Frames, Footing, and Teacher-Initiated Questions:
An Analysis of a Beginning French Class for Adults

Sarah Creider[1]

Introduction

Unlike children learning to speak, adults come to the language-learning process with years of life experience. They may be beginners in a new language, but they are not beginners in their own lives. Yet, some of the most common types of teacher/student exchanges, especially those that follow a teacher-initiated question, may lead to situations in which students who are speaking about familiar topics still feel, act, and are treated as novices. This paper explores a beginning French class for adults, asking how the class participants deal with dual — and sometimes conflicting — roles. On the one hand, the teacher's knowledge of French puts her in the role of expert, especially in comparison to her beginning-level students. At the same time, teacher and students are all adults who, outside of the classroom, would meet as equals in terms of general knowledge and experience. These shifting roles can be seen especially clearly in interchanges following questions about students' own lives. While it seems evident that a student would know more about her background than anyone else, such questions often seem more like tests of how well students can answer in French than actual requests for information.

In order to better understand teacher and student roles in the classroom, Goffman's (1974, 1981) work on *interactive frames* is used as a theoretical model throughout this paper. As developed by Goffman, frames are largely concerned with how humans label any given

_____

[1] Sarah Creider is a doctoral student in the Applied Linguistics program at Teachers College, Columbia University. Her research interests include sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, with a specialization in teacher/adult-student interactions, turn-taking in the second language classroom, and ESL/EFL teacher training. Correspondences should be sent to: scc2120@columbia.edu

interaction, how we know "what … people are *doing* when they speak" (Tannen, 1993, p. 19). For instance, interactive frames help us to understand if, in a given conversation, we are engaged in an argument, a playful flirtation, or a language lesson. Another kind of frame, what Tannen (1993) calls a *knowledge schema*, represents broader structures of knowledge and understanding, which are not necessarily linguistic. Lakoff (2006), who has written extensively on frames and politics, suggests that these conceptual frames can describe the structure of our "moral system or … worldview" (p. 12). As Lakoff (2004) writes elsewhere, "People think in frames" (p. 17). This paper will use the term *interactive frame* in discussing frames of the kind described by Goffman, those that allow us to understand human interactions. The more abstract frames described by Lakoff (Tannen's *knowledge schema*) will be termed *cognitive frame*, in order to emphasize that they, too, are a kind of frame.

As will be seen in the Literature Review below, recent research on second- and foreign-language classrooms has explored how teacher discourse can affect teacher and student roles in the classroom. This work has drawn on a variety of theoretical models, from a sociocultural approach (e.g., Hall & Walsh, 2002; Wallace, 2006) to conversation analysis (CA) (e.g. Kasper, 2004; Waring 2008, 2009). However, there seems to be little recent work on frames and adult-student/teacher discourse. This paper, then, attempts to bring these two strands of research together, applying Goffman's theories to teacher/student interactions in an adult foreign-language classroom. Part one describes a group of interactive frames operating in a beginning French class for adults. Part two uses these interactive frames and the concepts of *keying* (Goffman, 1974) and *footing* (Goffman, 1974, 1981) to explore the teacher's role as expert in the classroom. Finally, the paper suggests that both teacher and students are operating within a broader, cognitive frame where student speech is seen as either right or wrong and classroom

discourse is associated with testing rather than with teaching and learning

Review of the Literature

Interactive frames

First introduced by Bateson (1972), interactive frames are used by participants to understand what kind of interaction they are engaged in at any one time. Bateson describes watching monkeys play at a zoo and realizing that both the monkeys and the human onlookers were aware that actions which could be interpreted as aggressive were simply playful. The monkeys were acting within a 'play' frame. Frames and framing were further developed by Goffman (1974, 1981), who also introduced the terms *keying* and *footing* discussed below. As Goffman showed, most interactions can be framed in a variety of ways. For instance, depending upon context, a question such as "Do you have siblings?" may be a request for information or a test of student ability in a new language. In either situation, participants understand the purpose of the question by understanding how the interaction itself is framed—in this case, as a conversation between acquaintances or as a student/teacher interchange.

According to Goffman, "talk is like a structural midden, a refuse heap in which bits and oddments of all the ways of framing activity in the culture are to be found" (1974, p. 499). For Goffman, then, analyzing discourse was a way to further illuminate frame analysis. On the other hand, for many linguists, frame analysis is a powerful tool for studying discourse. Writing about the studies in her book *Framing and Discourse* (1993), Tannen describes both points of view: "(They) make both theoretical and empirical contributions, enriching our understanding of framing at the same time that (they) show how analysis of framing adds to our understanding of conversational interaction" (1993, p. 5). Indeed, theories of framing have been used to analyze a variety of discourse types, from medical (e.g., Buchbinder, 2008; Ribeiro, 1993; Tannan &

Wallat, 1993) to family (e.g., Gordon 2002, 2008; Tannen, 2007). However, as mentioned above, there is surprisingly little work on interactive frames and adult language learners. The work that does exist seems to focus almost entirely on adolescent students. For instance, studies by Hancock (1997) and Pennington (1999) use framing to discuss code-switching in secondary language classrooms. Hancock is concerned with student-to-student interactions, while Pennington looks more broadly at the overall structure of discourse in a Hong Kong classroom. Like this study, Pennington's work analyzes teacher/student discourse and, to a certain extent, classroom power dynamics. However, by concentrating on adult students, this paper attempts to explore teacher/student roles in a context where classroom management is not an issue. Also interesting is Nunn's (1999) work on 'levels' of communication in a high school EFL classroom. Although Nunn is not explicitly concerned with framing, the levels in his study are similar to the frames described by Pennington and to those that will be discussed in this paper. Additionally, because Nunn is primarily interested in the traditional differentiation between display and referential questions, he looks at the intersections between questions and levels. Nevertheless, perhaps because Nunn's participants are adolescent students, the teacher's role as expert in the classroom is taken for granted in his work.

Keying and footing

It is important to note that just as human interaction is never static, frames shift constantly throughout any given interaction. Typically, people do not simply leave one frame for another. Instead, frames interact and transform in various ways. One kind of frame transformation is called *keying* (Goffman, 1974). In a *keyed* interaction, the actions that typically refer to one activity are actually referring to something else. For instance, a playful argument might use the words and tone of voice typically associated with conflict but be framed as play by

the participants involved. The play frame, then, can be a keyed version of an argument frame. In the language classes analyzed below, certain kinds of teacher-initiated questions will be described as keyed versions of questions that might typically appear in a non-classroom setting, such as a job interview, or a first date.

