THE DISCOURSE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANALYTIC, FUNCTIONAL–ANALYTIC, AND EXPERIENTIAL LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES FOR INTERMEDIATE TO ADVANCED LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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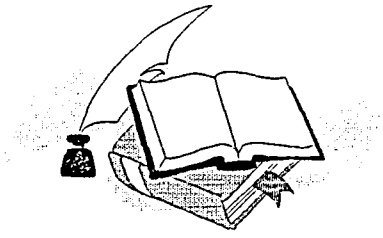

THE DISCOURSE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANALYTIC, FUNCTIONAL-ANALYTIC, AND EXPERIENTIAL LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES FOR INTERMEDIATE TO ADVANCED LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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Abbreviations used in the text:

OBET: Outcomes-based education and training

SLA: Second language acquisition

ESL: English as a second language

TRP: Transition-relevance place

IRF: Initiation-response-feedback

CA: Conversation Analysis

DA: Discourse Analysis

Abbreviations and conventions used in the transcriptions:

T: Teacher

S: Student

Ss: Students

Turns are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc.

// indicates interruptions and overlaps

(Inaudible) indicates excerpts of data which could not be transcribed

( ) indicates non-verbal actions

^

silent stress and falling intonation which indicates a boundary in the discourse

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to both Dr. R.C. Ullyatt and Prof. W.J. Greyling for their invaluable advice, support and encouragement throughout 1997.

I should also like to thank Ms. Van Zyl for her patience in typing this manuscript.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to my parents and to Robin and Laura for their unfailing support and encouragement over the past few years.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research problem and aims

In recent years, the medium of instruction in a growing number of tertiary institutions in South Africa has been English. Yet, a large number of students speak a language other than English. What is problematic is that once these students enter university, they find that they lack the communicative language skills required to express themselves in English. Allen (1987), who has examined the various problems experienced by students like these, has observed that ESL students, enrolled in Ontario schools in Canada require special training in English as a second language, since "their language skills and their ability to handle conceptual content are expected to develop concurrently" (Allen, 1987: 21; Cf. Lightbown, 1990: 91). Allen (1987: 9) goes on to state that:

> Many students...are handicapped both by the amount and the advanced level of reading comprehension and by the written work required to complete assignments in the courses. They lack the specialised vocabulary and the communicative skills required to express the complex relationships, concepts and processes that form the core of academic work...

Like these students, ESL students in South Africa face an uphill battle in trying to keep up with their English-speaking peers (Cf. McKenzie, 1992: 224; Ras, 1994: 146). In order to deal with the changing needs of learners in South Africa, we are experiencing a gradual shift in emphasis from a transmission mode of language teaching which is teacher-dominated (Cf. Au, 1992: 45-46; Maley, 1992: 25) towards a more learner-centred, constructivist-participative model of learning referred to as outcomes-based education and training (OBET). What is essential to note is that, as Widdowson (1987: 87) points out:

> The increase in learner-centred activity and collaborative work in the classroom does not mean that the teacher becomes less authoritative. He or she still has to contrive the enabling conditions for learning, has still to monitor and guide progress...

strategies solely from the perspective of researchers who, as Widdowson (1993: 264) points out, are invariably detached from the actual teaching process (Cf. Brumfit, 1995: 36).

More importantly, it is certainly not sufficient for teachers to know a great deal about various teaching strategies simply in terms of how they have been described by their advocates (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 162-163). Teachers also need to know how these strategies are reflected in actual classroom practice. For instance what kinds of turn-taking patterns are associated with particular strategies? What types of interactions occur between learners and learners, and between learners and teachers? (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 162-163). Do learners listen to and produce sustained discourse when a particular strategy is used by the teacher, or are their lingual contributions restricted to single-word/single-clause utterances? If teachers are able to answer questions such as these, they will not only be in a better position to assess the effects of various strategies on teaching, but will also be able to determine which aspects of their teaching they need to amend (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 4).

As the title of this study indicates, the researcher is primarily concerned with exploring the patterns of discourse that characterize three language teaching styles referred to by Allen (1987: 3) in his variable focus curriculum scheme as structural-analytic (Type A), functional-analytic (Type B), and experiential or non-analytic (Type C) teaching. Such a study is regarded as valid for a number of reasons. Firstly, although Allen (1983: 23-43; 1987: 1-24; 1989: 179-185) and Stern (1981a; 1981b; 1983b) have described the features of Type A, Type B and Type C teaching at length, few data are available on how these styles are reflected in actual classroom practices and processes (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 163). Indeed, in their description of the variable focus curriculum scheme, neither Stern (1981a; 1981b; 1983b) nor Allen (1983; 1987; 1989) provides us with any transcriptions of what the teaching styles might look like when implemented in the language classroom. Secondly, although Allen, Frohlich and Spada (1984) have developed a coding instrument which they refer to as the COLT procedure (Cf. Cook, 1991: 96) to distinguish between the

features of analytic and experiential teaching, a number of researchers (e.g. Van Lier, 1984b: 114-115; 1989: 175; Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 123) have criticised it as an inefficient research tool. Van Lier (1989: 175), for instance, observes that such an instrument restricts the teacher's/researcher's research findings, since it predetermines what is important and relevant to look for in the data. Van Lier (1984b: 114-115) also notes that, since such a scheme employs "a finite number of categories to describe actions" (Cf. Psathas, 1995: 67), it cannot account for the dynamics of turn-taking and speaker change in interaction. Furthermore, as Stern (1990: 109) points out, although the observation scheme appears to be useful for the analysis of the content of language classes, it does not document the features of analytic language teaching.

An additional reason why an analysis of the three teaching styles is necessary lies in the observation made by a number of researchers (Van Lier, 1988: 5; 1989: 174; Stern, 1992: 2; Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 4) that teachers do not always consciously reflect upon what actually takes place during classroom proceedings, since they are so closely involved in the teaching/learning process. As Richards and Lockhart (1994: 4) put it:

> Many aspects of teaching occur day in and day out, and teachers develop routines and strategies for handling these recurring dimensions of teaching. However, research suggests that, for many experienced teachers, many classroom routines and strategies are applied almost automatically and do not involve a great deal of conscious thought or reflection....

Other researchers too, notably Stubbs (1976: 70), Stern (1992: 2), Maley (1992: 27), and McKenzie (1992: 224), have noted that teachers do not always consciously reflect upon what actually takes place in their classrooms. Maley (1992: 27), for instance, points out that he has observed classes "where the teacher was convinced that learners were engaged in 'communicative activities', which were in fact no such thing" (Cf. Long and Sato 1983; Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 127). Clearly, in order to change their tacit knowledge about Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching into overt knowledge, teachers need to become critically aware of how these styles are reflected in actual classroom

practices and processes. If teachers are able to reflect more critically upon their choice of a particular teaching style, then they will, for instance, be able to adjust their styles if they deem it necessary, and will also "feel more confident in trying different options and assessing their effects on learners" (Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 4).

Yet another reason why this research study is valid lies in the fact that the features typically associated with the three teaching styles in Allen's (1987) variable focus curriculum scheme correspond closely to those found in an outcomes-based language curriculum model (see Chapter 4 in which this is discussed in greater detail).

This study has two principal aims. Firstly, the descriptive aim is to describe the patterns of discourse that characterize structural-analytic (Type A), functional-analytic (Type B), and non-analytic (Type C) language teaching, showing that these patterns differ significantly because they are the product of distinct speech exchange systems. This study is therefore concerned with sensitizing teachers to the discourse options available to them in these teaching styles. In particular, the following questions are addressed: What types of turn-taking patterns characterize Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching? What kinds of question-and-answer exchanges, utterances, and feedback are associated with each style? (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 162-163). What types of interactions occur between learners and learners, and between learners and teachers when a particular style is used by the teacher? (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 162). Are the turn-taking patterns that characterize each style related to restricting or promoting learner participation rights in the classroom? In addition to addressing these questions, it is also shown that the discourse features typically associated with these styles correspond closely to those found in an outcomes-based language curriculum model. Secondly, the applied linguistic aim of this study is to show how the patterns of discourse that occur in the three teaching styles may be used to improve aspects of teacher training as well as materials design and evaluation. As these aims clearly indicate, the study of classroom discourse is not regarded as an end in itself, but as a means of promoting the teacher's awareness of classroom processes (Cf. Richards

and Lockhart, 1994: 11) so that he or she can make informed decisions in the language classroom (Cf. Johnson, 1990: 281).

In order to achieve the above aims, a discourse-based approach is adopted in this study, placing it in the realm of qualitative research (Cf. Seliger and Shohamy, 1989). It is shown that, by using such an approach, teachers may sensitize themselves to the discourse options available to them in Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching. Thus, the view held by Van Lier (1984a: 166) is adopted in this study, namely, that in order to become more sensitive to the kinds of teaching they practise, teachers should conduct their own research, not by using "ready-made systems of coding and categorizing", but by studying "the dynamism of interaction, the structuring work undertaken by all participants in order to achieve a classroom lesson" (Cf. Scarcella, 1989: 81).

1.2 Methodological orientation

In view of the limitations of observation schemes such as Allen et al.'s (1984) COLT procedure (see Chapter 2 in which the limitations of coding instruments are discussed in greater detail), they are rejected as appropriate research tools for analysing classroom interaction. Since the focus of this study is on language as it is used in the language classroom, it is argued that a discourse model is a more appropriate research tool for describing the phenomenon of speaker change, and for capturing the dynamic turn-by-turn process of lingual interaction (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 166-168; Scarcella, 1989: 81). In this study, three corpuses of classroom data are analysed either in terms of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary (mundane) conversation, or in terms of the organisation of turns at formal talk in the classroom as outlined by McHoul (1978). If the corpuses of classroom data display the distinguishing features of fluency-based language teaching, then they are analysed in terms of the rules for speaker change as outlined by Sacks et al. (1974). If, however, they exhibit the characteristics typically associated with traditional accuracy-based language teaching, then they are analysed in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse. Due to

the limitations of the Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective (see Chapter 2), aspects of the Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective of the Birmingham school (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982) are adopted in this study.

Since the beginning of February 1996, theoretical sampling has been used to collect three types of lingual data from English Practical tutorial classes at the University of the Free State. To be specific, the researcher has deliberately employed Type A, Type B, and Type C language activities in the classroom (Cf. Stubbs, 1983: 231), and made audio-recordings of both teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interactions. Turn-by-turn transcriptions of these audio-recordings have been prepared and are available for perusal in the appendices to this study. The methodological orientation used in this study is specified in greater detail in Chapter 3.

In the chapter that follows (Chapter 2), a detailed examination is made of the distinguishing features of structural-analytic (Type A), functional-analytic (Type B), and non-analytic (Type C) teaching as outlined by Allen (1987: 1-24) in his variable focus curriculum scheme. Thereafter, the most recent findings from second language acquisition (SLA) research are briefly reviewed in order to determine what they tell us about these approaches to language teaching. Following this review, attention is paid to the research tools most suitable for analysing the three corpuses of classroom data selected for this study. Finally, alternative Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis models are briefly reviewed.

As noted above, Chapter 3 focuses on the methodological procedure adopted in this study. That is, attention is paid to the way in which the lingual data for this study has been selected and analysed, and the Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis perspectives used in the analyses are described in greater detail.

Chapter 4 focuses on the detailed analyses of three types of classroom data in terms of the discourse models selected for this study. In order to determine whether the exchanges in the three corpuses of classroom data should be

analysed in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation, or in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse, they are first analysed within the accuracy/fluency paradigm. The primary aim of this chapter is to examine the discourse patterns of Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching, showing that these patterns differ significantly because they are the product of distinct speech exchange systems.

Finally, Chapter 5 shows how the findings of the analyses carried out in Chapter 4 may be used for future research, for example, to improve aspects of teacher training as well as materials design and evaluation.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

Before discussing which research tools are appropriate for achieving the aims outlined in the previous chapter, it is necessary to take a closer look at Allen's (1987: 1-24) variable focus curriculum scheme. In the section that follows, a detailed examination is made of the distinguishing features of structural-analytic (Type A), functional-analytic (Type B), and non-analytic (Type C) teaching as outlined by Allen (1987) in his curriculum scheme. Thereafter, the most recent findings from second language acquisition (SLA) research are briefly reviewed in order to determine what they tell us about these approaches to language teaching.

Before turning our attention to Allen's (1987) trifocal curriculum scheme, it is important to clarify exactly what is meant by the terms "method", "approach" "technique", and "style", since they are used throughout this study. In a revised version of a model proposed by the American applied linguist, Edward Anthony, in 1963, Richards and Rodgers (1986: 16) define "method", "approach", and "technique" as follows:

> We see approach and method treated at the level of design, that level in which objectives, syllabus and content are determined, and in which the roles of teachers, learners, and instructional materials are specified. The implementation phase (the level of technique in Anthony's model) we refer to by the slightly more comprehensive term procedure. Thus, a method is theoretically related to an approach, is organizationally determined by a design, and is practically realized in procedure.

What is problematic, however, is the fact that, as Cook (1991: 132) points out, not all researchers talk about methods or approaches. Allen et al. (1990), for instance, distinguish between "analytic" and "experiential" activities, while Stern (1992) and Marton (1988) talk about the various teaching "strategies" used in the language classroom. Cook (1991: 132) suggests that, in order to avoid the different associations that these terms convey, the more neutral terms "teaching

technique" and "teaching style" should be used. According to Cook (1991: 132), the teaching technique may be defined as the actual point of contact with the students. Thus, an information-gap exercise, a structure-drill, dialogue memorisation, and dictation are all examples of teaching techniques (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986). As Cook (1991: 132) points out, teachers combine these techniques in various ways within a particular language teaching style. If, for instance, you put a structure-drill with a repetition dialogue, then you get the audiolingual style with its emphasis on the spoken language, on practice, and on structure. The term "teaching style" may be defined as follows:

> A teaching style is a loosely connected set of teaching techniques believed to share the same goals of language teaching and the same views of language and of language learning. The word 'style' partly refers to the element of fashion and changeability in teaching (Cook, 1991: 132-133).

Now that each of these terms has been clearly defined, a detailed examination is made of the three levels of communicative competence in second-language education as outlined by Allen (1987).

2.2 Allen's (1987) variable focus curriculum scheme

According to Richards and Rodgers (1986: 166-167), both second and foreign language teaching have amassed a considerable body of educational techniques, and the quest for the ideal method or approach is part of this tradition. At present, three different theoretical views of language, namely, the structural view, the functional view, and the interactional view, form the basis for all approaches and methods in language teaching (Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 16-17). While the structural view sees language as "a system of structurally related elements for the coding of meaning" (Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 17), the functional view sees language as a vehicle for expressing particular communicative functions or notions (Cf. Littlewood, 1992: 18). Thus, unlike a structural syllabus which focuses solely upon the formal features of the target language (Cf. Stern, 1990: 94; Littlewood, 1992: 16), a functional syllabus includes "not only grammar and lexis but also [specifies] the topics, notions, and concepts the learner needs to communicate about" (Richards and Rodgers,

1986: 17). In contrast to the structural and functional views, the interactional view sees language as a vehicle not only for realizing interpersonal relations, but also for performing social transactions between individuals (Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 17; Cf. Stern, 1990: 102). In the section that follows, a detailed account is given of Allen's (1987) variable focus curriculum scheme in which the main components correspond to these three views of language.

In the concluding paragraph of an article in which he launches a scathing attack on Communicative Language Teaching, Swan (1985: 98) asserts that "the Communicative Approach, whatever its virtues, is not really in any sense a revolution. In retrospect, it is likely to be seen as little more than an interesting ripple on the surface of twentieth-century language teaching". Among his numerous objections, Swan (1985: 85) argues that proponents of the communicative approach incorrectly assume that the language learner lacks the ability to transfer communication skills from his or her mother tongue to the target language. In Swan's (1985: 84) view, learners require lexical items, not skills. As Widdowson (1985: 100) puts it, it is Swan's (1985) belief that:

> What learners need to be taught is grammar, lexis, and a collection of idiomatic phrases: their effective use for communicative purposes can be left to work out for themselves by reference to common sense and the experience they have of using their own language.

Swan's (1985) negative view of Communicative Language Teaching is shared by other applied linguists such as Higgs and Clifford (1982) and Bibeau (1984), who regard such teaching as extreme and unproductive (Stern, 1990: 95). In marked contrast to these researchers, linguists such as Paulston (1970), Widdowson (1978; 1985), Littlewood (1981), and Maley (1986) have focused attention on the importance of exposing language learners to activities which require them to judge and produce appropriate utterances in goal-directed discourse. Thus, entirely different points of view with regard to how language should be taught exist: on the one hand, we have an analytic view which sees grammar as the organising principle of language (Stern, 1990: 94), and on the other hand, an experiential view which sees language as a vehicle for establishing and maintaining social relations (Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 17). According to Allen (1987: 3), a review of the current second language

curriculum literature reveals an ongoing tendency to assume "a simple dichotomy" between analytic and experiential teaching. In Allen's (1987: 3) view, we need to construct a bridge between the two extremes of the structural/functional continuum. To be specific, we need to develop a more comprehensive three-level curriculum scheme for second-language education "in which the principal components will correspond to a structural-analytic, a functional-analytic, and a non-analytic, or experiential view of language" (Allen, 1983: 25; Cf. Stern, 1983: 262). According to Allen (1983: 3), we cannot simply assume that language learners will be able to produce appropriate utterances in given situations once they have mastered the grammatical rules and acquired a basic vocabulary of the target language. This belief is echoed by Roberts (1986: 52) and Larsen-Freeman (1986: 123) who both contend that students who know the rules of language usage may still be unable to use the language. It is for this reason that Allen (1987: 6) argues in favour of implementing a functional-analytic approach to communicative practice, an approach which, in Allen's (1987: 3; 6-7) view, facilitates the transition from analytic "skill getting" to experiential "skill using". It is important to take into account that, in Allen's (1987: 4) view, the functional-analytic approach to language teaching should not replace either the structural-analytic or the experiential approach. Instead, the three approaches should form complementary aspects of a practical second-language teaching programme (Allen, 1983: 26; 1987: 4). Thus, if the teacher feels that students who have proceeded to the functional-analytic level of language learning need additional practice in grammar and vocabulary, they may, as Allen (1983: 37) puts it, "loop back" to the structural-analytic level of language learning.

2.2.1 The structural-analytic or Type A focus

Underlying a structural-analytic or Type A focus (which corresponds to the medium-oriented level of micro-language learning), is the belief that beginning students cannot be expected to communicate effectively in the target language until they have acquired sufficient knowledge of its grammar, vocabulary, and

rules of pronunciation (Cf. Roberts, 1986: 52). Thus, in Type A language classrooms, emphasis is placed on the code which, as Stern (1992: 310) puts it, "gives the learner a chance to pause and examine the language gradually, deliberately, and in easy stages". As these words clearly indicate, the principal aim of a programme with a Type A focus is to provide students with the opportunity to practise the formal features of the target language (Allen, 1987: 4; Cf. Stern. 1981a: 142). It is therefore not surprising that the teaching materials in a Type A programme are based on a structural syllabus which selects and sequences the grammatical and lexical items presented to students (Allen, 1989: 180; Cf. Littlewood, 1992: 16). Another distinguishing characteristic of structural-analytic teaching is that it decontextualizes and isolates the formal features of language so that they can be scrutinized and practised by learners (Stern, 1992: 310). Stern (1992: 310) argues that, although present-day theory emphasizes the importance of context for language use, it is also necessary to decontextualize language items, since the ability to focus on a single item at a time "can make the language learning task reassuring and manageable". Thus, a programme with a Type A focus does not present language learners "with the full complexity of the rule system" (Stern, 1992: 312; Cf. Allen, 1987: 4). As Stern (1992: 312) puts it:

> If the analytic strategy does not ease the learner's entry into the language, it has missed the point. What teachers always have to bear in mind is the capacity of a class to cope with language analysis. The age, maturity, and educational background of the individuals concerned have to be considered in deciding on the use of an analytic strategy for a given group of students.

Yet another distinguishing feature of structural-analytic teaching is that it provides learners with the opportunity to practise the elements of the target language in the form of exercises and drills (Allen, 1987: 4-5; Cf. Stern, 1992: 312). It is important to bear in mind that according to Allen (1987: 4-5), although a programme with a Type A focus includes the use of audiolingual techniques, the teaching materials in it should focus on worthwhile activities oriented towards discourse. Thus, although Type A teaching involves a high degree of structural control, "the methodology and the exercise material should be kept as flexible and meaningful as possible, consistent with the communicative aims of

the overall curriculum" (Allen, 1987: 5; Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 62). A final distinguishing feature of analytic teaching is that attention is paid to accuracy and error correction "to a degree regarded as appropriate for a given group of learners" (Stern, 1990: 100; Cf. Allen, 1989: 180).

2.2.2 The non-analytic or Type C focus

In striking contrast to a Type A focus which involves medium-oriented practice, an experiential or Type C focus corresponds to the message-oriented level of macro-language use (Rivers, 1983). What is important to note is that in Type C language classrooms, the teacher does not draw the learner's attention to the structure or functions of the target language (Allen, 1989: 183; Cf. Stern, 1992: 313). Instead, the principal aim is to achieve, "as far as possible, a fully spontaneous use of language in real-life social interaction" (Allen, 1987: 5). As Stern (1992: 313-314) puts it, the main goal of experiential teaching is "to create conditions in the language class in which the language is not examined, analysed, or practised as an object but is used for a purpose in as realistic a manner as possible". Thus, in contrast to the situation in a Type A language classroom, error avoidance and accuracy are subordinated to meaning and fluency in the Type C classroom (Allen, 1989: 178; Cf. Littlewood, 1992: 19). Underlying an experiential or Type C focus is the belief that the language learner will develop structural proficiency through purposeful communication (Allen, 1989: 183; Cf. Widdowson, 1987: 78; Johnson, 1996: 78). Thus, in Type C language classrooms, the focus of activities is not on the code, but on "motivated" themes and topics (Allen, 1989: 179). Stern (1992: 314) points out that what this means is that topics and themes are not selected simply to provide students with the opportunity to practise the formal features of the target language. Instead, they are selected according to the "situational, personal, or academic needs" of the language learners (Stern, 1992: 314). According to Stern (1992: 316), in marked contrast to Type A language classrooms in which the teacher knows the answers to his or her questions (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 127), in Type C language classrooms, there is an information-gap between speaker and listener. According to Prabhu (1987: 45-47), an information-gap technique engages learners in the transfer of information: that is, learner A has to encode

a goal-oriented message that has to be decoded by learner B, and vice versa. One of the main benefits of such a technique is that it introduces "an element of unpredictability" into experiential classrooms (Stern, 1992: 316; Cf. Johnson, 1996: 44-45). Allen et al. (1987: 32) stress the fact that, in addition to using information-gap techniques in the experiential classroom, the teacher should also create situations in which learners are required to listen to and produce sustained discourse. Moreover, students should be given opportunities to initiate discourse (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318), and to participate in pair- and group-work. In Allen's (1989: 183) view, experiential activities should be aimed at encouraging learners to use language that is not only interactive and naturalistic, but also message-oriented, and problem-based (Cf. Littlewood, 1992: 19). According to Allen (1989: 184), these features may occur in combination, but with varying degrees of emphasis, in different experiential approaches to language teaching, such as the natural approach, the process approach, or the communicational approach. Richards and Rodgers (1986: 140) point out that the natural approach (Krashen and Terrel, 1983), which is based on Krashen's monitor theory (Allen, 1989: 184), rejects the view that "the formal...organization of language [is] a prerequisite to teaching" (Cf. Johnson, 1996: 132). According to Krashen and Terrel (1983), proponents of the natural approach subscribe to the belief that, unless communication is gravely impaired, learners should not be corrected when they use deviant grammatical forms (Cf. Allen, 1989: 184). Furthermore, speech is allowed to emerge naturally, while the study of formal grammatical work is limited to homework and written exercises. Richards and Rodgers (1986: 129) define the natural approach as follows:

> In the Natural Approach there is an emphasis on exposure, or input, rather than practice; optimizing emotional preparedness for learning; a prolonged period of attention to what the language learners hear before they try to produce language; and a willingness to use written and other materials as a source of comprehensible input.

Proponents of the process approach (Breen and Candlin, 1980; Breen, 1983; 1984) on the other hand, argue that "learning a second language is essentially a matter of learning how to communicate as a member of a particular group, and

therefore the conventions which govern language behavior in a group should be central to the teaching/learning process" (Allen, 1989: 184). According to Johnson (1996: 166), in a curriculum based on such an approach, emphasis is placed on how language is learned and used, and learners are encouraged to be responsible for their own learning (Cf. Allen, 1989: 184; Littlewood, 1992: 19). By contrast, proponents of the communicational approach argue that the development of competence in the target language requires conditions in which learners have to complete problem-solving activities with some degree of effort (Prabhu, 1987: 1). To be specific, language tasks should involve a principle of "reasonable challenge" which, as Allen (1989: 185) points out, implies that "students should not be able to perform the task without an effort, but that at the same time they should be able to complete the task if they make an honest attempt".

2.2.3 The functional-analytic or Type B focus

Situated in the middle between the two extremes of the structural/functional continuum is the functional-analytic or Type B approach to language teaching which incorporates both medium- and message-oriented practice (Allen, 1987: 3). Underlying the Type B focus is the belief that the main goal of language teaching is to develop "not only grammatical skills...but also communicative competence" (Allen, 1989: 182), which may be defined as the ability "to use language accurately, coherently, and appropriately in different contexts" (Allen, 1989: 182; Cf. Paulston, 1992: 38; 98). Thus, a programme with a Type B focus approaches language through the study of speech acts, sociolinguistics and rules of discourse (Allen, 1989: 182; Cf. Stern, 1992: 100). According to Allen (1987:6), a programme with a Type B focus "represents a controlled, functional-analytic approach to communicative practice" which aims "to activate and extend the learner's existing grammatical knowledge", preparing him or her for the spontaneous use of the target language at a later stage. As Crawford-Lange (1982: 92) puts it, the functional-analytic model may be regarded as an interdisciplinary approach, since it "deliberately combines grammatical analysis and the purpose to which language is put" (Cf. Allen, 1989: 182). As these words clearly imply, a Type B programme is concerned with how the language

learner's existing linguistic knowledge is made use of in accomplishing a wide variety of communicative tasks (Allen, 1987: 6) such as seeking information, making an apology, extending an invitation, or establishing social relations. It should be noted that in a Type B programme, some degree of grammatical proficiency on the part of the student can normally be taken for granted. Thus, the teacher does not draw the language learner's attention to the form and structure of the target language, but focuses on its communicative functions (Cf. Roberts, 1986: 52). To be specific, students are expected "to acquire an understanding of the rules of use which govern the development of spoken and written discourse in the target language" (Allen, 1987: 6; Cf. Wilkins, 1981: 83). However, it is important to note that, although a Type B programme emphasizes the functional aspect of language proficiency, and is therefore oriented towards authentic discourse, it is reinforced by grammatical work (Allen, 1987: 5). Another distinguishing feature of a programme with a functional-analytic focus is that learning objectives are not defined in terms of the content of specific topics or in terms of the physical characteristics of specific situations. Rather they are defined "in terms of a speaker's 'internal' thoughts, attitudes and intentions, which are essentially context independent" (Allen, 1983: 31).

As noted in an earlier section, Allen (1987: 4; 1989: 187) does not regard the three approaches described above as being in opposition to one another. Instead, Allen (1987:4; 1989: 187) argues that there is a place for all three approaches in a comprehensive model of second-language education, and that they should form complementary aspects of any experienced secon-language teacher's repertoire (Cf. Stern, 1992: 321):

> It is quite possible for an 'enriched' structure-based programme to emphasize the systematic teaching of vocabulary and grammar, but at the same time to include activities which are centered on worthwhile tasks and oriented towards discourse. Functional-analytic materials have their main focus on guided communicative practice, but they often 'loop back' to include remedial grammar exercises, and at the same time reach forward towards activities which require a fully communicative, spontaneous use of language. The purpose of Type C teaching is to focus attention on meaning rather than on specific features of grammar or discourse. Even in this context, however, one should allow for the possibility of providing reinforcement at the level of Type A and Type B practice...(Allen, 1989: 187).

Based on the above description, the distinguishing features of Allen's (1987) three levels of communicative competence may be summarized as follows (see Stern, 1990: 106; 1992: 317-321):

Allen's (1987) Variable Focus Curriculum Scheme

Structural-analytic teaching	Functional-analytic teaching	Experiential teaching
(Type A focus)	(Type B focus)	(Type C focus)
1. Focus on grammar and formal features of language	1. Focus on discourse features of language	1. Focus on the natural un-analysed use of language
2. Involves controlled grammatical teaching techniques	2. Involves controlled communicative teaching techniques	2. Involves experiential teaching techniques
3. Emphasis on medium-oriented practice	3. Emphasis on medium- and message-oriented practice	3. Emphasis on message-oriented practice
4. Aims to provide practice in the structural aspect of language proficiency	4. Aims to provide practice in the functional aspect of language proficiency	4. Aims to provide practice in achieving a fully spontaneous use of language
5. Learning objectives defined with reference to individual structures and items of vocabulary	5. Learning objectives defined in behavioural terms, e.g. expressing particular communicative functions	5. Learning objectives defined in non-language terms, e.g. tasks or problems to be solved
6. Attention to accuracy and error avoidance	6. Attention to meaning and fluency and error avoidance	6. Error avoidance and accuracy sub-ordinated to meaning/fluency
7. Practice or rehearsal of language items. Discourse usually characterized by single-word/-single-clause utterances	7. Oriented towards authentic discourse but reinforced by grammatical work	7. Language use has the features of everyday discourse

At this stage, it should be noted that Allen's (1987) variable focus curriculum scheme corresponds closely to an outcomes-based language curriculum model. Like an outcomes-based curriculum model, Allen's (1987) scheme is constructivist-based, since it not only emphasizes the importance of applying language structures in context, but also encourages learners to use appropriate communication strategies for specific purposes through Type B language activities (Cf. Allen, 1987: 5). Furthermore, like an outcomes-based curriculum model, Allen's (1987) scheme encourages learners to make and negotiate meaning and understanding through Type C activities (Cf. Stern, 1992: 313-314).

In the section that follows, the most recent findings from second language acquisition (SLA) research are briefly reviewed in order to determine what they tell us about these approaches as outlined in Allen's (1987) variable focus curriculum scheme. Thereafter, an examination is made of the way in which teachers can be sensitized to the discourse options available to them in Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching.

2.3 A review of second language acquisition (SLA) research

2.3.1 Research findings on structural-analytic teaching

According to Stern (1992: 313), the frequent failure of language learners to apply in use what they have learned formally in the classroom has resulted in numerous attacks on form-based (see Lightbown and Spada, 1993) or structural-analytic approaches to language teaching (Cf. Allen, 1989: 184). Indeed, Lightbown and Spada (1993: 83) point out that proponents of Communicative Language Teaching have argued that a classroom emphasis on accuracy "usually results in learners who are inhibited and will not 'take chances' in using their knowledge for communication" (Cf. Di Pietro, 1987a: 69-70). One of the most severe criticisms levelled against analytic teaching is that, as Lightbown (1985) contends, practice does not necessarily make perfect. Stern (1992: 326) cites an amusing story told by the British psychologist,

Valentine (1950: 291), which illustrates this point:

> One Scottish teacher told me that to correct the frequent use of 'went' for 'gone' (as in 'He has went home') he once set a boy after school to write 'He has gone out' fifty times. After a time the teacher left the boy to himself. On his return he found the imposition on his desk- 'He has gone out' duly written fifty times. However, the boy had added at the bottom of the page: 'I have done the work, and I have went home'.

In a series of investigations conducted by Lightbown and her colleagues in the late 1970's, a study was made of the effect of audiolingual instruction on the acquisition sequences followed by Francophone children, aged eleven to sixteen, learning English as a second language in Quebec. During the course of these investigations, the learners were exposed to intensive drill practice of English grammatical morphemes such as the progressive -ing and plural -s, and the order in which they produced these morphemes was compared to the "natural" order of acquisition by uninstructed second language learners (Cf. Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991: 305-306). The researchers found that, although learners were able to produce a particular morpheme with a high degree of accuracy during the time that they received formal instruction in it (Cf. Harley, 1989: 170), they could not produce the morpheme with the same degree of accuracy outside the classroom (Cf. Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 81; Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991: 305-306). Lightbown and Spada (1993: 81) state that these findings suggest that it does not necessarily follow that learners who receive intensive instruction in "particular grammatical forms will be able to use the forms". Other researchers too have argued that formal instruction has little positive effect on second language proficiency (e.g., Ellis, 1984; Ellis and Rathbone, 1987).

Possibly the harshest criticism that has been levelled against analytic teaching is that learners often experience difficulty when it comes to transferring what they have learned in the language classroom to situations which require real-life social interaction (Cf. Roberts, 1986: 52; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 83; Stern, 1992: 312). Allen (1983: 23), for instance, points out that:

> It has become a commonplace observation that many students can perform quite well in a controlled classroom environment but are unable

> to transfer this ability to situations which require spontaneous, real-life communication... This lack of transfer may mean that students need to spend more time mastering the basic grammar. On the other hand, it may mean that students need to be taught not only the internal patterns of language as a self-contained system...but also the sociological rules which govern the communicative operation of language in use.

Lightbown and Spada (1993: 81-83) cite a pioneer experiment conducted by Savignon (1972), who argues that an exclusive emphasis on the grammatical forms of the target language does not give students sufficient opportunity to develop communicative abilities in that language (Cf. Stern, 1992: 304). In her study, Savignon (1972) investigated the linguistic as well as the communicative skills of college students enrolled in French language courses at an American university. All the students, who were divided into three groups, received audiolingual instruction where the focus was on the practice of grammatical forms (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 82). While the control group received an additional hour per week of form-based instruction, the "communicative group" engaged in communicative activities for one hour per week, and the "cultural group" had an additional hour devoted to activities which focused on French music, art, and films (see Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 82). After measuring the learners' linguistic and communicative abilities before and after instruction, Savignon (1972) found that there were no significant differences between the groups as far as linguistic competence was concerned. However, Savignon (1972) made the interesting discovery that the "communicative group" outperformed the other two groups on the communicative tests developed for the study. Savignon (1972) argues that these findings offer support for the belief that second language programmes which focus exclusively on accuracy and form do not provide learners with opportunities "to develop communicative abilities in a second language" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 82)

A study conducted by Montgomery and Eisenstein (1985) strengthens Savignon's (1972) argument that an exclusively grammar-based approach to the teaching of a second language does not guarantee that learners will be able to communicate with the native-speakers of that language. In their study, Montgomery and Eisenstein (1985) observed a group of adult learners who, in addition to receiving form-based instruction, also engaged in communicative

activities. This group was then "compared to a control group which received only the required grammar course" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 82). Montgomery and Eisenstein (1985) found that learners who received both form-focused and meaning-based instruction showed "greater improvements in accent, vocabulary, grammar and comprehension than those who received only the required grammar course" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 82).

While the studies cited above offer little support for the hypothesis that exclusively grammar-based approaches will enable learners to develop high levels of accuracy and linguistic knowledge, others seem to indicate that form-based instruction can have a positive effect on second language proficiency (Cf. Harley, 1989: 170). Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991: 314) cite a major study conducted by Pavesi (1984), the results of which suggest that formal second language instruction has a positive effect on the rate of second language development. In her study, Pavesi (1984) "compared relative clause formation in instructed and naturalistic acquirers" (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991: 315). While the 48 instructed learners had received an average of four years of grammar-based instruction, the 38 naturalistic acquirers had received "a minimal or (usually) no formal English instruction" (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991: 315). Pavesi (1984) found that, despite considerably less overall second language exposure, the instructed learners "reached a higher level of proficiency than the naturalistic learners" (Harley, 1989: 170). A research study conducted by Long (1983) in the United States offers support for Pavesi's (1984) findings (Cf. Harley, 1989: 170). Long (1983) reviewed eight studies of adults and three of children, comparing second language learners with and without formal classroom instruction (Cf. Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991: 312). Long (1983) found that, in the majority of the studies, formal second language instruction had a positive effect on second language proficiency.

It should, however, be noted that, even if future research proves that formal instruction is the key feature of second language instruction, this should not be taken as evidence that teachers should revert back to using intensive practice drills in order to encourage habit formation and conditioning (Cf. Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991: 322). Stern (1992: 313), who recognizes the fact that

"a great deal of time has been wasted on routine exercises" which do not enable learners to communicate in situations outside the classroom, admits that analytic techniques should be improved and employed more effectively.

The mixed findings outlined above point to the fact that, although many researchers (Savignon, 1972; Macnamara, 1973; Krashen, 1985; Lightbown, 1985; Ellis and Rathbone, 1987) have taken the position that formal instruction in a second language is of limited use, a focus on form does appear to have a beneficial effect on the level of second language attainment (Cf. Pavesi, 1984; Long, 1983; 1988). Taking current criticisms of structural-analytic teaching into account, Allen (1989: 181) argues that "an element of systematic instruction may be welcomed by students because it provides an opportunity for them to try out their skills in a 'safe' environment..."

2.3.2 Research findings on experiential teaching

The criticism levelled against analytic teaching has resulted in a number of researchers (such as Macnamara, 1973; Savignon, 1983; Krashen, 1984; and Allen et al., 1987) advocating the need to create situations of real language use in the language classroom (Cf. Stern, 1992: 304). Proponents of meaning-based or experiential instruction argue that "when learners are given the opportunity to engage in conversations, they are compelled to 'negotiate', that is, to express and clarify, their intentions, thoughts, opinions, etc. in a way which permits them to arrive at a mutual understanding" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 83). As has already been noted (see section 2.2.2 above), underlying the experiential model of instruction is the belief that the negotiation of meaning enables learners "to acquire the language forms...which carry the meaning" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 83; Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 183).

According to Scarcella (1989: 79), one of the first studies to measure the various types of interaction patterns in second-language classrooms was conducted by Long and his colleagues (1976). In this study, the researchers compared the differences in "the quantity and quality of student language in group-work versus teacher-centred activities (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 85). Long et al. (1976) discovered that, whereas students in the teacher-centred

activities rarely initiated discourse and were compelled to respond to teachers' questions, learners who engaged in pair-work frequently initiated discourse and performed a wide variety of language functions such as, for instance, requesting, defining or clarifying. These findings are strengthened by later studies of classroom talk carried out by Long and Porter. Based on the results of their investigation, Long and Porter (1985: 224) argue that group-work involving two-way tasks is particularly beneficial in providing learners with the opportunity not only to produce discourse and negotiate meaning, but also to obtain comprehensible input (Cf. Scarcella, 1989: 79; Harley, 1989: 171).

One of the major criticisms of experiential teaching involves the concern among teachers that the use of pair- and group-work in the second-language classroom exposes learners to the often inaccurate speech of fellow learners (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 79). Many teachers believe that, in order to prevent learners producing too many errors, they should be exposed to a native-speaking model at all times (Cf. Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 86). In a study conducted by Porter in 1983, an examination was made of the speech produced by adult learners who were required to perform a task in pairs. The learners under investigation included twelve intermediate learners of English whose mother tongue was Spanish, and six native speakers of English (see Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 86). In order to compare not only the speech of native and non-native speakers, but also "the differences across proficiency levels in the conversation pairs", (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 86), each participant had to converse with a speaker from each of the three levels. Porter (1983) found that intermediate learners of English "did not make any more errors with intermediate-level speakers than they did with an advanced or native speaker" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 86). Porter (1983) concludes that her findings "contradict the notion that other learners are not good conversational partners because they can't provide accurate input when it is solicited".

In a study carried out to determine whether the role played by different proficiency-level learners in two-way communication results in any differences in their interactive behaviour, Yule and Macdonald (1990) designed a task in which two learners were required to communicate information about the

location of various buildings on a map and the route to get there (Cf. Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 87). One learner - the "sender" - had to describe a particular delivery route to the other learner - the "receiver" - who then had to draw the delivery route on an incomplete map. In the study, one group which consisted of high-proficiency learners in the "sender" role was paired with a group consisting of low-proficiency learners in the "receiver" role. The other group consisting of low-proficiency "senders" was paired with high-proficiency "receivers". Yule and Macdonald (1990) report that the results show that when low-proficiency learners had to play the role of the "sender", the interactions were both longer and more varied than when high-proficiency learners played the role of the "sender". Lightbown and Spada (1993: 87) state that the explanation provided by the researchers was that high-proficiency "senders" were inclined to act as if the low-proficiency "receiver" had little to contribute to the completion of the task. As a result, low-proficiency "receivers" played a passive role and said very little during the course of the task. By contrast, when low-proficiency level learners were required to play the role of the "sender", a greater variety of interactions took place between the speakers. Yule and Macdonald (1990) argue that, based on these findings, teachers should place high-proficiency learners "in less dominant roles in paired activities with low-proficiency learners" in order to prevent the latter having to play a passive role (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 87).

According to Lightbown and Spada (1993: 88), although the research studies outlined above clearly provide us with a better understanding of how to organize pair- and group-work more effectively in the second-language classroom, "the difficulty with this line of research is that it is based on the not yet fully tested assumption that specific kinds of interactive behaviours lead to more successful second language acquisition".

2.3.3 Research findings on functional-analytic teaching

As noted in an earlier section, applied linguists such as Higgs and Clifford (1982), Bibeau (1984), and Swan (1985) have taken a negative view of the experiential approach to language teaching, arguing that such an approach can

only lead to low levels of grammatical proficiency (Cf. Stern, 1990: 95). In view of this criticism, several researchers such as Allen (1993; 1987; 1989) and Stern (1981a; 1990) have advocated a view of the second-language curriculum which incorporates both analytic and experiential teaching. As has already been noted, Allen (1987: 3) refers to such a view of language as a functional-analytic view. Proponents of such a view (e.g., Lightbown and Spada, 1989; Harley, 1989; White, 1991) argue that, although it is essential for language learners to use the target language for communication, it is sometimes necessary to draw their attention to the grammatical aspects of language. As Lightbown and Spada (1993: 97) put it, proponents of such a view do not assume "that comprehensible input and meaningful interaction will be enough to bring learners to high levels of accuracy as well as fluency". Instead, they contend that "learners can benefit from, and sometimes require, explicit focus on the language" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 97). In the section below, a review is made of some of the major research studies related to the functional-analytic view of language.

In a number of research studies conducted by Lightbown and Spada (1989; 1990) in Quebec, an investigation was made of the development of English by francophone students in grade 5 or 6, who received five months of intensive all-day instruction in English (Cf. Lightbown, 1990: 91). The aim of the researchers was to examine "the effects of form-focused and corrective feedback on the development of specific linguistic structures" in the language learners (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 99). As Lightbown (1990: 91) reports, the programmes under investigation followed the communicative approach to language teaching very closely, while there was very little explicit language teaching. Indeed, systematic grammar teaching was virtually nonexistent (Lightbown, 1990: 91). Based on their findings, Lightbown and Spada (1993: 99) report that, while learners "develop high levels of fluency...in their target language, they still have problems with linguistic accuracy and complexity". As Lightbown (1990: 91) puts it, "their accuracy on a number of features leaves rather a lot to be desired".

In a number of experimental studies conducted by White (1991), an

examination was made of the effects of form-based instruction and corrective feedback on adverb placement and question formation. According to Lightbown and Spada (1993: 99), White (1991) chose to investigate adverb placement because English and French differ with regard to adverb position. White (1991) hypothesized that, if learners "were not explicitly told how the rules for adverb placement differ in English and French" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 100), then learners would continue to use adverb placement rules from French (Cf. Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 100). In the study, learners were divided into two groups: while the experimental group received explicit instruction in adverb placement over a period of two weeks, the comparison group learners received no explicit instruction. White (1991) reports that learners who received instruction on adverb placement outperformed the uninstructed learners. However, it is interesting to note that, in the follow-up test a year later, the performance of learners who had received instruction on adverb placement was equal to that of the uninstructed learners. Not surprisingly, the results of the question formation study showed that the instructed group outperformed the uninstructed group on the written tasks developed for the study. In addition, a focus on form resulted in an improvement in oral performance of the questions.

It should be noted that, according to Allen (1983: 34), the debate between those who favour an analytic approach to language teaching and those who argue in favour of experiential teaching, has, to a large extent, been superseded by the question of what constitutes the most effective balance between the two types of teaching (Cf. Stern, 1981a: 143; 1992: 324; Lightbown, 1990: 91). As a result, "there has been a call for more classroom research...to determine how this can best be accomplished" (Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 101).

One empirical study, which is related to the above issue, was carried out by Harley (1989) who investigated the specific learning difficulties encountered by French immersion students (Cf. Stern, 1992: 323). Stern (1992:323) points out that it has been observed that immersion students have difficulties with some grammatical features of French which do not disappear through experiential teaching. Harley (1989) chose to examine an area of grammar which is particularly difficult for English-speaking learners of French - the distinction

between two past tense forms, the passe compose (i.e., the narrative past) and the imparfait (i.e. the habitual past). Stern (1992: 323) states that "the teaching method employed deliberately mixed analytic and experiential teaching". Harley (1989: 335) hypothesized that:

> ...the grammatical competence of immersion students, with respect to the use of the imparfait and the passe compose, can be enhanced: (1) by providing focused L2 input that promotes perception and comprehension of functional contrasts between these two verb tenses; and (2) by providing more opportunities for students to express these functions in the realization of interesting, motivating tasks.

Six French immersion classes received instruction on the use of the two past tense verbs through a variety of functionally-based activities (Cf. Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 101). No emphasis was placed on corrective feedback, and explicit grammatical rules were not provided. As Lightbown and Spada (1993: 101) point out, the intention was "to create opportunities, activities and tasks which would expose them to more input containing both verb forms, and encourage more productive use of them by the learners". The teaching materials were spread over an eight-week period, and learners were tested on their spoken as well as on their written knowledge of the past tense forms before the instructional treatment began. Harley's (1989) findings revealed that the combination of analytic and experiential activities accelerated the development of grammatical competence (Cf. Stern, 1992: 324), and that learners in the experimental classes thus outperformed the control classes on the immediate post-tests. However, it is interesting to note that as in the studies conducted by Lightbown and Spada (1989; 1990), there were no significant differences between the experimental and control groups a few months later.

According to Lightbown and Spada (1993: 102), the overall results of the studies in the intensive ESL and Frensh immersion programmes provide some support for the hypothesis that form-based instruction within communicative second language teaching programmes improves the learners' use of grammatical features. However, as has been noted, the positive effects of form-based instruction are not necessarily long-lasting. For instance, in the intensive ESL programmes, the gains made by the learners who had received instruction

on adverb placement had disappeared a year later. Despite the tentative research findings on the functional-analytic option, Allen (1989: 182-183) observes that it appeals to several investigators as a means of preparing students for the spontaneous use of language at a later stage by activating and extending their existing linguistic knowledge. Littlewood (1981: 8), for instance examines several "pre-communicative" activities designed to prepare students for communication at a later stage, and Roberts (1986: 71) stresses the importance of using dialogues to promote the transactional competence of language learners who have already mastered the grammatical aspects of the target language (Allen, 1989: 183).

2.4 Classroom-centred research and the language teacher

Since the research findings on Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching outlined above are still tentative, Stern (1992: 236) advises teachers to remain open to the strengths and weaknesses of each option, and to combine them in accordance with their own personal experience and knowledge (Cf. Allen, 1989: 187). Clearly, however, it is not enough for teachers to view these options solely from the perspective of second language acquisition (SLA) research (Cf. Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991: 327). Although SLA research aims to discover how languages are learned, and highlights the merits and shortcomings of particular language teaching styles, thereby providing information that can guide teachers (Cook, 1991: 4), it is not, as Stubbs (1976: 76) puts it, "related in any obvious way to what happens in the classroom jungle". This view is shared by Brumfit (1995: 36), who points out that teachers "have to understand something that is much richer and more complicated than how people learn. They have to act effectively to help learners learn". More importantly, it is clearly not sufficient for teachers to know a great deal about the distinguishing features of Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching simply in terms of how they have been described by Allen (1987) in his variable focus curriculum scheme. Teachers also need to know how these options are reflected in actual classroom practices and processes so that they can, for instance, assess their effects on teaching, or determine whether there are any discrepancies between the claims they have to made about their teaching styles

and what actually transpires in their classrooms. As noted in the introduction to this study, what is problematic is the fact that, although both Allen (1983: 23-24; 1987: 1-24; 1989: 179-185) and Stern (1981a; 1981b; 1983b) have described the features of Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching in some detail, few data are available on how these options manifest themselves in actual classroom practice (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 162-163). Indeed, in their description of the variable focus curriculum scheme, neither Stern (1981a; 1981b; 1983b) nor Allen (1983; 1987; 1989) provides us with any transcriptions of what the three teaching styles might look like when implemented in the language classroom. What kinds of turn-taking patterns characterize Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching? What types of question-and-answer exchanges, utterances, and feedback are associated with these teaching styles? (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 196: 162). Are the patterns of interaction that characterize each style related to restricting or promoting learner initiative? What types of interactions occur between learners and learners and between learners and teachers when a particular style is used by the teacher? Although Allen, Frohlich and Spada (1984) have developed a coding scheme which they refer to as COLT (Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching) to distinguish between analytic and experiential language teaching, as has already been noted, a number of researchers (e.g., Van Lier, 1989; Larsen-Freeman, 1991) have criticised it as an inefficient research tool. Stern (1990: 109) points out that a weakness of the COLT procedure is that it has been designed to categorize the verbal exchanges characteristic of experiential language teaching and not those characteristic of analytic teaching. In his own attempts to identify the features which characterize experiential teaching and distinguish it from analytic teaching, Stern (1992: 314) has found it necessary to adapt the COLT scheme because it is "based on the tacit assumption that a communicative-experiential orientation is an advance on an analytic strategy which it seems to equate with somewhat dated audiolingual techniques".

Besides the COLT procedure, many other coding instruments - such as Moskowitz's (1976) Flint scheme, Fanselow's (177) FOCUS system, and Ullman and Geva's (1984) TALOS scheme - have been developed for the

systematic observation of what takes place in the language classroom (Cf. Van Lier, 1989: 175; Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125; Stern, 1992: 49). According to a number of researchers, notably Mehan (1979), Van Lier (1984b; 1988; 1989), and Larsen-Freeman (1991), observation schemes such as these have a number of "serious, probably even insurmountable, problems" (Van Lier, 1989: 175). As has already been noted (see Chapter 1), Van Lier (1989: 175) argues that a major limitation of coding instruments is that they restrict the teacher's field of research in the sense that they predetermine what is important to look for in the data. For instance, Part A of Allen et al.'s (1984) COLT procedure analyses language activities in terms of five fixed categories (type of activity, participant organization, content, skills, and type of materials), while Part B measures the "communicativeness" (Cf. Van Lier, 1989: 175) of activities in terms of the following criteria: (a) use of the target language, (b) use of the information-gap technique, (c) sustained discourse, (d) reaction to message, and (e) discourse initiation by students (Stern, 1992: 54). In Van Lier's (1989: 175) view, since it has been decided beforehand, "through the choice of certain categories rather than others", what is important to look for in the data, "finding or not finding the specified phenomena cannot in itself say anything about their importance, quality, inherent nature, and so on". Moreover, since coding instruments predetermine what is important to look for in the data, they tend to assume priority over the data (Van Lier, 1984b: 115; Cf. Levinson, 1983: 295). According to Van Lier (1984b: 114-116), another major weakness of coding instruments is that, since they employ "a finite number of categories to describe actions", they cannot account for the dynamics of turn-taking and speaker change in classroom interaction, and therefore give only a static, partial impression of the discourse process. Finally, Gebhard et al. (1990: 118-119) point out that, since language teaching has become a more varied, multidimensional activity (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 3), observation schemes may fail "to capture some classroom interaction, such as that which occurs during small-group activities".

In view of these limitations, the researcher rejects the use of such coding schemes as adequate tools for analysing classroom interaction. Since the focus

of this study is on language as it is used in the language classroom, it is argued that a discourse model is a more appropriate research tool for describing the phenomenon of speaker change and for capturing the dynamic turn-by-turn process of lingual interaction (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 166; 168). That is, the researcher adopts a discourse-based approach in this study, arguing that the discourse manifestations of Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching differ significantly. It is shown that, by using a discourse-based approach, teachers can sensitize themselves to the discourse options available to them in these three teaching styles. Thus, the view held by Van Lier (1984a: 168) is adopted in this study, namely, that in order to become more sensitive to the kinds of teaching they practise, teachers should conduct their own research by analysing the dynamism of interaction in their classrooms:

> The teacher who wishes to analyse interaction in his or her own classroom would be well advised not to use ready-made systems of coding and categorizing, but to look for the dynamics, the participation patterns, the work that language is made to do, and to reflect on its relevance to real communicative requirements in the world outside the classroom.

