ED 399 809   FL 024 136

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TITLE   Sinclair & Coulthard Revisited: Global- and
                Local-Allocational Turn-Taking Mechanisms in the
                Language Classroom.
PUB DATE   95
NOTE   28p.; In: Pragmatics and Language Learning. Monograph
                Series Volume 6; see FL 024 134.
PUB TYPE   Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) --
                Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE   MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS   Behavior Patterns; *Classroom Communication;
                Discourse Analysis; Foreign Countries; Group
                Dynamics; *Interaction; Interpersonal Communication;
                Language Fluency; *Language Patterns; Language
                Research; Linguistic Theory; *Pragmatics; Second
                Language Instruction; Second Language Learning;
                *Second Languages; Student Behavior; Teacher
                Behavior; *Teaching Styles
IDENTIFIERS   *Turn Taking

ABSTRACT
        A study examined global- and local-allocational
preselection mechanisms for turn-taking in the language classroom,
using two corpuses of classroom discourse illustrating both accuracy-
and fluency-based modes of language teaching. It was found that
teacher-directed accuracy work yielded Initiation-Response-Feedback
patterns governed by local-allocational projection mechanisms for
turn-taking, while the fluency-based work was characterized by
global-allocational preselection mechanisms for turn-taking, which
allow learners to produce multiple-utterance responses. The two
corpuses of data display typical discourse features that are related
to restricting or facilitating learner initiative, single-utterance
versus multiple-utterance learner response, and form versus content
feedback. It is shown that these typical discourse features may be
used as evidence to confirm or invalidate teacher claims about their
modes of language teaching. It is suggested that teachers who are
aware of theses features may generate and test specific predictions
about their interactions with learners. A set of if-then predictions
is generated for each corpus. Data excerpts are appended. Contains 27
references. (Author/MSE)

SINCLAIR & COULTHARD REVISITED:
GLOBAL- AND LOCAL-ALLOCATIONAL TURN-TAKING MECHANISMS IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Willfred J. Greyling

One of the aims of this paper is to outline global- and local- allocational preselection mechanisms for turn-taking in the language classroom. For this purpose, theoretical sampling was used in collecting two corpuses of classroom discourse. Adopting the fluency-accuracy interface, we collected both accuracy- and fluency-based classroom discourse. It was found that teacher-directed accuracy work yielded Initiation-Response-Feedback patterns governed by local-allocational preselection mechanisms for turn-taking, while the fluency-based work was characterised by global-allocational preselection mechanisms for turn-taking which allow learners to produce multiple-utterance responses. The two corpuses of data display typical discourse features which are related to restricting or facilitating learner initiative, single-utterance versus multiple-utterance learner responses, and form versus content feedback. It is shown that these typical discourse features may be used as evidence to confirm or invalidate teacher claims about their modes of language teaching. Indeed, teachers who are aware of these discourse features may generate and test specific predictions about their interactions with learners. It is proposed that teachers cast such predictions in the if-then format in which the if-clause specifies conditions, and the then-clause encapsulates the lingual action or experience which may subsequently occur. A set of if-then predictions is generated and discussed for each corpus of data.

INTRODUCTION

The fluency-accuracy interface in ELT (Cf. Finocchiaro & Brumfit, 1983, p. 98; Brumfit, 1984, p. 52 and 57) and second language acquisition studies (Cf. Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, pp. 323-325) formed the basis for collecting two corpuses of classroom data. It was argued that these data types would display typical differences. The main aims of this paper are, first, to show that the two modes of language teaching are founded on distinct preselection mechanisms for turn-taking in the language classroom; second, to fuse elements of Personal Construct Psychology and Sinclair & Coulthard's model in generating a discourse-based construct system for predicting the occurrence of distinct Initiation-Response-Feedback sequences in accuracy- and fluency-based teaching; and finally, to indicate that an awareness of these typical IRF patterns, and a concomitant construct network, may promote teachers' decision-making in the classroom.

These aims indicate that the focus is not only on studying classroom discourse for its own sake, but also on how these findings may be used to empower teachers in their decision-making and to promote their awareness of classroom processes. The teacher may use the discourse-based construct system in generating if-then predictions for accuracy- and fluency-based activity, and then, in the interactive phase of the lesson, the teacher may confirm or

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invalidate these predictions (Cf. Gribling, Koole, Ten Thije & Tromp, 1983, pp. 50-69 for the distinction between the proactive planning and the interactive emergence of lessons). Both processes of confirming or invalidating our predictions may lead to diversification of our construct systems. For a detailed outline of how constructs are created and modified, see Kelly's theory for more information on the experience, construction, modulation, fragmentation and other corollaries (Kelly, 1955, pp. 72-77 and p. 83; Hergenhahn, 1984, pp. 271-276).

METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

A selected sample of Initiation-Response-Feedback exchanges was taken from both accuracy-based and fluency-based lessons collected at primary and secondary schools, and tertiary institutions in Bloemfontein from 1987 to 1990. The IRF exchange was found to be overwhelmingly present in both corpuses of data. The following criteria were used in classifying exchanges as either accuracy- or fluency-based.

Accuracy-based interactional exchanges display the following features:

a)   a metacommunicative focus (i.e., teachers and pupils talk about language)(Cf. Stubbs, 1976, p. 83; Widdowson, 1978, pp. 12-15);
b)   teacher control of the discourse (i.e., the teacher takes two out of three turns; or insists on pupil bids as floor seekers, or employs nominations to identify next speaker; or activates a preselection system which is locally managed from one turn to the next);
c)   learner responses are single utterances;
d)   learner non-responses are followed by one or more teacher clues, directives, re-elicitations, informatives, and/or extended IRF sequences (Cf. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Sinclair & Brazil, 1982; White & Lightbown, 1984, p. 235; Mehan, 1985, p. 122); and
e)   the teacher provides form feedback which focuses on the accuracy of learner responses (Cf. Harmer, 1983, p. 202).

