F-UP _{tc}		[tr/g]a1+	2	Yeah,
			[tc]a1	3	the captain has to allow anyone to
				4	come on the boat to take somebody off.
				5	But I suppose in a dictatorship it's
				6	all a bit different.
				7	Do you know any other countries in the
				8	world where there is a dictatorship at
				9	the moment?
				10	Any countries which you can think of?
				11	Bernd.
				12	Uganda.
				13	yes.
				14	And who is in charge of that?
				15	Yeah.
				16	Wolfgang,
				17	any others?
				18	Eh, what about countries, say, in
				19	Latin America, in South America?
				20	Do you know any others there?
				21	Chile.
				22	Chile.
				23	yes.
				24	And, eh, there are several.
				25	I suppose the two or three you read
				26	most in the newspapers are Chile and
				27	Argentina.
				28	Yeah,
				29	Argentina.

Yes,
which means that the captain gives
the permission to come on board.

Uganda.

Idi Amin.

I wanted to say the same.

Chile.

Argentina.

takes into account, though in an incidental way, the shifts of focus from theme to language. His system distinguishes thematic moves, language orientated moves, organising, structuring, repeat, free, commenting and bi-functional moves, for example, and has isolated over sixty different types of act. The resulting analytical display is so complicated, however,⁽¹⁾ that one is forced to go back to the original text to get a better idea of what it is about. Despite the apparent comprehensiveness of the system, he fails, as far as I can see, to distinguish consistently between the levels of language use as outlined by McTear. Only four out of all the acts mention 'real' as opposed to 'didactic' "elicitations or responses, referring to possible language problems" but what he means by this is nowhere formally defined. He does, however, take far more account of phatic communication in the classroom than do S & C, and makes the point that in a foreign language situation, gesture, facial expression and other non-linguistic features play a more important part in the process of communication because of the inherent difficulties in using the foreign language as the medium, (Hüllen and Lörscher, 1979). This in fact is one of their main criticisms of the S & C model. Another criticism they make is that the S & C model as it stands fails to reveal shifts in focus between topic and language and vice versa. It is not, however, clear whether by this they mean the switch from Inner to Outer discourse that we have already discussed, or whether they are referring to the semantic content of the utterances. A study of Lörscher's system has served to convince me that, no matter how powerful or delicate an analytical system may be, it is of little use to fellow researchers if it is over complex and difficult to grasp.

2.3.2. The work of Bowers (1979)

Bowers gives in his thesis a thorough and analytical review of the literature concerning analyses of Foreign language classrooms. He found

(1) An example is included opposite.

BOWERS.

No.	Spkr.	Utterance	Coding/comment			
		((follows on previous text))				
1	T	lets remind you/ perfect tense two parts	org	pres		
2		to it/ first part is either the/ present tense	pres	pres		
3		of either avoir or etre its more commonly	pres	pres		
4		avoir/ plus the past participle its what we	pres	pres		
5		call a compound tense its got two bits to it/	pres	pres		
6		so you/ you need another part the first part//	pres	el	SIL	
7		il ////	el	SIL	SIL	82
8	S	dunno	res			
9	T	you don't know/ erm/ K/// number two/ the verb	eval	el	SIL	org
10		is choisir/ il/	pres	el		
11	S	ch. choisi	res			
12	T	il	el			
13	S	il. a. choisi	res			el
14	T	a. choisi/ ending in i// number three. erm/ L	eval	pres	SIL	org
15	S	er. tout le monde//	res	SIL		
16	T	used singularly erm/	pres			
17	S	(oh) tout le monde. a. choisi/	res	res		
18	T	applaudir/ is the verb/	pres	pres		
19	S	oh/ tout le monde a applaudi	res	res		
20	T	applaudi right//	eval	SIL		
21		er. M	el			
22	S	j'ai fini 'l'exercice'/	res			
23	T	its l'exercice/ j'ai fini/ 's try you again N/	pres	eval	org	
24		number five the verb is choisir again nous/	org	pres	el	

NOTE

Line 1: indented to show overlap with preceding utterance (not shown)

6: the utterance on this line forms two distinct units, first pres then (from the onwards) el: see later for discussions regarding segmentation. Note that the pres unit is marginally over half-line length: minor variations are ignored and probably cancel out over a length of text.

9: note that a part-line at the end of 9 - the verb - and a part-line at the beginning of 10 - is choisir - since they together form no more than a half-line of text, were coded as a single unit. Minor discrepancies of this kind are inevitable but consistent practice through a text avoids bias in favour of particular categories.

14: again example of a complex line.

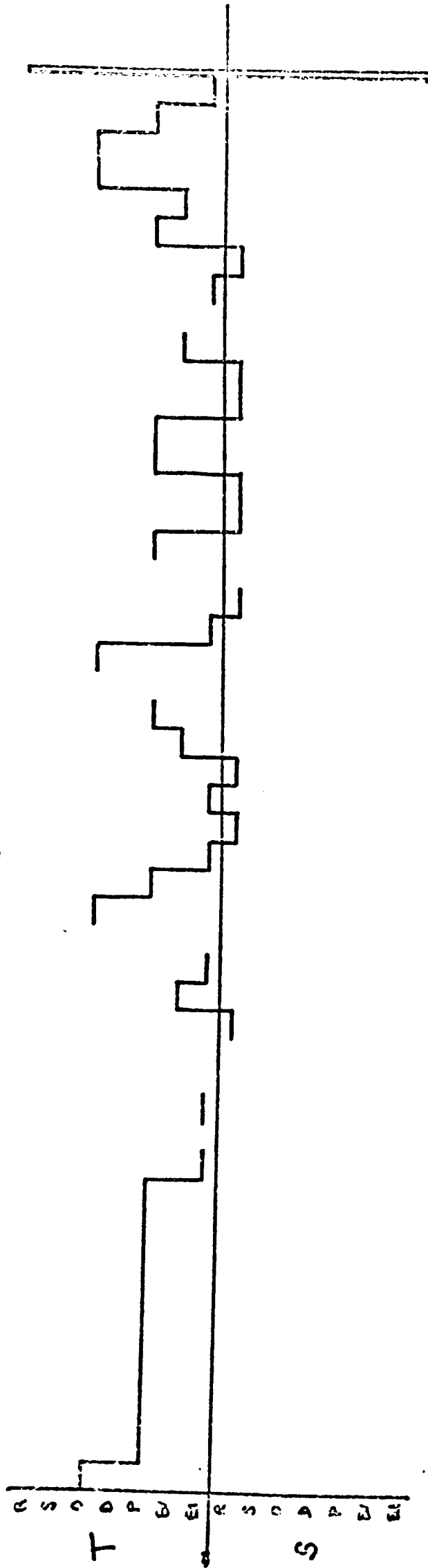
that, broadly speaking, analysts tended to base their work on a category system, like F.I.A.C. (Flanders, 1970) or on a system akin to Bellack's model. These, as we have already discussed, have failings which make them unsuitable for the present research project, since they can not handle the complex interaction of the F.L. classroom in a sufficiently revealing way. These, then, I finally rejected for the purposes of the present research. Details can be found in Bowers, 1979.

2.3.2.1. Bowers himself set out to design a simple and easy way to use system of analysis for the foreign language classroom which would allow examination of the functions of language as well as preserve the sequence of the interaction. Working from recorded data, he analyses teacher and student talk using the following seven categories:

- organise - any act which structures the learning task, c.f. Bellack's structuring move
- present - any act which presents information or ideas of direct relevance to the learning task
- elicit - any act designed to produce a verbal response from another speaker
- respond - any act directly sought by the utterance of another speaker
- evaluate - any act which rates positively or negatively another verbal act
- direct - any act encouraging non-verbal activity
- sociate - any act which does not contribute directly to the learning or teaching task but facilitates it by the establishment or maintenance of social relationships

Lessons are audio-recorded, then the transcriptions of the tapes are coded and set out so that they occupy one half of the page width; a new line is begun each time there is a speaker change. Each part-line or less, as the case may be, counts as one 'unit'. See sample of transcript opposite. The number of units coded in one category are counted and the sequence examined; it is thus possible to quantify and compare

EXPANDED EXAMPLE OF FUNCTIONAL FLOWCHART



TL

INTERPRETATION

- R RESPOND
- S SOCIATE
- D DIRECT
- P PRESENT
- EV EVALUATE
- EL ELICIT

GAP: SILENCES

TL: TARGET LANGUAGE USE

EVERY UNIT (two squares across here, but one square on the vocal charts) represents one half-line of transcript. cf. coded transcript extract.

The above sequence represents an ELICIT-based strategy, with student responses, and in addition teacher organising, presenting and evaluating talk.

The TL line shows use of target language for all or parts of an expression.

Ratios of talk are, for this section of utterance (not the total lesson), as shown to the right: →

RATIOS

T 34 units = .65

S 9 units = .18

SL 7 units = .14

T:S = 79:21

TL 17 = .34

Figure 6.

the uses of the different language functions, the ratio of student to teacher talk and look at typical sequences of functions as they occur. The resulting coded sequence can be displayed on a functional flowchart, an example of which appears opposite. The functions on the vertical axis are arranged so that the highest used categories are nearest to the horizontal line which divides teacher talk from student talk. The broken line at the bottom represents the use of target language.

While this system gives a simple and clear picture of what is happening in the lesson, it is not altogether accurate enough or sufficiently powerful for my purpose. The part-time unit is often arbitrary, unlike the more precise units used in the S & C model where the acts, moves and exchanges of the hierarchical system give a more precise picture of the discourse structure. It is also difficult to distinguish whether one long chunk of discourse, take, for example, one coded as 'present' consisting of 9 units, is made up of a series of presents with no interruptions or just one lengthy single one; we can only state that 'x' amount of time was spent on presenting rather than the actual number of presents that were actually used. In order to understand how students and teachers effect and recognise switches from the Outer to the Inner and vice versa one needs to look more closely at each functional move than Bowers' system allows. It may not be the information-bearing section of the move Present or Elicit that helps the interaction to proceed smoothly; the clues to successful interaction may be in what Bowers terms Sinclair and Coulthard's 'minor' acts, like marker, starter and prompt and it is these that are not necessarily revealed in Bowers' system. Although unsuitable for my present purposes, this system of analysis would be ideal for less specialised teacher training purposes where teachers need to be sensitised to the functions of language in the F.L. classroom.

Bowers' other findings are interesting but not directly relevant to

the matter in hand. He does, however, discuss the distinction between 'use' and 'mention' of language which is roughly parallel to the concepts of Outer and Inner levels of discourse as termed by Sinclair, (forthcoming). See Chapter 4, 3.2.1. for more on Bowers work that is directly related to the S & C model.

2.4 Discourse Analysis

2.4.1. Analyses of settings other than classrooms using the S & C model with adaptations

Since my study is of informal classroom interaction, which is nearer in some respects to casual conversation than formal classroom discourse, I think it would be useful to take a brief look at the work of Pearce, (1973) and Burton, (1977).

2.4.1.1. Pearce was one of the first to apply, with certain adaptations, the S & C model of discourse analysis which was to be published in 1975. His thesis is a study of radio interviews. This situation is in some respects similar to the situation in an informal E.F.L. lesson. Firstly, the interviewer, though nominally in control of the structure of the interaction, may allow the person being interviewed to change the focus slightly or give a fairly lengthy reply, in the same way as a language teacher may loosen the reins at times to let the students digress or discuss, using English as a medium. Both situations are face to face, but it is at this point that the similarity stops; although the interviewer and the interviewee can see each other, they cannot resort to non-verbal communication in the same way as a teacher, purely because there is a third audience, the general public, who can only listen. In the classroom, the participants are actively doing things as well as speaking; this results in a far greater variety of exchange structures in the classroom than in the radio interview, where the participants are only talking. (It may prove possible to argue, along the same lines, that the reason for E.F.L. exchange structures being even more variable and complex is that participants are not only interacting as expected in the classroom but are also learning to speak a new language; in other words, discourse is having to cope with an even heavier load.) The purpose of the interview is generally fact-finding, or at least, opinion seeking, whereas the purpose of the lesson

is both information transfer and development of linguistic skills. It is, in fact, here that the major difference lies: the teacher is the conveyer of information and knowledge in the classroom, whereas the interviewer is the receiver of information; it is the respondent who is the 'knower', in Berry's terms, (Berry, 1979), although it is the interviewer who has responsibility for structuring the interview. This situation leads, as Pearce reports, to long Responding moves, typically consisting of a monologue type structure, carrying the information load, with the interviewer adding a surface unity to the interaction using a system of chaining features. Hence the I R F exchange structure so common in the classroom did not entirely meet Pearce's needs. Keeping the same hierarchical model, he made some adaptations, some of which it may be useful to outline. He has only four types of Exchange: GREETING, FINAL, BOUNDARY and ELICIT instead of the wider variety necessary for the classroom, but a total of nine moves, instead of the five in the S & C model. His Responding move includes the acts marker, reply and inform; inform being 'the remainder of the response' after a direct reply consisting of the minimum of information required; informs tended to exemplify, gloss or expand the original reply. In the language classroom, where students are for example discussing a picture, a similar pattern seems to occur, responding moves carrying a heavy information load that may seem too important to be classified as merely reply or 'comment'. (For further comments on 'comment', see 4.3.2.3.) Pearce finds no use for a Follow-up move, but suggests instead a 'Preparatory' move made up of two elements, transition and feedback, which could optionally, precede or follow the I move, and whose function is twofold: it refers back to the preceding utterance as well as accomplishing the further purpose of the utterance, perhaps to make a question. The elements of feedback are evaluate and challenge. Although I find his Preparatory move untidy and rather con-

fusing, the function of the act challenge is interesting; obviously no-one did challenge the teacher in a formal classroom situation, so S & C did not include challenge in their model. However, informal situations seem to generate responding moves whose function it is to challenge the preceding utterance or proposition. Burton, 1980, adopts 'Challenging' as a move in its own right, the opposite function being 'Supporting'. Certainly, in informal discussions in EFL classrooms there are occasions where such moves may be more appropriate than less revealing moves, for example Responding or Initiating with the act inform as head.

2.4.1.2. In 'Towards an Analysis of Casual Conversation', (1978), Burton studied the discourse structure of several Pinter plays, including 'The Dumb Waiter'; the fact that this is scripted interaction, i.e. not composed in real-time, makes it difficult, however, for one to judge exactly how far 'towards' an analysis of real-life casual conversation such a study can take us. Nevertheless, it seems that Pinter produces interaction that is accepted as being plausible, and it also seems that Burton's analysis, which takes one possible interpretation of the Pinter text, gives us useful insights into the structure of such interaction, especially her examination of Supporting and Challenging moves.

Burton had found that the "polite consensus-collaborative model" of S. & C. could not adequately handle some of the types of discourse possibilities that occur in less formal situations. It is rare in a formal classroom that a speaker refuses to answer or demands a reason for the question being asked, but the informal responder can; and also tends to, "provide and answer that simultaneously answers a preceding move and also opens up the next exchange."¹⁵ It is for this reason that she found it difficult to categorise the moves that followed an Opening move. It will be useful at this point to examine briefly the exchange structure that she proposes.

Burton has three types of Conversational Exchange, namely Opening,

Challenging and ReOpening. They have the structure $I (R (I^r (R)^n)^n)^n$, where R, an optional Response, is a Supporting move, and I^r a Bound Opening move. Her Supporting move, placed in second position, consists of accept at pre-head (optional), a choice of acknowledge, reply, react or excuse at head, and an optional comment at post-head. From her data it can be seen that acknowledgements, for example, that would count as Follow-up in the S & C model, are Supporting moves, i.e. in second position within the exchange. In third position, the Bound Opening move functions as a Re-Initiation, so takes us to the beginning of a new exchange. It would seem, then that there is no place in Burton's model for Follow-up move following an Elicitation-Reply sequence; a Challenging move is seen as initiating a new exchange. How would she handle the common tripartite exchange that occurs often in casual conversation with a neutral acknowledge as Follow-up? An example follows:

Wife: What train are you getting?

Husband: The 7.48.

Wife: O.K. Fine.

I assume that both the second and third moves would be Supporting moves, but this analysis seems to me to be needlessly uninformative. As Berry (1979) points out, there are many situations in casual conversation where Follow-up of either evaluative or neutral nature is expected; the problem is to identify when it is obligatory. This lack of a Follow-up move, then, is the weakness in both Pearce's and Burton's models that makes them unsuitable even for informal language classrooms.

Later on in my own analysis I may well come back to other points that Burton made and explore them in greater depth. For now, I have been concerned only with the findings of other analysts in so far as they may affect the adaptations I may need to make to the S & C model of discourse so that it will accommodate my own data comfortably.

2.4.2. Discourse Intonation

Brazil's study of discourse intonation grew out of the need to offer a better analysis of discourse structure, accounting for and formalizing the intonational features which often affect an analysts's intuitive judgement about how one speaker's contribution is related to the next", (Brazil, 1975)^{p.1.}. He hoped in the long term to be able to propose a finite model of discourse intonation that was far simpler and more satisfying than those already offered by others, keeping within the framework of a theory of interactive discourse.

Brazil and Coulthard abandon the traditional model, Figure 7^a below, where phonology is directly related to grammar and lexis, and propose an alternative model where intonation is distinct from grammar and lexis, see Figure 7^b

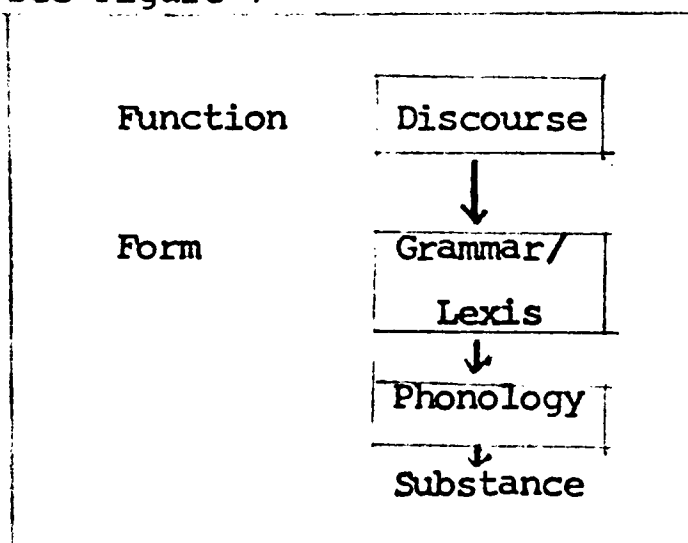


Figure 7^a

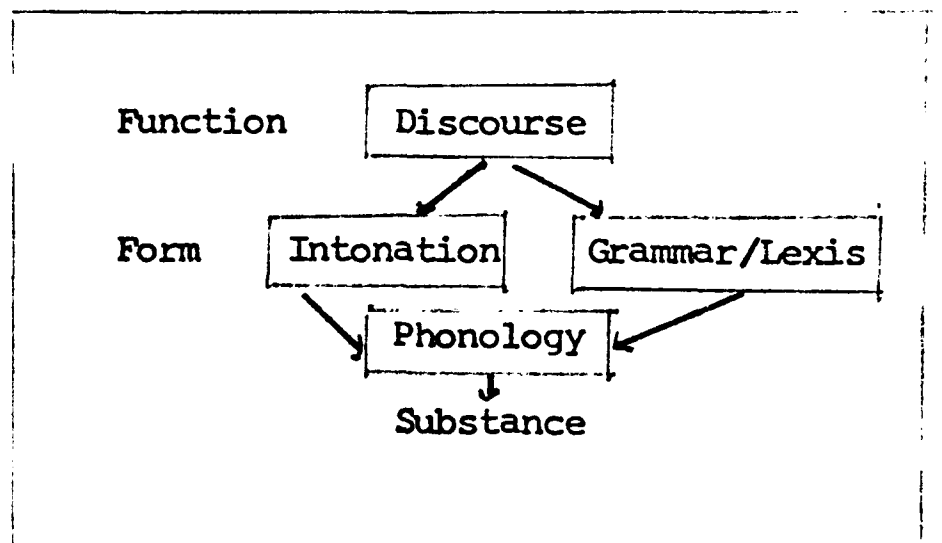
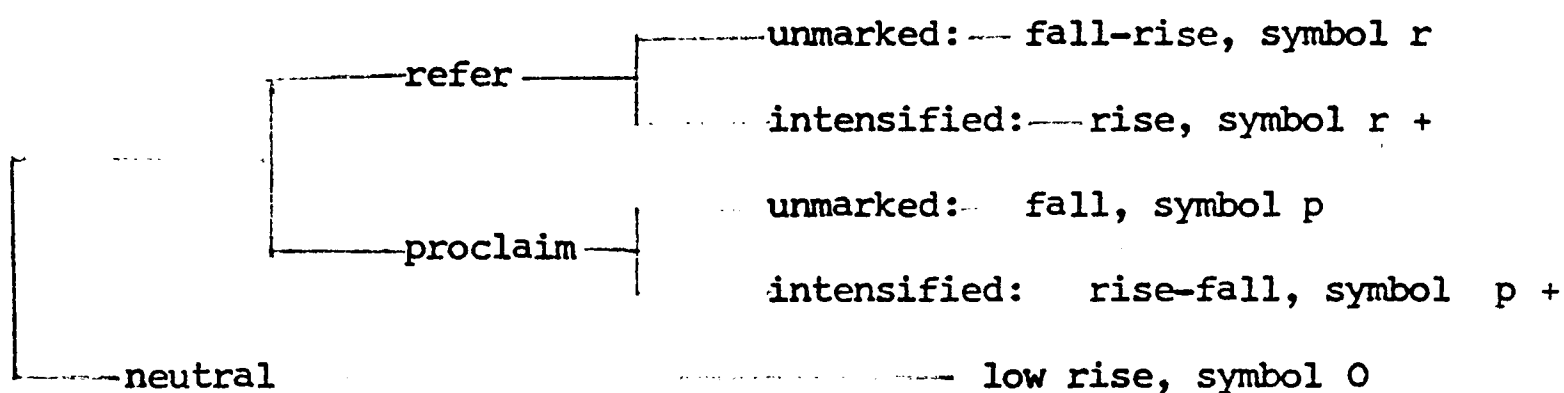


Figure 7^b

Briefly, "Intonation choices are seen as making separate and distinctive contributions to the discourse function of the utterance, capable of being described at an appropriate level of abstraction without reference to co-occurring lexical and grammatical choices", (1979)(p21) It is as a result of Brazil's study that he and Coulthard proposed some changes to the S & C model of discourse, that involve, among other things the moves 'inform' and 'follow-up', and the structure of the exchange. Their work offers us as analysts further insights into discourse structure, which make our task easier, and also has implications for teachers of English.

I do not presume here to give a complete outline of Brazil's work; I shall merely mention the areas which are of direct relevance to the discourse of the E.F.L. classroom. (For a fuller summary, see Wachendorf (forthcoming); for a complete description, see Brazil 1975 and 1979).

Firstly, a look at tone; the tonic syllable, i.e. the prominent syllable which carries the pitch movement in each tone unit, can have one of five tones that are related to each other as shown in the diagram below:



(See pp 8-9, Brazil 1975)

These tones are normally used as follows:

- r referring, used when the speaker considers the information in the tone unit to be shared knowledge already
- p proclaiming, used when the speaker considers he is introducing a new item of information not previously common knowledge.
- r + often used when the speaker is reactivating shared knowledge or asserting his dominance.
- p + is normally when the information is new to both speaker and hearer.
- 0 neutral, used often when quoting language or reading a text with no attempt at interpretation or interaction; sometimes referred to as 'oblique orientation'.

It is, as Johns noted (1980) often this oblique orientation that is used by E.F.L. teachers when giving examples or otherwise quoting language in a non-communicative fashion in the classroom. Also,

"... repetition can have an effect on intonation: either the utterance will be simply cited, with the speaker selecting from

p and 0 for indirect, non-interactive discourse or the repetition of the utterance may produce a shift from p to r+ as the 'matter' of the utterance becomes 'already negotiated'. In elementary language teaching, for example, a well-known technique is to run through the same question-and-answer sequence for different members of the class. Hence the familiar sharply rising (r+) 'What time is it?' as this question is asked for the third or the fourth time ... It is not surprising that some foreign learners deduce (wrongly) that questions in English must all have rising intonation. ^{pp. 124-5.}

Thus the model of intonation available to the learner becomes a 'skewed and incomplete version' of normal interactive discourse intonation. This is one area which deserves more careful study; certainly it should be brought to the attention of the E.L. classroom analyser. Another area of importance to E.F.L. teachers as well as to discourse analysts is the part played by key and termination. The three keys, high, mid and low are determined not by pitch movement but by relative pitch, i.e. relative to the preceding tone unit. Key is associated with the first prominent syllable in the tone unit and termination with the tonic syllable. (Sometimes these do in fact coincide). Key adds further meaning to the tone unit, as follows:

High key - contrastive (marked)

Mid key - additive (neutral)

Low key - equative (marked)

⁽¹⁹⁷⁸⁾
Brazil exemplifies as follows:

High:		lost.	(contrary to expectations)
Mid: //p He gambled //p and		lost.	(he did both)
Low:		lost.	(as you would expect) p.22.

Similar relationships can occur between utterances in an exchange and for our purposes it is important to look at the significance this has for exchange boundaries. Working from a written transcript one soon realises how vital intonation is for distinguishing and defining the limits of the exchange; it is vital to have data recorded, at least on audio tape. In the doctor-patient interviews, when the doctor chooses

low key termination in a Follow-up move, the patient hears it as closing the exchange and waits for the doctor to initiate anew. When, however, he repeats the patient's response using high key termination, the patient hears it as a further elicit and goes on to provide a further explanation.

To summarise the prospective effects of 'utterance final' tone groups:

- i high key expects a response, regardless of tone;
- ii low key inhibits response, regardless of tone;
- iii mid-key tone groups in utterance where there is no p tone expect responses; other mid-key tone groups set up no special expectations." p. 31.

(Brazil, 1975)

We see then that low key is regarded as final by the speaker, although the hearer is of course free to take up the issue again if he so wishes.

This leads us into a brief word about the 'pitch sequence' which Brazil defines as 'any stretch of language which ends with low termination and has no other instances of low termination within it' (1978) (p. 18)

Following pitch sequences may begin either in mid-key, if what follows is additive or topically linked, or in high-key, with its contrastive meaning, to introduce a new topic. The length of pitch sequences can vary enormously, from a monosyllabic 'Yes' (a low key, low termination tone unit) to a whole series of exchanges. What Mehan et al. refer to as 'topically related sequences' may in fact coincide with the pitch sequence; it may be possible to explore this further in relation to my own data.

One unusual feature of the pitch sequence that Brazil has found, is one which occurs sometimes in radio interviews and less commonly in the classroom, where the speaker paradoxically opens and closes a pitch sequence in one move; for example, a teacher saying, (after a low termination):

high
mid // p now TELL me // p WHY do you // EAT // p all that
low FOOD //

(Brazil 1978 p 28)

In these cases, it seems the speaker does not wish to put any constraints on what follows, so it is one way of starting a discussion or eliciting a series of opinions.

How far the pitch sequence, or a series of pitch sequences will tie in with the rank of transaction remains to be seen. Perhaps it will point to a rank between exchange and transaction, as implied in S & C 1975.

Without the insights given by the work of Brazil, it would have been an impossible task to analyse this data in any way objectively. Although in my transcription I have not used the conventions devised by Brazil which indicate tone units, tonics, key and so on, I have consistently taken these into account when analysing the data. Many distinctions are made purely on the grounds of tone and key at termination, for example, the words, 'That's right' in a Follow-up move, can be either an acknowledge or an evaluate, depending on tone pitch and key at termination; the distinction between the acts comment and inform would also have proved impossible without recourse to 'Discourse Intonation'. The tapes of the data should ideally be referred to along with the transcripts.

2.4.3. Exchange Structure

As a result of Brazil's findings, and also of the findings of other analysts applying the S & C system of discourse analysis, Brazil and Coulthard have proposed some changes. Unfortunately, their work is not complete at this stage, but the relevant points for us to bear in mind are perhaps the following, all of which are explained in greater length in Coulthard and Brazil, henceforward C & B, 1979.

They propose revisions which will, they hope, make the system less classroom specific and therefore appropriate to other types of discourse. They wanted to reduce the number of acts at primary level, to examine with a view to changing several features, namely that each class of move was

appropriate for one place in structure only (unlike their grammatical counterparts) and also that the present structure of Pupil-Informing exchanges: I F was not satisfactory. (This is certainly borne out in a preparatory look at my own data.) Another problem had also manifested itself (cf McTear, 1976): what to do with moves like the second one here:

Teacher: Can anyone tell me what this means?

Pupil: Does it mean 'Men at work'?

Teacher: Yes. (p.40.)

which is in itself both predicted and predictive, functioning as both response and initiation simultaneously. Looking to grammar for a solution to the problem, they found an analogy in:

"Let him go" (p.40.)

where the 'him' is both object and subject. C & B then propose a new move, simultaneously coded, R/I. There are some examples of this in my data, for example, Exchange 129. They also suggest eliciting, informing and acknowledging moves to replace opening, answering and follow up, which are labelled according to their position in structure and less flexible. Both eliciting and informing moves in C & B's system can be the initial move in an exchange; the informing move may be the initiating move or the responding move; an initiating inform requires an acknowledgement whereas a responding inform does not. Finally, they add two more elements of structure: Open and Close, both of which are optional; Open places no constraints on what follows, Close though not predicted serves to mark the end of the exchange. This gives an exchange structure of:

(O) I (R/I) R (F) (F) (C) (p.44)

of which unfortunately they give no examples. They also express doubts about (but offer no solutions) the status of directing moves, which, with a mid key termination could well be followed by a verbal acknowledge but typically, in the formal classroom at any rate, is not. In the EFL class-

room directing moves serve rather different functions often eliciting verbal interaction in the target language.

For Act classes, as yet no proposals have been made.

It would seem, then, that Coulthard and Brazil are at present aware of a number of problems that appear also to manifest themselves in the data I have collected for the project in hand. It is, however, doubtful due to the incompleteness of their work, whether it will prove to be of relevance to this project.