Clearly, the researcher is advocating a view of the teacher as both language practitioner and classroom researcher. Indeed, numerous researchers, notably Stubbs (1976:76), Van Lier (1984a: 168; 1988: 5; 1989: 174), Widdowson (1993: 264), and Richards and Lockhart (1994: 4), have argued that teachers should be encouraged to see themselves as researchers as well. After all, as Van Lier (1989: 174) rightly points out, practising teachers know more about their own classrooms than anyone else does - and herein lies the problem: as has already been noted, since teachers are so closely involved in the teaching/learning process, they do not always consciously reflect upon what actually transpires in their classrooms (Cf. Stern, 1992: 2; Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 4). However, in order to study the patterns of interaction in their classrooms, it is essential for teachers to step out of their subjective roles as language practitioners (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 11). That is, teachers have to step back, as it were, from classroom events in order to take a critical look at what actually occurs during interaction (Cf. Van Lier, 1984b: 125). What is problematic is that no observation is ever completely objective (Van Lier,

1984b: 125), since the observations made by a researcher will always be distorted by his or her personal assumptions and theoretical perspectives (Phillip, 1976: 13). How can "teachers-as-researchers" (Stenhouse, 1975) become "objective" observers of their own language teaching styles? Adopting Van Lier's (1984b: 125; 1988: 232) view, the researcher in this study posits that, in order to become "detached observers" of their teaching styles, teachers should analyse transcriptions prepared from audio- or video-recordings of lingual data from their own classrooms. According to Van Lier (1988: 238), a transcript of lingual data is an "estrangement device" because it allows the observer to step out of the interaction and look at it "from a detached perspective" (Cf. Stubbs, 1983: 20). That is, a transcript confronts the teacher with "a mirror-like 'objective' view" (Schratz, 1992: 89) of what actually occurs during classroom proceedings (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 11). Stubbs (1983: 19-20) lists the following reasons for analysing transcribed data:

> First, intuitions (introspective data) are notoriously unreliable in this area. Second, most people are simply unfamiliar with what such material looks like. Third, given these two points, a close transcript of conversation can allow us to see ways in which conversation is ordered which we would never imagine just by thinking about it... Transcribing conversation into the visual medium...can show up complex aspects of conversational coherence which pass us by as real-time conversationalists or observers, and 'through which the strangeness of an obstinately familiar world can be detected' (Garfinkel, 1967: 38).

One of the major advantages of audio-visual recordings and transcriptions is that they capture the details of a lesson which, as Richards and Lockhart (1994: 11) point out, "cannot easily be observed by other means". In addition, by using recordings and transcriptions of lingual data, teachers are able to determine which aspects of their teaching they need to improve (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 4). If, for instance, transcribed data show that the teacher exerts tight control over the teaching/learning process by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a learner's response (see Mehan, 1985: 126), then the teacher can adjust his or her strategy in order to give learners greater freedom. According to Van Lier (1988: 238), lingual data can also be used not only to improve aspects of teacher training, but also to identify any problems learners may be experiencing in the classroom. Furthermore, if the teacher

wishes to embark upon a small-scale intervention in the language classroom, then transcribed data can provide evidence of the outcome of that intervention (Van Lier, 1988: 238).

2.5 Research purpose, focus and tools

So far, it has been established that the main aim of this research study is twofold. The descriptive aim is to describe the discourse manifestations that characterize structural-analytic (Type A), functional-analytic (Type B), and non-analytic (Type C) teaching. Thus, the researcher is primarily concerned with sensitizing teachers to the discourse options available to them in these three teaching styles. In addition the applied linguistic aim of this study is to show how the findings of the analyses can be used to improve teacher training as well as materials design and evaluation. It has also been established that the research focus of this study is on language as it is used in the language classroom. As noted in the introduction to this study, the researcher is interested in exploring the dynamism of interaction in Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching and so, the Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective is used in the analysis of three corpuses of classroom data. That is, three corpuses of classroom data are analysed either in terms of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation or in terms of the organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom as outlined by McHoul (1978). If the corpuses of lingual data exhibit the features typically associated with fluency-based language teaching, then they are analysed in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation. If the corpuses of data display the distinguishing features of traditional accuracy-based language teaching, then they are analysed in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse. However, it should be noted that, due to the limitations of the Conversation Analysis perspective (see section 2.5.1 below), aspects of the Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective of the Birmingham school (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982) are also adopted in this study. While the Discourse Analysis perspective is classification-oriented because it is concerned with showing "how classroom interaction is structured by means of an ordered list of discrete categories" (Van Lier, 1984b: 114-115), Conversation

Analysis is process-oriented, since it attempts to identify the mechanisms which govern the process of turn-taking in interaction (Cf. Van Lier, 1984b: 115; Psathas, 1995: 2). Although Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis have what Levinson (1983: 286) describes as "largely incompatible styles" (Cf. Hopper, 1989: 51-52), they are combined in this study for reasons which are discussed in section 2.6 below.

2.5.1 The Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective

2.5.1.1 Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) rule system for turn-taking in natural conversation

According to Hoey (1992: 64; 82), if teachers have some knowledge of the typical patterns of interaction that occur in natural conversation, they will be in a better position to determine whether or not their learners are developing the conversational skills they need in order to communicate effectively in the target language. This belief is echoed by Van Lier (1984a: 161) who argues that, in order to ensure that classroom communication replicates real-life interaction, teachers should not rely on "the identification of units and superficial structures" to tell them what interaction is all about. Instead, they should look for the dynamics of both turn-taking and speaker change in interaction (Van Lier, 1984a: 168). One of the most influential studies of turn-taking is that of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), who are concerned "with elucidating the mechanisms of sequential organization of interaction, that is, the way participants construct their interaction turn by turn over its course to accomplish an accountably coherent exchange" (Wilson, 1991: 22). Although the Sacks et al. (1974) model of analysis is described in greater detail in Chapter 3, it is necessary to give a brief outline of the model in this section in order to highlight some of the main ideas in it.

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 706), the turn-taking mechanism for natural conversation ensures that (1) one party speaks at a time, (2) speaker change occurs (or at least recurs), and (3) transitions (from one turn to the next) occur with little or no overlap (Cf. Wilson et al. 1984: 168; Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 34). Other researchers (Wardhaugh, 1985; Drew, 1987) too have

observed that these features are present in any conversation. Wardhaugh (1985: 148), for instance, observes that:

> The most general principle governing turn-taking in a conversation is that one and only one person speaks at a time. There may be overlaps and brief interruptions, to be sure, but it is generally quite clear which speaker has the floor at any particular moment.

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 702), the turn-taking system for natural conversation may be described in terms of a turn-constructional component, a turn-allocation component, and a basic set of rules (Cf. Psathas, 1995: 36-37). As far as the turn-constructional component is concerned, Sacks et al. (1974: 702) point out that turns are constructed out of any of four different-sized units of talk. Nofsinger (1991: 80) describes these units of talk as follows:

> Some turns are one word long, constructed with a single lexical item...Other turns are constructed with a phrase: several words that do not constitute a sentence, that do not have both a subject and a predicate...Others are constructed with a clause, which we might describe as a group of words that do have all the necessary components to be a sentence...but do not constitute a stand-alone sentence because they are designed to be part of some other sentence...Still other turns are constructed with a full sentence...

Like Sacks et al. (1974: 702), Nofsinger (1991: 81) states that what is significant about these turn-construction units is that participants can project where they will end, and thus "where a particular turn might possibly be complete". The place that participants recognize as the potential end of a turn is referred to by Sacks et al. (1974) as a transition-relevance place or TRP (Cf. Wilson et al. 1984: 167-173). Like Sacks et al. (1974: 704), numerous researchers (e.g., Wardhaugh, 1985; Cunningsworth, 1987) have noted that, whether the cues used by participants to detect a possible transition-relevance place "include a change in the pitch or volume of the voice, the end of a syntactic unit of language, a momentary silence, or some sort of body motion" (Nofsinger, 1991:81), a transition from one speaker to the next regularly occurs at the transition-relevance place. As far as the turn-allocation component is concerned, Sacks et al. (1974: 703-704) identify various techniques that participants may employ for allocating the next turn to another speaker. One technique for allocating the next turn involves the current speaker selecting the

next speaker (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134). Like Sacks et al. (1974: 710; 716-718), Wardhaugh (1985: 71-72), Mehan (1985: 21), Berry (1987: 45), Heritage (1989: 24-25), and Nofsinger (1991: 51-53; 82) have observed that one way in which this may be accomplished is for the current speaker to direct the first pair part of an adjacency pair to another participant. Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of classroom data: (see Appendix C):

(1)

67 S1: (To student 2) Okay. Now can I have the car?

68 S2: I'm sorry but I have to go without you...(Continues)

In the above excerpt of data, it is evident that, after being selected by the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, student 2 is constrained in what she says in the turn so allocated (Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Cf. Heritage, 1984: 247; Hoey, 1992: 81-82). To be specific, student 2 is under constraint to answer, since the technique employed to select her is a question (Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Cf. Wilson, 1991: 30). Like Sacks et al. (1974: 710), numerous researchers (Coulthard, 1985: 60; Wilson, 1991: 30; Zimmerman and Boden, 1991: 21) recognize the fact that participants orient to the rule that when a speaker produces a first pair part, "a second speaker should relevantly produce a second pair part...immediately on completion of the first" (Heritage, 1984: 247). Gardner (1984: 109) notes that the notion of the adjacency pair as described by Sacks et al. (1974) is significant "because it indicates structure in conversation across pairs" (Cf. Taylor and Cameron, 1987: 119).

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 704), if the current speaker does not select a specific speaker to take the next turn, then another speaker may self-select (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Mehan, 1985: 126; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 98). Like Sacks et al. (1974: 706), Nofsinger (1991: 83) observes that this rule "puts a premium on starting quickly, since several participants may self-select and failure to be first may mean either that one drops out or that one continues with the risk of being judged as 'butting in' on someone else's turn". If the two techniques just described are not employed to determine the next speaker, then

at the transition-relevance place, the current speaker may, but need not, continue speaking (Sacks et al., 1974: 704; Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 150; Fairclough, 1989: 134).

Based on the brief description of Sacks et al.'s (1974) recursive rule system for natural conversation, it is evident that turn-taking is both locally managed and interactionally managed (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 86). To be specific, conversational turn-taking is locally managed "in the sense that it deals with the current turn and the impending next turn right at the point where speaker transition is relevant - the TRP" (Nofsinger, 1991: 86; Cf. Greatbatch, 1988: 403; Drew, 1989: 100). Conversational turn-taking is also interactionally managed in the sense that what one party does affects what the other parties may acceptably do (Nofsinger, 1991: 86). For instance, if a speaker projects the first pair part of an adjacency pair to another participant, then the so-selected speaker is under constraint to produce a second pair part (Cf. Heritage, 1984b: 247). It is also evident that Sacks et al.'s (1974) recursive rule system is a normative system since participants orient to the rules of conversational turn-taking (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 11-12; Mehan, 1991: 77). That is, participants for the most part design their talk in such a way that it conforms to the norms of turn-taking (Nofsinger, 1991: 86). If, for example, a current speaker makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique to select a specific speaker to take the next turn, then all other parties are obliged to remain silent. Of course, this does not mean that violations do not occur in natural conversation. Indeed, Sacks et al. (1974) point out that participants in everyday conversation may use interruptions in a number of ways (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 101). Hoey (1992: 80), for instance, observes that a speaker may disrupt an exchange "by challenging some aspect of the previous speaker's utterance" (Cf. Burton, 1980: 142-143). However, as has already been noted, interruptions are usually of brief duration (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 148).

According to a number of researchers (e.g., Heritage, 1989: 43; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 94; Psathas, 1995: 38), Sacks et al.'s (1974) recursive rule system for natural conversation has been influential in the sense that it has opened up possibilities for the study of different turn-taking systems such as

those for classroom (McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979), courtroom (Atkinson and Drew, 1979), and news-interview (Greatbatch, 1985; 1988) interactions. In the section below, a closer look is taken at McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse.

2.5.1.2 McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse

According to Frankel and Beckman (1989: 61-62), following the initiative of Sacks et al. (1974), numerous researchers have analysed social interaction in a range of bureaucratic and institutional settings. For instance, as has just been noted, while Greatbatch (1985; 1988) has attempted to identify the turn-taking patterns typically associated with news interviews, Atkinson and Drew (1979) have detailed the interactional patterns typically associated with courtrooms. According to Greatbatch and Heritage (1991: 95), one of the more significant conversation-analytic studies of classroom interaction has been carried out by McHoul (1978). Since McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system is described in detail in Chapter 3, only a brief outline of the rule system is given below.

In a revised version of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation, McHoul (1978) attempts to identify the rules that govern the management of turns in the classroom. According to McHoul (1978: 188), the patterns of interaction that occur in the classroom differ significantly from those found in mundane conversation (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 95) because they are "primarily the product of turn-type pre-allocation" (Heritage, 1984: 34). That is, in contrast to ordinary conversation with its locally managed system of turn-taking (Greatbatch, 1988: 403), the interactional patterns that occur in the classroom are the product of "a heavily pre-allocated system in which the locally managed component is largely the domain of teachers, student participation rights being limited to the choice between continuing or selecting the teacher as next speaker". Thus, McHoul (1978: 188) is proposing a system of turn-taking in which "only teachers can direct speakership in any creative way". Like McHoul (1978), a number of researchers (Mehan, 1985: 125; Fairclough, 1989: 135; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 72) have noted that

turn-taking rights in the classroom are unequal. Fairclough (1989: 135), for instance, notes that:

> The turn-taking system [in the classroom] is very different from the formula for informal conversation. Pupils take turns only when a question is addressed to the class as a whole or an individual pupil. Pupils cannot normally self-select; teachers, conversely, always self-select...

According to McHoul (1978: 190), once a student has embarked upon an answer to a teacher's question, it is the teacher and only he or she who can decide if that answer is sufficient. The teacher is therefore obliged to give a comment on the sufficiency of a student's answer. Thus, McHoul (1978: 191) notes that classroom interaction is characterized by a three-part question-answer-comment sequence. That is, the basic teaching sequence consists of a question by the teacher, followed by an answer by the student, followed by a comment from the teacher. Other researchers (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 21; Van Lier, 1984a: 160; White and Lightbown, 1984: 233; Berry, 1987: 47; Fairclough, 1989: 135; Nunan, 1993: 35) too have noted that this three-part sequence is fundamental to classroom interaction. White and Lightbown (1984: 233), for instance, observe that:

> In most subject areas, the basic teaching sequence involves a series of speaking turns which alternate between the teacher and the student, beginning with the teacher. The first "conversational" turn is sometimes referred to as a solicit. It is usually in the form of a question although it can also be an imperative...In either case, the student understands that he is expected, during his speaking turn, to give a response. Next, the turn reverts back to the teacher, who usually evaluates the student response in some way, in a speaking turn called a reaction.

According to McHoul (1978: 195), if a student response is heard as "too long", the teacher may decide that the student has not heard or understood the question asked, and he or she may then go on to repeat or rephrase the question. A number of researchers, notably Mehan (1985: 122) and White and Lightbown (1984: 235), have also observed that if a student response is not immediately forthcoming, the teacher may embark upon a series of repetitions and rephrasings in order to obtain the preferred response. Mehan (1985: 122), for example, states that:

> The three-part sequence occurs when the reply called for by the initiation occurs in the next turn and is immediately followed by an evaluation...The extended sequence occurs when the expected reply does not appear immediately...because students do not answer or give partial or incorrect replies, or because of interruptions or distractions. At such times, the initiator employs a number of strategies including prompting after incorrect or incomplete replies and repeating or simplifying initiation acts in order to obtain the reply called for in the first initiation act.

In his rule system for classroom discourse, McHoul (1978: 208; 210) observes that, since classroom interaction rarely deviates from the "Teacher-Student-Teacher" pattern, the permutability of turn-taking is minimized. To be specific, students may only construct their turns so as either to continue speaking or to select the teacher (McHoul, 1978: 189). By contrast, teachers allocate the floor and take it back at the end of a student's response. Like McHoul (1978), numerous researchers (White and Lightbown, 1984: 234, Mehan, 1985: 125; Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 56; Maley, 1992: 27; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 72) have noted that the taking of turns in the classroom is often rigidly controlled by the teacher. Indeed, in a study carried out to determine how long teachers give their students to answer their questions, White and Lightbown (1984: 242) found that teachers do at least two-thirds of the talking, while students are rarely given the opportunity to initiate discourse (Cf. Cook, 1991:94).

According to Heritage and Greatbatch (1991: 95), studies of institutional talk like that carried out by McHoul (1978) are influential for two reasons. Firstly:

> ...turn-taking organizations - whether for conversation or institutional contexts such as courtroom interaction - are a fundamental and generic aspect of the organization of interaction. They are organizations whose features are implemented recurrently over the course of interactional events. This characteristic gives them a special methodological interest for students of institutional talk. For if it can be shown that the participants in a vernacularly characterized institutional setting...pervasively organize their turn-taking in such a way that it is distinctive from ordinary conversation, it can be proposed that they are organizing their conduct so as to display and realize its "institutional" character over its course and that they are doing so recurrently and pervasively.

Another advantage of studying institutional turn-taking systems derives from the fact that, since the parties in an institutional setting confine their conduct within

the framework of the turn-taking system of that setting, "other systematic differences from ordinary conversation tend to emerge" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 95; Cf. Heritage, 1989: 34). Heritage and Greatbatch (1991: 95-96) point out that:

> These differences commonly involve specific reductions of the range of options and opportunities for action that are characteristic in conversation and they often involve specializations and respecifications of the interactional functions of the activities that remain. The ensemble of these variations from conversational practice may contribute to a unique "fingerprint" for each institutional form of interaction - the "fingerprint" being comprised of a set of interactional practices differentiating each form both from other institutional forms and from the baseline of mundane conversational interaction itself.

2.5.1.3 The advantages and disadvantages of the Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective

Based on the above discussion, the advantages and disadvantages of the Conversation Analysis perspective may be summarized as follows (see Griffin and Mehan, 1981: 187-213; Levinson, 1983: 286-296; Van Lier, 1984b: 115; Psathas, 1995: 67-68):

(1) The Conversation Analysis perspective avoids giving a static and partial impression of the discourse process, since it attempts to capture the dynamics of both turn-taking and speaker change in interaction (Van Lier, 1984b: 115; Mehan, 1991: 90; Wilson, 1991: 22-23).

(2) The Conversation Analysis perspective attempts to account for the sequencing of turns in the classroom by identifying the normative points of orientation that teachers and students exploit for the management of turns (Cf. Heritage, 1989: 34).

(3) The Conversation Analysis perspective allows the researcher/teacher to identify the systematic differences between ordinary conversation and classroom interaction (Cf. Wilson, 1991: 95).

(4) According to Fairclough (1989: 11-12), one of the greatest strengths of the Conversation Analysis perspective is that it "has demonstrated that conversation is systematically structured, and that there is evidence of

the orientation of participants to these structures in the ways in which they design their own conversational turns and react to those of others".

In addition to these advantages, Levinson (1983: 295), Van Lier (1984b: 115), and Psathas (1995: 7) observe that:

(5) The Conversation Analysis perspective avoids abstract theoretical constructs "in order to first discover and analyze the natural organizations of social actions" (Psathas, 1995: 7; Cf. Heritage, 1989: 22).

(6) In Conversation Analysis, emphasis is placed on the data and the patterns recurrently displayed therein. Thus, rather than assuming priority over the data, the Conversation Analysis perspective allows the data to determine the analysis (Levinson, 1983: 295; Van Lier, 1984b: 115; Heritage, 1989: 22-23). As Taylor and Cameron (1987: 107) put it, the researcher need not be concerned "about imposing an analysis on the conversational data, for the conversation itself wears its own inherent...analysis on its sleeve".

Despite these advantages, the Conversation Analysis perspective also has its limitations (Cf. Van Lier, 1984b: 115; Berry, 1987). For instance, in this study (see Chapter 4), it has been found that, since McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system has been generated in terms of a restricted data base, it can only deal adequately with teacher-dominated teacher-pupil interaction. Similarly, since the Sacks et al. (1974) model is one for the turn-taking organization for natural conversation - and can therefore only deal adequately with pupil-pupil interaction - it cannot account for the normative orientations encapsulated in the classroom data. It is for this reason that aspects of the Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective are adopted in this study.

2.5.2 The Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective

2.5.2.1 Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis for classroom discourse

In their model of analysis for classroom discourse, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) propose a hierarchical set of categories in which lingual acts combine to

form moves, sequences of moves are known as exchanges, and exchanges combine to form transactions. In their view, a typical exchange in the classroom consists of "an initiation by the teacher, followed by a response from the pupil, followed by feedback, to the pupil's response from the teacher" (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 21; Cf. Berry, 1987: 42; Hoey, 1992: 72; Nunan, 1993: 35). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data (see Appendix A) in which students are required to evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to them:

(2)

49 T:	That's right, is to take risks. To act is a present infinitive. These risks are or is often awesome?	Initiation
50 S:	Are.	Response
51 T:	That's right, are. The first one is, the second one are.	Feedback
	Twelve. Conservative educators have usually believed in the idea of a canon of classics?	Initiation
52 S:	Have.	Response
53 T:	That's right. It agrees with educators. And believed, is believed right?	Feedback

An analysis of the above except of data clearly reveals the fact that the interaction is characterized by the initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern. For instance, in turn 49, the teacher evaluates the preceding student response before initiating a question. In turn 50, a student responds to the question, and in turn 51, the teacher provides feedback to the student's response before initiating another question. Clearly, as Stubbs (1983: 133) points out, in the Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) model of analysis, "an I predicts a following R, and R occurs in response to a preceding I: I and R are therefore symmetrically related. F functions to close an exchange". In his work on teacher-pupil interaction in the classroom, Mehan (1985: 121) makes a similar claim:

> ...sequences [in the classroom] have three interconnected parts: an initiation act, a reply act, and an evaluation act. In effect, the three-part initiation-reply-evaluation sequence contains two coupled adjacency pairs. Initiation-reply is the first adjacency pair. When completed, this pair itself becomes the first pair of the second adjacency pair. The second part of the second pair is the evaluation act, which comments on

the completion of the initiation-reply pair.

According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 22; 44), initiation, response, and feedback are known as moves, which are in turn made up of acts (Cf. Berry, 1987: 42). In the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C), for example, (i) is analyzable as a marker, (ii) is a metastatement (i.e., a statement which functions to tell the class what will happen in the future), and (iii) is an act of elicitation (see Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 40-43, and Sinclair and Brazil, 1982: 48-50):

(3)

166 T: No that was good,

okay ^ (i)

Alright. Let's go over this now. Alright. (ii)

Okay, now what was the situation here? (iii)

According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 21-22), a small set of words such as "right", "well", "good", "O.K.", and "now" function "to indicate boundaries in the lesson, the end of one stage, and the beginning of the next". If such a word is followed by falling intonation and silent stress (i.e., a pause of the duration of one or more beats), it acts as head of a framing move which constitutes a boundary in the discourse. If (i) above is analysed in terms of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis, then the word "okay" with falling intonation, followed by silent stress, acts as head of a framing move which constitutes a boundary in the discourse. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 22) observe that frames, particularly those that occur at the beginning of a lesson, are often followed by metastatements (see (ii) above). A metastatement is a statement that functions to tell the class what is going to happen in the future and it acts as a focus. According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 22), the boundary elements of frame and focus provide evidence of the existence of a unit above the exchange, which they label transaction.

As far as the teaching sequence is concerned, it should be noted that Sinclair

and Coulthard (1975: 49) distinguish bound exchanges from free exchanges. In Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) view, in contrast to free exchanges, the function of bound exchanges is fixed, since "they either have no initiating move, or have an initiating move without a head, which simply serves to reiterate the head of the preceding free initiation". It is interesting to note that, like Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Hoey (1992: 73) also distinguishes bound exchanges from free exchanges:

> Just as in written discourses each sentence is typically bound by some cohesive feature (for example, pronouns, ellipsis) to one or more of the sentences that went before, so also in spoken discourse each exchange is typically bound by cohesive features to one or more of the exchanges that preceded it. In many cases the only cohesive feature that connects one exchange to another is lexical repetition, in which case the intelligibility of the exchange need not be affected but when other kinds of cohesion are used the intelligibility of the exchange will be dependent on the exchanges that preceded it. We will refer to exchanges in which the initiation of one exchange is dependent on that of an earlier exchange for its intelligibility as bound exchanges.

In the following excerpt of data cited by Hoey (1992: 74), for instance, a bound initiation is used to ask participant C the same question that has been asked of participant B:

(4)

A:	How, oh, what do you live?	Initiation
B:	I live in Passo Manso.	Response
A:	And you?	Bound initiation
C:	I live in Bahia.	Response

Although the model of analysis outlined above first made its appearance in 1975, numerous researchers (e.g. Burton, 1980; Grimshaw, 1981: 44; 73; Berry, 1987: 41; Akindile, 1988: 101; and McCarthy, 1993: 173) still regard it as the starting point for their own research. Berry (1987: 41), for instance, notes that one of the strengths of the work of the Birmingham discourse analysts "would seem to lie in bringing to light a number of interesting, but hitherto unnoticed, facts about different types of discourse and their relation to their

social contexts". Like Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Berry (1987: 42) observes that a typical exchange in the classroom consists of a teacher initiation, followed by a pupil response, followed by teacher feedback. Furthermore, Berry (1987: 43) recognizes that teachers frequently make use of words such as "right", "O.K.", and "now" to mark the boundaries in their lessons. According to Berry (1987: 43), these findings are interesting, not only because they tell us about the structure of a particular type of discourse, but also because "they are sociolinguistically and sociologically relevant via a study of social roles". That is, "Sinclair and Coulthard are beginning to describe the 'describable conversational activities' that are entailed by being a teacher" (Berry, 1987: 44). Using the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) as a starting point, Berry's (1987: 45) aim is to find features that will enable her to predict and account for the occurrence/non-occurrence of three-move exchanges, evaluates, and frames in classroom discourse, doctor-patient interviews, and committee talk. Like Berry (1987), Akindile (1988: 101) also uses insights from the work of the discourse analysts in his research. Adapting and expanding Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis, Akindile's (1988: 99; 101) principal aim is to examine the structure of family conversation in Yoruba English, where English is used as a second language. According to Akindile (1988: 101), Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis is useful since it not only shows who initiates and controls discourse, but also "what strategies are used, and how the roles of speaker and listener pass from one participant to another". In a more recent study, McCarthy (1993: 173) too uses the discourse analysts' model of analysis as his starting point. To be specific, using Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) findings on the items that teachers use to mark the boundaries of their lessons, McCarthy (1993: 173) aims to identify the conventional markers found in the written medium.

2.5.2.2 The advantages and disadvantages of the Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective

According to a number of researchers, notably Levinson (1983: 286-296), Van Lier (1984b: 115), and Psathas (1995: 67-68), the Discourse Analysis perspective has several limitations. In Van Lier's (1984a: 161) view, a major

shortcoming of the Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) model of analysis is that it "cannot adequately describe, let alone explain, what interaction is all about", and to prove his point, Van Lier (1984a: 161) cites the following exchange:

(5)

S: ((sneeze))...what did I do?

F: you sneezed

S: I sneezed

According to Van Lier (1984a: 161), the above excerpt of data appears to be a perfect example of an initiation-response-feedback type of exchange, where S is the teacher and F is the student. However, Van Lier (1984a: 161) points out that, in illocutionary terms, it is actually the opposite of what occurs in a typical teaching exchange:

> S happens to be a three-year-old boy being driven to playgroup by his father. If we know that he has some semantic problem with the words 'sneeze', 'cough', 'sniff', etc, the reason for the exchange becomes clear: he wants to know the word for the action just performed, requests the correct information, and acknowledges it. We may apply the terms 'elicitation', 'response', and 'evaluation'... but the words no longer mean the same as they do for Sinclair and Coulthard... The example illustrates that an analysis of interaction is not as straightforward as structural statements and any classification of elements may suggest.

Van Lier's (1984a: 161) view is shared by Levinson (1983: Chapter 6) as well as by Psathas (1995: 67), who contends that Discourse Analysis "seems inappropriate for the study of the detailed particularities of conversation, which is, after all, an interactional production". It is the belief of these researchers that the Discourse Analysis perspective gives only a static and partial impression of some aspects of the discourse process, since it focuses on identifying how classroom interaction is structured by means of an ordered list of discrete categories (Van Lier, 1984b: 114-115; Stubbs, 1983: 134). To be specific, the model does not capture the dynamics of classroom interaction, because, unlike the Conversation Analysis perspective which attempts to identify the normative points of orientation that teachers and students exploit for the management of turns, it does not account for the sequencing of turns in the classroom.

An additional limitation of the Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) model of analysis becomes evident when it is applied to the following excerpt of classroom data (see Appendix B):

(6)

162 S2: Ya, I think I-I-I think that um it- it must be prac- practised here in South Africa is that system of guillotine which was practised in- in it was in France. (Laughter from students)

163 S4: Everybody will really start losing their heads about crime! (Laughter from students)

164 S7: But um this- this um law that says you have to kill somebody um d- if- if I murder somebody, it doesn't have to say that I'm going to get killed, I'm- th- the law is going to say you must be killed or something.

165 S?: Mm.

166 S7: So I feel the- the law must be there... (Continues)

An analysis of the above excerpt of data reveals the fact that, instead of being characterized by the authority-based three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern, the interaction is characterized by pupil-pupil exchanges. Although Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis can deal quite adequately with teacher-directed teacher-pupil interaction (Cf. Stubbs, 1983: 134; Nunan, 1993: 41-42), it cannot deal with classroom discourse in which students are required to interact with one another as equals-at-talk. Indeed, as Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 6) have acknowledged, their model of analysis was deliberately designed to handle teacher-dominated teacher-pupil interaction.

Despite the limitations of this classification-oriented model, as has already been noted, by adapting and expanding the model, numerous researchers (e.g., Berry, 1987; Akindile, 1988; McCarthy, 1993) have used it in their own research. According to Van Lier (1984b: 115), one of the major advantages of a classification-oriented model is that the terms in it are usually well defined and unambiguous, and it is for this reason that aspects of the Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) model of analysis are combined with the Conversation Analysis perspective. Indeed, Stubbs (1983: 135) suggests that, in order to overcome the limitations of different methods of analysis, researchers should combine them with other methods of analysis.

2.6 Combining the DA and CA perspectives

As has already been noted, although Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation can deal quite adequately with pupil-pupil interaction, while McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse can be applied to teacher-directed teacher-pupil interaction, neither rule system can accommodate the normative orientations encapsulated in the lingual data. It is for this reason that aspects of the Discourse Analysis model of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) are used in this study. Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data (see Appendix B):

(7)

16 T: You can agree-disagree, it's up to you. (The teacher nods her head in the direction of student 1).

17 S1: I agree. (Very faint)

18 T: Do you agree with capital punishment?

19 S1: Yes. (Very faint)

20 T: Okay. ∧ Now others can join in. What do you think?

21 S3: The main purpose is not only to punish the person but also to be- to set an example for the community...that they know there- there's some higher authority that- that will take some serious action...because // -S

22 S4: // As far as I'm concerned, capital punishment is there to pose as a threat for- for future criminals.

23 S5: But I think...(Continues)

An analysis of the above excerpt of data clearly reveals the fact that the teacher initially controls the teaching/learning process by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's response (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126). To be specific, at the end of turn 16, the teacher nominates a student to speak by

making use of a "current speaker selects next" technique. The so-selected student is the only student who has the right and is obliged to respond (turn 17). This is in accordance with McHoul's (1978: 188) rule which reads as follows:

(I) For any teacher's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(A) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to a single student; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

However, in turn 20, the teacher relinquishes control over the floor by allowing the students to interact with one another as equals-at-talk (see turns 21-23). By relinquishing her controlling function, it is clear that the teacher switches from one mode of language teaching to another. What is problematic is the fact that, since McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system has been generated in terms of a restricted data base (see section 2.5.1 above), it cannot account for the teacher switching from an accuracy to a fluency mode of language teaching. How can the teacher/researcher account for the teacher switching from one mode of language teaching to another? As has already been noted (see section 2.5.2.1 above), Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 21-22) make the interesting observation that a small set of words such as "right", "well", "good", and "O.K." function "to indicate boundaries in the lesson, the end of one stage, and the beginning of the next". If such a word is followed by falling intonation and silent stress (i.e., a pause of the duration of one or more beats), it acts as head of a framing move which constitutes a boundary in the discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 40; 43). If turn 20 is analysed in terms of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis, then the word "Okay" with falling intonation, followed by silent stress, is a discourse marker, signalling the switch for one mode of language teaching to another.

An additional reason why aspects of the Discourse Analysis perspective are adopted in this study lies in the fact that it provides the teacher/researcher with an excellent description of "the 'describable conversational activities' that are entailed by being a teacher" (Berry, 1987: 44; Cf. Akindile, 1988: 101). Consider, for example, the following excerpt of classroom data (see Appendix B):

(8)

9 T: Okay, so you're the second person to start. Right, now anyone else can roll the dice to decide the topic. So you roll it again. (The teacher nominates a third student to throw the die by nodding her head in his direction)

10 S: (A third student rolls the die and it lands on three)

11 T: Ah, it's capital punishment.
- Now does everyone know what capital punishment is before we start?

12 Ss: No...Yes. (Some of the students appear to be confused)

13 T: Capital punishment is when... (Continues)

Before relinquishing control over the floor by allowing students to interact with one another as equals-at-talk, the teacher first addresses a question to the whole class (turn 11) in order to determine whether or not they understand what is meant by capital punishment. Clearly, neither Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in natural conversation nor McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse can account for the teacher's action. According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 40), the teacher's lingual act in turn 11 is known as a check which is realized by a closed class of questions concerned with "being ready", "having problems", and being able to "hear" or "see". Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 40) go on to state that checks are "real" questions since the teacher does not know the answer. The function of checks is "to enable the teacher to ascertain whether there are any problems preventing the successful progress of the lesson" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 40; Cf. Stubbs, 1983: 50-57).

Based on the above discussion, it is evident that the limitations of the discourse models can be overcome by combining them: since the Discourse Analysis perspective gives only a static and partial impression of the discourse process (Cf. Psathas, 1995:67), aspects of the Conversation Analysis perspective (which accounts for the sequencing of turns in the language classroom) are used in the analyses, and since the Conversation Analysis perspective cannot account for certain actions performed by the teacher, aspects of the Discourse

Analysis perspective (which provides the teacher/researcher with an excellent description of the activities that are entailed in being a teacher) are adopted.

2.7 Alternative DA and CA models

Since the classification- and process-oriented models outlined above first made their appearance, numerous researchers have attempted to revise and expand them in order to describe the discourse in their own data. For instance, following the initiative of Sacks et al. (1974), Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) have attempted to identify the turn-taking patterns typically associated with news interviews, while a number of researchers interested in investigating classroom discourse have adapted Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis. Mehan (1979), for example, refers to turns in the classroom as initiation-reply-evaluation, while Fanselow (1987) labels them solicit-response-reaction (Cf. Barkhuizen, 1995: 93). In the section below, a brief review is made of two alternative models of analysis which have focused either on casual conversation or on classroom discourse. The first model below derives from the work of Burton (1980), who has adapted and expanded the model in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) in order to analyse naturally occurring dialogue. The second model of analysis derives from the work of Wilson et al. (1984), who suggest that an adequate understanding of the turn-taking patterns in natural conversation can be achieved by combining the signalling approach of Duncan and Fiske (1977) and the recursive rule system of Sacks et al. (1975). In addition to examining these discourse models, a brief review is made of Barkhuizen's (1995) analysis of classroom discourse.

2.7.1 Burton's (1980) model of analysis for everyday conversation

As has already been noted (see section 5.2.2 above), a typical exchange in the classroom consists of an initiation (I) by the teacher, followed by a response (R) from the pupil, followed by feedback (F) to the pupil's response from the teacher (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 21; Berry, 1987: 41). As Burton (1980:140) rightly points out, outside the classroom there are a number of problems with the notion of these moves as set out in Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis. Firstly, while feedback is a recurrent feature of formal talk, it does not occur in the structure of casual conversation (Cf. Willis, 1992: 113). Secondly, in contrast to the situation found in the classroom, a participant who has to answer an opening move in everyday conversation has a much wider range of verbal activities at his or her disposal. As Hoey (1992: 80) points out, a speaker may, for instance, refuse to provide a response to a previous speaker's question, or "challenge some aspect of the previous speaker's utterance". In Burton's (1980:142) view, "to remain within two simple columns representing opening and answering moves would only be possible if the data were forced into categories that they do not fit".

According to Burton (1980: 142), a possible solution to these problems lies in reconceptualizing conversational moves in a common-sense way. Burton (1980: 142) observes that, given an opening move by speaker A, speaker B may either politely comply with the discourse presuppositions in that move, or disagree with those presuppositions, possibly "counter-proposing, ignoring or telling A that his opening move was misguided or badly designed..." (Burton, 1980: 142; Cf. Hoey, 1992: 80-82). According to Burton (1980: 142), the range of possibilities open to B (as well as to A) may be divided into two types of conversational behaviour which she labels "supporting" and "challenging moves" (Cf. Willis, 1992: 112).

While supporting moves function to facilitate the topic presented in the previous utterance, challenging moves function to hold up the progress of that topic in some way (Burton, 1980: 150-151). Burton (1980: 150-151) argues that a simple kind of challenging move is made by withholding an expected or

reciprocal act, where the expectation for this act was set up in a preceding initiatory move. Thus, the absence of a reply after a statement is seen as a challenge (Cf. Hoey, 1992:80). Burton (1980: 151) also argues that a speaker in natural conversation may choose one of four types of challenge. That is, a speaker may refuse to give his attention to a speaker's previous utterance; ask for a repetition of the utterance; or ask for clarification of information about the identification of objects, persons, or ideas in the discourse topic. He may also choose to ask for more information concerning the semantic relations that obtain between the referents in the discourse topic.

In addition to identifying supporting and challenging moves, Burton (1980: 143) also adds a list of newly-found or modified acts to Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) existing list of acts in order to account for the features found in ordinary conversation. These acts are referred to as "summons", "accept", "accuse-excuse", "inform-comment", and "preface".

As far as summons is concerned, Burton (1980: 144) states that this is an attention-getting item where one participant uses the name of another participant in order to establish contact before introducing a discourse topic. Such an item also marks boundaries in the discourse and can occur either as the signal in an opening move or as the head of a framing move. Burton (1980: 144) cites the following example:

(9)

GUS Ben. Summons

BEN What?

GUS Look here. Directive

According to Burton (1980: 145), summonses outside the classroom do not always go unchallenged, and usually require some sort of "go ahead" signal from a co-participant. In Burton's (1980: 145) coding system, this may be realized by a non-hostile silence, attention-giving gestures, or formulaic responses, such as A "Do you know what?", B "What?", or A "Can I tell you a story?", B "Yes". Burton (1980: 145) labels these "accept" and states that they

function as the head of a supporting move.

In contrast to the situation in classroom discourse, in naturally occurring dialogue, a speaker may use a statement, question, or command that is heard as requiring either an apology or an excuse/explanation. According to Burton (1980: 145), a response to such a statement, question, or command may be coded as an "excuse" or "apology". While the first-pair part is referred to as "accuse", the second-pair part is labelled as "excuse".

According to Burton (1980: 145-146), where there are long passages of informatives offered in the text, it is inadequate to label the first clause "inform" and all subsequent units "comment". Burton (1980:146) therefore uses the following categories in coding her data: "additive", "adversative", and "causal" items; and "repeat", "restate", and "qualifying" items. In Burton's (1980: 146) view, the first three are sub-categories of "informative", while the last three are sub-categories of "comment". While additive items are typically (but not necessarily) introduced by "and", adversative items are typically (but not necessarily) introduced by "but". Causal items, on the other hand, are frequently introduced by "so". In Burton's (1980) coding system, these three informatives may be expanded by the use of repeat, restate, and qualifying items. Whereas repeats are acts which repeat the exact words (or at least some of the words) of an earlier informative, restate items rephrase an earlier informative. By contrast, qualifying items "modify the general applicability of a preceding informative"(Burton, 1980:146).

Following work on committee data (Stubbs, 1973), Burton (1980: 146) refers to acts which introduce re-opening moves as "prefaces". "Misplacement prefaces", which typically occur in committee data, point out that the utterance following them will be out of sequence (e.g., "Just one other comment Mike - you asked me just now what..."). "Interruption prefaces" typically preface items designed to break into the flow of talk (e.g., "look - look let me let me let me make it patently clear..."), while "personal-point-of-view prefaces" indicate that the speaker is expressing his own point of view (e.g., "personally I think we really...") (Burton, 1980: 147).

Although Burton's (1980) coding system gives the teacher/researcher an excellent set of descriptive terms for the analysis of everyday conversation, and also introduces the valuable notion of challenging moves (Cf. Willis, 1992: 112), it is rejected as an adequate research tool for the purpose of this study. As has already been noted, the researcher is primarily concerned with the need to sensitize teachers to the discourse options available to them in Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching. In particular, the researcher is interested in exploring the dynamics of turn-taking and speaker change in these three teaching styles. As Burton's (1980) model of analysis is based on Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model for classroom discourse, it does not account for the phenomenon of speaker change and also does not describe the turn-by-turn process of lingual interaction. The model therefore gives the researcher/teacher a static and partial impression of the discourse process:

> ... Burton (1980) makes a very useful distinction between challenging and supporting moves in discourse, but the coding, conducted as the main aim of the analysis, turns these constructs into static ones and does not promote an understanding of how challenging and supporting are done by participants, for what purposes, and in which ways they shape the discourse (Van Lier, 1984b: 117).

2.7.2 Wilson et al.'s (1984) turn-taking system for natural conversation

According to Wilson, Wiemann and Zimmerman (1984: 173), while the sequential-production model of Sacks et al. (1974) seems to offer a plausible account of turn allocation in natural conversation, it also leaves some questions unanswered. In their view, one of the more significant limitations of the model is that it does not adequately account for how transition-relevance places are constructed and recognized by speakers and hearers. As has already been noted, Sacks et. al. (1974: 702) argue that turns are constructed out of any of four different-sized units of talk. To be specific, turns may be one word long, while others may be constructed with a phrase. Some may be constructed with a clause, and others with a full sentence (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 80). In Sacks et al.'s (1974: 702) view, what is significant about these turn-construction units is that participants can project where they will end, and thus "where a particular

turn might possibly be complete" (Nofsinger, 1991: 81). Furthermore, as has already been noted, Sacks et al. (1974) argue that turn transition at any given transition-relevance place is managed through a sequence of options: that is, a current speaker may select another speaker to take the next turn. If that does not happen, a speaker may self-select. Finally, if the current speaker does not select a particular speaker to take the next turn, and another speaker does not self-select, then the current speaker may, but need not, continue speaking (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134). According to Wilson et al. (1984: 174), what is problematic is that this approach does not clearly capture the principle that speakers and hearers engage actively in the task of letting one another know when turn transition is appropriate. They argue that, in natural conversation, since not all grammatical completions are legitimate transition-relevance places, "the reliance on conversational resources, other than grammatical completions is necessary to construct coherent extended turns" (Wilson et al., 1984: 178). In their view, turn taking is managed through some sort of signalling (Wilson et al., 1984: 174). It is for this reason that Wilson et al. (1984: 178) propose that the sequential-production model of Sacks et al. (1974) should be combined with the signalling approach of Duncan and Fiske (1977).

The signalling approach of Duncan and Fiske (1977) views the exchange of turns as regulated by the exchange of vocal or gestural signals. The turn system assumes that each participant in a conversation regards him- or herself to be in one of two states: the speaker, who claims the turn; or the listener/auditor, who does not (Duncan and Fiske, 1977: 177). Furthermore, the fundamental mechanism of the turn system in this approach consists of two signals, namely a speaker turn signal which is defined by Duncan and Fiske (1977: 184-185) "as display of one or more cues", and a speaker gesticulation signal, which may be defined as gesticulation or tensing of either hand (Duncan and Fiske, 1977: 188-189). According to the turn system, display of the turn signal by a speaker obliges the speaker "to yield to an attempt by the auditor to take the turn", while a gesticulation signal by the speaker "cancels any concurrent turn signal" (Wilson et al., 1984: 166). Speaker change is therefore achieved by conversationalists carefully monitoring one another's behaviour in

terms of specific discrete cues (Wilson et al., 1984: 167).

As noted above, Wilson et al. (1984: 173) argue that, while Sacks et al.'s (1974) sequential-production model offers a plausible account of turn allocation in natural conversation, it does not provide us with a clear understanding of how transition-relevance places are constructed and recognized by speakers and listeners. These researchers suggest that a possible solution to this problem is to combine this model with the signalling approach which, as is evident from the above description, focuses its attention on the question of when it is appropriate for the listener to attempt to take a turn.

It should, however, be noted that the signalling approach of Duncan and Fiske (1977) has a number of significant limitations. It has already been noted that the turn system in this approach consists of the turn and gesticulation signals. According to the system, display of the turn signal by the speaker obliges him "to yield to an attempt by the auditor to take the turn" (Duncan and Fiske, 1977: 188-189), while a gesticulation signal by the speaker cancels any concurrent turn. However, Wilson et al. (1984: 166) point out that research in other settings seems to suggest that gesticulation is not a prominent feature of conversation. Opliger (1980), for instance, reports no significant role for gesticulation, while Dittmann's (1973) investigation of gesticulation in various ethnic groups suggests that gesticulation does not play a central role in the management of turn taking (Wilson et al., 1984: 166). Furthermore, Wilson et al. (1984: 166) point out that, in a comprehensive review of research into behaviours used to regulate conversation, Rosenfeld (1978: 320) states that "there are wide individual differences in the form and quantity of gesticulation in the conversational process, indicating that it may not have a strong inherent relationship to conversational control". Finally, Wilson et al. (1984: 166) state that Opliger (1978) and Duncan and Fiske (1977) have reported that the turn signal in the replication study "does not operate to increase the probability of an attempt to take the turn but instead decreases this probability". In view of these limitations, the signalling approach is rejected as an adequate research tool for the purpose of this study.

2.7.3 Barkhuizen's (1995) analysis of classroom discourse

As has already been noted, in marked contrast to everyday conversation in which speakers have equal rights of participation (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134), turn-taking rights in the classroom are unequal, since "it is the teacher who has greater participation rights than the other members of the class" (Barkhuizen, 1995: 93; Cf. Drew and Heritage, 1992). According to Barkhuizen (1995: 99), it may be useful for teachers to examine their turn distributions in the classroom, especially the ways in which they make use of students' names within these interactions:

> Not all students interact to the same extent and some students are nominated by the teacher to talk more than others. Investigation of their classrooms would possibly make them aware of how their 'own participation in negotiated discourse influences the type of practice and learning opportunities that result' (Allwright and Bailey, 1991: 135).

In an attempt to investigate how the use of names in the classroom promotes more inclusive interaction, Barkhuizen (1995) focuses on the sequential pattern of classroom talk exchanges as well as on the structure of the teacher's directive moves. In particular, Barkhuizen (1995: 94) focuses on the turns which include students' names and turn sequences of which they are a part.

Barkhuizen (1995: 94) points out that, although Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis has been criticised "as describing more traditional classroom contexts", and as being too general and imprecise, "it must be acknowledged that some form of sequence structure is the instrument through which a particular classroom talk activity is accomplished". Barkhuizen (1995: 94) therefore adapts and expands Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) I-R-F model, following Fanselow's (1987) move types which describe the pedagogical purpose of each move. In his analysis, Barkhuizen (1995: 94) codes the turns of classroom talk in terms of structuring moves, soliciting moves, responding moves, and promotives. While a structuring move sets the scene for learning or informs the students about the instructional plan, a soliciting move directs participants in the interaction to perform a particular task and is divided by Barkhuizen (1995: 94) into two categories, namely, an elicitation and a directive.

While an elicitation calls on students to respond to a particular question, request or command, a directive calls on them "to take procedural action, such as opening books and getting into groups" (Barkhuizen, 1995: 94). It should be noted that Barkhuizen (1995: 95) divides directives into three categories: classroom management directives are used by teachers when they wish to organize the classroom setting and the classroom members within that setting. These directives "require participants in classroom interaction to follow procedural or administrative orders so that classroom life can proceed as planned with as little interruption as possible" (Barkhuizen, 1995: 95). Task management directives, on the other hand, are concerned with the procedural organization of academic tasks. To be specific, these directives "ask students to perform actions that require attention to the immediate academic task at hand; for example, asking students to turn to a specific page, to move to the front of the classroom to present an oral activity, and to confer with a peer during a writing exercise" (Barkhuizen, 1995: 95). The third type of directive is used to prevent inappropriate social behaviour in the classroom. The third move identified by Barkhuizen (1995: 94) is the responding move which is simply a reply to a solicit. The fourth move - the promotive - is a move which comments on the turn of participants. According to Barkhuizen (1995: 94), the researcher/teacher may distinguish between two types of promotives in the classroom, namely, a reacting move and a relay move. While a reacting move usually takes the form of a positive or negative evaluation of a previous move, a relay move refers directly to the turn of a previous speaker and relays its content to other speakers in the interaction. In addition to coding the turns of classroom talk in terms of four move types, Barkhuizen (1995: 95) also distinguishes between pauses and gaps in classroom interaction. Following McHoul (1978: 187), Barkhuizen (1995: 95) observes that a gap is an audibly unfilled slot. Thus if the teacher asks the class to perform a particular action and nobody responds, then the lack of response is coded as (gap). Barkhuizen (1995: 95) notes that this is different from (pause) "which is simply a silence within a speaker's turn".

Based on the above description, it is clear that Barkhuizen (1995) uses an excellent set of descriptive terms in his analysis of classroom discourse. However, since Barkhuizen's (1995) analysis of classroom discourse is based on Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) coding system for classroom discourse, it does not account for the phenomenon of speaker change, and also does not describe the dynamic turn-by-turn process of lingual interaction.

2.8 Summary

In this chapter, it has been established that the main aim of this study is a dual one. Firstly, the descriptive aim is to describe the patterns of discourse that characterize structural-analytic, functional-analytic, and non-analytic language teaching, showing that these patterns differ significantly, since they are the product of distinct speech exchange systems. The researcher is therefore concerned with sensitizing teachers to the discourse options available to them in these teaching styles. As has already been noted, there are several reasons why such a study is regarded as valid:

(a) Although Allen (1983; 1987; 1989) and Stern (1981a; 1981b; 1983b) have described the distinguishing features of Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching at length, few data are available on how these teaching styles are reflected in actual classroom practices and processes (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 163). In their description of the variable focus curriculum scheme, neither Stern (1981a; 1981b; 1983b) nor Allen (1983; 1987; 1989) provides us with any transcriptions of what these teaching styles might look like when implemented in the language classroom.

(b) Although Allen, Frohlich and Spada (1984) have designed a coding instrument which they refer to as the COLT procedure to distinguish between analytic and experiential language activities, a number of researchers have criticised it as an inefficient research tool. In Van Lier's (1989: 175) view, a major weakness of such a coding instrument is that it restricts the teacher's field of research, since it predetermines what is

important and relevant to look for in the data. Moreover, since the observation scheme describes actions in terms of a finite set of categories, it tends to give a static and partial impression of the discourse process, and does not account for the dynamics of turn-taking and speaker change in interaction (Cf. Van Lier, 1984b: 114). Yet another serious limitation of the COLT procedure is that it categorizes the verbal exchanges characteristic of experiential language teaching, but not those characteristic of analytic teaching (Stern, 1990: 109).

(c) An additional reason why a study of the discourse manifestations of Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching is necessary lies in the observation made by a number of researchers (e.g., Stubbs, 1976: 76; Van Lier, 1989: 174; McKenzie, 1992: 224; Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 4) that teachers do not always consciously reflect upon what actually transpires in their classrooms, since they are so closely involved in the teaching/learning process. According to Van Lier (1989: 174), significant and lasting improvements in language teaching can only be achieved if teachers change their tacit knowledge about what takes place in their classrooms into overt knowledge. If teachers are able to reflect more critically upon their choice of a particular language teaching style, then they will, for instance, be in a better position to determine whether there are any discrepancies between the claims they have made about their teaching styles and what transpires in their classrooms.