Fluency-based interactional exchanges display the following features:

a)   a communicative focus which requires reciprocal language activity (i.e., pupils are required to solve a communication problem or task as found in information gaps, reasoning gaps, and opinion gaps) (Widdowson, 1978, pp. 22-32; Prabhu, 1987, pp. 46-47; Hoey, 1991, p. 68);
b)   the teacher structures an interactional space in which communication-gap activities have to be completed (Cf. Stevick, 1980, p. 20; Mazeland, 1983, p. 100;
c)   learner answering moves consist of learner-learner exchanges across several turns-at-talk, and if the teacher becomes a co-producer of discourse in a response, he/she abandons his/her authority relationship as a teacher to assume the role of co-communicator;

d)   the teacher's role in case of learner difficulties in dealing with a communication task is to facilitate the learners' construction of effective messages within a preselection system which is globally managed (i.e., with multiple learner-learner exchanges preselected by the teacher) (See appendix 4 for an excerpt); and

e)   the teacher provides content feedback which focuses on the effectiveness of learner communication as goal-directed, reciprocal language activity (Harmer, 1983, p. 202).

The selected exchanges were then analysed in terms of the columns specified in Sinclair & Coulthard (1975; 1992).

Moreover, a methodological procedure from Personal Construct Psychology was used in identifying constructs for the interpretation of different discourse manifestations of the IRF exchange pattern. Kelly (1955) claims that we create reality in accordance with our construct systems. In fact, our construct systems allow us to make predictions about future events, and our subsequent experiences will then allow us to confirm or invalidate these predictions. If we hope to function within the domain of conscious choice, we have to become aware of our construct systems; and, indeed, this also applies to practising teachers who have to know why they do what they do.

For this reason, it is important to clarify the concept 'construct' and the procedure for identifying constructs. Kelly (1955, pp. 8-9 and p. 12) defines a construct as follows:

Man looks at his world through transparent patterns or templets which he creates and then attempts to fit over the realities of which the world is composed ... Let us give the name constructs to these patterns that are tried on for size. They are ways of construing the world ... we consider a construct to be a representation of the universe, a representation erected by a living creature and then tested against the reality of that universe. Since the universe is essentially a course of events, the testing of a construct is a testing against subsequent events. In other words, a construct is tested in terms of its predictive efficiency.

This would imply that if the teacher is able to generate if-then predictions in terms of a set of discourse-based constructs, he/she may confirm or invalidate their predictive efficiency against the discourse evidence from the language classroom.

Next, Kelly (1955, pp. 59-61) states that a construct is dichotomous, and that a continuum of possibilities exist in between the poles of a construct. The procedure for identifying the poles of such a construct is the following:

If we choose an aspect in which A and B are similar, but in contrast to C, it is important to note it is the same aspect of all three, A, B, and C, that forms the basis of the construct ... In its minimum context a construct is a way in which at least two elements are similar and contrast with a third.

Given the methodological orientation, both a language practitioner and a registered psychologist/academic assisted in triangulating the classification and analysis of the data in terms of the guide-lines outlined above (Cf. Van Lier, 1988, p. 13). Then discourse-based constructs were generated for making if-then predictions in the proactive planning of lessons within these modes of ELT. These constructs were used in generating if-then predictions for both an accuracy and a fluency activity. The discourse collected during the interactive phase of the lesson seemed to validate the predictive efficiency of the construct system.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES
IN INITIATION-RESPONSE-FEEDBACK EXCHANGES

The methodological procedure is applied in the analysis of three excerpts of data:

(1)   (The teacher is discussing *describing* words with learners.)

Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
eliciting	The tall man stands in the garden. Now what is your describing word in that sentence? Yes.	inf el nom	(NV raises hand) hand) Tall	bid	It is tall. The táll man.	acc

(2)   (The teacher is asking closed-type questions about the words in a poem. The aim is to negotiate an understanding of the term paradox. See appendix 1 for the extended sequence of IRF interactions.)

Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
eliciting	Shimmering surely applies to which of our senses? NV Yes.	el nom	(NV:various hands) Eyes.	bid rep	Eyes. Right.	acc

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(3) (Pupils have prepared several dialogues. Pupil 1 (P1) plays the role of Peter Jacobs, an employee of Mr Pieterse, who is played by pupil 2 (P2). Pupils have to produce utter-utter sequences. Abbreviations: m=marker; ms= metastatement; dir=directive; rep=reply; nom=nomination; acc=accept)

Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
eliciting	Right Now ... good. Your in- struction is to practise this dialogue with a friend and then to put together three more dia- logues in which Peter Jacobs first succeeds and then does not succeed in making a defin- ite appointment with Mr Pieter- se. Good.Choose a friend and then you start practising.	m ms el el el el el	(Pupils are practising)	rep		
eliciting	Right Let's hear how it goes with three of these dialogues.Let's hear what these guys have done. Let's hear what it sounds like. Pay attention.	m el nom dir dir	P1:Mr Pieterse, I want to talk to you about my salary right now. P2:[Mutters:Oh! It's old Jacobs again.] Yes,but I don't have much time. I'm very busy at the moment. P1:[Mutters:The egghead! I know that he isn't busy.] You must postpone. I'm very serious. P2:[Mutters: Oh dear! I can't get away from him.] Yes,sure. Come to my office right now.	rep	Good. That's it.	acc

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When these IRF exchanges are compared, they are similar yet different. In exchanges (1) and (2) the IRF pattern emerges from one turn to the next with the teacher taking every second turn, while in (3) the IRF pattern spans six turns of which the pupils take four. Exchanges (1) and (2) are founded on a local-allocational preselection system of turn-taking in which the teacher as the dominant participant self-selects and/or selects next speaker. It would seem that the recursive rule system proposed by McHoul (1978, p. 188) can adequately deal with such teacher-dominated accuracy-based data. However, in exchange (3) current speaker, the teacher, **selects a configuration of next speakers** for what turns out to be four utterances that constitute an answering move. The teacher not only directs speakership, but employs a global-allocational preselection system of turn-taking in his initiation which allows us to predict how turns are going to be taken by the learners. The teacher specifies the learners' interactional space, their roles, and the pattern of interactional exchange. The teacher sets up a learner response which consists of several learner-learner exchanges. Within this global design, learners are required to produce what Hoey (1991, p. 68) refers to as free pairs, or from a turn-allocation point of view, are required to engage in a learning experience which appears to simulate the local-allocational system for turn-taking in ordinary conversation (Cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974).