While there seems to be little, if any, recent work on keyed frames and classroom discourse, keying has been used extensively in studies of family discourse. For instance, in her work on family arguments, Tannen (2006) describes a kind of keying when an argument shifts from serious to playful. Hoyle (1993) and Gordon (2002, 2006) use keying to discuss play and make believe. Most recently, in her article on how parents blend work and play as they interact with their young children, Gordon (2008), distinguishes between two kinds of keying. In *reframing*, there is a sequential change from one frame to another keyed frame. In *blending*, on the other hand, participants simultaneously use two different frames to define the same interaction. Both reframing and blending will be discussed in the Findings and Analysis section of this paper. In fact, this paper suggests that keying can be a helpful theoretical tool for understanding foreign- or second-language classroom discourse. For example, among the kinds of keyings described by Goffman is something he calls "utilitarian make-believe" (1974, p. 59); i.e. the use of practice to develop a skill. If a pianist pretends to perform in preparation for a concert, her practice 'performances' would be keyed versions of the real thing. In the teacher/student interchanges analyzed below, practicing is one of the interactive frames used by class participants.

Interestingly, despite the lack of recent work on frames and/or keying in the language classroom, several authors have used Goffman's theory of *footing* (1974, 1981) to study both adult and child language learners in classroom settings. Footing refers to how interlocutors align

themselves in relation to each other and to the interactions in which they are engaged. That is, framing describes an overall view of an interaction, while footing is from the point of view of the participants. Just as smaller frames can be found within larger ones, participants might change footing several times while remaining in one larger frame. For instance, in a chapter on footing in *Forms of Talk* (1981), Goffman suggests that the traditional categories of *speaker* and *listener* are not complex enough to portray the many roles we play in most interactions. According to Goffman, the idea of the speaker can be broken down into multiple footings, including those of *author*, or the person who creates a given text, and *animator*, or the person who actually presents the text. In one recent study that applies Goffman's work to the second-language classroom, Wallace (2006) uses the notions of animator and author to discuss how second-language readers position themselves in relation to the written texts they encounter in the classroom. According to Wallace, the traditional method of teaching a text, with pre-, during-, and post-reading activities, creates a situation where the teacher has read the text ahead of time, and becomes the "'expert' who sets the questions, knows the answers, and provides the framework..." (p. 85). This puts students in a position where they must simply reproduce or "animate" (p. 75) what they read, rather than being able to "'re-author' texts in light of the ever-changing circumstances in which they are encountered and made sense of" (p.75). Although Wallace's work is primarily concerned with the relationships between language learners and texts rather than with teacher/student discourse, the author's questions about how—or even if—adult students can retain their adult expertise in the second-language learning process are very similar to those explored in this paper. Bannink & van Dam (2006) also use footing to explore teacher power in the classroom, although the students in their study are children. In an interesting analysis of an exchange following a teacher-initiated question, the authors show how a student's silence is the

result of an impossible choice between answering a question incorrectly and switching into his first language, which would "break a classroom rule" (p. 290). While the teacher is able to change footings in response to the student's silence, switching from "teacher talk to native speaker English" (p. 290) as she tells a joke, the student does not have this option, given his lack of competence as an English speaker.

In sum, then, this paper suggests that Goffman's (1974, 1981) theories of frames, footing, and keying are particularly suited for studying the dual concerns faced by teacher and students in an adult second language classroom—where students must learn to express themselves in their L2 while, hopefully, retaining their footing as adults, and as experts in their own lives.

Cognitive frames

Interactive frames, keying, and footing can all be understood in terms of how participants understand or define the kind of social interaction they are engaged in at any one time. However, as Tannen (1993) acknowledges, there has been a tendency for discourse analysts to use the term *frame* more broadly, as a way of describing how we make sense of and structure our knowledge of the world. As mentioned above, Tannen calls this kind of frame a *knowledge schema* (Tannen, 1993; Tannen & Wallat, 1993). Simpson (2006) uses knowledge schema to explore differing expectations on the part of testers and test-takers during English-language speaking tests. His study suggests that test-takers with little or no academic background can be at a disadvantage during language assessments, since their understanding of what it means to take a test often does not match that of the people who develop or administer the assessments. In describing knowledge schemas, Simpson writes of "relatively stable psychological structures of background knowledge which participants bring to a speech event" (p. 12). Lakoff (2002, 2004, 2006) also discusses the kinds of frames with which human beings organize and understand experience.

There is no way, according to Lakoff, for humans to function without this kind of frame. At the same time, any experience can be framed in a variety of ways. The choice to save money, for example, can be seen from a *miserly* frame or a *thrifty* frame. (Lakoff, 2002, p. 372). This paper suggests that the assumption that student speech in a language classroom is either right or wrong, based on grammatical correctness, is a kind of cognitive frame.

Teacher questions and Initiation-Response-Feedback exchanges

Goody (1978) asks what it is "that we do when we ask questions" (p. 17). Goody suggests that while the common belief is that questions are used to elicit information, they can have a more complex purpose, one often related to power; "… questioning not only involves asking for information, but also carries a command function" (p. 39). In a section on questions in the classroom, Goody points out that in teaching situations, questions are defined by the teacher's superior status in relation to the student. Long and Sato (1983) studied the kinds of questions found in a second language classroom, differentiating between *display* questions, where the teacher already knows the answer; and *referential* questions, which are more open-ended. Nunn, however, (1999) describes layers of discourse in the classroom (see above) to suggest that the distinction between referential and display questions is not always appropriate in the classroom, and that in some contexts what would be called display questions can have important purposes, such as that of reconstructing textbook information. Similarly, the teacher-initiated questions analyzed in this paper cannot easily be defined as referential or display. As will be discussed below, even questions that should be referential can be treated as display questions when teacher and students are working from an interactional frame that is more focused on language form than on content.