(d) As noted in Chapter 1, yet another reason why this study is regarded as valid lies in the fact that the features that characterize the three teaching styles in Allen's (1987) variable focus curriculum scheme correspond closely to those found in an outcomes-based language curriculum scheme.

In this chapter, it has also been established that, in view of the limitations of coding schemes such as Allen et al.'s (1984) COLT procedure, it is rejected as an appropriate research tool for analysing classroom interaction. Since the focus of this study is on language as it is used in the language classroom, the

researcher believes that a discourse model is a more appropriate research tool for describing the phenomenon of speaker change, and for capturing the dynamic turn-by-turn process of lingual interaction (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 166; 168). Thus, the Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; McHoul, 1978) is adopted in this study. However, as has already been noted, due to the limitations of the Conversation Analysis perspective, aspects of the Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective of the Birmingham school (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982) are used in the analyses of lingual data.

Finally, it has been established that the applied linguistic aim of this study is to show how the findings of the analyses of classroom data can be used to improve aspects of teacher training as well as materials design and evaluation.

In the section that follows, the methodological procedure used in this study is specified in greater detail. Thereafter, three corpuses of classroom data are analysed either in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in everyday conversation, or in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse. Following the analyses, the implications of the findings for teacher training are discussed in greater detail. At the same time, a modified version of the research tool used in this study is provided for teachers.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

3.1 Research setting and data selection

As noted in the introduction to this study, the researcher has made audio-recordings of structural-analytic, functional-analytic, and non-analytic language activities completed by second-language students enrolled in the English Special (ENS) course at the University of the Orange Free State. This course is a one-year (terminal) course for students who do not intend continuing with English studies. The students registered for this course form a diverse group, and include mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, and Southern Sotho. For the purpose of clarification, it should be noted that these students are regarded as intermediate/advanced learners of English, since they have already overcome most of the problems pertaining to the grammatical aspects of English (Cf. Roberts, 1986: 52).

The first corpus of data analysed in this study has been taken from a language lesson in which students are required to (a) evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to them, (b) find synonyms for words underlined in sentences, and (c) change a meaningless text into a coherent, meaningful one by, for instance, using the correct tenses and inserting joining words. The second corpus of classroom data has been taken from an activity referred to as Discussion Wheel (Klippel, 1984: 86), while the third corpus of lingual data analysed in this study has been taken from a pedagogical device which Di Pietro (1987a) refers to as the open-ended scenario (Cf. Roberts, 1986: 81-82). Since the performance phase of the open-ended scenario tends to be of brief duration (Cf. Di Pietro, 1987a: 48), three scenarios are analysed in this study. The language lesson, Discussion Wheel, and the open-ended scenario are described in greater detail in Chapter 4.

As noted in Chapter 1, theoretical sampling has been used to collect the three corpuses of classroom data analysed in this study. According to Stubbs (1983:

231), theoretical sampling may be defined as follows:

> It involves seeking out people and situations which are likely to be particularly revealing or fruitful with respect to the phenomena in which one is interested. It is a way of gathering suggestive and rich data, in as pure a form as possible, and with as little time wasted as possible. The researcher chooses groups of situations that will help to generate to the fullest extent the properties of his theoretical categories.

In other words, the researcher has not simply collected random samples of classroom talk for this study, but has deliberately employed structural-analytic, functional-analytic and non-analytic language activities in the classroom (Cf. Stubbs, 1983: 231), and recorded both teacher-learner and learner-learner exchanges.

At this stage, it should be noted that one of the limitations of making audio-recordings of classroom proceedings is that the teacher-researcher does not have access to visual material (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 11). In order to overcome this particular problem, the researcher has made use of field notes (Cf. Ras, 1994: 19) which have also been used in the transcriptions of classroom data (see Appendices A-C).

3.2 Data analysis

As noted in the previous chapter, the three corpuses of lingual data selected for this study are analysed either in terms of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation, or in terms of the organisation of turns at formal talk in the classroom as outlined by McHoul (1978). Furthermore, aspects of the Discourse Analysis perspective of the Birmingham school (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982) are used in the analyses. What is important to note is that this study has adhered closely to the four requirements for dealing with data as outlined by Mehan (1979). According to Mehan (1979), an ethnographic analysis of lingual data should focus on:

(1) retrievable data, preferably in the form of video or audio recordings, so

that readers of such research may have access to the original data, and so that the researcher has access to repeated viewings of the data;

(2) an exhaustive analysis of all and not merely minute excerpts of data;

(3) the interactional level of analysis, that is, lingual manifestations of interactional patterns, and mechanisms for turn-taking, repair and the like; and

(4) convergence between the researcher's analysis and the participants' perceptions of lingual events.

(Cf. Van Lier, 1988: 61; Bartlett, 1990: 44).

As far as the first requirement is concerned, turn-by-turn transcriptions of the audio-recordings of classroom events have been prepared by the researcher. The transcriptions as well as the original recordings of the data are available for re-examination and re-interpretation. In adherence to the second requirement, the researcher has identified both traditional and unconventional IRF exchanges in the corpuses of classroom data (Cf. Long, 1983: 25-26; Van Lier, 1984a: 164). As far as the third requirement is concerned, it has already been noted that McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse and Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation are applied to the three corpuses of classroom data selected for this study. These recursive rule systems allow the researcher to focus on the dynamics of turn-taking and speaker change in classroom interaction (Cf. Taylor and Cameron, 1987: 107; Psathas, 1995: 34). In adherence to the fourth requirement, it should be noted that interviews have been conducted with ENS students in order to determine whether there are any conflicting perspectives with regard to lingual events in the classroom. Furthermore, the researcher has generated coinciding perspectives by means of investigator triangulation (Van Lier, 1988: 13). To be specific, the data analysed by the researcher has been independently checked by two other investigators in the field of linguistics.

3.3 The Conversation Analysis (CA) And Discourse Analysis (DA) perspectives

As has already been noted, in view of the limitations of observation schemes such as Allen et al.'s (1984) COLT procedure (see Van Lier, 1989: 175; Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 123), a discourse-based approach is adopted in this study, placing it in the realm of qualitative research (Cf. Seliger and Shohamy, 1989). Three corpuses of classroom data are analysed in terms of the Conversation Analysis (CA) models of Sacks et al. (1974) and McHoul (1978). However, due to the limitations of these models (see Chapter 2), aspects of the Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective of the Birmingham school (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982) are used in the analyses. In the section that follows, these discourse models are described in greater detail.

3.3.1 The Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective

3.3.1.1 Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) rule system for turn-taking in natural conversation

As noted in the previous chapter, one of the most influential studies of turn-taking is that of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), who are concerned with identifying the mechanisms which govern the process of turn-taking in everyday conversation. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 706), the turn-taking system for natural conversation displays a number of "grossly apparent" features. These features are as follows:

(1) Speaker change occurs or at least recurs (Cf. Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 34).

(2) Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time (Cf. Mehan, 1991: 77).

(3) Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985; Nofsinger, 1991: 91).

(4) Transitions from one turn to the next with little or no gap and with little or no overlap are common (Cf. Psathas, 1995: 34).

(5) The order of turns is not specified in advance, but varies (Cf. Nofsinger,

1991: 87-88).

(6) The size or length of turns is not fixed, but varies (Cf. Mehan,1991: 77).

(7) Length of conversation is not specified in advance (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 202-203; Mehan, 1991: 77).

(8) What parties say to one another during their turns is not determined in advance (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88).

(9) Relative distribution of turns is not fixed, but varies (Cf. Mehan, 1991: 77; Nofsinger, 1991: 88).

(10) The number of parties may vary (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 87-88).

(11) Talk may be continuous or discontinuous (Cf. Coulthard, 1977: 67).

In addition to the above features, Sacks et al. (1974: 702) argue that the turn-taking system for natural conversation may be described in terms of (12) a turn-constructional component (Cf. Psathas, 1995: 36-37) as well as in terms of (13) a turn-allocation component and a basic set of rules (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126). As far as the turn-constructional component is concerned, it has already been noted (see Chapter 2) that speaker turns may be constructed out of four different-sized units of talk. That is, turns may be constructed out of single words, phrases, clauses, or full sentences (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 81). What is significant about these turn-construction units is that participants can project where they will end, and thus "where a particular turn might possibly be complete" (Nofsinger, 1991: 81). As has already been noted, the place that participants recognise as the potential end of a turn is referred to by Sacks et al. (1974) as a transition-relevance place or TRP (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 167-173). As far as the turn-allocation component is concerned, Sacks et al. (1974: 704) identify "a basic set of rules governing turn-construction, providing for the allocation of a next turn to one party and co-ordinating transfer so as to minimize gap and overlap" (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 168; Psathas, 1995: 43). These rules are as follows:

(1) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(a) If the turn-so far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the party so selected has the right

and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place.

(b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place.

(c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule set a-c re-applies at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

(Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 167-173; Psathas, 1995: 36).

Based on the description of Sacks et al.'s (1974) recursive rule system for ordinary conversation, it is clear that the conversational turn-taking system is locally managed, since "it deals with the current turn and the impending next turn right at the point where speaker transition is relevant- the TRP" (Nofsinger, 1991: 86; Cf. Greatbatch, 1988: 403; Drew, 1989: 100). Furthermore, conversational turn-taking is interactionally managed in the sense that what one participant does affects what the other participants may acceptably do (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 86). As noted in the previous chapter, for example, if a speaker projects the first pair part of an adjacency pair to another participant, then that participant is under constraint to produce a second pair part (Cf. Heritage, 1984: 247). Finally, it is evident that Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system is a normative system, since participants for the most part design their talk in such a way that it conforms to the norms of conversational turn-taking (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 11-12; Mehan, 1991: 77). For example, if a current speaker selects a particular participant to speak, then that participant is obliged to take the next turn. As noted in Chapter 2, however, this does not mean that violations do not occur in everyday conversation. In fact, as has already been noted, a speaker may, for instance, disrupt an exchange "by challenging some aspect of the previous speaker's utterance" (Hoey, 1992: 80; Cf. Burton, 1980: 142-143). Interruptions are, however, usually of brief duration (Cf. Wardhaugh,

1985: 148).

3.3.1.2 McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse

In a revised version of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation, McHoul (1978) attempts to identify the rules that govern the management of turn-at-talk in the classroom. As noted in Chapter 2, McHoul (1978: 188) argues that the patterns of interaction that occur in the classroom differ significantly from those typically associated with mundane conversation (Cf. Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 95) because they are the product of "a heavily pre-allocated system in which the locally managed component is largely the domain of teachers, student participation rights being limited to the choice between continuing or selecting the teacher as next speaker" (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). According to McHoul (1978: 188), the following rules may account for the management of turns at formal talk in the classroom:

(I) For any teacher's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(A) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to a single student; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

(B) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker (the teacher) must continue.

(II) If I(A) is effected, for any student-so-selected's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(A) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to the teacher; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

(B) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speaker may, but need not, be instituted with the teacher as first starter and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

(C) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, the current speaker

(the student) may, but need not, continue unless the teacher self-selects.

(III) For any teacher's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit either I(A) or I(B) has operated and the teacher has continued, the rule-set I(A)-I(B) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to a student is effected.

(IV) For any student's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit neither II(A) nor II(B) has operated, and, following the provision of II(C), current speaker (the student) has continued, then the rule-set II(A)-II(C) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to the teacher is effected.

As these rules clearly indicate, "only teachers can direct speakership in any creative way" (McHoul, 1978: 188), while learner participation rights are restricted either to continuing or selecting the teacher to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135). In addition to the above set of rules, McHoul (1978: 189) also identifies three features which are typically associated with classroom discourse. For classroom discourse, by contrast with natural conversation:

(1) The potential for gap and pause is maximized.

(2) The potential for overlap is minimized in that;

(2a) the possibility of the teacher (or student) 'opening up' the talk to a self-selecting first-starter is not accounted for,

(2b) the possibility of a student using a 'current speaker selects next' technique to select another student is not accounted for.

(3) The permutability of turn-taking is minimized.

As these features clearly indicate, McHoul (1978) has attempted to devise a recursive rule system for turn-taking in classroom discourse which is a variation of the rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation as proposed by Sacks et al. (1974) (Cf. Ras, 1994: 16).

As noted in the previous chapter, although the Conversation Analysis perspective attempts to capture the dynamics of both turn-taking and speaker change in interaction (Cf. Mehan, 1991: 90; Wilson, 1991: 22-24), and accounts

for the sequencing of turns in the classroom by identifying the normative points of orientation that teachers and learners exploit for the management of turns (Cf. Heritage, 1989: 34), it also has its limitations. For example, although Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation can account for learner-learner exchanges, while McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse can be applied to teacher-dominated teacher-learner interaction, neither rule system can accommodate the normative orientations encapsulated in the lingual data. Aspects of the Discourse Analysis perspective of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) are therefore used in the analyses. These aspects are outlined in the section below.

3.3.2 The Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective

3.3.2.1 Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis for classroom discourse

As noted in Chapter 2, one of the advantages of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) hierarchical model of analysis for classroom discourse is that, unlike McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system, it can account for the teacher switching from one mode of language teaching to another. In their model of analysis, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975:40) argue that a small set of words such as "good", "O.K.", "well", and "right" function "to indicate boundaries in the lesson, the end of one stage and the beginning of the next" (Cf. McCarthy, 1993: 173). If such a word is followed by falling intonation and silent stress (i.e., a pause of the duration of one or more beats), it acts as head of a framing move which constitutes a boundary in the discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 40; 44; Cf. Berry, 1987: 42). Consider, for example, the following excerpt of classroom data (see Appendix C):

(1)

36 T: Are you the spokesperson? And who's the spokesperson here? Lucky? (Laughter from students) It was Lucky last time. You've got to decide though.

37 Ss: You can go...(Inaudible)

38 S6: (Inaudible response: Laughter)

39 T: You've got no choice. (Laughter from students) And...and the spokesperson there?

40 S2: (Non-verbal bid)

41 T: Are you going to be...Okay. Right. Let's start.

42 S2: Okay, um...Okay, that must just be...? (Inaudible)

43 T: Ya.

44 S2: Andrew, I would like to speak with you...(Several lines omitted) You deserve more.

45 S6: Mm, well, this is going to be a day for surprises. We need to talk as well...(Continues)

An analysis of the above excerpt of data clearly reveals the fact that, in turn 41, the teacher relinquishes control over the floor by allowing students to interact with one another as equals-at-talk (see turns 42-45). Clearly, by relinquishing her controlling function, the teacher switches from an accuracy to a fluency mode of language teaching. If turn 41 is analysed in terms of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis, then the word "Okay" with falling intonation and silent stress is a discourse marker, signalling the switch from one mode of language teaching to another (Cf. Berry, 1987: 42):

(2)

41 T: Are you going to be...

Okay ∧

Right. Let's start.

As noted in Chapter 2, an additional reason why Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) hierarchical model of analysis is used in the analysis of lingual data is that it provides the teacher/researcher with an excellent description of the various activities carried out by the teacher in the classroom (Berry, 1987: 44; Akindile, 1988: 101). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C):

(3)

11 T: Sorry, I'm going to have to hurry you along now.

12 A: We're finished. (Very faint)

13 T: You're finished?

14 Ss: Ya...ya.

In this particular excerpt of data, it is clear that the teacher (turn 13), uncertain as to whether she has heard the student (turn 12) correctly, asks the student and his group whether they have completed the activity. As noted in Chapter 2, neither Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation nor McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse can account for the teacher's action. According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 40), the teacher's lingual act in turn 13 is known as a check, which is realised by a closed class of questions concerned with "being ready", "having problems", and being able to "hear" or "see". Checks "enable the teacher to ascertain whether there are any problems preventing the successful progress of the lesson" (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 40; Cf. Stubbs, 1983: 50-57).

3.4 The accuracy/fluency paradigm

In order to determine whether the exchanges in the three corpuses of classroom data selected for this study should be analysed in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in everyday conversation, or in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse, each corpus of data is first analysed within the accuracy/fluency paradigm. Greyling (1995: 20) identifies certain features that are typically associated with fluency- and accuracy-based interactional exchanges. Fluency-based interactional exchanges display the following characteristics:

(i) The teacher structures an interactional space in which learners are

required to engage in communication-gap activities (Cf. Mazeland, 1983: 100; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 133).

(ii) The exchanges display a communicative focus, since learners are required to respond to reciprocal and unpredictable language activity in which they generate messages collaboratively in real time (Cf. Prabhu, 1987: 45-47; Stern, 1992: 316).

(iii) Interaction is characterised by learner-learner exchanges across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher (Cf. Maley, 1986: 88; Stern, 1992: 316).

(iv) The teacher acts as an advisor/facilitator when learners encounter communicative difficulty (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131; Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 78).

(v) The teacher provides content feedback which focuses on the learner's success in completing the communication task (Cf. Johnson and Morrow, 1981; Harmer, 1983: 202-203).

Accuracy-based interactional exchanges, on the other hand, exhibit the following features:

(i) The teacher exerts tight control over the teaching/learning process by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's response (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232-233; Mehan, 1985: 126).

(ii) The exchanges display a metacommunicative focus, since the learning process involves learning about the target language instead of using it for communicative purposes (Cf. Stubbs, 1976: 83; Widdowson, 1978: 12-15; Stern, 1992: 310).

(iii) Interaction is characterised by the three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Nunan, 1993: 35) in which the teacher takes two out of three turns (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232).

(iv) If dispreferred learner responses occur, the teacher may embark upon extended sequences of interaction in order to obtain the preferred

responses (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 235; Mehan, 1985: 122).

(v) The teacher provides explicit form feedback about the accuracy or correctness of learner responses (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 40).

Now that the methodological procedure used in this research study has been specified in greater detail, let us turn our attention to the analyses of three corpuses of classroom data in terms of the Conversation Analysis perspectives of Sacks et al. (1974) and McHoul (1978).

CHAPTER 4

THE ANALYSES

As noted in Chapter 2, the research purpose of this study is to describe the patterns of discourse that characterize structural-analytic (Type A), functional-analytic (Type B), and non-analytic (Type C) teaching, showing that these patterns differ significantly, since they are the product of distinct speech exchange systems. In order to achieve this purpose, three corpuses of classroom data are analysed either in terms of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary (mundane) conversation, or in terms of the organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom as outlined by McHoul (1978). If the corpuses of classroom data exhibit the features typically associated with fluency-based language teaching, then they are analysed in terms of the rules for speaker change as outlined by Sacks et al. (1974). If the corpuses of lingual data display the distinguishing features of traditional accuracy-based language teaching, then they are analysed in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse. As has already been noted, due to the limitations of the Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective, aspects of the Discourse Analysis (DA) perspective of the Birmingham school (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982) are adopted in this study. In order to determine whether the exchanges in the three corpuses of classroom data should be analysed in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation, or in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse, each corpus of data is first analysed within the accuracy/fluency paradigm. As noted in Chapter 3, theoretical sampling has been used to collect the three corpuses of lingual data analysed in this study. The first corpus of data has been taken from a language lesson in which students are required to (a) evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to them, (b) find synonyms for words underlined in sentences, and (c) change a meaningless text into a coherent, meaningful one by, for instance, using the correct tenses and inserting joining words. The second corpus of data analysed in this study has

been taken from an activity referred to as Discussion Wheel (Klippel, 1984: 86), while the third corpus has been taken from a pedagogical device which Di Pietro (1987a) refers to as the open-ended scenario (Cf. Roberts, 1986: 81-82).

It should be noted that all the excerpts of data taken from the language lesson may be found in Appendix A, while those taken from Discussion Wheel may be found in Appendix B. All the excerpts of data taken from the open-ended scenario are available for perusal in Appendix C.

4.1. A language lesson

4.1.1 A description

As has just been noted, the first corpus of data analysed in this study has been taken from a language lesson in which students are required to complete various tasks. Firstly, students have to evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to them. For instance, in the sentence "Amateurs who (i) **do** professional quality work (ii) **are** accepted as peers by those who make their living at it", students have to evaluate the accuracy of the verbs "do" and "are" in terms of the following options:

A. Both verbs are correct
B. Neither is correct
C. The first is correct, the second incorrect
D. The first is incorrect, the second correct

Secondly, students are required to find synonyms for words underlined in sentences. For example, in the sentence "It has its **perils** and its merits", students have to decide which of the following words is closest in meaning to the word "peril":

A. disadvantages
B. aberrations
C. dangers
D. strengths

Thirdly, students have to evaluate the accuracy of items that have been underlined in sentences. For instance, in the sentence "**I wonder whether** the **weather** will be fine **tomorrow**", students are required to evaluate the accuracy

of the words "wonder", "whether", "weather", and "tomorrow". Finally, the teacher gives students a text which has been changed into an incoherent set of words (see Appendix A). Students then have to create a meaningful and coherent text by, for instance, using the correct tenses and inserting joining words.

4.1.2 An analysis of the language lesson within the accuracy paradigm

As noted in Chapter 3, Greyling (1995: 20) identifies certain features which are typically associated with accuracy-based language teaching. One such feature is that the teacher exerts tight control over the teaching/learning process by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's response (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232-233; Mehan, 1985: 126; Greyling, 1995: 27). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data taken from the language lesson described in the previous section:

(1)

3 T: Okay, that is right. They are comparing two things. We're talking about the relation. What is the relation...Political philosophers from Plato onwards have or has debated the issue? What will you say?

4 Ss: Have...have.

5 T: That's right. You'll say have because it agrees with philosophers...Okay, so there the first one is correct and the second one is also correct. Number 2. One of America's foremost sociologists exhort politicians to operate within the ethic of responsibility and considers the moral consequences of their actions. Okay, that's quite a long sentence, but it's so easy. All you have to do is look at one and then it will become?

6. S: Exhorts.

7 T: Exhorts. That is all you look at. Alright, so, one of America's foremost sociologists exhorts politicians to operate within the ethic of responsibility and consider or considers the moral consequences of their actions?

8 Ss: Considers...considers.

9 T: Okay, I hear you say considers. In this case...(Continues)

In the above excerpt of data, students are required to evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to them. Clearly, the teacher exerts tight control over the teaching/learning process since student initiative is restricted to finding the correct answers to known-information questions (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 127; Bowers, 1987: 169; Stern, 1992: 318). That is, the teacher already knows the answers to his or her questions and is simply testing the knowledge of the students (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 234; Mehan, 1985: 127). Since students are required to evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to them, there is a metacommunicative focus in the sequence of interactional exchanges in the above excerpt of data (Cf. Stubbs, 1976: 83; Widdowson, 1978: 12-15). To be specific, the teacher is eliciting learner knowledge about language, in this case concord and tenses. It is therefore not surprising that emphasis falls on overt error correction, accuracy, and usage (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 202; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 40; Stern, 1992: 310). Indeed, a typical feature of accuracy-based language teaching is that the teacher provides explicit form feedback when deviant grammatical forms are used (Cf. Coulthard, 1977: 125; Harmer, 1983: 202; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 40). In the following excerpt of data, for example, students use a deviant grammatical form in turn 8 ("considers" instead of "consider"), and the teacher provides them with the correct form in turn 9:

(2)

7 T: (Several lines omitted).... Alright, so, one of America's foremost sociologists exhorts politicians to operate within the ethic of responsibility and consider or considers the moral consequences of their actions?

8 Ss: Considers...considers.

9 T: Okay, I hear you say considers. In this case it's consider because he wants them to consider the moral consequences of their actions... (Continues)

Yet another typical feature of accuracy-based language teaching is that the interaction between the teacher and students is characterized by the authority-based three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern in which the teacher

takes two out of three turns (Cf. Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 21; White and Lightbown, 1984: 235; Mehan, 1985: 121; Nunan, 1993: 35). In the following excerpt of data, for instance, it is evident that in turn 49, the teacher evaluates the preceding student response and then goes on to initiate another question. In turn 50, a student responds to the question, and in turn 51, the teacher provides feedback before initiating another question:

(3)

48 S:	Is.	
49 T:	That's right, is to take risks. To act is a present infinitive These risks are or is often awesome?	Initiation
50 S:	Are.	Response
51 T:	That's right, are. The first one is, the second one are. Twelve. Conservative educators have usually believed in the idea of a canon of classics?	Feedback Initiation
52 S:	Have.	Response
53 T:	That's right, it agrees with educators...(Continues)	Feedback

An additional characteristic of accuracy-based language teaching is that the teacher often makes use of lingual strategies in order to solve the problem of dispreferred learner responses (Cf. McHoul, 1978: 195; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982; White and Lightbown, 1984: 235; Mehan, 1985: 122). To be specific, in order to facilitate learner responses, teachers embark upon what Mehan (1985: 122) and White and Lightbown (1984: 235) refer to as extended sequences of interaction. As White and Lightbown (1984: 235) put it:

> If the response is not immediate or if it is incomplete or incorrect, the teacher begins to work at getting it through a series of repetitions and rephrasings. What may result is an extended sequence of interactions during which the student does not really answer the teacher's question, but rather together, the teacher and the student create the student's answer.

Consider, for example, the following excerpt of data in which students are required to evaluate the accuracy of the word "hybride":

(4)

137 T: It will be C okay because this leaves room for an abundant variety. It's A-B-U-N-D-A-N-T at the end, an abundant variety. Now remember, you're only looking at one error, not more than one error. Alright, 31. This erratic, hybride education has left him dazed.

138 Ss: (No response: dispreferred response)

139 T: There's actually a spelling mistake in this sentence...

140 S : B.

141 S2: Erratic.

142 T: Okay, some people say erratic, some people say B, that it's B, hybride. In this case, it's B because there's a spelling mistake here. Your answer is hybrid without the E on the end... (Continues)

In this particular excerpt, turn 138 is a dispreferred learner response that constitutes a short-circuit in the interaction. In order to overcome this short-circuit, the teacher provides students with a lingual clue in turn 139. In turn 140, a student gives the correct response. It is interesting to note that, although the student response in turn 141 is incorrect, the teacher does not work at getting the preferred response, but provides students with the correct feedback in turn 142.

Based on the analysis of the language lesson within the accuracy paradigm, it is evident that the interactional exchanges in it are accuracy-based. That is, the teacher exerts tight control over the teaching/learning process by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's response (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 135). Futhermore, interaction is characterized by the authority-based three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern in which the teacher takes two out of three turns (Cf. Sinclair and Brazil, 1982, White and Lightbown, 1984: 235; Nunan, 1990: 35), It is also evident that grammatical errors are not tolerated by the teacher since she provides explicit form feedback when deviant grammatical forms are used (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 40). Finally, when dispreferred learner responses occur, the teacher embarks upon extended sequences of interaction in order to obtain the preferred response (Cf.

White and Lightbown, 1984: 235; Mehan, 1985: 122). Since the interactional exchanges in the language lesson exhibit the features typically associated with accuracy-based language teaching, they are analysed in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse in the section below.

4.1.3 An analysis of the language lesson in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse

As noted in Chapter 3, McHoul (1978: 188) claims that the following rules may account for the management of turns at formal talk in the classroom:

(I) For any teacher's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(A) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to a single student; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that place.

(B) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker (the teacher) must continue.

(II) If I(A) is effected, for any student-so-selected's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(A) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to the teacher; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

(B) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speaker may, but need not, be instituted with the teacher as first starter and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

(C) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker (the student) may, but need not, continue unless the teacher self-selects.

(III) For any teacher's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit either I(A) has not operated or I(B) has operated and the teacher has continued, then the rule-set 1(A) - I(B) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to a student is effected.

(IV) For any student's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit neither II(A) nor II(B) has operated, and, following the provision of II(C), current speaker (the student) has continued, then the rule-set II(A)-II(C) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to the teacher is effected.

As these rules clearly indicate, "only teachers can direct speakership in any creative way" (McHoul, 1978: 188), while learner participation rights are restricted either to continuing, or selecting the teacher to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of classroom data in which a student is required to evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to him:

(5)

13 T: That's right. It just becomes can help us.
Alright, saw or see these ethical choices?

14 S: See,

15 T: That's right, just see. Alright, so in both cases, they are incorrect. 3A, sorry, 3B. Four, in recent years there have been endless discussion in the social sciences about value-freeness in theoretical thought. The quarrel has been between posivists and humanists. Okay, this is now a bit more tricky. In recent years, there have been or there has been endless discussion?

16 S: Has been.

17 T: That's right, there has been because it agrees with discussion. Alright, remember that... (Several lines omitted) The quarrel has been between posivists and humanists?

18 S: Has.

19 T: That's right... (Continues)

An analysis of the above excerpt of data clearly reveals the fact that rule I(A) operates at the end of the teacher's turns (turns 13, 15, and 17). For instance, at the third and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 13, the teacher makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique to nominate a particular student to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135). The so-selected student is the only speaker who has the right and

is obliged to take the next turn to speak (turn 14) (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163). Similarly, at the seventh and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 15, the teacher makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique to nominate a single student to speak. The so-selected student is the only student who has the right to take the next turn (turn 16), while all other students are obliged to remain silent. It is, however, interesting to note that, in the following excerpt of data, despite the fact that the teacher nominates a single student to speak at the end of her turn (turn 104), two learner responses occur in turns 105 and 106. It is important to note that these turns should not be characterized as multiple-turn learner responses, since both responses are directed at the teacher's initiation. Thus, the students are not exchanging information with one another as equals-at-talk. Rather, they are responding to a teacher demand (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318; McKenzie, 1992: 224):

(6)

104 T: (Several lines omitted) Gorbachev have pushed for reorganizing farm work on the basis of collective contracts...

105 SI: Has.

106 S2. Have.

107 T: Some people say have...

108 S: ... (Inaudible response)

109 T: It will be has because we're talking about Gorbachev... (Continues)

An analysis of the corpus of accuracy-based classroom discourse also clearly reveals the fact that, if the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "'current speaker selects next" technique, then she must continue speaking (rule IB) (McHoul, 1978: 188; Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). For instance, an analysis of excerpt (7) below clearly illustrates that, since the teacher does not make use of a "current speaker selects next" technique at the first five transition-relevance places of her turn-constructional unit (turn 81), she must continue speaking. It is only at the sixth and final transition-relevance at the end of her turn that the teacher nominates a single student to take the next

turn to speak (turn 82):

(7)

81 T: 0- React.
0- Okay, it agrees with generation.
0- Okay, that's good.
0- So as you can see, detractors goes with see and generation goes with react.
0- Number 19.
- The young in many of the better universities has become the principal readers of American society?

82 S: Have.

83 T: That's right, it's have. It agrees with the young ... the young being plural. Students in good number appear to be reading the classics?

84 S: Appear.

85 T: That's correct. . . (Continues)

As noted in the previous chapter, McHoul (1978: 188) argues that, if a student-so-selected's turn involves the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given solely to the teacher (rule IIA) (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough; 1989: 135). It should be noted that this particular rule did not operate in any of the exchanges in the corpus of accuracy-based classroom data.

According to McHoul (1978: 188), if the so-selected student's turn-so-far does not involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the initiative for self-selection is exercised by the teacher alone (rule IIB) (Cf. Fairclough 1989: 134; Stern, 1992: 318; Greyling, 1995: 25) Consider, for instance, the excerpt of data below:

(8)

120 S: Internalise.

121 T: -Just internalise. To internalise, again, that's your present infinitive. To internalise. Alright, our profession for the last half-century have been deeply interested in the public policy dimension of the discipline.

122 S: Has been.

123 T: -That's right, it has been, it agrees with profession. Good. Part of our problem is the abruptness with which the issue jumped to the centre of the stage?

124 S: Is.

125 T: That's right... (Continues)

An analysis of this particular excerpt of data clearly reveals the fact that rule II(B) operates in turns 120 and 122. To be specific, the learner response in turn 120 does not include the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, and so, rule II(B) operates and the teacher self-selects in turn 121 (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134; Greyling, 1995: 25). Similarly, the learner response in turn 122 does not include the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, and so, the initiative for self-selection is exercised by the teacher alone (turn 123) (Cf. Allen, 1990: 61; Stern, 1992: 318). If, however, the teacher does not self-select, then the student may, but need not, continue speaking (rule IIC) (McHoul, 1978: 188; Cf Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Mehan, 1985: 126). It is interesting to note that this particular rule did not operate in any of the students' turns in the corpus of accuracy-based data. Indeed, students' lingual contributions were restricted to monosyllabic utterances (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 61; Stern, 1992: 317) as is illustrated in the following excerpt of data (see also excerpts (1)-(8) above):

(9)

49 T: That's right, is to take risks. To act is a present infinitive. These risks are or is often awesome?

50 S:- Are.

51T: That's right, are. The first one is, the second one are. Twelve. Conservative educators have usually believed in the idea of a canon of classics?

2 S: - Have.

53 T:That's right. It agrees with educators. And believed, is believed right?

54 S: - Yes.

55 T. Mm. It is the past tense... (Continues)

According to McHoul (1978: 188):

(III) For any teacher's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit either I(A) has not operated or I(B) has operated and the teacher has continued, the rule-set I(A)-I(B) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to a student is effected.

In the excerpt of data below, for instance, it is evident that in turn 51, rule I(A) does not operate at the first four transition-relevance places, and so, rule I(B) operates and the teacher continues speaking. Transfer to a student is only effected at the fifth and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 51 when the teacher makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134). That is, rule I(A) operates at the fourth and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 51, and the so-selected student takes the next turn (turn 52). This pattern is repeated in turn 53. That is, in turn 53, rule I(A) does not operate at the first two transition-relevance places, and so, rule I(B) operates and the teacher continues speaking. Transfer to a student is only effected at the third and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 53 when the teacher makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique. To be specific, rule I(A) operates at the third transition-relevance place at the end of turn 53 and the so-selected student has the right and obligation to take the next turn to speak (turn 54). It is therefore clear that the rule-set I(A)-I(B) re-applies at each transition-relevance place until transfer to a student is effected:

(10)

51 T: That's right, are. The first one is, the second one are. Twelve. Conservative educators have usually believed in the idea of a canon of classics?

52 S: Have.

53 T: That's right. It agrees with educators. And believed, is believed right?

54 S: Yes.

55 T: Mm. It is the past tense...(Continues)

Finally, McHoul (1978: 188) states that:

(IV) For any student's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit neither II(A) nor II(B) has operated, and, following the provision of II(C), current speaker (the student) has continued, then the rule-set II(A)-II(C) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to the teacher is effected.

As has already been noted, however, rule II(C) does not operate in any of the student's turns in the corpus of accuracy-based data, since students' lingual contributions are restricted to monosyllabic utterances (see excerpts (1)-(10) above) (Cf. Stern, 1992: 317). An analysis of the students' turns reveals the fact that, if a student does not construct his turn so as to select the teacher as the next speaker, then the teacher simply self-selects as superordinate (see excerpt (8) above) (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134; Greyling, 1995: 25).

As noted in Chapter 3, McHoul (1978: 189) identifies three features which are typically associated with classroom discourse. Firstly, in contrast to everyday conversation in which transitions (from one turn to the next) occur with little or no gap (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 166; Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 34), (1) the potential for gap and pause is maximized in classroom discourse, since only one student at a time is selected to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163):

> In that only one student may be selected to answer a question, upon being selected that student may then warrantably take it that no other will start a turn at talk at that transition point. This being the case, he may take, right there and then at a turn-initial position, a 'time-out' to think about the answer he will produce (McHoul, 1978: 189).

In the following excerpts of data, for example, it is evident that, since only one student at a time is selected to speak, the potential for gap and pause is maximized. To be specific, since each student knows that he is the only student who has the right to respond to the teacher's question, he can take his time to

answer that question, without fear of being interrupted by any other student (Cf. Walz, 1986: 957):

(11)

87 T: That's right, rages, it agrees with an intellectual battle. However, librarians are beginning to express concern about where to put all these books...

88 S: Are beginning to express concern.

89 T: It stays as are. Alright, so there it's 20 A. Both verbs are correct. Okay, 21. For example, if the student of English meets the word decomposition, what does he do?

90 S: That's correct.

91 T: That is correct, yes...(Continues)

(12)

121 T: (Several lines omitted) Alright, our profession for the last half-century have been deeply interested in the public policy dimension of the discipline.

122 S: Has been.

123 T: That's right, it has been, it agrees with profession. Good. Part of our problem is the abruptness with which the issue has jumped to the centre of the stage?

124 S: Is.

125 T: That's right... (Continues)

However, it is important to note that an analysis of the exchanges in the language lesson clearly reveals the interesting fact that the teacher often asked a question in general by nodding her head in the direction of the class **as a whole** (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134). This is evident in the following excerpt of data in which students are required to evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to them:

(13)

1 T: (Several lines omitted) Right, let's first look at the first one. Number 1. What is the relation between power and virtue? Political philosophers from Plato onwards have debated the issue. Alright, so what is the relation between power and virtue? Does that sound right to you?

2 Ss: -Yes. Yes.

3 T: Okay, that is right. They are comparing two things. We're talking about the relation. What is the relation...Political philosophers from Plato onwards have or has debated the issue? What will you say?

4 Ss: Have...have.

5 T: That's right...(Continues)

This is not the only instance in which the teacher nominates more than one student to speak. Indeed, an analysis of the corpus of accuracy-based data reveals the fact that the "one-at-a-time and only one-at-a-time" rule for classroom talk is often violated (see excerpts below).

It is important to note that, according to McHoul (1978: 189), since the rule system for classroom discourse prevents learners from selecting one another to take turns, and since it does not allow them to self-select (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135), if the teacher has selected a student with a question, it is entirely up to the teacher how long that student may have to answer the question (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984). To be specific:

> ...once embarked upon an answer, it is the teacher and only s/he who can decide when and if that answer is sufficient. Hence there is a mutual orientation on the part of the teacher and self-selected student to have that student produce sufficient answers, where the decidability of that sufficiency is a matter for teachers and teachers only (McHoul, 1978: 190).

McHoul (1978: 190) goes on to state that teachers have the right and are obliged to give a comment on the sufficiency of a learner response. Indeed, unlike everyday conversation, accuracy-based classroom discourse is characterized by the three-part question-answer-comment sequence (Cf. McHoul, 1978: 191; White and Lightbown, 1984: 233; Mehan, 1985: 126;

Nunan, 1993: 35) as is evident in the following excerpts of data:

(14)

123 T: (Several lines omitted) Part of our problem is the abruptness with which the issue jumped to the centre of the stage?

124 S: Is.

125 T: -That's right, part of our problem....Alright, so again you look at the word to the left of of which is part...and it takes a singular verb there... (Several lines omitted) Though hired to teach computer science, he soon branched out into more off beat things....

126 S: A capital C.

127 T: - Alright, I see what... (Continues)

(15)

109 T: ...(Several lines omitted) The essence of the new system is the breaking up of large work brigades?

110 Ss: Is...is.

111 T: -That's right, it is is.
25. Negotiation with the Soviet Union is an onerous obligation in this nuclear age?

112 S: Is.

113 T: That's right...(Continues)

As McHoul (1978: 191) points out, given this mutual orientation to sufficiency of answers (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 235) and the public marking of that sufficiency, and given that, once a turn has been set up for a student's response, only the teacher can halt it's course, "a student once embarked upon an answer can be entitled to feel that s/he will be given a 'reasonable' time in which to produce an uninterrupted answer". Thus, he/she can allow pauses within his/her turn of fairly long duration without fear of being overlapped (McHoul, 1978: 192).

It is important to take into account that, as McHoul (1978: 192) points out, intra-

turn pauses are also prevalent for teachers who need not be concerned with having their turns cut off by any other parties, since they are the only parties to classroom talk that can creatively distribute turns (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163). It is interesting to note that intra-turn pauses for teachers serve to prolong turns. In the excerpts of data below, it is evident that the teacher takes her time to complete what she wishes to say without fear of being interrupted. Thus, in excerpt (16), the teacher only makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique at the fourth and final transition-relevance place at the end of her turn (turn 36). Similarly, in excerpt (17), it is clear that the teacher only selects a pupil to take the next turn at the third and final transition-relevance place at the end of her turn (turn 109). As McHoul (1978: 192) points out, this is only some of the evidence which suggests that students need only attend to others' utterances which teachers have called for (Cf. Van Lier, 1984b: 161):

(16)

36 T: O- Alright, it is have because it agrees with findings which is plural.
O- So the findings have been supported...
O- Alright, number 9.
- The hypothesis propose that there have been a split in what used to be a unified middle class.

37 S1: Proposes.

38 S2: Proposes.

39 T: That's right, proposes. Okay, that's very good...(Several lines omitted) The hypothesis proposes...that there has or have been a split in what used to be a unified middle class?

40 S: Has.

41 T: That's right, there has been... (Continues)

(17)

109 T: O- It will be has because we're talking about Gorbachev.
O- He's just one person, so the verb's also singular.
- The essence of the new system is the breaking up of large work brigades?

110 Ss: Is...is.

111T: That's right, it is is. 25. Negotiating with the Soviet Union is an

onerous obligation in this nuclear age?

112 S: Is.

113 T: That's right...(Continues)

As noted earlier on, McHoul (1978: 193) claims that the turn-taking system for classroom discourse operates so as to maximize the potential for gap. That is, since only one student may be selected to answer a question, that student, upon being selected, may take it that no other will start a turn at talk at that transition point (Cf. Walz, 1986: 957). Thus, he may take, at a turn-initial position, a "time-out" to think about the answer he will produce. According to McHoul (1978: 195), what is problematic about such time-outs is that, if they are heard as "too long", the teacher may decide that the student-selected has not heard or understood the question asked, and he or she may go on to repeat or rephrase the question (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 235). Consider, for instance, the following extract, in which students are required to evaluate the accuracy of the verbs "helped" and "saw" in the sentence: "He argues that social scientists, trained in the discipline of detached analysis, can helped us saw these ethical choices more clearly":

(18)

9 T: (Several lines omitted) He argues that social scientists, trained in the discipline of detached analysis, can helped us saw these ethical choices more clearly...

10 Ss: (No response)

11 T: He argues that social scientists can helped? Does that sound correct to you?

12 Ss: No, no.

13 T: That's right. It just becomes can help us. Alright, saw or see these ethical choices?

In the above excerpt of data, it is evident that when the students' time-out (turn 10) is heard as "too long", the teacher takes this as evidence that the students have not understood the question asked (McHoul, 1978: 195; Cf. Mehan, 1985: 122). The teacher therefore goes on to rephrase the question in turn 11.

An analysis of the exchanges in the corpus of accuracy-based data reveals the interesting fact that, for the most part, if a student's response is heard as "too long", the teacher does not repeat or rephrase the question, but simply provides the student with the correct response. This is evident in the following excerpts of data:

(19)

71 T: (Several lines omitted) Does anyone know what invidious means?

72 Ss: (No response)

73 T: -Okay, all it really means is when something is hateful. Okay.

74 S: ... (Inaudible response)

75 T: That's right...(Continues)

(20)

102 T: Some people say deals. How the Chinese...(Inaudible) We're talking about them as a nation...

103 Ss: (No response)

104 T: They're a whole lot of people together...So it's got to take the plural, so it's a deal, how the Chinese deal with the problem of recruiting. Okay. Then number 24. Gorbachev have pushed for reorganizing farm work on the basis of collective contracts....

105 S1: Has.

106 S2: Have.

107 T: Some people say have... (Continues)

As noted in Chapter 2, Sacks et al. (1974: 706-707) claim that one of the reasons why overlap occurs in ordinary conversation is that rule 1b, in allocating a turn to that self-selector who starts first, encourages earliest possible start for each self-selector (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 83). It thus provides for overlap by competing self-selectors for a next turn, when each projects his start to be earliest possible start at some possible transition-relevance place, producing

simultaneous starts. McHoul (1978: 195) claims that (2a) in classroom talk on the other hand, the potential for overlap is minimized in that the possibility of the teacher (or a student) "opening up" the talk to a self-selecting student first starter is not accounted for (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134). McHoul's (1978) rules for classroom talk are geared towards avoiding simultaneous starts. Yet, McHoul (1978: 195) admits that there are instances of violation as is evident in the following excerpt of data:

(21)

25 T: That's right, that pushes the idea that the consumption of bananas...cause or causes?

26 S1:- // Causes.

27 S2:- // Causes.

28 T: That's right, causes. It agrees with consumption. Alright, number 8. This means that their position, if any, are based on faith in this or that authority. This means that their position, if any...

29 S1:- // Is.

30 S2:- // Is.

31 T: That's right...(Continues)

In this particular excerpt of data, it is evident that, despite the fact that the teacher (turn 25) nominates a single student (student 1) to speak by nodding her head in the direction of the student, two learner responses occur in turns 26 and 27. Similarly, although the teacher (turn 28) nominates a single student (student 1) to take the next turn by nodding her head in the direction of the student, two learner responses occur in turns 29 and 30.

According to McHoul (1978: 205), (2b) the potential for overlap is minimized in that the possibility of a student using a "current speaker selects next" technique to select another student is not accounted for (Cf. Van Lier, 1984b: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134). As has already been noted in the excerpts of data above, only the teacher is allowed to make use of a "current speaker selects

next" technique in order to select a student to take the next turn. This is also evident in the following excerpt of data in which a student is required to evaluate the accuracy of verbs/verbal patterns in terms of the options given to him:

(22)

87 T: That's right, rages, it agrees with an intellectual battle. However, librarians are beginning to express concern about where to put all these books...

88 S: Are beginning to express concern.

89 T: It says as are. Alright, so there it's 20A. Both verbs are correct. Okay, 21. For example, if the student of English meets the word decomposition, what does he do?

90 S: That's correct.

91 T: That is correct, yes...(Continues)

An analysis of this particular excerpt of data reveals the fact that, at the end of her turn (turn 87), the teacher selects a student to speak by making use of a "current speaker selects next" technique. The so-selected student is the only student who has the right and is obliged to take the next turn to speak (turn 88) (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 233; Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134). Similarly, at the fifth and final transition-relevance place at the end of her turn (turn 89), the teacher selects a single student to speak by making use of a "current speaker selects next" technique. Once again, the so-selected student is the only student who has the right and obligation to take the next turn (turn 90). Since no other party has the right or obligation to speak, no overlap occurs.

According to McHoul (1978: 208), (3) in classroom discourse, the permatubality of turn-taking is minimized (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984; Cook, 1991; Barkhuizen, 1995). Consider, for example, the following excerpt of data:

(23)

49 T: That's right, is to take risks. To act is a present infinitive.
These risks are or is often awesome? Initiation

50 S:	Are.	Response
51 T:	That's right, are. The first one is, the second one are.	Feedback
	Twelve. Conservative educators have usually believed in the idea of a canon of classics?	Initiation
52 S:	Have.	Response
53 T:	That's right. It agrees with educators.	Feedback
	And believed, is believed right?	Initiation
54 S:	Yes.	Response
55 T:	Mm. It is the past tense.	Feedback
	Even the addition of Shakespeare to the club was or were seen as a radical innovation?	Initiation

In the above excerpt of data, it is clear that the interaction does not deviate from the pattern "Teacher-Student-Teacher" (McHoul, 1978: 210; Cf. Maley, 1992: 27), since the taking of turns is rigidly controlled by the teacher (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232-233; Fairclough, 1989: 134). For instance, in turn 49, it is evident that the teacher evaluates the preceding student response and then goes on to initiate a question. In turn 50, a student responds to the question, and in turn 51, the teacher provides feedback before initiating another question. The interaction is therefore characterized by the authority-based three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Cf. Stubbs, 1983: 133; Berry, 1987: 42; Nunan, 1993: 35). The teacher takes every second turn (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232; Bowers, 1987: 168), and single-utterance learner responses occur (Cf. Stern, 1992: 317). Clearly, student participation rights are severally limited (McHoul, 1978: 211). As Mehan (1985: 126) puts it:

> While speaker allocation is open for negotiation at the end of each turn in everyday conversation, this is seldom the case in educational discourse. The floor is open for negotiation only at certain junctures, for example, at the end of a basic or extended initiation-reply-evaluation sequence. Furthermore, teachers not only allocate the floor, they take it back at the end of a student's reply or extended sequence of discourse.

Based on the above analysis, it is clear that the teacher does most of the

talking, while students' lingual contributions are restricted to monosyllabic utterances (Cf. Cook, 1991). As has already been noted, teachers are able to extend their turns-at-talk indefinitely without fear of a student starting a turn at a possible transition-relevance place (McHoul, 1978: 207). In the following excerpt of data, for instance, it is evident that the teacher does not make use of a "current speaker select next" technique at the first three transition-relevance places of her turn-constructional unit (turn 65), and so, she continues speaking. It is only at the fourth and final transition-relevance place at the end of her turn that transfer to a student is effected. Clearly, the teacher is able to extend her turn-at-talk without fear of being overlapped:

(24)

65 T: O- That's right.
O- Asserts agrees with one.
O- Then number 15.
- I have argued that Western democracy owes more to the trade unions and the dissident churches than to the elite humanist tradition.

66 S: That's correct.

67 T: That's correct. (Several lines omitted) The justification of the study of the great works of Western culture are not political.

68 Ss: Is.

69 T: That's right... (Continues)

4.1.4 A discussion of the findings

Based on the analysis of the language lesson in terms of the Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective, it is clear that it exhibits the patterns of interaction that are typically associated with structural-analytic (Type A) teaching. As noted in Chapter 2, Allen (1987:4) points out that the primary aim of a programme with a Type A focus is to provide students with the opportunity to practise the formal features of the target language in the form of exercises and drills involving repetition or substitution (Cf. Littlewood, 1992: 16). As Stern (1992: 318-319) observes, this implies that the teacher in an analytic language teaching programme exerts tight control over language input and output (Cf. Allen et al.,

1990: 59, 61), while learners' lingual contributions are restricted to answering the teacher's questions.

The analysis of the language activity in terms of the Conversation Analysis perspective of McHoul (1978) has clearly revealed the fact that the interactional patterns that occur in it are the product of "a heavily pre-allocated system" of turn-taking (McHoul, 1978: 188; Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135) in which the locally managed component is largely the domain of the teacher. Since the teacher may self-select, continue speaking and select particular students to take turns (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163), while students may only select the teacher to take the next turn (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135), one could argue that learner participation rights are restricted in the Type A language classroom (Cf. Stern, 1992: 319). One could also argue that, since learners may not select one another to take turns, they may not comment or expand on or ask clarifying questions about prior turns (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318). Instead, learners' utterances are dealt with in isolation by the teacher, who, in commenting on a learner response, focuses on the sufficiency or accuracy of that response (Cf. McHoul, 1978: 190; Stern, 1992: 316). This is clearly in keeping with a Type A language teaching programme in which meaning and fluency are subordinated to error avoidance and accuracy (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 72).

The analysis of the language lesson has also revealed the fact that the interaction in it is characterized by the authority-based three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern (Cf. Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 21; Maley, 1992: 27; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 72) in which the teacher takes two out of three turns (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232). One could argue that, since the interaction rarely deviates from the "Teacher-Student-Teacher" pattern (Cf. Maley, 1992: 27), the teacher exerts tight control over linguistic input and output. This is once again in keeping with a Type A language teaching programme in which the teacher tends to exert control over linguistic form (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125; Stern, 1992: 319).

In addition to the above features, it has also been noted that the teacher pre-specifies what learners may say in their turns. One could argue that, since the

teacher pre-specifies what learners may say in their turns, she already knows most of the answers to her questions, and is simply testing the knowledge of her students (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 234; Mehan, 1985: 127). One could also argue that, since the teacher already knows the answer to a question beforehand and "the students realize that the response is meant to practise the use of language rather than provide information" (Stern, 1992: 316), the question-and-answer exchanges that occur during the course of the language lesson are not genuine (Cf. Bowers, 1987: 169). Since the teacher already knows most of the answers to her questions, an element of unpredictability is not introduced into the activity. According to Allen et al. (1990: 80), the lack of an information-gap (Prabhu, 1987: 50-57) between the teacher and students is a distinguishing feature of structural-analytic language teaching.

An analysis of the patterns of interaction that occur in the language activity has also clearly shown that, since the teacher takes two out of three turns, she does most of the talking (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232; Cook, 1991: 96), while students do not have the freedom to lengthen their turns after the first turn-constructional unit. Since students may not continue speaking after the first turn-constructional unit, one could argue that their lingual contributions are restricted to what Stern (1992: 317) refers to as "ultra-minimal" (one-word) utterances or "minimal" (single-clause or sentence) responses. According to Allen et al. (1987: 32) and Stern (1992: 317), this particular discourse feature distinguishes analytic language teaching from experiential teaching. However, it is essential to note that this does not mean that students do not produce sustained discourse in the analytic language classroom. As Stern (1992: 317) puts it:

> ...it is not an inherent part of the analytic strategy that we should avoid longer stretches of speech...therefore [sustained discourse] does not in principle distinguish the analytic from the experiential strategy.