The teacher initiations in (1), (2) and (3) may be interpreted along the same lines. The aspect of similarity is that these teacher moves are initiations. While (1) and (2) are similar, they differ from (3) because in the former the teacher restricts learner initiative to their giving a minimal response. However, in the latter initiation the teacher maximises learner initiative because learners are expected to cope with an interactional pattern which has been prespecified by the teacher. We could argue that in (1) and (2) the teacher engages in an **initiative-minimising initiation**, while in (3) the teacher embarks upon an **initiative-maximising initiation**. In both cases the teacher exerts control over the discourse process. Paradoxically, it appears that the teacher may structure learner freedom to take initiative in the classroom. Indeed, the teacher seems to be *a designer of speech exchange systems that may promote language development in the learner*. Put in the words of Stevick (1980):

> As far as I can see, "control" by the teacher is legitimate even in "progressive," or in "humanistic" education. ... Seen in this way, "initiative" and "control" are not merely two directions along a single dimension. That is to say, "control" on the part of the teacher does not interfere with "initiative" on the part of the student: when the teacher tightens her "control" of what is going on, she need not cut into the student's "initiative"; often, in fact, she will actually increase it (Stevick, 1980, p. 17 and p. 19).

Later Stevick (1980, p. 20) reiterates this view:

> In exercising "control," then, the teacher is giving some kind of order, or structure, to the learning space of the student. In encouraging him to take "initiative," she is allowing him to work, and to grow, within that space.

Similarly, we may argue that in (1) and (2) we encounter **single-utterance learner responses**, while in (3) we find **multiple-utterance learner-learner exchanges functioning as a response**. In addition, (1) and (2) contain **form feedback** in which the teacher judges
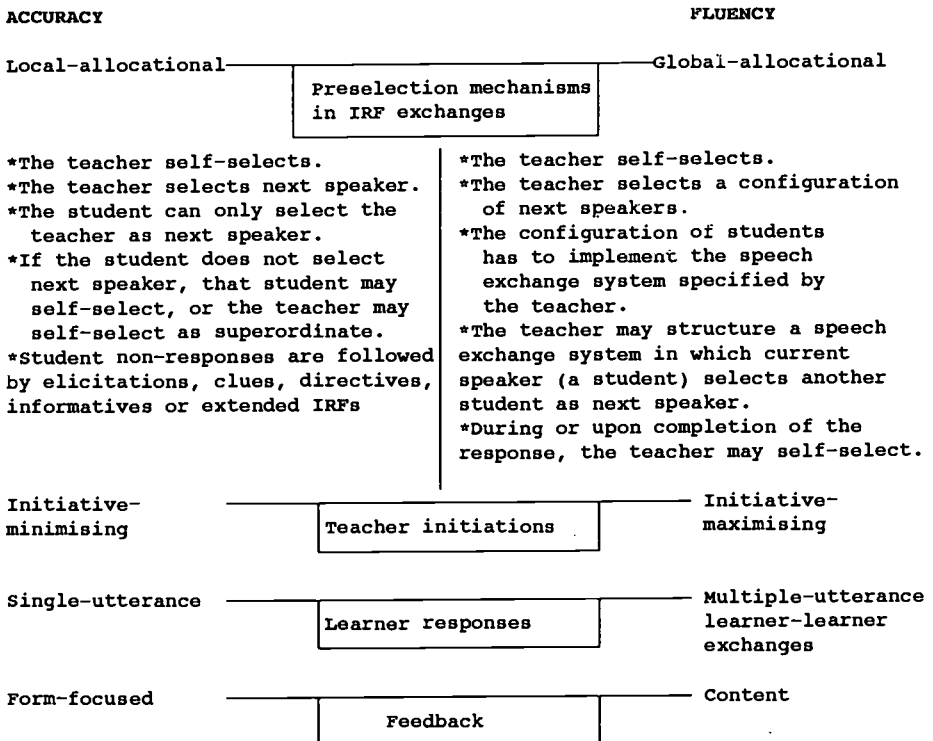
the accuracy of the learner responses, while in (3) the teacher provides **content feedback** in which he comments briefly on the effectiveness of the learners' communication in response to his initiation.

In sum, we may argue that accuracy-based data in this study are characterised by a local-allocational preselection system for turn-taking, initiative-minimising teacher initiations, single-utterance learner responses, and form-focused feedback. Clearly the teacher exerts very tight control over turn-taking and turn content. Indeed, when the teacher encounters a non-response to a teacher initiation, he/she may embark upon a re-elicitation, informative, directive, clue or extended sequence of interactions to circumvent the short circuit in the interaction. These aspects of control are evident in the extended sequence of IRF exchanges in appendix 1.

The fluency data are characterised by global-allocational preselection mechanisms for turn-taking, initiative-maximising teacher initiations, answering moves that consist of multiple-utterance learner-learner exchanges, and content feedback in which the teacher evaluates the effectiveness of learner-learner communication in producing an appropriate response to his initiation.

These observations may be summarised in the following construct network:

(4)

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ACCURACY                                                      FLUENCY

Local-allocational────────────┬────────────────┬──────────Global-allocational
                              │ Preselection mechanisms │
                              │ in IRF exchanges         │

*The teacher self-selects.              *The teacher self-selects.
*The teacher selects next speaker.      *The teacher selects a configuration
*The student can only select the          of next speakers.
  teacher as next speaker.             *The configuration of students
*If the student does not select          has to implement the speech
  next speaker, that student may         exchange system specified by
  self-select, or the teacher may        the teacher.
  self-select as superordinate.        *The teacher may structure a speech
*Student non-responses are followed    exchange system in which current
by elicitations, clues, directives,    speaker (a student) selects another
informatives or extended IRFs          student as next speaker.
                                       *During or upon completion of the
                                       response, the teacher may self-select.