Another way of thinking about questions is in terms of the kinds of interactions they

engender. The three-part *Initiation-Response-Feedback* (IRF) structure continues to be explored by researchers (and, presumably, used by teachers), even though it was first described over 30 years ago by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). A slightly different take on the same phenomenon can be found in Mehan's (1979) discussion of *Initiation-Response-Evaluation* (IRE) sequences. In both cases, the teacher starts the interaction with a question, usually a display question (van Lier, 2000). A student offers a brief response, and the teacher either provides feedback (IR*F*) or evaluates the student response (IR*E*). Some recent studies have explored how these two kinds of teacher-responses (evaluation and feedback) can affect teacher/student roles in the classroom. In "Teacher-Student Interaction and Language Learning," Hall and Walsh (2002) write that "in the IRE pattern of interaction, the teacher plays the role of expert" (p. 188). These authors differentiate between evaluation and feedback, suggesting that a brief evaluative response leaves the teacher in control of the discourse and "constrain(s) students' learning opportunities" (p. 190). Similarly, van Lier writes that "the central feature of IRF is that the teacher is unequivocally in charge" (2000, p. 95). Like Hall and Walsh, van Lier proposes that when a teacher's response includes actual feedback rather than a simple evaluation, students are more likely to participate independently in classroom discussions. Waring (2008) also focuses on the final part of these 3-part exchanges, showing how positive evaluations in particular (i.e., "Very good!") can serve to close the conversational sequence, effectively shutting down further student discourse. Thus, recent work on the IRE sequence in the second language classroom has explored the way that teacher discourse can affect teacher and student roles in the classroom. This paper continues in this vein, using frames and footing as a theoretical basis for describing a particular kind of IRE sequence. In many of the sequences analyzed below, the initial question involves a keyed, or transformed frame, while the final evaluation shows evidence of a cognitive

frame where all student speech is seen as either right or wrong.

Research Questions

1.   What interactive and cognitive frames are in operation during exchanges involving teacher-initiated questions in the foreign-language class studied in this paper?

2.   How do these frames relate to teacher and student footing in the class, and, in particular, to the teacher's role as expert?

Methods

Participants

The participants in this study were the students and teacher in a beginning French class for adults. Four students were in class on the first day of filming and seven on the second day. The class was part of the Community Language Program (CLP), a language instruction program under the auspices of the TESOL and Applied Linguistics departments at a major university of education in New York City. The students, women in their twenties and thirties, are from the United States, Mexico, Japan, Australia, Canada, and Korea. The teacher is a doctoral student in the Applied Linguistics program at the university. Her first language is English, but she is bilingual in French and English.

Data Collection Procedures

Between one and two hours of two separate class sessions were taped using a digital video camera. Students were told that the tape would be analyzed for a term paper. A single camera was placed on a tripod, so that the majority of students could be seen on the video. Because the teacher moved around quite a bit, she was sometimes on, and sometimes off camera (the camera was not moved during the taping process). It should be noted that to fully

corroborate the assertions of this paper, considerably more data would be required. It would be interesting to look at classes for various levels of language students and at a variety of teachers in order to allow for differences in teaching style. Additionally, triangulation, in the form of post-data collection interviews with teachers and students, would have provided interesting emic data, showing the participants' perspectives on some of the issues raised in this paper.

Data Analysis Procedures

Portions of the data were transcribed using a combination of Jefferson's notation (Atkinson & Heritage, 2004) and the system described on Emanual A. Schegloff's web page (see Appendix A). Close analysis of the data, primarily from the perspective of interactional sociolinguistics, yielded empirical evidence for the operation of frames and footings. The data was originally transcribed and analyzed in French. In the excerpts below, an English translation is shown next to the original French data. Please see Appendix B for a direct, word-for-word gloss of the French data. Although the writer of this paper is fluent in French, a professional French-to-English translator was also consulted in order to ensure greater accuracy in the translations[2].

Findings and Analysis

Interactive Frames and Questions

This section first describes a series of interactive frames in evidence in a beginning French class, in particular those that relate to teacher-initiated questions. Excerpts from the class are then analyzed to show how teacher and student move among frames during classroom interactions.

_____

[2] In the following excerpts, teacher speech is labeled 'T' and students are 'S', 'S1', 'S2', etc. In the English-only transcriptions, utterances that were originally in French are in Roman type, while those that were originally in English are in italics

The classroom frame.

According to Goffman (1974), the outmost frame, or rim, of a series of layered frames is the one we often use to "label" (p. 82) the activity in general. In this case, regardless of what activities they are engaged in, the teacher and students studied here are probably aware of the fact that they are in the midst of a French class. Quite literally, they are within the four walls of a classroom. In the *classroom frame*, the teacher takes on the footing of a teacher. Her job is to run the class. Thus, when the teacher calls on a student, tells the class that there will be further opportunities to practice a new structure, or suggests that it's time to return from a break, she is working from within this frame. Students may show that they are in this frame by acquiescing to the teacher's control of the classroom—answering when they are called on, for instance.

The French language frame.

Within the classroom frame, students and teachers may engage in interactions that are either keyed versions of conversations that would normally occur in non-classroom settings, or that are typical of a second language classroom. Many language teachers today, including the teacher in this class (personal communication, December, 2008) might say that they avoid undue concentration on language form, particularly during activities focused on conversation skills. Nonetheless, grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary are still prototypical topics in most adult second- and foreign- language classes. These subjects make up the unkeyed *French language frame*, where both teacher and students are concerned with the structure of French. Almost all student speech (in French) is at least partially in this frame, since, as will be seen below, both students and teacher seem to see student speech as 'available' for—or in need of—correction by the teacher. This paper will attempt to show how the teacher takes on expert footing in this frame.

The adult conversation frame.

In describing laminated frames, Goffman (1974) suggests that when a situation involves keying, the innermost frame is the one that could be a primary framework, or unkeyed activity (p. 82). That is, if a pianist is practicing for a concert, the unkeyed concert frame would be inside the keyed practice frame. In the interactions described below, this unkeyed frame involves conversation between two adults. Many of the questions asked by the teacher in this class would be typical of a variety of adult conversations, whether between a couple on a first date, or two co-workers chatting at the water cooler. Examples are: "*Do you have brothers and sisters?*" and "*I love snow. How about you?*" In unkeyed situations, these questions would be asked simply to gather the relevant information. However, because of their context (a beginning French class), the questions' meaning and use are changed. Thus, while this frame can be seen as the basis for much of the discourse described below, none of the interchanges occur solely in this frame.[3]

The testing and practice frames.