Clearly, then, it is necessary to find another feature that will enable us to distinguish between sustained discourse as it occurs in analytic teaching and sustained discourse as it occurs in experiential teaching. This problem will be dealt with in the following section.

Finally, an analysis of the interactional patterns that occur during the course of the language lesson has revealed that, if a learner response is heard as "too long", the teacher may embark upon an extended sequence of interactions in order to obtain the preferred response (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 122; Greyling, 1995: 25).

4.2 Discussion Wheel

4.2.1 A description

The second activity analysed in this study is referred to as Discussion Wheel, and has been adapted from Klippel (1984: 86):

Aims	Skills - message-oriented speaking; active listening Language - discussing Other - (dependent on topic)
Level	Intermediate
Organization	Groups of six or more students
Preparation	Each group receives three dice and a discussion wheel containing five topics. The specific topic for discussion is only displayed once the dice have been thrown.
Time	15-25 minutes
Procedure	Each group member is given a number from 1-6. The dice are thrown; two dice indicate the students who start the discussion, the third die indicates the topic to be discussed. Every topic on the discussion wheel should be discussed at least once. If the topic die shows the number 5, the two students choose their own discussion topic.
Variation	(1) Instead of writing the discussion topics on the discussion wheel, they can be put on small cards and laid face down on the discussion wheel. (2) More factual or more personal topics can be selected.

It should be noted that, during the course of this particular activity, the teacher did not place a time limit on the discussion of a topic. Rather, students went on to discuss the next topic only after they had exhausted the preceding topic on

the discussion wheel. In the section that follows, it will be determined whether the features that are typically associated with fluency-based language teaching occur in Discussion Wheel in order to establish whether the interactional exchanges in this activity should be analysed in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation, or in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse.

4.2.2 An analysis of Discussion Wheel within the fluency paradigm

As noted in Chapter 3, Greyling (1995: 20) identifies certain features that are typically associated with fluency-based interactional exchanges. One such feature is that the teacher structures an interactional space in which learners are required to engage in communication-gap activities (Cf. Mazeland, 1983: 100; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 133). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data taken from Discussion Wheel.

(25)

1 T: ...(Inaudible) this exercise, I hope you enjoy it. What we do is this: I give this dice to one of you. Okay. So I think that what would be a good idea is if you numbered yourselves. For example (The teacher indicates the first group of students sitting in the front row) you're one, two, three, four, five. Right. So I give it to a group. And then whoever would like to start can roll the dice. If for example, it lands on two, then you have to speak first. Okay. Then you roll the dice a second time. Say now it lands on five, then you're the second person to speak. In other words, you're the first group to speak...And you start the conversation...and then the other members of course have to join in. Uh...then I can choose anyone else in this group and then you roll the dice a third time and...the third roll decides the topic for you...(Continues)

An analysis of the above excerpt of data clearly illustrates the fact that, by dividing her students into groups and giving them the freedom to interact with one another as equals-at-talk across several turns-at-talk, the teacher structures an interactional space in which learners are required to engage in message-oriented communication (Cf. Mazeland, 1983: 100; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 133). Clearly, students cannot plan their lingual contributions in advance,

since both topic and turn allocation are initially controlled through the throwing of dice. Thus, what the students in each group will say to one another is unpredictable.

Since students are required to respond to unpredictable and reciprocal language activity in which they generate messages collaboratively in real time, the exchanges in Discussion Wheel display a communicative focus (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 45; Prabhu, 1987: 45-47; Hoey, 1992: 68). Proponents of fluency-based language teaching argue in favour of the centrality of message-focus (Johnson and Morrow: 1981: 52), particularly the use of the information-gap technique which engages learners in the transfer of information (Prabhu, 1987: 45-47; Cf. Allen et al., 1987: 32). That is, participant A has to encode a goal-oriented message that has to be decoded by participant B, and vice versa. In the following excerpt of data, for example, it is evident that students 12 and 14 engage in the transfer of information across several turns-at-talk. They therefore respond to unpredictable and reciprocal language activity in which they generate messages collaboratively in real time (Cf. Stern, 1992: 316; Johnson, 1996: 44-45):

(26)

177 S12: Although sometimes it is but sometimes it is.

178 S14: No you can't judge you can't generalize on something like that.

179 S12: Ya.

180 S24: I mean, that's- that's psycho- psychological um er the effect that that has- the childhood has. It's true, it does have an effect in a way, but cases of people that do murder and they really deserve the- the death punishment, then that- that- those cases are so small. I mean there really are people that are driven to commit murder, I mean through pressure, society uh...through- through psychological effects or whatever. It's- it's true.

181 S12: Okay, but- but where can you draw // the line?

182 S14: // That's the problem.

An additional characteristic of fluency-based language teaching is that the teacher maximizes student initiative (Cf. Greyling, 1995: 25). If excerpt (25) above is re-examined, it is evident that the teacher maximizes student initiative by dividing students into groups and by giving them the freedom to interact with one another as equals-at-talk (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318). It is therefore not surprising that the interaction is characterized by learner-learner exchanges across several turns-at-talk (Cf. Maley, 1986: 88; Stern, 1992: 316). This is evident in the following excerpt of data in which students interact with one another across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher:

(27)

197 S7: (Several lines omitted) And if there- if there- if they're going to work, there's now going to be less, and then um the other countries are going to invest more in this country in South Africa or wat ookal because um um we don't have much violence anymore if we have jobs and money...(Inaudible) and so....

198 S4: It's back to the old principle of don't give a man a fish...Teach him how to catch it.

199 S3: Yes, but we all have the re- responsibility, not only the government....

200 Ss: Mm.

201 S3: It's our responsibility.

Yet another feature of fluency-based language teaching is that if learners experience communicative difficulty, the teacher acts as an advisor, thereby facilitating communication (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131; Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 78). In the following excerpt of data, for example, a lapse in conversation occurs when none of the options to speak is employed at the transition-relevance place at the end of turn 180. To be specific, student 1 stops speaking and no other student self-selects as the next speaker. In order to overcome this lapse in conversation, the teacher asks the students if they would like to discuss another topic on the discussion wheel (turn 181):

(28)

178 S5: I mean we have in South Africa we have the problem with um with children in need. Now if we create children, I mean or people, where are we going to go? I mean, life actually hurts people.

179 Ss: Ya...Mm...

180 S1: ...(Inaudible: laughter from students. Student 1 stops speaking)

181 T: - Right. Do you want another topic?

182 Ss: Yes...yes.

A final distinguishing feature of fluency-based language teaching is that the teacher provides content feedback, which focuses on the learner's success in completing the communication task (Cf. Johnson and Morrow, 1981; Harmer, 1983: 202; Stern, 1992: 319). In the following excerpt of data taken from Discussion Wheel, for example, it is evident that the teacher (turn 206) provides content feedback in which she briefly comments on the learner's success in completing the activity:

(29)

204 T: Let the judges enforce capital punishment, but it comes down to us... the community.

205 S7: Ya if you... (Inaudible) you have to look at yourself before you can judge every- any- anybody else, so you know, if your morals are going to be okay, then your community is going to be um free of violence and everything, everything's going to be okay. Other community- communities - a bit long (Laughs) are going to be like you and me.

206 T: Okay, no, I think we'll end on that um positive note. Um thank you very much. You made some very interesting points.

Based on the above analysis, it is evident that the interactional exchanges in Discussion Wheel are fluency-based. For instance, it is clear that, by dividing her students into groups and by giving them the freedom to interact with one another as equals-at-talk, the teacher structures an interactional space in which the students can engage in message-oriented communication (Cf. Mazeland, 1983: 100; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 133; Stern, 1992: 318). In addition, the

interactional exchanges in Discussion Wheel have a communicative focus, since students respond to reciprocal and unpredictable language activity in which they generate messages collaboratively in real time (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 45; Prabhu, 1987: 45-47; Hoey, 1992: 68; Stern, 1992: 316). Furthermore, in keeping with the main tenets of fluency-based language teaching, the teacher maximizes student initiative by dividing students into groups and by giving them the freedom to communicate with one another as equals-at-talk (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318; Greyling, 1995: 25). It is therefore not surprising that learner-learner exchanges occur across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher (Cf. Maley, 1986: 88; Stern, 1992: 316). Finally, the teacher acts as an advisor when learners encounter communicative difficulty (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131; Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 78), and provides content feedback which focuses on the learner's success in completing the communication task (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 202). Since Discussion Wheel exhibits the distinguishing features of fluency-based language teaching, the interactional exchanges in it are analysed in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation.

4.2.3 An analysis of Discussion Wheel in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in everyday conversation

As stated above, the Conversation Analysis model of Sacks et al. (1974) is applied to the above fluency-based activity. However, since the Sacks et al. (1974) model is one for the turn-taking organization for **natural** conversation - and can therefore only deal adequately with multiple-utterance learner-learner exchanges - it cannot account for all the normative orientations encapsulated in the fluency-based data. The solution to this problem appears to lie in using the relevant rules from the rule system proposed by McHoul (1978) to accommodate the normative orientations in the fluency-based data. However, as will become clear shortly, the relevant rules from McHoul (1978) have to be supplemented by additional rules in order to account for the normative orientations in the data (Cf. Greyling, 1995: 26). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of classroom data:

(30)

1 T: ...(Inaudible) this exercise, I hope you enjoy it. What we do is this: I give this dice to one of you. Okay. So I think that what would be a good idea is if you numbered yourselves. For example (The teacher indicates the first group of students sitting in the front row) you're one, two, three, four, five. Right. So I give in to a group. And then whoever would like to start can roll the dice. If for example, it lands on two, then you have to speak first. Okay. Then you roll the dice a second time. Say now it lands on five, then you're the second person to speak. In other words, you're the first group to speak... And you start the conversation...and then the other members of course have to join in. Uh...then I can choose anyone else in this group and then you roll the dice a third time and...the third roll decides the topic for you. Because I've got them all numbered here (The teacher indicates the discussion wheel) okay, from one to five. Alright. And if the dice lands on five, then you get to choose the topic. Otherwise...you have to take what the dice gives you. Okay. So let us start. Right, would anyone like to start? (Laughter from students) (The teacher joins one of the groups and nominates a student to throw the dice by nodding her head in his direction)

2 S: Where's the topic?

3 T: You don't know yet. That's for the third roll. (The teacher nominates a student to throw the die by nodding her head in his direction)

4 S: (A student rolls the die and it lands on four)

5 T: Four. So you start, okay. (Nervous laughter from students) Now someone else from that group can roll the die... to decide on the second person. You roll it.

6 S: (Another student throws the die and it lands on five)

7 T: What is that?

8 Ss: Five...five.

9 T: Okay, so you're the second person to start. Right, now anyone else can roll the dice to decide the topic. So you roll it again. (The teacher nominates a third student to throw the die by nodding her head in his direction)

10 S: (A third student rolls the die and it lands on three)

11 T: Ah, it's capital punishment. Now does everyone know what capital punishment is before we start?

12 Ss: No...Yes. (Some of the students appear to be confused)

13 T: Capital punishment is when your life is terminated. Okay. If you've murdered someone... (Inaudible) That's what's meant by capital punishment. So this is something you can really sink your teeth into. Okay. So you may start. Anything that comes to mind. Do you agree with it, do you not agree with it, why do you think it's bad. You can start. (The teacher indicates the designated students in the group) And then the rest can join in, okay, as you go on.

14 S1: (No response. The student appears uncertain as to how to begin)

15 S2: Sorry, you want us to agree or disagree?

16 T: You can agree-disagree, it's up to you. (The teacher nods her head in the direction of student 1)

17 S1: I agree. (Very faint)

18 T: Do you agree with capital punishment?

19 S1: Yes. (Very faint)

20 T: Okay. Now others can join in. What do you think?

21 S3: The main purpose is not only to punish the person but also to be- to set an example for the community...that they know there- there's some higher authority that- that will take some serious action...because // S-

22 S4: // As far as I'm concerned, capital punishment is there to pose as a threat for- for future criminals.

23 S5: But I think that person's guilt must be proven beyond any reasonable doubt otherwise you're going to get- get a person um er...er...found guilty, terminated when he's not... (Inaudible) A life sentence is more if

you're like thirty years in jail and they prove that you're innocent you get out but you're dead. (Laughter from students)

24 S4: (Non-verbal bid to speak)

25 T: ...(Inaudible) You're talking to each other, not so much to me.

26 S4: Oh.

27 T: I'm just a facilitator.

An analysis of the above excerpt of data reveals a number of interesting facts. For instance, in her initial turn (turn 1), the teacher structures an interactional space in which learners are required to engage in message-oriented communication, and yet, the participants exchange information with one another and with the teacher as equals-at-talk only from turn 21 onwards. The explanation for this is twofold. Firstly, the teacher accomplishes two tasks in her initial turn (turn 1). That is, in addition to structuring an interactional space in which the participants have to perform a communicative task (Cf. Morrow, 1981: 52), the teacher continues to dominate the floor for a short while by making use of a "current speaker selects next" technique at the end of her turn (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126). To be specific, at the end of her turn (turn 1), the teacher nominates a student to roll the die by making use of a "current speaker selects next" technique. The so-selected student is the only student who has the right and obligation to respond (turn 2) (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 125; Fairclough, 1989: 134; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 72). This is in accordance with McHoul's (1978: 188) rule which reads as follows:

(I) For any teacher's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(A) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, the the right and obligation to speak is given to a single student; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

In turn 2, the so-selected student responds with an utterance in the form of a question, since he appears uncertain as to how the topic for discussion is decided. That is, at the end of the initial transition-relevance place of his initial

turn-constructional unit, the so-selected student selects the teacher as the next speaker (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134). This is accordance with rule II(A) which is as follows:

(II) If I(A) is effected, for any student-so-selected's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(A) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to the teacher; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place (McHoul, 1978: 188).

In turn 3, having responded to the student's question in the preceding turn-at-talk, the teacher once again nominates a student to throw the die by making use of the "current speaker selects next" technique. Indeed, as illustrated in the above excerpt of data, while the teacher may nominate students to take turns, continue speaking, or self-select, student participation rights are initially limited to the choice between continuing or selecting the teacher as next speaker (McHoul, 1978: 188; Cf. Mehan, 1985: 125-126; Fairclough, 1989: 134). Instead of allowing the group to decide which of its members should throw the die, the teacher repeatedly uses the "current speaker select next" technique to determine who should roll the die (turns 5, 7 and 9). Note that in all cases where the teacher either nominates a single student (turns 1, 3, 5 and 9) or the group as a whole (turns 7 and 11), she does so by nodding her head in the direction of the student or group. An analysis of the above excerpt of data also reveals the fact that, if a so-selected student's turn does not include the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the initiative for self-selection is exercised by the teacher alone (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134; Greyling, 1995: 25). To be specific:

(II) If I(A) is effected, for any student-so-selected's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(B) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speaker may, but need not, be instituted with the teacher as first starter and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place (McHoul, 1978: 188).

For example, in turn 4, the so-selected student throws the die, but does not, as in the case of the student in turn 2, make use of a "current speaker selects next" technique. As illustrated in turn 5, the teacher self-selects as superordinate. It should be noted that, in turn 11, the teacher addresses a question to the class as a whole to determine whether or not they understand what is meant by capital punishment. As noted in Chapter 2, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 40) state that such a lingual act is known as a check which is realized by a closed class of questions concerned with "being ready", "having problems" and being able to "see" or "hear". The function of checks is "to enable the teacher to ascertain whether there are any problems preventing the successful progress of the lesson" (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 40). Indeed, Stubbs (1983: 50-57) observes that "teachers constantly check up to see if they are on the same wavelength as their pupils, if at least most of their pupils are following what they are saying..."

The second explanation as to why the students engage in message-oriented communication only from turn 21 onwards, lies in the fact that, although the teacher relinquishes her controlling function in turn 13 by allowing the students to exchange information with one another as equals-at-talk, the students (students 1 and 2) encounter communicative difficulty (turns 14 and 15), and have to assisted by the teacher (turn 16) (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131). As soon as communicative difficulty has been overcome, the teacher once again relinquishes control (turn 20) and allows the participants to interact with one another as equals-at-talk. By relinquishing control over the floor, the teacher clearly switches from an accuracy to a fluency mode of language teaching. If turn 20 is analysed in terms of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) interactional model of analysis, then the word "Okay" with falling intonation followed by silent stress (i.e., a pause of the duration of one or more beats), is a discourse marker signalling the switch from one mode of language teaching to another (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 40; 43; Cf. Berry, 1987: 43; Akindile, 1988: 101; McCarthy, 1993: 173):

(31)

20 T: Okay ^
Now others can join in. What do you think?

As soon as the teacher says, "Okay". Now others can join in. What do you think?", the students exchange information with one another as equals-at-talk (see turns 21-23 in excerpt (30)).

It has already been noted that, according to McHoul (1978: 188), if the teacher nominates a particular student to speak, then that student has to take the next turn, while all other students are obliged to remain silent (rule IA) (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135). However, based on the analysis so far, it is evident that the teacher relinquishes control over the floor, giving the students the freedom to interact with one another as equals-to-talk. What is problematic is that McHoul's (1978: 188) rule does not account for the teacher structuring an interactional space in which the participants are required to perform a communicative task. According to Greyling (1995: 26), the rule therefore has to be supplemented by at least the following rule:

Rule 1 (a) fluency: If the superordinate selects a configuration of next speakers, the so-selected configuration has to implement the preselected turn-taking system within the interactional space specified.

Not only does McHoul's (1978) rule system not account for the teacher selecting a configuration of speakers who have to perform a communicative task in a prespecified interactional space, but it also does not account for a student selecting a fellow student as the next speaker. Indeed, McHoul (1978: 188-189) argues that a learner's participation rights are limited to continuing or selecting the teacher to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135). Yet, the following excerpt of fluency-based data contradicts this rule since student 12 (turn 181) selects student 14 (turn 182) as the next speaker.

(32)

180 S14: I mean, that's- that's psycho- psychological um er the effect that that has- the childhood has. It's true, it does have an effect in a way, but cases of people that do murder and they really deserve

the- the death punishment, then that- that those cases are so small. I mean there really are people that are driven to commit murder, I mean through pressure, society uh...through- through psychological effects or whatever. It's- it's true.

181 S12: -Okay, but- but where can you draw // the line?

182 S14: // That's the problem.

As Greyling (1995: 26) points out, McHoul's (1978: 188) rule system does not account for the notion that the teacher may direct speakership and specify the pattern of participation for learners in a subsequent interactional exchange (Cf. Barkhuizen, 1995: 93). According to Greyling (1995: 26) the rule has to be supplemented by the following rule.

Rule 1 (b) fluency. If the so-selected subordinates engage in the pre-selected turn-taking system within the interactional space specified, the subordinates will select next speaker in accordance with the superordinate's pre-selected and pre-specified speech exchange system.

It is interesting to note that, after a student makes a non-verbal bid to speak in turn 24, the teacher reminds the student that all the participants in the class have the freedom to talk to one another as equals-at-talk (turn 25), and that her role is that of facilitator (turn 27) (see Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131). This once again underlines the fact that the teacher has switched from an accuracy to a fluency mode of language teaching by structuring an interactional space in which students are required to engage in message-oriented communication across several turns-at-talk.

Based on the above analysis, it is evident that, before the students engage in message-oriented communication, the interaction is initially characterized by the authority-based three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 21; Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 160; Berry, 1987: 47; Nunan, 1993: 35) in which the teacher takes two out of three turns (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232; Fairclough, 1989: 134). This three-part exchange which is regarded by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 21) as the basic unit of interaction (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 160; Mehan, 1985: 126; Hoey, 1992: 72), is clearly illustrated in the following excerpt of data:

(33)

11 T:	Ah, it's capital punishment. Now does everyone know what capital punishment is before we start?	Initiation
12 Ss:	No...yes (Some of the students appear to be confused)	Response
13 T:	Capital punishment is when... (Continues)	Feedback

In the section that follows, a detailed analysis of the fluency-based classroom data is made in terms of the model for the turn-taking organization for natural conversation as outlined by Sacks et al. (1974: 696-735).

As stated in Chapter 3, Sacks et al. (1974: 704) identify "a basic set of rules governing turn construction, providing for the allocation of a next turn to one party and co-ordinating transfer so as to minimize gap and overlap" (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 168; Wardhaugh, 1985: 148; Psathas, 1995: 43). These rules are as follows:

(1) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place.

(b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place.

(c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule set a-c re-applies at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

Based on the above set of rules, it is evident that turn-allocation techniques are divided into two groups: those in which a next turn is allocated by a current speaker's selecting a next speaker, and those in which a next turn is allocated by self-selection (Sacks et al., 1974: 703; Cf. Mehan, 1985: 125; Fairclough, 1989: 134). Consider, for instance, the following excerpts of fluency-based classroom data:

(34)

199 S9: -Like what?

200 S5: I mean I've read a book in Europe about the Pope...and I seriously can't tell you... (Continues)

(35)

45 S8: Would it be right for them to clone the person because what-what right do we have- Would you be accepted if...(Inaudible: student in the background coughs) ...you must clone people...(Inaudible)

46 S9: -Yes, but who will know?

47 S8: You're not always sure of that.

Based on an analysis of the above excerpts of data, it is evident that rule 1a applies in turns 199 and 46. To be specific, in excerpt (34), student 9 selects student 5 as the next speaker by making use of a "current speaker selects next" technique at the initial transition-relevance place of his initial turn-constructional unit (turn 199) (Cf. Heritage, 1989: 24-25; Fairclough, 1989: 134). The so-selected student is the only student who has to take the next turn to speak (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 71-72; Heritage, 1989: 24-25; Nofsinger, 1991: 51-53). Similarly, in excerpt (35), at the initial transition-relevance place of her initial turn-constructional unit (turn 46), student 9 selects student 8 as the next speaker. The so-selected student has the right to take the next turn (turn 47), while all other students are obliged to remain silent. Note that both student 5 (in excerpt 34) and student 8 (in excerpt 35) are glance-selected speakers (Cf. Sacks et al., 1974: 703; Levinson, 1983: 302; Nofsinger, 1991: 81).

At this stage, it should be noted that, as Sacks et al. (1974: 703) have pointed out, excerpts such as those above should not be taken as evidence that answerer turns are always the product of "current selects next" techniques. In excerpt (36) below, for example, turn 111 is allocated by self-selection, not by a "current speaker selects next" technique (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Mehan, 1985: 126; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 98). To be specific, at the initial transition-relevance place of his initial-turn constructional unit (turn 110), student 5 asks a question, but does not select a next speaker by making use of a "current selects next" technique. The answerer turn (turn 111) is the product of self-selection (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134):

(36)

109 S7: And then I think one day, when this person is there, they're going to like, voila, show it to the world //...(Inaudible)

110 S5:- // But I think something will go wrong because um something- There's always something going wrong, and when they duplicate that person and I mean, believe it is, what then? I mean, then it's a human being that has to flourish in this world, and if something went wrong, who- who's going to be- who's this problem going to be, theirs or ours or the government or what?

111 T: Well scientists are trying to prevent that by cloning a cell which hasn't had a chance to permutate yet. So, before it gets to that stage where it's got a defect, but who knows if- They don't know- In fact, this article says they know little about that.

As has already been noted, in addition to a current speaker's selecting a next speaker, a next turn may also be allocated by self-selection (rule 1b) as is illustrated in excerpt (36) (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 98). In the excerpt of data below, it is once again evident that a next turn is allocated not by a current speaker's selecting a next speaker, but by self-selection. That is, in turn 56, student 10 does not make use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, and the next speaker (student 8) therefore self-selects as first speaker (turn 57) at the transition-relevance place at the end of turn 56:

(37)

56 S10: Ya, look at us- at South Africa. We have so much violence, I mean um our children is going to grow up in this land, and it's- We have the highest crime rate in- in the world... This is so unsafe, when you walk out the door, you don't know whether you're going to get killed or not.

57 S8: - Ya, I want to say something. There's the Bill of Rights. They say that you- everybody has the right to live. But now, what about this abortion, this new abortion legislation...that you can kill an innocent person but you can let a criminal live. I don't understand that.

In addition to the fact that a current speaker may select a particular speaker to take the next turn, or a speaker may self-select, a current speaker may also choose to continue speaking (rule 1c) (Sacks et al., 1974: 704; Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989; Nofsinger, 1991: 88-89). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data:

(38)

39 S8: O- Who's paying for that person who commited a crime- a vicious crime to stay here.
O-Somebody else is paying for that person to have a...
O-He doesn't have to work.
O-He just receives food,
-he receives his bed and everything.

40 S5: And somebody else is paying, the taxpayer.

In the above excerpt of data, it is evident that rule 1c operates, since student 8 continues to speak at the first four transition-relevance places of her turn-constructional unit - which does not include a "current speaker selects next" technique - until student 5 self-selects as first speaker at the fifth transition-relevance place at the end of turn 39 (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 150; Fairclough, 1989: 134; Psathas, 1995: 35).

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 704):

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional

unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c re-applies at the next transition-relevance place until transfer is effected.

Consider, for example, excerpt (39) below:

(39)

56 S10: O- Ya, look at us- at South Africa.
O-We have so much violence,
O-I mean um
O-our children is going to grow up in this land,
O-and it's-
O-We have the highest crime in- in the world...
O-This is so unsafe,
-when you walk out the door you don't know whether you're going to get killed or not.

57 S8: Ya, I want to say something.
O-There's the Bill of Rights.
O-They say that you- everybody has the right to live.
O-But now, what about this abortion, this new abortion legislation...
O-That you can kill an innocent person but you can let a criminal live.
-I don't understand that.

58 S7: Mm. The- the child couldn't decide...(Continues)

In turn 56, it is clear that neither rule 1a nor rule 1b operates at the first seven transition-relevance places, and so, rule 1c operates and student 10 continues speaking (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 150; Fairclough, 1989: 134). At the eighth and final transition-relevance place in turn 56, rule 1b operates and a student (student 8) self-selects in turn 57. Similarly, it is evident that in turn 57, neither rule 1a nor rule 1b operates at the first four transition-relevance places. Thus, rule 1c operates and student 8 continues speaking. At the fifth transition-relevance place in turn 57, rule 1b operates and a student (student 7) self-selects in turn 58.

As has already been noted in Chapter 3, Sacks et al. (1974: 700-701) identify certain features which any conversation contains. In the section that follows, it will be determined whether or not these features are present in the fluency-based classroom data.

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 706), (1) in any conversation, speaker-change occurs, or at least recurs (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 34) because, as Nofsinger (1991: 89) puts it, "the turn system applies periodic places at which speaker change can conveniently occur - the TRP at the end of each turn-construction unit" (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297). Furthermore, the conversational turn-taking system also provides for speaker change "through its two options for transferring to another speaker: current speaker selects next and listener self-selection" (Nofsinger, 1991: 89). In the following excerpt of data, for example, it is evident that speaker change occurs, because student 12 makes use of the "current speaker selects next" technique by asking the next speaker a question (turn 181). Transfer occurs at the initial transition-relevance place in the turn and the next student (student 14) begins speaking in turn 182:

(40)

180 S14: I mean, that's- that's psycho- psychological um er the effect that that has- the childhood has. It's true, it does have an effect in a way, but cases of people that do murder and they really deserve the- the death punishment, then that- that- those cases are so small. I mean there really are people that are driven to commit murder, I mean through pressure, society uh...through- through psychological effects or whatever. It's- it's true.

181 S12: -Okay, but- but where can you draw // the line?

182 S14: // That's the problem.

It is important to take into account that speaker-change is not automatic because, as Sacks et al. (1974: 706) points out, "at each transition-relevance place, the options provided by rules 1a and 1b may not be exercised, while the option provided by rule 1c is" (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297; Nofsinger, 1991: 86). As noted in excerpt (39), for example, neither rule 1a nor rule 1b operates in turn 56, and so, rule 1c operates and student 10 continues speaking.

Sacks et al. (1974: 706) also state that (2) overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 168; Coulthard, 1985: 59; Wardhaugh, 1985: 148; Mehan, 1991: 77) because firstly, the turn-taking system allocates turns to

single speakers (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 87); and secondly, turn-transfer is co-ordinated around transition-relevance places which are determined by possible completion points for instances of the unit-types (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297; Nofsinger, 1991: 82). In the fluency-based activity referred to as Discussion Wheel, overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time (see excerpts (32), (34), (35) and (37), for example). This is also evident in excerpt (41) below:

(41)

100 S3: Well, I think it hails from America with their jury.

101 T: Mm.

102 S3: Um, but perhaps in murder cases because one judge can make a mistake. It's human to make mistakes, but if you've got let's say five judges to decide about the death penalty on a certain person, I think it can effect... (Inaudible)

103 S4: And secondly, the reason why I absolutely support that- the whole idea of the jury is that the jury is representative of the community.

104 S14: Ya, but you can't put a jury system into practice in South Africa because there are too wide a spectrum of people with language differences and cultural differences, and so we have to have a- a um member of each of those cultures to... (Inaudible) spot the jury and we have to have people who translate language and all that stuff. It's too much hassle.

However, it is important to note that (3) occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common (Sacks et al., 1974: 706; Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 148; Nofsinger, 1991: 91) in mundane conversation. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 706), one of the reasons why overlap occurs lies in the fact that rule 1b encourages listeners to self-select as early as possible. That is, rule 1b provides for overlap by competing self-selectors for a next turn "when each projects his turn to be earliest possible start at some possible transition-relevance place, producing simultaneous starts" (Sacks et al. 1974: 706-707; Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 102). In the excerpt below, for example, it is clear that at the third transition-relevance place at the end of turn 59, students 7 and 8 compete for a next turn, producing simultaneous starts:

(42)

59 S11: ...(Inaudible) everybody's got a right to live. What about the criminal? The criminal is a human being.

60 S7: - // Yes, but

61 S8: // But you are- But you don't like respect for one human being to another.

Another systematic basis for the occurrence of overlap derives from the projectability of possible completion or transition-relevance places (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297; Nofsinger, 1991: 81). According to Sacks et al. (1974: 707):

> Variation in the articulation of the projected last part of a projectably last component of a turn's talk, which is in fact a consequential locus of articulatory variation, will expectably produce overlap between a current turn and a next.

For example, in excerpt (43) below, it is evident that overlap between a current turn (turn 181) and the next (turn 182) occurs because of variation in the articulation of the projected last part of the projectably last component of student 12's turn-at-talk:

(43)

181 S12: Okay, but- but where can you draw // the line?

182 S14: // That's the problem.

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 708), (4) transitions from one turn to the next with little or no gap and with little or no overlap are common (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 168; Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 34) because the components and the rule-set organize transfer exclusively around transition-relevance places (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297; Wilson et al., 1984: 167-173; Nofsinger, 1991: 81). In the following excerpt of data, for instance it is clear that transitions from one turn to the next occur without any gap and without any overlap:

(44)

162 S2: Ya, I think I-I-I think that um it- it must be prac- practised here in South Africa is that system of guillotine which was practised in- in it was in France. (Laughter from students)

163 S4: Everybody will really start losing their heads about crime! (Laughter from students)

164 S7: But um this- this um this law that says you have to kill somebody um d- if- if I murder somebody, it doesn't have to say I'm going to get killed, I'm- th- the law is going to say you must be killed or something.

165 S?: Mm.

166 S7: So I feel the- the law must be there that um you- can kill a criminal of wat ookal en 'n ... so it depends on your lawyer. You're- you're going to get life sentence or something like that, but if the judge feel that ya... (Inaudible) you can't- you can't go into society again, you have to get... (Inaudible)

167 S9: The example you gave um okay about the lawyer who got the guy off of the murder... (Inaudible) and this is because lawyers hammer so much on first offences and if everyone of us just only killed someone just once, for the first time we would be... (Inaudible: laughter from students)

It should also be noted that, (5) the order of turns is not specified in advance, but varies within conversations (Sacks et al., 1974: 708), because (a) single turns are allocated at a time; and (b) for each such allocation, "a series of options is provided, each of which can provide for different next speakers" (Sacks et al., 1974: 708; Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Nofsinger, 1991: 87-88). However, although turn order varies, it is certainly not random. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 708), one bias that is important is for the speaker just prior to the current speaker to be selected as the next speaker (Wardhaugh, 1985: 71-72; Mehan, 1985: 121; Heritage, 1984b: 247; 1989: 24-25). Consider, for example, the following excerpt of data:

(45)

72 S1:- (To the teacher) I mean who's going to be their governing body? Who's going to control it?

73 T: - You can't stop it.

74 S1:- (To the teacher) Yes and I mean especially if um the old Soviet states, if they have the technology, who's going to stop them?

75 T: - You can't stop a scientist who's got ulterior motives... (Continues)

In the extract above, it is evident that the teacher just prior to the current speaker (student 1) is selected as the next speaker (see turns 72 and 73) and this pattern is repeated in turns 74 and 75. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 709):

> One importance of the bias is this. Because of it, the possibility of 'colloquy' is systematically provided; this involves, in the first instance, the possibility of local monitoring for hearing, understanding, agreement etc. It is, indeed, directly after any turn that problems dealing with hearing, understanding etc. that turn are preferably raised; the means of raising them involves the selection of the last speaker to be next, to repeat, clarify etc.

Consider, for example, the following exchange:

(46)

208 S9: The other religions like um Moslems and those...um...They're so devoted.

209 S1: Ya.

210 S9: Like they pray four, five times a day...(Inaudible)

211 S5: -Moslems?

212 S9: Ya.

In excerpt (46) is evident that directly after student 9's turn (turn 210), student 5 asks a clarifying question about that turn (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 81; Stern, 1992: 318) and therefore selects student 9 to speak again (turn 212).

In addition to the features examined above, it is also important to note that, (6) in any conversation, the size or length of turns is not fixed, but varies (Cf. Mehan, 1991: 77; Nofsinger, 1991: 88), and there are two reasons for this. Firstly, a speaker may construct his or her turn out of words, phrases, clauses,

or full sentences (Sacks et al., 1974: 709; Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). Excerpt (47) below, for example, clearly illustrates the fact that the size of turns may vary from single-word utterances (turns 53 and 55) to turns which contain more than one sentence (turns 54 and 56) (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 80, 88):

(47)

53 S1: - Mm.

54 S9: - But it's not the killing, um or an eye for an eye. It is the punishment...for doing the crime.

55 S7: - Ya.

56 S10: Ya, look at us- at South Africa. We have so much violence, I mean um our children is going to grow up in this land, and it's- We have the highest crime rate in- in the world... This is so unsafe, when you walk out the door you don't know whether you're going to get killed or not.

Secondly, the option that a current speaker may continue speaking allows a speaker to lengthen his or her turn after the first turn-construction unit (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). In the following excerpt of data, for instance, it is evident that, in turn 85, neither rule 1a nor rule 1b operates at the first twelve transition-relevance places, and so, rule 1c operates and student 3 continues speaking (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). It is only at the thirteenth and final transition-relevance place in turn 85 that rule 1b operates and a student (student 8) self-selects in turn 86:

(48)

85 S3: O-Yes but we tend to forget about the community.
O-The community want to see justice
O-and- and if we just say it's about humans and it's about the- the Bill of Human Rights, then the people - the grass roots level like we say - they're going to take the law into their own hands...
O-It's the Free State farmers at this stage, they got killed.
O-They killed a farmer,
O-but you don't see anything happening at this stage...
O-And I come from Kroonstad
O-and believe me, those guys are going to take the law into their own hands at this stage

O-because they don't see the law in action.
O-They hear the law,
O-they hear about human rights
O-and they hear about the constitution,
-but they don't see it in practice.

86 S8: And I- also say this...(Continues)

According to Sacks et al. (1974:710), (7) length of conversation is not specified in advance (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 202-203; Mehan, 1991: 77; Nofsinger, 1991: 88) because the turn-taking system is compatible with varying lengths and does not predetermine any length. As has already been noted, during the course of Discussion Wheel, the teacher did not place a time limit on the discussion of a particular topic. Instead, students went on to discuss the next topic only after they had exhausted the preceding topic on the discussion wheel. However, it is important to note that the lesson was closed not by students, but by the teacher as illustrated in excerpt (49) below:

(49)

206 T: Okay, no, I think we'll end on that um positive note. Um thank you very much. You made some very interesting points.

In addition to the fact that length of conversation is not determined in advance, (8) what parties say to one another is not specified in advance because, unlike the turn-taking organization for other speech-exchange systems (such as the interview system), which employs the pre-specification of what shall be done in the turns it organizes (Cf. Heritage, 1989), "the turn-taking organization for conversation makes no provision for the content of any turn, nor does it constrain what is (to be) done in any turn" (Sacks et al., 1974: 710; Mehan, 1991: 77; Nofsinger, 1991: 88; Hoey, 1992: 71; 81). It is interesting to note that, as far as Discussion Wheel is concerned, what the parties are going to say cannot be specified in advance because both topic and turn allocation are initially controlled through the throwing of dice (see excerpt (30), turn 1). In other words, the students cannot pre-plan their lingual contributions because they can only respond once the dice have been thrown. Since interactional exchanges cannot be planned in advance, Discussion Wheel is an activity

which replicates the unpredictability of real-life interaction.

At this stage, it should be noted that, although the conversational turn-taking system does not place a restriction on what participants may say or do in their turns, "what participants may acceptably do in any particular turn is restricted by what happened in prior turns" (Nofsinger, 1991: 88; Cf. Sacks et al., 1974: 710; Heritage, 1984: 247). If, for example, a current speaker directs the first pair part of an adjacency pair to another participant, then that participant has to produce a second pair part (Sacks et al., 1974: 710; Heritage, 1984b: 247; 1989: 24-25). Thus, a question requires an answer, and a request calls for a response either in the form of granting or denial (Cf. Wilson, 1991: 29-30). In the following excerpt taken from Discussion Wheel, for instance, it is evident that, after being selected by the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, student 14 is constrained in what he says in the turn so allocated (Cf. Sacks, et al., 1974: 711). To be specific, student 14 is compelled to answer since the technique employed to select him is a question (Cf. Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Cf. Heritage, 1984: 247; Hoey, 1992: 81-82):

(50)

181 S12: (To student 14) Okay, but- but where can you draw // the line?

182 S14: // That's the problem.

Besides the features described above, (9) in any conversation, relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance (Sacks et al., 1974: 711) because the rule-set maximizes the set "potential next speakers" (Cf. Mehan, 1991: 77, 1985: 126; Nofsinger, 1991: 88). That is, rule 1a allows a current speaker to select any other participant to take the next turn, while rule 1b allows any listener to self-select as next speaker. Furthermore, rule 1c does "not exclude even current speaker from next speakership"(Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Nofsinger, 1991: 88). Consider, for example, the following excerpt of data:

(51)

62 S1: At what stage? At what stage?

63 S5: -We don't know, but we'll find out soon...(Faint laughter from students)

64 S1: -Yes, I would like to make another point about that...(Inaudible) Uh...uh I think we can save some animal species uh from extinction...uh they can prevent maybe the quagga, bring back the quagga or something like that.

An analysis of excerpt (51) clearly reveals the fact that the rule-set operates at each transition-relevance place, and at each transition-relevance place, any party to the conversation can speak next (Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126). To be specific, at the end of turn 62, rule 1a operates because student 1 makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique to select student 5 as the next speaker (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). The so-selected student has the right to take the next turn to speak (turn 63), while all other students are obliged to remain silent (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 86). It is evident that at the end of turn 63, rule 1b operates because student 1 self-selects as next speaker (turn 64). It is also clear that in turn 64, neither rule 1a nor rule 1b operates at the first two transition-relevance places, and so, rule 1c operates and student 1 continues speaking.

It should also be noted that (10) in any conversation, the number of parties can vary (Sacks et al., 1974: 12; Cf. Harmer, 1983: 208; Mehan, 1991: 77; Nofsinger, 1991: 87-88) because the turn-taking system does not restrict the number of parties to a conversation it organizes. As far as Discussion Wheel is concerned, it is interesting to note that, although the students communicated with one another in groups, the teacher did not place a restriction on the number of participants in a group. Instead, students were free to choose the number of speakers in their groups. Thus, the number of parties in a group varied from nine to fourteen (see Appendix C). It is interesting to note that, in two-party conversation, a current non-speaker can pass any given transition-relevance place which is non-obligatory with full assurance of being a "next speaker" at some point (Sacks et al., 1974: 712). As soon as three or more parties participate in a conversation, however, "next turn" is no longer

guaranteed to any current non-speaker. Indeed, as Nofsinger (1991: 83) observes, "this puts a premium on starting quickly, since several participants may self-select..." Consider, for instance, the excerpt of data below:

(52)

175 S7: ...um he wasn't mentally right or something. I feel it's improper. We're very- But um why are there so many people that um come from broken homes and don't kill and others that come from a broken home and kills.

176 S10: -One day- one day we're all going to be in heaven and then God is going to ask us and then you can't say it's your parent's fault or it's- it's your fault. I mean, you did it.

In this particular excerpt of data, it is evident that at the third and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 175, student 10 self-selects as the next speaker (turn 176). If this particular student had not self-selected as the next speaker, then (a) some other current non-speaker might have self-selected, and in turn selected someone else; or (b) the current speaker might have continued, and in his continuation selected some other current non-speaker (Cf. Sacks et al., 1974: 712-713). It is therefore clear that if a current non-speaker is interested in speaking next, he will be under constraint to self-select at the first possible transition point (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 83). Sacks et al. (1974: 713) also point out that "if a current speaker is interested in choosing among potential next speakers, he will be under constraint to accomplish the selection before first possible transition relevance place... lest an undesired current non-speaker self-select at that point" (Cf. Heritage, 1989: 24-25; Zimmerman and Boden, 1991: 21; Nofsinger, 1991: 51-53, 82). In excerpt (53) for example, it is clear that, because student 9 (turn 199) is interested in selecting student 5 to be the next speaker, he is under constraint to accomplish the selection before the first possible transition-relevance place to avoid another self-selecting at that point:

(53)

198 S5: You can't say that there's something bad about um..If- if there's something bad about religion it must be banned because there are some bad facts against Christianity.

199 S9: -Like what?

200 S5: I mean I've read a book...(Continues)

Besides the above features, Sinclair et al. (1974: 714) state that (11) in any conversation, talk can either be continuous or discontinuous (Cf. Coulthard, 1977: 67). According to Sacks et al. (1974: 714), talk is continuous "when, for a sequence of transition-relevance places, it continues (by another speaker, or by the same continuing) across a transition-relevance place, with a minimization of gap and overlap" (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 94). As far as Discussion Wheel is concerned, it has already been noted that transitions from one turn to the next occurred with little or no gap and with little or no overlap (see excerpt 44) (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 148). Discontinuities, on the other hand, occur "when, at some transiton-relevance place, a current speaker has stopped, no speaker starts (or continues), and the ensuing space of non-talk constitutes itself as more than a gap - not a gap, but a lapse" (Sacks et al., 1974: 714; Cf. McHoul, 1978; Nofsinger, 1991: 94; Barkhuizen, 1995). In the following excerpt taken from Discussion Wheel, for example, it is evident that, at the end of turn 180, student 1 stops speaking and no other student self-selects as the next speaker. Since none of the options to speak is employed at the transition-relevance place at the end of turn 180, a lapse in conversation arises. It is interesting to note that the teacher overcomes this lapse in conversation by asking the students if they would like to discuss another topic on the discussion wheel (turn 181):

(54)

178 S5: I mean we have in South Africa we have the problem with um with children in need. Now if we create children, I mean or people, where are we going to go? I mean, life actually hurts people.

179 Ss: Ya...Mm...

180 S1: -...(Inaudible: laughter from students. Student 1 stops speaking)

(Since none of the options to speak is employed at the transition-relevance place at the end of turn 180, the teacher decides to go on to the next topic on the discussion wheel)

181 T: -Right. Do you want another topic?

182 Ss: Yes..yes.

It is also interesting to note that, at one stage, a lapse in conversation occurs when a student encounters communicative difficulty (turn 68). The student overcomes this communicative difficulty by seeking the assistance of a fellow student (student 3):

(55)

66 S1: // But ya because a human being is unique-

67 S7: Mm.

68 S1: Um...Wat is...? (Inaudible. Student 1 seeks the assistance of another student in his group)

69 S3: Creature.

70 S1: Creature of God, so they shouldn't be cloned.

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 716), (12) turn-allocation techniques which as stated in an earlier section, are grouped as "current selects next" and as "self-selection", are used in conversation (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 228; Mehan, 1985: 126; Psathas, 1995: 36-37). These turn-allocation techniques are described in the section below.

It has already been noted (see (37) above) that "current speaker selects next" techniques cannot be used in just any utterance or utterance-type (Sacks et al., 1974: 710-711; Cf. Heritage, 1984: 247; 1989: 24-25; Wilson, 1991: 30). Instead, there is a set of utterance-types - adjacency pair first parts - that, as Sacks et al. (1974: 710-711) state, "can be used to accomplish such a selection; and with the constraint to employ one of those, there are constraints on what a party can say" (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Wilson, 1991: 30; Zimmerman and Boden, 1991: 21). In excerpt (56), for example, it is evident that, after being selected by the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, student 8 is constrained in what he says in the turn so allocated. To be specific, student 8 has to produce an answer, since the technique employed

to select him is a question (Cf. Heritage, 1984b: 247; Wilson, 1991: 29-30):

(56)

46 S9: (To student 8) Yes, but who will know?

47 S8: You're not always sure of that.

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 718), the basic technique for self-selection is "starting first" (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 98; Nofsinger, 1991: 83). Rule 1b explicitly incorporates this in its provision that "first starter gets the turn". As noted in an earlier section, in allocating a turn to that self-selector who starts first, rule 1b encourages earliest possible start for each self-selector (Sacks et al., 1974: 706). Thus, it provides for overlap by competing self-selectors for a next turn, when each projects his start to be earliest possible start at some possible transition point, producing simultaneous starts (see excerpt (42)). It is interesting to note that a self-selector, aiming for earliest possible start, may make use of appositionals such as "well", "but", "and", or "so" (Cf. Burton, 1980: 146). According to Sacks et al. (1974: 719), appositionals may be defined as turn-entry devices or "pre-starts". In the following excerpts of data, it is evident that each self-selector, aiming for earliest possible start, makes use of a turn-entry device:

(57)

22 S4: // As far as I'm concerned, capital punishment is there to pose as a threat for- for future criminals.

23 S5: -But I think that person's guilt must be proven beyond any reasonable doubt otherwise... (Continues)

(58)

218 S4: Ya, definitely.

219 S3: -And we didn't- We don't stay together.

Finally it should also be noted that (13) in any conversation, various turn-constructional units are employed for the production of the talk that occupies a

turn (Sacks et al., 1974: 720; Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 80; Psathas, 1995: 36-37). Speakers may, for example, construct their turns out of words, phrases, clauses, or full sentences. As noted in Chapter 2, what is significant about these turn-construction units is that participants can project where they will end, and thus, where a particular turn might possibly be complete (Sacks et al., 1974: 721; Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 123). In the following excerpt of data, for example, it is clear that student 8's turn (turn 123) occurs at the first possible completion point of a sentence (turn 122):

(59)

122 S10: Not even ten years; you're going to get bail // for a thousand rand.

123 S8: // Ya. You're... (Inaudible)

4.2.4 A discussion of the findings

Based on the analysis of Discussion Wheel in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in everyday conversation, it is clear that the activity exhibits the patterns of discourse typically associated with non-analytic (Type C) teaching. As noted in Chapter 2, both Allen (1987: 5) and Stern (1992: 313) state that the principal aim of experiential or Type C language teaching is "to create conditions in the language class in which language is not examined, analysed, or practised as an object but is used for a purpose in as realistic a manner as possible" (Stern, 1992: 313-314; Cf. Littlewood, 1992: 19). Thus, one would expect the patterns of interaction that occur in a Type C language activity to replicate those found in everyday conversation (Cf. Stern, 1992: 315). Clearly, the above analysis points to the fact that the language used in Discussion Wheel exhibits the features of authentic communication as it occurs in everyday conversation. For instance, it has been noted that, as in mundane conversation, speaker change occurs (or at least recurs) in Discussion Wheel, because the conversational turn-taking system provides a systematic basis for

speaker change and its recurrence (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Nofsinger, 1991: 87-89). That is, "the turn system provides for [speaker change] through its two options for transferring to another speaker: current selects next and listener self-selection" (Nofsinger, 1991: 89; Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163). Furthermore, it has been noted that one party talks at a time (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 148; Psathas, 1995: 34), while transitions (from one turn to the next) occur with little or no overlap (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 168; Mehan, 1991:77). Indeed, an analysis of the exchanges that occur in Discussion Wheel reveals the fact that, out of a total of 206 turns, there are only 29 occurrences of overlap.

The analysis of Discussion Wheel has clearly revealed the fact that the teacher structures learner freedom by means of a "global-allocational pre-selection system of turn-taking" (Greyling, 1995: 25). That is, the teacher structures an interactional space in which interaction replicates the local-allocational system of turn-taking found in everyday conversation (Cf. Stern, 1992: 315). What this means is that, in contrast to the situation in an analytic language classroom in which student participation rights are restricted to continuing or selecting the teacher to take the next turn (McHoul, 1978: 188; Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135), speaker allocation is open for negotiation at the end of each turn-at-talk in Discussion Wheel (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Drew, 1989: 100). Thus, a student may choose to self-select, continue speaking, or select a fellow student to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163). One could argue that, since students may select one another to take turns, they may comment or expand on and ask clarifying questions about prior turns (see, for example, excerpts (38) and (46) above). One could in turn argue, as Stern (1992: 316-317) does, that this "constitutes a reaction to the message, its content and meaning rather than a reaction to the code, for example to document whether what was said was grammatically correct or not". This is clearly in keeping with a Type C language teaching programme which focuses on message-oriented practice (Cf. Allen et al., 1984: 30). This is also in keeping with an outcomes-based language curriculum in which learners are required to make and negotiate meaning and understanding.

The above analysis has also shown that, as in everyday conversation, what

learners say to one another during the course of Discussion Wheel is not specified in advance by the teacher, since both topic and turn allocation are initially controlled through the throwing of dice. In other words, students cannot plan their lingual contributions in advance, since they can only respond once the dice have been thrown. Since students cannot pre-plan their lingual utterances, an element of unpredictability is introduced into Discussion Wheel. Since the teacher does not pre-specify what learners may say in their turns, one could argue that the teacher creates an information-gap between speakers and listeners in the classroom (Cf. Johnson, 1996: 45). This is once again in keeping with a Type C language teaching programme in which the teacher is required to create an information-gap between speakers and listeners (Stern, 1992: 316; Cf. Johnson, 1996: 45).

In addition to the above patterns of discourse, the analysis has also shown that the length of speaker turns varies from one turn to the next in Discussion Wheel. It has been observed that two aspects of the turn-taking system contribute to this particular feature of conversation. Firstly, speaker turns may be constructed out of words, phrases, clauses, or full sentences; and secondly, the option that a current speaker may continue speaking allows a speaker to lengthen his or her turn after the first turn-constructional unit (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). One could argue that the option that a current speaker may continue speaking after the first turn-constructional unit and the availability to a current speaker of free selection among the four unit-types enables learners to give more than "single-word" or "single-clause" (Stern, 1992: 318) responses in the classroom. This is clearly in keeping with a Type C or experiential programme in which students are encouraged to produce sustained discourse (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 61; Stern, 1992: 318). It is interesting to note that, according to Allen, Frohlich and Spada (1984: 30), sustained discourse is a distinguishing feature of experiential teaching, yet Stern (1992: 318) argues that this features does not in principle distinguish experiential teaching from analytic teaching, since "it is not an inherent part of the analytic strategy that we should avoid longer stretches of speech..." As noted in the previous section, it is necessary to find a feature that will enable us to distinguish between sustained discourse as it

occurs in analytic teaching and sustained discourse as it occurs in experiential teaching. If the patterns of interaction that occur during the course of Discussion Wheel are re-examined, then it becomes clear that the teacher **suspends** her authority in order to enable learners to give more than single-word or single-clause responses. That is, the teacher relinquishes her controlling function in order to promote learner initiative, and assumes the role of "co-communicator" (Greyling, 1995: 25). One could therefore argue that the difference between sustained discourse as it occurs in an analytic language activity and sustained discourse as it occurs in an experiential activity is that, in contrast to the former, the teacher in the latter suspends his or her authority, assuming the role of a co-communicator (see Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131).