2.4.4. Conversational Analysis: the contribution of the Ethnomethodologists

I have already discussed briefly the anthropological approach to classroom interaction studies, (pp 16 on). The procedure the ethnomethodologists use for their studies of social interaction are similar in many respects. They are not particularly interested in the purely linguistic aspects of conversation; they see conversational analysis "as a first step towards achieving a 'naturalistic observation discipline' to deal with details of social interaction in a rigorous, empirical and formal way" ". (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973, in Coulthard, 1977^{p.52}). They have focussed on the structure of ritualised events like greetings and the telling of a joke as well as casual conversation; they do not however attempt to account for or describe the whole of the data in the way that Sinclair and Coulthard do. They present no exhaustive, finite or generalisable model of discourse; rather they tend to 'zoom in on salient features' (see p 20) which they then explore exhaustively, preserving their data from which they provide numerous examples in their subsequent accounts of their findings. These, however, tend to be rather verbose and long-winded although they do sometimes yield some interesting findings which give us useful insights into conversational practice.

I have talked about the 'ritual' side of more formal classroom interaction, (pp 7 on). I want now to look at some aspects of the work of the

ethnomethodologists which may shed some light on the informal interaction of the E.F.L. classroom when I come to the full analysis later on. Most of the work I shall be referring to has already been concisely and critically reviewed in Coulthard 1977, and even more analytically in Coulthard 1979, so I shall not attempt to give an overall picture here.

2.4.4.1. First a brief look at the structure of conversation. Studies have been done on openings and closing of conversations, on topic and topic change, but we are still left in doubt as to whether conversation can be considered an analytical unit in itself. Sacks (1967) observes that a conversation is a 'string of at least two turns' and that the more closely related turns can be 'adjacency pairs'. These consist of two utterances, one a first pair part and the other a second pair part. He fails to say what happens when there are no adjacency pairs, however, and does not define what he means by utterance or turn. Schegloff (1975) talks of 'insertion sequences' where one adjacency pair is embedded within another, Q1 Q2 A1 A2, and Jefferson (1972) proposes a 'side sequence' for example a 'misapprehension sequence' where conversation is held up by a request for clarification. As Coulthard points out in 'Exchange Structure', p 3-6, though, here we have the term 'sequence' apparently used for 'Pair'. Also some of the labelling refers to the semantic feature of the category (e.g. misapprehension) while some refers to its structural features. (S & C are, in fact, also guilty of this...). In general, the ethnomethodologists lack an overall descriptive framework such as the rank scale of S & C. Without such a framework it is very difficult to see the relative importance of the various features of their findings, or to determine what in fact is missing or remains unexplored. There is not even any agreement on what constitutes the basic unit of conversation.

2.4.4.2. The study of turntaking (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) does however give us some insights into how speakers interact. They make

explicit the 'rules' that govern turntaking, 'rules' that we abide by without realising. It will be interesting to look at their findings in relation to the occasions in the E.F.L. classroom where the teacher withdraws and allows discussion to develop informally among the group. They propose a 'rule set' for casual conversation governing turn construction, providing the allocation of a next turn to one party, co-ordinating transfer so as to minimise gap between speakers and overlap:

- Rule 1 a) current speaker selects next
 b) if a) does not occur, then self selection, with the first starter continuing
 c) if neither a) nor b) occur, the current speaker may but need not continue, unless another speaker self selects

- Rule 2 If c) applies and speaker continues, then rule set a) - c) re-applies at next transition stage.

In other words, only one speaker speaks at a time and the selection sequence a) to c) is constrained. They describe some "devices with important turn organisational uses", for example tags as exit devices and words like 'so' and 'well'; they mention the implications of intonation, but fail to formalise their findings in the way that Brazil does; they stress the importance of non-verbal communication but do not go into it in the detail that Kendon and Birdwhistle do, with relation to gaze, postural shifts and so on. One interesting feature they describe in detail is the "possible completion point". When these occur in an utterance it is possible for the hearer to try to 'get in'. They are in fact syntactically defined; "deep ways" in which syntax affects turntaking, for example:

Old man:	The funfair changed it	[n awful lot,	[didn't it?
Boy:		[Tha'	[That
	That changed it!		

(Labov, 1970)

N.B. [denotes simultaneous speech.

In other words, prospective speakers listen for possible completion points

if they want to 'get in'. It will be interesting to observe whether intermediate level E.F.L. students comply with this rule; whether their grasp of syntax is mature enough or the same cultural 'rule set' exists for them in L^1 or has been internalised already, would make interesting research.

Sacks et al. also consider the place of conversation among the speech exchange systems, e.g. in debates, where turns are pre-allocated by formula. They show the polar types of the organisation of turntaking within speech exchange systems thus:

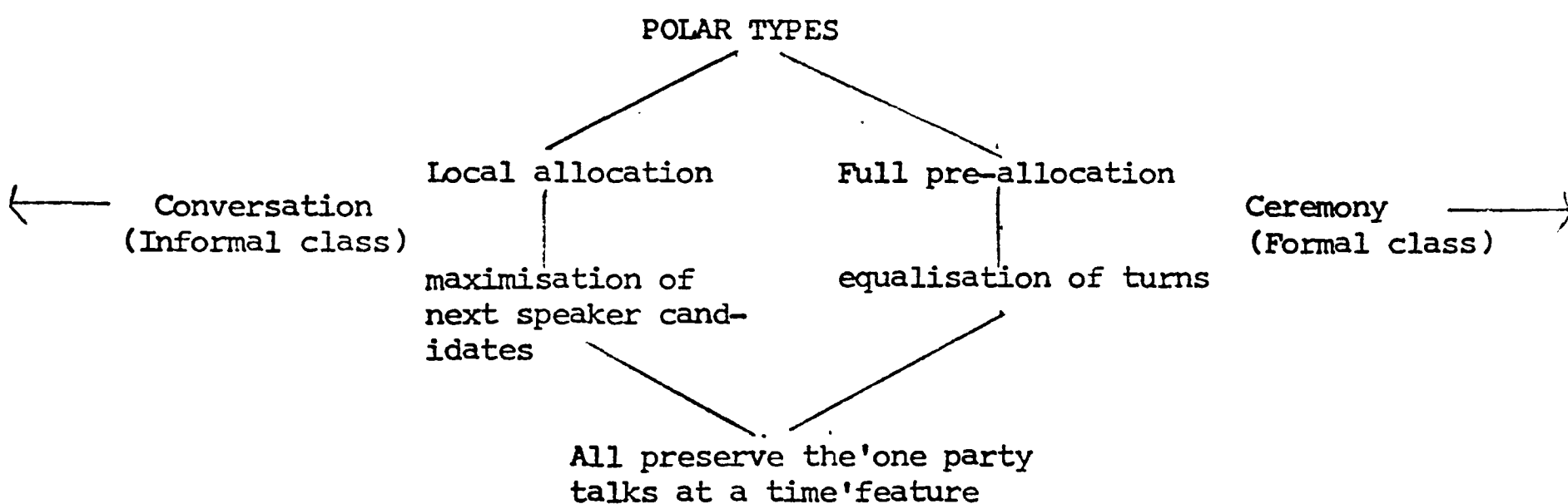


Figure 8

(See also diagram on page 11)

Obviously this diagram too should be seen as referring to a cline; the two polar types being the two extremes, and informal E.F.L. fitting in somewhere towards the left.

Sacks et al. observe that turn size increases with increasing degrees of pre-allocation on the linear array; (I am not sure whether this would hold good for the E.F.L. classroom interaction: it seems unlikely.) Also, they observe that the metric employed for gauging turn size may shift: 'multiplication of sentence units (in a turn) is the central mode for the pre-allocational pole, and increasing internal complexity of syntactic construction (within single sentence units) is the central mode for local

allocational systems". Although this would be an interesting feature to look out for in my data, it must be remembered that the linguistic constraints within which the E.F.L. learners are working may well inhibit this type of syntactical development. It is always possible that other features may take over, perhaps non-verbal, like gaze.

In the E.F.L. classroom as we have discussed, the teachers' role can change and move between the two polar types shown above depending on what stage of the teaching/learning process they are at; however, with students' common understanding of their purpose in interacting, i.e. to practise English, the 'equalisation of turns' feature might well be common to both polar types. I imagine that it is students' awareness of their purpose that several of the 'rules' seem not to apply; in my data there seem to be several occasions where pupils overtalk, or split into smaller groups;

silence is acceptable if it is purposeful, although it is still likely to be "somebody's silence" (Schegloff and Sacks, 1969) kept or bestowed by the teacher or group leader. And in the end, the lesson seems always to revert to Polar type 'ceremony': the ritualised end of the lesson, the teacher reasserting authority and calling proceedings to a halt, granting permission to leave. There seem in fact to be few problems with 'opening up closings' in the classroom: when discussion 'runs dry' the teacher normally reasserts authority and re-initiates. The final closing at the end of the lesson may well be 'opened up' by the bell ...

2.4.4.3. One study that seemed at least potentially relevant to classroom conversation was 'The Preference for Self Correction in the Organisation of Repair in Conversation', (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977). Their definition of 'repair' includes 'word search' (where the speaker is 'stuck' for a word) and rephrasing where there is a potential source of trouble as far as successful communication is concerned. Disappointingly, the sum total of their findings is quoted in the title of their paper:

that there is a preference for self repair. They go on in fact to produce data extracts to prove what is fairly obvious: that repair can be self or other initiated, that self-initiated repair can occur in the same turn, or the same turn's transition's space, or in the third turn; that the other party's initiation must always be in the second turn and normally begins with a partial repeat of preceded by 'You mean __?' or 'What __?', which yield a self correction in the third turn. The area of self and other correction in the E.F.L. classroom will obviously be worth looking at, but the ethnomethodologists do not help us a great deal here; Chaudron's study is more revealing and does attempt to formalise the potential structure of repair mechanisms in a far more disciplined way.

2.4.4.4. Teachers typically spend a large proportion of their time asking questions so another study which seemed relevant to the E.F.L. classroom was 'Questioning strategies in Socio-linguistics' by Lindsey Churchill, 1979. I shall discuss this a little more fully because I do not believe it has been reviewed in Britain yet.

Churchill wanted to remove some of the vagueness from sociological description and make it more scientific. He too finds fault with the statistical approach which does not preserve the sequence of interaction. His research grew out of his need to conduct interviews more efficiently; one of his aims was to discover how Americans respond to questions, and also to find out how useful the 'reproduction criterion' is likely to be to sociological research: 'The phenomena under study are assumed to be explained if a set of elements or rules for using those elements can be proposed that reproduce instances of the phenomena.'^{p2} I assume he would include the type of rules that Labov and Fanshel propose, (1977). Churchill himself adopts the term 'maxim' on the grounds that a maxim can be more flexible than a 'rule'; as far as I can judge, the term 'hypothesis' might

have been more appropriate, since the maxims failed to account for his data in over 75% of the cases. The reason for this became clear later on.

He refers to work by Merritt, 1976, which is a study of question and answer sequences based on Sack's work, and which isolates four possible structures for linking adjacency pairs:-

chaining	coupling	embedding	elliptical coupling
Q1 A1 Q2 A2	Q1 A1 / Q2 A2	Q1 Q2 A2 A1	Q1 Q2 A2

He does not, however, set out to describe the structure of discourse outside these adjacency pairs so we are still no nearer to an overall framework to help us see things in relation to each other. He concentrates on three different activities involving Q A sequences: making requests (for action as well as for information), announcing and repairing procedural problems, and denigrating the hearer or speaker. He omits a third activity, turn taking, on the grounds that it had already been covered by Sacks et al.

The maxims he studied were:

- the chain maxim (after Sacks, 1966)
- the invitation maxim
- the permission maxim
- the procedural problem maxim
- the denigration maxim

which are all outlined concisely on pages 23 to 28 of his book.

Despite Churchill's scientific approach to the analysis, there are I believe two fairly major flaws in his work, flaws of a linguistic nature. Firstly his definition of what a question is, following Bolinger, 1957:

A question is an utterance that meets one or more of the following four criteria:

- 1 It has interrogative distribution. The fact that an answer has occurred following an utterance can often be used to infer that a question elicited it.

Table 5 A. A Typology of Responses to Questions

<i>Name</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Example</i>
Procedural problem	A response that indicates that communication has broken down in some way.	Roz: What were you doing? Jock: Huh? (13/30/595-596)
Completion of invitation	A response that completes an invitation in the question to say more beyond a direct answer.	
a. Completion of correction-invitation	A correction of a fact in the question is added to a direct answer.	Ben: Hoods are not crooks? Jock: No, just toughs. (10/19/342-343)
b. Completion of reason-invitation	A reason is given that explains the direct answer.	Roz: Shall we go home? Jock: No. We've [only] been here ten minutes exactly. (3/11/220-221)
Ellipsis	A response that skips over a piece of conversation understood by the hearer.	Jock: Yeah, I like the smell of that. It smells like burnt firecrackers. Doesn't it? Roz: It smells like branded steer. (23/5/98-99)
Indirect answer	A response that is the direct answer to a different but related question.	Jock: . . . What time did you [start work] this morning? Man: I come in every morning at six except Sunday. (20/19-20/380-381)
Interruption	A response that begins before the question is completed. (And similar variants.)	Roz: Don't you want me to express myself freely . . . Jock: Let's return the [playing] cards. Roz: . . . like I'm supposed to do? (16/5/80-82)
Emotional response	A response where the expression of some kind of emotion is involved, e.g., joking, laughing, anger, anxiety.	Roz: Jock! Jock: What? Roz: (Angrily) What did you do that for? (7/6/85-87)
Clarifications, specifications of own question, or of answer	A response by the speaker that clarifies or specifies his question, or a response by the hearer that clarifies or specifies his answer.	Ben: Well, what about white people? Can they find a residence at a reasonable rental? (9/14/240)
Answers to own question	A response by the speaker that answers his own question.	Jock: We never did get up to the eight inch [tele] - scope, did we? Too bad. I'd have liked to have seen, uh, Saturn's rings. (21/24/478)

Table 5 (continued) B. Results of Coding the Typology of Responses to Questions

<i>Category</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i> ^(a)
Direct answers	246	(40.5)
Procedural problems	85	(14.0)
Completion of correction-invitation	29	(4.3)
Completion of reason-invitation	19	(3.1)
Ellipses	51	(8.4)
Indirect answers	47	(7.7)
Interruptions	49	(8.1)
Emotional responses	53	(8.7)
Clarifications, specifications	81	(13.3)
Answers to own question	47	(7.7)

(a) Percentages based on total *N* of 607. Because of multiple coding, the percentages add to more than 100%.

- 2 It has interrogative syntax. Included here are inverted word orders from the declarative form, e.g. "Do you like it?" from "You do like it"; interrogative words such as what and why at the beginning of the utterance; and tags such as isn't it in "It's all right, isn't it?"
- 3 It has interrogative intonation, i.e. rising or high pitch at the end of the utterance.
- 4 It has interrogative gestures, i.e., gestures accompanying the utterance that indicate that it is a question. p. 29

Since Churchill was working from transcribed data that he had not heard himself, and had not been present at the recordings, criteria 3 and 4 really do not help him identify questions at all. Criterion 1 contains an obvious flaw, the words 'Yes' and 'No' which presumably he counts as answers to questions can also be used in other functions; as in the following hypothetical example:

A: I liked that programme with Robin Day.

B: Yes, it was good, wasn't it?

A: Robin Day is so good-looking...

Interrogative syntax, e.g. question tags, as we can see from above do not necessarily function as questions. Churchill did not seem to have realised the lack of correlation between form and function. Furthermore, by direct answer, he means an answer with a direct grammatical fit, "one of the set of possible assertions of which the question is the transformation." This set is called the "answer set" and he continues: "One element of the answer set is correct or preferable, the direct answer to the question". Correct or preferable by whose standards? He fails to say. It is hard to believe that Americans give incorrect or non-preferable responses to questions 75% of the time. It is no wonder that in 75% of the cases, his maxims are not followed.

He does however, produce a 'Typology of Responses to Questions' as a result of his study of the use of the chain maxim. This is reproduced opposite, since it shows a brave attempt to apply more rigorous definitions

to categories than so far attempted by ethnomethodologists. The categories however are not mutually exclusive; some allude to the relative position in discourse of the question and answer, while others allude to the type of content. The examples from the data are useful, but they too reveal the possible ambiguities when working from transcribed texts, for example, in the first one, Jock's 'Huh?' could be a refusal to answer. Finally, since this analysis is based on what seems to me at least to be a rather suspect definition of 'question', we do not know how many and what kinds of less grammatically obvious questions have been omitted from his survey. This typology then may well not give us as complete a picture as it sets out to give.

Churchill admits quite openly in his conclusion the weaknesses and problems of his analysis. He regards reproducing one quarter of the cases as 'satisfactory for the enquiry at this stage of the development'. One cannot help feeling that had he set about his work with a little more linguistic insight, more aware of the possible non-fit between form and function, his results would have been far more worthwhile and encouraging.

Indirectly, his work could be marginally useful to E.F.L. especially to die-hard structuralist syllabus writers ... It does show, in fact, that there is not likely to be 'direct' answer to a question, in casual conversation at least, and more interesting, that nearly one third of the responses were either related to procedural problems or were clarifications or specifications, items rarely allowed much time even on a 'communicative' syllabus.

Had Churchill's study been set within the framework of the type of descriptive system prescribed by S & C in 1975, it might have been useful. The same can be said of all the work of the ethnomethodologists; with no attempt to relate form to function (or even function to form), to account for the whole of the data, (outside the pair, they are vague), to define what they will take as a basic unit of structure and what they, in fact, mean

by 'turn' and 'utterance' and 'pair' and 'sequence', other analysts find it virtually impossible to put their findings to use in any other than minor ways.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND TO THE DATA

3.1 Procedures adopted for data collection

The data for this study were recorded on audio tape in the E.F.L. department of Selly Oak College of Further Education in Birmingham in November, 1979, after one week of preliminary observations and informal chats with teachers and students.

Being aware of the advantages and drawbacks of the various procedures currently in use for classroom research (see 2.1.2.) I decided to adopt a combination of approaches in the hopes of reaping the benefits of all while avoiding the drawbacks. To study the structure of E.F.L. discourse in depth I needed to have recourse to recorded data. So that I would fully understand the data I needed to be familiar with the classes I recorded. I felt too that it was important that the classes got to know me before I brought along my recording equipment; I did not want possible inhibitions to constrain the classroom interaction in such a way as to affect the patternings of discourse structure. I thus attempted to combine an ethnographic approach which allowed me to gain insights from the initial less structured observations of E.F.L. classes with a more systematic approach, collecting and using recorded data which could then be used for an exhaustive analysis.

The preliminary observations served other purposes too. I was able to ascertain that the classes I subsequently recorded were reasonably representative of present day E.F.L. teaching in this country in terms of methods used, standard of teaching and composition of students. Also, during these observations, I attempted to use the S & C model of discourse analysis to real-time code, albeit in a very crude way, the structure of discourse used, thereby exposing some of the problems that I would be likely to be confronted with in a more detailed analysis.

The preliminary observations covered nine hours of E.F.L. teaching

with five groups of students. These classes were all taught by native-speaker teachers in a fairly informal style. The number of students ranged from six to twelve per class, their ages ranged from 18 to 50, the majority wished to improve their English sufficiently to enable them to study in this country. They were on the whole a highly motivated group. They came from a wide variety of countries and backgrounds, few classes containing more than two students of the same nationality.

I finally recorded three classes of forty minutes and one of twenty minutes. By the time I did this both students and teachers were used to my presence as an observer and also interested in the research project itself. The teachers were initially more wary of the tape recorder than the students, who were used to being recorded in the language laboratory. After the first few minutes of each lesson, participants appeared to forget the microphones and the lesson proceeded as informally as they had done previously. When I checked with the teachers afterwards they confirmed that despite their fears the presence of the recording equipment and myself had not altered the normal patterns of behaviour in the classroom to any noticeable degree, and that they had genuinely ceased to be aware of its presence.

For the recording I used a Uher 4200 Report Stereo IC, with a pair of stereo microphones. The subsequent task of transcribing the data was greatly facilitated by the choice from the two channels made possible by the positioning of the microphones so that one picked up the teacher and the students nearby, and could be played back on Channel One, while the second microphone picked up the rest of the students and could be played back independently on Channel Two. The Uher proved sensitive even to intakes of breath as well as student 'asides' not intended for the general interaction.

At this point I feel it is necessary to make a comment on non-verbal

communication in the EFL classroom.

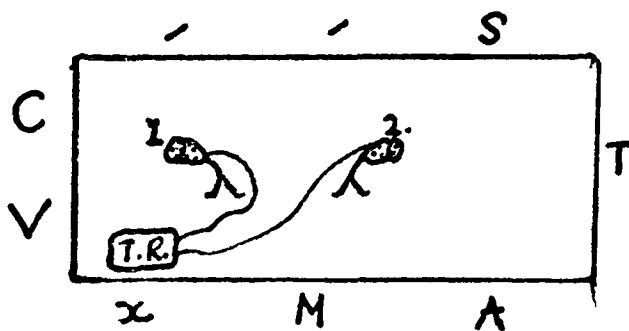
I am fully aware that audio recording as opposed to efficient video recording, (i.e. using at least two, preferably more, cameras) leaves a lot to be desired. Non-verbal nominations, for example, were common; the changes in the teacher's posture were often significant; eye contact is essential and can play a vital part in the control of language in the classroom. However it seems (from informal conversation with John Gosling, Birmingham 1979) that a very sophisticated video recording set-up is required in order to 'catch' such things as eye contact which play a vital part in non verbal communications; the teachers I approached were also unwilling to be video-recorded even using one portable camera, let alone a battery of cameras. Such a battery might also have inhibited the type of informal EFL interaction that seemed typical. In order to make up for not using video recordings, I devised my own system of real time recording the non-verbal features that seemed significant at the time, based on a simplification of the systems proposed by Kendon & Birdwhistle, noting the counter numbers on the tape recorder so that I could later synchronise non-verbal features with the sound. This, though subjective, proved better than nothing, since I, as observer, was mostly aware of the non-verbal features that the students themselves reacted to, and was able to disregard those which seemed insignificant. I noted, in addition to movement, gesture and non-verbal nomination, the postural shifts of the teacher, in case these proved significant later on. To record all student non-verbal features would have been impossible, but, owing to the small number of participants in each class and the stereo facility, I was able to identify individual voices quite easily. I also drew a diagram of seating positions with the names of the students. I can therefore retrieve quite easily the patterns of interaction which developed both among students and teacher to class.

3.2 Background of the class

The data I propose to examine exhaustively, comes from one of the four classes, though I draw on the second and fourth class for further examples. The

third class recorded very badly due to the nature of the room so I have hardly used this data at all. The first class I find fairly typical of a present day EFL class of a low intermediate standard; the students had arrived in Britain two months previously and had already covered the work in "Kernel Lessons One", the elementary level. They were, of course, having to use English outside the classroom too, but were finding it difficult. They attended lessons for three hours every morning, changing teachers every four weeks, and alternating between two teachers on different days. The morning this recording was made was the first morning that this particular teacher had taught this group of students. I had in fact observed both teacher and students before, but in different classes. The students were still the same group as before. I came in after the coffee break, so she had had forty minutes with them, just time to learn their names. In one way I feel it was a good thing that teacher and students were new to each other; the teacher had not had time to develop a sophisticated set of signals as cueing devices for language practice, in the way that some teachers do, so she is forced to be more explicit verbally than she might have been later on in the month; thus the audio tape gives a better picture of the interaction than it might have done at a later stage, where silent non-verbal signals may have replaced spoken language.

There were three absentees on the morning of the recording. The final composition and seating of the group was as follows:



- T - Teacher
- S - Socoop - Bangladeshi, middle aged, rather slow.
- C - Constantine - Roumanian)
- V - Virginia ") married couple
- x - me
- M - Mohavi - African, Methodist Minister, very lively.
- A - Antonio - Iranian student, rather shy.
- TR - Tape Recorder
- 1 - Microphone, Channel 1
- 2 - Microphone, Channel 2

3.3 The lesson itself

The lesson itself was based on "Kernel Lessons Intermediate", Unit 17 p98, the picture page and following pages.* The teaching point was practice in the use of the gerund in -ing after like / give up / would you mind, etc, and revision of the past simple tense. Most teachers at Selly Oak, and this teacher was no exception, tried to encourage informal discussion at times during the lesson, withdrawing as far as possible from the role of teacher as instructor (see page 10 and diagram on p.11), to chair the discussion. This particular class was, however, fairly lively and the teacher tried to get them to stick to the items she wanted them to practise, especially during this particular forty minutes, which was the time scheduled for "structure work". The last forty minutes of that morning was to be used for freer work. There are constant signs of the students trying to break away from the linguistic control imposed by the teacher, and adding their own comments on the topic in question. The students evidently see the lesson in terms of topics, whereas the teacher sees the lesson in terms of creating opportunities for the students to practise the structure. She deliberately uses the structure as often as she can herself in relevant situations, for example

"Would you mind not looking at the writing" (Ex. 5) thus blurring the distinction between language taught and language used in the classroom. She also takes pains to relate the language taught to her students' lives, often progressing from the picture cue in the text book to the students themselves. For example, after ascertaining that Fred in the book does not like being a soldier, she asks Mohavi to ask Virginia if she likes being a student. (T/s p.3) Thus, as well as "personalizing" the teaching item she often gets the students to talk to each other, giving them the topic. It was in fact the amount of student to student interaction that made this data very difficult to analyse using the S&C model as it stands. There is also a lot of overtalk on the tape; attempts by students to interrupt and add comments, sometimes succeeding, sometimes being ignored; other instances of overtalk are students practising

* Copies included at the back of Appendix A.

to themselves, not contributing to the central interaction. This also added to the difficulty.

This teacher, in fact, falls into the final two categories in the diagram on p.10, (Fig. 1); switching roles and blurring the difference between real use of language and quasi-communicative practice, using as much 'natural' language in the classroom as possible. (See 1.5, pp.10-11)

Note: The full transcription and analysis of this lesson are included in Appendix A, labelled Text A. Examples quoted in the body of the thesis refer to the transcription by the number of the Exchange only, thus:- (Ex.26). Examples taken from the other lessons are identified as Text B or Text C only.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SYSTEM OF ANALYSIS AS ADAPTED FOR THE E.F.L. CLASSROOM

This chapter consists of three main sections. The first consists of a summary of the system of analysis, the second describes the display system I have used for the actual analysis while the third provides a more detailed explanation of the system as a whole and discussion of the adaptations made.

It is assumed that readers will be familiar with the system of analysis presented in Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975, which is closely modelled on Halliday's 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar'. I have adopted their hierarchical rank scale model, making as few changes ¹ as possible, but always aware of the dangers of forcing the data to fit the model.

4.1 Summary of system of analysis

This section contains a brief summary of the complete system of analysis, taking the hierarchical model in descending order of rank, thus:

RANK	I	lesson
RANK	II	transaction
RANK	III	exchange
RANK	IV	move
RANK	V	act

At each rank, I present the elements of structure and name the classes that realise the elements, (as in S & C 1975, pp 24-27). I also list the different types ² of class (e.g. exchange) that have so far been identified at each rank, with a brief description and statement of their structure.

1 Items marked thus * are items which differ from the S & C model.

2 In S & C 1975, (pp.44-60) the following words are used to denote subdivisions of 'class': category, sub-category, subclass, type. I will attempt to use 'type' consistently.

RANK I LESSON

Elements of Structure	Structures	Classes
	unordered series of transactions	

(See S&C 1975 pp 59-60 for note on lesson types and structures)

RANK II TRANSACTION

Elements of Structure	Structures	Classes of Exchange
Preliminary P	P M (M^n)(T)	P. T. Boundary (II.1)
Medial M		M. Teaching (II.2)
Terminal T		

TRANSACTION TYPES: possibly as in S&C 1975, pp 56-59; subsequent findings will be discussed in Chapter Five.

RANK III EXCHANGE

There are two major classes of exchange; BOUNDARY and TEACHING

	Elements of Structure	Structures	Classes of Move
BOUNDARY	Frame Fr	(Fr)(Fo)	Fr: Framing III.1
	Focus Fo		Fo: Focussing III.2
TEACHING	Initiation I	1 (R)(F)	I: *Initiating III.3
	Response R		R: *Responding III.4
	Follow up F		F: *Follow Up III.5

TEACHING EXCHANGE TYPES

It is at this rank that my system differs most from S&C 1975, due to the added complexity of ELT discourse (McTear 1976). I have eight types of free exchanges instead of six, and six bound exchanges instead of five. These are listed below, giving the abbreviations used for coding purposes. The colour coding used to denote the structure refers to the **display** system explained later in 4.2, where, of the three columns, the left hand one refers to Outer language and is in black, the central one refers to Inner dependent (non-

interactive) discourse, in red, and the right hand one refers to Inner Independent (quasi interaction) and is in green. And arrow thus → denotes part of this move is in the Inner column. This is summarised in Figure 9 below; see also examples in 4.2.

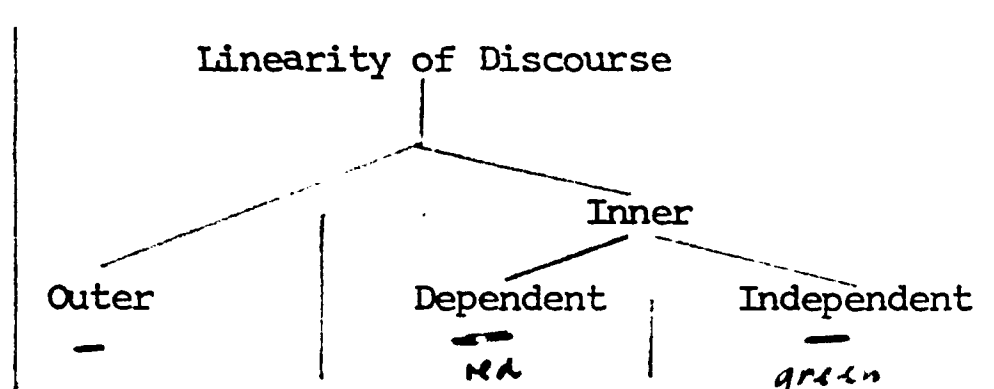


Figure 9, showing the three column display system.

<u>Exchange Type</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Structure</u>
<u>(Free)</u>		
1 <u>Teacher Inform</u>	Inf	$I \rightarrow (F)$
As in S & C, but if verbal response occurs, it is normally in the nature of a Follow-up, hence no R.		
2 <u>Student Inform</u>	sInf	$I \rightarrow (F)$
As S & C, but sometimes the F move comes from another student.		
3 <u>Teacher Direct</u>	D	$I \ R \ (F)$
As in S & C.		
4 <u>Teacher Direct:Verbal</u>	Dv	$I \rightarrow R^{(n)} F^{(n)} (F)$
Teacher directs students to give a particular verbal response where both form and content are predicted and constrained by the language learning situation. The target language item will have been recently modelled. The propositional content of the response has no interactive value. Response and evaluative Follow-Up are compulsory; a second student Follow-Up often occurs, acknowledging the teacher's evaluative move. Dv not necessarily realised by an imperative.. See 4.3.1.1.		
5 <u>Teacher Direct: Verbal Exchange</u>	Dvx	$I \rightarrow I \ (F) \ R \ F \ (F)$
Same as Dv above, except that two student responding moves are predicted, the first		

functions both as a response to the Initiation and also as an Elicitation, itself predicting the second Student Response. The propositional content of the resulting student exchange is imposed by the teacher and merely simulates interaction. It has no further interactive value beyond this particular exchange.