Initiative-          ──────────────────────────────        Initiative-
minimising               │ Teacher initiations  │           maximising


Single-utterance     ──────────────────────────────        Multiple-utterance
                         │ Learner responses │              learner-learner
                                                            exchanges

Form-focused         ──────────────────────────────        Content
                         │     Feedback      │
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RULES FOR FLUENCY-BASED CLASSROOM TALK

From a conversation analysis perspective, the rule system proposed by McHoul (1978) may be supplemented by additional rules. In the subsequent paragraphs, the relevant rules from McHoul are listed with additions to accommodate the normative orientations encapsulated in the fluency-based data:

(5)   (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 (McHoul, 1978, p. 188).

The problem with this rule is that it does not account for the teacher selecting a configuration of learners who have to perform a communicative task in a prespecified interactional space. For this reason, the rule has to be supplemented by at least the following rule:

(6)   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.

McHoul (1978) also refers to the normative mechanisms governing the taking of turns subsequent to a student turn:

(7)   (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 the transition-relevance place (McHoul, 1978, p. 188).

This rule implies that the student can only select the teacher as next speaker. The fluency data in excerpt (3) contradict this rule because current speaker (student in the role of Jacobs) selects next speaker (a pupil in the role of Mr Pieterse). The rule proposed by McHoul (1978, p. 188) has to accommodate the notion that the teacher may direct speakership, and specify the pattern of participation for learners in a subsequent interactional exchange:

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

In addition, a rule would have to be included to account for switching from one mode of language teaching to the other. This would probably require a rule of the following kind:

(9)   Rule 1 (c) transition from fluency to accuracy modes: If the superordinate self-selects upon the completion of a response produced by a configuration of learners, he/she may, but does not have to, re-activate rules 1 (a) and 1 (b) above, or use the rule system proposed by McHoul (1978) as normative orientation to change the mode of language teaching.

It is clear that these 'rules' derive from the teacher's design of speech exchange systems: the teacher is able to specify different configurations of next speakers and determine the rules governing such speech exchange systems.

MAKING AND TESTING IF-THEN PREDICTIONS

Kelly (1955, pp. 122-127) claims that construct networks are used to make predictions about experiences; so, if this construct network is consistent with our experiences of specific modes of language teaching, then we should be able to make predictions about the discourse in those contexts of learning. Kelly (1955, pp. 122-127) proposes the if-then format for generating predictions. The if-clause contains reference to a set of conditions, while the then-clause specifies the behaviour or experience that may occur. Such prediction systems are found in communication rules research (Shimanoff, 1980), conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974), learner strategies research (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990), and computer programming (Riley, 1987). However, human action is not wholly predictable; indeed, when experiences contradict our predictions we may have to generate new predictions, re-interpret the experience, and/or modify our constructs.

What kind of predictions may teachers generate in terms of the construct network outlined above? The following sets of predictions may be formulated:

(10.1) If the teacher engages in accuracy-based teaching, **then**

(10.1.1) the teacher exerts control over turn content and the floor through a **local-allocational preselection system of turn-taking,**

(10.1.2) the teacher embarks upon initiative-minimising teacher initiations,

(10.1.3) learners produce single-utterance responses, and

(10.1.4) learner non-responses are followed by one or more teacher clues, directives, re-elicitations, informatives, and/or extended IRF sequences, and

(10.1.5) the teacher embarks upon form feedback in which he/she comments on the accuracy of learner responses.

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(10.2) If the teacher engages in fluency-based teaching, **then**

    (10.2.1) the teacher structures learner freedom by means of a **global-allocational preselection system of turn-taking,**

    (10.2.2) the teacher embarks upon initiative-maximising teacher initiations,

    (10.2.3) learners engage in multiple-utterance learner-learner exchanges which function as responses to the teacher initiations,

    (10.2.4) the teacher's role in case of learner difficulties in dealing with a communication task is to facilitate the learners' construction of effective messages within a preselection system which is globally managed (i.e., with multiple learner-learner exchanges preselected by the teacher), and

    (10.2.5) the teacher embarks upon content feedback in which he/she comments on the effectiveness of learner exchanges as goal-directed discourse.

Given these sets of predictions, we employed theoretical sampling in eliciting data to confirm or invalidate these hypotheses. It was argued that if these predictions were true, we would be able to elicit discourse evidence to confirm them. The following activities were categorised as accuracy- and fluency-based: the first emphasises the metacommunicative focus and control exerted by the teacher in the accuracy mode, while the second seems to fall within the realm of fluency work:

(11) <u>**Step 1**</u>: Deal with the following tense: The Simple Past Tense, which is used to refer to events that were completed in the past.

    Last week I went to Kimberley.
    In 1948 two veterans completed the race.
    The men walked all the way to town.
    The girl sang a song.

(12) **Picture-stimuli - Story-telling**

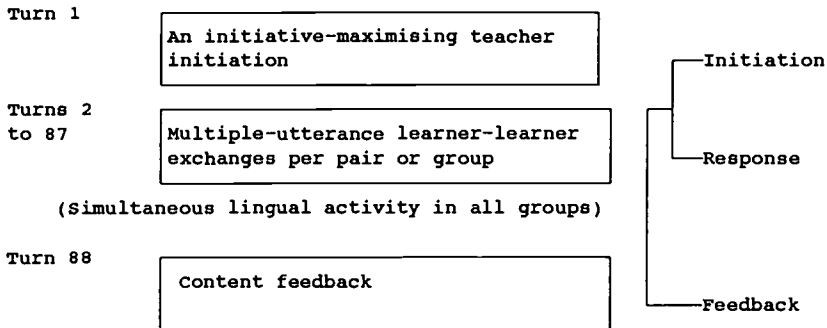|	
Level:	Intermediate, advanced
Purpose:	Practising narrative skill
	Producing coherent spoken and written texts
	Focusing on learner-learner interaction
Materials:	Pictorial cards (at least ten per pair)
Procedure:	Learners are asked to pair off. They are handed their cards. The cards have to be put down so that the pictures face down. Learner 1 picks up a picture card and tells a story based on the picture. Learner 2 picks up the next picture, continues with the story told by learner 1, and has to link the story to the second picture. They take turns until all the cards have

been used up. Learner 2 ends off the story. After the oral
phase learners have to write out a coherent text based on the
pictures.