Furthermore, it has been observed that, if a learner encounters communicative difficulty during the course of Discussion Wheel, the teacher does not embark upon an extended sequence of interactions in order to overcome the short circuit in interaction. Instead, the learner may seek the assistance of fellow students. According to Stern (1992: 321), this kind of co-operation among students is a distinguishing feature of a language teaching programme with an experiential (Type C) focus, and "encourages the right conditions for learning". This is in keeping with an outcomes-based language curriculum in which learners are required to use language for learning.

Finally, the analysis of Discussion Wheel has revealed the fact that the interaction in it is characterized by learner-learner exchanges (Cf. Greyling, 1995: 25) across several turns-at-talk. One could argue that, since learners have the freedom to interact with one another as equals-at-talk without any interference from the teacher, they are given relatively unrestricted use of the target language (Cf. Stern, 1992: 219). This is once again clearly in keeping with an experiential language teaching programme which "tends towards openness of linguistic form" (Stern, 1992: 316; Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125).

In the section that follows, an analysis is made of the third and final corpus of classroom data collected for this study. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the corpus of data has been taken from a pedagogical device which Di

Pietro (1987a) refers to as the open-ended scenario.

4.3 The open-ended scenario

4.3.1 A description

According to Di Pietro (1987a: 41) a scenario, in which group-work is utilised, may be defined as "a strategic interplay of roles functioning to fullfill personal agendas within a shared context". In other words, each group in a scenario is placed in a shared context, and each group also possesses information of which the other groups are unaware. As Di Pietro (1987a: 47) points out, shared contexts and personal agendas are essential elements of the scenario: if the various groups in a scenario are not placed in a shared context, their agendas will certainly suffer from incoherence (Di Pietro, 1987a: 66), and if a particular group discloses its agenda to another group before the actual performance phase, dramatic tension and unpredictability will not be introduced into the scenario (Di Pietro, 1987a: 48). In Di Pietro's (1987a: 42) view, the interplays in a scenario "should lead the participants to listen with more than a passing interest to what the other is saying". Consider, for example, the following scenario:

Role A: You must return a defective toaster to the department store. Unfortunately, you have lost the purchase receipt and you have only your lunch hour to take care of the matter. Prepare yourself for an encounter with the salesclerk.

Role B: You are the salesclerk in the hardware department of a large store. You have to be careful in accepting returns of merchandise that may not have been purchased at the store. Prepare yourself to deal with someone who is approaching you with a toaster.

(Di Pietro, 1987a: 48-49)

In this particular scenario, both A and B have to devise specific game plans in order to realize their goals: that is, A's intention is to persuade the salesclerk to replace his/her defective toaster or to give him/her a full refund, while B's goal is to avoid having to accept returns of merchandise without a purchase receipt. Since A and B are ignorant of one another's agendas, they cannot simply make use of conventional lines supplied by the teacher or the text in order to realize

their goals (Di Pietro, 1987a: 49). Indeed, both A and B have to be willing to adjust or abandon their game plans and to improvise new strategies in order to achieve their goals (Di Pietro, 1987b: 458).

In addition to shared contexts, personal agendas, and strategic interplays, scenarios must also contain roles. The importance of an activity involving role-play lies in the fact that it draws the language learner's attention to the appropriateness of utterances in different contexts of talk.

A specific kind of scenario is the open-ended scenario which, as Di Pietro (1983: 346) points out, is the ideal scenario because its outcome cannot be predicted. That is, although it "may be described as a form of role-play...it is not constrained, like the more traditional types of role-play, by the learning of pre-scripted 'parts' and by a more or less predetermined outcome" (Roberts, 1986: 82). According to Di Pietro (1987a: 71), one of the most important benefits of the open-ended scenario is that is provides for a rehearsal phase during which participants can develop their game plans in the target language (Cf. Roberts, 1986: 82). Students are therefore given the opportunity to decide what they are going to say to each other during the actual performance phase of the scenario. In addition to a rehearsal phase and performance phase, the scenario also consists of a debriefing phase during which the teacher leads the class in a discussion of the performance phase (Di Pietro, 1987a: 88).

As noted in Chapter 3, since the performance phase of the open-ended scenario tends to be of brief duration (Cf. Di Pietro, 1987a: 48), three scenarios are analysed in this study: the first scenario, which Roberts (1986: 83) states is one of Di Pietro's (1981a) more straightforward examples, will be entitled "An Invitation to Dinner", while the second is entitled "A Parting of the Ways". The third scenario analysed in this study is "The Party".

Scenario Title: An Invitation to Dinner

Phase 1: A male invites a female to dinner at a restaurant. The female may either accept the invitation or reject it. The interactions are to develop a conversation in either case.

Phase 2: If the female accepts, the two go to the restaurant, where they encounter another male who appears to be the boyfriend of the female. Develop a conversation among the three individuals.

If the female rejects the invitation, the male asks another female, who accepts. They go to the restaurant, where they encounter the female seated at a table having dinner with another male. Develop a conversation with the four persons (Di Pietro, 1981a, abbreviated: cited by Roberts, 1986: 83).

Scenario Title: A Parting of the Ways?

Role A: You have been offered a lucrative job in a foreign country. You must go there alone for three years, or, if you marry, your spouse may accompany you. You have a fiancé(e) (role C) and also an invalid parent (role B) who depends on you for help. What will you do? Discuss the offer with your parent and your fiancé(e).

Role B: You are a widow(er) who has a son/daughter (role A). This son/daughter has been helping you get around. However, you have met a widowed person of the opposite sex who wants the two of you to live together and combine your pension checks. Marriage is not in the picture. Explain this to your son/daughter and ask for advice.

Role C: You have just been promoted. Your new position requires you to move to another city. Will you accept the promotion? Discuss the matter with your fiancé(e) (role A) who has an invalid parent as a responsibility (Di Pietro, 1987a: 51-52).

Scenario Title: The Party

Role A: You have been invited to a party. An acquaintance of yours (role B) needs a ride to the same party because his/her car is in the repair shop. Towards the end of the party, this acquaintance suddenly expresses great reluctance to drive home with you. What has caused this sudden change in behaviour?

Role B: Your car is in the repair shop, and as you have been invited to a party, you ask an acquaintance of yours (role A) to drive you there. Towards the end of the party, you suddenly notice that this acquaintance appears to be a little bit tipsy. You do not want to drive home with him/her because you are afraid of an accident. What will you do? (Di Pietro, 1983: 348, abbreviated).

In the section that follows, it will be determined whether the features that are typically associated with fluency-based language teaching are evident in these

three open-ended scenarios in order to establish whether the exchanges in them should be analysed in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for natural conversation, or in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse.

4.3.2 An analysis of the open-ended scenario within the fluency paradigm

As noted in an earlier section, Greyling, (1995: 20) identifies certain features that are typically associated with fluency-based interactional exchanges. One such feature is that the teacher structures an interactional space in which learners are required to complete communication-gap activities (Cf. Mazeland, 1983: 100; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 133). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner":

(60)

1 T: It's called the open-ended scenario. Now what I'm going to do is I'm going to actually divide you into groups. Alright, you're already sitting in your groups. Each group represents a character. The girls represent Laura and the guys represent Peter. Now what you have to do is...Each group... has to develop his part of the conversation. Okay, so that we can create a dialogue together. Now, I'm not in control, you're the ones in control, so you decide what you are going to say and how you're going to say it. But, the situation is as follows: alright, you Peter, are going to ask Laura out to dinner at a restaurant. So you have to decide how you're going to approach Laura and what you are actually going to say. And then Laura, it's up to you if you want to actually A accept that invitation, or B actually reject it.... (Continues)

As this particular excerpt of data clearly illustrates, by dividing her students into groups and giving them the freedom to develop their own dialogues, the teacher structures an interactional space in which message-oriented communication can take place (Cf. Mazeland, 1983: 100; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 133). Clearly, the group members to which the role of "Peter" (role A) has been assigned cannot plan their lingual contributions in advance, since they do not know whether "Laura" (role B) is going to (a) accept or (b) decline the invitation. Note that by taking care not to divulge the game plans of the participating groups, the

teacher ensures that what the participants say to one another during the performance phase will be unpredictable (Cf. Di Pietro, 1987a: 77).

Another distinguishing feature of fluency-based interactional exchanges is that they display a communicative focus, since learners are required to respond to unpredictable and reciprocal language activity in which they generate messages collaboratively in real time (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 45; Prabhu, 1987: 45-47; Hoey, 1992: 68; Stern, 1992: 316). Proponents of fluency-based language teaching argue in favour of the centrality of message focus (Morrow, 1981: 52), particularly the use of the information-gap technique, which engages learners in the transfer of information (Prabhu, 1987: 45-47; Cf. Allen et al., 1987: 32; Johnson, 1996: 44-45). To be specific, participant A has to encode a goal-oriented message that has to be decoded by participant B, and vice versa. Consider, for instance, the following extract from "A Parting of the Ways":

(61)

44 B: Andrew, I would like to speak with you. It's about your future. I think it's...(Inaudible) time, for you and Sandra, to start looking for a home, you are going to be married in a few months...You are a thirty-year-old man...You can't- Okay, you can't be looking after your mother all your life, you have a wonderful opportunity to start a new life with Sandra (Audible intake of breath) and I'm not going to be the one who's going to take it away from you. You deserve more.

45 A: Mm, well, this is going to be a day for surprises. We need to talk as well. Uh...something quite important has come up. Please, Mom, sit down, I think you'll need this. (Laughter from students) I don't have a... (Inaudible: laughter from students)

As this particular exchange illustrates, participant B encodes a goal-oriented message that is decoded by participant A: that is, in turn 44, B's goal is to inform A that she wishes to speak to him about his future, and this message is decoded by A who informs B that he too wishes to have a talk (turn 45). Clearly, participants A and B respond to unpredictable and reciprocal language activity in which they generate messages collaboratively in real time (Cf. Stern, 1992: 316; Johnson, 1996: 44-45). In "An Invitation to Dinner", students are also required to engage in the transfer of information across several turns-at-talk:

(62)

110 D: Excuse me, do you know each other here?

111 A: Ya, sort of...We met each other just the other day.

112 D: So why are you so really...hard upon her?

113 A: No, I'm not just hard up. Just worried (Laughter from students)

114 D: You're not worried.

115 A: Um...About her studies? Of course.

Yet another feature typically associated with fluency-based language teaching is that the teacher maximizes student initiative (Cf. Greyling, 1995: 25). If excerpt (60) above is re-examined, it is evident that the teacher maximizes student initiative by dividing students into groups (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318) and by allowing students to devise their own game plans and develop their own dialogues. It is therefore not surprising that interaction is characterized by learner-learner exchanges across several turns-at-talk (Cf. Maley, 1986: 88; Stern, 1992: 316). This particular discourse pattern is clearly replicated in excerpts (61) and (62) above. Consider also the following excerpt of data taken from "The Party":

(63)

48 S2: Okay, can't you catch another ride? I mean I really have to go home, I have class tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock.

49 S1: Really?

50 S2: It's already two. I mean, really...

51 S1: Susna, wouldn't you stay just another fifteen minutes please?

52 S2: ...Okay, I'll stay another five.

53 S1: Five minutes. Thank you Susna.

In the above excerpt of data, it is evident that students 1 and 2 converse across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher. Indeed, proponents of fluency-based language teaching argue that emphasis should be placed on student initiative and interaction, rather than on teacher-centred direction (Cf. Maley, 1986: 88; McKenzie, 1992: 224-225).

An additional characteristic of fluency-based language teaching is that if learner difficulties occur during the course of the communication task, the teacher acts as an advisor, thereby facilitating communication (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131; Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 78). In the following excerpt of data taken from "The Party", for example, it is evident that when student 1 encounters communicative difficulty (turn 115), the teacher (turn 116) encourages another student to assist him:

(64)

114 S2: You see you can't even see him! (Laughter from students)

115 S1: Um...What now? (This question is directed at the teacher)

116 T: -Lucky, what do you think? Help Sean out there.

117 S1: (Student 1 consults with a member of his group)

118 S2: Hey Sean, I said I'd stay for five extra minutes, but we've argued for fifteen now.

119 S1: Okay Susna, I'm going, but I'd just like to tell you something.

A final distinguishing feature of fluency-based language teaching is that the teacher provides content feedback which focuses on the learner's success in completing the communicative task (Cf. Johnson and Morrow, 1981; Harmer, 1983: 202; Stern, 1992: 319). In the following excerpt of data taken from "A Parting of the Ways", for example, it is evident that the teacher provides content feedback in which she comments briefly on the students' success in completing the scenario (turn 79):

(65)

77 C: I think you will be the one who will find me a post as an assistant-director. And I will...I will leave my job at Petersburg. And we both go to London together.

78 A: Yes...(Inaudible: laughter from students).

79 T: -Very nice. So you resolved it.

Based on the above analysis, it is evident that the open-ended scenario is an activity which exhibits the distinguishing features of fluency-based language teaching. For instance, by dividing her students into groups and by giving them the freedom to create their own dialogues, the teacher structures an interactional space in which students can engage in message-oriented communication (Cf. Mazeland, 1983: 100; Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 133). It is therefore not surprising that the interaction is characterized by learner-learner exchanges across several turns-at-talk (Cf. Maley, 1986: 88; Stern, 1992: 316). It is also evident that the scenario has a communicative focus, since learners respond to unpredictable and reciprocal language activity in which they generate messages collaboratively in real time (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 45; Prabhu, 1987: 45-47; Hoey, 1992: 68). Furthermore, in keeping with the main tenets of fluency-based language teaching, the teacher acts as an advisor when learners encounter communicative difficulty (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131), and provides content feedback which focuses on the participants' success in completing the scenario (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 202). Since the interactional exchanges in the open-ended scenario display the features associated with fluency-based language teaching, they are analysed in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation.

4.3.3 An analysis of the open-ended scenario in terms of Sacks et al.'s (1974) rule system for turn-taking in everyday conversation

As has just been noted, the fluency-based activity referred to as the open-ended scenario is analysed in terms of the model for the turn-taking organization for natural conversation as outlined by Sacks et al. (1974). However, since this model is one for the turn-taking organization for **natural** conversation, it cannot account for all the normative orientations in the fluency-based classroom data. One solution to this problem appears to lie in using the relevant rules from the rule system proposed by McHoul (1978) to accommodate the normative orientations encapsulated in the fluency-based data. However, as will become clear shortly, the relevant rules from McHoul (1978) have to be supplemented by additional rules in order to account for the normative orientations in the data.

An analysis of the following excerpt of data, taken from the open-ended scenario entitled "The Party", clearly shows that the teacher structures an interactional space in which learners are required to engage in message-oriented communication (Cf. Stevick, 1980: 20; Mazeland, 1983: 100):

(66)

3 T: Right. Okay, now the derived situation is this, alright: A gets invited to a party....okay...and then a male acquaintance of hers - this is now B - needs a ride to the same party...because his own car is in the repair shop, and she agrees to give him a ride to the party and they go to the party. So that is the information that you all share. Now as you all know, I'm going to give you information which...you don't share. Okay, remember, you don't share this information with any other group. So let me just see which one belongs to which...Okay, so this is yours. Okay, so that is your own agenda. Alright, I think it would be a good idea if you just moved one row up, otherwise you're going to know each other's game plans. (Laughter from students) Okay. (The students form two groups)

However, it is important to note that the students are not simply left to their own devices once the teacher has introduced the theme of the open-ended scenario to them. That is, students are not expected to proceed directly to the performance phase of the scenario. Instead, as Roberts (1986: 82) points out:

> Each phase in the scenario - marked by the introduction of new information or events - is preceded by a rehearsal during which learners must consider their answers to a number of thematic questions raised by the scenario...

In other words, students are required to collaborate with one another in order to decide what they are going to say during the actual performance of the scenario (Cf. Di Pietro, 1987a: 47). Thus, a student is free to select a fellow student or the teacher as next speaker or to self-select as next speaker. An analysis of the following excerpt of data, taken from the scenario entitled "A Parting of the Ways", reveals the fact that the students themselves initiate exchanges by asking the teacher questions. To be specific, in turn 9, student 3 makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique by asking the teacher a question. Similarly, in turn 11, student 4 selects the teacher as the next speaker by asking her a question:

(67)

8 T: (Several lines omitted) It's interesting, it's fun to do, um...you can consult me at any time and so on.

9 S3: -And who's beginning?

10 T: Well...anyone. Ya, whoever wants to broach the subject first. (Laughter from students)

11 S4: -Mam, do we have to...(Inaudible) dialogue around these phrases?

12 T: Not necessarily. That's just a // guideline.

13 S4: // Oh.

However, it is important to note that, although a student was free to select a fellow student or the teacher as next speaker or to self-select as next speaker during the rehearsal phase of each scenario, the teacher continued to dominate

the teaching/learning process for a short while by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's response (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126). An analysis of the following excerpt of data, taken from the rehearsal phase of "The Party", clearly reveals the fact that, although a student self-selected as next speaker in turns 16, 18 and 20, the teacher continued to dominate the teaching/learning process by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's response (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135):

(68)

3 T: (Several lines omitted) How's it going?

4 S2: We can't think.

5 T: You can't think today? (Laughter from students)...(Inaudible question)

6 S2: I don't know...(Inaudible) because if he goes like okay if he wants to drive...

7 T: Mm hm?

8 S2: If he wants to drive...(Inaudible) then we've got something to say, but what if he says okay he wants to go with somebody else, we have no reason why he shouldn't. (Laughter from students)

9 : True. Okay...(Inaudible) It sounds like you've got two game plans there?

10 S2: Ya. (Laughter from students)

11 T: That's good. So you've learned from previous scenarios it seems, hey?

12 S2: Ya...Because it's much easier if you actually like anticipate what the guy is going to say... (Inaudible: laughter from students) It's actually true.

13 T: Do you think we actually do that? I think we do. We- we subconsciously anticipate what the other person is going to say?

14 Ss: Mm...mm.

15 T: ...(Inaudible) We don't really- If someone said that to you, you'd think: Oh, but that's crazy, but actually, we do do that. I mean, if you've got some really bad news to give someone, you're going to say you know-

16 S2: Exactly. Ya.

17 T: -sit down...or something. That's the worst. (Laughter from students)

18 S2: I hate it: just sit down now! (Laughter from students)

19 T: I hate it when someone says: I have to ask you this massive favour. (Laughter from students) Because then you know you can't actually turn them down. It's very bad.

20 S2: Promise me- promise me something. No, just tell me what you want...(Inaudible: Laughter from students)

21 T: No, That's true...(Continues)

In the above excerpt of data, it is evident that, at the end of her turn (turn 3), the teacher nominates a single student (student 2) to speak by making use of a "current speaker selects next" technique (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126). The so-selected student (student 2) is the only student who has the right and obligation to respond (turn 4) (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 134; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 72). This is in accordance with McHoul's (1978: 188) rule which reads as follows:

(I) For any teacher's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(A) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to a single student; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

It should be noted that this particular rule also operates in turns 5, 7, 9 and 11. It is also important to note that, in all cases where the teacher either nominates a single student (turns 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11) or the group as a whole (turn 13), she does so simply by nodding her head in the direction of the student or group. An analysis of the above excerpt of data also reveals the fact that, if a so-selected student's turn does not include the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the teacher self-selects as superordinate (Cf. Greyling, 1995: 25; Fairclough, 1989: 134). To be specific:

(II) If (A) is effected for any student-so-selected's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(B) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speaker may, but need not, be instituted with the teacher as first starter and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place (McHoul, 1978: 188).

For instance, student 2's response in turn 4 clearly does not include the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique. As illustrated in turn 5, the teacher self-selects as superordinate. The teacher also self-selects as superordinate in turns 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19 and 21.

It should be noted that, after a student from group B announces that the group has completed the rehearsal phase (turn 26), the teacher, uncertain as to whether or not she has heard him correctly, asks: "Are you finished?" (turn 27):

(69)

26 S1: Susan, we're finished.

27 T: -Are you finished?

28 S1: Yes.

29 T: (To group A) Are you also finished?

30 S2: (Nods head)

As has already been noted, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 40) refer to such a lingual act as a check which is realized by a closed class of questions concerned with "being ready" or "finished", "having problems", and being able to "hear" or "see". As illustrated in the above excerpt of data, a check also occurs in turn 29. It has already been noted that the function of checks is to enable the teacher to determine whether or not there are any problems preventing the successful progress of a lesson.

As soon as a spokesperson for each group has been decided upon (see turns

31-38), the teacher relinquishes control over the floor (turn 39), and allows the participants to interact with one another as equals-at-talk (see turns 40-48):

(70)

31 T: Okay. Who's going to speak in this group? (Laughter from group A)

32 S2: Ag nee, okay. (Laughter from student)

33 T: Do you want- Is that democracy? Was that...? (Inaudible question: laughter from students)

34 S2: It's not democracy, but okay. (Laughter from students)

35 T: And over there? (The teacher indicates the students in group B)

36 S1: ....(Inaudible response)

37 T: Ya, Lucky spoke in the first scenario I remember.

38 S1: So I can start.

39 T: Okay. Right, would anyone like to start? Please start. So remember you are now at the party.

40 S1: Who's going to start, Susna?

41 S2: Okay. Wat's jou naam?

42 S1: Sean.

43 S2: Okay. (Laughs)

44 S1: Um...Okay Sean, I think I'm going home now, you coming with?

45 S1: Uh...Susna...You know, you have such a nice car, I was wondering, can I drive?

46 S2: Sean, I think you had a little too much to drink. Really. I would prefer it if I can drive.

47 S1: Because...(Inaudible) Susna then on the other hand um I think you wouldn't mind if we stayed a little bit longer...Because I'm still enjoying the party.

48 S2: Okay, can't you catch another ride? I mean I really have to go home, I have class tomorrow morning...(Continues)

By relinquishing control over the floor at the end of turn 39, the teacher clearly switches from one mode of language teaching to another. What is problematic is the fact that, since McHoul's (1978) rule system has been generated in terms of a restricted data base, it cannot account for transitions from accuracy to fluency modes of language teaching. How can we account for the teacher switching from one mode of language teaching to another? As noted in the previous section, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 21-22) identify a small set of words such as "right', "well", "good", "O.K.", and "now" which function "to indicate boundaries in the lesson, the end of one stage and the beginning of the next" (Cf. Berry, 1987: 43; McCarthy, 1993: 173). If such a word is followed by falling intonation and silent stress it acts as head of a framing move which constitutes a boundary in the discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 40, 43). If turn 39 is analysed in terms of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of analysis, then the word "Okay" with falling intonation, followed by silent stress (i.e., a pause of the duration of one or more beats), is a discourse marker signalling the switch from one mode of language teaching to another (Cf. Sinclair et al., 1975: 40, 43):

(71)

39 T: Okay^
Right, would anyone like to start? Please start. So remember you are now at the party.

As soon as the teacher says, "Okay. Right, would anyone like to start? Please start. So remember you are now at the party", the students exchange information with one another as equals-at talk (see turns 40-48).

It has already been noted that, in McHoul's (1978: 188) recursive rule system, only the teacher may make use of a "current speaker selects next" technique in order to nominate a particular student to take the next turn (rule IA) (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135). However, based on the analysis so far, it is evident that the teacher relinquishes control over the floor, giving the students the freedom to interact with one another as equals-at-talk. What is

problematic is the fact that rule I(A) does not account for the teacher structuring an interactional space in which the participants are required to perform a communicative task. According to Greyling (1995: 26), the rule has to be supplemented by at least the following rule:

Rule 1(a) fluency: If the superordinate selects a configuration of next speakers, the so-selected configuration has to implement the pre-selected turn-taking system within the interactional space specified.

Not only does McHoul's (1978) rule system not account for the teacher selecting a configuration of next speakers who have to perform a communicative task in a pre-specified interactional space, but it also does not account for a student selecting a fellow student as the next speaker. Indeed, McHoul (1978: 188-189) argues that learner participation rights are restricted either to continuing or selecting the teacher as the next speaker (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). Yet, the interaction in the following excerpt of data deviates from McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system, since student 2 (turn 44) selects student 1 (turn 45) as the next speaker:

(72)

44 S2: - Um...Okay Sean, I think I'm going home now, you coming with?

45 S1: Uh...Susna...You know, you have such a nice car, I was wondering, can I drive?

As Greyling (1995: 26) points out, McHoul's (1978: 188) rule system does not account for the notion that the teacher may direct speakership and specify the pattern of participation for learners in a subsequent interactional exchange (Cf. Barkhuizen, 1995: 93). According to Greyling, the rule has to be supplemented by the following rule:

Rule 1(b) fluency: If the so-selected subordinates engage in the pre-selected turn-taking system within the interacional space specified, the subordinates will select next speaker in accordance with the superordinate's pre-selected and pre-specified speech exchange system.

Based on the above analysis, it is evident that, although students are free to collaborate with one another during the rehearsal phase of the scenario, the teacher continues to dominate the learning/teaching process for a short while by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's turn (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126). By contrast, during the performance phase of the scenario, students exchange information with one another as equals-at-talk across several turns-at-talk. In the section that follows, a detailed analysis is made of the performance phase in terms of the model for the turn-taking organization for ordinary conversation as outlined by Sacks et al. (1974).

As noted in Chapter 3, Sacks et al. (1974: 704) identify a basic set of rules governing turn construction, providing for the allocation of a next turn to one party (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 168; Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 43), and co-ordinating transfer so as to minimize gap and overlap (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 148). These rules are as follows:

(1) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations and transfer occurs at that place.

(b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither rule 1a nor 1b has operated and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c re-applies at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

Based on the above set of rules, it is evident that turn-allocation techniques are divided into two groups: those in which a next turn is allocated by a current speaker's selecting a next speaker; and those in which a next turn is allocated by self-selection (Sacks et al., 1974: 703; Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 134). Consider, for instance, the following excerpts of data taken from "The Party":

(73)

51 S1:- Susna, wouldn't you stay just another fifteen minutes please?

52 S2: ...Okay, I'll stay another five.

53 S1: Five minutes. Thank you Susna.

(74)

108 S2: -Should I ask David to take you home?

109 S1: Susna, just hang on a moment. Let me just see if I can find David because if I can't find David, I have to go home with you.

110 S2: Okay. (Laughter from students)

Based on an analysis of excerpts (73) and (74), it is evident that rule 1a applies in turns 51 and 108. To be specific, in excerpt (73) student 1 makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique at the initial transition-relevance place of his initial turn-constructional unit (turn 51) in order to select a particular student to take the next turn (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). The so-selected student has the right and is obliged to take the next turn to speak (turn 52); no other student has the right or obligation to speak (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 168; Coulthard, 1985: 59; Nofsinger, 1991: 87). Similarly, in excerpt (74) at the initial transition-relevance place of her initial turn-constructional unit (turn108), student 2 selects student 1 as the next speaker by making use of a "current speaker selects next" technique. The so-selected student has the right to take the next turn (turn 109), while all other students are obliged to remain silent (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 86).

In addition to a current speaker's selecting a next speaker, a next turn may also be allocated by self-selection (rule 1b) (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Mehan, 1985: 126; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 98) as is illustrated in the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner":

(75)

108 C: Um...So why don't you come and join us?

109 A: That's okay. We don't want to get between Laura and her studies.

110 D: -Excuse me, do you know each other here?

An analysis of the above excerpt of data clearly reveals the fact that, at the end of turn 109, student A does not make use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, and so, rule 1b operates, and student D self-selects as next speaker (turn 110) at the transition-relevance place at the end of turn 109 (Cf. Van Lier, 1984b: 163; Mehan, 1985: 126).

In addition to the fact that a current speaker may select a particular speaker to take the next turn, or a speaker may choose to self-select, a current speaker may also choose to continue speaking (rule 1c) (Sacks et al., 1974: 704; Cf. Van Lier, 1984b: 163; Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 134). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data taken from "The Party":

(76)

68 S2: O- I'm sorry but I have to go without you.
O- I'll ask somebody else like David to take you home.
- He drives...(Inaudible: laughter from students)

69 S1: Susna, wh- what car car are you driving? Just tell me quickly.

In the above excerpt of data, it is evident that student 2 continues speaking at the first two transition-relevance places of her turn-constructional unit - which does not include a "current speaker selects next" technique - until student 1 self-selects as first speaker at the third and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 68 (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 150; Fairclough, 1989: 134).

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 704):

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c re-applies at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

Consider, for instance, excerpt (77) below which has been taken from "A Parting of the Ways":

(77)

62 A: O- No Mom's staying all on her own.
O- She doesn't want to go with us... (Inaudible)
- So no more financial problems.

63 C: I think we...we'll send her money every month...(Inaudible)

In turn 62, it is clear that neither rule 1a nor rule 1b operates at the first two transition-relevance places, and so, rule 1c operates and student A continues speaking (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134). Transfer is effected when, at the third and final transition-relevance place in turn 62, rule 1b operates and a student (student C) self-selects in turn 63 (Cf. Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 98).

As has already been noted in Chapter 3, Sacks et al. (1974: 700-701) identify certain features which any conversation contains. In the section that follows, it will be determined whether or not these features are present in the fluency-based classroom data.

As noted in the previous section, (1) speaker-change occurs or at least recurs in everyday conversation (Sacks et al., 1974: 706; Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 34), because "any unit-type instance out of which a turn may be constructed will reach a transition-relevance place, at which the first two priority options involve transfer of turn to a next speaker" (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297; Nofsinger, 1991: 82). In the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner", for instance, it is evident that speaker change occurs because student A makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique by asking student B a question (turn 40). Transfer occurs at the initial transition-relevance place in the turn, and the next student (student B) begins speaking in turn 41:

(78)

40 A: - Does Friday suit you?

41 B: Oh, boy, no, I'm already writing this huge test on Monday and I have to study for it because I've got to have eighty percent distinc- predie for it.

As noted in the previous section, speaker-change is not automatic because, as Sacks et al. (1974: 706) point out, "at each transition-relevance place, the options provided by rules 1a and 1b may not be exercised, while the option provided by rule 1c is" (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297; Nofsinger, 1991: 86). As noted in excerpt (77) for example, neither rule 1a nor rule 1b operates in turn 62, and so, rule 1c operates and student A continues speaking.

In addition to the fact that speaker change occurs in mundane conversation, it has also been noted that (2) one party talks at a time (Sacks et al., 1974: 706; Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 160; Coulthard, 1985: 59; Psathas, 1995: 34) because, firstly, the turn-taking system allocates turns to single speakers (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 87); and secondly, turn-transfer is coordinated around transition-relevance places which are determined by possible completion points for instances of the unit-types (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297; Nofsinger, 1991: 82). In the fluency-based activity referred to as the open-ended scenario, overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time (see excerpts (70), (72), (73) and (74), for example). This is also evident in excerpts (79) and (80) below, taken from "The Party" and "An Invitation to Dinner" respectively.

(79)

119 S1: Okay Susna, I'm going but I'd just like to tell you something.

120 S2: Uh huh.

121 S1: You've told me it's your father's car...

122 S2: Ya.

123 S1: And you like your father?

124 S2: Yes I do.

125 S1: And does your father like you?

126 S2: Yes he does, I hope.

127 S1: Well um...I really have a sad story to tell you.

128 S2: Okay. (Laughs)

129 S1: If you drive tonight, the police are going to scon- confisticate your car.

(80)

114 D: You're not worried.

115 A: Um...About her studies? Of course.

116 D: What do you have to do with her studies anyway?

117 A: She has to pass at the end of the year. (Laughter from students)

118 D: Oh, so you don't have to?

119 A: Ya, we do, but er I make time for everything...(Continues)

However, as has already been noted, (3) occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are fairly common in everyday conversation (Sacks et al., 1974: 706; Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 148; Nofsinger, 1991: 91) for a number of reasons. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 706), one of the reasons why overlap occurs lies in the fact that rule 1b encourages listeners to self-select as early as possible (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 97). That is, rule 1b provides for overlap by competing self-selectors for a next turn, "when each projects his start to be earliest possible start at some possible transition-relevance place, producing simultaneous starts" (Sacks et al., 1975: 706-707; Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 87, 102). It should be noted that simultaneous starts were not observed in any of the open-ended scenarios. "The Party", the first phase of "An Invitation to Dinner", and "A Parting of the Ways" all involved two-party conversations, and so, participants did not have to compete for a next turn (see (92) below).

As noted in the previous section (see 4.2.3), another systematic basis for the occurrence of overlap derives from the projectibility of possible completion or transition-relevance places (Cf. Levinson, 1983: 297; Nofsinger, 1991: 81). For example, in excerpt (81) below, which has been taken from "An Invitation to Dinner", it is evident that overlap between a current turn (turn 132) and the next

turn (turn 133) occurs because of variation in the articulation of the projected last part of the projectably last component of student D's turn-at-talk:

(81)

132: D: Okay, so you're not going to be nasty for the rest of the // evening.

133 A: // No.

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 708), (4) transitions from one turn to the next with little or no gap and with little or no overlap are common (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 166; Wardhaugh, 1985: 148; Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 34) because the components and the rule-set organize transfer exclusively around transition-relevance places (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 167-183; Nofsinger, 1991: 81). In the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner", for instance, it is clear that transitions from one turn to the next occur without any gap and without any overlap:

(82)

143 D: You saw her first. So I don't really mean anything to you?

144 A: No, you do, really.

145 D: Ya, what?

146 A: Everything.

147 D: Ya right, like what?

148 A: The sun, the moon and the stars. (Laughter from students)

It should also be noted that, (5) in any conversation, turn order is not fixed but varies (Sacks et al., 1974: 708; Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Nofsinger, 1991: 86) because (a) single turns are allocated at a time; and (b) for each such allocation, "a series of options is provided, each of which can provide for different speakers" (Sacks et al., 1974: 708; Cf. Mehan, 1991: 77; Nofsinger, 1991: 87). However, although turn order varies, it is certainly not random.

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 708), one bias that is important is for the speaker just prior to the current speaker to be selected as the next speaker (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 71-72; Heritage, 1984: 247; 1989: 24-25). Consider, for example, the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner":

(83)

129 A: - (To student D) Taryn um...Do you think we should um just enjoy our evening and go sit down?

130 D: Well that depends on you.

In excerpt (83) above, it is evident that student D just prior to the current speaker (student A) is selected as the next speaker. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 709):

> One importance of the bias is this. Because of it, the possibility of `colloquy' is systematically provided; this involves, in the first instance, the possibility of local monitoring for hearing, understanding, agreement etc. It is, indeed, directly after any turn that problems dealing with hearing, understanding etc. that turn are preferably raised; the means of raising them involves the selection of the last speaker to be next, to repeat, clarify etc.

Consider, for instance, the following exchange, taken from "The Party":

(84)

129 S1: If you drive tonight, the police are going to scon- confisticate your car.

130 S2: - Why?

131 S1: I've just heard...that they are building a road-block just a few blocks from here...searching all the cars, checking if there's anybody drinking and driving.

In excerpt (84) it is evident that directly after student 1's turn (turn 129), student 2 asks a clarifying question about that turn, and therefore selects student 1 to speak again (turn 131).

In addition to the features just described, it is also important to note that, (6) in any conversation, the size or length of turns varies from one turn to the next

(Sacks et al., 1974: 709; Cf. Mehan, 1991: 77; Nofsinger, 1991: 88), and there are two reasons for this. Firstly, a speaker may choose to construct his or her turn out of words, phrases, clauses, or full sentences (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). The following excerpt of data taken from "The Party", for example, clearly illustrates that the size of turns may vary from single-word utterances (turn 146) to turns which contain more than one sentence (turn 145) (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 80):

(85)

145 S3: -Yes. I will. I will take him home. (Laughter from students)

146 S2: -Thanks. (Laughter from students)

Secondly, the option that a current speaker may continue speaking allows a speaker to lengthen his or her turn after the first turn-constructional unit (Sacks et al., 1974: 709; Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). In the following exchange, taken from "A Parting of the Ways", for instance, it is evident that, in turn 44, neither rule 1a nor rule 1b operates at the first nine transition-relevance places, and so, rule 1c operates and student B continues speaking (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). It is only at the tenth and final transition-relevance place in turn 44 that rule 1b operates, and a student (student A) self-selects in turn 45:

(86)

44 B: O-...Andrew, I would like to speak with you.
O- It's about your future.
O- I think it's...(Inaudible) time, for you and Sandra, to start looking for a home,
O- you are going to be married in a few months...
O- You are a thirty-year-old man...
O- You can't-
O- Okay, you can't be looking after your mother all your life,
O- you have a wonderful opportunity to start a new life with Sandra (Audible intake of breath)
O- and I'm not going to be the one who's going to take it away from you.
-You deserve more.

45 A: Mm, well, this is going to be a day for surprises...(Continues)

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 710), (7) length of conversation is not specified

in advance (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 202-203; Mehan, 1991: 77; Nofsinger, 1991: 88) because the turn-taking system is compatible with varying lengths and does not predetermine any length. As far as the open-ended scenario is concerned, it is important to note that although the teacher did not specify the length of conversation in advance, each phase of the scenario was closed/opened by her as is illustrated in the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner":

(87)

46 B: Another time would be b- better and I would like that ver- very much.

47 Ss: (Laughter from students)

48 T: Okay, that was very nice. Now, we're moving into phase two... (Continues)

In addition to the fact that length of conversation is not specified in advance, (8) what parties say to one another is not specified in advance because, unlike the turn-taking organization for other speech-exchange systems (such as the interview system), which employs the prespecification of what shall be done in the turns it organizes, "the turn-taking organization for conversation makes no provision for the content of any turn, nor does it constrain what is (to be) done in any turn" (Sacks et al., 1974: 710; Mehan, 1991: 77; Hoey, 1992: 71, 81). As far as the open-ended scenario is concerned, it is interesting to note that, although the participating groups have the opportunity to decide upon their game plans during the rehearsal phase, what they say to one another during the performance phase is unpredictable, since each group possesses information of which the other groups are unaware (Cf. Di Pietro, 1987a: 77). For instance, as far as "A Parting of the Ways" is concerned, although all the groups are aware of the fact that the action takes place over a possible change in living arrangements, each group also possesses a personal agenda of which the other groups are unaware. That is, unknown to "Linda" (group B) and to "Sandra" (group C), "Andrew" (group A) has been offered a job opportunity abroad. Furthermore, A is unaware of the fact that B has met a man with whom

she has decided to live, while his fiancée (C) has just been offered a new position which requires her to move to another city. In the following excerpt of data taken from this particular scenario, it is evident that the teacher introduces the theme of the open-ended scenario to her students, but takes care not to divulge the game plans of the participating groups (Cf. Di Pietro, 1987a: 77). Thus, what parties say to one another is not specified in advance:

(88)

1T: (Several lines omitted). Okay, the title of this scenario is A Parting of the Ways. It's actually a multiple-role scenario because it involves interaction among three characters. But it's open-ended because I don't control the dialogue- you control the dialogue, you decide what you want to say. Now, the situation is as follows: a son, Andrew, lives and works in a city and he takes care of his mother who's an invalid. Her name is Linda and her husband has passed away. He is engaged to a woman, Sandra, who also lives and works in the city. Alright, so the action takes place between firstly Andrew - so this group will be Andrew - and then Sandra - well, whoever wants to be Sandra here - and...the action takes place between Andrew and Linda over a possible change in living arrangements. Okay, s- that's important: the action takes place ...um...in connection with a possible change in living arrangements. Okay, so that's- All of you share the same context. Okay, so you all know each other, you all live in the same city, and you're going to have a conversation about living arrangements. Now each group will represent a role: that of Andrew, Linda or Sandra. Each group has to decide what his or her character is going to do and say based on information which I'm going to give to each group. Now what is important is that no group is allowed...is allowed to know the hidden agenda of the other group...(Continues)

It is, however, important to note that, although the conversational turn-taking system does not place a restriction on what participants may say in their turns, "what participants may acceptably do in any particular turn is restricted by what happened in prior turns" (Nofsinger, 1991: 88; Cf. Sacks et al., 1974: 710; Heritage, 1984b: 247). It has, for example, been noted that, if a current speaker projects the first pair part of an adjacency pair to another participant, then that participant has to produce a second pair part (Cf. Heritage, 1989: 24-25; Wilson, 1991: 29-30). In the following excerpt taken from "The Party", for instance, it is evident that, after being selected by the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, student 2 is constrained in what she says in the turn so

allocated (Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Cf. Heritage, 1984b: 247; Hoey, 1992: 81-82). To be specific, student 2 is under constraint to answer, since the technique employed to select her is a question (Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Cf. Wilson, 1991: 30):

(89)

67 S1: (To student 2) Okay. Now can I have the car?

68 S2: I'm sorry but I have to go without you...(Continues)

Besides the features described above, it has already been noted that (9) in any conversation, relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance (Sacks et al., 1974: 711) because the rule-set maximizes the set "potential next speakers" (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). That is, rule 1a allows a current speaker to select any participant to take the next turn, while rule 1b allows any listener to self-select as the next speaker. In addition, rule 1c does not exclude a current speaker from next speakership (Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). Consider, for example, the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner":

(90)

136 D: -It's okay. So just tell me something. Were you supposed to be with me or did you go and ask her first?

137 A: -Yes, I might. (Laughter from students) Um...Jou beurt. (Laughter from students) Okay. I did ask her first but er she was busy.

138 C: -Studying.

An analysis of excerpt (90) clearly reveals the fact that, at each transition-relevance place, any party to the conversation can speak next (Sacks et al., 1974: 711; Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Nofsinger, 1991: 87-88). To be specific, at the end of turn 136, rule 1a operates because student D makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique to select student A as the next speaker. The so-selected student has the right and is obliged to take the next turn to speak (turn 137); no other student has the right or obligation to speak. It

is also evident that at the end of turn 137, rule 1b operates because student C self-selects as next speaker (turn 138). It is therefore evident that the rule-set maximizes the set "potential next speakers".

It should be noted that (10) in any conversation, the number of parties can vary (Cf. Harmer, 1983: 208; Mehan, 1991: 77) because the turn-taking system does not restrict the number of parties to a conversation it organizes (Sacks et al., 1974: 712). However, it should be noted that, as far as the open-ended scenario is concerned, the teacher determined the number of participants beforehand as is evident in the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner":

(91)

1T: It's called the open-ended scenario. Now what I'm going to do is I'm going to actually divide you into groups. Alright, you're already sitting in your groups. Each group represents a character. The girls represent Laura and the guys represent Peter... (Continues)

It is interesting to note that, in two-party conversation, a current non-speaker can pass any given transition-relevance place which is non-obligatory with full assurance of being a "next speaker" at some point (Sacks et al., 1974: 712). Consider, for example, the following exchange taken from "An Invitation to Dinner":

(92)

31 A: Okay. Hi Laura, how are you?

32 B: Fine and you?

33 A: I'm fi- I'm fine. Have- Where have you been hiding? I haven't seen you in two days.

34 B: Um...I've been studying really hard for all these tests that just bug me to the ground.

35 A: Okay. I was thinking maybe we should get together some time. How about, what about dinner?

36 B: Well, that depends on what you want to do there.

In this particular excerpt of data, it is evident that there are only two parties to the conversation, and so, there is no possibility that one of the parties might be "left out" of the conversation (Cf. Sacks, et al., 1974: 712). However, as soon as three or more parties participate in a conversation, "next turn" is no longer guaranteed to any current non-speaker (Sacks et al., 1974: 712; Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 83). Consider, for instance, the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner":

(93)

109 A: That's okay. We don't want to get between Laura and her studies.

110 D: -Excuse me, do you know each other here?

In this particular excerpt of data, it is evident that, at the second and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 109, student D self-selects as the next speaker (turn 110). If this particular student had not self-selected as the next speaker, then (a) some other current non-speaker might have self-selected (Nofsinger, 1991: 83), and in his turn selected someone else; or (b) the current speaker might have continued, and in his continuation selected some other current non-speaker (Cf. Sacks et al., 1974: 712-713). It is therefore clear that if a current non-speaker is interested in speaking next, he will be under constraint to self-select at the first possible transition point (Cf. Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 98; Nofsinger, 1991: 83). Sacks et al. (1974: 713) also point out that, if a current speaker wishes to select a particular party to take the next turn, then "he will be under constraint to accomplish the selection before first possible transition-relevance place...lest an undesired non-speaker select at that point" (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 51). In the following excerpt taken from "An Invitation to Dinner", for example, it is clear that, because student D (turn 116) is interested in selecting student A to be the next speaker, she is under constraint to accomplish the selection before the first possible transition-relevance place to avoid another speaker self-selecting at that point (Cf. Heritage, 1989: 24-25; Zimmerman and Boden, 1991: 21; Nofsinger, 1991: 51-53).

(94)

115 A: Um...About her studies? Of course.

116 D:-What do you have to do with her studies anyway?

117 A: She has to pass at the end of the year. (Laughter from students)

Besides the above features, Sacks et al. (1974: 714) also note that (11) in any conversation, talk can be continuous or discontinuous. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 714), talk is continuous "when, for a sequence of transition-relevance places, it continues (by another speaker or by the same continuing) across a transition-relevance place, with a minimization of gap and overlap" (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 104). As far as the open-ended scenario is concerned, it has already been noted that transitions from one turn to the next occurred with little or no gap and with little or no overlap (see excerpt (82)). Discontinuities, on the other hand, occur "when, at some transition-relevance place, a current speaker has stopped, no speaker starts (or continues), and the ensuing space of non-talk constitutes itself as more than a gap- not a gap but a lapse" (Sacks et al., 1974: 714; Cf. McHoul, 1978; Barkhuizen, 1995: 94). In the following excerpt of data taken from "An Invitation to Dinner", it is evident that a lapse in conversation occurs when student A encounters communicative difficulty (turn 38). The student overcomes this communicative difficulty by seeking the assistance of a fellow student (see turns 39 and 40):

(95)

38 A: (No response: short circuit. Student A seeks the assistance of a fellow student)

39 S: (A member of group A assists the spokesperson by telling him which phrase he should use) Um...Does Friday suit you?

40 A: Does Friday suit you?

41 B: Oh, boy, no, I'm...(Continues)

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 716), (12) explicit turn-allocation techniques which, as stated in an earlier section, are grouped as "current selects next" and

as "self-selection", are used in conversation (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Psathas, 1995: 36-37). These turn-allocation techniques are described in the section below.

It has already been noted that "current speaker selects next" techniques cannot be used in just any utterance or utterance-type (Sacks et al., 1974: 710-711). Instead, there is a set of utterance types - adjacency pair first parts - that, as Sacks et al. (1974: 710-711) point out, "can be used to accomplish such a selection; and with the constraint to employ one of those, there are constraints on what a party can say" (Cf. Heritage, 1984b: 247; Wilson, 1991: 30). Consider, for example, the following excerpt of data taken from "The Party", in which we have an example of an addressed question:

(96)

45 S1: Uh...Susna...You know, you have such a nice car, I was wondering, can I drive?

46 S2: Sean, I think you had a little too much to drink. Really. I would prefer it if I can drive.

In excerpt (96), it is evident that, after being selected to speak by the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, student 2 is constrained in what she says in the turn so allocated. To be specific, student 2 is compelled to answer, since the technique employed to select her is a question (Cf. Wilson, 1991:30). It is important to be aware of the fact that it is by means of an address term that student 1 (turn 45) achieves "addressing" (Cf. Sacks et al., 1974: 717).

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 718), the basic technique for self-selection is "starting first" (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 98; Nofsinger, 1991: 83). Rule 1b explicitly incorporates this in its provision that "first starter gets the turn". As noted in an earlier section, in allocating a turn to that self-selector who starts first, rule 1b encourages earliest possible start for each self-selector (Sacks et al., 1974: 706). Thus, it provides for overlap by competing self-selectors for a next turn, when each projects his start to be earliest possible start at some possible transition point, producing simultaneous starts. It is interesting to note that a self-selector, aiming for earliest possible

start, may make use of appositionals such as "well", "but", "and" or "so" (Cf. Burton, 1980: 146). As has already been noted (see section 4.2.3), Sacks et al. (1974: 719) define appositionals as turn-entry devices or "pre-starts". In the following excerpts of data, taken from "An Invitation to Dinner", "The Party" and "A Parting of the Ways" respectively, it is evident that each self-selector, aiming for earliest possible start, makes use of a turn-entry device:

(97)

109 A: That's okay. We don't want to get between Laura and her studies.

110 D: -Excuse me, do you know each other here?

(98)

81 S1: Susna, I've been watching you the whole evening.

82 S2: -And?

(99)

65 C: It's really upsetting to me because an opportunity comes once.

66 A: -But we are going to go now...(Continues)

Finally, it should be noted that (13) in any conversation, various turn-constructional units are employed for the production of the talk that occupies a turn (Sacks et al., 1974: 721; Cf. Psathas, 1995: 36-37; Nofsinger, 1991: 80). That is, speakers may choose to construct their turns out of words, phrases, clauses, or full sentences. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 721), what is significant about these turn-construction units is that participants can project where they will end, and thus, where a particular turn might possibly be complete (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 80). In the following excerpt of data taken from "A Parting of the Ways", for example, it is evident that student A's turn (turn 47) occurs at the first possible completion point of a sentence (turn 46):

(100)

46 B: Okay...(Inaudible) I'm sitting // down.

47 A: // I don't...(Continues)

Based on an analysis of the performance phase of the open-ended scenario, it is evident that the students exchange information with one another as equals-at-talk without any interference from the teacher, and that the teacher only intervenes when students encounter communicative difficulty (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131) as is evident in the following excerpt of data taken from "The Party":

(101)

115 S1: Um...What now? (This question is directed at the teacher)

116 T: -Lucky, what do you think? Help Sean out there.

However, as soon as the performance phase of the scenario has been completed, the teacher once again dominates the learning/teaching process by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's response (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 134) as is evident in the following exchanges taken from "The Party" and "An Invitation to Dinner", respectively:

(102)

166 T: No that was good, okay. Alright. Let's go over this now. Alright. (Laughter from students) Okay, now what was the situation here?

167 S2: He's drunk!

168 T: Do you think so?

169 S2: I truly believe it and I'm not willing to give it up.

170 T: So you are adamant that he was drunk?

(103)

37 T: So you think...Peter should have avoided Laura?

38 S2: -Just...just....just say hi, you know, just greeted her, say goodnight and enjoy her night.

39 T: Would you agree with that?

40 S1: -Well, there's no reason to go there and bug her.

41 T: No there isn't actually. Would you agree?

42 Ss: -Mm. (Very faint)

Clearly, by once again exerting control over the floor through initiative-minimizing teacher initiations (Greyling, 1995: 25; Stern, 1992: 317), the teacher switches from a fluency to an accuracy mode of language teaching. One way in which we can account for the teacher switching from one mode of language teaching to another is to use a modified version of a rule proposed by Greyling (1995: 27):

Rule 1(c) transition from fluency to accuracy modes: If the superordinate self-selects upon completion of a response produced by a configuration of learners, he/she may, but does not have to, use the rule system proposed by McHoul (1978) as normative orientation to change the mode of language teaching.

As is evident in excerpts (102) and (103), the teacher uses the rule system proposed by McHoul (1978) to switch to an accuracy mode of language teaching. To be specific, in excerpt (102), it is evident that at the end of her turn (turn 166), the teacher makes use of a "current speaker selects next" technique to nominate student 2 as the next speaker (rule 1A). The so-selected student (turn 167) is the only speaker who has the right and obligation to respond to the teacher's question (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 135; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 72). This particular rule also operates in turns 168 and 169, and in turns 37, 39 and 41 (see excerpt (103)). An analysis of the debriefing phase of the scenario also reveals the fact that, if the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the teacher must continue (rule 1B) (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). For instance, an analysis of excerpt (102) reveals the fact that, at the first four transition-relevance places of her turn-constructional unit (turn 166), the teacher does not make use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, and so, she

continues speaking. It is only at the fifth and final transition-relevance place at the end of her turn that the teacher selects a student to take the next turn.