6 Teacher Direct: Verbal Activity Dva $I \rightarrow (F)$

This prospects a series of student Inform or Exchanges that exist in their own right, e.g. role play; no further Teacher moves are required until the series is complete. The subsequent Student Exchanges are still subject to the constraints of the language learning situation, and not entirely free. Immediately following the Teacher directive there is normally a Student acknowledge. A Dva exchange usually follows a Boundary exchange.

7 Teacher Elicit El $I \ R \ (F/IR)(F)^*$

Differs from Teacher Direct exchanges in that neither the form nor the content of the Response are prescribed, and that the interaction is genuinely informative, in that the teacher does not know the answer.

There are two subclasses of Elicit:- Elicit: check, where the predicted Response is El^{ch}

$I \ R \ (F)$

short and direct, e.g. of a polar type, the function of which is to check that an item has been understood, or an action completed. Elicit:open, which predicts El^o

$I \ R \ (F)$

a longer Response, free of constraints on form or content, e.g. giving a reason or an opinion. The (F/IR) occurs only if the student needs linguistic support with the utterance, e.g. if he has forgotten a word. The F move is not obligatory nor necessarily evaluatory.

8 Student Elicit sEL $I \ R \ (F)^*$

As 7 above. Often occurs if a student has a query about the task in hand or a language point, hence the s. Students normally acknowledge a T response, repeating the item, thanking the teacher, or showing understanding, (e.g. I see), (unlike in S & C, 1975)

9 Re-Initiation (R) Re-In (R) $I \rightarrow R \ or \ R(F)(F)^* \overset{b}{I} \ or \ \overset{b}{I} R \ or \ R$

$F(F)$

As Re-Initiation in S & C 1975, but this

is the result of a wrong, doubtful or unfinished answer in the Responding slot. Though normally Teacher initiated it is sometimes Student initiated. Follow-up does not always occur before the Re-Initiation.

10 *Re-initiation (I)

Re-In I (S) $I \rightarrow I^b (R \rightarrow R^b) (S) I \mid R \rightarrow (F)$

Usually bound to Student Inform or Student Elicit, occurs when there is a mistake or faltering in the I move that is taken up by the teacher intending to get the student to repeat or practise the correct form before continuing with the I move. (If clue is merely supplied, without prospecting a break in the move, or possibility of turn taking, it is not coded as an exchange but as $\langle \rangle$ within the current speaker's move (cf 'bid'))

11 Listing

Li

$I \mid R \mid F \mid I^b \mid R \mid F$

As S & C but seldom occurs in my data, since evaluation is rarely withheld. Exchange type Dv often precedes listing.

12 Reinforce

Reinf

$I \mid R \mid I^b \mid R \mid (F)$

As S & C following a Teacher Directive, but rarely occurs.

13 Repeat (R)

(s)RptR

$I \mid R \rightarrow I^b \mid R^b \mid F \mid (F)$

As in S & C, only used both by Teacher and Students; the structure is the same in either case if it is the Response that needs repeating.

14 *Repeat (I)

(s)Rpt I

$I \rightarrow R^b \mid R \mid I \rightarrow R \rightarrow F \mid (F)$

If it is the Initiating move that has not been heard the structure is different from Rpt(R), whether it is Teacher or Student who has originally initiated.

Note:

Thus the structure of 13 and 14 reflect the structure of 9 and 10; the difference lies in the fact that in a Repeat exchange, the focus remains on the topic and I^b & R are coded in the Outer column whereas in a Re-Initiate, the focus shifts to or stays with the language and is coded in the Inner column.

RANK IV MOVE INITIATING (cf S & C "Opening")

Elements of Structure	Structures	Classes of Act
signal s	(s)(pre-h)h(post-h)	s: marker
pre-head pre-h	(sel)	pre-h: starter
head h	(sel)(pre h) h	h: choice of inform, elicit and sub-classes, directive, direct: verbal and sub-clas- ses, meta-statement: inter- action in Dva. Also loop in bound exchanges.
post-head post h		post-h: prompt, clue, check
select sel		select: nomination

MOVE *RESPONDING (cf S & C "Answering")

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Act
pre-head Pre-h	(pre-h)h(post-h)	pre-h: acknowledge monitor
head h		h: reply
post-head post-h		post-h: comment

MOVE FOLLOW-UP (cf S & C "Feedback")

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Act
pre-head pre-	(pre-h)h(post-h)	pre-h: acknowledge
head h		h: choice of acknowledge evaluate
post-head post-h		post-h: comment, check

MOVE (FRAMING)

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Act
head h	h q	h: marker
qualifier q		q: silent stress

MOVE (FOCUSSING)

Elements of Structure	Structure	Classes of Act
signal s	(s)(q)(pre-h)h(post-h)	s: marker
qualifier q		q: silent stress
pre-head pre-h		pre-h: starter
head h		h: choice from meta-statement, or meta-statement: inter- action or conclusion
post-head post-h		post-h: comment or check

Note

Explanations of the original five move classes are to be found in S & C 1975, pp 44-49. Since Exchange Types are named according to the head act in their Initiating move, subdivisions of Initiating move classes are similar to those of free exchanges at the rank above, i.e. Informing, Eliciting, Directing and Direct-verbal. There seem to be no subdivisions of Responding or Follow-Up moves, since these are predicted by the type of Initiating move used. Adaptations I have made are outlined briefly below.

1 Labelling

To simplify the model I have used the terms:

Initiating	instead of	Opening
Responding	" "	Answering
Follow-Up	" "	Feed back

- 2 Framing move can be realised purely by intonation, superimposed on to the meta-statement in a focussing move. (See example on page 80)

3 Structure of Follow-Up Move

Since it is common in the E.L.T. classroom for informal discussion to take place, the F move is not always seen as evaluative. It is often seen as the slot for an acknowledgement of the preceding move or exchange, to show that this has been understood, for example:

T: "Oh, I see, yeah." (In this function, it can be considered the counterpart to a post-head check, see p.105) I have, therefore, suggested a different system at F; the head position can be occupied by either acknowledge or evaluate; obviously if both acknowledge and evaluate occur, the first acknowledge will be in the pre-head position. This structure also occurs in a Responding move, (see S & C 1975) where acknowledge can be pre-head or head. (cf Berry's comments on cross class - see page 105)

(See Section 4.3. for further discussion of these points.)

RANK V ACT

Classes of Acts

(The reference numbers refer to those in S & C 1975, pp 40-44).
Acts bracketed thus [] are those I have NOT used in my system. I have included them here for ease of comparison only.)

<u>Ref.No.</u>	<u>Label</u>	<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Realisation and Definition</u>
IV.1	marker	m	As in S & C 1975, but additional realisations include "Erm" and "Er" (high key). Sometimes no verbal realisation, merely use of high key proclaiming tone and silent stress superimposed on the meta-statement, e.g. //p <u>LETS</u> go on /p where we left OFF/r + O.K.? Occurs in Outer column only.
IV.2	starter	St *	As in S & C 1975. (See also S & C pp.34-35). Can occur in all columns. (* "st" not 's', since 's' is used for 'student')
IV.3.1.	elicit	el	Normally realised by question, or, as in the case of student elicit by a word or phrase delivered with a questioning intonation and/or N.V. features. Unlike S & C, elicit is only used for genuine questions with 'open' answers or questions of the 'check' type, recorded in Outer Column, i.e. genuine requests for new information; (questions with 'closed' answers, e.g. drill type, to be recorded in Inner Columns are coded Direct: Verbal.) See p.92 for further discussion on this, and p. 76 (Exchange Types).
IV.3.2.	check	ch	Realised by 'O.K.?' 'alright?' etc. Unlike S & C 1975, these function as post-heads, as markers of the end of a Teacher I or R or F to check students have understood and to give them a chance to ask before the next turn is allotted.
IV.3.3.	directive	d	Not only realised by imperative, but also question and statement, e.g. "I want you to", or "Could you..." prospecting an activity. In E.F.L. directives are often used to request a linguistic <u>performance</u> , so there must be a distinction between 'directive' - d and d v (direct-verbal). So, we retain d which predicts a non-linguistic response (coded: ack N.V.) and add direct-verbal, see 3.3.1.

IV 3.3.1.	direct verbal	d.v.	Realised by a question, command or statement, either eliciting a 'closed' response (Barnes, 1976), i.e. directing students to use particular words or language items in a verbal activity which will be recorded as Inner discourse; e.g. repetition, or a request for the performance of an interactive exchange, or series of exchanges between two students, or a series of student informing moves, within the constraints laid down, e.g. on a given topic or using specific language. (This would appear in Inner Independent column.) See pages 92 on.
3.3.2.	direct-verbal exchange	dvx	Dvx predicts an exchange with no further moves needed from Teacher.
3.3.3.	direct-verbal activity	dva	Dva predicts a performance (or a series of informs) initiated by students, e.g. role play.
IV 3.4.	inform	i	As in S & C, except that Student i s also predict evaluation. Can also be information about language, in which case i may contain a quoted form and have the → through to the Inner column, or a cl in the Inner column, see 4.2.
IV 4.1.	prompt	pr	As in S & C but typically in E.F.L. classrooms realised by "Say it again", or "What does he say"-a marked repeat of the first elicit. Always in the Outer Column, often in conjunction with clue which can function in all columns. Often appears as head of bound exchange, requesting a correction.
IV 4.2.	clue	cl	As in S & C. But often contains or consists of the target forms of the language to be learnt, thus appearing in central column. Typically in E.F.L. consists of a word or phrase supplied by teacher or fellow student to help the current speaker complete an utterance or longer monologue correctly or appropriately. Where it occurs thus, i.e. not predicting an acknowledgement or an interruption to the speaker's flow, it is coded cl or s.cl within the speaker's turn. (cf bid.) Also appears thus cl in central column within a T inform where the teacher is modelling the target language as part of the inform.

[IV 5.1.	cue	cu	Subsumed under prompt. Rarely occurs in adult classrooms.]
[IV 5.2.	bid		No occurrences of student bids in my date.]
IV 5.3.	nomination	n	As in S & C.
IV 6.1.	acknowledge	ack	Combined with accept, since in E.F.L. data these carry similar functions (to show understanding of language or completion of task), and are used both by T & S. [accept in S & C is very close in function to evaluate, and neither reveals the distinction between effort and achievement, see p79 above.]
IV 6.2.	monitor	mon	Closed class, realised by 'yes', 'uh uh', 'mm', 'go on' (and non-verbal surrogates, e.g. nods) usually pronounced with referring tone. Their function is to encourage the speaker to continue speaking. Often occurs at or after a 'possible completion point' (Sacks et al. 1976) in an informing or responding move, often as 'overtalk'. See pages 58 and 91.
IV 7.1.	reply	r	As in S & C.
[IV 7.2.	react	rea	Coded as acknowledge, N.V.]
IV 8	comment	com	As in S & C, but additionally distinguished from inform by use of neutral mid-key additive leaving no pause. Occurs in Outer column except where T. joins in the quasi-communication when independent interaction continues in the Inner. In this case com indicates positive evaluation of what has preceded and subsumes a separate e .
[IV 9	accept	a	Subsumed under ack. and evaluate. See ack above.]
IV 10	evaluate	e	As in S & C. Can occur in either Outer or Inner Dependent columns or arrowed. Occasionally a negative evaluation, (e.g. repetition of S. Response with the correct words stressed and with proclaiming tone,) predicts a further S.R., thus bearing the double function F/1, where often the paralinguistic feature, e.g. stress, indicates the I. This is coded e <cl> to show that within the element of structure e there is a clue which functions as Re-initiate.

IV 11	silent stress	^	As in S & C, but occasionally occurs in Boundary moves after words like "Page " or "Let's" uttered in High Key in place or marker words. (See IV 1 marker)
IV 12.1.	meta-statement	ms	As in S & C. Additionally occurs in discussion lessons where the teacher acts as chairman, where its function is to guide or show the structure of the discussion, e.g. "Let's go back to your point about..." Occurs only in Outer column, like prompt since its function is solely to structure or service the subsequent discourse.
IV 12.2.	conclusion	con	As in S & C. Additionally occurs in relation to evaluation of performance, e.g. "O.K! then. You did that quite well...", preceding a metastatement.
IV 12.3.	meta-statement:interaction	Ms:int	Open class of exponents, whose function it is to control the patterns of interaction ($T \leftrightarrow S$, $S \leftrightarrow S$) over the subsequent section of the lesson. See pp.91 on.
IV 13	loop	1	As in S & C, but also includes repetition of preceding utterance which will serve to return the discourse to the stage it was at before the interruption. Can be used by Teacher or Student, and is "maximally valent" (Candlin 1974), i.e. can occur at any point in an exchange.
IV 13	aside	z	As in S & C but in E.F.L. often it is the student talking to himself as he commits something to memory. Even if the student himself intended it as a contribution to the interaction and hoped for an acknowledgement from the Teacher, it may still be ignored by T. and not taken as part of the main on-going interaction, because an earlier move had set up stronger predictions that override such student utterances.

On the opposite page, by way of summary, is the Rank Scale Model, with the adaptations I have made. This can be compared to Figure 3, on page 29.

4.2. The system of display

The system proposed reflects the linearity of the structure of discourse while distinguishing the Outer layer, (language used as a medium for organising, socialising and generally communicating in the classroom) from the Inner layer, (the target or taught forms of the language which constitute the 'content' of the lesson, when items are quoted, repeated and practised bearing little or no communicative value in themselves). [See 1.1.3.] Generally speaking, the Outer layer is interactive and subject to the normal 'rules' of turntaking, whereas the Inner layer is not. There are, however, occasions when teachers deliberately try to make the Inner layer interactive [see pp 8-9], setting up a discourse within a discourse, for example a role play, where students play parts or simply ask each other questions. This quasi-communication consists of exchanges that are less dependent on the Outer layer than the usual isolated utterances of the Inner layer. I have thus subdivided the Inner layer into two columns, labelled them Dependent and Independent following parallel concepts in the notion of intertextuality. We thus have three columns, see Fig. 9, on page 75.

In the examples below, an extract from a lesson is transcribed, one act per line, on the right. On the left, there are four columns. The one on the left shows the type of exchange; of the three remaining, the first shows the move, Initiating, Responding or Follow-Up identified by a capital letter, I, R or F, which occurs in the Outer layer, together with the class of act, shown abbreviated in small case. If the act itself is a quoted form, for example the teacher modelling a phrase for students to repeat, the symbol for the act will go in the second column,

go in the second column, marked 'Inner dependent', see cl and r below, and compare that exchange with the following one where there is genuine communication.

Example 1

Exch. Type	Discourse		
	Outer	Inner depend- ent	indep- endent
EL	I st n el R r *		T. What about in your country Socoop? Do men like washing the dishes? S. In my country there's...er...er... washes the dishes. Wash...er...
Re-In R	I ^b R	cl r	T. Women wash the dishes. S. Women wash the dishes.
Rpt I	I ^c I R r F ack		T. Do men like washing the dishes? S. No! That is a woman's job. T. Uh uh. (laughs)

[* = interrupted utterance]

Where a quoted form of the language is contained within an act in the Outer layer, for example in an initiating move:-

T. Can you say that again with 'Would you' instead?

or in a Follow-up move; where the teacher repeats the correct answer:-

T. Good. Stop fighting. Yes.

or where a student asks a question.

S. What is...er...'chairman'?

this can be shown by means of an arrow from the act symbol in the Outer column, into the centre column, thus showing that the act contains a quoted form. See example 2. (N.B. These are discrete examples, not exchanges)

Example 2

Exch. Type	Discourse		
	Outer	Inner dep.	indep.
Dv	I d —————→		T. Can you say that again with 'Would you' instead?
"	F e —————→		T. Good. Stop fighting . Yes
S.EL S.	I el —————→		S. What is...er...'chairman'?

The third column shows the 'quasi' communication; an interactive use of Inner forms. See example 3, which is a simplified extract from my data.

Example 3

Exch. Type	Discourse			
	Outer	Inner		
		dep.	indep.	
Dv x	I d			T. Ask Antonio if he likes studying here.
	n			Mohavi?
	[R]		I el	M. Antonio, do you like studying here?
	F e			T. (r) ¹ Good.
	[R]		R r	A. Yes, I do.
	F e			T. Good. Well done.

It is typical that the teacher evaluates each student utterance as it occurs. Thus we have in the Outer column the structure I [R] F [R] F where the [R] shows the directive has been taken up but on a different plane, where it functions as an elicit in an Initiating move in the Inner independent column, predicting a response in its own right. Thus we have the structure I R in the Inner Independent column. Without the three columns, were we to analyse the same stretch of discourse, it would appear very strange: I R/I F R F and make little sense. If, then, a move in the Outer column predicts an exchange, rather than a discrete or non-interactive utterance, the resulting exchange will be coded in the Inner Independent column.

The advantages of this three column system are several.

First of all, one can see at a glance how language is being used in the EFL classroom. For example, a language drill, or repetition practice, will show up in the centre column so long as nothing goes wrong. If it breaks down and the teacher needs to explain, the discourse will switch to the Outer column with perhaps some acts or parts of acts showing in the centre column as the target language is being quoted. Pairwork will show up in the right hand column if guided or cued by book or teacher. Normal discourse, socialising or discussion for instance, will be contained within the first column, unless the

1 Referring tone.

teacher or another student corrects or queries a point concerning language, where upon it will switch temporarily to and from the centre column. Figure 11 shows the possible relationships that can occur between the three layers of discourse.

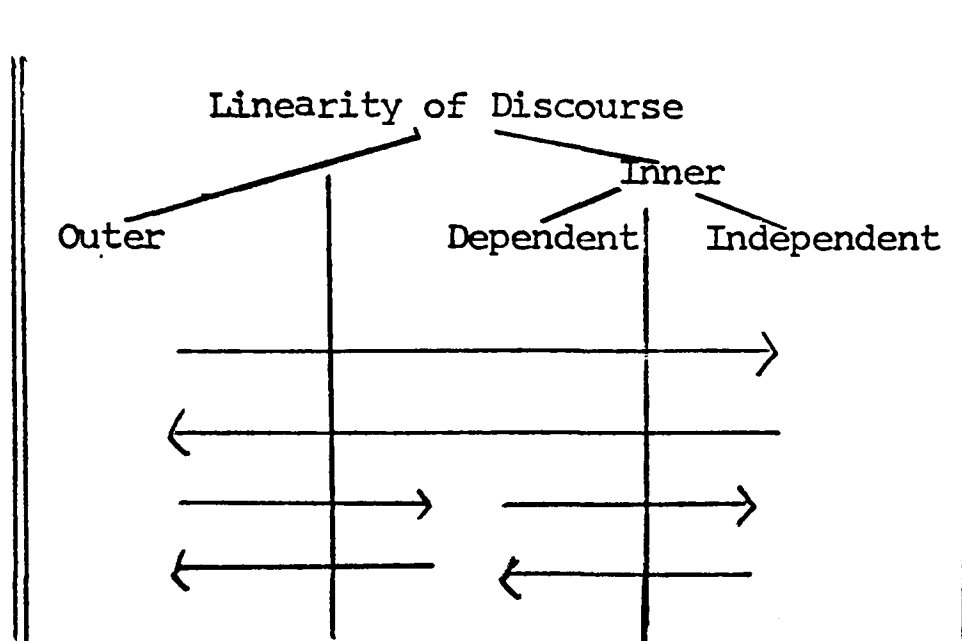


Figure 11

As we have seen, then, these columns interrelate as shown in example 3, and it is the potential shifts between the different types of discourse that can be a source of confusion for the foreign learner; there is a degree of ambiguity ever present. The three column representation does, however, reveal the actual breakdowns. To take an example from McTear (1975, p.8):

Here the teacher is modelling and gesturing for a choral response, but the students reply to the question instead of repeating. (The first Dv may be a Bound Exchange: (Re-Initiate); the preceding data is not available)

Exch. Type	Discourse			
	Outer	Inner depend- ent	indep- endent	
Dv	I	d		T. Where are you from? Where are you from? [N.V. gesture denoting choral R]
Re-In R	R r			Ss. We're from Venezuela
	I ^b pr			T. Say the sentence: Where are you from?
	R	cl r		Ss. Where are you from?
	F e			T. Uhm. Good.

A direct or a clue in the central column shows that a target language form is being modelled, so an R in the Outer column shows up as a deviant response, which is then further borne out by the fact that it is followed by a bound exchange, re-initiating.

Similarly, here, because a Dv (Direct; verbal) predicts

Dv x	I d			T. Um. Can you ask him his name please?
S.EL	I el			S'.His name?
	R r			T. Yes.
Rep	I ^b l			Ask him
	R r			S'.I don't know.

(McTear 75)
III 71-74.

a controlled response in the Inner discourse, we can also see that something has gone wrong, by the fact that those Inner columns are empty.

This, then, is the second advantage, the fact that confusions and misunderstandings due to the levels of language show up using this system.

A third advantage is that the use of the Inner columns removes the need for the extra acts that at first seemed necessary for the EFL classroom. When real-time coding, using a simple one column linear system for recording exchange types and moves, I found that a great deal of the interaction, especially the student initiated language-focussed EFL discourse, was not being revealed. At the time, I suggested various ways of getting round this, for example having acts which would distinguish a Student query concerning the language from a query concerning the lesson organisation, or the topic in hand (cf Lörcher). This would however have increased the number of acts to an unwieldly number. Since it is already generally felt that 22 acts is too many to handle easily, (Bowers 1979, Berry 1979) I wanted to avoid this if possible. The use of the Inner columns greatly increases the power of many of the existing acts as we have seen with clue. For example, if evaluate is in the Inner column, we can tell

that the teacher repeated all or part of the student response as an evaluation; if this is then followed by a bound exchange we can be fairly sure that this evaluation constituted a correction. An e in the outer column would denote a word or two of praise or otherwise. A student query about an organisational problem would normally be distinguished from a linguistic query by the absence of an arrow or an el or r in the central column. (See example 2). Although unable to reach the degree of delicacy afforded by Lörscher's system with over sixty acts, which distinguish between focus on topic and focus on language, I am fairly confident that the system I propose will be simple enough to be practical but still informative, preserving and displaying the linearity of discourse structure.

4.3 DISCUSSION OF THE SYSTEM OF ANALYSIS

This section is divided into two main parts. In the first part I explain and justify the adaptations I have made to the system of analysis, and in the second I take up in greater depth some of the findings made by researchers whose work I reviewed briefly in Chapter Two and discuss these in the light of other adaptations I have proposed.

4.3.1. Adaptations

4.3.1. 1 New Acts: monitor, metastatement:interaction, direct:verbal.

All three of these acts have been introduced because they are commonly used in T.E.F.L. classrooms since focus is often on the production of the target language.

monitor. When students are speaking in the target language, teachers feel they need constant encouragement if they are to continue speaking. Teachers vary as to what they say; "yes", "uh uh", "m m", "good", "go on" are some examples, always used with mid key referring tone. (Proclaiming tone would have the effect of drawing the move to a close). Sometimes the teacher monitors over the student utterance, sometimes in a pause: often the act monitor occurs just after a possible completion point almost as if the teacher is praising the student for continuing to speak. An example follows; the students are talking about a photograph and speculating about what they can see. The

teacher's words are shown in brackets over the student transcription, thus [to show whether or not pauses occurred.

S: It's not quite sure which season it is because T: {uh uh
[he's a jacket on on
one hand and er on the other hand he wears open shoes T: Yes
[so I suppose
it's warm may be T: {Yes T: {Yes T: {Yes. Yes. Thats...
[it's autumn [or spring but not summer. er....
TEXT B

Non-verbal features, especially eye contact, obviously play a large part in monitoring; students tended to look up from the photograph at most possible completions points to see if the teacher wanted them to continue, and the teacher would denote this para-linguistically as well as through verbal monitoring. Monitoring can, then, function in a similar way to feedback, but it has predictive capacity too in that it encourages them to continue. It can occur at any point in the structure of a student move without immediately affecting the interaction or turn taking; if it was withdrawn completely, however, I would imagine (and this is only a hypothesis) that students would make far shorter utterances. A similar kind of monitoring can and does often happen in real life, but the function then is to let the speaker know one has understood. In seminars, when one person begins to monitor (and in this case it can be either r or p tone) it is often a sign that he wants to get into the discussion and take the next turn.

The act monitor has no effect on move structure; but it may be found to affect a larger area of discourse. Controlled tests would need to be carried out to study this.

meta-statement; interaction. Teachers often try to engineer opportunities for their students to practise asking questions and initiating exchanges in the foreign language, hence the need to depart from the traditional role where students are continually in the role of respondents, and to structure the turn taking, directing the subsequent interaction so as to allow students to initiate. This results in the occurrence of meta-statements which include instructions on how the interaction is to take place.

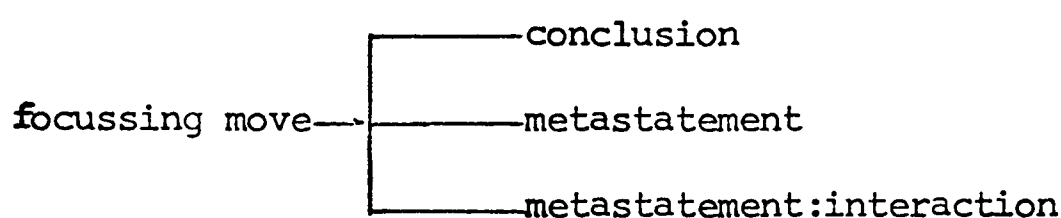
These examples occur directly after framing moves:

T: Just ask the person next to you some of those questions, could you?

(Ex. 264, Text A)

T: I want you to ask me questions about (Text B)

Meta-statements like these, then, impose constraints upon the subsequent interaction, and occur, in the same slot as meta-statement, in the focussing move of a Boundary exchange. So now the system at the focussing move looks like this:



Within one focussing move they are mutually exclusive; the metastatement either imposes explicit constraints on the subsequent interaction, (e.g. "We'll do that again in twos") or it does not (e.g. "Let's go on with that now"). However, there may well be a series of Boundary Exchanges, each containing a different type of focussing move, as for example when a teacher finishes one activity and sets up another. Ms:int, then predicts some kind of patterning in the subsequent exchanges that reveals a different type of teacher control of the structure of the interaction.

Direct:verbal

In the original S. & C. model, the function of the act directive was to request a non-linguistic response, whereas the act elicitation requested a linguistic response. This seemed to accommodate data from the 'content' classroom successfully, although S. & C. made no attempts to distinguish between types of response required in the way that Barnes (1971), Mehan et al (1976) and Lorsch (1979) did. In the 'content' classroom, the focus is usually on the content of the response rather than the form which the response takes. In the language classroom, however, the content of the response is

often given beforehand, by means of a verbal or visual clue (for an example, see Appendix C, picture 4, where visual clues are given in a balloon); the focus is on the form of the response, which is imposed by the teacher or text book, either explicitly:

"Use the patterns that you've got at the top there" (Exchange 266)
or implicitly:

"Ask your wife, er, washing the dishes", (Exchange 45)

where all the students know that the current objective is to practise using "like" + gerund because the teacher has set up this situation by modelling the form, giving examples of the form and by asking several students to practise it in a controlled way. Students expect these constraints inside a language classroom; it is accepted language teaching behaviour. Outside the classroom many of these initiations and responses would be deviant. Inside the language classroom, we need to make a distinction between Initiations that request the production of an utterance, i.e. a reply where the propositional content is largely pre-determined and has no interactive value, the focus being on the form of the response, and Initiations that request a verbal response with a propositional content that is genuinely interactive. I have labelled Initiations of the former type 'direct-verbal' because they function as a directive to produce a specific utterance whose content and form is predicted and constrained by the language learning situation. They are, in fact, far more akin to the act directive in the S. & C. model than to their act elicitation:

T: Will you show me a piece of metal. (Directive)

P: NV

T: Yes, that's a piece of metal, well done. (Evaluation)

(S. & C. 1975)

In the S. & C. model, a directive is normally realised by an imperative, and it seemed at first that direct:verbal was a valid category for E.F.L. discourse for directives including verbs like "Tell me", "Ask him", "Repeat", "Describe this" which requested a verbal task, and which could be acknowledged by phrases like "Certainly", or "O.K." preceding the required verbal activity. However, on a preliminary study of the data, it became evident that teachers tend to disguise their commands and although requiring exactly the same types of verbal activity from the students, would phrase their directives differently, e.g. "What can you see in the picture?", or "What colours are these?", rather than "Tell me what ...". (Interestingly, many students in my sample still tend to acknowledge questions such as these with "uh uh", "yes", "erm", etc, before formulating a response, although seeming to realise that to precede a response with "Certainly" or "O.K." would not be acceptable. Perhaps they intuitively recognise their 'directive' force while responding to the question.) The language teacher's task is to get students to use language, to repeat, to complete a sentence, to ask, to answer, to describe and so on; a good teacher will not only use verbal directives as quoted above, but will employ a wide range of ingenious techniques in order to do this, including visual cues, word prompts, mime and demonstration. There is, then, with direct:verbal, no correlation at all between function and grammatical form; the form can range from imperative, interrogative, declarative to moodless or non-verbal surrogates. The same problem is recognised by Wachendorf (forthcoming) in his research into the discourse structure of language teaching interaction in formal German Secondary School classes.

We need, then, another means to help us to distinguish formally between the acts direct:verbal and elicit. S. & C. used the concept of

'situation', to help predict when a declarative or interrogative is realising something other than a statement or question. The condition I propose is that, for an Initiation to be interpreted as a direct:verbal, there must have been, in the same or a preceding transaction, an instance of the prescribed form or forms being modelled by teacher, tape, textbook or perhaps even by a student, and subsequently acknowledged in some way by either teacher or student or both, as being a target item. Such an acknowledgement normally takes the form of repetition by one or both parties, either in a Follow-up move or in an Initiating move, for example in Exchange 22, an Elicit (check) exchange, where a student wishes to check he has grasped the form correctly:

S: A few months ago

T: A few months ago, Yah.