In appendices 2 and 3 classroom discourse is found which was collected with a view
to confirming the if-then predictions emanating from the construct system.

In appendix 2, the predictions for accuracy-based data are confirmed. The teacher
embarks upon a local-allocational preselection system in which the IRF pattern evolves from
one turn to the next. The teacher selects next speaker, and upon the completion of the
student turn, next turn reverts to the teacher. It is clear that the teacher embarks upon
initiative-minimising initiations, while learners produce single-utterance responses. The
teacher then provides form feedback.

Similarly, in appendix 3 the predictions for fluency-based data are confirmed.
Diagrammatically the global design of the IRF exchange in the data may be represented as
follows:

(13)

Turn 1		
	An initiative-maximising teacher initiation	──Initiation
Turns 2 to 87	Multiple-utterance learner-learner exchanges per pair or group	──Response
	(Simultaneous lingual activity in all groups)	
Turn 88	Content feedback	──Feedback

INVALIDATING CONSTRUCTS AND DIVERSIFYING CONSTRUCT SYSTEMS

Confirming one's predictions is only half the story; what happens if one's classroom
experiences contradict one's predictions? Several possibilities exist, according to construct
psychologist George Kelly. First, one may reinterpret, perhaps distort, the experience so that
one's construct network and predictions are confirmed. Second, one may decide to abandon
one's predictions, and generate new predictions. Third, one may create a new set of
constructs, and proceed to test their predictive efficiency. The following diagram explains
the process of testing predictions:

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(14)
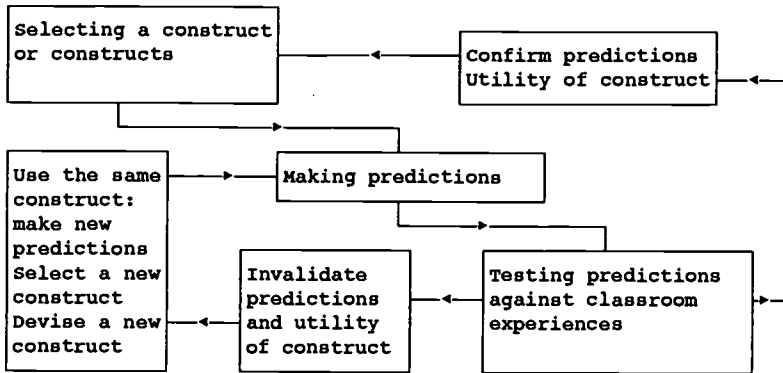
To create intersubjective or shared meanings, the discourse evidence and the construct systems we use for prediction purposes have to be made explicit. Because human actions - including those in the classroom - cannot be cast in a strait-jacket, it seems reasonable to presume that the dynamic interface between experience and the normative dimensions of classroom discourse precludes our defining the **final rule or construct system** for participation in the classroom. However, permeable and changeable constructs will allow us to see different dimensions of classroom discourse, and to interpret/reinterpret the discourse evidence.

CONCLUSION

If teachers are supposed to make informed decisions in the classroom, then it seems that a discourse-based construct system, which may yield testable predictions about the interactive phase of lessons, may be useful in promoting teacher awareness of what they are doing. Teacher decision-making and empowerment are at the heart of the prediction system outlined in this paper. The teacher is able to direct speakership and design speech exchange systems consistent with his/her views of language teaching and learning. And teachers should be aware of their choices, and teacher-training should, as Bowers (1987) has suggested, promote teachers' perceptions of classroom processes; otherwise, as Stubbs (1986, p. 6) has claimed, teachers may become victims of unprincipled imitation.

THE AUTHOR

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language. The corpuses of classroom data used in this study, as well as a longer version of this paper, are lodged with the author, whose E-mail address is fgwg@engl.uovs.ac.za

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APPENDIX 1: AN EXTENDED SEQUENCE OF INTERACTIONS

In this excerpt the teacher and his pupils negotiate an understanding of the term paradox.

Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
eliciting	Isn't there something else? Did you find anything else?	el el	(dispreferred non-response)			
eliciting	Let me ask the the question this way:Oosty, what does 'shimmering' mean? That's unfair, isn't it? He didn't even work on the poem and I am asking him a question. What does shimmering mean?	nom el el	(dispreferred non-response)			
eliciting	Somebody, give me an example of where you have seen some-thing shimmer?	el	Sun on water.	rep	Sun on water.	acc
eliciting	Another example.	el	Is it like shake?	rep	Is it like shake?	ev
eliciting	Is it like milkshake?	el	No, vibrating.	rep	Vibrating. Yes, perhaps you could use it that way.	ev
eliciting	But we had sun on water. Can you give me an-other example? Anybody. I'm driving through the Karoo on a hot day.	inf el cl	(Students offer responses) Mirage ... the mirage.	bid	That kind of shimmering that you see in the distance, which is a mirage,and which, in a way, makes you think,you know, that the road disappears into water.	ev

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Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
eliciting			When you are having a braai – above the braai.	rep	Yes, there's an ideal example. The heat waves that you get above the fire of a braai – you can see the heat waves shimmering.	ev
eliciting	But, hang on, Warren. What is she (the poet) talking about?	el	The swallows.	rep	Come on.	ev
eliciting	We have just been discussing shimmering. Shimmering surely applies to which of our senses?	inf / el	Eyes.	rep	Eyes. Right.	acc
eliciting	So now you can see a sound. You switch on the radio and say,'Look at that great hit!' Is the poet going moggy or are we?	inf / inf / el	Both	rep	Both.	acc
informing	Reed totally disagrees.	inf	(laughter)	rep		
informing	It's really tough to convince him that poetry is -psh- something else and for normal people.	inf	(laughter)	rep		

Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
eliciting	Come on.What is that shimmer-ing sound? What would we call it?	el el	(dispreferred non-response)			
informing	Maybe you are going to learn a new word there. Ever heard of paradox?	inf el	No. (Muffled responses)	rep	Some people think they might have. We haven't used the word before.	ev
eliciting	Somebody try and spell it.	el				
eliciting			Para...?	el		
informing	Paradox.	el	Paradox.	rep	Paradox.	acc
eliciting	Go, Gary.	el	P-a-r-r/	rep	Uhm-hu (No)	ev
eliciting			P-a-r-a-d-o-x	rep	Right.	acc
eliciting	What's a para-dox? You gentle-man with the dictionaries, what's a para-dox? Yes.	el nom el nom	(NV activity as they look up the word)(Hands go up). Some-thing opposite-saying some-thing opposite.	bid rep	You're on the right track; you are just struggling to express it there.	ev
eliciting	Well, let's see what the dict-ionary says. Somebody got it? Yeah. Johny. (Bell rings) It's break already.	el nom inf	A statement which seems absurd or self-contradictory, but may be true.	rep	Alright. A statement which seems absurd or self-contradictory; in other words, contradicting itself, but which may be true.	ev

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Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
eliciting	Now does this seem absurd: "shimmering sound"?	el	No.(solitary bid)			
eliciting	Does this seem absurd at first sight?	el	Yes. (Various bids)	rep	Yes, it does.	acc
eliciting	OK. It seems absurd, but can it be true? A shimmering sound - what kind of cry do swallows make?	inf el el	(Dispreferred response)			
eliciting	Come, you nature boys.	el	A very high pitch.	rep	A very high-pitched trill.	ev
eliciting	And what is a trill?	el	(Dispreferred non-response)			
eliciting	A sound that almost ...?	el	shakes .	rep	vibrates. A sound that almost vibrates	ev
eliciting	And what is the major feature of a shimmering image?	el	It vibrates.	rep	It seems to vibrate.	acc

Upon the occurrence of dispreferred or non-responses by pupils, the teacher may re-initiate and provide clues in facilitating student responses. Alternatively, the teacher may overcome short-circuits by using an informative act. However, the teacher may embark upon what Mehan (1985, p. 122) and White and Lightbown (1984, p. 235) refer to as an extended sequence of interactions in negotiating common ground:

> ... if the response is not immediate or if it is incomplete or incorrect, the teacher begins to work at getting it (the preferred response) 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 questions, but rather together, the teacher and the student create the student's answer. This is only possible, of course, if the teacher knows what answer he/she is creating... (White and Lightbown, 1984, p. 235)

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APPENDIX 2: ACCURACY-BASED DATA

Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
Boundary	So, firstly, then, we are going to look at the Simple Past Tense.	m ms				
Informing	On the board I have four sentences. I would like you to take a look at these sentences. The first one is 'Last week I went to Kimberley'; the second, 'In 1948 two veterans completed the race'; the third, 'The men walked all the way to town'; and the fourth, 'The girls sang a song'.	inf dir inf inf inf inf				
Eliciting	Now, I would like you to identify the verbs in those sentences. (5.2 seconds wait-time) Yes.	m el nom	'Went' in the first one.	rep	In the first one, the verb is 'went'.	acc
Eliciting	In the second? (4.2 seconds wait-time) Yes.	el nom	'Completed'	rep	'Completed'	acc
Eliciting	In the third? (2.33 seconds wait-time) Yes.	el nom	'Walked'	rep	'Walked'	acc

Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
Eliciting	And in the fourth?	el	Sang.	rep	Sang. Fine.	acc
Eliciting	I would like you to take a look at these verbs ... so these are the verbs. (NV T points at the verbs). Would you agree that these are past tense verbs? verbs).	dir inf el nom	Yes.	rep	Yes.	
Eliciting	Why? Is there a clue in the first sentence to suggest that a past tense verb should be used? (3.2 sec wait-time). Yes	el el nom	'Last week'	rep	The words 'last week' suggest to us that we should expect the past tense to be used.	acc

Note: The single-turn IRF exchange is the predominant pattern in this lesson.   For this reason, only turns 1 to 14 are quoted.

APPENDIX 3:
FLUENCY-BASED DATA - DESIGNING A SPEECH EXCHANGE SYSTEM

Exchange type	Opening move (Initiation)	Act	Answering move (Response)	Act	Follow-up move (Feedback)	Act
.	TURN 1		TURNS 2 TO 87		TURN 88	

Turn   Turn-by-turn transcription

Teacher initiation
Boundary in discourse
Opening moves

1   T: Right
Class, today we are going to do uhm we're going to have a story-telling
session, and we are going to use cards in the story-telling session. So what I
expect you to do is I would like you to work in groups or in pairs uhm and
then you have to do the following. I'm going to give you some cards (NV
Teacher takes out several picture cards from the middle of the pack). I'll take
them out over here and I'm going to put them down like this (NV Teacher
packs cards on table with pictures facing down)... in other words, the actual
picture is going to be is going to have to face down. Now, I don't know what
this picture is. So what you do is, you pick up the first picture, and you tell a
story based on this on the picture and student 1 will then begin the story and
will a tell a story focusing on this particular picture. The picture here is of a
young lady in jeans, long hair ... and now I'm student 1 ... 'It's a little thing
that happened the other day. When I got up at about six o' clock in the
morning, I had to go outside because I noticed that someone was sitting on the
lawn. I went to her, took a good look at her, and I knew that something was
amiss. She wouldn't say a word. I walked around her, once, and then I noticed
... I noticed that on her left ear there was some kind of redness. (Laughter
from students) And I knew that something was wrong.' Now, learner 2 has to
extend the story, and has to link it to the next picture. And this is a picture ...
well, it's a picture of a painting. 'And I should've known that she was an artist
(Laughter from students) because the redness on the ear was paint... and I
knew that there was I had to do something for her (laughter) because the
redness on the ear distracted passers-by and there was a car crash...my
neighbour took a look at this ear and he was so perplexed that he crashed into
the concrete wall uhm alongside his driveway.' And now student 3 has to
continue with the story, and has to link the story has to extend the story and
link it to the next picture. 'But, of course, the women in the street were not
pleased about her presence ...' Okay, you've got the idea? (Muffled yes
responses). In other words, what I want you to do is in your groups and in
your pairs I would like you to take a pack of cards, and I would like you to tell