Outside of the adult conversation frame are two possible keyed frames. First, there is the *testing* frame. As mentioned earlier, it is not atypical for teachers to ask questions to which they already know the answer. What is interesting about this beginning French class is that even questions to which the teacher does *not* already know the answer (questions about students' personal lives, for instance) take on the role of a display question. This is because teacher and/or students are in the French language frame, where correct form is more important than the actual content of a student response. Within the French language frame, there is a clear distinction between correct answers—those that conform to the rules of French grammar and

_____

[3] A conversation, in English, between two students or between teacher and student that took place "outside" of the classroom frame—i.e. during a break or before the class starts—would be the only possible exception. However, no such conversations are included in this data.

pronunciation—and incorrect ones. Therefore, many teacher-initiated questions become evaluatory in nature. In certain situations, then, display questions such as "*What is the feminine form of this adjective?*" can have the same function as more complex referential questions such as "*What time do you get up?"* In both cases, the teacher's goal in asking the question is neither to provide new information to students nor to provide them with a chance to practice their L2 (see *practice* frame, below), but, seemingly, to find out if they are capable of answering correctly.

Of course, not all teacher-student interchanges take on the qualities of an examination. In some cases, teacher and student are focused primarily on communication. However, given that these conversations (a) take place in the United States, among participants who share a common language other than French, and (b) are conducted entirely in French is a strong clue that keying of some sort is occurring. That is, one French speaker in New York might very well ask another what kind of work she does, with the sole purpose of finding out how a Francophone person can earn a living in the United States. When an English-speaker asks another English-speaker the same question in French, however, her reasons are probably different. Even if a student is more focused on explaining her hobbies to her teacher than on using perfect French grammar, she is still speaking in an unfamiliar L2. In fact, she is in the *practice* frame. Here, students are given an opportunity to practice various kinds of adult discourse in their L2. When the teacher talks in French, regardless of the topic, she is using this frame by allowing the students to practice their L2 listening skills. The following figure shows the interactive frames described above.

FIGURE 1
Interactive Frames Operating in a Beginning French Class for Adults
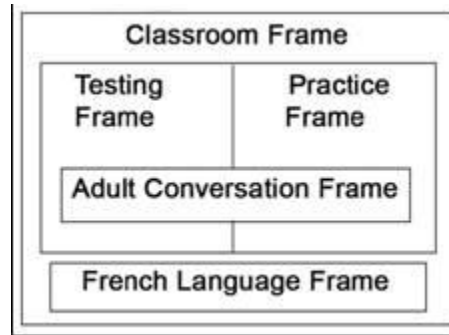
Excerpt 1, below, shows how student speech can trigger a move into the French language frame. The teacher has been asking students simple conversational questions about their lives. Here, she asks what languages a student speaks.

EXCERPT 1
The English

➔	1	T:	now. what languages do you speak, Yuki.	T:	alors. tu parles quelles langues, Yuki. >tu
	2		>what languages [do you speak]<		parles [quelles langues<]
➔	3	S1:	[ah::::: I speak] ah::::: Ja-	S1:	[ah :: je parle] ah ::: le le
	4		Jap- Japanese a:::nd the English?		japonais i ::t le anglais ?
➔	5	T:	not the English bu:t? who can help Yuki?	T:	pas le anglais, mai :: s ? (1.0) qui peut aider
	6		one speaks- she speaks Japanese, and?		Yuki ? on parle-Elle parle le japonais, et ?
	7	S1:	and?	S1:	et ?
	8	S2:	English=	S2:	l'anglais=
	9	T:	=English! [English]	T:	=l'anglais ! [l'anglais]
	10	S1:	[ah, Engl]ish…	S1:	[ah l'angl]ais

One way of looking at this excerpt is as a type of IRE (Mehan, 1979) exchange, with the initiation, or teacher's initial question, in line 1; a student response in line 3; and the teacher's evaluation of that response in line 5. As mentioned above, however, an interesting aspect of this conversation is that the initiation is not a typical display question. It is Yuki who knows how many languages she speaks—not the teacher. Even so, because of a move into the French language frame, the teacher is able to evaluate Yuki's answer. Although this frame switch is made explicit in lines 5 and 6, as the teacher discusses Yuki's use of articles, the fact that Yuki

ends her response with the upturned intonation of a question (line 4) suggests that she may already have been in the French language form. Given that Yuki is probably confident of the fact that she does indeed speak English and Japanese, her question may have to do with whether her response is correctly formed.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the teacher's initiation in line 1 is a keyed version of a question that might occur in other contexts, from a job interview to a friendly chat among acquaintances. However, because of the context, both teacher and student are aware of the fact that they are not in a typical conversation frame. Instead of hoping to find out what languages a fellow adult speaks, the teacher seems to have asked the question to find out if Yuki can answer it correctly. Thus, both student and teacher are at least partially in the testing frame. In this case, then, we have an example of blended frames (Gordon, 2008), since the participants seem to be simultaneously in the French language and testing frames. As the following figure shows, the adult conversation frame exists within this interaction as the primary frame upon which the keyed, testing frame is based. The very fact that the teacher asks questions and evaluates student responses shows that student and teacher are also operating in the classroom frame.

FIGURE 2
Blended Frames in Excerpt 1
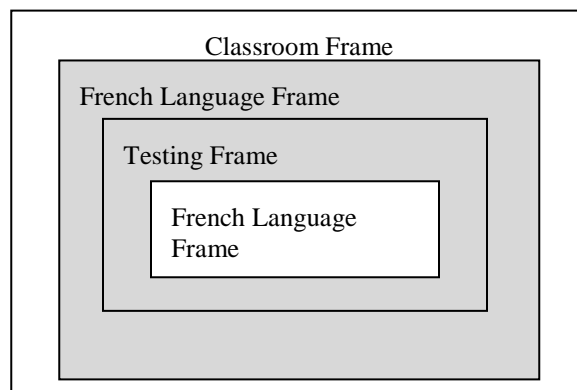
Excerpts 2 and 3 are taken from a class discussion on expressing likes and dislikes.

EXCERPT 2
I Like Walking?