The student's recognition of the fact that a particular item has been modelled and acknowledged makes the subsequent practice of the item part of the current 'situation' in the language lesson, and until the teacher 'cancels' it by proceeding to another task, the learner will continue to bear this in mind when responding.

So far we have described Direct:verbal in terms of predicting a linguistic task performed by the students, where the focus is on the language used rather than the communicative value of the utterance. The student has little or no choice of response; the teacher knows the answer, the student knows the teacher knows, the student also knows that he himself should know; he selects what he hopes is the right answer bearing in mind the forms recently modelled, performs his task and awaits the teacher's evaluation to see if he has got it right.

Elicit, on the other hand, I propose we use for questions that are genuine questions, i.e. questions where the speaker does not know the answer, and wants to know; where there is a real information gap. The respondent can choose what to say in reply and how to reply, and the propositional content of the reply is what is being communicated, rather than the ability (or otherwise) of the respondent to formulate and articulate a particular piece of language. Another way to distinguish between elicit and direct:verbal is to establish which person, the speaker or the hearer, is the 'primary knower'. (Berry, 1980). Berry points out there is a need for a different type of Follow-up in each case. In real life, having been asked a genuine question, one would hardly expect the answer to be evaluated, one's status as 'primary knower' would be rudely undermined. Hence the need for a Follow-up with acknowledge as head, not necessarily evaluate.

The sub-classes proposed for direct:verbal are, I believe, made clear in the summary of teaching exchange types, in 4.1. The sub-classes proposed for elicit are also summarised in that section. I would merely like to add that elicit:check is similar to the S. & C. head act, check, whereas elicit:open is largely derivative from Barnes (1971) whose work we have already discussed in 2.2.4.

Note: When analysing and coding the data, I have labelled the exchange according to which sub-class the Initiating move falls into, e.g. Dvx or EL^{Ch}, but inside the three column display where space is short, and simplicity an advantage, I have used only the main symbol for the act itself, i.e. d or el, since it is evident from referring to the exchange label to which class or sub-class they belong.

4.3.1. 2. Changes in use of original acts: check, clue, acknowledge, starter.

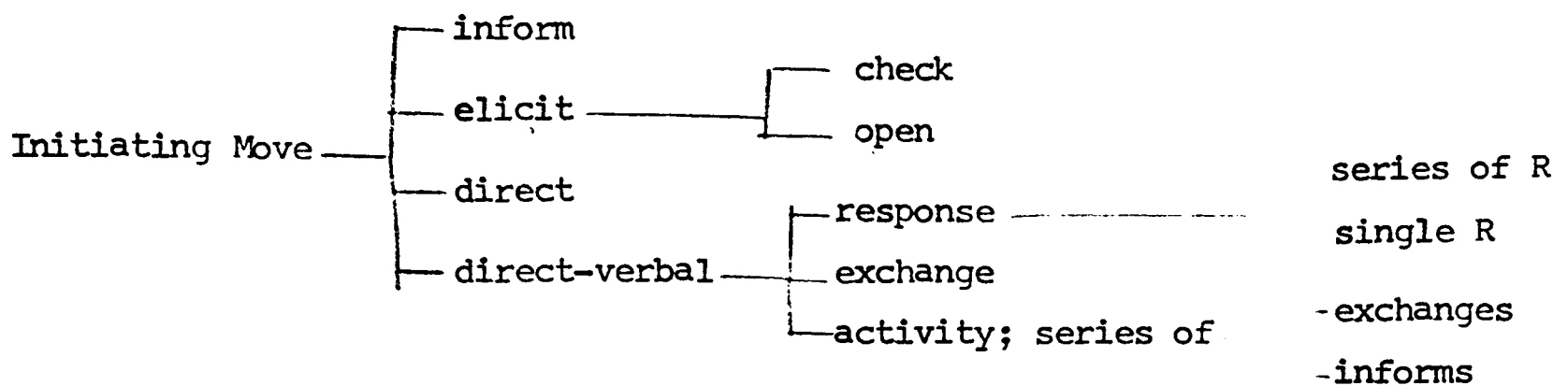
It is more enlightening to discuss these in the light of the findings of Berry, 1979, 1980 and Bowers, 1980. See 4.3.2.

4.3.1. 3 Moves

There have been no major adaptations at the rank of Move, but one or two

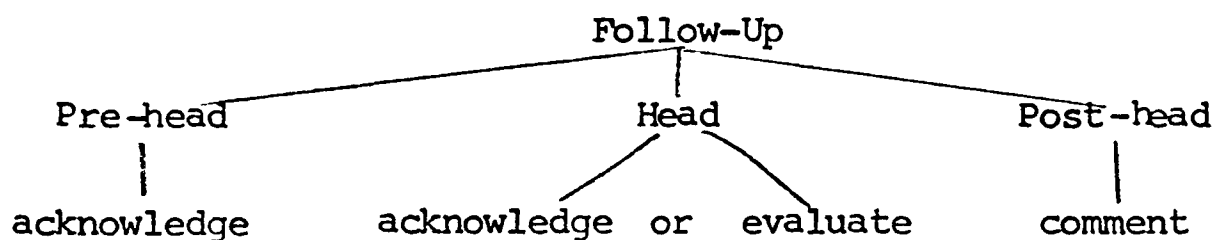
Initiating moves can usefully be analysed to a secondary degree of delicacy, thus increasing the powers of prediction in the subsequent moves.

The system at I is now



Responding Move remains the same, apart from the act acknowledge which is no longer in head position. See Follow-up, below.

Follow-Up Moves have been adapted, structurally, and now look like this:



As I have already very briefly mentioned, in 4.1, I feel we ought to distinguish between different types of Follow-up. Although Mehan states that "the evaluation of the content of students' replies is an obligatory component of teacher-student exchanges" and despite Sinclair's present feeling that all Follow-up is evaluative (1980), I feel justified in proposing that at least in less formal classroom situations and with older students, as in real life, evaluative follow-up is not obligatory. Burton(1978) would agree, but she in fact dispenses with Follow-up altogether as we have already discussed in 2.4.1.2. I have already justified in functional terms my introduction of act acknowledge as one of the possible heads to a Follow-up move (Section 4.1); I feel that Berry (1980) would agree that even in 'adult leisure conversations' Follow-up can be essential. I would suggest that this type of Follow-up would consist of an acknowledge as head, whereas in a learning situation in the classroom, Follow-up with evaluation as head, would be expected, especially after a Direct-verbal. If Berry had looked further into the structure

of moves, I think she might have come to the same conclusion. I should like to propose (see also 4.3.2.2) that some kind of symmetry should be established between the act elicit and a subsequent Follow-up with obligatory acknowledge but optional evaluation, and Direct-verbal acts which predict an obligatory evaluation in the Follow-up move, but an optional acknowledge.

So we have: ELICIT → RESPONSE + FOLLOW-UP : acknowledge

or: DIRECT-VERBAL → RESPONSE + FOLLOW-UP : evaluate

This means that a student elicit exchange can have a Student Follow-up move without appearing deviant. (In the S&C model, a Pupil Elicit exchange had the structure I R only)

Given, too, that F is not necessarily evaluative, the structure of both Teacher Inform and Pupil Inform Exchanges could be the same: I (F). Hence there would be no need to have 'acknowledge' as one of the possible heads at R, since this was only used following a Teacher Inform, and rarely occurred.

4.3.1. 4 At the rank of Exchange

The changes made here have been fully explained in the summary, at 4.1. One major difference in the E.F.L. classroom is that there are often two moves at F, a Teacher and a Student move. The student often echoes the teacher's Follow-up move if it contains an example of the target form. If it is correct, the teacher continues with a new exchange, if not, she might re-initiate or ignore. Hence the typical structure I R F F as noticed also by McTear (1975) and Ellis (1980) in data from language classrooms. Sometimes, however, the student echoes do not seem to form part of the interaction, in which case they are not coded as an F move, but as a student aside 'z'.

4.3.2. The system of analysis adopted in relation to the findings of Bowers, Mehan, Berry

4.3.2. 1. Bowers

I agree in principle with Bowers' views that twenty two acts are too many and that "despite the notion of placement, the range of potential fillers in any one slot" is too great. Certainly for Bowers' purposes, and for the

purposes of real-time coding or even rapid coding of recorded data, a system with fewer acts and a more limited range of options is more practical.

I tried, then, to cut down the number of acts I used; I felt that perhaps the acts of R & F moves were treated at a greater degree of delicacy than the acts of the I move, so I felt justified in cutting out accept and react; I cut out cue for the same reason, and bid because no bids as such occurred; turntaking of an informal kind predominated except where teachers actually nominated. However, I then added three more, direct-verbal, meta-statement, interaction and monitor, bringing the number back to twenty-one. I have, though, gone some way towards limiting the range of options at each slot by defining Exchange Types more precisely (Dv , Dv^n , Dvx , Dva , see 4.1.). Each of these seems to reveal fairly distinctive patternings, typical examples of which appear in Examples 1 and 3 on p 86 in 4.2. Analysing or real-time coding at the rank of exchange, then is, now more informative than before, and the structure of moves more predictable.

Another point Bowers makes is that S&C made no explicit distinction between what they term 'major' and 'minor' acts: minor acts being the acts which 'service' the discourse, major acts being those which carry the information which is being communicated. Bowers divides them as follows:

Minor: marker, silent stress, prompt, cue, bid, nomination, check, loop, aside, and perhaps acknowledge and accept

Major: starter, elicitation, directive, informative, clue, reply, react, comment, evaluate, meta-statement and conclusion.

Personally I would place meta-statement and conclusion in an 'in-between' category, since they do in fact contain information which 'services' the discourse, only in a different way: they influence a far larger domain than do the others. It is interesting to note, that, with the exception of loop, all Bowers' minor acts can occur only in my Outer column, whereas his major acts can occur equally, in whole or in part, in the Inner as well as the Outer column. It is indeed this fact that makes the major acts far more powerful than in the S&C model. The minor 'servicing' acts, then, are always used

interactively, and in fact to promote interaction, while the major acts, those which can carry the 'information' (which in a language class is likely to be taught forms of the target language) may not be.

Of the acts that I have added, - monitor - is a 'minor' act, because it serves to encourage the speaker in his production of an utterance; direct-verbal a 'major' act, and meta-statement and interaction which services the discourse but influences a far lengthier series of exchanges and thus belongs with metastatement and conclusion.

Turning to another of Bowers' criticisms of the S&C model, we can see that this problem, too, is solved by the distinction between Inner and Outer language and the introduction of the act meta-statement:interaction. Bowers distinguishes between 'operational' and 'instructional' language (as do other analysts, cf McTear 1976, Long 1980); 'operational' being the language of organisation both of learning sequences and classroom in general, and feels that the S&C model fails to distinguish explicitly enough between the two. Bowers in his system makes the distinction between SOCIALISE and ORGANISE by looking at the semantic properties of the discourse. The distinction between instructional, social and organisational language is valuable but it can be shown by examining the structure of discourse within the three column display. At this stage, I would guess that when teachers socialise, they do not normally begin with a Boundary Exchange followed by a Directive; there may be a Boundary Exchange but it would probably be followed by a series of Informs, Elicits and Replies all in the Outer column, and Follow-up moves, if they occur, are less likely to include the act evaluation as head. Organisational discourse is likely to be revealed by a series of Boundary and Directing exchanges in the Outer column followed by a more regular patterning in Inner or Outer columns of exchange types, of which many might be 'direct:verbal'. (See next paragraph).

Bowers also regrets the inability of the S&C model to show semantic units, or the semantic relations, e.g. cohesion, within the discourse. It is true that semantic cohesion throughout a series of exchanges is not revealed, but then

the purpose of the S&C analysis was to reveal the structure of discourse in interactional and prospective, not retrospective, terms. However, larger semantic units similar to Mehan et al.'s 'topic related sequences' are revealed; they are normally marked by one or more Boundary Exchanges, followed by one or more Directing Exchanges, (not Direct:verbal) followed in turn by either a Direct-verbal exchange or an Elicit. These mark transaction boundaries and seem to occur whenever there is a major change of topic or of activity. Minor changes of topic within a transaction are sometimes marked solely by a Directing Exchange, e.g. "Picture 4 - 'Look at the picture", or a Direct-verbal Exchange. Within a series of Informs, it may be possible to code Informing moves at a greater degree of delicacy, following Tadros 1980, e.g. Inform: addition or Inform: change of topic. (See Chapter Five for further discussion of this.)

4.3.2.2 Mehan et al. (1976), following Bellack, felt that S&C's initiating head acts could be analysed to a greater degree of delicacy to reveal the type of cognitive processes that were being demanded of the student. Some examples follow, (taken from pp 216-218 of the CHIP 1967 report).

Product elicitation: the respondent is to provide a factual response, such as a date.

choice " : the respondent chooses between two or three answers offered as alternatives.

meta-process " : the respondent is asked to formulate the grounds of their reasoning, having answered a question.

These are interesting for those concerned with pedagogic purposes, but the structure of discourse is not necessarily affected by these in any way, so they are not of direct value for us.

One concept in Mehan et al. however, that may have implications for the present study is their notion of symmetry. I quote from pp.51-52:

"Each Initiation act compels certain replies. Once the Initiation act has begun, interaction continues until symmetry between Initiation and Reply acts is established If the act called for by the Initiation act does not immediately appear, the initiator 'works' (e.g. prompts,

repeats, simplifies) until this symmetry is established."

This, in S&C's terms, would provide a series of Bound exchanges, ending with a Teacher Follow-up move of an evaluatory nature. They go on to say:

"Not all teacher-student sequences are composed of two adjacency related pairs Symmetry is the glue that binds Initiation, Reply and Evaluation Acts together then, not adjacency. Adjacent sequences are but one form this symmetry takes".

It was for this reason that I felt the need to distinguish between different types of Directives (see 4.3.1.1); each type predicts a different exchange structure, which is followed through, despite the interruption of Bound exchanges, until symmetry is reached. This point is shown by an evaluative move that is not followed by further Bound exchanges.

The Mehan concept of symmetry is worth comparing with the S&C concept of prospective classification, for example, at Rank of move, I predicts R and the act reply predicts the act 'evaluation' in a Direct-verbal exchange. However, while Mehan et al. see classroom interaction in terms of symmetry, the teacher 'working' continually to bring students back to answer the original initiation appropriately, S&C see discourse in terms of linear potential: "each successive utterance provides a frame of reference for whatever follows", S&C (p.133), in other words, each move predicts the following move but whether or not the following move actually is the one that is predicted does not matter; this in turn predicts the next and so on. I think the difference lies in the fact that Mehan's concept of symmetry involves semantic cohesion, whereas S&C's concept of prospective classification is seen in terms of discourse structure.

4.3.2.3. Berry

I would like now to look at classes of act in relation to the structure of discourse, and refer briefly to a paper by Berry (1979) on classes of acts. The paper in question was written after a series of seminars during which students applied the S&C descriptive system to data other than classroom discourse, and indicates some sources of confusion that arose, partly due to lack of clarity

about the term 'class'. Berry examines their classes of act to see "to what extent they were classes in a 'Categories of a Theory of Grammar' sense". She classifies 'class' as being "the category set up to account for and predict constraints on sequencing or ordering", there being primary classes, secondary classes and some units which are "cross-class". Space does not permit me to enter into a detailed discussion of her paper here, but I want to clarify what is meant by sub-class before I go on to adopt this term myself, and also discuss the complexity of "cross-class" which poses a problem relevant to my data; I will first summarise briefly Berry's classification of S&C's act classes according to Halliday's distinctions. Please refer to the hierarchical diagram on page 22 for confirmation of their position in structure. (I assume the reader is familiar with Halliday, 1961).

Primary classes (those which stand in one to one relation to an element of structure c.f. verbal group \leftrightarrow predicator)

accept
evaluate
silent stress

Secondary classes (an element of primary structure analysed to a further degree of delicacy in relation to their potential positions in structure, c.f. adverbial group and the potential positions of its members)

cue	}	three elements of secondary structure which are a more delicate analysis of select; a primary element.	prompt	}	which together make up 'post head'
bid			clue		
nomination					

Note: Secondary classes are not mutually exclusive in the way sub-classes are. They are syntagmatic rather than paradigmatic.

Subclasses (these together add up to a primary class of nouns: countable and uncountable and their relation with deictics with which they occur)

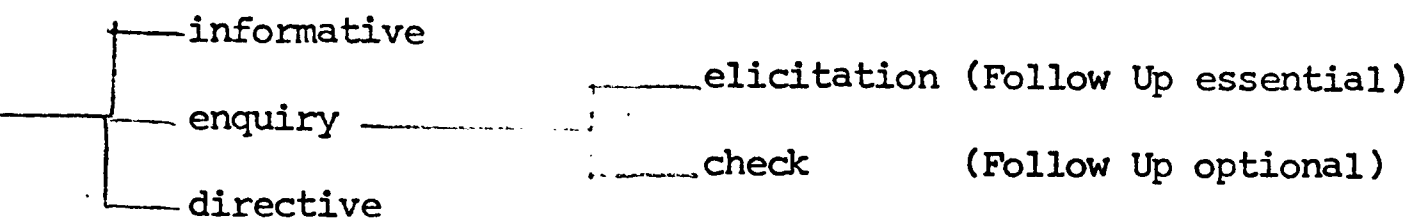
Informative	}	Subclasses of Initiation, which have 'a relation of mutual determination and concord' between:	}	acknowledge
elicitation				reply
directive				react
check				

Note: Sub-classes are mutually exclusive, unlike secondary classes.

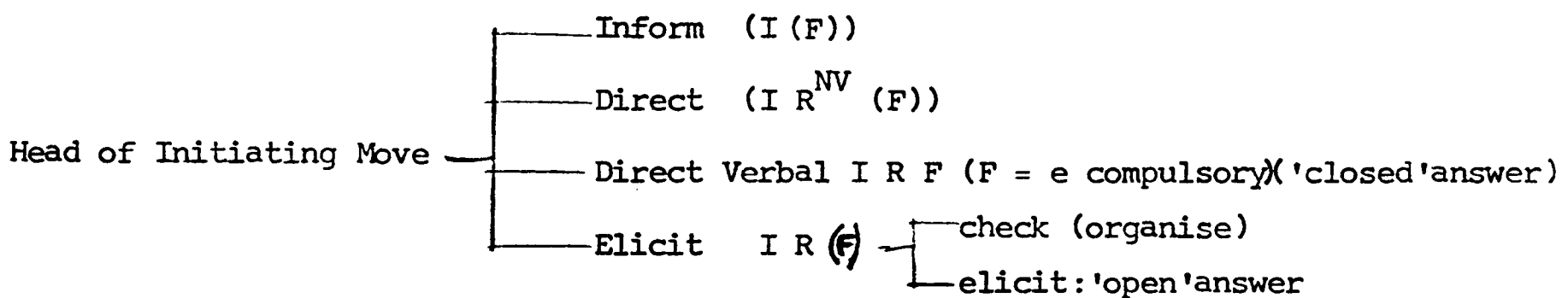
meta-statement: (in relation to following Teaching Exchange)
 conclusion: (in relation to preceding " ")

(My own meta-statement : interaction would also fit here)

Berry suggests the following diagram in an attempt to clarify the paradigmatic relations between informative, elicitation, directive and check in the S&C system.



In my system, I propose that F (evaluative) is essential after a direct : verbal but optional after an elicit, (See page 63), in which case the following diagram would work better, since the structure of my elicit is similar to S&C's check.



The check would reveal itself as an organising move if coded in the Outer column and in juxtaposition with a Boundary exchange; it would reveal itself as a linguistic query if it appeared partly in the Inner column. It remains to be seen whether its environment would be sufficient to distinguish check (organise) from elicitations of normal social interaction and 'open' questions, or whether a specific code, for example EL^{ch} or EL^o (cf Dv) would be more practical. As yet I can only hypothesise about Teacher Checks since I seem to have few examples in my data of teachers checking in this way; students use check often, if they are not sure of what to do, and, using the above system, student checks reveal themselves by the switch to the Outer column following a Direct-verbal when an Inner language response is predicted. (See Ex. 9)

Another use of check which I have isolated in E.F.L. data brings us back to Berry's last category for classification, with 'cross-class'.

Cross-class (Cf nominal group, which is related to two elements of structure - subject and complement)

acknowledge (in R, as pre-h and h) starter (in Fo and I)

marker (in Fr as h, Fo and I as Sig) comment (in Fo and R and F)

meta-statement:interaction (in FO and I)

First a point about acknowledge. I agree with Berry that the classes conflated should have identical membership and also share her doubt about whether 'cor' and 'wow' (S&C '7) are as likely to occur both at head and pre-head with the same meaning. (There are, not surprisingly, no examples of either 'cor' or 'wow' (S&C. p.102) in my data.) The changes that I have proposed for acknowledge in 4.3.1.3.) mean that it still falls into the category cross-class but that the members are identical at each position.

Check Just as acknowledge in S&C can realise the head or a pre-head in a responding move, I have suggested that check do the same (see p. 63).

Check as well as being the head of an Initiating move, is also often used, in a much ellided form, e.g. "O.K?" at post-head in the Initiating move of a Directive, a Focussing or an Informative move where its function is to give the respondents a chance to ask a question or request clarification if they have not understood. It means "Have you understood?" but rarely gains more than a nod or a look of puzzlement from the class in response, in the same way as S&C's example, "Finished, Joan?". Some teachers use this type of check far more than others; some never pause long enough for it to have any effect, or to allow a request for clarification to be made. I think it is quite an important feature of E.F.L. discourse, since it is vital to find out whether the class has understood and, though there are better ways of doing this than just "O.K?", it does give them a chance to interrupt politely, thus having an effect on the subsequent discourse structure, e.g. Repeat exchange headed by loop, e.g. "Sorry? I didn't get that." (See Ex.262 & 265)

Starter. Berry is not in favour with starter as a cross-class and I cannot see any need for it to be so. I can find no examples of starter occurring in Focussing moves in my own data and only one thus coded in the published S&C

data: the pupils had just guessed what the next quiz would be:

Fo	st	T: So that's the next quiz
	ms	and we'll do that just
		now

It seems to me that "So that's the next quiz" is either a conclusion following the correct guess, (the 'that' is anaphoric) or acts, together with the subsequent utterance, as a meta-statement. Certainly the idea of starter and meta-statement together seems counter-intuitive; their function is similar, to help the hearer to respond appropriately to what is coming next; the difference being that starter influences one exchange whereas meta-statement influences a transaction. Since a Focussing move does not predict a Responding move, it can hardly be said that a starter is necessary in a Focussing move; a signal and a head seem sufficient. I would propose then that starter (and the element of structure pre-head) be removed from the Focussing move altogether; this would simplify the model, and make starter a primary class, operating at pre-head in an Initiating move, where it certainly plays an important role.

Comment Berry's comments on comment are on the whole valid. Together with starter, it is an act worthy of further investigation, and perhaps worth analysing to a further degree of delicacy. The difficulties that her students found when distinguishing the acts inform and comment I have also shared. Brazil's findings helped me a lot here; it is certainly essential to have tape-recorded data to work from because often the distinction between the two can only be made by recognising the key at initiation of the act, relative to the preceding termination. A comment normally is in neutral mid-key, (additive) whereas an inform, beginning a new exchange, is normally high key. Sometimes a comment is taken as an inform by the hearer and responded to; sometimes the speaker changes his mind in mid-utterance and switches from comment to inform or elicit; the onset of this too is marked by high key.

To summarise briefly Berry's classification of acts in Hallidayan terms, only this time in accordance with my revised system, we have:

Primary classes: - starter, silent stress

Secondary classes: - bid, (NV) nomination, and prompt, clue

Sub-classes:	-	{informative	reply	{meta-statement
		{direct		{meta-statement interaction
		{direct:: verbal	{acknowledge	{conclusion
		{elicit	{evaluate	

Cross-classes: - acknowledge, check, marker, comment

Outside the structure - aside, loop, monitor.

CHAPTER FIVE

DESCRIPTION OF E.F.L. CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

Having described the system of analysis that I have adopted, I now want to describe some of the features that make E.F.L. interaction distinctive from content classroom interaction and casual conversation. I have already given a brief description of the lesson which forms the major part of my data (see Chapter Three), and now invite the reader to examine the analysed data in the light of Chapter Four, where I describe and justify certain adaptations to the original model proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard. The data is included in the Appendix. See Chapter 4.2. for explanation of the system of display.

This chapter will be divided into three sections, beginning with an examination of transactions and a look at typical patternings in the sequence of exchange types within transactions. I then propose to examine in more detail the relationship between the Outer and Inner layers of discourse, which will involve a study of the structure of different types of exchange and Initiating moves, especially Direct:verbal and Elicit, in the light of the Hallidayan concept of 'situation'. I hope that as a result I will be able to suggest how students themselves distinguish between the two layers. To do this I will also need to look in particular at the part played by Bound exchanges. I want also to discuss Initiating, Responding and Follow-up moves in the light of our expectations in normal, every day discourse.

5.1. The Transactions

There are eleven fairly clear-cut transactions in this lesson ranging in length between approximately one hundred exchanges to shorter ones of around ten exchanges. ⁽¹⁾ For ease of reference, the structures of these transactions are displayed opposite, in columns, showing the sequence of exchange types; (for explanation of the abbreviations see Appendix).

5.1.1. Transaction Types and 'sequences'

As will be seen, the transactions have no regular patternings that re-occur exactly, although there seem to be sequences within transactions where a series of one or two exchange types predominates for a while. Transaction F, a series of Teacher and Student Informs together with a few Teacher and Student Elicits reveals itself principally as a 'discussion transaction'; transactions C, D, H, I and K are primarily 'direct:verbal' or 'practice' transactions; transactions B and E, though short, seem to be 'eliciting' transactions where the teacher asks one or two open questions to promote more student Initiations. Transaction G consists solely of students eliciting, using EL^{ch}; from this it can be deduced that perhaps some previous point has not been fully understood and the students wish to have it clarified. Transaction J seems from the number of Student Open Elicits and Teacher Informs that there is some sort of discussion or clarification going on. The fact that there are also two Direct:Verbals and several Re-initiations shows that the discussion might well be language centred. It is strange, in fact, that there is a teacher Boundary Exchange followed by so many Student Elicits. If more transactions similar to this one are found in other data there may be a case for labelling these "explaining" transactions, but I do not have enough evidence to propose this more than tentatively and feel that these would not necessarily be introduced

1. By 'exchanges' I mean both Free and Bound exchanges.

with a Boundary Exchange. The largest transaction, A, contains identifiable sequences of similar exchanges but no overall classification can be made. There are, however, reasons for this which I shall now go into.

Transaction A, which is the first, and the longest, begins with the usual Boundary sequence (see below: 5.1.2.). Bearing in mind that Student Elicit (check) can occur at any point in the interaction, i.e. whenever some kind of classification or confirmation is necessary, we can, choosing to ignore these for the moment, see that there is a sequence of Dv exchanges followed by a sequence of Dvx exchanges, followed in turn by a sequence of Student Informs, and finally by another sequence of DV exchanges, with not one explicit Boundary exchange or Directive exchange in between. It seems that these flow into each other, uninterrupted by teacher imposed Boundaries. When we examine the data closely, we find that the teacher has taken pains to disguise the divisions between these sequences; she leads the students away from the language as presented in the book to talk about themselves using the same language patterns. At one point, the students take control of the lesson, talking about their own countries; for a while the teacher relinquishes control and lets the students talk, apart from one or two occasions where she seizes an opportunity for a short spell of language practice in the middle of the discussion. When she feels the free discussion has continued for long enough she reasserts her role as teacher but, disguised as chairman, brings the discussion round to the book again, to Fred, thus (in mid key, additive):

T. I think Fred is the same. Look at Fred.

V. Yes

T. He says I don't like washing dishes, don't you? (Ex. 76)

The tag 'don't you' is purely phatic and is not intended to elicit agreement for she continues, again mid-key, without a pause,

T. Let's look at the next one ... (Ex.77)

as if she does not want to break up the continuity of the theme that has developed in the lesson. Similar instances occurred, when I was real-time coding, of exchanges such as this that functioned as Boundary exchanges but sounded like Elicits or Informs, continuing the theme but in fact concluding an activity. I would suggest that this may be a feature of informal language teaching, the desire to create the illusion of continuity. One teacher whom I real-time coded used no Boundary exchanges, metastatements or conclusions as such, but when beginning a new activity or completing a discussion he would use a simple Direct:verbal move but superimpose the intonation of a Boundary exchange on to it, inserting a silent stress, thus:

// r WHATS_^ the
 ANSWER // r to QUESTION number //
 p TWO then ? //

His students realised from the intonation that this functioned as a Boundary exchange .

There is one instance of a student comment in an F move which is spoken with mid-key proclaiming tone and low termination which seems to be accepted by the teacher as a Boundary move. Mohavi says, after a series of exchanges originally initiated by him,

"I see. So we are the same",

after which every one laughs and the teacher starts with a new Initiating move.

I assume, however, that student initiated Boundary moves are rare.

It would seem, then, that what I have so far termed 'sequences' are perhaps disguised transactions, or in other words, transactions with no explicit Boundary markers. (By 'sequence', I mean a series of similar exchange types of four or more. These can be broken up by S EL or EL^{ch}. In the case of Boundary Sequence this does not apply, however. See 5.1.2. below.) Since Boundary exchanges are usually initiated by the Teacher, it is unlikely that student initiated discussion would be preceded by a Boundary. However, on the occasions when the teacher wishes to notify the class that they are free

to discuss something among themselves, i.e. teacher initiated discussions, the teacher typically uses a complete pitch sequence (Brazil, 1979) for the Initiating move of the exchange. The exchange can be a Boundary, but, more typically, is an EL° , a Dv or a Dvx , for example:

T. // p WHAT can you
SEE / p in the
PICTure ?
 (Ex. 185)

The low termination shows the speaker has relinquished the right to speak again, thus throwing the floor open for others to initiate.⁽¹⁾ (This does not in fact prevent the teacher interrupting in the role of linguistic adviser, but it does mean that students will re-initiate themselves without a further prompt from the teacher after an interruption).

It seems that such an exchange containing a complete pitch sequence consistently prospects a sequence of similar exchange types. In my own data, such exchanges always follow explicit Boundary moves, but it is worth considering the possibility that in other data, this type of exchange may function as a Boundary on its own.

I want now to proceed to an examination of the Boundary exchanges which occur explicitly in my data.