An analysis of the debriefing phase of the scenario also reveals the fact that, if a student's turn is so constructed as to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given solely to the teacher (rule IIA) (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135). For instance, in the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C), it is evident that student 1's response in turn 17 involves the use of "current speaker selects next" technique, and the right and obligation to speak is given solely to the teacher (turn 18):

(104)

16 T: (Several lines omitted) There's a difference between the....the S-U-I-T-E and the S-U-I-T. Does anyone know?

17 S1: -S-U-I-T-E?

18 T: Mm hm.

An analysis of the debriefing phase of the scenario (see excerpts (102) and (103) above) also clearly shows that, if a student's response does not include the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the initiative for self-selection is exercised by the teacher alone (rule IIB) (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135; Stern, 1992: 318; Greyling, 1995: 25). If, however, the teacher does not self-select, then the student may, but need not, continue speaking (rule IIC) (McHoul, 1978: 188). An analysis of excerpt (103), for example, reveals the fact that, at the first four transition-relevance places of his turn (turn 38), student 2 does not make use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, and so, he continues speaking (McHoul, 1978: 188; Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). It is only at the fifth and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 38 that the teacher self-selects as superordinate.

According to McHoul (1978: 188):

(III) For any teacher's turn, if at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit either I(A) has not operated or I(B) has operated and the teacher has continued, the rule-set I(A)-I(B) re-applies

at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to a student is effected.

In the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C), for example, rule I(B) does not operate at the first nine transition-relevance places of the teacher's turn-constructional unit (turn 5), and so, she continues speaking (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134). It is only at the tenth and final transition-relevance place at the end of the teacher's turn that transfer to a student is effected. To be specific, rule I(A) operates at the tenth and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 5:

(105)

5 T: O- Ya, she was pretty argumentative, hey?
O- Okay, so that was the outcome:
O- The invitation was rejected
O- and Lucky, I think you decided...(Inaudible)
O- I think you decided that you were going to try to convince her to go to a medical doctor and to get an excuse. (Laughter from students)
O- You know, so she wouldn't have to write the test.
O- So it was pretty creative.
O- But of course she didn't agree with you,
O- so that's the outcome.
- Do you think it was a successful outcome?

6 S1: No.

7 S2: For the girl.

It is interesting to note that in the above excerpt of data, two learner responses occur in turns 6 and 7. However, these turns should not be characterized as multiple-turn learner responses, since both responses are directed at the teacher's initiation. Thus, the students are not exchanging information with one another as equals-at-talk. Rather, they are responding to a teacher demand.

McHoul (1978: 188) also identifies the following rule for formal turns at talk in the classroom:

(IV) For any student's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit neither II(A) nor II(B) has operated, and, following the provision of II(C), current speaker (the student) has continued, then the rule-set II(A)-II(C) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until

transfer to the teacher is effected.

As has already been noted, for example, an analysis of excerpt (103) reveals the fact that, at the first four transition-relevance places of his turn (turn 38), student 2 does not make use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, and so, rule II(C) operates and the student continues speaking. It is only at the fifth and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 38 that the teacher self-selects as superordinate (turn 39). To be specific, rule II(C) operates at the fifth and final transition-relevance place at the end of turn 38.

As noted in Chapter 3, McHoul (1978: 189) identifies three features which are typically associated with classroom discourse. Firstly, in contrast to everyday conversation in which transitions (from one turn to the next) occur with little or no gap (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 166; Mehan, 1991: 77; Psathas, 1995: 34), (1) the potential for gap and pause is maximized in classroom discourse, since only one student at a time is selected to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163). To be specific, since only one student at a time is selected to answer a question, a student may take what McHoul (1978: 193) refers to as a "time out" to think about the answer he or she will produce. In the following excerpts of data (see Appendix C), for example, only one student at a time is selected to speak (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163), and so, the potential for gap is maximized. That is, each student knows that, since he is the only student who has the right to respond to the teacher's question, he can take his time to answer that question, without fear of being interrupted by any other student (Cf. Walz, 1986: 957):

(106)

22 T: (Several lines omitted) Do you remember who played Michael, no, who played Peter?

23 S2: It was George.

(107)

39 T: Would you agree with that?

40 S1: Well, there's no reason to go there and bug her.

However it is important to take into account that an analysis of the exchanges in the debriefing phase clearly reveals the fact that the teacher often asked a question in general by nodding her head in the direction of the class **as a whole** (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). This is evident in the excerpts of data below (see Appendix C):

(108)

3 T: Is it? Do you think so?

4 Ss: Ya...ya. (Laughter from students)

(109)

8 T: For the girl do you think?

9 Ss: - Mm hm.

This is not the only instance in which the teacher nominates more than one student to speak. Indeed, an analysis of the debriefing phase of the scenario reveals the fact that the "one-at-a-time and only one-at-a-time" rule for classrooms is often violated (see excerpts (111) and (112), for example).

It is important to note that, according to McHoul (1978: 189), since the rule system for classroom discourse prevents learners from selecting one another to take turns, and since it does not allow them to self-select (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135), if the teacher has selected a student with a question, it is entirely up to the teacher how long that student may have to answer the question (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984). To be specific, once a student has embarked upon an answer, "it is the teacher and only s/he who can decide when and if that answer is sufficient (McHoul, 1978: 190). There is therefore a mutual orientation on the part of the teacher and selected-student to have that student produce sufficient answers, where the decidability of that sufficiency is a matter for teachers and teachers only" (McHoul, 1978: 190; Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). McHoul (1978: 190) goes on to state that teachers have the right and obligation to give a comment on the sufficiency of a learner

response. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 2, in marked contrast to everyday conversation, traditional classroom discourse is characterized by the authority-based three-part question-answer-comment sequence (McHoul, 1978: 191; Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 233; Mehan, 1985: 126; Berry, 1987: 47; Nunan, 1993: 35). This is clearly illustrated in the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C):

(110)

8 T:	For the girl do you think?	Question
9 Ss:	Mm hm.	Answer
10 T:	Okay. Alright...(Continues)	Comment

As McHoul (1978: 191) points out, given this mutual orientation to sufficiency of answers and the public marking of that sufficiency, and, given that, once a turn has been set up for a student's response, only the teacher can halt its course, "a student once embarked upon an answer can be entitled to feel that s/he will be given a 'reasonable' time in which to produce an uninterrupted answer". Thus, the student can allow pauses within his or her turn of fairly long duration without fear of being overlapped (McHoul, 1978: 192; Cf. Walz, 1986: 957).

It is important to note that, as McHoul (1978: 192) points out, intra-turn pauses are also prevalent for teachers who need not be concerned with having their turns cut off by any other parties, since they are the only parties to classroom talk who can creatively distribute turns (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 72; Barkhuizen, 1995: 93). It is interesting to note that intra-turn pauses for teachers serve to prolong turns. In the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C), for example, it is evident that the teacher takes her time to complete what she wishes to say without fear of being interrupted. Furthermore, it is clear that the teacher only makes use of "current speaker selects next" technique at the seventh and final transition-relevance place at the end of her turn (turn 24).

(111)

24 T: O- Ya you really had a good conversation going there.
O- Um...
O- Let's see here...(Inaudible)
O- You said: Hi Laura, how are you? I see your studies have taken second fiddle tonight.
O- And I think that...that um...that Laura was played by Martha I think.
O- And she was deathly silent because she didn't know what the ...what the expression to take second fiddle means.
- Do you all know what to take second fiddle means?
25 Ss: (Dispreferred response)

As noted earlier on, McHoul (1978: 193) claims that the turn-taking system for classroom discourse operates so as to maximize the potential for gap. That is, since only one student may be selected to answer a question, the student, upon being selected, may take it that no other will start a turn at that transition-point. Thus, he may take, at a turn-initial position, a "time-out" to think about the answer he will produce (Cf. Walz, 1986: 957). According to McHoul (1978: 195), what is problematic about such time-outs is that, if they are heard as "too long", the teacher may decide that the student-selected has not heard or understood the question asked, and he or she may go on to repeat or rephrase the question (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 235; Mehan, 1985: 122). In the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C), for example, it is evident that, when a dispreferred learner response occurs in turn 11, the teacher repeats the question she asked in turn 12. When a dispreferred learner response occurs once again in turn 13, the teacher rephrases her question in turn 14. It is interesting to note that when a dispreferred learner response occurs once again in turn 15, the teacher simply provides students with the correct response (turn 16):

(112)

10 T: (Several lines omitted) Do you think that's right, bug me to the ground, as an expression?

11 Ss: (Students look at each other uncertainly)

12 T: Does it sound a bit strange to you? Bug me to the ground?

13 Ss: (Students still uncertain)

14 T: Would you use that in English do you think?

15 Ss: (No response)

16 T: Well, I...(Continues)

It is interesting to note that an analysis of the debriefing phase of the scenario revealed the fact that, for the most part, if a student response was heard as "too long", the teacher did not repeat or rephrase the question, but simply provided the student with the correct response. This is evident in excerpts (113) and (114) below (see Appendix C):

(113)

20 T: That's right. Anyone know?

21 Ss: (No response)

22 T: -The one with the E is...is pronounced sweet like... (Continues)

(114)

24 T: (Several lines omitted) Do you all know what to take second fiddle means?

25 Ss: (Dispreferred response)

26 T: -Okay, all it means is that you are second best, in other words, that you take an inferior position to someone else...(Continues)

As noted in an earlier section, Sacks et al. (1974: 706-707) claim that one of the reasons why overlap occurs in ordinary conversation is that rule 1b, in allocating a turn to that self-selector who starts first, encourages earliest possible start for each self-selector (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 83). It thus provides for overlap by competing self-selectors for a next turn, when each projects his turn to be earliest possible start at some possible transition-relevance place, producing simultaneous starts. McHoul (1978: 195) claims that (2a) in classroom talk on the other hand, the potential for overlap is minimized in that the possibility of the

teacher (or a student) "opening up" the talk to a self-selecting student first starter is not accounted for (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134). However, McHoul (1978: 195) admits that instances of violation do occur. In the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C), for instance, it is clear that student 2's turn (see turn 32) is overlapped by a self-selecting student (see turn 33):

(115)

32 S2: There might have been, but they were so spiteful, we thought we would just be by ourselves //... (Inaudible)

33 S1: // But... (Inaudible)

According to McHoul (1978: 205), (2b) the potential for overlap is minimized in that the possibility of a student using a "current speaker selects next" technique to select another student is not accounted for (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 134). As has already been noted, only the teacher is allowed to make use of this technique in order to select a student to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163). In the following excerpt of data (see Appendix C), for example, it is evident that, at the end of her turn (turn 39), the teacher selects student 1 to take the next turn. The so-selected student is the only student who has the right and obligation to speak (turn 40). Since all other students are obliged to remain silent, no overlap occurs (see Mehan, 1985: 124):

(116)

39 T: - Would you agree with that?

40 S1: Well, there's no reason to go there and bug her.

Finally, McHoul (1978: 208) notes that, in contrast to everyday conversation in which speaker allocation is open for negotiation at the end of each turn-at-talk (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 134), (3) the permutability of turn-taking is minimized in classroom discourse. Consider, for example, the excerpt of data below (see Appendix C):

(117)

22 T:	(Several line omitted) Do you remember who played Michael, no, who played Peter?	Initiation
23 S2:	It was George.	Response
24 T:	Ya, you really had a good conversation going there ...(Continues)	Feedback
	(Several lines omitted) Do you all know what to take second fiddle means?	Initiation
25 Ss:	(Dispreferred response)	Response
26 T:	Okay, all it means is that...(Continues)	Feedback
	(Several lines omitted) Do you think that's slang...? (Inaudible)	Initiation
27 Ss:	(Majority of students nod their heads)	Response
28 T:	I suppose so...(Continues)	Feedback

In this particular excerpt of data, it is evident that the interaction is characterized by the "Teacher-Student-Teacher" sequence (McHoul, 1978: 210), since the teacher takes two out of three turns (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232; Maley, 1992: 27). For instance, at the end of turn 22, it is clear that the teacher initiates a question. In turn 23, a student (student 2) responds to the question and in turn 24, the teacher provides the student with feedback before initiating another question. The interaction is therefore characterized by the authority-based three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 21; Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 160; Berry, 1987: 47; Nunan, 1993: 35). Clearly, student participation rights are severally limited, since the taking of turns is rigidly controlled by the teacher (McHoul, 1978: 211; Cf. Maley, 1992: 27). As Mehan (1985: 126) puts it:

> While speaker allocation is open for negotiation at the end of each turn in everyday conversation, this is seldom the case in educational discourse.

> The floor is open for negotiation only at certain junctures, for example, at the end of a basic or extended initiation-reply-evaluation sequence. Furthermore, teachers not only allocate the floor, they take it back at the end of a student's reply or extended sequence of discourse.

4.3.4 A discussion of the findings

Based on the analysis of the open-ended scenario in terms of the Conversation Analysis (CA) perspective, it is clearly evident that it exhibits the patterns of discourse typically associated with functional-analytic (Type B) teaching. As noted in Chapter 2, the primary aim of a programme with a Type B focus is to activate and extend the learner's existing grammatical knowledge, preparing him or her for the spontaneous use of the target language at a later stage (Allen, 1987: 21-22; Cf. Littlewood, 1992: 18). As Crawford-Lange (1982: 92) puts it, the functional-analytic focus "deliberately combines grammatical analysis and the purpose to which language is put" (quoted in Allen, 1989: 182). Thus, one would expect the patterns of discourse that occur in an activity with a Type B focus not only to replicate those found in everyday conversation, but also those that occur in traditional accuracy-based classroom discourse. In other words, one would expect an activity with a Type B focus to exhibit the patterns of discourse that are typically associated with experiential **and** analytic language teaching (Cf. Stern, 1992: 321-322).

Based on an analysis of the performance phase of the open-ended scenario, it is clear that it exhibits the features of authentic communication as it occurs in everyday conversation. For instance, it has been observed that, as in mundane conversation, the turn-taking system in the performance phase of the scenario ensures that one party talks at a time (Cf. Wardhaugh, 1985: 148; Psathas, 1995: 34); transitions (from one turn to the next) occur with little or no overlap (Cf. Wilson et al., 1984: 168; Mehan, 1991: 77); and speaker change occurs, or at least recurs (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Nofsinger, 1991: 87-89). Like Sacks et al. (1974), Nofsinger (1991: 89) observes that the conversational system of turn-taking provides for the third feature "through its two options for transferring to another speaker: current selects next and listener self-selection" (Cf. Van

Lier, 1984a: 163).

In addition to these features, a number of other "grossly apparent" features (Sacks et al., 1974: 704) that are typically associated with natural conversation have been observed in the data. For example, it has been noted that, as in everyday conversation, what parties say to one another during the performance phase of the scenario is not specified in advance (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). Although the participating groups in a scenario have the opportunity to develop their game plans during a rehearsal phase, what they will say to one another during the actual performance phase is unpredictable, since each group possesses information of which the other groups are unaware (Cf. Di Pietro, 1987a: 48). According to Di Pietro (1987a: 42), an element of unpredictability ensures that the participants will listen "with more than a passing interest to what the other is saying". As noted in the previous section, one could argue that, since the teacher does not pre-specify what learners may say in their turns, she creates an information-gap between speakers and listeners in the classroom (Cf. Johnson, 1996: 45). This is clearly in keeping with a Type C or experiential language teaching programme in which the teacher is required to create an information-gap between speaker and listener (Cf. Stern, 1992: 316; Prabhu, 1987: 45-47). It is, however, important to bear in mind that, although the conversational turn-taking system does not place a restriction on what participants may say or do in their turns, it is interactionally managed in the sense that "what participants may acceptably do in any particular turn is restricted by what happened in prior turns..." (Nofsinger, 1991: 88; Cf. Heritage, 1989: 24-25). For example, it has been noted that, during the performance phase of the scenario, if a current speaker directs a first pair part of an adjacency pair to another participant, then that participant has to produce a second pair part (Cf. Coulthard, 1985: 60; Heritage, 1989: 24-25; Zimmerman and Boden, 1991: 21). Thus, a question requires an answer, while a request calls for a response either in the form of granting or denial (Cf. Wilson, 1991: 29-30). Since participants in the performance phase design their talk in such a way that it conforms to the rules of turn-taking for everyday conversation, the turn-taking system that operates in it is a normative system (Cf. Nofsinger,

1991: 88).

An analysis of the patterns of interaction that occur during the course of the performance phase also clearly shows that the teacher structures learner freedom by means of "a global-allocational pre-selection system of turn-taking" (Greyling, 1995: 25). To be specific, the teacher deliberately structures an interactional space in which interaction replicates the local-allocational system of turn-taking found in everyday conversation. As noted in a previous section, what this means is that, as in natural conversation, speaker allocation is open for negotiation at the end of each turn-at-talk (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 134) in the performance phase. That is, students have the freedom to self-select, continue speaking, and to select one another to take turns. Since learners may select fellow students to take turns, they have the freedom to comment or expand on and ask clarifying questions about prior turns (see excerpts (84) and (98), for example) (Cf. Stern, 1992: 316). As noted in the previous section, one could argue, as Stern (1992: 316) does, that this constitutes a reaction to "the message, its content and meaning rather than a reaction to the code". This is in keeping with an experiential language teaching programme which involves message-oriented practice (Cf. Allen et al., 1984: 30). This is also in keeping with an outcomes-based language curriculum in which learners are encouraged to make and negotiate meaning and understanding.

In addition to the above patterns of discourse, it has also been observed that, as in mundane conversation, the length of speaker turns varies from one turn to the next in the performance phase (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). As noted in an earlier section, two different aspects of the conversational turn-taking system contribute to this particular feature of conversation. Firstly, speakers may construct their turns out of words, phrases, clauses, or full sentences; and secondly, the option that a current speaker may continue speaking allows a student to lengthen his or her turn after the first turn-constructional unit (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). The option that a current speaker may continue speaking after the first turn-constructional unit and the availability to a current speaker of free selection among the four unit-types enables learners to give more than

"one-word" or "single-clause" (Stern, 1992: 317) responses in the classroom. This is in keeping with an experiential language teaching programme in which learners are encouraged to produce sustained discourse (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 80). Sustained discourse is also a typical feature of an outcomes-based language curriculum model. As has already been noted, the difference between sustained discourse as it occurs in the experiential language classroom and sustained discourse as it occurs in the analytic classroom is that, in the former, the teacher deliberately suspends her authority in order to enable learners to give more than single-word/single-clause responses. During the course of the performance phase of the scenario, for example, students have the freedom to produce and listen to sustained discourse, since the teacher assumes the neutral role of facilitator (Cf. Roberts, 1986: 82; Di Pietro, 1987a: 73).

In addition to the above features, it has also been noted that, if learners encounter communicative difficulty during the course of the performance phase of the scenario, they may seek the assistance of their fellow students. As noted in the previous section, Stern, (1992: 321) points out that this kind of co-operation among students is a distinguishing feature of a language teaching programme with a Type C focus, and "encourages the right conditions for learning". This is in keeping with an outcomes-based language curriculum in which learners are required to use language for learning.

Finally, the analysis of the performance phase of the scenario has revealed the fact that the interaction in it is characterized by learner-learner exchanges (Cf. Greyling, 1995: 25) across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher. One could argue that, since learners interact with one another across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher, they are given relatively unrestricted use of the target language. This is clearly in keeping with a Type C language teaching programme which, as noted in the previous section, "tends towards openness of linguistic form" (Stern, 1992: 319; Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125).

Based on the analysis of the interactional patterns that occur in the performance phase of the scenario, one may be tempted to conclude that it is an activity with

an experiential or Type C focus. However, an analysis of the patterns of interaction that occur in the rehearsal and debriefing phases clearly reveals the fact that the scenario also exhibits some of the discourse features typically associated with a structural-analytic (Type A) language teaching programme. For example, it has been noted that, in both the rehearsal and debriefing phases, instead of structuring an interactional space in which speaker allocation is open for negotiation at the end of each turn-at-talk (see Mehan, 1985: 126), the teacher controls the teaching/learning process by allocating the floor and taking it back at the end of a student's response (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126; Fairclough, 1989: 134). Thus, in contrast to the performance phase of the scenario with its locally managed system of turn-taking (see Greatbatch, 1988: 403), the interactional patterns that occur in the rehearsal and debriefing phases are the product of "a heavily pre-allocated system" of turn-taking (McHoul, 1978: 188-189, Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135) in which the locally managed component is the domain of the teacher. Thus, student participation rights are restricted to the choice between either continuing or selecting the teacher as next speaker (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a; Mehan, 1985: 126). Since students do not have the freedom to select one another to take turns, they may not comment or expand on or ask clarifying questions about prior turns (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318). Instead, as the analysis of the debriefing phase has clearly shown, when the teacher elicits learner knowledge about the formal features of the target language, she deals with a learner response in isolation, focusing on the sufficiency or accuracy of that response (Cf. McHoul, 1978: 190), "rather than on the substance of what has been said" (Stern, 1992: 318). This is clearly in keeping with a Type B language teaching programme which, although oriented towards authentic discourse, is reinforced by grammatical work (Cf. Allen, 1987: 3; 21).

In contrast to the learner-learner exchanges that occur across several turns-at-talk in the performance phase, interaction in the rehearsal and debriefing phases is largely characterized by the three-part initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern (Cf. Sacks et al., 1974: 21; Maley, 1992: 27; Lightbown and Spada, 1993: 72) in which the teacher takes every second turn (Cf. White and

Lightbown, 1984: 232; Bowers, 1987: 168). Since the interaction rarely deviates from the "Teacher-Student-Teacher" (Cf. Maley, 1992: 27) pattern, one could argue that the teacher exerts tight control over linguistic input and output. This is in keeping with a Type A language teaching programme in which the teacher tends to exercise control over linguistic form (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125; Stern, 1992: 319).

An analysis of the patterns of interaction that occur in the rehearsal and debriefing phases has also revealed the fact that learners are rarely given the opportunity to lengthen their turns after the first turn-constructional unit. One could argue that, since learners do not have the freedom to continue speaking after the first turn-constructional unit, their lingual contributions are restricted to single-word or single-clause responses (Cf. Stern, 1992: 317). This is once again in keeping with a Type A or analytic language teaching programme in which students are seldom given the opportunity to give more than one-word/single-clause utterances in response to the teacher's elicitations (Cf. Allen et al., 1987: 32; Stern, 1992: 317).

An analysis of the debriefing phase of the scenario has also revealed the fact that, when the teacher elicits learner knowledge about the formal structure of the target language, she pre-specifies what learners may say in their turns. One could argue that, since the teacher pre-specifies what learners may say in their turns - and therefore knows most of the answers to her questions - the question-and-answer exchanges that occur between the teacher and students are not genuine (Cf. Bowers, 1987: 169). According to Stern (1992: 318) and Allen et al. (1990: 81), the lack of an information-gap (Prabhu, 1987: 45-47) between the teacher and students is a distinguishing feature of analytic teaching.

In addition to the above discourse patterns, it has also been noted that, if the teacher elicits learner knowledge about the formal features of the target language during the debriefing phase and a learner response is heard as "too long", the teacher immediately embarks upon an extended sequence of interactions in order to obtain the preferred response (Cf. White and Lightbown,

1984: 235; Mehan, 1985: 122; Greyling, 1995: 25).

Finally, it is essential to note that an analysis of the question-and-answer exchanges that occurred during the course of the debriefing phase clearly shows that the teacher did not spend a great deal of time focusing on the formal features of the target language. This is clearly in keeping with a functional-analytic (Type B) language teaching programme in which some degree of grammatical proficiency on the part of the student can normally be taken for granted (Cf. Allen, 1987: 6).

4.4 Conclusion

Based on the findings of the above analyses, it is evident that the patterns of interaction that characterize structural-analytic (Type A), functional-analytic (Type B), and non-analytic (Type C) teaching differ significantly. What is essential to note is that the reason why the patterns of discourse differ in Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching depends on the nature of the turn-taking systems operative in these styles, and this in turn depends on the authority relationships between participants (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134). In contrast to mundane conversation, in which all parties have equal rights of participation because speaker allocation is open for negotiation at the end of each turn-at-talk (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Mehan, 1985: 126; Nofsinger, 1991: 105), turn-taking rights in the classroom are unequal, since "the status and authority role assigned to the teacher allows him or her to control classroom talk and therefore to control the organization of participation in this talk" (Barkhuizen, 1995: 93; Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135). Since "only teachers can direct speakership in any creative way" (McHoul, 1978: 188-189), they have the authority to implement the speech exchange systems which characterize Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching and which are related either to restricting or promoting learner participation rights in the classroom. A comparison of these three teaching styles clearly reveals the fact that they differ significantly, since the interaction in them is based either on (i) a pre-allocated system of turn-taking, (ii) a local-allocational turn-taking system, or (iii) a combination of pre-

allocational and local-allocational means:

(i) **Structural-analytic (Type A) teaching** exhibits the following patterns of discourse:

1.	Interaction is founded on a **pre-allocated system of turn-taking** in which the locally managed component is the domain of the teacher;
1.1.	**learner participation rights are restricted** to continuing or selecting the teacher to take the next turn;
1.2	learners are **not** given the freedom to comment or expand on and ask clarifying questions about prior turns;
2.	learners, for the most part, are **not** given the freedom to lengthen their turns after the first turn-constructional unit, and so, produce **single-word** or **single-clause** utterances;
3.	the teacher **pre-specifies what learners may say in their turns;**
4.	interaction rarely deviates from the **Teacher-Student-Teacher** sequence; and
5.	the teacher embarks upon **extended sequences of interaction** in order to solve the problem of dispreferred learner responses.

Explanation

1. If interaction is based on a **pre-allocated system of turn-taking** (Cf. McHoul, 1978: 189; Greatbatch, 1988: 403), then the teacher may self-select, continue speaking, and select particular students to take turns (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163; Fairclough, 1989: 135), while **learner participation rights are restricted** to continuing or selecting the teacher to take the next turn (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 163) (1.1). Not surprisingly, since students may not select one another to take turns, they may not comment or expand on or ask clarifying questions about prior turns (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318) (1.2). Instead, **learners' utterances are dealt with in isolation** by the teacher who, in commenting on a learner response, focuses on the sufficiency or **accuracy** of that response (Cf. McHoul, 1978: 190; Stern, 1992: 318). This is in keeping with a Type A language teaching programme in which the principal aim is to provide students with practice in the structural aspect of language proficiency (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 72).

2. Since learners are rarely given the opportunity to lengthen their turns after the first turn-constructional unit, they do not give more than **one-word** or **single-clause** utterances in response to the teacher's elicitations (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 61; Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125; Stern, 1992: 317). According to Stern (1992: 317), this is a typical feature of Type A language teaching. If, however, learners are given the opportunity to produce **sustained discourse** (Cf. Stern, 1992: 317), then the teacher **retains his or her authority,** and does not assume the role of co-communicator.

3. Since the initiative for starting talk, and therefore, for determining the subject-matter of a Type A activity is exercised by the teacher alone (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 124; Stern, 1992: 318), she **pre-specifies what learners may say in their turns.** Since the teacher pre-specifies what learners may say in their turns, she already knows most of the answers to her questions (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 234; Mehan, 1985: 127). Each of the turns (initiation, response, and feedback) is therefore affected by the **lack of an information-gap** between speaker and listener (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318).

4. The interaction in a Type A language activity rarely deviates from the **Teacher-Student-Teacher** sequence (Cf. Maley, 1992: 27). What this means is that the teacher takes every second turn (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 232; Nunan, 1995: 35), while learners are restricted to responding to the teacher's elicitations (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318). This is in keeping with a Type A language teaching programme in which the teacher **exerts tight control over linguistic input and output** (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125; Stern, 1992: 319)

5. If a dispreferred learner response occurs, the teacher may embark upon **an extended sequence of interactions** (Cf. White and Lightbown, 1984: 235) in order to obtain the preferred response.The teacher may, for example, repeat her question, or she may provide the student with lingual clues (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 122).

(ii) **Non-analytic (Type C) language teaching** displays the following patterns of discourse:

1. interaction is founded on the **local-allocational system of turn-taking** found in everyday conversation;

1.1 **learner participation rights are maximized** in the sense that learners may self-select, continue speaking, and select one another to take turns;

1.2 learners may comment or expand on and ask clarifying questions about prior turns;

2. learners may lengthen their turns (i.e. produce **sustained discourse**) after the first turn-constructional unit;

3. the teacher does **not pre-specify what learners may say in their turns;**

4. interaction is characterized by **learner-learner exchanges** across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher; and

5. the teacher does **not** embark upon extended sequences of interaction in order to solve the problem of dispreferred learner responses.

Explanation:

1. If interaction is founded on a **local-allocational system of turn-taking** (Cf. Greatbatch, 1988: 403; Nofsinger, 1991: 86), then **learner participation rights are maximized** in the sense that speaker allocation is open for negotiation at the end of each turn-at-talk (Cf. Mehan, 1985: 126). What this means is that students may self-select, continue speaking, and select one another to take turns (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134) (1.1). Since students may select one another to take turns, they may comment or expand on preceding utterances. They may also ask clarifying questions about prior turns (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 81) (1.2). According to Stern (1992: 318), **incorporation of preceding utterances** by students is a distinguishing feature of Type C teaching. Since students focus on the substance of what has been said in prior turns, emphasis is placed on the **message** and not the code (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125; Stern, 1992: 318). This is clearly in keeping with an outcomes-based language curriculum in which learners are required to make and negotiate meaning and understanding.

2. The turn-taking system for everyday conversation ensures that learners may lengthen their turns after the first turn-constructional unit (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). Two aspects of the turn-taking system contribute to this particular feature of conversation: the option that a current speaker may continue speaking after the first turn-constructional unit (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 134), and the availability to a current speaker of free selection among the four unit-types (i.e. words, phrases, clauses and sentences) (Cf. Nofsinger, 1991: 88). According to Stern (1992: 318), **sustained discourse** is a typical feature of Type C language activities (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 125). When learners produce sustained discourse in the Type C language classroom, the teacher **suspends his or her authority**, and assumes the role of **facilitator** and/or **co-communicator** (Cf. Larsen-Freeman, 1986: 131).

3. Since the teacher does **not pre-specify what learners may say in their turns,** question-and-answer exchanges are genuine in the Type C language classroom (Cf. Stern, 1992: 318). The teacher therefore creates an **information-gap** between speaker and listener (Cf. Allen et al., 1984: 30; Stern, 1992: 318).

4. The interaction in a Type C language classroom is characterized by **learner-learner exchanges** (Cf. Greyling, 1995: 25) across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher. This is in keeping with a Type C language teaching programme in which students are given relatively **unrestricted use of the target language** (Cf. Stern, 1992: 319).

5. The teacher does **not** embark upon extended sequences of interaction when learners encounter communicative difficulty. Learners overcome communicative difficulty by seeking the assistance of fellow students. According to Stern (1992: 321), this kind of co-operation among students is a distinguishing feature of Type C language classrooms, and "encourages the right conditions for learning". This is in keeping with an outcomes-based language curriculum in which learners are required to use language for learning.

(iii) As noted in this chapter, since a programme with a **functional-analytic (Type B)** focus is oriented towards authentic discourse and reinforced by grammatical work (Cf. Allen, 1987: 3; 21; Stern, 1992: 175), it combines the features of both non-analytic (Type C) and structural-analytic (Type A) language teaching (Cf. Lightbown, 1990: 91; Stern, 1992: 167). Thus, an activity with a functional-analytic focus displays the patterns of discourse listed under (i) and (ii). It is important to note that, as Stern (1990: 107) points out, in the attempt to combine Type A and Type B teaching, "we can envisage two main ways of establishing links: (1) one in which an analytic strategy is dominant and the experiential in a supporting role, and (2) another in which the experiential is dominant and the analytic is supportive".

In sum, it is clear that, based on the analyses conducted in this chapter, Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching differ significantly because they are the product of distinct speech exchange systems. That is, the patterns of discourse that occur in these styles are based either on (i) a pre-allocational system of turn-taking, (ii) a local-allocational system of turn-taking, or (iii) a combination of pre-allocational and local-allocational means. Clearly, one of the main advantages of the Conversation Analysis models used in these analyses is that emphasis is placed on the data and the turn-taking patterns recurrently displayed therein (Cf. Psathas, 1995: 7). Since turn-taking patterns are linked to tangible evidence, the language practitioner works not only with theoretical constructs, but with discourse evidence (Ras, 1994: 147). This is discussed in greater detail in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER 5

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR TEACHER TRAINING AND FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1 Teacher training and classroom practice evaluation

As noted in the introduction to this study, a number of researchers (e.g. Van Lier, 1989: 174; Gebhard, Gaitan and Oprandy, 1990: 16; Widdowson, 1993: 263-264) have focused attention on the fact that, since teachers have traditionally been cast in a dependent role in respect to classroom research, which is largely considered to be an area reserved for theorists (Cf. Phillipson, 1992: 260), they are primarily seen as consumers of research findings, and are therefore expected to implement proposals which emerge from the findings of others. As Widdowson (1993: 264) puts it:

> ...in the classroom observation tradition teachers have been seen not as enquirers but as subjects and a source of data. They are part of what is observed in observation schemes designed by researchers detached from the actual teaching process. Such schemes are then customarily used as a frame of reference for teachers in training so that they may be guided into appropriate pedagogic behaviour.

Widdowson (1993: 263) points out that, due to this dependent role, when curricula, syllabuses, and teaching materials are designed by experts in authority, "teachers are...called upon to implement them and given training to do so as, and when, required" by teacher educators, and are not expected to submit them to critical appraisal (Cf. Gebhard et al., 1990: 16; Nunan, 1990: 64). What is problematic about the dependent role of the teacher is that it keeps the responsibility for decision making solely in the hands of the curriculum or syllabus designer, thus preventing teachers from assuming responsibility for what goes on in their own classrooms (Cf. Gebhard et al., 1990: 16; Widdowson, 1993: 263). According to Van Lier (1989: 179-180), the fact that researchers (e.g. Nunan, 1990: 62; Johnson, 1990: 281) are only now beginning to see the need for teachers to assume responsibility for what transpires in their classrooms is probably due to the shift in emphasis from "uni-

directional, transmission-based educational delivery systems" to "a much more interactional", constructivist-based philosophy of education (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 3).

As noted in an earlier section, at the present moment in South Africa, we are gradually moving away from a *transmission* mode of teaching towards a more mediated, *constructivist-participative* model of learning referred to as outcomes-based education and training (OBET). Underlying transmission models of language teaching is the assumption that learners will develop proficiency in the target language simply by mastering skills in a set sequence (Cf. Stern, 1990: 99, Au, 1992: 46), without any regard for the social context (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 72; Maley, 1992: 25). That is, "much attention is given to the final product of learners, who are not encouraged to see what they are learning as in any way linked to the world outside school" (Maley, 1992: 25; Cf. Stern, 1990: 99). By contrast, in a constructivist or interpretation model of instruction:

> ...the teacher is concerned with interpreting, by negotiation with the learner, what it is useful or not for him/her to learn. What the learner has to say is accorded more importance than its 'correctness' as a final product. This collaborative and exploratory process is related to everday...knowledge at every point (Maley, 1992: 25).

As noted in Chapter 4, Allen's (1987) variable focus curriculum scheme corresponds closely to an outcomes-based curriculum model, since it not only emphasizes the teaching of grammar and vocabulary in context (Cf. Allen, 1989: 187), but also focuses on achieving a fully spontaneous use of language in real-life social interaction (Allen, 1987: 5; Cf. Stern, 1992: 313-314). It has also been noted that, like an outcomes-based curriculum model, Allen's (1987) curriculum scheme involves a shift in emphasis from *teacher input* to *learner-centred activity* (Cf. Stern, 1992: 302; Au, 1992: 45-46; Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 34, 88). As noted in Chapter 1, Widdowson (1987: 87) points out that the increase in learner-centred activity and collaborative work in the classroom should not be equated with inactivity on the part of the teacher who "still has to contrive the enabling conditions for learning, has still to monitor and guide progress" (Cf. Maley, 1986: 90; McKenzie, 1992: 225). As these words clearly indicate, in contrast to an exclusively grammar-oriented, transmission model of

instruction, in which the teacher is simply required to present his or her students with grammatical and lexical items which have been selected and sequenced in advance (Cf. Allen et al., 1990: 72; Littlewood, 1992: 16), a variable focus curriculum scheme - such as Allen's (1987) - places heavier demands upon the professional training and competence of the teacher (Cf. Maley, 1986: 90; Nunan, 1990: 65) who, in addition to assuming a guiding and monitoring role (Cf. Allen, 1987: 21-22), also has to assist learners to become self-directed through activities "which provide scope for real communication and for cognitive and affective depth" (Maley, 1992: 27; Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 34). As noted in Chapter 2, Allen's (1987) curriculum scheme allows teachers a great deal of choice, since they may focus on guided communicative practice (Type B teaching), encourage a fully spontaneous use of language (Type C teaching), or "loop back" (Allen, 1983: 37) to the structural-analytic (Type A) level of language learning if they feel that learners need additional practice in grammar and vocabulary (Cf. Allen, 1989: 184-185). Clearly, in selecting and combining Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching, teachers need to become critically aware of how they are reflected in actual classroom practices and processes (Cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 162). If teachers receive training in how to sensitize themselves to the discourse options available to them in these styles, they will not only be in a better position to decide whether they need to amend any aspects of their teaching (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 4), but will also be able to determine whether there are any discrepancies between the claims they have made about these styles and what actually takes place in their classrooms.

As noted in the previous chapter, by applying the recursive rule systems of Sacks et al. (1974) and McHoul (1978) to classroom data, the typical patterns of discourse that characterize Type A, Type B and Type C teaching have been clearly identified. One of the major advantages of these recursive rule systems is that they function as *prediction models* since they have been cast in an if-then format, where the if-clause refers to the manner in which a participant is selected to take the next turn, and the then-clause refers to the way in which the other participants in the interaction are required to behave (e.g. **if** the teacher

selects a particular student to take the next turn, **then** that student has to speak, while all other students are obliged to remain silent) (Cf. Ras, 1994: 122). In this chapter, it is proposed that, if teachers are familiar with the predictive value of these rule systems, and receive training in how to apply them to their own classroom data, then they will be able to predict what kinds of discourse patterns will emerge when implementing a particular teaching style in the classroom (Cf. Ras, 1994: 150). In other words, teachers may use discourse as evidence either to confirm or invalidate the claims they have made about their teaching styles (Cf. Greyling, 1993: 198). For example, based on the findings of the analyses in the previous chapter, it is argued that teachers may generate the following predictions about the discourse patterns of Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching:

(i) **If** the teacher engages in **structural-analytic (Type A)** language teaching, **then:**

1.	interaction is founded on a **pre-allocated system of turn-taking** in which the locally managed component is the domain of the teacher;
1.1	**learner participation rights are restricted** to continuing or selecting the teacher to take the next turn;
1.2	learners are **not** given the freedom to comment or expand on and ask clarifying questions about prior turns;
2.	learners, for the most part, are **not** given the freedom to lengthen their turns after the first turn-constructional unit, and so, produce **single-word** or **single-clause** utterances;
3.	the teacher **pre-specifies what learners may say in their turns**;
4.	interaction rarely deviates from the **Teacher-Student-Teacher** sequence; and
5.	the teacher embarks upon **extended sequences of interaction** in order to solve the problem of dispreferred learner responses.

(ii) If the teacher engages in **non-analytic (Type C)** language teaching, **then**:

1.	interaction is founded on the **local-allocational system of turn-taking** found in everyday conversation;
1.1	**learner participation rights are maximized** in the sense that learners may self-select, continue speaking, and select one another to take turns;
1.2	learners have the freedom to comment or expand on and ask clarifying questions about prior turns;
2.	learners may lengthen their turns (i.e. produce **sustained discourse**) after the first turn-constructional unit;
3.	the teacher does **not pre-specify what learners may say in their turns**;
4.	interaction is characterized by **learner-learner exchanges** across several turns-at-talk without any interference from the teacher; and
5.	the teacher does **not** embark upon extended sequences of interaction if dispreferred learner responses occur.

(iii) As noted in Chapter 4, since a programme with a **functional-analytic (Type B)** focus is oriented towards authentic discourse and reinforced by grammatical work (Cf. Allen, 1987: 3, 21; Stern, 1992: 175), it combines the features of both non-analytic (Type C) and structural-analytic (Type A) language teaching (Cf. Lightbown, 1990: 91; Stern, 1992: 167). Thus, **if** the teacher focuses on providing students with practice in the **functional aspect** of language proficiency, **then** the patterns of discourse listed under (ii) will emerge during the interactive phase of the lesson. **If** the teacher provides students with the opportunity to practise the **formal features** of the target language, **then** the discourse patterns listed under (i) will emerge during the interactive phase of the lesson.

As has already been noted, it is argued that, if teachers are familiar with the predictive value of the above discourse-based construct system, and receive training in how to apply it to their own classroom data, they will increase their awareness of classroom processes (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 11), and will therefore be in a better position to make informed decisions in the language

classroom (Cf. Johnson, 1990: 280; Ras, 1994: 150). Teachers may, for example, use the discourse-based construct system to generate if-then predictions for Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching, and then confirm, invalidate, or modify these predictions in the interactive phase of the lesson (Cf. Ras, 1994: 150; Greyling, 1995: 19). Furthermore, teachers may use the discourse-based construct system not only to make predictions about the kinds of learner responses that will emerge when a particular style is implemented in the classroom (Cf. Ras, 1994: 122), but also to sensitize themselves to how their "own participation in negotiated discourse influences the type of practice and learning opportunities that result" (Allwright and Bailey, 1991: 135, quoted in Barkhuizen, 1995: 99). If teachers are able to reflect more critically upon how their own participation influences interactional arrangements in the classroom (Cf. Fairclough, 1989: 135; McKenzie, 1992: 225; and Barkhuizen, 1995: 99), they will be able to design speech exchange systems which are compatible with their own views of language and of language learning (Cf. Greyling, 1995: 30).

Clearly, the need to sensitize teachers and student teachers to the importance of carrying out discourse-based studies of classroom interaction cannot be overemphasized. As noted above, the current trend in language teaching is "to invoke the concept of a 'balanced', 'integrated', or 'variable focus' curriculum as a means of....implementing different approaches to classroom instruction at different points in an overall program" (Allen, 1989: 184; Cf. Yalden, 1983: 128; Stern, 1992: 30). The trend towards a multidimensional curriculum approach certainly places heavy demands upon the professional training and competence of the teacher (Cf. Allen and Harley, 1992: 366), who, in addition to providing students with the opportunity to come to grips with the formal features of the target language (Cf. Stern, 1990: 99-100), also has to ensure that learners engage in purposeful activities such as group discussions, scenarios, and problem-solving tasks (Cf. Swain, 1988: 81; Stern, 1990: 103). According to Gebhard et al. (1990: 19), since language teaching has become a more varied, multidimensional activity (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 3), many of the observation schemes used in teacher training (such as Moskowitz's (1976) Flint Scheme; Fanselow's (1977) FOCUS scheme, and Ullman and Geva's (1984)

TALOS system) "fail to capture some classroom interaction, such as that which occurs during small-group activities". More importantly, such observation instruments "tend to intimidate teachers through the shear complexity [they] reveal about the classroom" (Cook, 1991: 96-97; Cf. Van Lier, 1989: 175). The discourse-based construct system used in this study, on the other hand, captures the dynamic turn-by-turn process of lingual interaction in both small-group and whole-class activities (see Chapters 2 and 4), and can easily be modified (as it has been in this chapter) for use by teachers. An additional advantage of this construct system is that it is oriented towards a curriculum approach that is current (Cf. Cook, 1991: 96).

Yet another reason why the above discourse-based construct system may be useful in teacher training lies in the observation made by a number of researchers (e.g. Van Lier, 1988: 5; 1989: 174; Stern, 1992: 2; Mckenzie, 1992: 224; Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 3-4) that, since teachers are so closely involved in the teaching/learning process, they "are often unaware of the kind of teaching they do..." (Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 3; Cf. Van Lier, 1989: 174). Indeed, McKenzie (1992: 224) points out that, "although may teachers now pay lip-service to the fashion for learner-centred classrooms, their expressed intentions are often very different from what actually happens in those classrooms" (Cf. Littlejohn, 1985: 225; Maley, 1992: 27). As noted in a previous section, by carrying out discourse-based studies of classroom interaction, teachers will be able to step out of their subjective roles as language practitioners (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 11) in order to become "objective" observers of their own language teaching styles (see Schratz, 1992: 89). Other researchers too, notably Van Lier (1984a: 169), Johnson (1990: 281), and Gebhard et al. (1990: 19), have argued that, in order to become "detached observers" of their teaching styles, teachers should receive training in how to carry out discourse-based studies of classroom interaction. Van Lier (1984a: 169), for instance, notes that such training enables teachers to sensitize themselves to interactional patterns they may be unaware of, while Johnson (1990: 281) argues that it provides teachers with "new insights into their performance in the classroom".

According to Stern (1992: 3), since language teachers "tend to believe in intuitive...approaches to the day-to-day tasks they are facing", they often evaluate classroom practices in an arbitrary, piecemeal fashion (Cf. Van Lier, 1989: 181). Since the discourse-based construct system used in this study allows teachers not only to become "detached observers" (Van Lier, 1984b: 125) of classroom interaction (Cf. Van Lier, 1984a: 168-169), but also to make predictions about the discourse process that will emerge when a particular teaching style is effected, it may also be useful for teachers who wish to evaluate classroom practices in a manner that is both systematic and objective (Cf. Ras, 1994: 151).

5.2 Materials design and evaluation

According to a number of researchers, notably Richards and Rodgers (1986: 7), and Dougill (1987: 29), language practitioners have such a wide variety of teaching materials to choose from today, that it is not surprising some express confusion as to which will best suit the specific needs of their learners (Cf. Allen and Harley, 1992: 352). Clearly, in selecting materials, the teacher has to determine what view of language learning the materials are based on, and whether they will suit the specific needs of his or her target group (Cf. Allen and Harley, 1992: 353; Ras, 1994: 151). If, for example, the teacher decides to focus on communicative competence, then he or she will have to select materials which encourage a fully spontaneous use of language (Cf. Allen, 1989: 184-185; Paulston, 1992: 38; 98). If teachers are familiar with the Conversation Analysis (CA) perspectives adopted in this study, they will be in a better position to make well-reasoned decisions when it comes to selecting, designing, and evaluating language teaching materials for their learners (Cf. Ras, 1994: 151). Other researchers too, notably Cunningsworth (1987: 46), and Scarcella (1989: 79-81), have argued that knowledge of Conversation Analysis is necesary as a basis for making informed decisions about the materials most suitable for specific groups of learners. Scarcella (1989: 81), for instance, notes that language teachers may "draw from CA some clearer indications for the

design and organization" of materials "directed at promoting particular types of communication among learners". This belief is echoed by Cunningsworth (1987: 47) who argues that, if teachers are familiar with Conversation Analysis, they will be able to "identify a number of significant features of conversation that need to be included in materials for teaching conversational skills".

5.3 Future research

In the introduction to this study, it was noted that the medium of instruction in a growing number of tertiary institutions in South Africa is English, and that ESL students entering these institutions face an uphill battle in trying to keep up with their English-speaking peers. In order to deal with the changing needs of learners in South Africa, we are experiencing a gradual shift in emphasis from a transmission mode of teaching towards a more mediated, constructivist-participative model of learning referred to as outcomes-based education and training (OBET). It has already been noted (see Chapter 4) that Allen's (1987) variable focus curriculum scheme corresponds closely to an outcomes-based curriculum model, since it not only emphasizes the teaching of grammatical and lexical items in context (Cf. Allen, 1989: 187; Harley, 1989: 335), but also "creates conditions for real language use, and above all, true conversation" (Stern, 1990: 103; Cf. Allen, 1990: 61). Not surprisingly, the trend towards a variable focus or multidimensional curriculum approach in which learners play the overt role (Maley, 1986: 89) "presupposes certain skills and knowledge in classroom observation and research" (Nunan, 1990: 62). What is problematic, however, is that, as Nunan (1990: 63) points out, "one of the problems with teachers as researchers...is that they often lack appropriate training in the collection and interpretation of classroom data". One way in which teachers can be encouraged to develop research skills and to increase their awareness of classroom processes is to expose them to workshops in which they are given the opportunity to "develop a range of skills in planning, monitoring and evaluating their own professional activities" (Nunan, 1990: 62). Future research could explore how the discourse-based construct system developed in this

study could be used in such workshops for teachers who wish to increase their awareness of classroom processes (Cf. Scarcella, 1989: 81; Ras, 1994: 151). As has already been noted, due to the predictive value of the construct system, teachers may generate predictions for Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching, and then test these predictions in the interactive phase of the lesson (Ras, 1984: 150). Teachers may also use the discourse-based construct system, not only to make predictions about the kinds of learner responses that will emerge when a particular style is implemented in the classroom, but also to sensitize themselves to how their own participation influences interactional arrangements in the classroom (see Fairclough, 1989: 135; McKenzie, 1992: 225; and Barkhuizen, 1995: 99). One of the main advantages of the discourse model used in this study is that emphasis is placed on the data and the turn-taking patterns recurrently displayed therein (Cf. Psathas, 1995: 7). As noted in Chapter 4, since turn-taking patterns are linked to tangible evidence, the language practitioner works not only with theoretical constructs, but with actual discourse evidence (Ras, 1994: 147).

Despite these advantages, however, it is important to bear in mind that the discourse-based construct system developed in this study should not be regarded as the final construct system for the analysis and evaluation of classroom interaction (Cf. Johnson, 1990: 281; Greyling, 1995: 30). Indeed, future research will involve recording and observing as many classrooms as possible in order to test the validity of the discourse model developed so far (Cf. Johnson, 1990: 281).

5.4 Conclusion

The trend towards a multidimensional curriculum approach in South Africa implies that language practitioners need to develop a more extensive knowledge and deeper awareness of classroom pratices and processes (Cf. Richards and Lockhart, 1994: 3) so that they can make informed choices in the language classroom. If teachers are able to sensitize themselves to the discourse options available to them in Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching by

making use of a discourse-based construct system which yields testable predictions about their interactions with learners (see Ras, 1994: 151), they will be in a better position to make conscious and informed decisions when it comes to monitoring, evaluating, and modifying their language teaching styles.

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Abstract

This study has two principal aims. First, the descriptive aim is to describe the patterns of discourse that characterize three language teaching styles referred to by Allen (1987) in his variable focus curriculum scheme as structural-analytic (Type A), functional-analytic (Type B), and non-analytic (Type C) teaching, showing that these patterns differ significantly because they are the product of distinct speech exchange systems. The justification for this study is that, although Allen (1983; 1987; 1989) has described the features of Type A, Type B, and Type C teaching at length, few data are available on how these styles are reflected in actual classroom practices and processes. Moreover, although Allen et al. (1984) have developed a coding scheme which they refer to as the COLT procedure to distinguish between analytic and experiential language activities, it does not document the verbal exchanges characteristic of analytic teaching. Secondly, the applied linguistic aim is to show how the findings of the analyses conducted in this study may be used to improve aspects of teacher training as well as materials design and evaluation. As these aims indicate, the study of classroom discourse is not regarded as an end in itself, but as a means of promoting teachers' awareness of classroom processes so that they can make informed decisions in the language classroom. In order to achieve these aims, three corpuses of classroom data are analysed either in terms of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) rule system for turn-taking in natural conversation, or in terms of McHoul's (1978) recursive rule system for classroom discourse. Due to the limitations of the Conversation Analysis perspective, aspects of the Discourse Analysis perspective of the Birmingham school (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) are used in the analyses.

These analyses show that the discourse patterns that occur in Type A, Type B, and Type C language activities differ significantly because they are founded either on (i) a pre-allocated system of turn-taking, (ii) a local-allocational system of turn-taking, or (iii) a combination of local-allocational and pre-allocational means.

Finally, the implications of the findings for teacher training as well as for materials design and evaluation are discussed, and, at the same time, future areas of research are briefly outlined.

APPENDICES: THREE CORPUSES OF CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

Susan Iris Brokensha

Volume 2

THE DISCOURSE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANALYTIC, FUNCTIONAL-ANALYTIC, AND EXPERIENTIAL LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES FOR INTERMEDIATE TO ADVANCED LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

Susan Iris Brokensha

An appendix to a thesis submitted to meet the requirements for the degree of magister artium in the Faculty of Arts (Department of English) of the University of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein.

Supervisor:	Dr. R.C. Ullyatt
Co-supervisor	Prof. W.J. Greyling
Date:	November 1997

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APPENDIX A

Language Lesson

1 T: Look at every single thing that you can. Look at the pos- the spelling, for example, of each word in the ... The um sentence, look at tense, and look at concord, and then you decide if you can see any mistakes in it or not. You'll find that we'll come to it now-now. It's on page six. Right, let's first look at the first one. Number 1. What is the relation between power and virtue? Political philosophers from Plato onwards have debated the issue. Alright, so what is the relation between power and virtue? Does that sound right?