			English	French
→	1	T:	uh:: what do you like or not like	T: uh:: que est-ce que tu aimes ou tu n'aimes pas
	2		Mary.	Mary.
→	3	S:	um : (4.2) ((looking through papers))	S: um : (4.2) ((looking through papers))
	4		I like, (2.8) ((looking through papers))	j'aime, (2.8) ((looking through papers))
	5		um, (1.8) ((glances at teacher))	um, (1.8) ((glances at teacher))
→	6	T:	take your time. take your time.	T: prends ton temps. prends ton temps.
	7	S:	mm (4.8) ((reading notes)) oh. um, I like	S: mm (4.8: ((reading notes)) oh. um, j'aime
→	8		to walk?	marcher ?
	9	T:	you like to walk?	T: tu aimes marcher ?
	10	S:	mmhmm.	S: mmhmm.
→	11	T:	to walk, to walk for exercise, a bit?	T: le marche, le marche althetique, un peu ?
	12	S:	um ::	S: um ::
	13	T:	for exercise or just for uh ::	T: pour faire du sport ou simplement pour uh ::
	14	S:	um :: *both*.	S: um :: both.
→	15	T:	ok. to walk- yes to say uh I like good uh,	T: ok. marcher- oui pour dire uh j'aime bien uh,
	16		in fa :ct that's to stroll ((*me balader*)).	simplement : ca c'est me balader. c'est une verbe
	17		it's a reflexive verb. uh :: (5.0) ((teacher	réflexive. uh :: (5.0) ((teacher writes on board, and
	18		writes on board, and students take	students take notes)) on ne connaît pas cet
	19		notes)) we don't know that construction	construction parce que c'est réflexive. ca
	20		because it's reflexive. it's to stroll.	c'est me balader.
	21	S:	to strall? [sic]=	S: mé balader ?=
	22	T:	=I like to stroll.	T: =j'aime me balader.
	23	S:	I like (.) to stroll.	S: j'aime (.) me balader.

Here again, the teacher asks a question (line 1) that only the student can answer—the

teacher does not already know what Mary likes or dislikes. However, in lines 3 through 5, the

student seems to be having a hard time formulating a response. Her long pauses, the use of

hesitations such as "um," and her glance at the teacher suggest that she may have moved into the

testing frame. Whether or not the teacher meant her question as a test, it seems to have caused a

certain amount of insecurity on the part of the student. Perhaps sensing the student's

nervousness, the teacher tells her to "*take your time*" in line 6. Finally, after additional long

pauses, the student tries an answer. The fact that the answer ends with the upturned intonation of

a question (line 8), however, suggests that the student is still in the testing and French language

frames, focusing more on whether her answer is correct than on the content of what she is

saying. The teacher repeats the students' answer, and then, in line 11, asks for further

clarification. Thus, this could be seen as an example of an IRF (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1973; Hall & Walsh, 2002) interchange, in that rather than evaluating a student response, the teacher provides feedback that might lead to further discussion. However, presumably because of the students' lack of French, her response to the teacher's feedback is minimal (line 14). Then, in line 15, we see a switch into the French language frame, as the teacher explains the correct usage of the verb "to walk" in French. It is interesting to note that along with teaching new vocabulary, this line serves as a kind of a delayed evaluation to the student's answer in line 7—it is also at least partially in the testing frame. Finally, lines 17 and 18 suggest the operation of the classroom frame, as the teacher writes on the blackboard and students take notes, both typical classroom activities.

In excerpt 3, we see how a student uses the same question to move into the practice frame, while the teacher switches back and forth between the testing and practice frames.

EXCERPT 3
I Love to Sleep

	1	T:	a ::nd Amy what do you love or what do	T:	et: Amy qu'est-ce que tu aime ou qu'est-ce que tu
	2		you hate.		déteste.
	3	S:	ah : I like uh ::: to sleep, (1.2)	S:	ah : j'aime uh ::: dormir, (1.2)
	4	T:	yes=	T:	oui=
➔	5	S:	=uh::[::bu]t uh::: <I don't> (.8) I	S:	=uh ::[:: m]ais uh ::: <je ne> (.8) je ne dormi
	6		don't sleep uh, becau::se uh right now I		pas uh, parce que :: uh en ce moment je
	7	T:	[yes]	T:	[oui]
	8	S:	uh (.8) to write uh, my, me thesis? (1.0)	S:	uh (.8) écrire uh mon- moi thèse ? (1.0) uh
	9		uh, tha ((sic)) (1.4) I. hate.		qe (1.4) je. déteste.
➔	10	T:	ah! well, that's a lot. that's good. well	T:	hah ! ba c'est beacoup. c'est bien. bien
	11		formed. uh, you, you write your thesis,		formé. uh tu, tu écris ta thèse,
	12	S:	uhhuh	S:	uhhuh
➔	13	T:	and you hate that, yes. yes. good luck.	T:	et tu déteste ça, oui. oui. bon courage
➔	14	S:	I do::n't write- I ca:n'twri-	S:	je ne :: écrire- je ne peux : crir- écrire ?
	15	T:	(1.4) ((nodding)) you can't write. oh::::.	T:	(1.4) ((nodding)) tu ne peux pas écrire. oh ::::.
	16	S:	oh::	S:	oh ::
	17	T:	poor Amy.	T:	pauvre Amy

It is not initially clear whether the teacher's question in lines 1 and 2 and Amy's response in line 3 are in the testing or practice frame. By line 5, however, Amy suggests that she at least is

in the practice frame. Her utterance in line 3 would be sufficient to answer the teacher's question, but in line 5 she continues, offering an explanation of why she isn't getting enough rest, despite the fact that she loves to sleep. Still, the questioning intonation at the end of line 8 suggests a brief shift into the French language frame, probably caused by an error in personal pronoun use (*me* instead of *my*). The teacher, however, initially responds from the testing frame. In line 10, rather than commenting on the content of Amy's utterance, she says merely that Amy has said "a lot" and that her utterances were "well formed." Thus, she is evaluating the student's response, as if its worth was based only on whether it was correct or not. Interestingly, Amy's response in line 12 seem to provide evidence for Waring's (2008) assertions that positive evaluations can serve to effectively end an interaction. Here, Amy does not make an attempt to continue her explanation until the teacher moves into the practice frame in line 13, which is a response to the content of Amy's utterance. Amy seems to take this as an invitation to continue practicing, and she goes on in line 14 to explain that she is having a hard time with her thesis. In line 15, the teacher stays in the practice frame, commenting again on the content rather than the form of Amy's remarks. Figure 3 below offers a visual representation of how teacher and student move between the frames discussed above. The grey areas show where two frames are blended, while the arrows mark moments of re-framing, or a sequential movement between frames (Gordon, 2008).