5.1.2. Boundary Exchanges

Earlier on I mentioned 'Boundary sequences'. This is because in only four out of eleven transactions did a single Boundary exchange occur on its own. Typically it would seem that in the E.F.L. classroom, whenever the teacher makes a Boundary explicit, a series of exchanges is used, including one, two or even three Boundary exchanges, together with one or more Directing exchanges, one or two Elicit (check) exchanges, and typically there often occurs a Student Check exchange; in other words, the teacher explains what they are going to do, tells them exactly what to do next, asks if they understand, then allows students to query if they are not sure. The following

(1) In the above case, the teacher nominates one student, who then continues to initiate, whenever possible, for 15 exchanges, during which time no other student tries to gain the floor.

examples seem typical:

Transaction A:	B	EL	B	D	D				
"	B:	B	D	S EL ^{ch}					
"	C:	B	EL ^{ch}	EL ^{ch}	Dv	B	B	EL ^{ch}	D S EL ^{ch}
"	D:	B	D	D	D	S EL ^{ch}			

Just as there are often repetitions of the B exchange, there are often repetitions of Dv^a exchange to ensure that the children or students will know what to do. I suggest that this is also a feature typical of the language classroom when the target language is being used as the medium and students may not understand immediately. Bowers felt that the S&C model failed to reveal 'operational' language within classroom interaction; we have now shown, however, that it is in fact revealed, by the 'Boundary sequences' that I have identified. These would be all coded as ORGANISE under Bowers' system. The present system, however, permits a more delicate analysis to be made even at the rank of exchange. Operational language in mid transaction is revealed by the presence of a single Direct exchange sometimes followed by an Elicit (check).

Interestingly, there is only one occurrence in my data of a Boundary exchange containing a conclusion; apart from this one they all have cataphoric reference. The one conclusion occurred after a lengthy discussion about the work of a chairman; the teacher has already tried twice to round off the discussion and get on with the lesson but has failed. Finally, she says, to summarise,

T. OK? So; but in a meeting, certainly, we use chairman. (Ex. 231) (low key termination), before proceeding immediately to a new Inform, signalled by a high key marker. This lack of concluding metastatements is, I believe, due to the fact that very often it is the students themselves who initiate a new sequence, keeping to the current topic but in fact beginning a different type of activity, giving or asking for information about

genuine concerns. I said earlier (Chapter 3) that it looks as though

students see the lessons as a series of topics, whereas teachers see them as a series of opportunities for specific language practice. The teacher, not wanting to discourage her students focusses on what is happening next rather than explicitly stopping and commenting on or evaluating the preceding discussion, which might seem rather out of place, since her own role during the preceding discussion had been one of friend or language adviser rather than chairman or instructor. (See transactions A and H for examples of this.)

5.1.3. Summary and further findings

So far I have found few occurrences of transaction boundaries coinciding consistently with topic related sequences or even language learning activities. This may be due to the teacher deliberately blurring her role as teacher and attempting to impose a sense of continuity to the lesson. She used Boundary exchanges mainly after student initiated digressions in order to get the lesson back to her intended plan and only once used a concluding act to do so. The lack of explicit Boundary exchanges was also noted when real-time coding lessons of other E.F.L. teachers.

Whereas Sinclair and Coulthard proposed (tentatively) three types of transactions, namely

informing

directing,

and eliciting,

the structure of each including pupil Elicits embedded within them, I have so far distinguished the following types of transaction:

(1)
discussion: B (or Bsequence) Inf^n S. Inf^n $\langle \text{El}^n \rangle \langle \langle \text{S.EL}^n \rangle \rangle \langle \text{Dv}^n \rangle$

practising: B (or Bsequence) $\langle \text{Inf} \rangle$ Dv^n or Dv x^n $\langle \text{EL} \rangle \langle \text{S.EL}^n \rangle$

eliciting: B (or Bsequence) EL or S EL $\langle \text{Dv} \rangle \langle \langle \text{Inf} \rangle \rangle$

? explaining: B Inf S EL^n INF^n $\langle \text{Dv}^n \rangle \langle \langle \text{EL}^{\text{ch}} \rangle \rangle$

(1) Boundary sequence

However, with so small a sample of data I am not in a position to propose these as the only typical E.F.L. transaction types. The issue is further complicated by the fact that these exchange types can occur in any order with the transaction and in any quantity, and also that embedded within all transactions there are likely to be $S EL^{ch}$ and EL^{ch} and also Re-Initiations and Dv exchanges where the focus is switched momentarily back to the language, e.g. for a correction of a student error.

What is interesting, however, is the occurrence of similar types of exchange(s) in sequence within a transaction. Some are heralded by a particular exchange type (usually those with a complete pitch sequence in the I move.)

e.g. EL^n predicts a series of bound exchanges, and

Dv^a predicts a series of listing exchanges or perhaps S. Informs.

Normally exchange type Dv occurs in a sequence together with Re-Initiations and Repeats, and often S Inf and Inf occur together in a sequence; both however with $S EL^{ch}$ exchanges embedded within. A Dv sequence can sometimes be predicted by the 'situation', or on occasions by the ms or ms/int⁽¹⁾ in the B exchange but not always. A sequence of S or T Informs is rarely predicted or predictable because it is difficult to judge whether or not the teacher will release the reins completely and let free discussion continue, especially given that there have been sequences of Dvs which lead one to believe there are more Dvs or Dvxs to come. Similarly, it is impossible to predict a sequence of $S EL^o$ s or $S EL^{ch}$ s; these occur mainly when there has been or is likely to be a breakdown in communication and obviously this can happen at any time.

One other sequence has been distinguished, that of 'Boundary'; typically:

B (D) (EL^{ch}) (B) (S EL) (D)

but again the bracketed exchanges are optional and come in any order. More

(1) Meta-statement or meta-statement:interaction.

work needs to be done on sequences and 'disguised' transaction boundaries before any definite proposals can be made; real-time coding at exchange level might be an economic method of doing this. One can, in fact, gain a fairly clear picture of the type of interaction that has taken place in the lesson just by looking at the sequence of exchange types. See the notes beneath the transactions in the table on page 109, which show how transactions coded at the rank of exchange can be interpreted.

Among other significant features that can be deduced from an examination of transactions at the rank of exchange are the following: (I will set this out in two columns, giving the actual findings from my own data)

Features	Findings
a) the proportion of student initiated : teacher initiated exchanges	96:224 (i.e. just below $\frac{1}{3}$ of total exchanges were student initiated)
b) the proportion and length of student initiated sequences. This shows how far the teacher has allowed interaction to develop among his students.	2 student initiated sequences out of 22 identifiable sequences. (average length 15 exchanges)
c) the proportion of Direct:verbal exchanges to Teacher initiated Elicits and Informs. This shows roughly how much of the language used was mechanical or contrived rather than genuinely communicative.	90 Dv (inc Dvx & Dv ^a) compared with 50 T.Els & T.Infs, or with a <u>total</u> of 125 Els & Infs (inc. Student & Teacher initiated)
d) the proportion of bound exchanges to free Teaching exchanges	78 : 226

- e) the proportion of unpredicted bound exchanges (i.e. not those following Dv or Dv^x or Dv^a) to free teaching exchanges. This shows roughly the proportion of corrections or instances of communication breakdown.
- 61 : 226

For the sake of completion I would add the following:

- f) the proportion of the various types of identifiable sequences that occurred. 9Dv : 4 Inf : 3 EL : 6 B
- g) the proportion of transactions to sequences which shows the existence or otherwise of B exchanges. 11 : 22

This list of features is not meant to be exhaustive; one could for example continue the comparison at a more delicate level, for example:

- h) the proportion of EL^{ch} to EL^o 46 : 17
- i) the proportion of T ELs to S ELs 23 : 40

Although the figures are approximate, they are fairly revealing, and one would expect that different teacher styles and different lesson types could be distinguished by real-time coding at exchange level and then examining the features suggested above to see how they compare. I am not suggesting that this should be evaluative as it stands; it is in fact purely descriptive. If it were to be used for evaluative purposes it would be necessary to take into account the specific situation, the group of students, the specific teaching objectives, together with validated information on the norms. This is quite another task.

However intriguing such figures are, it is not my main purpose to make such comparisons. I set out to try to identify typical patternings in E.F.L.

classroom discourse, and to find a way to separate out the layers of language so as to reveal any patternings more plainly. Having achieved the latter (see Chapter Four for an explanation of the analytic display system) I now wish to report further on the former.

5.2 The relationship between Inner and Outer layers: moves and exchanges

Although, as we have seen, a large amount of information can be retrieved by looking solely at the furthest left hand column of the display system, it is not until we examine the analysis more closely at the ranks of exchange and move that we can begin to see how the relationship between the Outer and Inner layers of discourse works. To do this we need to look down the three columns labelled Outer, Inner Dependent and Inner Independent respectively and examine the patternings that occur.

5.2.1. Four main patterns emerge. There are sections (and by 'sections' I mean between 1 and 3 pages of transcription, or between approximately 1½ and 4 minutes of lesson)

- a) where only the Outer column is used, which denotes focus on the topic and information conveyed rather than the language itself. This of course involves interactive and communicative use of language, c.f. 'truthful' (McTear) or 'natural' (Widdowson)
(e.g. the discussion on the kind of work a chairman does; (See Ex.201-231)
- b) where mainly the Outer column is used with the brief sortie into the Inner Dependent, denoting the odd teacher correction or the supplying of an appropriate word or phrase to help the discourse advance. Again the emphasis is on the topic of information being conveyed but the teacher is acting in the role of linguistic adviser as well as friend or chairman. (e.g. the 'woman's work' discussion, Ex.65-75.)
- c) where stretches of the Inner Dependent column are fairly regularly in use. This reveals a focus on the language, perhaps drilling or other E.L.T. practice activities of a non-interactive mechanical nature.

(e.g. the 'Stop ing ' drill, 'Ex. 245-260)

- d) where the third column - the Inner Independent column is in use together with the Outer, and possibly occasionally the Inner Dependent. This shows controlled but interactive practice. (e.g. where the students ask each other if they would mind doing particular things, Ex.268-273)

The pattern of moves in the Outer column and Inner Independent column is different, however. The moves in the Outer column reflect the different structures of the various types of exchange, mainly I R F (F) but also I F, whereas in the Inner Independent column I R seems to be the norm. The Inner Dependent column of course contains no moves because it is non-interactive and dependent on the Outer column. The only common pattern that emerges here is cl r but this column reveals that acts more commonly appear in an isolated fashion on their own; r , cl , mainly, but also st, eld, ack and e.

I do not intend to go into the structure of moves at this point as I will be coming back to discuss patternings at the rank of act later on.

We have established, then, that four main patterns emerge when looking at the relationship between the Inner and Outer layers of discourse.

Just as Dv exchanges predict use of the Inner layer, so, on the whole, do bound exchanges of any type. Out of 78 Bound exchanges, only 9 remain entirely in the Outer layer; 6 of these are student initiated and are bound to EL exchanges also in the Outer layer; the remaining 3 reveal breakdowns in communication. The implications of this are that most Re-Initiations and Repeat exchanges focus on language; i.e. correction, supplying word or phrase or a student wanting extra practice or confirmation of an answer. I will come back to the structure of Re-Initiating moves at a later stage. in 5.3.1.

5.2.2. Unpredictable switches between Inner and Outer

One other feature that one notices when glancing through the analysis is the use of arrows going from one column to another. These arrows are used in two ways. Normally switches from the Outer to the Inner layer are

predictable, as we have seen. Just to summarise briefly, we said that

a Dv or a bound exchange predicts a switch to Inner Dependent and Dv x predicts a switch to Inner Independent. Also we established that acts like d, el, i, st, cl, ack and e can have a reference to the Inner layer embedded within them, so these often occur in the Outer column with a short arrow leading into the Inner Dependent column. (see example 2 on page 86) However, there are times when both teacher and students switch from one to the other unexpectedly, or when what is said has a simultaneous value on two separate levels.

These occasions can, as Long suggests, be engineered on purpose as a source of humour (see page 34) or can, on the other hand, happen inadvertently perhaps creating confusion (McTear, see page 88). The teacher in the main lesson I have transcribed exploits opportunities to use, in a meaningful way, the language that is currently being taught, with the result that some of her directives have simultaneous value in both the Outer layer (she expects her directives to be obeyed) as well as the Inner layer, where a slowing of pace and a more intensive distribution of tonic syllables show that she also wants the students to focus on the form of the language. This is another example of the phonological layer superimposed upon grammar and lexis thus giving a dual function to an act or move. Instances of this feature occur wherever there is a long arrow stretching from Inner independent to the Outer column or vice versa, for example:

D	(I) ←———— I d	T	Would you mind not looking at
			the writing? (Spoken slowly and clearly)
	cl		Let's look at the picture.
	ch		O.K? (Ex. 5)

See also exchanges 180 and 181.

An example of a student switching from the Inner Independent, where they are practising 'Would you mind' questions and their responses, occurs in

Exchange 97, where, having asked Antonio if he would mind putting the light on, Mohavi follows up with: "No, not at all, so you have to er" (accompanied by expansive gestures) which is a source of humour for all present.

A similar switch occurs, but this time at the rank of exchange, (Exchanges 30 - 33), where the student who has been asked to Initiate an exchange in the Inner Independent column follows the completed exchange immediately with another, using the language interactively. A simplified version (cutting out the Re-Initiations where corrections occur) is given here as an illustration. They have just talked about being soldiers.

S EL ^{ch}	I el	M.	Do you like being a student?
	R r	V.	Yes I like being a learner of English.
Re-In R	I ^b cl	T.	I like learning English.
	R r	V.	I like learning English.
S EL ^{ch}	I el	M.	You like learning English.
			but you don't like being a soldier!
	R r	V.	I don't like being a soldier.
	Fack	T.	(laughs) (low key termination denotes end of exchange).

Instances of the teacher inadvertently switching from one to the other without warning are few in my data but do cause slight confusion. They occur only between Inner Dependent and Inner Independent, when students are practising forming past tense questions. Once one student has formed the question successfully, the teacher then expects an answer to the question from another student, but so far all the language has been in the Inner Dependent layer, (in Dv, not Dv x - exchanges) and the student continues on that level. This happens several times, (see exchanges 160 - 162), but the best example is the following one. Constantine has just made the question 'Where is Fred now?' from the cue words by the picture of Fred in the book, and the teacher

has repeated it, giving a positive evaluation, before continuing thus:

Dv	I st	T.	What's the answer to that,
	n		Virginia
	d in → I el	 Where is Fred now, Virginia?
	R r •	V.	Where is erm er, pardon where is er
	sF e	C.	No.
S Re-In R	I ^C pr	C.	The answer!
	(R) R r	V.	Fred is er in er bed now.
	F e →	T.	Yes. He's in bed now.

(Ex. 78)

The only clue comes not from the structure of the discourse but from the semantic cohesion of the anaphoric reference in 'that' in the Initiating move, which refers to the question that Constantine had formed in the previous exchange. If the teacher had used a Dv x exchange or a meta-statement: interaction in an explicit Boundary exchange the confusion may not have arisen.

There are of course many other potential causes of confusion and breakdown of communication in the E.F.L. classroom, many due to the students' inability to express themselves coherently in the target language. These are unavoidable, whereas confusions arising as a result of switches between the layers of discourse could possibly be avoided by greater explicitness. I would imagine that inexperienced E.F.L. teachers would tend to be less explicit than more experienced teachers, but this is only a hypothesis. Such sources of confusion seem to present a greater problem for the students in the lessons analysed and/or reported by Long and McTear than in the lessons I have analysed. It might be interesting, at this point, to stop and consider how students do in fact distinguish prospectively between the layers of discourse, between 'mechanical' and 'truthful' (McTear), between Dv and El. The identical problem in fact also faces the researcher when analysing data prospectively or when real-time coding in the classroom.

5.2.3. From the students' point of view: a look at 'situation'

The problem is, how do students know, whether the teacher's Initiation is intended as a Direct-verbal, i.e. a request to perform a particular linguistic task - to respond using the structure being practised, or as an Elicit - a genuine question where the teacher wants some information. In other words, whether the teacher is primary or secondary knower, (Berry) or whether it is an A event or B event (Labov & Fanshel).

To go back to Halliday (1978) and 'The Socio-semantic nature of discourse'; he asks what are "the semantic configurations that are typically associated with a specific situation type?" Alternatively, more personally, what meanings will the hearer ... expect to be offered in this particular class of social contexts? In E.F.L. discourse, his 'meanings' can be connected to the layers of language use; for 'hearer' read 'students', and for 'social contexts' read 'lesson,' then we can begin to understand how students can predict from the situation at particular stages in the lesson, and from particular para-linguistic or non-linguistic cues he picks up from the teacher (Mehan), what meanings he expects to be offered or be required to offer himself, and therefore, whether to predict a Dv or an El.

It helps to go into the concept of 'situation' more deeply, as Halliday does. The 'situation' consists of

- i the social action (field) "a complex of acts in some ordered configuration including the subject matter as one special aspect."
- ii the role structure (tenor) "... socially meaningful participant relationships, both permanent attributes of the participants, and role relationships that are specific to the situation....." (p.143)
- iii the symbolic organisation (mode) "the status assigned to the text within the situation, its function in relation to the

social action and the role structure, including channel or medium and the rhetorical mode."

Berry ⁽¹⁾ suggests that two of these in particular, tenor and field, help the students to predict which of the two meanings (Dv or El) will follow. To consider tenor first; I have already discussed the changing roles of the teacher within the language lesson, see page 10 ; 'tenor' is very much to do with this. There will almost certainly be phases in a lesson where the teacher is definitely in the role of instructor (see dia. on page 11) for example, "Let's go on with Page 80; Now, ..." where Dvs seem more likely than Els. Teachers often make their role and intentions explicit in a series of Boundary moves followed by Directives, and it is often the transaction boundaries that herald a change in the teacher's role. For example, in my data, after some student initiated discussion, the teacher needed to resume the role of instructor and get back to the prepared lesson; she said, "Well, I think Fred (in the book) is the same, don't you?" focussing attention back on to the book. As instructor, a teacher often models language - a further clue.

Field is in fact very closely associated with tenor especially in the language classroom; the type of social action, i.e. "that which is going on", "typically a complex of acts ⁽²⁾ in some ordered configuration, and in which the text is playing some part, and including 'subject matter' as one special aspect" (Halliday 1978) is, in the classroom, dependent upon the focus (and hence, usually, role) of the subject matter, whether on language itself or information conveyed; typically as we have seen, the field is narrowed down into an "ordered configuration" of sequences or transactions, the teacher changing roles according to the type of sequence or transaction that he or she has embarked upon. Students are normally initially guided by meta-statements and directives in a Boundary sequence; in the absence of a Boundary exchange or sequence they must judge from the sequence itself as it develops, thus predicting from their understanding of

(1) Informal discussion, July 1980.

(2) (Ex. 76)

(3) Not acts in the S & C sense.

tenor and field, how they are to respond. Thus, if there have been one or two Dv exchanges where students' responses have been positively evaluated (not necessarily straight away) it is likely that, given the absence of any particular signals to the contrary, that the next teacher Initiation will also be a Dv. The permanent attributes of the participants (i.e. teacher ↔ student role relationships) are always borne in mind even when the teacher is acting as friend or chairman, and it is this feature that allows students and teachers to initiate with an EL^{ch} at any point in any sequence, to keep the channel open. This aspect bears some resemblance to Halliday's 'mode', taking into account the range of functions the text is serving in the environment of the language lesson. During a sequence of Dv exchanges, any teacher Initiating move that is not a Dv is likely to be marked in some way to show that, despite the field and tenor, here is an exception. I have no examples at all in my data of the teacher switching focus and changing role, to digress from the Dv sequence; on each of the three occasions where a teacher EL is used it follows a student EL or Re-Initiation and is an EL^{ch}, concerning the student's ability to remember or understand a particular point, e.g. "can you remember?" (spoken with facial expression showing personal concern, for fear the preceding question was too difficult). Even here, then, the Elicit is marked non-linguistically, by facial expression. Since there are no examples in my data, I cannot give hard and fast evidence, but from experience I feel justified in suggesting that teachers take pains to signal in some way any switch from Inner to Outer, from 'mechanical' to 'truthful'. It seems there are various ways of doing this, such as stress on the verb, or on the second person pronoun, or by adding words like "really" or "Answer my question". The example, given by Long, already quoted in Chapter Two, shows this happening:

Dv	I	cl	T: (modelling) I'm a student
		d	teacher
	R	r	S: I'm a teacher.
EL ^{ch}	I	el	T: <u>Are</u> you? (Stress on 'Are')
	N.V.		
	R	r	Ss: laughter.

For further research on this particular point, a large amount of data needs to be collected and surveyed. Perhaps lessons given by an untrained or less experienced E.F.L. teacher would yield a higher proportion of unpredictable teacher switches from Inner to Outer than otherwise.

Switches from Outer to Inner are far more common. A teacher (or occasionally a fellow student in an informal classroom) has the right to interrupt at any time with a correction or to supply a word.⁽¹⁾ If this happens in a discussing transaction, it seems that the students recognise whether they are obliged to repeat the correct word or the newly supplied item before they proceed by the particular tone which the teacher uses; a Re-initiation with a proclaiming tone normally demands a student response in the Inner column, whereas one with a referring tone merely requests an acknowledgement, the student simply slotting the supplied item into his utterance as he proceeds in the Outer layer. Wachendorf (1981) also has evidence of this.

Perhaps it is the 'field' that accounts for the fact that students readily accept switches from Outer to Inner rather than from Inner to Outer. Students and teacher share a common objective, the mastery of a language, and accept the need for correction by the teacher and requests to the teacher for help with language forms. Similarly, motivated students often seek out opportunities to practise speaking and expressing their own opinions hence the numerous occasions in my data of student Informs or Elicit (open) interrupting a sequence of Direct verbal exchanges. It is almost as if they try to escape from the linguistic control imposed by the teacher. This constitutes student initiated switches from Inner to Outer, and may or may not be recognised and/or accepted by the teacher. Here, in fact, it seems that 'field' can interfere with 'mode'; certainly if students' own objectives do not coincide with the teacher's objectives, there may well be occasions where there is a clash. The following example reveals the teacher working primarily in the Inner Independent layer, using Dvx exchanges to promote controlled interaction, to practise

(1) See Ex. 78 & 80.

the use of 'like' + gerund; the student, however, recognised the interactive possibilities open to him in this particular setting in normal conversation and went on to elaborate his answer as he would have done outside the classroom. Unfortunately he made a mistake in the first part of his reply but it seemed from the reaction of the teacher over the subsequent exchanges that there was only one answer which was acceptable at this point.

	Exchange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Dependent	Independent
34	Dvx	I st (y)	st	I el
		d	cl	
		(R)ack		
		F ack		
				R r
		com		
		F ack		
35	Dvx	I st		I el
		d		
		(R)		
		F ack		
				R Ø
36	Re InR		I ^b cl	R r*
			cl	
		F ack		
37	Re InR		cl*	I ^b
				R*
			(s cl)	
		F	e	
<p>T. Ask erm Sokoop, Sokoop being erm a father. Can you ask him? Being a father</p> <p>V. Er, yes, er yes. Do you like er being a father?</p> <p>T. Um, hm.</p> <p>S. Yes, I like. I am er father of four children. Yes.</p> <p>Listen to her question, though. Say again. Say it again.</p> <p>V. Do you like er being a father?</p> <p>T. Uhm.</p> <p>- -</p> <p>Do you <u>like</u> being a father?</p> <p>Do you like being a father?</p> <p>S. Yes I like being ... to be</p> <p>T. Um hm.</p> <p>T. Yes.</p> <p>S. Yes I like being</p> <p>S Yes I do</p> <p>T. Yes I do. Yes I do. I like being a father.</p>				

38	Dvx	I m		m m	(low term)
		d<n>		Ask Mohavi, er	
		z		Let's see,	
			cl	being a minister	
		(R)	I el	S. Do you like er being a minister?	
			R r	M. Yes I do.	
		F ack		T. Um hm.	
		SF ack		C. Thank you!	
		!		T. (laughs at Constantine's "Thank you")	

It is however interesting to note what a little flattery of the teacher can do. The next Dv x exchange goes like this:

		Discourse			
		Outer	Inner		
Exch- ange Type			Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
39	Dv x	I d<n>	cl		T. Ask Antonio, studying here
		^a (R)		I el	M. Do you like studying here?
				R r*	A. Mm, like being
40	Re in R	I ^b pr			T. Say it again.
			I ^b el	M. Do you like studying here.	
			R r*	A. Yes I like	
41	Re in R	I ^c		M. especially with our	teacher
		R ^c r		A.	I like very much,
		!		M. (laughs)	
		F e		T. Good.	

This time, the students have got away with it! In fact, after two more Dv x exchanges, the students take over the lesson completely, see exchanges 47 onwards.

5.2.4. Summary

The table below sets out how commonly the switches between the Outer and Inner layers of discourse occur in my data. This could well be typical of a combination of informal teaching and motivated students in what is, in fact, an

E.S.L. environment. The same may not be true of a less motivated monolingual class, less willing to interact in English.

	OUTER TO INNER	INNER TO OUTER
TEACHER INITIATED SWITCHES	<u>Common</u> (Correction of error, supplying new words. Beginnings of drill or practice sequences: these are normally marked by B exchanges.)	<u>Rare</u> (Nearly always marked in some way; normally as a result of students' misunderstanding, e.g. of instructions)
STUDENT INITIATED SWITCHES	<u>Rare</u> (Queries about the pronunciation or meanings of words or structures, or requests for confirmation though normally the latter only occur if already in the Inner layer)	<u>Common</u> (Either deliberately escaping from formal constraints imposed by teacher, or non-recognition of them through misunderstanding; also requests for further information or explanations.)

There are also, of course, many switches between Inner Independent and Inner Dependent. Where the reverse occurred and this was rare, there tended to be confusion. Some confusion (and humour) was generated by students switching from Inner Independent to Outer.

This section has dealt primarily with 'situation' and has not been exhaustive in its explorations into the ways that students (and analysers) predict and recognise what kinds of meanings are expected and offered. We may still gain from exploring the structure of discourse at a further level of delicacy.

5.3. The structure of moves and the work of some acts

5.3.1. The structure of Initiating moves of Dv and EL exchanges.

It seems likely that the distinctive structure of Dv initiating moves provides a further clue for students to recognise whether the required response

is to be in the Outer or Inner layer.

Out of the 65 Dv Initiating moves examined, there were 33 different structures found, but only 3 of these occurred with any regularity and 19 occurred only once. Possible move structure is $m\ st^{(n)}\ d\ cl\ pr\ n$, see page 78, only the head act, d, being obligatory. The comparatively large number of different structures is accounted for by three factors: firstly that the act starter can occur more than once in an Initiating move; on five occasions there were moves with three or four starters consecutively, these being mainly near the beginning of a sequence, while the new activity was being set up, hence the need for longer or repeated explanations. The second factor is that the possible use of the Inner column for starter, direct and clue accounts for more variations. The third factor is accounted for by the varying positions of the act nomination, which occurs at any point in the structure. Potentially, then, the Dv Initiating move can be quite complex, especially near the beginning of a sequence. Subsequently, the structure becomes simpler, with regular patterns re-occurring as follows:- (those circled in red are in the Inner dependent column, those with red arrows have a reference of the Inner column embedded)

d	Ⓒl	8 times
	Ⓓ	5 times
d	→	5 times

If we take no account of the varying positions of the act nomination we find that the following occurs:

st	d	⟨n⟩	7 times
d	Ⓒl	⟨n⟩	12 times

The Initiating moves with the single element occur only when the sequence has been well established, in other words, when students can predict

from the situation what is required of them. Otherwise more complex move structures occur, with various combinations of st d cl $\langle n \rangle$ being more common. Marker and prompt are rarely used.

It is interesting to compare these findings with the structure of the Initiating move in an Elicit exchange. Out of the total of 63 elicits, (teacher and student) 61 consisted of a single eliciting act, the remaining 2 consisting of starter and elicit. Of these 40 were student elicits; it is perhaps not surprising that early intermediate students use a single eliciting act because their English is limited and they simply do not have recourse to the kind of mitigating language that often seems to occur as a starter before an elicit in casual conversation. However, of the 23 teacher eliciting acts, 22 had no starters either. This may be because the majority of them, 18, were elicit;check, i.e. predicting a single closed response, and only 5 of the 'open' variety, which I imagine (and this is only a hypothesis) would be more likely to have starters in casual conversation than elicits of the check type. This area is certainly one that needs a good deal of basic research; Pearce (1976) certainly found enough evidence to support a "Preparatory" move, which preceded an Eliciting move; Burton found that moves containing the act 'summons', and challenging moves containing the act 'preface' prior to an Opening move were common. (Burton, 1980)

For the moment, I would like to put forward the hypothesis that the Initiating moves of Dv exchanges are likely to be more complex because of the need to place constraints on the subsequent Responding move; placing the constraints entails a more complex move structure than a straightforward EL. One result of this is that students may recognise from the complexity of the structure that the required response will not be a straight, natural response in the Outer layer, but a more contrived response in the Inner.

It is worth at this point having a brief look at the structure of Re-Initiations. As already stated, there is a difference between the structure

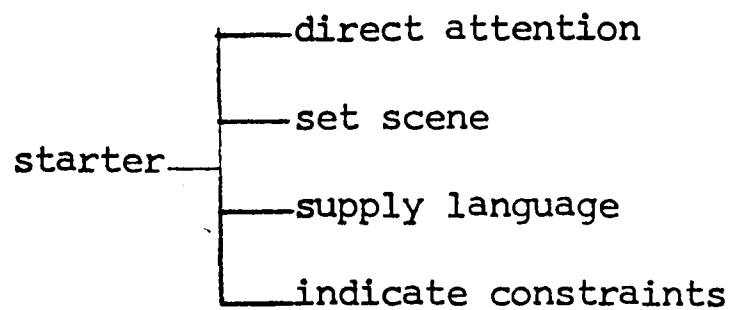
when it is an Initiation being re-initiated or when it is a Response.

Examining Teacher Re-Initiations following Dv exchanges, we find that the vast majority consist solely of the act clue entirely in the Inner layer, i.e. an item of the target language spoken with a proclaiming tone obviously intended for repetition (See page 127 above) and sometimes with a slowing up of pace. These mainly constitute corrections of students' errors, and co-incide with Chaudron's findings that repetition is one of the commonest forms of correction. Student Re-Initiations almost all consist of the single act reply; they occur in the following circumstances, mostly predictable:

- after a Dv exchange, which can predict a series of student responses
- after a non-evaluative Follow-up move consisting solely of the act acknowledge
- after a negative evaluation in a Follow-Up move
- and less predictably, after an evaluative Follow-up move which is positive but where the student repeats the answer or offers a different version, expecting further confirmation that it is satisfactory. This final feature occurs in place of the optional second F move in a teaching exchange.