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a story along these lines, and I'll come and listen to you and uhm I will probably ask some of you to respond right at the end. (NV Teacher hands out cards). Once you've got your cards you may start.

Learner response to the teacher initiation

2   S1:   Kan ek maar uitdeel? (NV student hands out cards).
3   S2:   Moenie kroek nie.
4   S3:   Moet een maar begin en dan gaan ons aan en aan.
5   S2:   Goed, begin.
6   S1:   Maar onthou jy mag nie na die kaartjie kyk nie.
7   S2:   I suppose we have to speak English.
8   S1:   I think so too.
9   S2:   OK, maybe you should start.
10 S3:   Aren't we supposed to put them all down on the table?
11 S2:   Are we supposed to look at them only when we start the next turn?
12 T: Yes.
13 S2:   Heidi, will you start?
14 S1:   Uh (NV she looks at a picture of a woman with long hair). This is the woman with the longest hair in the world, and she decided that uhm she decided that she was a little girl that she was never going to cut her hair but at this stage her hair got so long that it was hanging on the ground and she cannot get her hair to be combed out, so she cannot look anybody in the eye she walks straight up with her nose in the air all the time/
15 S2:   (NV picks up next picture) And this poor women, because she cannot turn her head or let it come down forward, she cannot look in the mirror. And once she won a whole batch of make-up a whole kit because she entered a competition for beautiful hair, but now she won all this make-up and she can't use it because she can't bring her head down to see her nails to put on cutex or look in the mirror to put on eye-shadow or lipstick... so I think it is quite tragic about this woman/
16 S3:   (NV picks up next card: picture of a frog). This woman actually wanted to be and actress and she portrayed the role of Rapunzel. Do you know that story about the woman with the very long hair? But unfortunately, when she acted in this play, because she couldn't wear any make-up and she couldn't look her lover in the eye, he couldn't fall in love with her.
17 Ss: (Laughter)
18 S3:   And because he couldn't fall in love with her, she couldn't kiss him, so the frog couldn't turn into a prince. And so the love story turned into a tragedy and the poor woman is very very depressed, and now she lives all alone in this house. And then these two people they look after her and uhm this little car come past every day and it takes her for a drive and then she looks for that lover of her because she is looking for her to kiss him but she can't kiss him because she can't look down.
19 Ss: (laughter)
20 S1:   She's really got a problem.
21 S3:   Yes, she is. Yeah, she's looking for her lover, her friend. She's alone/

22 S2: Yeah (NV picks up the next card) Uh/

23 S1: She's found him.

24 S2: Ohhh and the woman as she was driving in that little car you mentioned, running around kissing frogs/

25 Ss: (laughter)

26 S2: to turn one into a prince, she ended up on a bench, and she decided/

27 S3: On the beach?

28 S2: Uh yes, on the beach, and it was a lovely sunset, clouds of pink, and she decided that is going to go for a walk, and uhm there she was right into the water/

29 S3: Shame/

30 S1: (NV picks up the next card) And because she has such long hair, she didn't drown, she actually floated on top of the water/

31 Ss: (laughter)

32 S1: Like a coconut, you know that is the reason why coconuts can float on the water because it has got a hairy surface/

33 S3: Oh like hair?

34 Ss: (Laughter)

35 S1: And that is why they the coconuts land on islands and they can grow into coconut trees, so this poor woman uhm floating on the sea actually landed up in Greece/

36 S2: Ohh/

37 S1: where she met an old man who had a donkey and on the donkey there was baskets tied with rope and this baskets he carried flowers and fruit and wine and everything that he should take to the village to sell to the people, and actually this woman starting up in London with her long hair ended up in Greece/

38 S3: (NV picks up the next card) Ohh and then when she was in Greece then she met this adorable man he was hiding in the middle basket on the donkey/

39 Ss: (laughter)

40 S3: but he was actually a genie, at least we think he was a genie/

41 Ss: (laughter)

42 S3: and then he had this magic potion, and then he kissed her, she didn't have to kiss him, and then her hair got all curly and lovely and wonderful/

43 Ss: (laughter)

44 S3: And when her hair was all curly and wonderful and lovely, she went to Venice, and there in Venice, they were riding on those little boats ... do you know what you call them?/

45 S1: Gondola/

46 S3: a gondola, yes they were riding on that, and then she was about to meet the phantom of the opera/

47 Ss: (laughter, and an unintelligible comment)

48 S2: (NV picks up next picture). As she met the phantom he decided to show her a movie, but unfortunately this is a very very horrible phantom, this is not the real actually nice phantom of the opera, she met the wrong phantom, and uh he showed her movies her movies in his chambers down below the opera house, and he showed her a movie/