2 Ss: Yes. Yes.

3 T: Okay, that is right. They are comparing two things. We're talking about the relation. What is the relation... Political philosophers from Plato onwards have or has debated the issue? What will you say?

4 Ss: Have ....have.

5 T: That's right. You'll say have because it agrees with philosophers... Okay, so there the first one is correct and the second one is also correct. Number 2. One of America's foremost sociologists exhort politicians to operate within the ethic of responsibility and considers the moral consequences of their actions. Okay, that's quite a long sentence, but it's so easy. All you do is look at one and then it will become?

6 S: Exhorts.

7 T: Exhorts. That is all you look at. Alright, so, one of America's foremost sociologists exhorts politicians to operate within the ethic of responsibility and consider or considers the moral consequences of their actions?

8 Ss: Considers .... considers.

9 T: Okay, I hear you say considers. In this case it's consider because he wants them to consider the moral consequences of their actions. Their is

plural, it refers back to consider. Alright, so that's why it's plural. So consider is your correct one there. So in that case, neither is correct. Number 3. He argues that social scientists, trained in the discipline of detached analysis, can helped us saw these ethical choices more clearly

10 Ss: (No response)

11 T: He argues that social scientists can helped? Does that sound correct to you?

12 Ss: No, no.

13 T: That's right. It just becomes can help us. Alright, saw or see these ethical choices?

14 S: See.

15 T: That's right, just see. Alright, so in both cases, they are incorrect. 3A, sorry, 3B. Four, in recent years there have been endless discussion in the social sciences about value-freeness in theoretical thought. The quarrel has been between positivists and humanists. Okay, this is now a bit more tricky. In recent years, there have been or there has been endless discussion?

16S: Has been.

17 T: That's right, there has been because it agrees with discussion. Alright, remember that. So don't look at years, alright, even though it's plural. You don't look at that, you look at discussion. The quarrel has been between positivists and humanists?

18 S: Has.

19 T: That's right, you use has because it ag- it agrees with quarrel. Alright, so the first one is incorrect, the second is correct, so that is 4D. Alright, number 5. Ideologues of all political persuasions has sought to enlist the human sciences as weapons in the war of ideas. Alright, another ... Another very easy one. Remember I told you to look at the word to the left of the of.

It's not a rule in English, but it's a nice hint that you can use. The word to the left of, of is ideologues. Ideologues is plural, so your verb has to be plural as well. So it's ideologues have sought to enlist the human sciences ... Such use of the human sciences destroy or destroys its essential character?

20 S: Destroys.

21 T: That's right, destroys because it agrees with use, such use. Alright, number 6. There are cases in which norms directly clash.

22 S: There are cases in which norms directly clash.

23 T: It stays exactly the same, okay. So in this case, both verbs are correct, 6A. Number 7. Suppose that one encounters a movement that push the edea that the consumption of bananas causes leprosy. Suppose that one encounters a movement ... Alright, that's your key word, so-

14 Ss: Pushes ... pushes.

25 T: That's right, that pushes the idea that the consumption of bananas ...cause or causes?

26 S1: // Causes.

27 S2: // Causes.

28 T: That's right, causes. It agrees with consumption. Alright, number 8. This means that their position, if any, are based on faith in this or that authority. This means that their position, if any ....

29 S1: // Is.

30 S2: // Is.

31 T: That's right, is based. It agrees with position. Luker's findings has or have been supported by other researchers.

32 S1: Has been.

33 S2: Have.

34 T: I .... I hear has and have. Who says it's have?

35 Ss: (Majority of students raise their hands).

36 T: Alright, it is have because it agrees with findings which is plural. So the findings have been supported ... Alright, number 9. The hypothesis propose that there have been a split in what used to be a unified middle class.

37 S1: Proposes.

38 S2: Proposes.

39 T: That's right, proposes. Okay, that's very good. I'm glad you noticed that because students in the class yesterday said no it is propose because hypothesis is plural. But the plural is hypotheses with an -ES on the end, not an -IS. So in this case, you are right. The hypothesis proposes ... that there has or have been a split in what used be a unified middle class?

40 S: Has.

41 T: That's right, there has been. Okay. That's good. Number 10. An analysis of vested interests help us to understand what otherwise would be quite puzzling.

42 S: Helps.

43 S: (Inaudible response).

44 T: That's right, helps because you look at the word to the left of, of which is analysis. So, the analysis helps us ... The ongoing debate between Left and Right concerns the scope and nature of government intervention.

45 Ss: Concerns ... concerns.

46 T: That's right, concerns. It agrees with debate. So both are incorrect in that sentence. As you can see, the sentences are getting slightly longer just to confuse you a little bit, but I think this class is doing quite well. Number 11. To act politically are to take risks.

47 S1: Is.

48 S2: Is.

49 T: That's right, is to take risks. To act is a present infinitive. These risks are or is often awesome?

50 S: Are.

51 T: That's right, are. The first one is, the second one are. Twelve. Conservative educators have usually believed in the idea of a canon of classics?

52 S: Have.

53 T: That's right. It agrees with educators. And believed, is believed right?

54 S: Yes.

55 T: Mm. It is the past tense. Even the addition of Shakespeare to the club was or were seen as a radical innovation?

56 Ss: Was ..... was.

57 T: That's right, the addition was seen ... Alright, then number 13. The ethnic profile... of both students and faculty has undergone a dramatic transformation.

58 Ss: Has ....has.

59 T: That's right, it agrees with the ethnic profile... Reading between the lines, one begins to get a message.

60 Ss: Begins ...(Inaudible).

61 T: That's right. So you do use begins, yes. Right, number 14. Some of the criticisms of the course are clearly bizarre....

62 Ss: Are... Are.

63 T: That's right are. So you see, in this case, that hint I told you about... (Inaudible) looking at the word to the left of, of... You won't find that in any grammar book because there's no rule like that in English. And it's a helpful hint. But of course it doesn't always work. Okay, so please bear

that in mind. So, some of the criticisms are clearly bizarre. One of these criticisms assert that Western culture has been elitist.

64 T: Asserts.

65 T: That's right. Asserts agrees with one. Then number 15. I have argued that Western democracy owes more to the trade unions and the dissident churches than to the elite humanist tradition.

66 S: That's correct.

67 T: That's correct. Okay, I have argued that Western democracy owes... Owes agrees with Western democracy. The justification of the study of the great works of Western culture are not political.

68 Ss: Is.

69 T: That's right. The justification is not political. Okay, that's very good, I'm glad you noticed that. Um ... number 16. There has been disgraceful and invidious practices of discrimination.

70 S: Have been

71 T: That's good... because you've got disgraceful and invidious practices. Does anyone know what invidious means?

72 Ss: (No response)

73 T: Okay, all it really means is when something is hateful. Okay.

74 S: ...(Inaudible response).

75 T: That's right, when something is hateful... In the United States, there have been several incidents...

76 S: Have been.

77 T: That's right, have been. Okay, very good. Number 17 .... I'm going to leave number 17 out because there are typing errors in it. So let's go to 18. How does this generation - whose detractors see then as glued to television and other vices - reacts to such a reading list? How does this generation - whose detractors see them as glued ... What will you say?

78 Ss: See.

79 T: That is correct. So you just keep it as see because it agrees with the detractors. Okay. So, how does this generation ... react or reacts to such a reading list?

80 Ss: React.

81 T: React. Okay, it agrees with generation. Okay, that's good. So as you can see, detractors goes with see and generation goes with react. Number 19. The young in many of the better universities has become the principal readers of American society?

82 S: Have.

83 T: That's right, it's have. It agrees with the young... the young being plural. Students in good number appear to be reading the classics?

84 S: Appear.

85 T: That's correct, it agrees with students. Okay... Number 20. At many an American university, an intellectual battle rages between classicists and innovators ...

86 Ss: Rages.

87 T: That's right, rages, it agrees with an intellectual battle. However, librarians are beginning to express concern about where to put all these books ...

88 S: Are beginning to express concern.

89 T: It stays as are. Alright, so there it's 20A. Both verbs are correct. Okay, 21. For example, if the student of English meets the word decomposition, what does he do?

90 S: That's correct.

91 T: That is correct, yes, okay. So there both verbs are correct, 21 A. The next one. What are its implications for the student? Several programmes for language development have been devised...

92 Ss: Is ... (Inaudible).

93 T: Okay, some people say what is its implications, some would say what are its implications ...

94 S: What are.

95 T: Alright, in this case it is are ... because are ag- agrees with implications. What you can do if you don't really um ... If you can't figure out what it should be: change this sentence which is an interrogative sentence - asking a question - change it into a statement and do this: the implications for the students are etc. etc. Then you'll see that ... Are goes with implications. Okay, so change the interrogative into a statement of fact in order to determine what it should be. So here it is what are its implications. Several programmes ... has or have been devised ...

96 S: Have.

97 T: Alright, have been. That's right because programmes is plural ... Alright, the next one... Alright, the future quality of military courses at basic-level military schools depend in part on how the Chinese deal with the problem of recruiting.

98 Ss: Depends.

99 T: That's right, depends. So here again, you can use that strange hint: look at the word to the left of the of which is quality. That is singular, so your verb is singular as well. So, the quality depends in part on how the Chinese deal or deals with the problem of recruiting.

100 S1: Deal ....

101 S2. Deals.

102 T: Some people say deals. How the Chinese... (Inaudible) We're talking about them as a nation ...

103 Ss: (No response)

104 T: They're a whole lot of people together... So it's got to take the plural, so it's a deal, how the Chinese deal with the problem of recruiting. Okay. Then number 24. Gorbachev have pushed for reorganizing farm work on the basis of collective contracts ....

105 S1: Has.

106 S2: Have.

107 T: Some people say have....

108 S: ...(Inaudible response)

109 T: It will be has because we're talking about Gorbachev. He's just one person, so the verb's also singular. The essence of the new system is the breaking up of large work brigades?

110 Ss: Is....is.

111 T: That's right, it is is. 25. Negotiating with the Soviet Union is an onerous obligation in this nuclear age?

112 S: Is

113 T: That's right, it agrees with negotiating. Anyone know what onerous means?

114 Ss: (No response: short-circuit)

115 T: Well, you can take a guess there. An onerous obligation is a very burdensome, troublesome obligation. Okay, this... This is what onerous means: troublesome at burdensome ... Western statesmen has hardly any reasonable alternative to dialogue....

116 S: Have.

117 T: That's right. Western statesmen have hardly any reasonable alternative to dialogue. Right, 26. Communist bureaucrats have to act as if they believe the statements they force their subjects to internalised.

118 Ss: Have.

119 T: Okay, so it is have because it agrees with bureaucrats and um... They have to act as if they believe the statements they force their subjects to internalised.

120 S: Internalise.

121 T: Just internalise. To internalise, again, that's your present infinitive. To internalise. Alright, our profession for the last half-century have been deeply interested in the public policy dimension of the discipline.

122 S: Has been.

123 T: That's right, it has been, it agrees with profession. Good. Part of our problem is the abruptness with which the issue jumped to the centre of the stage?

124 S: Is.

125 T: That's right, part of our problem... Alright, so again you look at the word to the left of of which is part... and it takes a singular verb there... Alright, then we come to sentence correction. Look very carefully at these now. it says here: identify the incorrect item among those underlined in the sentences below. If you are unable to fine an incorrect item in a specific sentence, then mark the option no error. 28. Though hired to teach computer science, he soon branched out into more off beat things...

126 S: A capital C.

127 T: Alright, I see what you're getting at ya... um, let me tell you in this... in this sentence, there are no errors. But I fully agree with you because Computer Science is a discipline, isn't it? Okay. But unfortunately for... our case at hand, let's just stick to saying no error. But I do agree there. It's a discipline and it should actually be capital letters, Computer Science. But in fact um... one thing about these sentences. They will never actually test you on punctuation like capital letters and things like that. All they do is test you on concord, tenses and spelling, and that's

all. Okay, so there, there's no error, so it's 28F. 29. Treasure Island, which soon comes into view, is a deep green.

128 Ss: (Inaudible).

129 T: Right, can you see any errors there?

130 Ss: (No response: short circuit).

131 T: Sometimes, you have to rely a bit on your instincts. Just- Sometimes, don't think too much. (Laughter) Read the sentence and just say to yourself: does this sound correct or does it sound incorrect?

132 Ss: (Jumbled, inaudible responses).

133 T: Everyone's changing the sentence, but it doesn't need changing. There are also no errors in this sentence. Okay. P So watch out, this is very tricky. Okay. Pretend that you are ... (Inaudible) are on a tourguide or something: someone is actually telling you that Treasure Island, that soon comes into view, is a deep green. And then you'll see it is correct, the tense is right, there are no errors. Alright, 30. This leaves room for an abundance variety.

134 S: D and C.

135 T: This will only be one error.

136 S: C.

137 T: It will be C okay because this leaves room for an abundant variety. It's A-B-U-N-D-A-N-T. at the end, an abundant variety. Now remember, you're only looking at one error, not more than one error. Alright, 31. This erratic, hybride education has left him dazed.

138 Ss: (No response: dispreferred response).

139 T: There's actually a spelling mistake in this sentence...

140 S1: B

141 S2: Erratic.

142 T: Okay, some people say erratic, some people say B, that it's B, hybride. In this case, it's B because there's a spelling mistake here. Your answer is hybrid without the E on the end. Okay.

APPENDIX B

Discussion Wheel

1 T: ...(Inaudible) this exercise, I hope you enjoy it. What we do is this: I give this dice to one of you. Okay. So I think that what would be a good idea is if you numbered yourselves. For example (The teacher indicates the first group of students sitting in the front row) you're one, two, three, four, five. Right. So I give it to a group. And then whoever would like to start can roll the dice. If for example, it lands on two, then you have to speak first. Okay. Then you roll the dice a second time. Say now it lands on five, then you're the second person to speak. In other words, you're the first group to speak... And you start the conversation ... and then the other members of course have to join in. Uh... then I can choose anyone else in this group and then you roll the dice a third time and ... the third roll decides the topic for you. Because I've got them all numbered here (The teacher indicates the discussion wheel) okay, from one to five. Alright. And if the dice lands on five, then you get to choose the topic. Otherwise ... you have to take what the dice give you. Okay. So let us start. Right, would anyone like to start? (Laughter from the students) (The teacher joins one of the groups and nominates a student to throw the dice by nodding her head in his direction)

2 S: Where's the topic?

3 T: You don't know yet. That's for the third roll (The teacher nominates a student to throw the die by nodding her head in his direction)

4 S: (A student rolls the die and it lands on four)

5 T: Four. So you start, okay. (Nervous laughter from students) Now someone else from that group can roll the dice ... to decide on the second person. You roll it.

6 S: (Another student rolls the dice and it lands on five)

7 T: What is that?

8 SS: Five...five.

9 T: Okay, so you're the second person to start. Right, now anyone else can roll the dice to decide the topic. So you roll it again. (The teacher nominates a third student to throw the dice by nodding her head in his direction)

10 S: (A third student rolls the die and it lands on three)

11 T: Ah, it's capital punishment. Now does everyone know what capital punishment is before we start?

12 Ss: No...yes. (Some of the students appear to be confused)

13 T: Capital punishment is when your life is terminated. Okay. If you've murdered someone... (Inaudible) That's what's meant by capital punishment. So this is something you can really sink your teeth into. Okay. So you may start. Anything that comes to mind. Do you agree with it, do you not agree with it, why do you think it's bad. You can start. (The teacher indicates the designated students in the group) And then the rest can join in, okay, as you go on.

14 S1: (No response. The student appears uncertain as to how to begin).

15 S2: Sorry, you want us to agree or disagree?

16 T: You can agree-disagree, it's up to you. (The teacher nods her head in the direction of student 1)

17 S1: I agree. (Very faint)

18 T: Do you agree with capital punishment?

19 S1: Yes. (Very faint)

20 T: Okay. Now others can join in. What do you think?

21 S3: The main purpose is not only to punish the person but also to be- to set an example for the community ...that they know there- there's

some higher authority that- that will take some serious action... because // S-

22 S4: //. As far as I'm concerned, capital punishment is there to pose as a threat for- for future criminals.

23 S5: But I think that person's guilt must be proven beyond any reasonable doubt otherwise you're going to get- get a person um...er... found guilty, terminated when he's not... (Inaudible) A life sentence is more if you're like thirty years in jail and they prove that you're innocent you get out but you're dead. (Laughter from students)

24 S4: (Non-verbal bid to speak)

25 T: ... (Inaudible) You're talking to each other, not so much to me.

26 S4: Oh.

27 T: I'm just a facilitator.

28 S4: Sorry.

29 S6: But I don't think capital punishment is something that maybe we can consider as a necessity or as a necessary because ... someone maybe commit something like a crime so you take him or you kill that person... (Inaudible) So that person is going to rest in peace as a result of that. He's going to rest, so why don't we just take that person to jail for a certain- certain years so that that person may suffer... as a result of that crime.

30 S4: Yes but //

31 Ss: // No

32 S7: They're getting out. After ten years they are getting out and they're going to commit the crime again.

33 SS: Yes.

34 S7: So I feel you can put them in- into jail for ten years or you can- and then you can decide um if you're going to... terminate them or not.

35 S8: But who's paying for that person-

36 S4: Ah-ah.

37 S8: -to stay in jail?

38 Ss: Ya. Ya.

39 S8: Who's paying for that person who committed a crime - a vicious crime to stay here. Somebody else is paying for that person to have a... He doesn't have to work. He just receives food, he receives his bed and everything.

40 S5: And somebody else is paying, the taxpayer.

41 S8: Ya. Yes.

42 S7: Um if he, for instance, um if he killed somebody with a knife, I feel you have to kill him in the same- // the same

43 Ss: // Ya.....ya.

44 S7: In the same way.

45 S8: An eye for an eye.

46 S7: Ya. (Laughter from students)

47 S5: I differ from that opinion. Because if you have to- you have to draw a certain line, where- where's it humane and where's it not humane anymore. Uh..

48 S4: An- an eye for an eye, when you come to the old concept of an eye for an eye, it's against the Bill of Rights...

49 S1: Mm mm. Yes.

50 S4: Without a doubt. There's a difference between capital punishment and eye for an eye. Uh in some of the very primal African tribes- Are you giving me a mark for that? (This question is directed at the teacher, who is making notes)

51 T: (The teacher nods her head)

52 S4: Oh. (Laughter from students) In some of the very primal African um communities, they've got the princ- the principle of an eye for an eye where if you are- if you were to have been murdered by- with a spear, you will be killed by a spear again- with a spear again, and that's how it's there. I think this is in the Congo. But I feel that's absolutely against our current Bill of- Bill of Rights.

53 S1: Mm.

54 S9: But it's not the killing, um or an eye for an eye. It is the punishment ... for doing the crime.

55 S7: Ya.

56 S10: Ya, look at us- at South Africa. We have so much violence, I mean um our children is going to grow up in this land, and it's- We have the highest crime rate in- in the world.... This is so unsafe, when you walk out the door you don't know whether you're going to get killed or not.

57 S8: Ya, I want to say something. There's the Bill of Rights. They say that you- everybody has the right to live. But now, what about this abortion, this new abortion legislation... That you can kill an innocent person, but you can let a criminal live. I don't understand that.

58 S7: Mm. The- the child couldn't decide for itself... if he wants to live or not, but the criminal can decide, ya I'm going to kill that person... (Inaudible) kill that person. I feel... (Inaudible) affirmative action....

59 S11: ...(Inaudible) everybody's got a right to live. What about the criminal? The criminal is a human being.

60 S7: // Yes, but

61 S8: // But you are- But you don't like respect for one human being to another.

62 S11: Yes you do to someone's life, but he's a human being. The fact to me that he's a human being// ... (Inaudible)

63 S7: // Ya, but he's a human being.

64 S11: // He's got the right to live

65 S7: But you don't have to be soft on him- on him because he's a human being. He had to decide I'm going to kill that person, so...um // Why do you have to go soft.

66 S3: //(Inaudible)

67 S7: What about the person that's dead?

68 Ss: ... (Jumbled responses)

69 S7: He's going to do it again.

70 S11: // Because- because that's why I'm saying now

71 S7: // What about the person who has been killed?

72 S11: // Somebody will be... (Inaudible)

73 S7: // (Inaudible)

74 S5: I think someone who rapes must be killed. (Laughter from students) What about- What about that man who has a wife and children. Go tell that to him... But it's their- his wife and their children staying behind. What happens to them?

75 S12: Ya, I agree with you because... (Inaudible) I- I think it's a- it's a bigger punishment to sit like in jail for like twenty years // Okay.

76 S: // (Inaudible)

77 S12: I know the- the money thing, but still um... to- to die okay it's over.

78 S13: No, it's a comfort for them to sit in jail.

79 S12: No // ... (Inaudible)

80 S13: // Some- Some

81 S12: // I mean twenty years in jail, I would- Gees, I would die.

82 S13: Ya, but some- Some people commit a crime because they don't have // a home, they don't have food

83 S12: // Twenty (Inaudible)

84 S13: They're going to jail for five years, they have food, they have a roof over their head, so.

85 S3: Yes but we tend to forget about the community. The community want to see justice and- and if we just say it's about humans and it's about the- the Bill of Human Rights, then the people- the grass roots level like we say- they're going to take the law into their own hands... It's the Free State farmers at this stage, they got killed. They killed a farmer, but you don't see anything happening at this stage... And I come from Kroonstad and believe me, those guys are going to take the law into their own hands at this stage because they don't see the law in action. They hear the law, they hear about human rights and they hear about the constitution, but they don't see it in practice.

86 S8: And I- also say this thing about- They- they let people out on parole if- if somebody- After a few years, they just let them out and these people do exactly the same murders again.

87 S4: What is our main aim with um with- with laws and with trying to substantiate laws. It is- We are trying to remove the unwanted er factors from our society. We are trying to create a safer environment for our children and for ourselves, so that's where capital punishment comes in. If a person is in such a state of mind that he can't really be rehabilitated, then he must be removed from society by capital punishment. //...(Inaudible)

88 S12: // want to know if that person is- is able rehabilitate.

89 S4: That you can- That you can...

90 S3: With psychology.

91 S4: That's psychology. That's- That's why you can't make a basic law and say that if a person is prosecuted for murder in the first degree that he

must be killed. That's why I feel that every case must be um looked into individually. You can't set a rule.

92 Ss: Mm.

93 S4: Every case must be investigated on its own um... (Inaudible)

94 Ss: Yes. Mm.

95 T: I'd like to make a point here too. That I think we must distinguish between mental illness and moral illness or health.

96 Ss: Yes. Ya.

97 T: I think there's a distinction because I read a case in a book called The Vanishing Conscience about a man in America who ate eight Tinkies - I don't no if you know what Tinkies are - and after he ate these Tinkies, he went on a killing spree. He killed I think seven or eight people in the city. And the lawyer got him off, he was acquitted because the lawyer argued that the Tinkies disagreed with his digestion, and that something or other triggered off something in his brain...

98 S?: That's terrible. (Very faint)

99 T: It is terrible. It is con- It is nonsense... (Inaudible) So I'm just saying, we must make a distinction between the two.

100 S3: Well, I think it hails from America with their jury.

101 T: Mm.

102 S3: Um, but perhaps in murder cases because one judge can make a mistake. It's human to make mistakes, but if you've got let's say five judges to decide about the death penalty on a certain person, I think it can effect... (Inaudible)

103 S4: And secondly, the reason why I absolutely support that - the whole idea of the jury is that the jury is representative of the community.

104 S14: Ya, but you can't put a jury system into practice in South Africa because there are too wide a spectrum of people with language differences and cultural differences, and so we have to have a- a um member of each of those cultures to... (Inaudible) spot the jury and we have to have people who translate language and all that stuff. It's too much hassle.

105 S5: But- but- but // if you look a-

106 S14: // ...(Inaudible)

107 S5: Sorry. if you look at the OJ Simpson trial, really he is definitely- He was guilty and he was um acquitted by the jury. I mean um what doesn't help because Americans... (Inaudible)

108 S10: Ya, because capital punishment is gone um because there's a criminal element in this country, there are um associations like um alarms and stuff like that it's millions of rands that people pump into that system because the police force isn't what it has to be.

109 S9: My mother's... (Inaudible) is one of the farmers who got murdered here a few weeks away and er it was like he has- he has three children er a boy- two boys and a little girl, she's a year old. He was busy talking to his wife on the radio, and the guy shot him in his back, but... (Inaudible) discussing capital punish because of a thing like that.

110 S10: Ya, but South Africa um the other countries are neglecting South Africa because of the violence. Look at our rand. It's dropping day by day.

111 S8: People don't want to invest in South Africa because it's not safe here, I mean, who wants to invest in a- in a place where everybody kills everybody and there's no- no working laws.

112 T: So the economy and crime // they go hand in hand.

113 S7: // But that's- that's why we must um have um our- our um laws must be very um... (Student seems confused and trails off)

114 S11: But I don't think the- the posing of capital punishment will really rectify the violence.

115 S10: // Ya, well that

116 Ss: //.. (Inaudible as most of the students begin talking simultaneously)

117 S4: I just feel that capital punishment- Look at the strongest country in the world today - the United States - look at their economy, look at er their moral standard of their communities, they've got capital punishment // I'm not saying

118 S14: // It's not- it's not all their states. Some states

119 S4: In- in most of them. The majority of the United State's states do impose capital punishment. I don't say it's because of capital punishment that they are doing so well, but I definitely say that it is um to a certain extent responsible for their well-being at this stage.

120 S8: Can I say if- if somebody knows that he's going to die if he does something, it's going to let him think twice about doing so. He's going to- Because now you know you're going to oh you're going to jail - lovely! - or nothing's going to happen to you, so I might as well go and shoot everybody.

121 S7: After ten years, you're going to get out, so...

122 S10: Not even ten years; you're going to get bail // for a thousand rand.

123 S8: // Ya. You're... (Inaudible)

124 S10: // You kill someone you pay a thousand rand.

125 S7: So our law must be .. (Inaudible) You have to ... ya, you have to um punish criminals more so they won't do anything, and then our

economic ... um.. economic... (The student seeks assistance from her classmates)

126 Ss: Economy.

127 S7: Economy will- will flourish... (Inaudible) so if it- If our laws are going to be all right now, we're going to- to do much better.

128 S3: At this stage, your duty- um precaution- We have to take precautions for this before something happens, and I think the biggest problem is not capital punishment or the- the justice system at this stage, but it is the moral and moral values, and the family and back to the small group. Uh there's something wrong with the communities in South Africa... the community. Building jus- justice system... but the community, the families. // There's our problem.

129 T: // Mm. I agree with you. Life seems to be cheap.

130 S3: It's very cheap.

131 T: I mean, I- I heard an interview. A woman on 702 managed to get hold of highjackers while they were on the highway, and she was interviewing them ... and they said, but what if the person in the car hands over the car to them - quite willingly - the highjacker answered: we'll kill them, in any case, just to- just for spite. So life is cheap. Now I think that the moral issue as you said is important as it seems to come down to the families. That's where it starts.

132 S10: Capital punishment eliminates the criminal element. That is to... (Inaudible) I mean, there's no lie about this. It's harsh- It's harsh but it's true. Really.

133 S4: The biggest problem is we- we are basically the last generation that grew up uh with- with // the moral.

134 Ss: //.. (Inaudible)

135 S4: We- we were the last generation that grew up with um with the moral standard of er the fact that life is definitely worth something um like

we all say now that life- life is worth nothing now. Our children is going to grow up with that idea.

136 S8: I definitely think um that ... even things like movies, these violent movies and everything uh our children are- Children are being influenced by all these bad things.

137 S?: That plays a role as well.

138 Ss: Mm.

139 S14: Ya, but the greatest influences er er comes from the parents ... instead of the kids. If you er ed- If the parents educate the children right then they will know how to handle these influences from TV or friends or whatever. So it- It is like you said, it comes down to the family.

140 S7: // A psychologist.

141 S14: //... (Inaudible)

142 S7: Um must come, ya must in more because um if you're going to um if they're going to help you with a problem, everything in the family will going to be all right, and if the family's all right, um the community's going to be okay. So it's more like a chain. Something small is going to lead to something big.

143 Ss: Mm.

144 S7: ...So laws- I think there must be a law for families, for instance, the law- um no matter what culture or something there must be a law and then everything's going to sort them out in the family and after the family, there's going to be law for the community, so if somebody do something wrong in the community, that law is going to come in, so it's going to lead... // um...

145 S3: // Yes w- I- I agree but what we tend to throw out religion at this stage. Because I think that the religion bring you back

to a family again and ... there's something wrong with the religion... re- the- the religious thing // Part of it is

146 S14: // Yes, but look at the diversity- the diversity of religions here in South Africa.

147 S3: Ya.

148 S14: So that could cause // conflict between...

149 S3: // Yes, but it should not be imposed through law ... but through- through the communities.

150 Ss: Ya.

151 S3: But we tend to forget it.

152 S5: - I think if you take any religion, there's no religion that states you must - maybe Satanists do - but there's no religion that states you must steal to survive you must. If you take any from the- from the er ...er the primal religions if you can speak like that and up to Christianity and... (Inaudible) there's- there's always the- the law- There's a law that you must keep.

153 S7: Ya, I don't think there's a law that says you have to kill somebody or take somebody's life, which means everybody has the right to live.

154 S3: ... (Inaudible: a student in the background begins to cough) who respects life.

155 S7: Ya.

156 S3: At all.

157 T: ... (Inaudible) And the punishment must fit the crime...

158 S7: Ya.

159 T: I think... because I find it ludicrous. The other day, I read about a rapist who got out on bail after a few days, one thousand rand bail, and went out and killed someone, while someone who stole - shoplifted or something for the third time - got ten years in prison. So

there's ... The punishment is not fitting the crime... I think it's also a problem. and I think too the method of- of killing a criminal is also something which is very controversial. In America, they are doing away with the electric chair because they say it's- it's inhumane.

160 Ss: Mm.

161 T: So now they're resorting to lethal injection, but I don't know, I don't have a firm opinion on it. It (Audible intake of breath) I- I think I tend towards capital punishment you know because I don't have firm opinions on anything - I'm very neutral - but I think I would tend towards it ... But it's just the way in which it's done which can be very inhumane.

162 S2: Ya, I think I-I-I think that um it- it must be prac- practised here in South Africa is that system of guillotine which was practised in-in it was in France. (Laughter from students)

163 S4: Everybody will really start losing their heads about crime! (Laughter from students)

164 S7: But um this- this um this law that says you have to kill somebody um d- if- if I murder somebody, it doesn't have to say I'm going to get killed, I'm- th- the law is going to say you must be killed or something.

165 S?: Mm.

166 S7: So I feel the- the law must be there that um you- can kill a criminal of wat ookal en 'n ... so it depends on your lawyer. You're- you're going to get life sentence or something like that, but if the judge feel that ya... (Inaudible) you can't- you can't go into society again, you have to get... (Inaudible)

167 S9: The example you gave um okay about the lawyer who got the guy off of the murder... (Inaudible) and this is because lawyers hammer so much on first offences and if everyone of us just only killed someone just once, for the first time we would be... (Inaudible: laughter from students)

168 T: That is a ... (Inaudible. Laughter) But no... Coming back to this distinction between mental illness and moral health, D- I find that- I think we are finding excuses for society. It's as if we don't want to lay responsibility at our own doors. We don't want to say, listen, I didn't have a conscience when I did this. Obviously I didn't know what I was doing, I was morally wrong. But then you pass it off oh to a bad childhood um horrible parents...

169 S?: Yes.

170 T: ...um divorce in the family...

171 S8: It's always the parent's fault.

172 T: Yes.

173 S8: Always.

174 T: Mm...

175 S7: ...um he wasn't mentally right or something. I feel it's improper. We're very- But um why are there so many people that um come from broken homes and don't kill and others that come from a broken home and kills.

[End of side A]

176 S10: One day- one day we're all going to be in heaven and then God is going to ask us and then you can't say it's your parent's fault or it's- It's your fault. I mean, you did it.

177 S12: Although sometimes it is but sometimes it is.

178 S14: No you can't judge you can't generalize on something like that.

179 S12: Ya.

180 S14: I mean, that's- that's psycho- psychological um er the effect that that has- the childhood has. It's true, it does have an effect in a way, but cases of people that do murder and they really deserve the- the death punishment, then that- that- those cases are so small. I mean there really are people that are driven to commit murder, I mean through pressure, society uh... through- through psychological effects or whatever. It's- it's true.

181 S12: Okay, but- but where can you draw // the line?

182 S14: // That's the problem.

183 S14: That's that's why you can't um try to establish a set rule. You have to investigate each case....

184 T: Each case ya because I think what's so important is um... You can't for example say if someone is a manic depressive - mentally ill - that that automatically means that they are morally ill...

185 Ss: Mm.

186 T: You know you can't do that. I mean I heard someone- I was shocked the other day to hear someone, who's a snob, say that she thinks people who come from um a background of poverty are morally corrupt. That's a terrible statement ... And we all sometimes generalize like that, you know, so that's why I say the distinction must be made much more clearly- between the two. But I also think that you must deal with individual cases. People are too individual, there are too many factors ... that can be brought into play...

187 S6: But poverty is- is another thing that drives people to do murder, to... (Inaudible) to- to do crime or to- to commit murder as a result of that. You see that if I come from- from a- a- if I come from a family with... (Inaudible) and problems, I will commit a- maybe I want to- to- to... (Inaudible) a suitable... (Inaudible) maybe I want to- to make my family... to have something to eat, so- And I see that crime, by doing crime I will make that- It will be successful for me to- to- to make my

family to eat. I will copy crime and as a result of that, vio- violence is there. It's becoming... (Inaudible) so why.... (Inaudible) as a result of ... (Inaudible) are trying to say that the crime is there. Crime can be there because of the family, the... (Inaudible)

188 S10: The crime rate will decline if we have a um- because we have a- a corrupt government, that why.

189 Ss: Mm.

190 S10: Because they're on top and if they don't enforce the law on themselves, then there's going to be violence, I mean they are corrupt, I mean look at it... // South Africa

191 S8: // But

192 T: // Give me one government that's not corrupt. (Laughs)

193 S8: Yes, I was just going to say that too. Every uh... every government you get is corrupt, it doesn't... // It doesn't

194 S10: // But that's what you see with your own eyes.

195 S5: Ya, I think if you uh invest- invest less money in the president's and premiers' Mercedes, then we can um um put that money into the community, I think we will see more results than a- than a- some official driving an expensive car.

196 S3: Yes, I think the... (Inaudible) shouldn't be to build houses, but to build factories and to create job op- create job opportunities. Because if I build a house for a person, his- his next need will be to have some food and a motor vehicle, but I don't- // I don't really- I don't....

197 S7: // If there's work- if there's work, there's going to be people that have jobs and money to buy something for them, so they don't- they don't have to steal anymore. And if there- if there- if they're going to work, there's now going to be less, and them um the other countries are

going to invest more in this country in South Africa or wat ookal because um um we don't have much violence anymore if we have jobs and money... (Inaudible) and so...

198 S4: It's back to the old principle of don't give a man a fish... Teach him how to catch it.

199 S3: Yes, but we all have the re- responsibility, not only the government...

200 Ss: Mm.

201 S3: It's our responsibility.

202 T: So I think we want to back out of this thing and say, oh, let the police solve everything....

203 S3: Yes.

204 T: Let the judges enforce capital punishment, but it comes down to us... the community.

205 S7: Ya if you... (Inaudible) you have to look at yourself before you can judge every- any- anybody else, so you know, if your morals are going to be okay, then your community is going to be um free of violence and everything, everything's going to be okay. Other community-communities - a bit long (Laughs) are going to be like you and me.

206 T: Okay, no, I think we'll end on that um positive note. Um thank you very much. You made some very interesting points.

Discussion Wheel

1 T: Uh it- it's at random, the first roll of the dice determines the first person who speaks, the second determines the second person who speaks, the third roll... determines the topic. (The teacher gives the dice to a group of students sitting in the second row in the classroom)

2. S1: Ah- hah, so // I've got... (Inaudible)

3.T: .. // So I've got them here, written // down...

4 Ss: // ... (Inaudible)

5 T: ... from one to five.

6 Ss: ... (Inaudible: three students in the group throw the dice three times)... Ses. Hah-hah! Four.

7 T: Mm. That's a nice topic... Let me get the article...

8 S1: What?

9.T: I've based each topic on an article which I read in Newsweek...

10 S1: Oh.

11 T: And your topic is cloning.

12. S?: Cloning?

13 T: The pros, cons, the advantages, disadvantages... the ramifications, consequences, Now, what exactly is cloning?

14 S1: Oh, no, I want to say about the- I think cloning is wrong because I don't think that man should have the power to play God over people.

(During S1's turn-at-talk, some of the students in the class appear to be confused as to what he is talking about)

15 T: Right. Okay, be- I see that some people don't know what cloning means. Cloning is when you take a cell ... from any living thing... and you transplant it... to duplicate that cell...to make it into an exact replica. Now the reason why I think this is so interesting... I read this topic, it's called Little Lamb... Little Lamb, Who Made Thee? It was in this week's Newsweek, magazine... about a man, Doctor Keith Campbell who took a cell from a sheep ... and he's been able to duplicate another sheep... which they've called Dolly. It's an exact replica of a sheep. Now, if they are able to clone animals, we are not far from cloning human beings... making exact duplicates. So now, I just want you to discuss amongst yourselves what you think about

cloning... (Inaudible. a student holds up the dice for the teacher) You can just keep it, I'll take it later. So anyone?

16 S1: I've already made my point.

17 S2: I think it is great scientific thing that happened, but I also agree with Anton because, I mean, God made us all, he decided to... (Inaudible) so, how can anyone else decide... for us. I mean, how can you just let everyone try to decide for God. It's impossible.

18 S3: I think maybe um if we- we stayed at cloning with the animals, it may be better because we can make er um uh... uh... a type of... (S3 looks to the other students for assistance)

19 S2: Race.

20 S3: A type of... (Inaudible) race that is immune to all diseases, and so that we can maybe uh fight hunger... and that.

21 S4: Yes, I don't have enough time in one day to do everything I want to do. I think it'll- A second Jaco will be very nice. (Laughter from students)

22 T: Are you sure you want to see the same person day in, day out? I'm thinking of twins. (Laughter from students) I know- I know a set of twins, and they hate seeing each other's reflections.

23 S5: I- I think it's wrong because um...some people...who er whose loved one's have died er would like to bring them back, and that is wrong because if you lost someone you lost someone. You can't bring them back and they will bring a replica of that person back and it will never be the same. It's wrong... aga- against God.

24 S4: Yes, but- but what about a person that lost his arm. Can't that be // a solution...

25 S?: //

Mm.

26 S4: ...to- to help...?

27 S?: Organ donation.

28 S4: ...Freak accidents and...I don't know.

29 T: I think that's a nice part of cloning // You can clone...

30 S4: // Yes, that... (Inaudible)

31 T: ... organs instead of this harvesting of organs that's going on...

32 S4: Yes.

33 T: ...all over the show.

34 S4: Clone organs, but not the person.

35 T: Ya.

36 S5: Ya, but it- It won't stop at organs. I mean, you always have a mad scientist that sits there and thinks... well I'm not going to stop at the- the heart, I'm going to try...this and that... (Inaudible) and then he's going to... (Inaudible)..put a whole new person together you know.

37 S7: // I don't think um...

38 S?: // ...(Inaudible)

39 S7: O, ekskuus. Sorry. I don't think um they will be able to clone a person because a person has got a soul, so what happens if you- you duplicate another- You can't have a soul- I don't understand- I don't think- I think they'll be able to duplicate organs and stuff, but not a person.

40 T: That's exactly // what they say in this article...

41 S4: // Not the personality.

42 S7: Yes.

43 T: You can't clone um someone's personality. You- you can get the genes exactly right, but environmental factors play a role...

44 S5: That's is why they can um clone animals because then they can have a good breeding, and um... with- with the best genes and stuff.

45 S8: Would it be right for them to clone the person because what- what right do we have- Would you be accepted if... (Inaudible: student in the background coughs) ...you must clone people... (Inaudible)

46 S9: Yes, but who will know?

47 S8: You're not always sure of that.

48 S5: Ya, and there's not always- If you want a child that looks like you, I think ...It's not wrong to a child that looks like you. I mean, you want a child... (Inaudible)..and you clone (Laughter from students) I think that's a good point. (Laughter from students) Husband and wives are always quarrelling about how they must have boys, they must have girls, and stuff like that. If they know what they want, they can get what they want. I mean...

49 T: Well, I read- I read a horrifying thing in the British Spectator. They are now so- Everyone's so concerned with perfecting the human race, that they want to get rid of all kinds of what they call defects. Now I don't have the exact statistics, I can't remember the numbers, but in Britain alone, the number of Down Syndrome children has been declining, and scientists predict that in a couple of years time, we'll have no Down Syndrome children left which is very sad, because they are just another kind of person, a special kind of person and scientists see them as a genetic defect, and- This is the problem with cloning, we want perfect beings.

50 S?: That's right.

51 S1: Have you ever- Have you ever talked to someone um... that...had a genetic defect, then have you ever seen how loveable they are. They are so loveable, you can do anything to them, and they love you... (Inaudible) They don't care how big you are, how small you are... They don't care if um you're fat or if you're skinny, they don't care. They just know that this is my friend, and you'll stay my friend, and if you do something wrong they just say thank you, please don't do it

again and then they believe you again, they believe like little kids // all the time...

52 T: // Yes.

53 S1: ...even if they're thirteen years old.

54 S5: Ya, but they- they are a generical defect // I mean...

55 S1: //... (Inaudible)

56 S5: If you have a child like that... If you have a child like that, it's a responsibility for the rest of you life because you can't look after it yourself. And, some people don't have the financials to keep that person in...in a special school, in a special institution. I mean...they are loveable and everything, but once you have someone like that as your own child, your attitude will change because...because it is the responsibility... for that child.

57 S7: I think that if God decided that a person must have this um illness or defect or whatever, it's going to happen. Whatever- whatever that... (Inaudible) What- If you do clone... if they clone people, it's not going to stop them either.

58 S10: Ya, but then why would God give man the intelligence....

59 S1: Yes.

60 S10: ...to be able to clone or to... Find cures for illnesses and stuff like that if you... if you cause illness.

61 S5: The Bible says that the men's intelligence will be his own (Inaudible)

62 S1: At what stage? At what stage?

63 S5: We don't know, but we'll find out soon... (Faint laughter from students)

64 S1: Yes, I would like to make another point about that... (Inaudible) Uh...uh I think we can save some animal species uh from

extinction...uh they can prevent maybe the qaugga, bring back the qaugga or something like that.

65 S7: I think that cloning animals will be positive...(Inaudible) cloning um cloning animals, but not humans. I think they should put // a restriction on it.

66 S1: // But ya because a human being is unique-

67 S7: Mm.

68 S1: Um... Wat is...? (Inaudible. Student 1 seeks the assistance of another student in his group)

69 S3: Creature.

70 S1: Creature of God, so they shouldn't be cloned.

71 S1: Bill Clinton has already decided to get a conference... people together to try and decide on the matter. If they're going to put a ban on human cloning or not, and it looks like they are going to put a ban on it.

72 S1: I mean who's going to be their governing body? Whose going to control it?

73 T: You can't stop it.

74 S1: Yes and I mean especially if um the old Soviet states, if they have the technology, who's going to stop them?

75 T: You can't stop a scientist who's got ulterior motives. Oh I want to win the noble prize... I'm going to clone the first human being. You really can't stop it. You really can't.

76 S5: They haven't yet started cloning people like that?

77 T: Uh... We don't know...because they're able to make... You know, if someone burns themselves, they're able to make the skin grow. So, they're already trying to work with that kind of thing. I think that's cloning in a sense...Making the cells grow...

78 Ss: Ya...ya.

79 S10: ...(Inaudible) Do they- What exactly is cloning? Do they like take the cell...

80 T: Yes.

81 S10: ...of like example sheeps and then they make like a little sheep and then he grows up into the same sheep?

82 T: Yes.

83 S10: So, well then, when it comes to humans, er er someone's soul and personality, it- it depends on um how they grow up. So each- Their souls will be different when they grow up, so you won't get okay the same person.

84 S1: Only a look alike.

85 S10: Ya, hey- they'll only look alike.

86 T: That's all.

87 S1: You can't rule.... (Inaudible) when...when the earth started... And who are we to decide who gives life?

88 T: Mm.

89 S1: We're not the ones who are supposed to decide that. I mean, who decides who dies and who lives?

90 S4: Now...where would a cloned person get his soul from...?

91 Ss: (Students shrug their shoulders or shake their heads)

92 S4: He doesn't have a soul.

93 S10: But I mean, if you, okay, it's great, maybe... (Student clears his throat) not all people have the same soul, but worry um with like... (Inaudible) who train people to be killers and you clone a hundred of them, and they look like Arnold Schwartzenegger. (Laughter from students) And you train them to be er killers and assassins. I mean, that would be a perfect army.

94 T: // They talked about it...

95 S10: // ... (Inaudible) like a hundred Gandhis... (Inaudible) and stuff like that. (Laughter from students)

96T: Well, one- One guy said to me last week - we discussed this with the group - and he said can't we clone us a couple of Claudia Schiffers and Cindy Crawfords.

97 Ss: Yeah..ya. (Laughter and teasing amongst students)

98 S1: I wouldn't mind at all!

99 S?: Dis baie oulik.

100 S5: I don't know if- if you have ever read the- the new book that's coming out about the X-files...

101 T: Yes.

102 S5: Now um it's really interesting to me, and I don't know if you um believe in the unknown or something like that, but they have a um jurisdiction of cloning...and... they don't say much about it, but there's something mysterious about it. There's something they don't really tell you about it. I think they're scared to tell you that thing about cloning. They think...they think that that if people really found out, there would be um disaster or whatever, but I think that there's a mysterious, um aspect in cloning and we're not aware of the consequences or how it's made or what is the process of anything.

103 S7: I think that er a lot of things are... happening behind closed doors.... We don't even know it, and there are perhaps already people being made by these crazy people. I don't know...

104 S5: Ya.

105 S1: I don't know if you know nuclear scien- scientists. They will go on exploring... er there will be a law, but shuck the law so what.

106 T: You can't do much. The law can't stop it. It's impossible.

107 S1: Yes.

108 T: Really you can't. No one knows what goes on before closed doors.

109 S7: And then I think one day, when this person is there they're going to like, voila, show it to the world //... (Inaudible).

110 S5: // But I think something will go wrong because um something- There's always something going wrong, and when they duplicate that person and I mean, believe it is, what then? I mean, then it's a human being that has to flourish in this world, and if something went wrong, who- who's going to be- who's this problem going to be, theirs of ours or the government or what?

111 T: Well scientists are trying to prevent that by cloning a cell which hasn't had a chance to permutate yet. So, before it gets to that stage where it's got a defect, but who knows if- They don't know- In fact, this article says they know little about that.

112 S1: I- I Think they took a cell of the bladder of the sheep that they cloned.

113 T: Yes...mm.

114 S3: What happens- What happens to- to this let's say this creature that they create? What happens- Who's responsible for them? Who's going to care for them? Who's going to - if it is normal - who's going to care for it, who's going to send it to school, who's going to nurse it? And if you ask someone who's my mom and dad-

115 S10: Ya.

116 S3: What's- What's he going to say? Well, um you're a clone. (Laughter from students)

117 S5: ...(Inaudible) going to be a um perhaps a baby or is it going to be a grown-up or...?

118 T: I've never thought of that. // I don't know.

119 Ss: // ... (Inaudible: most of the students start speaking simultaneously)

120 S?: Why are cloning...? (Inaudible. Laughter from students)

121 S5: Why are they cloning and- and- and abortion is made right? Why? Why is- Why is- Why's abortion made right... (Inaudible) against that and cloning is...maybe it's going to be legal. How can you create life if you want to take one away...

122 T: // I think it's already legal... (Inaudible)

123 S5: // There- there's no balance and- and there has to be a balance in life. There's no doubt.

124 T: Mm.

127 S7: In this world we have got a big problem with over- overpopulation now. So if we're trying to c- cut down on the people, why are they // cloning them?

126 T: // We're not helping, hey? (Laughter from students)

127 S?: ... (Inaudible. Laughter from students)

128 S5: And I think cloning... you can create someone- You- you can create a person... and you can um... you can learn him to think like you want, and you- It's like being programmed to do something, I mean, not like a computer or anything, but you can make that person believe what you want him to believe and to act like you want him to act, I mean, because he don't know who his mom and dad is, he's not going to have any um ....course in life he's going to follow, I mean you can do with him what you want.

129 S1: He'll be caught like a slave... (Inaudible)

130 S8: What about parents that are not able to have um children?

131 S1: They won't.. (Inaudible)

132 T: That is the argument...

133 S1: Yes.

134 T: And yet there's lots of moral and ethical dilemmas at the moment. Religious groups are going crazy in America... (Inaudible) It's morally unacceptable... (Inaudible)

135 S1: Ya but there's adoption.

136 S8: But it's // But it's...

137 S3: // It's not your child.

138 S8: The parents form the child's character, so if- if they adopt a child, they can form it's character...

139 T: To a certain extent. Genes still play a major role.

140 S8: Ya...ya.

141 S1: I just want to know one- one thing. Who are the Americans to decide what- what happens in the world? Who are they to decide? I mean, the- the thing they decide about the cloning will effect the whole world...

142 T: ... (Inaudible)... you know.

143 S1: Ya // and- and

144 S10: // Economics make- makes right.

145 S?: So what? Wat daarvan?

146 S1: So- so- so they're going to decide // they're going to....

147 S3: //... (Inaudible)

148 S1: They're going to decide that human beings do have faults.

149 S5: Why do people always think that God created something they want to correct? Why is it so? I mean, if God created you sterile, then you'll be sterile, and there's nothing you can do about it. Why do you want to correct it? Why do they want to make God wrong and make it a mistake?

150 S1: But- but I would like to know is, they say adultery is in your genes. Now what if er adlutery's in my genes and er it's true, I read it in Scope... (Laughter from students)

151 T: Reliable source. (Laughter from students)

152 S1: No man it was...

153 T: Ya, they say- they say it- it is a gene that's carried over the //... (Inaudible)

154 S1: // Now what if I cause my wife, the sorrow that I will cause my wife, now my child will do the same to his wife one day. And I mean that... can't be right.

155 S4: Yes, I would like to throw in a question. Uh... (Inaudible) any people that believe in God, who say they're Christian, but don't live like Christians, but if something like cloning comes up, they say but what about God and uh God says this, but they don't live live like they believe in God, but now there's a problem, now they go to God, I've got a problem with that.

156 T: Mm. There's lots of religious debates-

157 S4: Yes.

158 T: -going on at the moment. There's a lot. It's just going wild, ja. And yet, there are advantages like you said. You know, we're busy harvesting organs and I think cloning would be a fantastic idea, it really would be.

159 S4: ... (Inaudible) isn't it impossible just um clone an organ, shouldn't it be the- the whole body must be cloned for the organ?

160 S5: Who has to draw the line...

161 S4: Ya. Yes.

162 S5: I mean, who's going to decide whether you're going to... donate an organ or... (Inaudible)

163 S3: What happens if one of these clones escape... (Inaudible: laughter from students)

164 T: So you think all clones are dangerous? (Laughter from students and teacher)

165 S3: ....(Inaudible clone... (Inaudible)

166 S9: When you meet someone and you don't know if this guy is a clone or not a clone.

167 S3: Who's to say you won't have a //... (Inaudible)

168 T: // There's lots of clones walking around in that case.

169 S9: Ya. (Laughter from students)

170 S5: We don't know what to expect, we don't know // how it's going to...

171 S?: //... (Inaudible)

172 S5: ... how it's going to be or whatever.

173 S4: I know. It- it'll remain in X-Files 'till...one day we will hear that we have created them...

174 T: But if we could just get passed this- this obsession with creating so-called perfection...what we believe is perfect.

175 S?: Yes.

176 T: Because it's not. Look at Hitler, the crazy man, you know, trying to take um...extract cells from children to create this perfect Arryian race.... Look what happened to his Arryian race....

177 Ss: Mm...mm...

178 S5: I mean we have in South Africa we have the problem with um with children in need. Now if we create children, I mean or people, where are we going to go? I mean, life actually hurts people.