The act clue is the most common act occurring in post-head position, and it nearly always consists of an item of target language, as a model. Occasionally in my data clue consists of a short explanation about the language. An examination of starter, though, revealed such a variety of kinds of starter that I propose a system for analysis of starter at a greater level of delicacy, thinking that perhaps this would reveal some patterns which consistently lead to correct responses and some which lead to break-downs in communication.

An examination of Initiating moves where more than one starter occurred showed that teachers typically use starters to direct students' attention to the book exercise, picture etc, to set the scene for the exchange, e.g. "Now you are Fred and you are tired", to supply the language forms or information load required, and to indicate constraints on the interaction, e.g. "Ask Ali to....". I then proposed a system for starter with the following subclasses:-



However, I could find no particular correlation between the existence of certain subclasses and not others and the number and type of Re-Initiations. I would also have liked to have been able to propose a similar system for inform and for responses to Elicit :Open which tend to carry a heavier information load than responses to Elicit:check. However, to do this satisfactorily would entail a more exhaustive study of far more data than I have at my disposal, and perhaps even the applications of other models more suited to extended monologue, such as that suggested by Montgomery (1976) in his paper on the structure of lectures, or by Winter (1977) in his study of written discourse. It is not only the internal structure of the act inform that could be further analysed, but also the relationship between a series of informs, (see Tadros, 1981).

5.3.2. Follow-Up Moves

The structure of Follow-up moves has already been outlined in Chapter 4, section 3.1.3., where I describe the two alternative types, one with evaluate as head which normally follows a Direct:verbal, the other with acknowledge as head which may follow an Elicit or an Inform, but is not obligatory.

There are, however, some exceptions to this rule which are worth considering. I want first to look at evaluatory Follow-up, subsequent to a Direct:verbal Initiation. Where the evaluation is positive, the teacher usually gives a word or two of praise, and often repeats the correct response for others to hear and take note of. Often at this point students also repeat the correct response, giving a second F move, as we have already seen. Negative evaluation in a Direct:verbal exchange seems to happen in one of three ways. Firstly, the teacher can say "No" (high key proclaiming tone)(Fe) then re-initiate, usually with a clue. Secondly, and this is the most common, the teacher may acknowledge the response, (F ack) with a mid key referring tone, and then either re-initiate making or suggesting a correction, (cl) or await a further response from the class (we have already seen that the majority of Student Re-initiations were in fact replies). Students seem to recognise that an acknowledge on its own requires a further response if it follows a Direct verbal. Thirdly, the teacher may withhold verbal Follow-up of any kind. This in fact acts as negative evaluation and usually students re-initiate, if the teacher does not do so. Normally, then, acknowledge as head of a Follow-up move in a Direct:verbal exchange is seen as negative. However, after a Dva or Dv x Initiating move, predicting a series of responses, an acknowledge will follow each single acceptable response, until the teacher has heard enough, and gives evaluative Follow-up at the end of the series. Certainly evaluative Follow-up with low key termination is heard as final. Interestingly, there are a few cases where an 'acknowledge' following a Dv is accepted as positive, but each time the Dv acted as a Dv x, and this was predictable for the students from the "situation", see transcription,

exchange 162. Very occasionally, a comment is made instead of a direct evaluation. If the comment takes up the theme of the exchange, it seems to act as positive evaluation, see exchange 25, Sometimes, however, as in exchange 194, a comment on its own reflects on the performance or nature of the task and is taken as negative evaluation, e.g. "Its a difficult one, isn't it?" (Ex. 16)

Acknowledge as head of a Follow-up move in an Elicit or Inform exchange is normal. Here, as in normal discourse Follow-up is not compulsory but often occurs. Certainly evaluative Follow-up is very rare in Elicit exchanges. Student Follow-up is fairly common and usually occurs in Student Elicit exchanges, or after Student Re-initiations, and usually functions to show that the student understands or agrees with the teacher's move, for example, Mohavi says, "I see, I see", exchange 73. As we have seen there are also occasions when a student acknowledges a teacher Follow-up.

There are a few cases in my data where it is very difficult to say whether a move is Follow-up or Initiation (or Re-initiation). As already discussed in Chapter 4.3, the move seems simultaneously to evaluate the preceding response and initiate a further exchange, see, for example, exchange 93

Mohavi's first "For me". The second "For me" with low key termination does not demand a response like the first one; the teacher's reply "... you can say "For me" " would seem strange without an acknowledgement of some kind. In fact in my data, all Open Elicit Exchanges that have complete responses also have a Follow-Up with acknowledge. In the case of Open Elicit Exchanges where there are Re-Initiations the Follow-up usually comes at the end of the final Re-Initiation(s) and marks the completion of that stage of the interaction. Elicit:check does not seem to require a Follow-up move in the same way as an Open Elicit. More research needs to be done on this particular point before any conclusions can be reached but it would seem fair to put forward the hypothesis that Open Elicits predict a Follow-up move whereas for Elicit:check Follow-up is not essential. This may also hold good for other forms of discourse, and could be an interesting point to pursue.

(1) cf McTear's 'sequence' (1976)

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS1 Background

In this study, I set out to devise an analytical system which would reveal the structure of discourse in an informal E.F.L. classroom. I wanted to find out whether the model devised by Sinclair and Coulthard ⁽¹⁾ for the formal content classroom could effectively be adapted to accommodate the interaction of the informal E.F.L. classroom. My subsequent aim was to identify typical patternings in the structure of E.F.L. discourse in order to extend our understanding of the nature of language teaching interaction. I hoped also that these findings might form a basis for a future comparative study using data from social interaction outside the classroom; by comparing the two we might find implications for the teacher of English as a second or foreign language.

From the beginning we accepted that classroom conventions differ from normal social conventions; this is partly due to the status of the teacher within the educational system. We suggested that the formal classroom differed from the informal classroom not so much in the way the desks were arranged (though this may well be an indication of the degree of formality) but in the type and quantity of verbal dominance of the teacher. Language teachers especially tend to adopt a variety of different roles within one lesson, each of which may be subject to different conventions. They may break the conventions of the formal classroom where the pupil normally has a responding role only in order to give their students opportunities to ask questions and make the initiating move so that they may gain more varied language practice. Thus the usual tripartite structure established by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), of Teacher Initiation, Pupil Response and Teacher Feedback may not be the norm in the informal language classroom.

(1) Here, as earlier, I am assuming that the reader is familiar with this model.

The most important distinction between the content classroom and the language classroom, however, is that in the latter, language is used for two purposes; it serves both as the subject matter of the lesson itself and the medium for instruction. It is this that makes E.F.L. classroom discourse so complex and difficult to analyse. Although most researchers who have studied language classrooms have acknowledged this problem, no one, with the exception of Wachendorf, forthcoming,⁽¹⁾ has yet devised a system which separates out these two uses of language so that each can be studied both independently and in relation to the other.

In order to distinguish between these two uses of language, I adopted the terms 'Inner' and 'Outer', following Sinclair, in 'Teacher Talk', forthcoming. Sinclair describes them thus:

"The Outer structure is a mechanism for controlling and stimulating utterances in the Inner structure which gives formal practice in the foreign language." (ms p.22)

In other words, the Outer structure provides the framework of the lesson, being the medium of instruction, the language used to organise and socialise, whereas the Inner structure presents the target language forms that are being taught. The relationship between these two layers of language can be fairly complex. Basically, the Outer structure is interactive whereas the Inner layer often consists of series of disconnected utterances that are, on their own, non-interactive but dependent on the Outer layer. However, sometimes the language teacher will set up a situation whereby one student asks another student a question, which results in teacher-controlled student to student interaction which I label 'quasi-interaction;' while this quasi-interaction is actually in progress it can be temporarily independent of the Outer structure. Pair work, role play, problem solving and activities where the teacher stands back would, then, be coded as Inner Independent wherever there are constraints imposed upon the language to be used.

In order to analyse informal E.F.L. classroom discourse, then, I needed to elaborate on the model provided by Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975. As

(1) It is from Wachendorf that I have borrowed the term "focus switch".

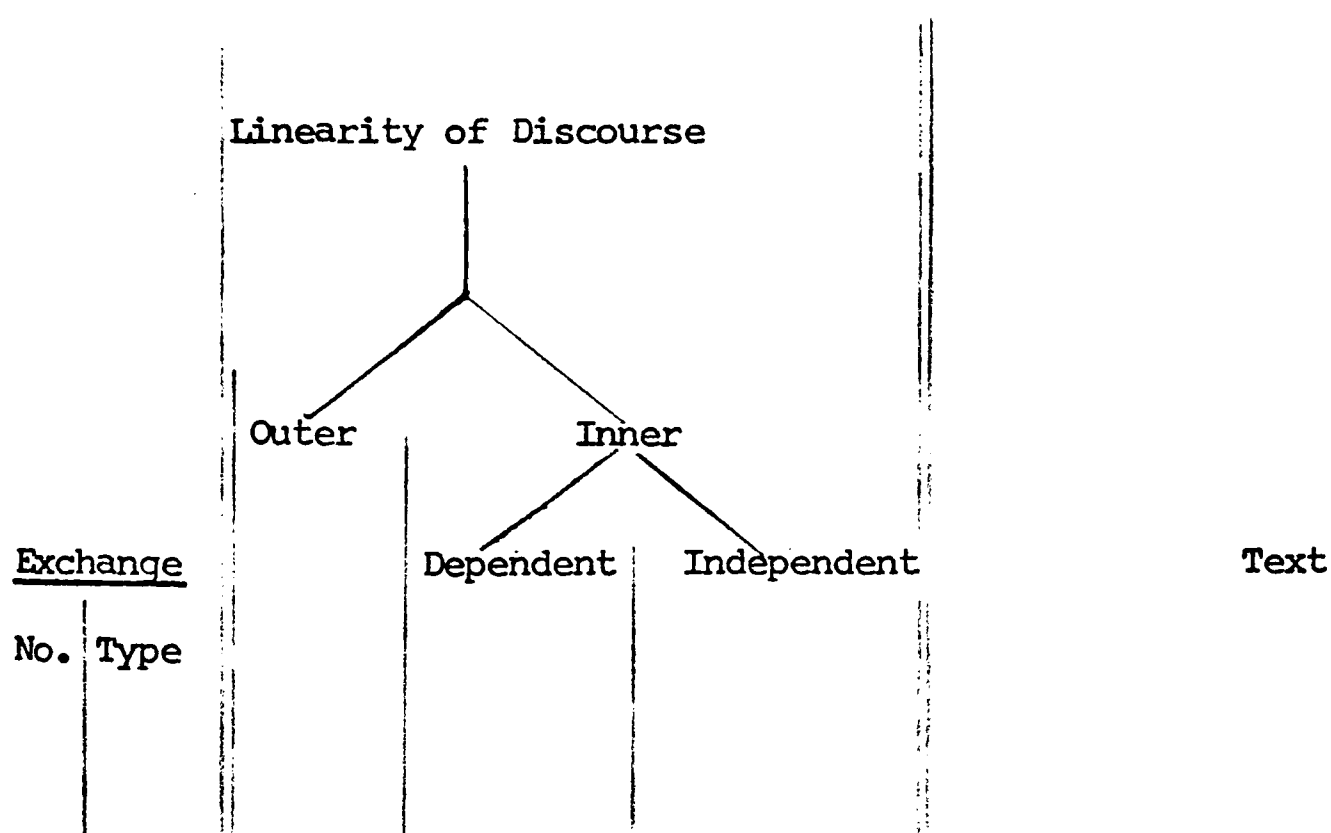
recounted in my review of the literature, I examined many systems proposed for the analysis of classroom interaction to see what they had to offer but found that even those devised for language teaching classrooms failed to reveal the relationship between the Inner and Outer layers and distinguish between them consistently, in addition to preserving the linear structure of the discourse. Many of these systems were designed for pedagogic purposes, e.g. teacher training, rather than as linguistic analyses; they were often subjective and lacked sufficiently formal linguistic criteria which would enable one to analyse and code classroom data objectively. Most concentrated more on teacher behaviour and/or the semantic content of the lesson than the actual discourse structure itself. It seemed, then, that the best option was for me to devise a more elaborate system based on the hierarchical rank scale model of Sinclair and Coulthard.

I used a combination of procedures for data collection in the hope of avoiding the pitfalls of some and gaining the benefits of others. After initial observations (to gain the confidence of students and teachers and familiarity with the setting) and after various experiments in real-time coding of language classroom interaction at the level of exchange (to familiarise myself with the problems of the basic analytical model) I selected what I considered to be some representative informal T.E.F.L. classes which I then audio-recorded, using stereo microphones, making notes of significant non-verbal features.

The data I finally used for exhaustive analysis came from a class of mixed nationality lower intermediate students, using the textbook, "Kernel Lessons Intermediate". I selected this particular lesson because it contained a good variety of learning activities and teaching techniques; the teacher allowed informal discussion to develop spontaneously and related the target forms to her students' lives as naturally as possible. It seemed probable that the data from this lesson would reveal most of the analytical problems that I had identified during my initial observations and that an

analytical model which could handle the data from this lesson would also accommodate other language teaching interaction without difficulty.

The next stage in my research was to set up a model which could handle the analysis of my data. Basically, the Sinclair and Coulthard model required one major adaptation: a display system which could separate out the Outer layer of discourse from the Inner layer, and also the Inner Dependent layer from the Inner Independent layer, while still preserving the linearity of discourse. Eventually I devised the following display system which could incorporate the coded symbols for acts, moves, exchanges and transactions, descending sequentially in columns on the left of the actual text of the transcription, unlike the original display system offered by Sinclair and Coulthard in 1975 where the whole text was incorporated into the display.



By glancing down the columns of analysed transcription one can see the move structure of each exchange, and identify how language is being used. The switches from Outer to Inner layer and vice versa are revealed and one can study the patternings in discourse down to the level of act; by looking down at the consecutive exchange types one can get a fairly accurate idea of the type of interaction happening in the lesson.

As will be seen by comparing Figure 3 with Figure 10 , I have kept

to the same hierarchical rank scale model making some adaptations. The most important changes I needed to make were at the rank of exchange. Because of the nature of language teaching, where teachers are continually asking students to produce utterances, e.g. to repeat, to manipulate or complete sentences, I felt that an additional exchange type was required, namely 'Direct:verbal' (Dv). This is used when a teacher issues a directive to produce a particular utterance; the original act direct in the Sinclair and Coulthard model could only predict a non-linguistic response. In a Dv exchange, however, the propositional content of the response carries no interactive value in itself; the emphasis is on the form of the response only, not on the propositional content. With Teacher Elicit, on the other hand, the content is vital, and the response is genuinely interactive. (See pages 92 to 96) In addition to the new exchange, Direct:verbal, I introduced three more, namely Direct:verbal exchange (Dvx) and Direct:verbal activity (Dva), which are self explanatory.⁽¹⁾ I also added Student Inform, in addition to Student Elicit, since in an informal situation, students are more likely to initiate freely and offer information themselves. In all types of Direct:verbal exchanges the major part, normally the head, of the Responding move is likely to be in one of the Inner columns since the focus will be on the form of the language. With Inform and Elicit exchanges, the major part of the Responding move is likely to be in the Outer column, however, since on the whole such exchanges are used interactively. The Sinclair and Coulthard 'Check' exchange has been subsumed under Teacher/Student Elicit. In my system Elicit itself is subcategorised Elicit (check) or Elicit (open); the first, EL^{ch}, predicts a short or polar Responding move to which there is only one acceptable answer, while for Elicit (open) any number of lengthier replies could be acceptable. Thus we have eight free teaching exchanges instead of the original six; we also have six bound exchanges instead of five, since both Re-initiation and Repeat exchanges can be bound either to the Initiating move or the Responding move in the preceding

(1) See pages 75-76, and 81.

exchange. Exchange structure remains basically similar apart from a second Follow-Up move from the student which is optional.

I have introduced two other new acts besides direct-verbal, namely monitor (mon), and meta-statement:interaction (ms:int). Details of these can be found on pp. 90 on. There are other minor adaptations too numerous to summarise here; details of these can be found in 4.31.

In conclusion I can suggest that these adaptations were necessary for two reasons, one being the informality of the classroom setting which means that the students do much more than simply respond, the other being the nature of the language teaching classroom where the focus is often on production of particular target language forms rather than the transmission of knowledge.

2 Distinctive features of informal T.E.F.L. interaction

2.1 Transactions

It became evident even in the initial stages of my research that many teachers do not always mark transaction boundaries overtly; they prefer to guide their students imperceptibly through progressive stages of language learning, apparently focussing on the current theme, perhaps for the sake of continuity, while requiring their students to perform different kinds of language practice tasks. Sometimes these boundaries are marked implicitly by a longer personal comment on the content of an utterance just as one might do in casual conversation; often this coincides with the completion of a pitch sequence. Sometimes, in the absence of a Boundary exchange, it is clear from the intonation imposed on the subsequent Initiating move, that a new transaction is beginning; for an example, see page 80. On the other hand, however, there are many examples of a series of Boundary exchanges occurring in succession, perhaps broken up by a Directing or Informing exchange or an Elicit (check). These I have called 'Boundary sequences', and they seem to occur where a new or complex activity is being

set up, where students are having difficulty understanding. I defined 'sequence' loosely as being a series of similar exchanges in succession; these can sometimes be broken up by the occasional Elicit (check) or Direct:verbal which are used in order to avoid or repair a breakdown in communication. Sometimes sequences coincide with transactions; sometimes one transaction contains several sequences; this is often the case when the teacher deliberately decides not to make an explicit Boundary move in order to preserve a surface continuity of interaction.

As can be seen from the tables of Transactions, page 109, a great deal of information about the lesson can be gleaned by examining the patterns of exchange types within transactions. For example, it is clear from the quantity and density of Student Elicit (check) exchanges, to what extent students realise they need clarification and are prepared to ask. The more delicate analysis made possible by the introduction of the three Direct:verbal exchange types allows us to deduce more exactly how the interaction is advancing. Other features revealed by examining transaction structures are summarised in the table on pp.117 on. Because of this I would now propose that real-time coding at the rank of exchange might now be a feasible and practical exercise for the language teacher in training, as well as the linguist.

It is interesting to note that in this particular lesson nearly one third of the total number of exchanges were student initiated. This I believe is a feature of the informal classroom, being far higher a proportion than is evident in the Sinclair and Coulthard data, 1975. However, only two out of the twenty two identifiable sequences were student initiated, which shows that the teacher still has ultimate control. In fact, the teacher used nearly twice as many Direct:verbal exchanges, requiring mechanical or contrived student replies, than she did Eliciting and Informing exchanges combined. Also out of the total number of Elicit exchanges, only one third were Teacher Elicits, of which less than one quarter were of the

'open' variety; in other words about 2% of all Teacher Initiations were actually invitations to students to create language, to say what they themselves wanted to say in response; the remainder, 98%, imposed some kind of linguistic constraints upon the Responding move. It would appear from this that the teacher was constantly endeavouring to impose linguistic control on the interaction while the students, with twice as many Eliciting and Informing exchanges than the teacher, were endeavouring to escape that control. It was certainly not as free and informal a lesson as I had originally thought after observing the lesson but before analysing the data at the rank of exchange.

2.2 Inner and Outer layers and focus switches.

It proved possible, using the three column system of display, to examine more closely the various relationships between the Inner and Outer layers of discourse. Four main patterns emerged in this particular lesson, see the summary in 5.2.1. These main patterns can, of course, be recognised also by examining the transactions themselves, as we have seen, but for details of the typical exchange structures in the different layers one must look at the moves and acts. In the Outer layer, the exchange structure I R F (F) seemed to be the norm, and also I F was common, whereas in the Inner Independent column the structure I R seemed the basic one. This, of course, is not surprising because students will be expecting an F move from the teacher in the Outer layer, so immediately they have finished the minimum required interaction, normally I R, they will pause, waiting for a teacher evaluation, rather than acknowledging what the other has said, as is likely in real life. The move structure as shown in the Inner Independent column is consistently simple, the Initiating move consisting of a single elicit, and very occasionally a clue or a nomination, the Responding move being never more than a reply or (rarely) an acknowledge. I should imagine that in classes containing a greater amount of the controlled activities, i.e. more role play and simulation, the

column would reveal a more complex move structure that would (again I am guessing here) be more akin to real life interaction.

The Inner Dependent column, of course, contains no moves, since it is non-interactive and entirely dependent upon the Outer layer for its existence. The most common acts to occur in this column are clue (usually a model of whole or part of the response) and reply itself; less often here are starter, elicit, direct, acknowledge and evaluate. It is interesting to note that the vast majority of bound exchanges occur wholly or partly in the Inner layer (usually in the form of the act clue); the implications of this are that most Re-initiations and Repeat exchanges focus on language, and are likely to constitute corrections, misunderstandings, confirmation of a response, or the teacher supplying a word or phrase.

One problem when analysing interaction in the language classroom is how students tell whether the teacher's Initiation is intended as a Direct:verbal, i.e. a request or directive to use a particular form of the target language in the response, or as an Elicit, i.e. a genuine question which requires a truthful informative reply. Close analysis of my data, in the light of the Hallidayan concept of 'situation' (defined in 5.2.3.) suggests there might be different types of clue ⁽¹⁾ that a student can recognise. Firstly, students recognise the current role of their teacher within the present language learning context and can deduce what type of response is required. If, for example, there has been an explicit Boundary exchange containing Framing and Focussing moves, setting up the activity, the student should have no trouble recognising what is wanted. Para- and non-linguistic features of the teacher have been noticed to bear this out: for example, a teacher as instructor is likely to orient her posture and bearing towards the class and students will predict a series of Dv exchanges, whereas during freer discussion she will probably step aside or lean back to signal less direct teacher control and Elicits will be more likely. ⁽²⁾ Where there are no explicit Boundary moves, students deduce from the preceding sequence of exchanges,

(1) used here in its non-technical sense, i.e. not as an act.

(2) Mohan et al.. 1976. also Kendon. 1972.

together with their Follow-up moves, how they are to respond; for example, after one or two Dv exchanges it is highly likely that the following one will also be a Dv exchange unless the teacher signals in another way that it is not. A third and perhaps more obvious signal is the structure of the Initiating move itself, and the change in structure as the sequence progresses. The structure of a Direct:verbal Initiating move is consistently far more complex than an Elicit; in my data, 61 out of 63 Elicits contain one single act, the head act, elicit. With Direct:verbals, at the beginning of a new transaction or sequence, the Initiating move may consist of six or more acts, for example, marker, starter, starter, starter, direct:verbal, clue, prompt, nomination. This is partly because the new form will have to be modelled, attention drawn to context and visual aids perhaps (hence three starters) before the student can be asked to respond accurately. Later in the sequence a move structure of direct:verbal and clue may be sufficient to promote the required student response. Interestingly, there are no examples in my data of a teacher switching from a sequence of Dv exchanges to an Elicit with no intervening exchange. The students tend to switch in this direction, but never the teacher. Switches from Outer to Inner are far more common on the part of the teacher, as she places the focus back on to the language forms. For a more detailed summary of the normal patterns for focus switches, please refer to the table in 5.2.4. The information in this table, in fact, underlines what we have already seen, that the teacher is trying to impose control of the language used whereas the students are trying to escape from that control.

Finally, a resumé of the features of Follow-up moves which are often fairly complex in E.F.L. interaction. The teacher often gives what looks like a positive acknowledgement for the student's effort and completion of the task set but a negative evaluation for achievement. For example, a student is asked to make a question out of the prompt words that are next to a picture. First he gets the wrong picture; finally after much effort

he makes the question:

S. When did Fred joined army?

T. That's right.

Only, when did Fred join the army ... (Ex. 10 & 11)

See also Chaudron(1977)for similar phenomena in corrective exchanges.

On other occasions, the teacher gives no standard classroom acknowledgement or evaluation, but merely continues the quasi-interaction, as one might in real life. For example: Constantine is answering Mohavi's question, "Does Fred like being a soldier?"

C. He doesn't like being a soldier.

T. No, I don't think he does. (Low termination) (Ex.24)

which is then followed by the next exchange. This type of Follow-up move is seen as being a positive evaluation. This is reminiscent of casual conversation outside the classroom.

Basically it would appear that there are two types of Follow-up move: one with the act evaluate as head, which is predicted in a Direct:verbal exchange, the other with the act acknowledge as head, which may follow an Elicit or an Inform but which is not obligatory. The absence of an evaluate in a Direct:verbal exchange is seen by students to be a negative response and students will often use a Re-initiation (R) themselves to offer an alternative answer, and continue until an evaluate is heard. However, after an Elicit, an acknowledge is normally adequate. It would be interesting to be able to compare the function and occurrence of the Follow-up move in the classroom with unscripted interaction in less constrained situations in real life, also taking the function of the act monitor into account in various real life situations.

But before making definitive judgements about E.F.L. classroom discourse and natural language, we must have recourse to a more formal description of discourse structure of spoken interaction outside the classroom than already exists. There may be features in the analytical model that I have adapted

for the E.F.L. classroom that would be useful in the analysis of spoken interaction outside the classroom. Perhaps the three column display system could be adapted to reveal plane change and embedding in discourse structure; the distinction between Elicit (check) and Elicit (open) might also prove useful. More research is much needed in these particular areas.

3 A final word

In current debates on syllabus construction and E.L.T. methodology the role of the teacher is crucial. The communicative approach demands more and more that the classroom should be an arena for simulations of events from the outside world, in other words, of events not controlled by a teacher. Allwright (in Brumfit and Johnson, 1979) presents an extreme view which advocates the withdrawal of the teacher from the classroom altogether, once a task has been set up. This may well work with a multilingual 'remedial' group, over a short spell, but a group of beginners would need a lot of teacher input (besides input from other sources), and even a remedial group would require input in certain areas, especially after the initial stages of their course, if they were to learn as efficiently as possible. It is in the 'input' stages that, despite teachers' acceptance of a cognitive approach at other stages, a Behaviourist methodology still abounds, characterised in my data by the quantity of Direct:verbal exchanges, and an impoverished move structure in the Inner Independent layer of discourse. It appears, in other teachers' lessons too, that students are often discouraged from being creative in their use of language. This is illustrated in my data where only two acts, elicit and reply, both heads of moves, occur with any regularity from students in the Inner Independent column. The Outer column consistently reveals a far richer move structure, mainly, as would be expected, from the teacher, but also from the students; I would imagine that in real life, moves are rarely restricted to head acts only - people would sound very brusque! In the classroom, role play, problem solving and

simulation activities would be coded on the Inner Independent layer and, if well set up by the teacher, should make use of a far richer move structure than that evident in my data. (There would, of course, be problems coding group work; one would have to restrict oneself to the main thread of discourse in one group, and perhaps record other groups or use extra observers analysing.)

It seems that greater and richer use of the Inner Independent layer of discourse would prove to be characteristic of a more cognitive approach to language teaching. Thus I believe the analytical model as it now stands can usefully distinguish between different teaching styles. I also think that it would prove suitable for real-time coding at exchange level; even at this level it could reveal differences in teaching styles, and if used in conjunction with an audio tape-recording of the lesson, the analyser could at a later stage select particular sections of the lesson, for example, those following a Teacher Direct:verbal activity exchange, where the discourse moves into the Inner Independent layer, to analyse the move structure in more detail if necessary.

Just as an objective analysis of the data I collected cast doubts on our original impressions that in this lesson the teacher was happy to allow student participation of a less controlled kind, a series of classroom observations using the system of real-time coding that I have proposed might well offer a more objective standpoint by which to judge the interaction in a foreign language classroom.

APPENDIX A

ANALYSED TEXT

1. The system of display

For a full explanation of the layout of the system of display please refer to 4.2. In the following excerpt, the columns are briefly annotated to serve as a reminder. Abbreviations follow below.

	Exch- ange Type	Discourse				
		Outer	Inner			
			Depe- ndent	Indep- endent		
31	Re InR	I ^b (R)	cl	R r	T. being! V. Yes I like being er a learner er English.	
32	Re InR	I ^c R	cl r		T. I like learning English. V. I like learning English.	
33	S EL ^{ch}	I el R r F(NV) ^{ack}			M. You like learning English but er you don't like being a soldier. V. I don't like being a soldier. T. (laughs) (low key termination)	
34	Dvx	I st (n) d (R)ack F ack	st cl	I el R r	T. Ask erm Sokoop, Sokoop being erm a father. Can you ask him? Being a father V. Er, yes, er yes. Do you like er being a father? T. Um, hm. S. Yes, I like. I am er father of four children. Yes.	
35	Dvx	I st d (R) F ack		I el	Listen to her question, though. Say again. Say it again. V. Do you like er being a father? T. 'Uhm.	
Number of Exchange	Exchange Type	Move (Capitals) act (small letters)	act	Move act	Speaker	Text

2. Abbreviations (in alphabetical order, and according to rank)

For details refer to the relevant pages in 4.1.

Exchange Types

If preceded by S, thus: S EL, the exchange is initiated by a Student, otherwise it is the Teacher who initiates.

B	Boundary
D	Direct
Dv	Direct:verbal
Dva	Direct:verbal activity
Dvx	Direct:verbal exchange
El ^{ch}	Elicit (sub-class:check)
El ^o	Elicit (sub-class:open)
Inf	Inform
Li	Listing
Re inf	Reinforce
Re-In I	Re-initiation (of Initiating move)
Re-In R	Re-initiation (of Responding move)
Rpt I	Repeat (of Initiating move)
Rpt R	Repeat (of Responding move)

Moves

F	Follow-up
Fo	Focus
Fr	Frame
I	Initiation
I ^b	second Initiation in Re-In I exchange
I ^c	third Initiation in Re-In I exchange
R	Response
R ^b	second Response in Re-In R exchange
R ^c	third Response in Re-In R exchange

Note: Moves bracketed thus: (R) in the Outer column have their realisations in the Inner Independent column.

Moves coded thus: R/I have value both as Responding and Initiating moves, e.g. Exchange 129.

Acts

See summary of acts on page 80 and Figure 10.

ack	acknowledge	l	loop
ch	check	m	marker
cl	clue	mon	monitor
com	comment	ms	metastatement
con	conclusion	ms:int	metastatement:interaction
d	directive	n	nomination
dv	direct:verbal	pr	prompt
dva	direct:verbal activity	r	reply
dvx	direct:verbal exchange	st	starter
e	evaluate	v	silent stress
el	elicit	z	aside
el ^{ch}	elicit:check		
el ^o	elicit:open		
i	inform		

N.B. [rd] = reading aloud

Note: For the sake of clarity and simplicity, when coding in the three columns, I have used only d or el, which stand for dv, dva, dvx, elch or el^o. It is evident from the Exchange type label on the left to which class or sub-class they belong.