FIGURE 3
Movement between Frames in a Teacher-Student Interaction

Practice or Testing Frame		Practice Frame	French Language Frame		Practice Frame		French Language & Testing Frames		Practice Frame
Lines 1-4	→	Lines 5-8	Line 8		Lines 8-9	→	Lines 10-12	→	Lines 13-17

Expert Footing

19
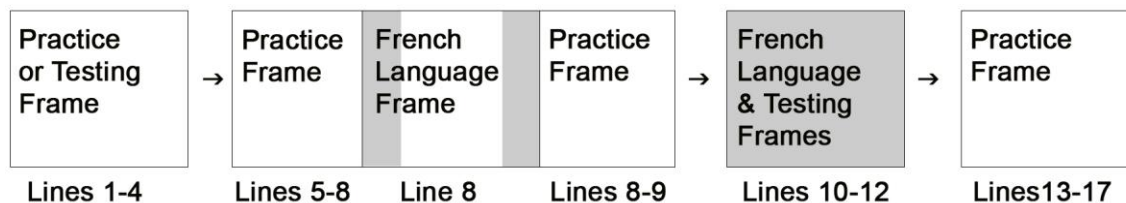
As we saw in the examples above, some questions asked by the teacher in a language class are not actually attempts to gather information. Outside of the classroom context, the person who responds to an information-gathering question is often in 'expert' footing. If person A asks person B what languages B speaks, B is the expert since he's the one who knows his own life story. The situation is different in the classroom. Since the emphasis is on correct form, many questioning interchanges are at least partly in the French language frame, within which the teacher has more knowledge and experience than the student and hence plays the role of expert. Interestingly, students and teacher seem to be in alignment about the teacher's footing. The following excerpt, which shows teacher and student orienting to the teacher's expert footing, takes place after the teacher has introduced the use of military—or 24-hour—time in France.

EXCERPT 4
Is That Right?

	1	T:	exactly, she- she answered the question	T:	voilà, elle- elle a répondu à la question
	2		because in <u>France</u> and I imagine in		parce que e<u>n France</u> et j'imagine dans l'Afrique
	3		French-speaking Africa:: uh I don't		francopho ::ne uh je sais p<u>a</u> :s au
	4		know about Quebec but military time is		Québec mais on utilise l'heure militaire pour uh
	5		used for appointments		des rendez-vous
➔	6	S:	in Quebec? really?	S:	en Québec ? oui ?
➔	7	T:	I don't know.	T:	Je ne sais pas.
➔	8	S:	I don't think so. I think it's the same as-	S:	je pense que non je pense que le même comme
	9		as time [in]		comme l'heure [de]
	10	T:	[with] am and p- *am* and *pm*	T:	[avec] am et p- *am* et *pm* ?
	11	S:	ye::s I think yes but I'm n- I don't know	S:	oui :: je pense que oui [mais] je ne- je ne sais bien
	12		well sure=		sûr=
	13	T:	=yes	T:	=oui
➔	14	S:	*is that right?*	S:	is that right ?
➔	15	T:	I'm not sure	T:	je ne suis pas sûre
	16	S:	ah I'm not sure	S:	ah je ne suis pas sûre

In line 6, a student questions whether military time is used in Quebec, and the teacher responds with "*I don't know*" (line 7), admitting her lack of expert footing regarding this topic. Then, in line 8, the student (who is from Canada) presents herself as an expert about the use of military time in Quebec. At the same time, by asking "*is that right?*" in line 14, she defers to the teacher as the expert in French. Neither teacher nor student doubt that the student's question is in

the French language frame: she is asking for reassurance about the form of her assertion. The teacher's response is to simply say the phrase in question ("*Je ne suis pas sûre*" or "*I'm not sure*") correctly (line 15). Since the student then repeats the correction rather than continuing her argument, we can see that student and teacher are in alignment about the frames in use and about the fact that the teacher is actually the expert. That is, because both student and teacher orient to the fact that the student used an incorrect form in lines 11 and 12 ("*je ne sais bien sûr*"), the teacher retains her expert footing even when the student has more outside-world knowledge about the topic under discussion.

In the following excerpt, the teacher deals with conflicting footings. She is both the expert and not the expert.

EXCERPT 5
Shall We Go to Croatia?

	1	S2:	How do you sa::y um:: for example uh	S2:	comment di:re um::par exemple uh comment
	2		how do you say uh *hello* uh *my name is*		dire uh hello uh my name is,
→	3		[((laughter))]		[((laughter))]
	4	S1:	[in *Serbo Croatian*]? um *hel-* hello is	S1:	[en *serbo croatian*] ? um *hel-* bonjour est
	5		*dobar dan*		*dobar dan*
	6	S2:	ah	S2:	ah
	7	T:	ah like in Czech *dobry den*	T:	ah comme en Czech *dobry den*
	8	S1:	[yah]	S1:	[yah]
	9	S2:	[ey y] ah	S2:	[eh yah]
	10	S1:	*it's very very close*	S1:	it's very very close
→	11	T:	°yes it's very close° (.) and how do you	T:	°oui c'est très près° (.) et comment dire
	12		say thank you?		merci?
	13	S1:	ah hvala? hval *or* hva (.) *it's* [*'h' 'v'*]	S1:	ah, hvala? hval *or* hva *it's* [*'h' 'v'*]
	14	S2:	[he he]	S2:	[he he]
→	15	T:	'h' 'v'(.)shall we go to Croatia? yes? for	T:	'h' 'v' (.) on vas en Croatie? Oui? des
	16		[vacation?] now we can say hello and		[vacances mai]ntenant on peut dire bonjour et
	17		thank you		merci
	18		[((laughter))]		[((laughter))]
→	19	T:	there's a dri- uh a liquor a uh a well	T:	et il y a un boiss-uh un liqueur une uh un liqueur
	20		known liquor		très connu.
	21	S1:	mmm rakia= =yes	S1:	mmm rakia= =oui
→	22	T:	=<u>righ</u>- yes yes=	T:	T: =<u>voi :-</u> oui oui=

A student (S1) has just explained that she speaks some Croatian. In line 1, a fellow

student (S2) asks her (in French) how to say 'hello' in Croatian. The laughter in line 3 shows that the class finds the question unusual. This may be because it is unusual to talk about Croatian in French class—or it may be because a student is in the position of expert, which changes the usual class footings. In lines 11 and 15, the teacher takes back expert footing by offering French translations of the students' English (in italics). Then, in line 19, the teacher asks the student a question about a Croatian drink, seemingly for informational rather than for pedagogical reasons. However, the teacher's response, in line 22 shows conflicting footings. She starts with 'right' (*voila*)—a typical 'teacher' response, and then interrupts herself, saying 'yes yes'. The question, then, may be of a different type from those described elsewhere in this paper. Given that it is asked in French, it is still keyed in some way and is probably in the practice frame. However, the teacher's switch from an evaluation ('right') to a more neutral response ('yes yes') suggests that she was actually interested in the content of the student's answer. Even so, her first instinct seems to have been to answer from her position as expert.