49 S1: (NV picks up next picture) of a mudslide/
50 S2: of a mudslide (unintelligible) and this woman decided that she cannot stand this
          any longer and that she has to go home because faint faint feeling that
          something is going to happen/
51 S1: (NV picks up next card) And because she wanted to escape from this phantom,
          she ran out of his chambers and she just ran down the street, and then suddenly
          she found herself in the circus, and in this circus she saw something that she
          has never seen in her life, something from England and landing up in Greece
          and Venice, she has never in her life seen an elephant/
52 Ss: Ohhh/
53 S1: and she was so excited about this elephant and all the things that it could do
          that she decided that she was going to look for the elephant in wild-life, and
          then she heard that the elephant lived in Africa, and she decided that she was
          going to Africa/
54 S3: (NV picks up the next card) To get to Africa she got onto this big boat with the
          army boys, and with her curly hair she began to sing like Lily Marlene/
55 Ss: (laughter)
56 S3: and she became very famous and very popular and on this army boat she met
          this Arabian sheikh/
57 Ss: uhm/
58 S3: yeah, she met him and as they got to Africa this man was there and then he
          seduced her/
59 Ss: oeh/
60 S3: he seduced her/
61 S2: Good grief man/
62 Ss: (laughter)
63 S2: Was he in the army?
64 Ss: (laughter)
65 S2: (NV picks up the next card) Like you said she was on the army ship and the
          sheikh's (unintelligible) so one of the sailors was actually in love with her as
          well, and once he heard about the seduction he jumped into this thing - I don't
          know what you call it/
66 Ss: A tank/
67 S2: No/
68 Ss: A tank/
69 S2: A tank, yes/
70 Ss: (laughter) and he decided to go to her rescue to rescue her/
71 Ss: Wow/
72 S1: (NV picks up the next card) Ohh … that night as they were sleeping he crawled
          into her chambers and he grabbed her and then they eloped on bicycles/
73 Ss: (laughter)
74 S1: and no one knew where they were because they got onto bicycles and they rode
          off into the sunset to an unknown destination/
75 S3: (NV picks up the next card) And that unknown destination wasn't so unknown,
          they rode all the way to the Lost City in South Africa/
76 Ss: (laughter)
77 S3: and there in the Lost City he was so romantic he leaves her a diamond ring her

engagement ring he leaves it between all the money and stuff, and then they were playing this game and just as she was about to throw the dice she picked up this dice and then when she opened her purse - diamond ring!

78 S2: (NV picks up the next card) But unfortunately the excitement/

79 Ss: (raucous laughter)

80 S2: became too much for her lover and he got tied down in a strait-jacket ... he got totally totally mad because her perm went out and he saw how long her hair actually is/

81 Ss: (laughter)

82 S2: and he just couldn't take it and he went totally mad and they had to drag him away by his feet in a strait-jacket

83 S1: (NV picks up the next card) That caused the poor woman to also go out of her mind because she was seduced and abducted and everything that happened to her, she went into a frenzy and she actually caused/

84 S2: a whirlwind/

85 S1: oh yes and now uh/

86 S3: a cyclone/ a cyclone

87 S1: to come onto the people who did her so much wrong and she wanted to get them back, and she had this magic power that she didn't even know about and nobody knew, and when she was all (unintelligible), the cyclone came over the people/

Teacher content feedback.
Evaluate and comment

88 T: OK, let's stop it there.

Right ladies and gentleman, your attention please... your attention please, you have now ... that was good uhm I think it is difficult to bridge the gaps in between let's say what one person has said and what you want to say; in other words, there is a gap and you have to bridge the gap, you have to extend the story, you have to link it to the next uhm picture. In other words, you actually created a coherent story and of course while you sat there you nodded there was laughter there were on-line signals indicating that a message was being conveyed and not only conveyed you actually decoded the message.

Now I want to go into the next phase of this session....

APPENDIX 4:
THE TEACHER AS CO-COMMUNICATOR
OR FACILITATOR OF COMMUNICATION

In the next excerpt it is shown that the teacher initiation is followed by student-teacher interaction in which the teacher suspends the feedback move, and communicates as if he is a student:

Initiative-maximising teacher initiation
Opening move
Teacher selects a configuration of learners

Teacher: Right, this morning we're going to work in pairs again. I'm going to give you three statements, and in pairs you have to state whether you agree or disagree with them. You also have to give reasons for your point of view. Here are the three statements. The first one is, "I think all medical treatment should be free"; the second one is, "It seems to me that the country is going to the dogs..." and the third one, "Young people today have too much freedom and too much money." (T repeats the statements.) Once you have discussed the statements, write out a paragraph on each, in which you express your point of view.

Multiple-utterance learner-teacher exchanges functioning as a response

SEQUENCE 1 - (Student-teacher interaction in which the student dominates, the teacher suspends form feedback moves, and contributes towards the discourse through encouragers and two relevant next turns in turns 15 and 17. In turn 19 the teacher reverts to the authority role.)

2   T: Right
             May I interrupt? I would like you to tell me ...uhm... whether you agree or disagree with the first statement.
3   S12:   Uhm ... in some way I do disagree 'cause I think underprivileged people that ... like pensioners and things like that, should get medical treatment free. I take our laboratory, for instance, ...uhm... the doctors there get their treatment free, but the pensioners and things like that, they have to pay for it. I don't think that's fair. The doctors can afford to pay/
4   T: Uhm-hu.
5   S12:   R100 for a test, but the pensioners who get a R100 a month, they must pay. I don't think that's fair/
6   T: Uhm-hu.
7   S12:   and medicine too, it's extremely expensive to give antibiotics and things like that and I think it's unfair that underprivileged people should pay that much/
8   T: Uhm-hu.

9	S12:	but medical schemes do/
10	T:	Yes. Do they pay out?
11	S12:	Yeah, they do pay out.
12	T:	Uhm-hu. Yes. Fortunately.
13	T+S:	(laughter)
14	S12:	Fortunately.
15	T:	I tell you if I didn't have a medical aid I would have had financial problems long ago.
16	S12:	Yes, you see.
17	T:	I would have had cash flow problems.
18	T+S:	(laughter)
19	T:	Okay, you have to put those ideas into written form now, I have to listen to the others too.

(After several interviews, the teacher goes onto the next phase of the lesson.)

Feedback and re-initiation

Teacher: Right, class. I listened to all the pairs, and you expressed very interesting ideas. Let us list some of the ideas you mentioned, before I give you the writing task.

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