3. Conventions



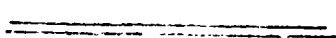
an arrow shows that the act or part of it also has value in another layer.



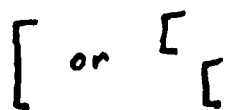
single line indicates exchange boundary



broken line indicates exchange is bound to preceding one



double line denotes transaction boundary



denotes simultaneous speech, i.e. overtalk



diamond brackets show that this element is included within another



a diagonal line shows this element has been cancelled paralinguistically by the teacher

NV

denotes non-verbal surrogates of discourse

r *

an asterisk denotes an unfinished utterance

!

denotes laughter

(looks at book)

bracketed words in the transcript denote actions or intonational features

4 The transcription

On parts of the tape there is a lot of overtalk. I have restricted my transcription to the interaction which, as far as I can judge, from notes I took during the recording and from previous experience of the class, constitutes the main thread of the discourse. Where it is difficult to decide whether or not an utterance was intended as contributing to the main thread, I have included it, coded either as an aside or as a cancelled element, whichever seems most likely.

As already described in 2.4.2. I rely heavily on Brazil's theory of discourse intonation to make decisions about the actual analysis. For example, the function of the words "That's right", which can be either an acknowledge or an evaluate, can be identified only by intonation: e.g. tone, key at termination. Tapes, both stereo and mono, and a mono cassette of the data are available, and ideally should be referred to along with the transcription.

ANALYSED TEXTS

TEXT A (Early Intermediate E.F.L. lesson)

See Chapter 3 for background information on this lesson.

See Chapter 4 for explanation of system of analysis used.

	Exchange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Dependent	Independent
1	B	Fo ms		T. Let's go on where we were, shall we? On, erm, page
2	EL ^{ch}	I el R r R r F ack		What page is it? M. Page 98. C. Page 98. T. Page 98, Yes.
3	B	Fo ms		T. We were looking at Fred, weren't we, in bed. Fred in bed mm
4	D	I m _v d cl		T. Erm Let's have a look at the questions by the picture. Don't look at the writing.
5	D		I d	Would you mind not looking at the writing? Would you mind not looking at the writing? Let's look at the picture. O.K?
6	Dv	I m st st d (n)	st	Erm Can we make the question by the picture look at Fred When Fred army (reads from book) Can you make the question Sokoop? Would you like to try that?
7	S EL ^{ch}	S.I. el R. r		S. Erm S. Erm, picture number three? T. Yes.
8	Re In	I ^b cl		Look at the question by the picture.
9	S. EL ^{ch}	I el R r		S. ai-er? * T. um hm. S. Oh ach! *

T.- Teacher	M.- Mohavi
Ss- Students	C.- Constantine
	S.- Socoop
	A.- Antonio
	V.- Virginia

(The class has just reassembled after coffee break.)

* The relevant pages of the text book are included at the end of the transcripts.

		Discourse		Exch- ange Type			
		Outer	Inner				
			Depe- ndent		Indep- endent		
10	Re In	R	r			S.	When did Fred joined army?
		F	ack			T.	That's right.
11	Re In R	I ^b	cl			T.	Only when did Fred join <u>the</u> army?
			el				When did Fred join the army?
		pr					Say it again.
		R	r			S.	When did erm Fred joined the army
		F	e			T.	Yes.
12	EL ^{ch}	I	el				Can you remember? (N.V. nom Antonio)
		r				A.	Yes [Yes
13	Dv	I	st			T.	Don't look at the writing, Antonio
		d	el			T.	When did Fred join the army?
		R	r			A.	ErHe joined the army [a few month ago
		F	ack			T.	um hm
14	Re In	I ^b	cl			T.	A few months ago.
		R	r			A.	A few month ago.
		F	e			T.	That's right.
15	Dv	I	d			T.	Say it again.
			cl				He <u>joined</u> the army a few months ago.
		R	r			A.	He joined the army a few month ago.
		F	ack			T.	Good.
16	Re In 1	I ^b	cl			T.	Months.
		R	r			A.	Months.
		F	e			T.	Months.
		com					Its a difficult one [isn't it?
			z			AS	months months
17	Re In II	I	cl			T.	Months.
		R	r			A.	Months, months.
		F	e			T.	Yah, good.
			z			A.	Months ago.
18	Dv	I	n			T.	Virginia
		d					Can you say months?
			cl				Months.
		R	r			V.	Months.
19	ReIn R	I ^b	cl			T.	Months.
		R	n			V.	months, months.
		F	com			T.	Its a difficult one
			z			C.	months.

		Discourse				
		Outer	Inner			
		Exchange Type		Dependent	Independent	
20	Re in R	R	r		VCM	Months
		F e			T.	That's it.
21	Dv	I n				Constantine?
			d			Months?
		R	r		C.	Months.
		F e			T.	That's it.
22	S EL ^{ch}	I	el		C.	A few months ago.
		R	r		T.	A few months ago. Yah.
23	Dv	I st			T.	What about the next one, B?
				st		Fred - like - soldier (reads from book)
				st		Fred - like - soldier.
		d				What about that ?
		n				Mohavi
		(R)	r		M.	Erm. Does Fred like being a soldier?
		F ack			T.	Yes.
		e				That's right.
24	Dv	I d		el		And what do you think's the answer to that one?
		n			T.	Constantine.
		(R)ack		R r	C.	Uh! He doesn't like being a soldier.
		F (e)		com	T.	No. I don't think he does.
25	S Inf	I i			C.	He hates being soldier.
		F e →			T.	Well done! He hates being a soldier.
26	Dvx	I n			T.	Mohavi, ask Virginia er if she likes being a student.
		d →				
		(R)		I el*	M.	Er does
27	Re in	I ^b	cl		T.	Do
		R ack			M.	Ah! Sorry.
		(r)		I ^b el	M.	Do you, do you like er a sol... being a soldier?
		F e			T.	No,
28	Re in	I cl				She's not a soldier
					All.	laughter
29	Inf	S I i			M.	But I want she
		(R)		R r*	V.	I er I er don't like er er a soldier
						I er I er
30	S EL ^{ch}			I el	M.D.d.	Do you like being a student?
				R r	V.	I like er -

	Exch- ange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Depe- ndent	Indep- endent
31	Re InR	I ^b (R)	cl	R r
				T. being! V. Yes I like being er a learner er English.
32	Re InR	I ^c R	cl r	
				T. I like learning English. V. I like learning English.
33	S EL ^{ch}	I el R r F(NV) ^{ack}		
				M. You like learning English but er you don't like being a soldier. V. I don't like being a soldier. T. (laughs) (low key termination)
34	Dvx	I st (n) d (R)ack F ack	st cl	
			I el	T. Ask erm Sokoop, Sokoop being erm a father. Can you ask him? Being a father V. Er, yes, er yes. Do you like er being a father? T. Um, hm.
			R r	S. Yes, I like. I am er father of four children. T. Yes.
35	Dvx	I st d (R) F ack		
			I el	Listen to her question, though. Say again. Say it again. V. Do you like er being a father? T. Uhm.
			R Ø	- -
36	Re InR		I ^b cl cl R r*	
				Do you <u>like</u> being a father? Do you like being a father? S. Yes I like being ... to be T. Um hm.
37	Re InR		I ^b R*	
				T. Yes. S. Yes I like being S. Yes I do T. Yes I do. Yes I do. I like being a father.
38	Dvx	I m d (n) z		
			cl	m m (low term) Ask Mohavi, er Let's see, being a minister S. Do you like er being a minister?
		(R)	I el	

	Exchange Type	Discourse			
		Outer	Inner		
			Dependent	Independent	
		F ack SF ack !		R r	M. Yes I do. T. Um hm. C. Thank you! T. (laughs at Constantine's "Thank you")
39	Dv x	I d<n> (R)	cl		T. Ask Antonio, studying here
40	Re InR	I ^b pr		I el R r*	M. Do you like er studying here? A. Mm, like being erm T. Say it again.
41	Re InR	I ^c R ^c r ! F e		I ^b el R r*	M. Do you like studying here. A. Yes I [like M. [especially with our [teacher? A. [I like very much, Yes M. (laughs) T. Good.
42	Dvx	I d<n>	cl		T. Ask er Constantine er living in Cheltenham.
43	S EL ^{ch}	I R com	→ el r		A. Cheltenham? T. Cheltenham. That's his town.
44	Re InR	(R) F e		I el R r	A. er do you like living in Cheltenham? C. Yes I do. T. Um hm. Good.
45	Dvx	I d<n> ! (R) F ack !	cl		What about erm - ask your wife - washing the dishes All. (laughter)
46	Re in	I i F ack	el	I el R r	C. Do you like er doing dishes? T. mm V. No I don't like (laughs) [wash er dishes T. [doing or washing T. mm
47	S Inf	I i F e com			V. But I have to, [every time. T. [Yes, that's quite right! In fact you hate washing the dishes (laughs) but you [have to do it.
48	S Inf	I i <mon>			V. [But in in England T. mm V. many <u>husbands</u> help er in er kitchens

Exchange Type	Discourse			
	Outer	Inner Dependent Independent		
49 S Inf	F ack			T. [Yes
	ack			M. [Oh!
	I i			V. In my country, er, I don't like er men er help er wife wash
	F ack			T. Yes.
50 Dv		com		[men don't like helping mm
	F com			A.M. [Thank you, thank you!
	I	d		T. Men don't like helping.
51 Re InR	R	r		V. Men don't, don't like helping.
	I ^b	cl		T. don't [like helping
52 Re InR	R	r		V. [like helping
	I ^c	cl		T. helping
53 Dv	R	r		V. helping
	I d			T. Say it again.
54 S Inf	I i			Men don't like helping.
		cl		V. Men don't like [helping
55 Re nR		r *		M. [But in [England, er Virginia!
	I ^b			V. [Men don't like helping.
56 S Inf	I	cl		T. helping.
	R	r		V. [helping.
57 S Inf	F			T. That's right.
58 S EL ^o	I i *			M. But in England, Constantine, I want to er
	I i *			V. No, no, no, is [er...my son in law]
	I st			M. I I want want to to see the different meaning
	mon			T. mm
	el *			M. Who is er er, ah. Who is er liking?
		(cl)		T. Who likes
				M. Who likes er who doesn't like, you, as a woman in your country, <u>are</u> (?) men in your country
	F e			T. I don't think I understand (laughs)
59 EL	I el			T. Do you understand?
60 S Inf	I i *			M. Because before you said to us er, I don't like men [to help
	R r			V. [but er er you er
	F e *			T. No. No. She says er...
61 EL ^o	I n el			T. Constantine what does [she say
	R r			C. [She says she said she doesn't like er <u>washing</u> [dishes

Exch- ange Type	Discourse			
	Outer	Inner		
		Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
	F com	e		V. [washing T. doesn't like washing dishes. She likes men washing the dishes
62 S EL	I el • R r			M. yes and er after that she said er if I didn't [er T. no
63 S Inf	I i • S.F ack S.F ack F ack	(cl)		C. She said men er men er in er in <u>her</u> country. M. Yes. T. don't like M. Yes. Yes. Yes. C. Er don't like er doing er dishes T. mm
64 S B	S.F ack Fo conc			M I see. M So we are the same All. (laugh)
65 EL ^o	I st n el R r			T. What about in your country, Sokoop? Do men like washing the dishes? S. In my country there's er washes the dishes, wash
66 EL ^{ch}	I el R	r		T. Women wash the dishes? S. Women wash the dishes.
67 Rep	I l R r S.F ack			T. Do men like washing the dishes? S. No, er that is a woman woman's job (laughter) M. work, Yes!
68 S Inf	I m i • F ack			V. Yes! And now is is very bad for [woman. T. Yes, yes that's right.
69 S Inf	I			M. But I like er I like er [being a
70 S Inf	I i mon mon			V. he works, he she works T. Yes. V. in sever [?] for her husband. T. mm
71 S Inf	I i mon mon	(s cl) (s cl) (T cl)		V. He works teacher or er engineering or many jobs er the sever [?] in a man C. The same V. [The same T. [That's right M. As, as T. As a man.

Exchange Type	Discourse			
	Outer	Inner		
		Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
		z		M. As a man V. As a man T. Mm
72 S Inf	I i * F com → i * F ack			V. But come in the [house T. [They come home and they still ... (laughter) V. [as er a husband. M. [I see. I see! (laughter)
73 S Inf	I i *			V. I have a husband.
74 Re InI	I R r → z	cl cl		T. I am I am a husband V. I <u>am</u> husband! T. I am <u>the</u> husband V. Yes. I <u>am</u> husband! [? read paper] M. I see
75 S Inf	I i F F com			V. [—] give me coffee, give me food, so -- All. laugh. C. A glass of beer. laugh.
76 TInf/B	Fo ms ms z ms			T. I think Fred is the same. [Look at Fred. V. Yes. T. He says I don't like washing dishes, don't you?
77 Dv	I st st d R z F e sF	st r → el ack		T. Let's look at the next one. Where's - what - erm C, isn't it? Where Fred now Can we make that a proper question, er C. Where is, where is Fred now? T. [That's a nice one. T. Yes, Constantine, where is [Fred now C. [Where is Fred now?
78 Dv	I st n d n → I el R SF e I ^C pr (R) F e → com S F	r ack	I el R r	T. What's the answer to that, Virginia? T. Where is Fred now? Virginia. V. Where er [erm ah pardon er where is er C. [No C. the answer V. Fred is er in bed [Er T. Yes [Yes T. Yes, he's in bed now. He's lying in bed, isn't he V. He's lying lying in bed now.
(1) 80 S.ReInR				

(1) The original Ex.79 is now interpreted as being part of Ex, 78.

Discourse				Exch- ange Type	Outer	Inner		
						Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
81	Dv	I d(n)				cl ack r → el		What about the next one, Sokoop, D. Fred saying to sargent S. Um. Fred saying to sargent. What is Fred saying to sargent? T. Yes.
82	Re In R	I b R F e	cl r					To <u>the</u> sargent S. To the sargent. T. Yes.
83	Dv	I st(n) st d R ack						Do you remember Sokoop? Don't look at the book. What's he saying? S. Er um. Air m.
84	Re In	I ^b cl : pr R F ack	r < s cl >					T. He's very polite. He's lying there and he says (laughs) remember? S. If you wouldn't mind [mm] er close closing closing A S. the window T. Well done. Yes.
85	Dv	I d R	cl r					Say it again. T. Would you mind closing [the window S. <u>Would you</u> , would you er mind
86	Re In R	I ^b R ack F e	cl r					T. <u>Would</u> you mind, <u>would</u> you mind closing the window S. Ah! Would you mind closing the window? T. That's right.
87	Dv	I ^m st d n R ∅	∅					T. Er Perhaps he wants the door shut Perhaps he wants the door shut What does he say to the sargent Antonio? —
88	Dv	I st < n > st st d R	r					You are Fred and you're lying in bed what do you say? Here's the sargent (points to Sokoop) You want the door shut. What do you say? A. I want .. Would you mind shut the door? T. um hm

	Exchange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Dependent	Independent
89	Dv	I st → <s cl> <s cl> d cl*		T. Now what did [he say before? He said C. [shutting T. would you [mind shutting, closing V. [closetting T. the window. T. So what does he say to the - about the door? Would you mind?
90	Re in	R r I ^b cl R r F e → SF * ack *		A. Would you mind shote the door. T. Shutting A. Shutting T. Shutting. Shutting the door. Yes. A. Would you -
91	T Dv	I st F ack F ack		T. [He wants the A. [Would you mind shutting the door. T Yes.
92	S EL ^o	I el → R r → cl		M. Please can I er say er would you mind shutting me the door? T. No. You can .. would you mind shutting the door you can say <u>for me</u>
93	S Re In	F/I ack/el R r → F ack		M. for me T. for me, yes. T. Would you mind shutting the door for me. M. For me.
94	Dv	I st st st(n) d n		T. Perhaps he wants the light on. He can't see very well. Now you are Fred. What do you say, Antonio (She looks at Mohavi, not Antonio)
95	S EL ^{ch}	I el R r		M. Antonio? T. Oh sorry! I meant Mohavi.
96	S Re InR (R)	F mon (R)	I n R ack I el	M. Antonio A. Yes. T. Um hm M. Er Would you mind er switching on, er switching the light on?

		Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
Exchange Type			Dependent	Independent
		Fe →		T. Well done, yes, would you mind switching [the light on
		sF	ack	A. [switching the light on
97	Dv	I	d	T. or putting the light on
		R	r	A. putting the light on
		Fe		T. That's right. Hm m
			R r	A. No, not at all
		←	F ack	M. Not at all
98	S.D *	I d		All. (laughter) so you have to er (NV- do it)
99	Dv	I st		T. Perhaps he wants him to bring a cup of tea
		st		He's lying in bed there, he wants him to bring a cup of tea.
		d		What does he say, sargent?
			cl	Would you?
		R	r	V. Give me .. would you mind er a cup of coffee
100	Dv	I d →		T. Now, he wants him to <u>bring</u> a cup of coffee.
		R *	r *	V. bringing
			<cl>	C. bringing [a cup of
		R	r	V. [Would you mind bringing a cup of tea?
		F e		T. That's right, that's right.
101	Dv	I st		T. And he wants him to give it to him,
		st		he doesn't want to fetch it like this
		st		so he says to his sargent -
		st →		he wants him to <u>give</u> it to him
		d		What does he say
		n		Constantine?
		R	r	C. I wonder if you if you'd mind giving er a cup of coffee
102	Re In R	I ^b	cl	T. to me
			r	C. [to me
		F e		T. [That's right, that's right, yes.
		com		Its a nice [idea, isn't it, you lie in bed [and you say
103	S EL ^{ch}	I *		M. [Can I [Can I reply
104	S EL ^o	I el →		M. Can I reply ['No, I'd mind?'
				T. [mm
		R r *		T. Well, you you say he doesn't want to do it?

Exchange Type	Discourse			
	Outer	Inner		
		Dependent	Independent	
		<cl>		He'll say, erm, I'm sorry, I can't or
105 S Re In	I ^p cl → R r → sF ack			M. No, I agree, er, not at all. T. Ah, then you say "No, I don't mind, or no [not at all, I don't mind ... M. [I don't mind, I er. I want er ah!
106 B	F o m s z com			T. mm We'll practise in a minute We'll practise that again, M. [O.K. Yes. T. [No, not all.
107 D	I d cl → el cl		cl	T. Let's look at the next one. Would you mind not looking at the writing? Let's look at the picture. Would you mind looking at the picture?
108 S EL ^{ch}	I el R r F e → !		R r	C. Picture 4? T. N.V (nods) M. Yes, we are sorry! (laughter) T. No, you mustn't say yes, we are sorry, you must say no, I don't mind. (laughter)
109 Dv a	I st n d cl R r F ack			T. What can you see? Erm, Antonio, What can you see in this picture? What's happening? A. Erm. This is a room in in a hospital. T. I think so, yes, mm
110 Li	R r F ack			A. In a hospital. And er I can see er [?] Fred Collins whispering to your to his daughter Susan. T. Yes.
111 EL ^o	I st st el R r F ack →			What do you think he's saying? You c Look in the picture. What do you think he's saying? A. He's thinking er I cannot I cannot cannot more smoke, smoke. T. Yes. He's thinking I can't smoke, I can't smoke.

		Discourse		
Exch- ange Type		Outer	Inner	
			Depe- ndent	Indep- endent
112	Re In	I ^b pr R (non) R r F e	r	T. Yes. A. He's thinking I can't smoke. T. mm A. and I can't drink beer [?] more T. mm Yes. I
113	Inf	I i → (cl) (R ack) z z		T. The doctor has said to him You must give up smoking You must stop smoking. A. Yes. T. Because he is in hospital and he is ill the doctor comes and says "right C. Don't smoke T. [Don't smoke V. [Don't smoke er [drink
114	Re In	I ^b z cl	cl	T. You must give up smoking. V. Give up smoking. T. You must give up drinking.
115	Inf	I i* →		T. Perhaps he must give up eating chocolates or
116	S Inf	I i		S. or bread (laughter)
117	S Inf	I i F e → ! com		V. or er meat er pork meat T. Maybe, give up eating pork (laughter) Yes, and so he's very sad.
118	Inf	I i (cl) (ack) (cl) R ack		T. So I think he is saying to Susan, (whispered) Would you mind bringing me some cigarettes S. Yes! T., Would you mind getting me some drink or getting me some - beer. I think, yes. S. phew! Yes.
119	Inf	I i → (cl)		T. M. The doctor will be very cross. He'll say "I told you. You must give up smoking" Hah!
120	B	Fo ms		Let's look at the m writing.
121	EL ^{ch}	← I el R r F ack com		Would you mind? Looking at the writing? Ss. Not at all, not at all, pleasure. T. (laughs) Oh. We're being very polite! (laughs)

Exch- ange Type	Discourse		Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
	Outer	Inner			
122 EL ^{ch}	I el R r F ack				T. Who hasn't read, who hasn't read at all? S. Me T. You haven't, Socoop?
123 Dv	I d z cl R	r			Would you like. Would you mind reading? Erm. Where are we. Number 4. S. READS. Frank Martin is in hospital. He has had to give up smoking and drinking beer. Two. The doctor says these things are very bad for him. Susan is er visiting him now Susan, I wonder if you won't mind
124 Re InR	I R ack F e	cl r			T. I wonder if you'd mind You'd mind S. Oh! Susan, I wonder if you would mind bringing some cigarettes next time, he's saying to her. T. Yes. Good.
125 B	Fo ms				Let's read it one more time.
126 B	Foms/int				Erm. This time Antonio, you read the erm this part, and then, er, Mohavi, you read the words that Frank says.
127 El ^{ch}	I el R r				Alright? Ss. O.K. [O.K.
128 D	d *				T. [You can be Frank in bed.
129 SEL ^{ch}	I el* R/I r/d Rack mon R	r r r			M. So I [can read er T. [You read the first part telling us about Frank. M. O.K. T. hm m. Frank Mark [is in hospital
130 Re in	R R	el r * cl r			T. [Frank Martin M. [Frank Martin T. [Frank Martin Yes M. is in hospital. He has had to give up smoking and drinking beer too. The doctor says the doctor says these things are very bad for him.

Exchange Type	Discourse		
	Outer	Inner	
		Dependent	Independent
	F mon R	r z r	Susan is visiting him now. T. Hm. A. Susan, I wonder if you'd mind bringing some cigarettes next time. (all whispered) T. He's saying to her. A. He is saying to her (laughter) A. [Counting?] He is saying to her
131 Dv ⁿ	I st st d R r F e → B r F ack	(cl)	T. What what else does he say to Susan? That's one thing. Susan would you mind bringing some cigarettes. What, what other things does he say to Susan? M. [He's whispering. T. Yes. He's whispering. V. (whispering) T. Yes.
132 Re In	cl → R F ack	r	T. He asks her; would you mind bringing cigarettes. C. Would you mind bringing er some beer? T. Yes. Yes.
133 Re In I	cl R r	cl •	T. What else? Anything else? Would you mind ... S. lighter
134 Re In	 R	cl r	T. bringing my S. bringing my lighter
135 Re In	R F ack →	r	S. lighter? T. Yes, my lighter
136 Re In	R F ack	r	Ss. my lighter T. Yes. Yes
137 EL ^{ch}	I el		What about some chocolates?
138 Re In	R r F ack → z		C. A box of matches. T. Yes or a box of matches M. (laughter) Two box of matches!
139 Dv	I d n cl R	r	T. What does he say, Constantine? He wants a box of matches C. Ar would you,er, I wonder if you'd mind er bringing er a box of matches.

Exchange Type	Discourse		
	Outer	Inner	
		Dependent	Independent
		F e →	
140 EL	I el		T. A box of matches. Yes Very good. What about.. m?
	SF com		S. A box of matches is er cheaper than er buy cigarettes.
141 S EL	I el		A. A bottle of beer ?
	R r		T. Yes.
142 Dv	I st st d		T. What does he say? He wants a bottle of beer. What does he say?
	R r		A. Would you mind bringing for me a bottle of beer.
	F e		T. A bottle of beer mm
	F ack		A. beer
143 Inf	I i		Perhaps he tells Susan perhaps he tells Susan what the doctor said. Remember we read here the doctor says these things are very bad for him and so he must give up smoking. he must give up drinking beer
		<cl> <cl>	
144 Dv ⁿ	I st st st st d		What did the doctor say? What did the doctor say? Here is erm Frank in bed. Here is the doctor. What do you say to Frank? You
	R r	cl *	S. You must give up smoking cigarettes.
	F e		T. That's right.
145 Dv	I st → <n>		T. Now you're the doctor and you tell him erm drinking beer What do you say to him?
	d	cl	C. You have to er give up er drinking beer.
	R r		T. That's right.
	F e		
146 Dv	I d →		What about telling him eat chocolates, eating chocolates?
		cl	V. You have er [to er eating choc
	R r *		M. [to eat
		z	T. Not you have to eat
	F/e →		(Laughter)

Discourse				
Exch- ange Type	Outer	Inner		
		Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
147	Re InR	R	r * (cl)	V. to give up er M. eating V. eating er chocolate, eating erm meat er very grasse
148	EL ^{ch}	I el R r		T. (laughs) What's that? V. Butter, butter. (L ¹ to Constantine)
149	EL ^{ch}	I el → cl R ack → r F ack com		T. Butter? Um. Fat perhaps. [Yes V. [Yes. Fat, fat, fat [in general. Fat. T. [Mm. That's right. T. Poor Frank!
150	S Inf	I i F com		C. It's very hard T. 'Tis, isnt it!
151	B	Fo ms		T. Let's look at the picture now.
152	D	←	I d R ack	Would you mind looking at the picture. Ss. Not at all.
153	D	←	I d R ack	T. Would you mind not looking at the writing? Ss. Not at all.
154	D	←	I d	T. Would you mind looking at the writing.
155	S EL ^{ch}	I el R r com → F ack		M. So we are looking at this. T. No. I said would you mind looking at the picture. Would you mind <u>not</u> looking at the writing. Ss. Mmm. Alright.
156	Dv	I st st st n d R r → I el F e com		T. What about that first question. Where Frank. That's a nice one. Antonio. What how do you make that question? A. Er. Where is Frank now? T. Yes. T. That's an easy one.
157	Dv	I d → (R) F ack e	R r	What's the answer? A. Frank er is in the hospital. Yes. Frank's in the hospital.

	Exchange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Dependent	Independent
158	Dv	I d n R F e	r	T. What about the next one Mohavi? M. Er. What erm has he to give up? T. Yes. Well done.
159	Dv	I d R F	cl r → el	Say it again. What has he to give up. M. What has he to give up. T. Yes.
160	Dv	I d n R ø	z	What's the answer to that Virginia? V. Give up?
161	Re In I	I ^b pr R r *		T. What's the answer? V. Er, what er. Who is er ah!
162	Dv	I n d (R)		T. Mohavi. What you ask her the question again. M. What has he to give up? V. He has he has er to give up er smoking er beer.
163	S EL ^{ch}	I	el	M. [Yes, yes] Smoking?
164	Dv	I	d R r	T. Smoking cigarettes. V. Smoking cigarettes, smoking cigarettes.
165	Re In	I ^b F e	<cl> <s cl> R r	T. And C. Drinking V. and drinking beer T. Um hm. Well done.
166	Dv	I st n d (R) F ack	r → I el	What about the next one, erm Constantine. C. C. Who is er he talking to? T. Yes.
167	Dv	I st n d R F ack	r	And what's the answer Socoop? Who is he talking to? S. Mm. His er his daughter's talking to him. T. Yes.
168	Dv	I d (R) F	r → el e	Well if you ask, ask the question again though. C. Who is he talking to? T. Who is HE talking to?

		Discourse		Exchange Type	
		Outer	Inner		
			Dependent	Independent	
169	Dv	I d			So who is HE talking to You would answer HE
		cl			
		R ack			S. Mm.
170	S EL ^{ch}			I el	C. Who is Frank talking to?
				R r	S. Mm er. His daughter.
		F e			T. That's right.
171	S Re In	R	r		S & C [to his daughter
				R r	C. [He's talking to his daughter
		F	e		T. [He's <u>talking</u> to his daughter
			(z)		Ss. [to his daughter
		com			T. That's right. Yes.
		F ack			Of course, you can say just his daughter, can't you, he's [talking to his daughter.
172	Dv	I st			S. [Ah. O.K.
		n			T. What about the last one,
		d			Socoop?
		R ack			D.
			r		S. Mm.
					What say to Susan
173	Re n	I ^b cl			T. I Yes. We need a little more there.
			cl		What
		R	r		S. What Frank say to mm Susan.
		F e			T. Nearly.
174	Re In R	I ^c	cl		What..
		n			Anybody?
		R	r		C&V What is Frank ...
		F e			T. What <u>is</u> that's right.
175	Dv	I	d		What <u>is</u> Frank saying
		R	r		C&V [What is Frank saying to his daughter?
			r		Ss. What is Frank saying to his daughter?
176	Dv	I d			T. Say it again.
			cl		What is Frank saying to Susan?
		R	r	el	S. Ah. What is Frank saying to Susan?
177	Dv	I d			T. Can you tell us.
		(R)		r	A. She is saying er
					I want wonder if you can bring me
					some cigarettes and and some beer.
		F e			T. Yes. That's right.