Right and Wrong—A Cognitive Frame

As we have seen, the teacher often retains expert footing even in interchanges about subjects where the student has more knowledge. This is because most student speech remains at least partly in the French language frame. Another aspect of this frame, as seen in the examples above, is that every response to a question is either correct or incorrect. Content becomes relatively unimportant, as does communication; instead, student utterances are judged based on form. This seems to lead both students and teacher to see most student speech from a cognitive frame of right vs. wrong, and may be one reason why the French language and testing frames seemed to be linked in the excerpts analyzed here. Just as Lakoff (2002) describes various ways to frame political debates—i.e. environmentalism could be seen in terms of protecting nature or

of violating property rights (p. 408)—it is interesting to imagine other possible frames for language-learner speech. For instance, student utterances might be understood as attempts to communicate in the way that a child's first efforts at speaking are usually greeted with excitement and hardly judged at all.

In the following section, the teacher is explaining the difference in meaning between to remember (*se souvenir*) and to recall (*rappeler*). She asks the students to find an already familiar word embedded in *rappeler*. (*Rappeler* is based on the French verb *appeler*, or *to call*.) This interchange is different from those explored above in that the teacher clearly *is* the expert, and the overt subject of the conversation is the French language frame. When a student does offer the meaning of *recall* (line 16), the teacher's reply is "*right*" (line 18). As Lakoff (2004), stating a word or concept out loud also implies its opposite. If an answer can be right, it can also be wrong. Of course, the teacher is unlikely to say something like "*that's wrong*" to a student. However, in the excerpt below, for instance, it is clear that the student's answer in line 5 is not what the teacher was looking for. Although the teacher starts her utterance with *yes*, she goes on to say "*but there's another verb there*"—she is waiting for another answer. It is interesting to ask, then, if some of the insecurity seen on the part of the students throughout this paper (exhibited in pauses, hesitations like *um*, and answers that use the intonation of a question) is the result of anxiety that their answers to any teacher question, regardless of content, may be judged as wrong.

EXCERPT 6
Recall

	1	T:	recall is more (.) ah, in fact, what do	T:	rappeler c'est plutôt (.) ah, en fait, qu'es que
	2		you se- what do you see in the word.		vous vo-i qu'es que vous voyez dedans.
	3		what <u>verb</u> that you already know.		quelle <u>verbe</u> que vous connaissez déjà.
	4		(1.6)		(1.6)
→	5	S1:	*'e' 'r' ?*	S1:	*'e' 'r' ?*
→	6	T:	<u>yes::</u> there's the 'e' 'r' (.) ending but	T:	<u>oui ::</u> il y a la terminaison (.) 'e' 'r' mais
	7		there's another verb there		il y a un autre verbe là
	8	S1:	ah::	S1:	ah ::
	9	T:	(1.2)	T:	(1.2)
	10	S2:	call= =and call means? (2.8)	S2:	appeler= =et appeler ça veut dire ? (2.8)
	11	S1:	=call=	S1:	=appeler=
	12	T:	*call ah >to call<*	T:	*call ah >to call<*
	13	S2:	call [ah]	S2:	appeler [ah]
	14	S1:	[ah]::	S1:	[ah] ::
	15	T:	so recall, what does that mean?	T:	alors rappeler, qu'est-ce que ça veut dire ?
	16	S2:	*recall*	S2:	*recall*
	17	S1:	[ah]	S1:	[ah]
→	18	T:	[*to*] *reca::l* yes (.) right	T:	[*to*] *rec ::ll* oui (.) voilà

In excerpt 7, below, a student is talking about her own family, a subject with which she is clearly more familiar than the teacher.

EXCERPT 7
My Sisters' Names

	1	T:	now. do you have brothers or sisters.	T:	alors. Est-ce que tu as des frères ou des sœurs.
	2		(1.2) ah Samantha. Do you have brothers		(1.2) ah Samantha. Est-ce que tu as des frères
	3		or sisters.		ou des soeurs.
→	4	S:	Yes. I have (.) two sisters= =two	S:	oui. j'ai (.) deux sœurs= =deux
	5	T:	=two sisters=	T:	=deux sœurs=
	6	S:	sisters=	S:	sœurs=
	7	T:	=what are their names,	T:	=comment elles s'appellent,
→	8	S:	um (.) their names are (1.2) Ruth eee Ruth	S:	um (.) elles s'appe:llent (1.2) Ruth iii Ruth
	9		and Helen		et Helen
	10	T:	Ruth and Helen. and. what kind of work	T:	Ruth et Helen. Et. elles font quoi dans la
	11		do they do		vie?
	12	S:	um::: my sister Ruth? is um::::: how do-	S:	aum::: ma sœur Ruth? et eum::: comment d-
→	13		chef? cook?		chef? de cuisine?
→	14	T:	very good	T:	très bien

The teacher's questions in lines 1 and 7 are once again keyed versions of questions that might occur in non-classroom settings. One clue to a lack of interest in the content of the reply is her intonation, which is not typical for yes / no questions. In line 4, the student responds in an insecure manner; she pauses before the number "*two*" even though she must know how many

sisters she has. We see more pauses in line 8, and then an answer that ends on the upturn of a question in line 12, when the student isn't sure of how to say 'chef' in French. Finally, in line 14, the teacher replies to the student's response with "very good." In any situation except for a classroom, such a response to an adult talking about her own family would seem patronizing at best. Here, perhaps because both student and teacher are operating from a cognitive frame where every student utterance is either right or wrong, it is perfectly normal.

Conclusion

As this paper has tried to show, students and teachers in a beginning French class for adults reacted to many student utterances from a French language frame that concentrates on form. This resulted (a) in students losing their expert footing and (b) in student speech being evaluated from a binary right vs. wrong frame. Correct form is certainly important for language students. However, it seems that spending at least some classroom time within a frame where communication rather than correctness is the goal might be useful. To put it differently, it may be important to note the extent to which teacher discourse is focused on testing students rather than on teaching them. In an ideal situation, as Bannink and van Dam (2006) write, "Turns and tasks … (would be) designed to construct rather than find competence" (p. 294).