179 Ss: Ya...Mm...

180 S1 ... (Inaudible: laughter from students. Student 1 stops speaking) (Since none of the options to speak is employed at the transition-relevance place at the end of turn 180, the teacher decides to go on to the next topic on the discussion wheel)

181 T: Right. Do you want another topic?

182 Ss: Yes...yes.

183 T: Okay.

184 S: (A student throws the dice to decide the next topic of conversation) Ah, four again. (Faint laughter from students) Six.

185 T: Oh...um then you're allowed to choose your own topic....

186 Ss: (The students confer amongst themselves and decide that they would prefer to role the dice again)

187 T: What did you just throw?

188 Ss: Five...five.

189 T: Ah, that's a good one. That's um occults, Satanism and Christianity in South Africa. Um does it have legal status, why should it have legal status, why shouldn't it have legal status. Let's- let's talk about it... it's a very controversial issue. As far as I'm concerned, Satanism isn't religion... It's- it's the occult, and it should be banned outright.

190 S4: I think... as soon as a religion um oversteps the boundaries of the law, it's not- it can't be recognized as a .... because if my religion um dictates that I must um make him a sacrifice every now and then... (Inaudible)

191 S5: That's without cloning anyway?

192 T: Do you think so? I don't know? (Laughter from students)

193 S11: Okay, I think the question of the religion, the state must uh they don't help- help person believe it... because other person being a specific person, religion is created for the sake of... (Inaudible) other people

from that... the people to run away.. behaving that way... Note that is just an... (Inaudible)

194 T: Mm...

195 S11: So it's- It depends how well they behave.

196 T: Yes. I think if it- if it harms someone, then it shouldn't- it shouldn't be legal.

197 S3: Uh... because I think religion is something sacred that's supposed to build you up, it's supposed to make you a better person, and any type of re- religion that's degrading and making a worse person of you... it should- it shouldn't be allowed because like you said, it's supposed to put this ideal there for you to strive to. And... putting a bad ideal there just makes it worse.

198 S5: You can't say that there's something bad about um... If- if there's something bad about religion it must be banned because there are some bad facts against Christianity.

199 S9: Like what?

200 S5: I mean I've read a book in Europe about the Pope...and I seriously can't tell you the crimes that have been done inside the Church... corruption, and stuff like that, and we call ourselves Christians. What about the priests and stuff that go to the prostitutes...you- you read about every day. Is that- that Christianity? Is- Is that really so... um...upbuilding and stuff like that like you make it?

201 T: Well, in principle it should be.

202 S9: Ya.

203 T: It's just our manmade laws.

204 S9: // Ya, it's manmade

205 S5: // But it is-

206 S4: You must remember, we're not talking about the... Christianity as such. We're talking about one person. This person did that, and the other person did that and... What- How wrong we // could be...

207 S5: // Ya, but- but it means that there's a- there's a- there's a big... function in the circle of- of the Christianity circle. I mean, all the- all the priests in South Africa now there's one big one, and tomorrow there's another one... I mean, it just keeps on going- going- going on.

208 S9: The other religions like um Moslems and those... um... They're so devoted.

209 S1: Ya.

210 S9: Like they pray four, five times a day... (Inaudible)

211 S5: Moslems?

212 S9: Ya.

213 S11: Okay, as far as I'm concerned, I think religion is something of the culture... uh of which it is something that's invented by the group of people...and that leads to generation after generation after generation... (Inaudible) So... since a specific like that is something that can change, and... (Inaudible)

214 S7: I think uh... I think that the Christia- Christians... (Inaudible) yes these things that they have to do to.... in this religion.

215 S4: Yes, last year I did service here for Christ, and we visited uh about a- fifty-two schools fifty-two high schools in the Free State, and those schools that- that go a cult and to Satanism, they- they go there because they've got friends, they bond. They care about each other. And I think that is a direct finger towards every... each one of us because we- we tend to forget to bond and to...to have fellowship with our uh... (Inaudible)

216 S5: In other religions, they- they stand up for what they believe. We let things happen like abortion... stuff like that that we know is wrong.

206 S4: You must remember, we're not talking about the... Christianity as such. We're talking about one person. This person did that, and the other person did that and... What- How wrong we // could be...

207 S5: // Ya, but- but it means that there's a- there's a- there's a big... function in the circle of- of the Christianity circle. I mean, all the- all the priests in South Africa now there's one big one, and tomorrow there's another one... I mean, it just keeps on going- going- going on.

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216 S5: In other religions, they- they stand up for what they believe. We let things happen like abortion... stuff like that that we know is wrong.

The Bible tells us it's wrong. And we let it happen. Look at the Moslems. If- if they say people steal and they... there's drug abuse and stuff like that, they go on marching, and they- they- they- will get that banned. They will do something about the problem. We sit back and let things happen.

217 T: So you mean, we call ourselves Christians, but we're not living the lives of Christians?

218 S4: Ya, definitely

219 S3: And we didn't- We don't stay together.

220 S4: Ya.

[End of tape]

APPENDIX C

The Open-ended Scenario

An Invitation to Dinner:

Group A: "Peter"

Group B: "Laura"

Group C: "Michael"

Group D: "Taryn"

1 T: It's called the open-ended scenario. Now what I'm going to do is I'm going to actually divide you into groups. Alright, you're already sitting in your groups. Each group represents a character. The girls represent Laura and the guys represent Peter. Now what you have to do is... Each group... has te develop his part of the conversation. Okay, so that we can create a dialogue together. Now, I'm not in control, you're the ones in control, so you decide what you are going to say and how you're going to say it. But, the situation is as follows: alright, you Peter, are going to ask Laura out to dinner at a restaurant. So you have to decide how you're going to approach Laura and what you are actually going to say. And then Laura, it's up to you if you want to actually A accept that invitation or B actually reject it. So Peter, you have to accept Laura's decision in a very gentlemanly, polite way, so you have to decide what you are going to say if (a) Laura accepts your invitation, or (b) actually rejects it. I'm going to now give you a list of phrases which you can use to help you... Alright, Peter, for example, if you approach Laura, you can say something like: Hi Laura, how are you today? I haven't seen you in ages. So you start a conversation. You will notice in English that you never .... go straight to the point. You know, sometimes, I suppose, if you're very nervous, in a real-life situation, you just say: Will you go out with me or How about a date? But that's not the polite way... to do

things. The thing is to get into it slowly, you know, to start a discussion,

some small-talk, in other words. Right, now, what about the invitation itself? Well, you could for example say: Would you like to go out to dinner tonight? Now remember, you've got to mention when the date is, what time it is, and so on, so mention the details. Now, if your invitation is rejected, you also have to decide what you are going to say. Okay.

2.S: So we have to do the hard part? (Laughter from students)

3 T: You have to do the hard part. (Laughter). I was actually deciding: should Laura ask you or should, you know, Peter ask. But in future, I'll be doing another scenario with you, so then I'll make it quite difficult for the girls (Laughter from students). It's quite difficult if the girls decide to reject the invitation too, but now, remember, if your invitation is rejected you will have to say something like: Oh no, that's too bad. We'll take a rain check or maybe some other time. Alright, so that's the guys. So that's your phrases which you can use. Remember, you are in control. Alright, for the girls now. It's quite easy for you. You can say: Hi Peter, how are you doing? I haven't seen you in ages, and so on. But if you accept the invitation, it's also fine. You can say something like: Oh, that sounds great. What time should I be ready? If you reject the invitation, you have to be... as diplomatic as possible. For example, you will have to say: I'm really sorry, I can't make it. Could we take a rain check? Does everyone know what a rain check means?

4 S: Ya.

5 Ss: (Jumbled responses)

6 T: Okay. To take a rain check... If you say to someone: I'll take a rain check, it means that although you are turning down the invitation now, at a future date, you will accept. So I'm going to give these phrases to you. I'll come round now and help you. Do you all have a piece of paper...? (Inaudible). Write down your part of the conversation. This is the first

phase we're going into. And then I'll do the second phase with you when I introduce a new situation.

Rehearsal phase:

Now, don't forget guys, you're making all these plans. If th- if the girl rejects you, you have //

7 A: // We're

8.T: -have a plan

9.A: We're working on plan A now and .... (Inaudible) can be.

10 T: Alright. Okay.

The rehearsal phase of the scenario is accompanied by bouts of laughter and periods of silence during which the groups decide upon their game plans.

11 T: (Approximately 15 minutes later). Sorry, I'm going to have to hurry you along now.

12 A: We're finished. (Very faint)

13 T: You're finished?

14 Ss: Ya.....ya.

15 T: Okay, so who's going to be your spokes //

16 A: // Lucky, Lucky! (Laughter from group A).

17 T: -person. Okay, now Lucky, just go over what you have to say, you now, only part of the dialogue because you don't know what Laura's going to say. Okay. And who's going to be Laura in this group?

18 B: (Jumbled responses from group B).

19 B: I will.

20 T: Okay. So, whatever you feel more comfortable with, sitting or standing up, I want you now to decide //

21 Ss: // Standing. Standing. (Laughter from students).

22 T: You're going to be cruel. (Laughter from students). You're going to be cruel. Okay, well, would you prefer to just sit there and perform the dialogue.

23 S: No. Democracy.

24 T: Democracy? (Laughter from students). I haven't even seen a vote yet! (Laughter from students).

25 S: But...we all know what's the answer. (Laughter from students).

26 T: Okay. Alright. So Lucky, you want to start?

27 A: (Nods head).

28 T: Alright.

Performance phase

29 A: Where is....? (Inaudible).

30 B: It's me. (Laughter).

31 A: Okay. Hi Laura, how are you?

32 B: Fine and You?

33 A: I'm fi- I'm fine. Have- Where have you been hiding? I haven't seen you in two days.

34 B: Um...I've been studying really hard for all these tests that just bug me to the ground.

35 A: Okay. I was thinking maybe we should get together some time. How about, what about dinner?

36 B: Well, that depends on what you want to do there.

37 Ss: (Laughter from students).

38 A: (No response: short circuit. Student A seeks the assistance of a fellow student).

39 S: (A member of group A assists the spokesperson by telling him which phrase he should use). Um...Does Friday suit you?

40 A: Does Friday suit you?

41 B: Oh, boy, no, I'm already writing this huge test on Monday and I have to study for it because I've got to have eighty percent distinc-predie for it.

42 A: Well, maybe we can go to a doctor together to get a medical certificate or else you can ...(Inaudible: laughter from students).

43 B: I... did that the previous time and she really doesn't like that a lot.

44 S: This one. (A member of group A assists the spokesperson by indicating which phrase he should use).

45 A: Oh, that's too bad, maybe we can do it another time.

46 B: Another time would be b- better and I would like that ver- very much.

47 Ss: (Laughter from students).

48 T: Okay, that was very nice. Now, we're moving into phase two. I'm going to put a spoke in the wheel. You Laura have just rejected the invitation. So what does Peter do? Peter goes and asks Taryn... out to dinner. So you be Taryn. Right. But then Taryn and Peter rock up at this restaurant. Who do they see but Laura... They see Laura (Laughter from students) at the restaurant with another man called Michael. Okay. So who who would like to be Michael in this group?

49 S1: George.

50 S2: Where's Michael... (Inaudible) Johnson. (Laughter from students).

51 T: Um.... Why don't you be George?

52 Ss: (Jumbled responses).

53 S1: Oh. I'll, I'll rather be Michael than George.

54 T: Alright, so you're Michael and um.... You're Michael as well and you're the two Peters.

55 S2: Okay.

56 T: Okay. And you're okay...um... You two can be Taryn and you two are Laura. So now you've got to decide what you're going to say in the situation. Taryn, what are you going to say? And Peter, what are you going to say when you see that Laura's rejected you but she's now going out with Michael. And Michael, what are you going to say? What are you going to say to Peter?

57 S1: Butt out, butt-head. (Laughter from students).

58 T: Okay, so now you have to figure out what you're going to say to each other. So ... Once again, you're in your groups and you represent a specific character, and you have to rehearse your part of the dialogue. Okay? So go ahead.

Rehearsal phase:

59 S3: Must we um... Must I supposed to speak?

60 T: Okay, let me tell you the situation. You're the Taryns right?

61 Ss: Mm mm.

62 T: And... you've been asked out by Peter.

63 S3: Already?

64 T: That's right.

65 S4: So we don't have to answer.

66 T: You don't have to answer. You don't have to ask again. So now you are actually at the restaurant. So this is now a new scenario. Okay, you are actually at the restaurant. But the thing is... Peter, you've just been rejected //

67 S1: // Peter.

68 T: That's right. You've just been rejected by Laura. But then you see her with Michael at the restaurant. So what are you all going to say to each other?

69 S1: First, Peter's going to get .....Cross....(Inaudible) he's going to say.

70 T: Well, its up to you. It's up to you how you're going to react. Okay.

Like the first rehearsal phase, this particular phase is accompanied by bouts of laughter and periods of silence during which the various groups decide upon their game plans.

71 T: (Approximately 10 minutes later) Okay, are you almost finished?

72 Ss: (Jumbled responses).

73 T: Do you need a bit more time?

74 Ss: No.

75 T: Okay, then. Who's going to be spokesperson for Michael?

76 S1: First him then me.

77 S2: No, first him then me.

78 S1: Okay.

79 T: You have to choose one.

80 S2: No, Just one.

81 T: Yes. Yes. One of you has to represent the group. Okay, so it's going to be you. And then Michael?

82 S2: I'll be Michael.

83 T: Okay. Who's going to be Taryn?

84 Ss: No. It's going to be Peter then Michael.

85 T: Oh yes, you're Peter, you're Michael. And then Taryn.

86 S3: (Non-verbal bid).

87 T: Okay. And then ... Who's going to be Laura over there?

88 S4: We'll be Laura.

89 T: Yes. As long as it's one person.

90 S3: Ya, only one character.

91 T: Ya, only one of you can act as spokesperson. Okay, who's it going to be?

92 S1: Us. We start.

93 T: Alright, So, let's do this.

Performance phase:

94 A: Hi Laura, how are you? I see your studies have taken second fiddle tonight.

95 B: (No response: Laughter).

96 A: Hi Laura, how are you? I see your studies have taken second fiddle tonight?

97 B: (No response).

98 T: Okay. This is the whole point. You're unprepared, okay. This is how it is in a real-life situation. You're unprepared, you don't know what to say. So you've got to come up with something to say, you know, to what Michael has just said to you. Okay. What excuse are you going to come up with? Alright. Anything which comes to mind.

99 B: (No response).

100 A: Uitgevang!! (Laughter from students).

101 T: Okay, just decide what you're going to say. You can say something like: Oh, you know, hi Michael, you know, how are you?

102 B: Mm mm.

103 T: Something like that. You have to stall for time. Okay.

104 B: (Jumbled responses from group B: inaudible).

105 T: Okay, continue, this is going well. Go on. Well, whoever's turn it is to speak.

106 C: Hi, Laura. Do you know Peter?

107 B: Oh, hi Peter?

108 C: Um... So why don't you come and join us?

109 A: That's okay. We don't want to get between Laura and her studies.

110 D: Excuse me, do you know each other here?

111 A: Ya, sort of... We met each other just the other day.

112 D: So why are you so really ...hard upon her?

113 A: No, I'm just not just hard up. Just worried. (Laughter from students).

114 D: You're not worried.

115 A: Um...About her studies? Of course.

116 D: What do you have to do with her studies anyway?

117 A: She has to pass at the end of the year. (Laughter from students).

118 D: Oh, so you don't have to?

119 A: Ya, we do, but er I make time for everything... (Inaudible). Jealous jealous. (Laughter from students).

120 D: It's not about jealousy, but am am I missing something here? Weren't you supposed to be with me tonight?

121 A: Um... yes, of course you know, we are here.

122 D: Ya, we're here, but we you're really going mad about Laura being here.

123 A: Um... Michael...um, you got anything to say here? (Laughter from students).

124 C: (Laughter from students: inaudible) Um no, I don't think so. I think I'm just going to sit back and watch you guys.

125 A: Oh, that will exciting. Um...(Inaudible) Laura or Taryn?

126 C: Um Taryn.

127 A: What?

128 D: Taryn.

129 A: Taryn um...Do you think we should um just enjoy our evening and go sit down?

130 D: Well that depends on you.

131 A: Well, I'd like to.

132 D: Okay, so you're not going to be nasty for the rest of the // evening

133 A: // No.

134 D: And look at Laura all the time?

135 A: No. It's okay. (Laughter from students).

136 D: It's okay. So just tell me something. Were you supposed to be with me or did you go and ask her first?

137 A: Yes, I might. (Laughter from students). Um... Jou beurt. (Laughter from students). Okay. I did ask her first but er she was busy.

138 C: Studying.

139 D: So I'm second -hand now.

140 A: No (Laughter).

141 D: Well that's really nice.

142 A: I would have asked you, but... er I saw her first.

143 D: You saw her first. So I don't really mean anything to you?

144 A: No, you do, really.

145 D: Ya, what?

146 A: Everything.

147 D: Ya right, like what?

148 A: The sun, the moon and the stars. (Laughter from students).

149 D: Oh ya, out of Shakespeare. (Laughter from students).

150 A: No response. Michael is out somewhere... (Inaudible). Jy gaan iets sê... (Inaudible). Let's have a beer. Michael how about a beer? (Laughter from students).

151 C: Um, I think so ya.

152 A: Taryn, would you like to er...

153 C: Sit with Laura and enjoy your evening? (Laughter from students).

154 D: Well, me and Laura don't really know each other but seeing you guys are being so...

155 C: So this is the perfect opportunity to get to know Laura.

156 D: Ya, maybe and maybe we won't even see you ever again.

157 C: Suits me //

158 D: Just leave me alone and //

159 C: // ....(Inaudible response).

160 D: Never c- come and see me again until you've grown up. (Laughter from students).

161 T: That's very very good. You see you... see what developed. In the first phase, everything was so polite, so gentlemanly: approaching each other, the one asking //

162 S: // May I ask... (Inaudible: laughter).

163 T: -The other out, poor Peter. Politely rejecting the invitation and then this happens. Okay, so you see how real-life situations can develop and get totally out of hand. Alright. What- Without knowing it, you've been practising what's called communicative competence, using language as a social tool. Okay, There's a difference between

grammatical competence and communicative competence. You've all been using very interesting verbal skills here to get around this awkward situation. Unfortunately, you didn't actually s- resolve the situation, by I suppose... in a way it did, seeing that Laura's now going with Taryn (Laughter from students) and Michael's going with Peter. It's actually amazing how the guys always stick together and the girls you know are so loyal to each other. So, actually, it's um...Worked out very nicely. Now, some feedback. Did you enjoy doing this?

164 Ss: Ya. (Laughter from students).

165 T: Was it nice?

166 S: Maybe we should do it again more often.

A Parting of the Ways?

Group A: "Andrew"

Group B: "Linda"

Group C: "Sandra"

1T: ....(Inaudible) I think you enjoyed it. I got that idea. I don't think you did it. Anyway, I'll explain it to you now. Um, the reason why I'm doing open-ended scenarios with you well there's actually ...two reasons. The one reason is you are my guinea pigs (Laughter from students) because I'm doing this as part of my research so now I haven't even asked your permission but I thank you for giving your consent. (Laughter from students). Okay, that's the first thing the second thing which I think is even more important... I want you to...enjoy doing this kind of thing... an open-ended or multiple-role scenario. What you do is, you learn to use language as a social skill. S- um you know up to now you've been doing grammar, and you've been doing controlled compositions. But that really isn't using language for communicative purposes. But without knowing it - those of you who did the scenario last time - you were actually using

verbal strategies, an y- and you were not actually aware of it. Now I've written three down on the board. For example, attenuation plus but. I'm sure you've all heard of this when someone comes up to you and says: I don't want to hurt your feeling but.... (Muffled laughter from students), that is typical- I'm sure you've all come across that before and you want to cringe inwardly because you know they're going to say something nasty. Another one is the blame deflection one. Little kids often use this when they throw a cricket ball and the window breaks. They go to mom or dad and say: Mom, Dad, the ball broke the window, not I broke the window. That's blame deflection. Another one .... Typical.....fishing for complements, when you deliberately put yourself down: Ah, my hair, my clothes, nothing suites me.... You want the other person to say: Oh, but you look wonderful! Fishing for complements. These are all things that we use without knowing it. Another one which I'm sure you've all come across is when someone says to you: I want to ask you a favour ... And you think: Oh no, no... (Inaudible). What is this person (Laughter from students) going to ask me? So, you see these things are all things we use without knowing it. Now, I'm going to hand this out to you ... Okay ... Just see that you know what the situation is about ... (Inaudible) Okay, let me explain it to you... Okay, the title of this scenario is

A Parting of the Ways. It's actually a multiple-role scenario because it involves interaction among three characters. But it's open-ended because I don't control the dialogue - you control the dialogue, you decide what you want to say. Now, the situation is as follows: a son, Andrew, lives and works in a city and he takes care of his mother who's an invalid. Her name is Linda and her husband has passed away. He is engaged to a woman, Sandra, who also lives and works in the city. Alright, so the action takes place between firstly Andrew - so this group will be Andrew - and then Sandra - well, whoever wants to be Sandra here - and... the action takes place between Andrew and Linda over a possible change in living arrangements. Okay, s- that's important: the action takes place...um...in connection with a

possible change in living arrangements. Okay, so that's- All of you share the same context. Okay, so you all know each other, you all live in the same city, and you're going to have a conversation about living arrangements. Now each group will represent a role: that of Andrew, Linda or Sandra. Each group has to decide what his or her character is going to do and say based on information which I'm going to give to each group. Now what is important is that no group is allowed...is allowed to know the hidden agenda of the other group. So, you're going to get like-top-secret information and use that information in constructing your dialogue. You're not allowed to share it with any other group. Okay, that's what makes scenarios so interesting. They're unpredictable and so on. Um...each group will be given phrases which they might find useful in deciding what they're going to say. So remember: each group has what you call a game plan. You've got to decide what you're going to do if someone does not agree with your point of view. So you actually want to persuade someone to come around to your point of view, but you've also got to bear in mind that they might not agree with you. So what are you going to do in that case? So, you've got to have plans of action: plan A, plan B, plan C etc. Alright, so you all understand? Now who would like to be Sandra? Which group?

2 S1: We'll be Linda. (Laughter from students).

3 T: So, you're going to be Linda then. Okay, you're going to be the mother. And you're (indicating the other group of female students) going to be the woman who's engaged to Andrew.

4 S2: Yes.

5 T: That's Sandra. Right. Okay. So now, I want to give you your information which remember you can't share with anyone. So that's Sandra. That's your information. Linda very wicked. (Laughter from students). At your age. (Laughter from students). Right, so...um...construct your dialogues

surrounding that, read it silently and so on. You can also spread out if you don't want anyone else to listen to you.

6 Ss: Okay. (Laughter from students).

7 T: You can talk and so on, you can consult me if you don't know what you want to say.

Rehearsal phase:

8.T: Okay, what I have to explain to you is, um, this... What you're doing right now is a rehearsal stage. So, you've got to rehearse your part of the conversation. Okay, and you've got to rehearse what you think the other person is going to say. So you don't know... It's totally unpredictable for those of you who weren't here last I mean for you who were here you know how it goes. It's interesting, it's fun to do, um...you can consult me any time and so on.

9 S3: And who's beginning?

10 T: Well...anyone. Ya, whoever wants to broach the subject first. (Laughter from students).

11 S4: Mam, do we have to...(Inaudible) dialogue around these phrases?

12 T: Not necessarily. That's just a // guideline.

13 S4: // oh.

14 T: -for you. Just a guideline.

The rehearsal phase of the scenario is accompanied by bouts of nervous laughter and periods of silence during which the various groups decide upon their game plans.

15 T: Now you (indicating group of male students) were not here last time, but you guys came up with very interesting solutions. (Laughter form student) In fact, in the last scenario what did you decide //

16 S5: //...(Inaudible).

17 T: -to go off, yes. you decided to go off and drink beers and just leave Laura and Whatsisname in the lurch in the restaurant. (Laughter from students).

A few minutes later, the teacher reminds each group that they will have to choose a spokesperson to perform the dialogue.

18 T: Remember to write your dialogue down... so that you can perform it because as some of you know, you can choose a spokesperson in each group to actually perform this... And each- And then your partner can actually prompt you from the sidelines and say don't say this or you've forgotten to say that, and so on.

19 S4: Sorry...

20 T: Yes.

21 S4: The conversation is just between Linda and Andrew and later there's one between... (Inaudible) //

22 T: // Yes. Okay. That's right. First between Andrew and Linda and then between Andrew and Sandra.

23 S4: Okay.

24 T: Or the other way around, depending on the way you want to do it.

25 S4: Okay.

26 T: Mm hm.

27 S4: I'm doing the first part. (Laughter from students). I'm the mother (Laughter) so you listen to me. (Laughter). We're starting, okay. (Laughter).

28 T: (A few minutes later) How's it coming along?

29 S4: Fine. (Laughter from students).

30 T: Why do I see some very sneaky looks on some people's faces? (Laughter from students).

31 S4: Because this is a very sneaky subject. (Laughter from students).

32 T: (A few minutes later). Okay, I don't want to hurry you up, but is everyone nearly finished? (Laughter from students). Okay. Who would like to start? Now you can- It's up to you. How would you like to do it? You can either do it as multiple-role interaction where all three of you come together which I think should be interesting. Or you can do it separately. I think... How would you like to do it?

33 Ss: (No response).

34 T: Well, why don't we do it as a multiple-interaction but then, whoever would like to go first, goes first. Who would like to go first? Who's the brave soul?

35 S4: Me.

36 T: Are you the spokesperson? And who's the spokesperson here? Lucky? (Laughter from students). It was Lucky last time. You've got to decide though.

37 S5: You can go ...(Inaudible).

38 S6: (Inaudible response: Laughter).

39 T: You've got no choice. (Laughter from students). And...and the spokesperson there?

40 S2: (Non-verbal bid).

41 T: Are you going to be... Okay. Right. Let's start.

Performance phase:

42 B: Okay, um... Okay, that must just be...? (Inaudible).

43 T: Ya.

44 B: Andrew, I would like to speak with you. It's about your future. I think it's...(Inaudible) time, for you and Sandra, to start looking for a home, you are going to be married in a few months... You are a thirty-year-old man... You can't- Okay, you can't be looking after your mother all your

life, you have a wonderful opportunity to start a new life with Sandra (Audible intake of breath) and I'm not going to be the one who's going to take it away from you. You deserve more.

45 A: Mm, well, this is going to be a day for surprises. We need to talk as well. Uh...something quite important has come up. Please, Mom, sit down, I think you'll need this. (Laughter from students) I don't have a ...(Inaudible: laughter from students).

46 B: Okay... (Inaudible). I'm sitting // down.

47 A: // I don't- What I'm going to to tell you it's going to leave you flabbergasted but... Quite an im-important opportunity has come my way. We are going to have a home quite soon and I'm going to get a job, quite a good one... It will mean more money and... no more worries about where the day's food is going to come from, but mom, this is overseas. What do you think?

48 B: I think it's a wonderful opportunity, you don't have to worry about me, I met somebody wonderful at the bridge-club and is looking for a room to let. So, I won't be alone. It will definitely be somebody to look after me and it's a wonderful opportunity. Are you going to take Sandra along?

49 A: Oh yes, definitely. She just doesn't know yet.

50 B: I hope you get married before you leave.

51 A: Oh well, I'll have to think about that one, Mom.

52 T: Very nice. Okay. (Laughter from students). Although I'm surprised though. Your mother is going to live this guy and not even marry him. (Laughter from students).

53 4: He's now worried... (Inaudible: laughter from students).

54 T: Okay, and now Andrew and Sandra. Thanks.

55 C: Hello, Andrew, how are you this afternoon.

56 A: Oh, well and you?

57 C: ...(Inaudible) today, I received a promotion to be an assistant-director at the bank...(Inaudible). It's at Petersburg...(Inaudible: laughter from students).

58 A: (Clears throat). Well, well. (Laughter from students). Well, that's quite interesting. Sandra is it? This is quite a coincidence. (Laughter from students) because I came into a job as well and this is overseas.

59 C: I think we can both go there and together with our mom but we are getting a real house at Petersburg. What do you think of Petersburg?

60 A: No, Mom's got other plans at the moment. (Laughter from students). She's going to live with someone. (Laughter from students).

61 C: I think it's too much better if she...(Inaudible). We can go all together.

62 A: No Mom's staying all on her own. She doesn't want to go with us... (Inaudible). So no more financial problems.

63 C: I think we... we'll send her money every month...(Inaudible).

64 A: Oh just a bit to keep her alive...(Inaudible: laughter from students).

65 C: It's really upsetting to me because an opportunity comes once.

66 A: But we are going to go now. Please book off to London. (Laughter from students).

67 C: I have to start on...Monday on the first of J- July...this year. So (Inaudible).

68 A: This is going to be our engagement...(Inaudible) way.

69 C: No, we are going together with you...(Inaudible).

70 A: We are going to Petersburg?

71 C: Yes.

72 A: I'm going to London, darling. (Laughter from students)..And I'm going. I'm leaving for London and you know that.

73 C: ...(Inaudible). Um... What I want I want what I am going to do? Do I have to leave the promotion?

74 A: Well well well. (Laughter from students) Um... (Inaudible) Can't you try and find yourself...? (Inaudible).

75 C: No.

76 A: I'll help you. (Laughter from students). I don't know London but I know we need the money. (Inaudible: laughter from students).

77 C: I think you will be the one who will find me a post as an assistant-director. And I will... I will leave my job at Petersburg. And we both go to London together.

78 A: Yes...(Inaudible: laughter from students).

79 T: Very nice. So you resolved it.

80 Ss: (Laughter from students).

Debriefing phase

1 T: I've actually brought you a transcription here.... which I'll be going over with you. Okay, if you look at that...(Inaudible. Teacher indicates the students' grammar logs). Alright, the first one, for those of you who were here, is actually a two-phase scenario...where two people had to ask each other out... It was the guy who had to do the hard part anyway, someone still asked me on the tape why do we have to do the hard part. (Laughter from students).So um... Lucky, you were the spokesperson in that group and I think Elana was... ya, she played Laura. Alright, and she was very cruel. She decided to decline the invitation, she was very...(Inaudible).

2 S1: She didn't play like Laura, she fight like Laura!

3 T: Is it? Do you think so?

4 Ss: Ya...ya. (Laughter from students).

5 T: Ya, she was pretty argumentative, hey? Okay, so that was the outcome: The invitation was rejected and Lucky, I think you decided... (Inaudible). I think you decided that you were going to try to convince her to go to a medical doctor and to get an excuse. (Laughter from students) You know, so she wouldn't have to write the test. So it was pretty creative. But of course she didn't agree with you, so that's the outcome. Do you think it was a successful outcome?

6 S1: No.

7 S2: For the girl.

8 T: For the girl do you think?

9 Ss: Mm hm.

10 T: Okay. Alright, well let me read some of it to you. (The teacher reads from the transcription) Okay... Where does it start? Okay, well first of all Lucky says: Hi Laura, how are you? So they engage in a bit of small talk. Would you all agree that's very important, hey? Some small talk. You know, I saw a comedy the other day - and of course, sitcomes are totally unrealistic - where the guy just said: Will you go out with me? But he said it in a strange way, like a kind of a rap way like... I don't know what he said. But of course you can't do that, hey. You've got to engage in small talk and that's what people in the... (Inaudible) culture do. We talk about the weather and things like that. I happen to know that in Japan, when you start a conversation, you never ever talk about the weather, you talk about flowers. It's the strangest thing. So everyone in their culture has got a unique way of starting a conversation. So that was...that was very good, that you started a bit of chit-chat like that. Alright, then you asked her out... and she made an excuse. let's see, what did she say here... Oh ya, she said: I've been studying really hard for all these tests that just bug me to the ground. Do you think that's right, bug me to the ground, as an expression?

11 Ss: (Students look at each other uncertainly).

12 T: Does it sound a bit strange to you? Bug me to the ground?

13 Ss: (Students still uncertain).

14 T: Would you use that in English do you think?

15 Ss: (No response).

16 T: Well, I couldn't figure out where Elana had got this from, so I went to look at a dictionary... She's actually confused two expressions. Okay. The first one, obviously, to bug someone, to pester or irritate them, and the other one is the expression down to the ground which actually means completely. Okay, in other words for example, I want to buy this house; it suits me down to the ground. So all I can think is that's where she got the two from and then she used them together. So those are two very nice expressions to remember, especially down to the ground. You don't often....(Inaudible. Teacher writes expressions down on the board). Now why I actually do scenarios with you is because I want you to see how you can actually use English. You know, sometimes I...(Inaudible) Like this. We tend to concentrate on grammar and that's all we do. But we don't really learn about the subleties of English or what English can actually accomplish, you know, you can say something so innocently, and... it actually means something else. I've told you before, newspaper headlines often say um... Tear-gas dispersed the crowd. But the reporter doesn't say who dispersed the crowd. Obviously the police. But they're deflecting blame away from the police. So you see, it's... it's amazing how you can use... (Inaudible) Any language has these kinds of verbal strategy. Alright, so then she made an excuse. Obviously nice and polite. You know, you can't just say no. Alright, the, I see a group member here helped Lucky...Does Friday suit you...and then she said...she has to study to get an eight percent predicate or something. So she made another excuse. Alright um...that word suit... I actually saw it in your essays. A couple of people used the word suit in their essays. There's a difference between the...the S-U-I-T-E- and the S-U-I-T. Does anyone know?

17 S1: S-U-I-T-E-?

18 T: Mm hm.

19 S1: And the one's without the E?

20 T: That's right. Anyone know?

21 Ss: (No response).

22 T: The one with the E is...is pronounced sweet like a furniture suite, and the other one S-U-I-T refers to a suit or to the verb: Does Friday suit you? Alright, so please remember that. Okay, so there Lucky said: Does Friday suit you? And after that Elana made an excuse. Then of course he went into another verbal strategy - very clever - trying to convince her to get a doctor's certificate and she turned him down again. Um..and then Lucky said: Oh that's too bad, maybe we can do it another time. Obviously a nice way to put it. Um...I told you, you can also use the expression to take a rain check, which means that um... although you are turning down the invitation now, you will accept it at a later stage. I told you um... to take a rain check comes from America. Um, in America, if a football match is rained out, for example, they get their tickets back, which means that when the weather is fine, they can go back again. So that's where the word rain check actually comes from. Alright, so that was the first phase. Then I threw a spoke in the wheel by introducing Michael and Taryn. Okay, remember, Laura rejected um, Peter, then Peter asked a girl called Taryn out. Obviously she accepted, they went off to the restaurant together and they encountered Michael and Laura together. Alright, so they were obviously very angry. And I see here...I think- I don't know who..a..Do you remember who played Michael, no, who played Peter?

23 S2: It was George.

24 T: Ya you really had a good conversation going there. Um...Let's see here...(Inaudible) You said: Hi Laura, how are you? I see your studies have taken second fiddle tonight. And I think that...that um...that Laura

was played by Martha I think. And she was deathly silent because she didn't know what the...what the expression to take second fiddle means. Do you all know what to take second fiddle means?

25 Ss: (Dispreferred response).

26 T: Okay, all it means is that you are second best, in other words, that you take an inferior position to someone else. That's all it means. Someone said... (Inaudible) obviously the expression second-hand means exactly the same thing. So there was no response there. (Teacher looks at transcription). I think someone- Yes, someone in the group helped her and then she spoke a bit to Michael. That's right. So, we've got a couple of expressions so far: We've got down to the ground, we've got to bug someone... So you never- I mean this seems very innocent... (Inaudible) expression, you must think what's the big deal? Okay, what is the deal? But it is a big deal because these are expressions, conversational strategies which you can use in English. Okay...like you said: Your studies have taken second fiddle tonight. Obviously angry, expressing your anger, but you're expressing it...(Inaudible) using this expression. So that was very clever I thought. Okay, so you've got those expression there. Now you were pretty argumentative, you two. You were like going back and forth, back and forth, okay. Um...After a while I think you were fighting more with Taryn...(Inaudible) actually Peter and Laura were... (Inaudible) in the background...(Inaudible) They had caused all the trouble but it was actually Michael and Taryn who were going on and on. Let's see...Ya, actually, Laura asked: Excuse me, do you know each other here? And then you said: Ya, sort of, we met each other just the other day. Okay. Then you went on a bit like that...Oh ya, and then I think um Taryn asked you: Why are you so really hard upon her? Okay. And then you answered: No, I'm not. I'm just hard up. Okay. (Laughter from students). So that's another expression, okay, hard up. I don't know...Do you think that's slang...? (Inaudible)

27 Ss: (Majority of students nod their heads)

28 T: I suppose so, I think it's a bit....(Inaudible) slang..(Inaudible) America. Alright, so that was very clever I thought, that you changed that expression from hard on her to hard up. Okay. So I thought that was very clever. Alright, then you said: No, I'm just hard up...just- Hang on, you said: No, I'm not...I'm just worried. And then you said: About hert studies? Of course. So once again you changed it around. Okay. So you see, it's ...(Inaudible) this verbal game going on, this verbal battle. But it's not exactly- You're not actually accusing the other person of anything, but you're fighting in a way. Alright, um...Then you went on about jealousy and so on...(Inaudible) Oh ya, and then Michael, you were extremely neutral. You said here... Actually,

you- Peter asked you: Do you have anything to say here? And you said: No, I don't think so. I think I'll just sit back and watch you guys. And then you said very sarcastically: Oh that will be exciting. (Laughter from students) Alright, so you were extremely neutral. And then....

29 S1: The objective one...

30 T: Do you think so? (Laughter from students). Alright, and then what happened over here? The strangest resolution: You guys decided you'd go and have some beers... and you left Laura and Taryn on their own. (Laughter from students). Alright, so that was the outcome. Do you think there could have been any other resolution?

31 S1: Ya.

32 S2: There might have been, but they were so spiteful, we thought we would just be by ourselves //... (Inaudible)

33 S1: // But...(Inaudible)

34 S2: What's her name? Laura?

35 T: Mm.

36 S2: Michael or what- Peter...um should just have greeted her and went to his table... And then there'd be no trouble.

37 T: So you think... Peter should have avoided Laura?

38 S2: Just...just...just say hi, you know, just greeted her, say goodnight and enjoy her night.

39 T: Would you agree with that?

40 S1: Well, there's no reason to go there and bug her.

41 T: No there isn't actually. Would you agree?

42 Ss: Mm. (Very faint).

43 T: I wonder!! (Laughter from students).

44 S1: Yes, I...I think so because um...Yesterday, I heard someone say um it's funny that you have to be silent before you can communicate...

45 T: That's interesting. ya...very interesting. So you think there could have been a resolution to this, hey?

46 S1: I don't think that in a restaurant is the time or the place to...(Inaudible) treat...(Inaudible).

47 T: True, very true.

48 S2: If she- If she wouldn't- didn't like to go out with you, then so what.

49 T: Mm.

50 S2: You've got another girl, so...(Inaudible: laughter from students).

51 T: No, that's actually true. Okay, so there could have been a better outcome. So you see how this is... You know, we don't realise, in life that when we do something as simple as asking someone out, we do not realise that we are actually going over it in our minds. I mean, you'll say to me, oh, that's crazy, but I don't...But you actually do. Sometimes when you start a telephone conversation, you decide what you're going to say, how you're going to say it, especially if it's a difficult subject to broach. So, these are all verbal strategies that we use without even knowing it. So, that's just something I wanted to make you aware of... Alright, so that was the outcome. I'd say the first one - I don't know if you agree with me - I'd say the outcome was successful...because Lucky

was diplomatic. Um...Laura was diplomatic. She gave an excuse as to why she couldn't go out with him... even though it was a lie. (Laughter from students) But, he wasn't to know - or we hope so. Al- Alright, although I suppose you do sometimes know if someone's lying if they ask you out and they say no. I mean it's pretty obvious. you can see it a mile away ... If someone's lying. (Laughter from students). I don't know... would you agree with that?

52 S1: Ya.

53 S2: Definitely.

The Party:

1 T: ....Okay, some of you know how it works.... I think most of you do, hey?

2 Ss: Mm.

3T: Right. Okay, now the derived situation is this, alright: A gets invited to a party...okay... and then a male acquaintance of hers - this is now B - needs a ride to the same party... because his own car is in the repair shop, and she agrees to give him a ride to the party and they go to the party. So that is the information that you all share. Now as you all know, I'm going to give you information which... you don't share. Okay, remember, you don't share this information with any other group. So let me just see which one belongs to which...Okay, so this is yours. Okay, so that is your own agenda. Alright, I think it would be a good idea if you just moved one row up, otherwise you're going to know each other's game plans. (Laughter from students). Okay. (The students form two groups).

Rehearsal phase

T: Okay, here's just some paper for you if you want to ... (Inaudible) writing down your dialogues and so on. Okay.

The rehearsal phase is accompanied by bouts of laughter and periods of silence during which the two groups decide upon their game plans.

T: (Approximately 8 minutes later) How's it going?

4 S2: We can't think.

5 T: You can't think today? (Laughter from students)... (Inaudible question).

6 S2: I don't know... (Inaudible) because if he goes like okay if he wants to drive...

7 T: Mm hm?

8 S2: If he wants to drive...(Inaudible) then we've got something to say, but what if he says okay he wants to go with somebody else, we have no reason why he shouldn't. (Laughter from students).

9 T: True. Okay... (Inaudible) It sounds like you've got two game plans there?

10 S2: Ya. (Laughter from students).

11 T: That's good. So you've learned from previous scenarios it seems, hey?

12 S2: Ya...Because it's much easier if you actually like anticipate what the guy is going to say... (Inaudible: laughter from students) It's actually true.

13 T: Do you think we actually do that? I think we do. We- we subconciously anticipate what the other person is going to say?

14 Ss: Mm....mm.

15 T: ...(Inaudible) We don't really- If someone said that to you, you'd think: Oh, but that's crazy, but actually, we do do that. I mean, if you've got some really bad news to give someone, you're going to say you know-

16 S2: Exactly. Ya.

17 T: - sit down...or something. That's the worst. (Laughter from students).

18 S2: I hate it: just sit down now! (Laughter from students)

19 T: I hate it when someone says: I have to ask you this massive favour. (Laughter from students) Because then you know you can't actually turn them down. It's very bad.

20 S2: Promise me- promise me something. No, just tell me what you want... (Inaudible: laughter from students).

21 T: No, that's true... (Teacher goes to group B) What I actually did was...I took this scenario and changed them around. That- The one you've got is actually the female role.

22 S1: Oh.

23 T: ... (Inaudible) I thought I would change them round for a change...because you know that situation... I'm sure you'll agree with me that it's unfair.... always putting it on the one person, hey?

24 Ss: Yes.

25 T: Mm. Ya, I swopped it around for a change.

26 S1: (Approximately 25 minutes later) Susan, we're finished.

27 T: Are you finished?

28 S1: Yes.

29 T: (To group A) Are you also finished?

30 S2: (Nods head).

31 T: Okay. Who's going to speak in this group? (Laughter from group A)

32 S2: Ag nee, okay. (Laughter from student).

33 T: Do you want- Is that democracy? Was that...? (Inaudible question: laughter from students).

34 S2: It's not democracy, but okay. (Laughter from students).

35 T: And over there? (The teacher indicates the students in group B)

36 S1: (Inaudible response)

37 T: Ya, Lucky spoke in the first scenario I remember.

38 S1: So I can start.

39 T: Okay. Right, would anyone like to start? Please start. So remember you are now at the party.

40 S1: Who's going to start, Susna?

41 S2: Okay. Wat's jou naam?

42 S1: Sean.

43 S2: Okay. (Laughs)

Performance phase

44 S2: Um...Okay Sean, I think I'm going home now, you coming with?

45 S1: Uh... Susna...You know, you have such a nice car, I was wondering, can I drive?

46 S2: Sean, I think you had a little too much to drink. Really. I would prefer it if I can drive.

47 S1: Because... (Inaudible) Susna then on the other hand um I think you wouldn't mind if we stayed a little bit longer...Because I'm still enjoying the party.

48 S2: Okay, can't you catch another ride? I mean I really have to go home, I have class tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock.

49 S1: Really?

50 S2: It's already two. I mean, really...

51.S1: Susna, wouldn't you stay just another fifteen minutes please?

52 S2;...Okay, I'll stay another five.

53 S1: Five minutes. Thank you Susna.

54 S2: Okay. (Laughter from students).

55 S1: Okay. Re-group! (Laughter from students) Okay, now after five minutes, I come in and I say, Susna, I think it would be really... gentleman-like if I can drive you home.

56 S2: Sean, I told you before, you've had too much to drink and in this five minutes you had another two beers. Really, come on.

57 S1: Susna, I don't know if you've noticed, but I don't drink anything. (Laughter from students) I only drink lemonade.

58 S2: No way. Lemonade in a Black Label can. (Laughter from students).

59 S1: No no no. Susna, I think your eyes are...are deceiving you.

60 S2: Serious, everybody told me I should do anything and not let you drive. I mean....

61 S1: Susna //

62 S2: // I'm not going to be... (Inaudible) the typical drunk guy, always fighting the truth.

63 S1: (Laughs)

64 S2: I'm driving. Come on, let's go.

65 S1: Okay Susna, I'll go with you.

66 S2: Okay,

67 S1: Okay. Now can I have the car?

68 S2: I'm sorry but I have to go without you. I'll ask somebody else like David to take you home. He drives...(Inaudible: laughter from students)

69 S1: Susna, wh- what car are you driving? Just tell me quickly.

70 S2: I don't know. You told me I've got a nice car. (Laughter from students)

71 S1: ...(Inaudible) But but you're supposed to have a car.

72 S2: I have my dad's BMW. Are you crazy? I'm not going to let you drive. If anything happens to that car, I'm dead.

73 S1: That's- That's the reason I'd like to drive //

74 S2: // You've had too much to drink. There's no way...

75 S1: Susna, er I wonder how many times I'm going to have to tell you, I don't drink.

76 S2: You sure look drunk to me. (Laughter from students).

77 S1: Susna, my eyes aren't even red.

78 S2: Okay, where have you been the last time to the bathroom? I mean, get real.

79 S1: You see, I don't have to go to the bathroom because I didn't drink. You've been in and out.

80 S2: No. (Laughs).

81 S1: Susna, I've been watching you the whole evening.

82 S2: And?

83 S1: And I really think I should drive you home.

84 S2: Oh because I go to the bathroom?

85 S1: No. Because because you drink too much.

86 S2: Oh, I drink a tod of lime juice with ginger ale, I mean what's that?

87 S1: Only one tod?

88 S2: It's lime juice and ginger ale. I mean, seriously....

89 S1: Susna //

90 S2: // Alcohol level, zero. (Laughter from students).

91 S1: Susna (Laughter from students) that's- That's just you see, those guys at the bar... They thought you were really nice and they had a little joke... planned for you. Susna, these things you drink was not lime juice...

92 S2: Well, what did I drink?

93 S1: What you drink...Witblits. (Laughter from students) I really think //

94 S2: // And I didn't even taste it, get real man! (Laughs)

95 S1: And the problem is you didn't only have one...You had a few. As a matter of fact, I saw three empty bottles and nobody else drank anything, so...

96 S2: (Laughs) Well, I must say one thing, I feel pretty good for somebody who drank three bottles of Witblits. (Laughs).

97 S1: Susna, um would you do me a favour and stand up while you're saying that?

98 S2: (Laughter. Participant A stands up).

99 S1: Uh...Don't don't touch anything um...Walk a few... a few metres.

100 S2: I'm seriously fine. (Laughs).

101 S1: ...(Inaudible response).

102 S2: ...(Inaudible) I didn't drink anything. I had lime juice the whole evening because I knew I had to drive you home. You did have beers to drink, everybody told me that. I'm just- I'm looking at you at the moment and quite frankly, you're not looking too good. So, if you're not coming with me, I'll fetch you another ride, but I'm going now. (Student A picks up her car-keys).

103 S1: Um...I'm agreeing with you. Of course I'm not leaving with you because you're seeing two of me now. (Laughter from students).

104 S2: I'm going now...I'm serious //

105 S1: // (Inaudible)

106 S2: // You can't argue with a drunk man. (Laughter from students) I can't even argue with a man. How can I argue with a drunk man.

107 S1: Mm...um (Laughter from students).

108 S2: Should I ask David to take you home?

109 S1: Susna, just hang on a moment. Let me just see if I can find David because if I can't find David, I have to go home with you.

110 S2: Okay. (Laughter from students).

111 S1: Okay I'm still looking for David.

112 S2: David's over by the bar.

113 S1: Yes, I'm still looking. (Laughter from students) ...(Inaudible).

114 S2: You see you can't even see him! (Laughter from students).

115 S1: Um... What now? (This question is directed at the teacher).

116 T: Lucky, what do you think? Help Sean out there.

117 S1: (Student 1 consults with a member of his group).

118:S2 Hey Sean, I said I'd stay for five extra minutes, but we've argued for fifteen now.

119 S1:Okay Susna, I'm going but I'd just like to tell you something.

120 S2: Uh huh.

121 S1: You've told me it's your father's car...

122 S2: Ya.

123 S1: And you like your father?

124 S2: Yes I do.

125 S1: And does your father like you?

126 S2: Yes he does, I hope.

127 S1: Well um...I really have a sad story to tell you.

128 S2: Okay. (Laughs).

129 S1: If you drive tonight, the police are going to scon-. confiscate your car.

130 S2: Why?

131 S1: I've just heard...that they are building a road-block just a few blocks from here...searching all the cars, checking if there's anybody drinking and driving.

132 S2: Well, I didn't drink. I have my licence, I have my dad's permission for the car, so...I mean, I don't really see what's the problem.

133 S1: Susna please, don't argue with me. I've known you for a long time. I mean //

134 S2: // But now you tell me I'm drunk. Get real Sean.

135 S1: Susna...(Inaudible) friends. I'll never tell you you're er drunk if it's not true. So, if you'll please just hand over the keys...

136 S2: No I won't.

137 S1: And um...Well Susna, then I'm afraid that you're not going anywhere and I'm not going anywhere...(Inaudible).

138 S2: No, I think that's where you're making the mistake. I'm going home. You can go home with David or with whoever you would like...but bye-bye.

139 S1: Susna, you're not going anywhere.

140 S2: What are you going to do, force me to stay?

141 S1: Yes.

142 S2: ...(Inaudible) or something. (Laughs).

143 S1: I am. I am.

144 S2: Okay. Fine...(Inaudible: laughter from students) Make me. Come on. But I'm going now. David, would you please be so kind as to take Sean home.

145 S3: Yes. I will. I will take him home. (Laughter from students)

146 S2: Thanks. (Laughter from students).

147 S1: Susna, do you know how many BMWs I've seen folded around telephone poles?

148 S3: She can't hear you. Her car's here, (Laughter from students).

149 S4: She's not in the car yet.

150 S1: I...(Inaudible) BMW's.

151 S1: She can she can get into the car but she can't start the car with fingers because I've taken her purse.

152 S2: No, I didn't give you the keys.

153 S1: No. (Laughter from students) The keys are in your purse. (Laughter from students) The moment I saw you taking all that Witblits...you know...I started thinking because I'm only... (Inaudible) I don't really like beer or Klipdrif or any of that so...

154 S2: Oh come on Sean, you have to decide where we're going now. Here's my keys. I'm going now. (Laughter from students) Seriously, I'm going. (Laughter from students).

155 S1: That's that reality //

156 S2: // this is the final...(Laughter from students).

157 S1: You see, Susna, you can't even see the difference between car-keys and house-keys.

158 S2: this is not a house-key. I can promise you that.

159 S1: Well that is. (Laughter from students) That is- Susna, that's the key you use //

160 S2: // We're acquaintances we're acquaintances, we're not even friends. Since when is this...terrible friendship going on now? (Laughter from students).

161 S1: You see, you can't even remember where we met.

162 S2: No no no no no. On this paper this piece of paper...(Inaudible) it says...I'm sorry, we're acquaintances and I'm going now.

163 S1: I don't believe...everything I read from papers. (Laughter from students) Susna, just give me the damn keys. (laughter from students).

164 S2: No way Sean, bye-bye. David said he'll take you home. So, I'm going now. (Laughs).

165 S1: Okay, Susna, I've tried... Cheers. (Laughter from students) I don't know what else to say.

166 T: No that was good, okay. Alright. Let's go over this now. Alright. (Laughter from students) Okay, now what was the situation here?

167 S2: He's drunk!

168 T: Do you think so?

169 S2: I truly believe it and I'm not willing to give it up.

170 T: So you are adamant that he was drunk?

[45 minutes]