Discourse				
	Exchange Type	Outer	Inner	
			Dependent Independent	
178	Dv	I st	cl z cl r	Or he could say I wonder if you'd mind Ss. mind T. And how'd you finish that? I wonder if you'd S. [I wonder if you, I wonder if you'd mind T. Yes S. Bring me T. Bringing, bringing S. I wonder if you'd mind bringing some cigarettes and some beer. T. That's right and some beer. Well done. Yes.
179	Re InR	I ^b R F e →	cl r	
180	D	I ← d		Would you mind looking at number 5?
181	D	← d		Please stop looking at number 4.
182	D	← d		Would you mind looking at number 5?
183	SEl ^{ch}	I el R r		S. Number 5? T. Mn.
184	B	Fo ms		What can you see in this picture?
185	EL ^o	I n el R r (mon)		Erm. Constantine. What can you see in the picture? C. In the picture 5 T. Uh hu C. I see many peoples. T. Many people. C. Many peoples, yes many people, er, perhaps in a hall. T. Yes. Perhaps they're in a hall.
186	Re InR	R r* F ack com	cl ack	C. Er, I think erm its a meeting. T. Yes. It's not a party, is it? C. political political meeting T. Mm ! (laughs) C. Because, er er, some people er some people er is er shouting
187	S Re In R r *	F ack com		
188	S Re In R r *	F ack		
189	S Re In R r			
190	T Re In		cl	T. Some people are

		Discourse		Exch - ange Type	Outer	Inner		
		Depe- ndent	Indep- endent					
191	S Re-In		cl					M. are are C. are shouting. T. Good C. Some people are er singing T. mm C. Some people ares fighting [and er er
192	EL ^{ch}	I el						T. [What's this what's this one doing?
		R r*						C. Er are waving.
		F ack						T. Yes. He's waving.
193	Re In	R r*						C. Waving, a fred a red ^{er} flag.
194	El ^{ch}	I el						T. Is it a red flag? (laughs)
		R r						C. Er in the story!
		F com						T. You're sure it is (laughs embarrassed)
194a	Re-In	R R ^o r						Ss. Red, or not red. (chatter)
		F ack						T. Yes.
194b	Re-In	R R ^c r						M. Just a flag. (chatter)
		F	ack					T. Just a flag.
195	B	Fr						Well.
		Fo ms						Let's look at the writing.
196	D	I d						Have a look here.
197	Inf.	I st						You're right.
		i						This is a political meeting.
198	S Inf		[rd]					It's got out of control.
		I i	[rd]					C. This is a this is a political[meeting.
		<mon>						T. Uh hu [Good
								C. It has got out of control. The chairman
								is telling people to stop doing certain
								things.
		<mon>						T. Mm!
								C. But first he try to be polite.
								"Would you mind not waving that red flag"
								(laughter) he said a few minutes ago.
	<mon>					T. Good.		
						C. Now he's shouting "Stop waving that red		
						flag". A group of men are shouting		
						"Freedom". Two other are blowing trumpets,		
						fighting.		
		F e					T. Yes. Well done.	

	Exchange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
		Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
199	Inf	I m st st i →		So. Look at the beginning. He's very polite; at the beginning. He says "Would you mind not waving that red flag". Yes.
200	Inf	I i		He's the chairman.
201	S EL ^{ch}	I el → R r*		S. What is chairman? Chairman? T. He's the person who is looking after the meeting. He's in charge of the meeting. Erm.
202	S EL ^{ch}	I el* R r →		C. The president [er er T. [You might say the president, yes.
203	S ReIn	I ^b el R r z com		C. er of this meeting. T. Of this meeting. Yes. S. Ah! O.K. T. He's in charge. He's the boss for the meeting.
204	S EL ^{ch}	I el R r com		S. A school has a chairman? And industry or factory has a chairman, No? T. No. A factory has a - You have a boss for your workers. Erm.
205	Inf	I i		You have a chairman for a meeting, I think.
206	S EL ^{ch}	I el		S. [Only for a meeting?
207	T EL ^{ch}	I el <n> R r		T. [Is that right? Jane? You have a chairman only for a meeting? J. Yeah. I think so.
208	Inf	I i		T. Or for for a a board of governors, some, er, group of people who look after an organisation. I think.
209	S. Inf	I i		C. A political meeting or a scientific meeting - yes!
210	Inf	I i		T. [Yes. Somebody must be in charge, and they say now you speak, and your turn, now what do you [want.
211	S Inf ^{ch}	I i		S. [But I read in some books er many many times, a high school has a chairman. High School.

Discourse				
Exch- ange Type	Outer		Inner	
			Depe- ndent	Indep- endent
212	Inf	I i *		
				T. Perhaps in the United States the students in a High School have a [chairman
213	S Inf	I i		
				S. [Now I I remember, er
		F ack		T. Aust... Uhu
		ack		S. Yes
214	Inf	I i *		
				T. Maybe is the students, for students, <u>they</u> have an organisation in school and <u>they</u> have their chairman perhaps, I don't I don't think in England we do that. We don't give the [students so much chance...
215	S Inf ^{ch}	I i (mon) F ack com		
				C. [I think is a is a man, a a man or a woman who leads a meeting.
				T. Yes, that's right, who leads the meeting. Fine. Who directs the meeting. Mm.
216	S EL ^{ch}	I el mon		
				S. What's called in your country a union, a union board, have a chairman?
217	EL ^{ch}	I el R ø		
				T. And that's the board, that n- that directs your school, directs your hospital?
218	EL ^o	I el R r R r		
				T. What's the union board?
				S. The union board ... that means a place er er among [?] higher than the [?]
219	Re In	I ^b R F	cl r ack	
				T. Villages?
				S. Villages.
				T. Villages.
220	Re In	R r F ack		
				S. Villages, make er union
				T. Oh! I see. Yeah.
221	S Inf	I i F ack		
				S. And the head of the union is the chairman.
				T. Is the chairman Yes.
222	B	Fr Fo		
				Well, here he is, the poor [chairman
223	S EL ^{ch}	I el R r S.F ack		
				S. [The same meaning here?
				T. Yes. [He's directing them, he's leading them.
				S. [I think yes.

	Exchange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Dependent	Independent
224	S EL ^{ch}	I el cl * R r *		S. and P D G in French is not chairman? P D G in French. In French. er what T. That's a different...
225	S EL ^{ch}	I st (mon) el R r *		S. P D G is président directeur général. T. mhm S. It's not a chairman for a factory no? T. Well, I think you have to look at each m organisation and see what they they use, S. Ah yes. T. because in a factory perhaps it' be different C. director T. in a school it'd be different S. even on er even on er T.V. T. I can't give I can't give you a rule and say always use chairman.
226	S Re In	I el R r * →		
227	S EL ^{ch}	I el R r		S. in even on T.V.? T. Yes.
228	S Inf	I i * (mon)		A. Last night I saw, I watched, watched? T. Yes. A. Watched a title, er of man er who spoke er as er as er head or a boss, I don't know, and title write on top is chairman. T. written
229	EL ^{ch}	I R r	el	T. Chairman? A. Yes.
230	Inf	I i S. F ack F ch		T. Yes well perhaps for that situation he was a chairman for a meeting. S. O.K. T. O.K?
231	B	Fr Fo conc.		So, but in a meeting, certainly, we use chairman.
232	Inf	I i → (cl)		Erm. And he is trying, isn't he, he's trying to stop the people shouting and stop the people playing the

Exchange Type	Discourse		
	Outer	Inner	
		Dependent	Independent
			trumpets and stop them waving.
233 Dv	I st d n cl → R		At the beginning he's very polite and what does he say at the beginning, Sokoop? He wants the man to stop shouting. V. Stop. Stop.
234 Re InI	pr cl R r		T. What does he say at the beginning. Very polite. S. If you wouldn't mind er waving red flag.
235 Re In	cl → R r F e → z		T. He said "Would you mind NOT waving" S. not waving. T. That's right, ould you mind [not waving that flag. Ss. [not waving the flag.
236 Dv	I st d cl R r F e		T. And the erm this man here is shouting. What do you say to him at the beginning - you're very polite. S. Would you er would you mind not shouting. T. That's right.
237 Dv	I n z R ack		T. And [Constantine. M. Yes, sorry! (laughter) (Antonio walks round the table to draw curtains because the sun was in his eyes) T. Right!
238 Inf	I i z F e F ack	z (cl)	You could say to Sokoop; would you mind closing the M. Yes, would mind eh Aaah'. That was (A's drawn the curtains) T. That's right. A. That's right.
239 S Inf	I i •		M. We could er example er T. That's right, yes. M. but we missed the example
239a Re InI	I R ack		T. You missed the chance to ask Socoop to do it for you. You could say, Sokoop, [would M. Yes. (laughter)
240 S Inf	I i z		C. It's enough. Thank you (to A) V. It's enough

Exch- ange Type	Discourse			
	Outer	Inner		
		Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
241 Inf	I	<cl>		T. you mind closing the curtain.
	F	ack		M. Would you mind shutting
242 Re In	I ^b	cl		T. closing the curtain
	R	r		M. closing the curtain
	F e →			T. Yes, drawing the curtain,
	F	ack		drawing the curtain.
243 S EL ^{ch}	I	el		V. drawing the?
	R	r		T. drawing.
		r		Ss. drawing ... yes ... drawing
	F e			T. Yes, that's it.
244 Dv	I st			At the beginning, he's very polite when the man blows the trumpet.
	d			What does he say to him to the man who's blowing or playing the trumpet,
	n			Constantine.
	R	r		C. Would you mind not er blowing the trumpet.
	F e			T. That's right.
245 Dv	I st →			But then they make so much noise and they don't stop blowing the trumpet and they don't stop shouting and he gets angry. He's not polite.
	n			Mohavi.
	d			What does he say then?
	R	r		M. Stop!
				(laughter)
	F ack			T. Yes.
246 Re In	pr			What does he say?
		cl		Wave the flag?
	pr			What does he say?
	R	r →		M. Stop waving
	(mon)			T. Um hm.
	F e			M. The flag, [the red flag
				T. [Good. That's right.
247 Dv	I			Er. What's he say to the man playing the trumpet?

Exchange Type		Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Dependent	
248	Re In	el R F e	r	What's he s - M. Stop playing the trumpet T. That's right.
249	Dv	I d ⟨n⟩ R F e →	r ⟨s cl⟩	T. What about, Sokoop the man, the people who are fighting S. Stop er [stop fighting M. [fighting T. Good, yes, stop fighting
250	Dv	I st d n R F e →	r r	And what about the man who is singing? What does he say to him Constantine? C. Stop singing. V. Stop singing T. Stop singing. That's right.
251	Dv	I d → cl → cl R F ack →	r r r	What about the man - erm - punching, do you know punching? [Look at him in the front here C. Stop fighting V. [stop fighting. T. Stop fighting, yes, stop punching him
252	S Re In R	F ack com	r	M. Punching. T. Mm. Yes. They're doing a making a dreadful noise.
253	EL	I el		T. [Just
254	S EL ^{ch}	I el → R r com S F ack	ack ack ack ack	M. [Stop boxing, no? T. Stop boxing, (laughs) I think boxing is all very organised. They're just fighting aren't they? M. Yes. T. Um hm. V. Stop blowing.
256	Inf	I	i	T. Stop quarelling.
257	S EL ^{ch}	I R ack → r S F T	el ack ack	M. Quarelling? T. Stop quarelling, yes, umhm Stop making a noise. V. Making a noise T. Stop making a noise.

	Exchange Type	Discourse			
		Outer	Inner	Depe- ndent	Indep- endent
258	B	Fr m*			T. Good.
259	S EL ^{ch}	I	el*		S. Stop the disturb.
260	Re In I	I ^b	cl		T. Stop disturbing the meeting
		R	r		S. disturbing stop disturbing
		F	ack		T. Yes, stop disturbing the meeting
		e			Good.
		F	ack		M. Stop disturbing.
		(mon)			T. mm.
261	B	Fr q			T. Let's
		Fo			T. turn over now and have a
		Fo ms			look at the next page.
262	B	Fo ms			We'll leave those those questions now I think
		ch			and have a look over, over here.
					O.K?
263	D	I d			Just have a look at the erm pattern on the
		cl			top here.
			cl		We've already been practising this.
					Would you mind sitting there
					Would you mind coming in
264	Dv ^a	I ms int			Just ask the person next to you erm
		ch			some of those questions,
					could you?
265	Dv ^a	I ms int →			Just ask for practice, and you can answer,
		ch	⟨cl⟩		"No, not at all", or "I don't mind".
					Alright?
266	Dv ^a	I ms int			You ask erm Antonio and Mohavi and
		cl			Sokoop and I will ask some questions
					to each other, and you ask ...
		(R) n			Use the patterns that you've got at
					the top there.
					Erm. Sokoop.
					Would you mind sitting here?
			I el		S. No, not at all. [PAIRWORK BEGINS]
			R r		T. What do you say to me.
267	Dv ^a	I ms int			Now you ask me.
					Antonio you ask Mohavi.

		Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Depe- ndent	Indep- endent
Exch- ange Type				
268	Li	(R)		I el R r S. Would you mind coming in? T. No, not at all
269	Li	(R)		I el R r Would you mind drinking tea? S Not at all.
270	Li	(R)		I el R r Would you mind drinking tea? T. No not at all.
271	Li	(R)		I el R r T. Would you mind asking him? S. Ah no, not at all.
		F e		T. Right. PAIRWORK CONTINUES (Multiple Ex.)
272	Li	(R)		I el M. Would you mind waiting for me?
273	S Rep			I I ^b el R r A. Pardon. M. Would you mind waiting for me? A. No. Not at all. T. That's right
		F e		PAIRWORK OVER
274	B	Fr m Fo ms conc		Yes now the next one, let's look at the next one, now, we've we've practised that.
275	S EL ^{ch}	I el → R r		C. The question is, would she mind T. Yes.
276	B	Fr m Fo ms →		T. Well We're just going to look at that one. Would she mind not
277	S EL ^o	I el →		C. Do you think er would she mind er having a new one?
278	Rep	I ^b e I ^c el → R r* → (cl) (cl)		T. Would she mind? Come again. C. Er do you think, Does she mind, is that er T. No, you can say to about anyone. We're just practising would YOU mind but you can say would SHE mind opening a window Would she mind listening, would he mind
279	S EL ^o	I el* → (mon) R r*		C [But if I say, if I say she for instance you, I can't say to you er she T. mm C. I must er say to you YOU not she T. Yes you must to me.

		Discourse		Exchange Type			
		Outer	Inner				
			Depe- ndent				
280	S EL ^o	I el					C. So I think there is a third, er she is a third, and I have one er person er else. T. Yes,
		F ack					
281	T Inf	I i					if we
282	S Re In	I el					C. So
283	Inf	I i					T. If we don't know but we hope perhaps Antonio knows. A. Yes.
		ack					
283a	S EL ^{ch}	I	el				T. I don't know, er about A. I think so T. That's right.
		R r					
283b	Inf	I i					T. I don't know about Virginia. Would she mind helping me? You can only say "I think not", or "I don't think so, I don't think so", then we'd better ask her: "Would you mind" and she can say "No I don't. No I don't"
			cl				
			cl				
			cl				
		F ack					C. Yes.
284	S EL ^{ch}	I i					C. but er
285	Inf	I i					T. um I can ask Constantine because he knows, er
286	EL ^{ch}			I el			Would she mind helping me, Constantine? What d'you...
		pr		n			
				R r			C. I don't know
		F	ack				T. I don't know (laughter) Then you'll have to say "ask her yourself". And so you can ask her.
287	Inf	I i					V. Yes.
		F ack					
288	EL ^{ch}			I el			Would <u>he</u> mind helping me? What would you say?
		pr					
				R r			C. I, I don't know.
		F ack					T. I don't know
289	Dv	I	d				or/I don't think so
		R	r				C. I don't think so
		F	e				T. I don't think so
290	S Re In	R	r				C. I think so, I don't think so
		F	e				T. <u>I don't</u> think so because you think he will help you, so you say
		com					

Exch- ange Type	Discourse		Depe- ndent	Indep- endent	
	Outer	Inner			
		<SFack>			M. Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah!.
					T. I don't think so.
291	SEL ^{ch}	I el R r			M. I don't, yes, I mean, the the positive.
					T. That's right.
292	Inf	I i F ack com			M. I don't, yes, I mean, the the positive.
					T. That's right.
293	Inf	I i F ack	ack		M. I don't, yes, I mean, the the positive.
					T. That's right.
294	Inf	st i z			M. I don't, yes, I mean, the the positive.
					T. That's right.
295	SEL ^o	I st → el R r*	cl		M. I don't, yes, I mean, the the positive.
					T. That's right.
296	EL ^{ch}	I el R r F ack			M. I don't, yes, I mean, the the positive.
					T. That's right.
297	S Rep	I ^b l F ack I ^b l			M. I don't, yes, I mean, the the positive.
					T. That's right.
298	S Rep	R ack r → com com F ack F ack			M. I don't, yes, I mean, the the positive.
					T. That's right.

		Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
Exchange Type			Dependent	Independent
299	D	I m q d		Let's just ^ look at the second one where you are asking if someone would <u>not</u> mind.
300	Inf	I i → n	⟨cl⟩ ⟨cl⟩ ⟨cl⟩	You don't want them to do something. So you'd say "Would you mind not opening the window". Or look at the pattern you've got here "Would you mind not waiting for me". You want the person to go, so you'd say to Constantine, Virginia, "Would you mind not waiting for me I'm going to finish my homework."
301	S EL ^{ch}	F e	el	C. Would you mind not waiting for me. T. That's right.
302	Dv	I st d n R F e com →	cl r	What about the next one? Can you read the next one, Constantine? Would they C. Would they mind not coming back later. T. That's right. Perhaps you change your plans so you say to them, Would they mind not [coming back later C. Would she mind not having a new one. T. That's right.
303	S Re In	R F e	r	C. Would he mind not seeing him tomorrow. T. That's right. Yes, that's right.
304	S Re In	R F ack e	r	A. What does mean. "Would she mind not having a new one." T. Well, you see, we all have new books in the classroom, but erm I haven't got a new one for Virginia. I have to give her an old book so I say to Constantine, would she mind <u>NOT</u> having a new one I'm sorry, I haven't got a new one. Would she mind?
305	S EL ^o	I el → R r →		

	Exchange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Depe- ndent	Indep- endent
306	S EL ^{ch}	I el		
		R r		
307	B	Fr mq		
		Fo ms		
308	Dv	I st		
		d		
		g		
309	Re In	I ^b cl		
		pr		
		n		
		R	r	
		R	r	
		F e →		
310	S Re In	R ^b	r	
		F e →		
311	Dv	I st		
		cl		
		z		
312	Re In	cl		
		R	r	
			r	
			r	
		F ack →		
		e		

S. But er if we use not, is the same answer. No, not at all.
T. That's right because erm its still you'r saying there's no objection.
Erm, If I tell you something now, er -
with that window open its cold in here, in this room its very cold with the window open.
What will I say now?
S. ∅
T. I want the window shut, because its very cold in here so what will I say? Anybody?
M. Would you mind not [shutting
C. [Would you
mind not <u>opening</u> the door, the window.
T. That's right,
would <u>you</u> mind not [opening
C. [opening that
window.
T. That's right. Would you mind not opening the window.
Erm. And it really is too hot in here with the door shut. Its too hot in here with the door shut.
What what shall I say?
V. Too hot?
T. Its too hot in here with the door shut.
V. Would you mind er open the door
[Would you mind er open the door
M. [Would you mind opening the door.
T. Yes.
I might say would you mind opening the door.
That's right.

	Exchange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Dependent	Independent
313	Dv	I st d R F e com →	r	I might say the other way round because its too hot with the door shut, so I might say? C. Would you mind not closing that window. T. Yes, that's right. or not closing the door, that's right, or not shutting the door Would you mind not doing it.
314	Dv	I m q st d cl n R F e	r (mon) (cl)	Erm, If I say, I can't open this door on my own, this door is very difficult to open, very hard, What do I ask you? I can't do it myself. Erm, Mohavi. M. Would you mind helping me to open this T. Yes door. M. Door. T. Yes. That's right.
315	Dv	I R F e →	d r	Would you [mind helping me Ss. [Would you mind helping me
316	Dv	I R F e →	d r	T. to open [the door Ss. [to open the door. T. That's right. Would you mind helping me.
317	Dv	I m q st st n d R (mon) F e com →	r	T. Er I don't like cleaning windows and its very dirty. I don't like cleaning windows, so Virginia, What do I say to you? V. Wou wou would you mind helping me er T. Yes. V. to clean er the window T. That's right. Or I could just say Would you mind <u>cleaning</u> the window (laughs)

Exchange Type	Discourse		
	Outer	Inner	
	z	Depe- ndent	Indep- endent
		z	
	{z}		
	com		
318 Dvx	I m q st ! d (R) F e		I el
319 Re In	cl		
320 SEL ^{ch}	I el → R r →		
321 Re In	I ^b (R) F e →	cl R r	
322 Dv	I st d n (R)		I el
323 Re In	F e / I	cl	
324 Re In	R ^b F ack com	r R r	
325 Dv	I st d cl R	r r	
326 Re In	cl		

M. Yes
V. cleaning!
T. I don't want to do it.
M. Yes. That's right. That's fine
T. Would you mind cleaning the window.
Yes! I don't like that dirty window.

Erm[^]
Lets pretend Antonio is smoking his
cigarette.
M. (coughs loudly)
T. So what do I say, Sokoop?
S. Would you mind er not smoking
T. That's right.
T. Then what do you say? (Looks at Antonio)

M. Giving up, no?
T. (laughs). Well. Not giving up this
time,
but just now,
T. would you mind?
A. No, not at all.
T. No, not at all. Mm.

When I am coughing so much the doctor
says to me...
What do you think?
Mohavi,
I'm coughing (coughs)
M. Would you mind taking a medicine?
T. Taking some medicine (laughs). Yes!
M. Some medicine.
T. Yes.
I say, 'Yes Doctor, I I will'.

And I smoke a lot of cigarettes
Ss. er Would
T. What does the doctor say to me then?
And I'm coughing.
M. Er would you mind smoking...
A. Would you mind giving up.
T. Perhaps he's very polite, and he says
would you

	Exch- ange Type	Discourse		
		Outer	Inner	
			Depe- ndent	Indep- endent
327	Dv	n		
		R	r	Yes? A. Would you d'you mind er giving up, er sm er giving up er smoking? T. Smoking. Yes.
		F ack		
		I st		And next week, I come back and I'm still coughing and I say, 'Mm, I'm still smoking'. What does the doctor say then. He's cross. M. Not be polite! T. No.
328	Re In	I ^b cl		T. What does he say? M. Stop smoking! Ss. Stop smoking! T. Stop smoking! Yes. I've had enough of you, stop smoking!
		R	r	
		F e	r	
		F com		
329	Dv	I m d		Erm. Would you ask her politely, I don't like that er(i.e. the tape recorder) here in our classroom.
		-cl		
		(R)	(cl)	I st M. So, our teacher don't like er your ta T. tape recorder. M. tape recorder, so would you mind er st stop taping. T. Mm.. J. Not at all!
		F ack		
		(R)	R r	

APPENDIX B

TABLE OF TRANSACTIONS IN TEXT A

Numbers refer to transcript pages.
Bound exchanges are set to the right.

Transaction A

B_{ch}
EL_{ch}
B
D
D
Dv_{ch}
S EL_{ch} Re-In I
S EL_{ch} S Re-In
EL_{ch} T Re-In
Dv Re-In R
Dv Re-In I
Dv Re-In I
Dv Re-In R
S Re-In R
Dv_{ch}
S EL_{ch}
Dv
Dv
S Inf
Dvx Re-In I
Re-In R
S EL_{ch} Re-In R
Re-In R
S EL_{ch}
Dvx
Dvx Re-In R
Re-In
Dvx
Dvx Re-In R
S Re-In
Dvx_{ch}
S EL_{ch} S Re-In R
Dvx
S Inf
S Inf
S Inf
Dv Re-In
Re-In
Dv Re-In
S Inf
S Inf
S EL_o
S EL_{ch}
EL_{ch}
S Inf_{ch}
EL_{ch}
S Inf
S Inf
S Inf / B
EL_o
EL_{ch} Rep
S Inf
S Inf

S Inf
S Inf
S Inf Re-In I
S Inf
Inf / B
Dv
Dv
Dv Re-In I
Dv Re-In R
Dv Re-In I
Dv Re-In R
Dv
Dv Re-In
S EL_o Re-In R
Dv_{ch}
S EL_{ch} S Re-In R
Dv
S D !
Dv
Dv
Dv_{ch} Re-In R
S EL_{ch}
S EL_o S Re-In R
(B)
Dv and Dvx se-
quences show con-
trolled language
practice.
S.Inf sequence
indicates dis-
cussion, interr-
upted by short
spells of T.
directed langua-
ge practice.
A sequence of Dvs
shows the T.re-
gaining control,
but gradually more
and more S ELs
undermine the prac-
tice activity and
the T. ends the
transaction.

Transaction B

B
D
S EL_{ch}
Dva Li
EL_o Li
Inf
Inf
S Inf
Inf
Inf
T. attempts to
get some Stud-
ent-Initiated
interaction
going but it
seems to break
down.

Transaction C

B_{ch}
EL_{ch}
EL_{ch}
Dv Re-In R
B
B_{ch}
EL_{ch}
D
S EL_{ch} Re-In R
Dv n Re-In I
Re-In I
Re-In I
Re-In IR
S Re-In I
S Re-In
Dv_{ch}
S EL_{ch}
Dv
Inf
Dv n
Dv
Dv_{ch} Re-In R
EL_{ch}
EL_{ch}
S Inf
A lengthy Bound-
ary sequence shows
the students are
not sure what they
are supposed to do.
The number of Re-
Ins also denotes
possible confusion.
Finally a Dv se-
quence begins but
fails to continue
for long.

Transaction H

B
 Inf
 Dv Re-In I
 Re-In R
 Dv
 Dv
 Inf
 S Inf
 Inf^{ch} Re-In R
 S EL^{ch}
 Dv
 Dv Re-In R
 Dv
 Dv
 Dv
 Dv^{ch} S Re-In R
 S EL^{ch}
 Inf^{ch}
 S EL^{ch}
 S EL^{ch} Re-In I

A Boundary followed by Inf and Dv often marks the initial presentation of a language item; this is borne out by Infs interrupting the series of Dvs, where the teacher stops the practice to give further information.

Transaction I

B
 B
 D^a
 Dv^a
 Dv^a
 Dv^a
 Dvx^a S Li
 S Li
 S Li
 S Li
 S Li
 S Rep

The number of Dv^as occurring here before the series of Listing exchanges show that the activity is fairly complex to set up, perhaps involving pairwork, as we then see from Dvx^a.

Transaction J

B
 S EL^{ch}
 B
 S EL^o Rep 1
 S EL^o
 S EL^o
 S EL^o
~~Inf~~
 Inf^o
 EL^o
 Inf^{ch}
 EL^{ch}
 Dv^{ch} S Re-In R
 S EL^{ch}
 Inf
 Inf
 Inf^o
 S EL^{ch}
 EL^{ch} S Rep
 S Rep
 D
 Inf^{ch}
 S EL^{ch}
 Dv S Re-In R
 S Re-In R
 S EL^o
 S EL^{ch}

It seems here as if the students wanted classification perhaps of a language point - there are 5 Dv exchanges which denote language practice, and the mixture of ELs and Infs show that some information is being sought after.

Transaction K

B
 Dv Re-In I
 Re-In R
 Dv Re-In I
 Dv
 Dv
 Dv
 Dv
 Dv
 Dvx^{ch} Re-In
 S EL^{ch} Re-In I
 Dv Re-In R
 Dv Re-In R
 Dv Re-In R
 Dv

A controlled practice sequence shown here; the students being less successful towards the end (shown by the number of Re-In Rs.)

APPENDIX C

Extract from "Kernel Lessons Intermediate"

O'Neil, R., Kingsbury, R., Yeadon, T., Longman 1971.

Unit 17

a

Frequent gerund constructions



- (a) When/phone?
- (b) Who/person/speak to?
- (c) When/Arthur/back?
- (d) secretary/saying?



- (a) Why/Tom/the dishes?
- (b) Where/Susan?
- (c) Tom/like/dishes?
- (d) Tom saying to Peter?



- (a) When/Fred/army?
- (b) Fred/like/soldier?
- (c) Where/Fred/now?
- (d) Fred saying to Sergeant?



- (a) Where/Frank?
- (b) What/he/give up?
- (c) Who/talk to?
- (d) Frank saying to Susan?



- (a) Chairman shouting now?
- (b) a few minutes ago?

Main Teaching-Points

1. Formation and use of the Gerund with certain verbs:
 - a) *Would you mind . . . ing?* and *Would you mind not . . . ing?* and *I wonder if you'd mind . . . ing?*
 - b) *hate . . . ing/like . . . ing.*
 - c) *give up . . . ing/stop . . . ing.*

Extra Points and Activities

1. Intonation of the polite form 'I wonder if you'd mind . . . ing . . .?' (fluency practice through Substitution Drill).
2. Revision of *carry* vs. *wear*.
3. Meaning of 'do the dishes'.
4. Revision and practice with *has gone* (and is still there) contrasted with *has been* (and is now back). (See also page 97.)
5. Meaning and use of *at first*.

WOULD YOU MINDING?
WOULD YOU MIND NOTING?

I WONDER IF YOU'D MINDING?
STOP/GIVE UP/HATE/LIKEING

Unit 17

a

1

The phone rang a few seconds ago. Someone wants to speak to Arthur.

"I'm awfully sorry," his secretary is saying. "Mr Tigers has gone out. He'll be back at 3. Would you mind phoning then?"

1. Ask and answer the questions!
a) When/the phone b) Arthur there
c) When/back
2. The person on the phone can speak to Arthur at 3; what does Arthur's secretary say to the person?

3

Fred Collins joined the army a few months ago. He does not like being a soldier. In fact, he hates it. He hates carrying a heavy rifle and wearing a uniform. He also hates getting up early. All the other soldiers have already got up. "I wonder if you'd mind closing that window, Sergeant?" Fred is saying.

1. Ask and answer the questions!
a) When/the army b) like/a soldier
2. Ask if he hates doing these things!
a) a heavy rifle b) a uniform
c) up early
3. What is he saying to the sergeant?
4. Why do you think the sergeant is angry?

5

This is a political meeting. It has got out of control. The chairman is telling people to stop doing certain things. At first he tried to be polite. "Would you mind not waving that red flag?" he said a few minutes ago. Now he is shouting "Stop waving that red flag!" A group of men are shouting "freedom", two others are blowing trumpets, another group is singing and a few men are fighting.

1. What sort of meeting is this and what has happened?
2. What did the chairman say to the man with the flag a few minutes ago?
3. What is he shouting now?
4. He tried to be polite with the other people, too. What do you think he said to them?
5. What do you think he is going to shout at the other people?

2

Tom Atkins has to do the dishes because Susan's father is in hospital and she has gone to visit him. Tom does not like washing dishes. In fact, he hates washing them.

"I wonder if you'd mind helping me?" he is saying to Peter.

1. Ask and answer the questions!
a) Why/Tom/the dishes
b) like . . . ?
2. What is it that he hates doing?
3. What is he saying to Peter?

4

Frank Martin is in hospital. He has had to give up smoking and drinking beer, too. The doctor says these things are very bad for him. Susan is visiting him now. "Susan, I wonder if you'd mind bringing some cigarettes next time?" he is saying to her.

1. What are the two things Frank cannot do in hospital?
2. What has he had to do? Ask why!
3. What is he saying to Susan now?
4. Do you think she will?

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