One way to achieve this might be to create situations where students initiate interactions. Unprompted by teacher questions, students would perhaps keep the expert footing with which they conduct their lives outside the classroom and communicate with one another without constantly referring back to the teacher's judgment. Also interesting would be to note how much teacher responses to student speech serve to create a testing atmosphere in the classroom. Waring (2008) has shown that even positive feedback can close down student-teacher interchanges rather than encouraging further communication. One reason for this may be that by using phrases such

as "*very good*," teachers both encourage students to feel that they are being tested, and help to create a cognitive frame of right vs. wrong. If every student utterance is available for evaluation, it is not surprising that some students may be nervous about speaking in class.

Some avenues for further study are: how to teach grammar without creating a right vs. wrong frame; if fewer teacher-to-student questions and more student-initiated discussions might decrease student anxiety and encourage students to concentrate on communicating; and whether allowing adult students to retain their footing as experts has implications for successful language learning. As Goffman (1974) writes about practice as a type of keying, "The purpose of this practicing is to give the neophyte experience in performing under conditions in which (it is felt) no actual engagement with the world is allowed" (p. 59). Perhaps this kind of practice might also include opportunities to speak in a new language without worrying about getting it right.

References

Atkinson, J. M., & Heritage J. (2004). Jefferson's transcript notation. In A. Jaworski & N. Coupland (Eds.), *The discourse reader* (pp. 158–165). New York: Routledge.

Bannink, A., & van Dam, J. (2006). A dynamic discourse approach to classroom research. *Linguistics and Education, 17*, 283–301.

Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an ecology of mind.* New York: Ballentine Books.

Buchbinder, M. H. (2008). 'You're still sick!' Framing, footing, and participation in children's medical play. *Discourse Studies, 10*, 139–159.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goody, E. N. (1978). Towards a theory of questions. In E.N. Goody (Ed.), *Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction* (pp. 17–43). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gordon, C. (2002). "I'm Mommy and you're Natalie": Role-reversal and embedded frames in mother-child discourse. *Language in Society, 31*, 679–720.

Gordon, C. (2006). *When work becomes play and play becomes work: Reframing and blending frames in parent-child interaction*. The Emory Center for Myth and Ritual in American Life. Working paper 047-06. Available from http://www.marial.emory.edu/research/index.html.

Gordon, C. (2008). A(p)parent play: Blending frames and reframing in family talk. *Language in Society, 37*, 319–349.

Hall, J. K., & Walsh, M. (2002). Teacher-student interaction and language learning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 22*, 186–203.

Hancock, M. (1997). Behind classroom code switching: Layering and language choice in L2 learner interaction. *TESOL Quarterly,* 31, 217–235.

Hoyle, S. M. (1993). Participation frameworks in sportscasting play: Imaginary and literal footings. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Framing in discourse* (pp. 114–145). New York: Oxford University Press.

Kasper, G. (2004). Participant orientations in German conversation-for-learning. *The Modern Language Journal, 88*, 551–567.

Lakoff, G. (2002). *Moral politics: How liberals and conservatives think* (2nd ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. (2004). *Don't think of an elephant.* White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing.

Lakoff, G. (2006). *Whose freedom? The battle over America's most important idea.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Long, M. H., & Sato, C. J. (1983). Classroom foreigner talk discourse: Forms and functions of teachers' questions. In H. W. Seliger and M. H. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition* (pp. 268–285). Cambridge, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

Mehan, H. (1979). *Learning lessons: Social organization in the classroom.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nunn, R. (1999). The purpose of language teachers' questions. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 37*, 23–42.

Pennington, M. C. (1999). Framing bilingual classroom discourse: Lessons from Hong Kong secondary school English classes. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *2*, 53–73.

Ribeiro, B. T. (1993). Framing in psychotic discourse. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Framing in discourse* (pp. 77–113). New York: Oxford University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. *Transcription module*. Retrieved on April 12, 2007 from http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/schegloff/.

Simpson, J. (2006). Differing expectations in the assessment of the speaking skills of ESOL learners. *Linguistics and Education, 17*, 40–55.

Sinclair, J. M., & Coulthard, M. (1975). *Towards an analysis of discourse: The English used by teachers and pupils*. London: Oxford University Press.

Tannen, D. (Ed.). (1993). *Framing in discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tannen, D. (2006). Intertextuality in action: Reframing family arguments in public and private. *Text & Talk, 26*, 597–617.

Tannen, D. (2007). Talking the dog: Framing pets as interactional resources in family discourse. In D. Tannen, S. Kendall, & C. Gordon (Eds.), *Family talk: Discourse and identity in four American families* (pp. 49–69). New York: Oxford University Press.

Tannen, D., & Wallat, C. (1993). Interactive frames and knowledge schemas in interaction: Examples from a medical examination/interview. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Framing in discourse* (pp. 57–76). New York: Oxford University Press.

van Lier, L. (2000). Constraints and resources in classroom talk: Issues of equality and symmetry. In N. Mercer (Ed.), *English language teaching in its social context: A reader.* (pp. 90-107). Florence, KY: Routledge.

Wallace, C. (2006). The text, dead or alive: Expanding textual repertoires in the adult ESOL classroom. *Linguistics and Education, 17*, 74–90.

Waring, H. Z. (2008). Using explicit positive assessment in the language classroom: IRF, feedback, and learning opportunities. *The Modern Language Journal, 92,* 577–594.

Waring, H. Z. (2009). Moving out of IRF (initiation-response-feedback): A single case analysis. *Language Learning, 59*, 796-824.

APPENDIX A

Transcription Symbols

From Atkinson and Heritage (2004) and E. Schegloff (2007).

=	Used in two instances: 1) to show latching; 2) at the end and beginning of a continuous utterance from one speaker that has been interrupted by a line from another speaker
italics	An utterance originally in English
'ha,' 'he,' 'hu'	Laughter
__ :: underlined letters followed by a colon	A falling intonation on the vowel
::__ a colon followed by underlined letters	A rising intonation on the vowel
< >	Fast speech
> <	Slow speech
° °	Quiet speech
[ ]	Overlapping talk
———————	Emphasis
?	Yes / no questions rising intonation
.	Sentence final intonation
,	Phrase final intonation
!	Excited or exclamatory intonation
(( ))	Comments or the original French
-	The speaker interrupting his or her self; an abrupt stop
:	Lengthened or continuing sound.
(.)	Brief, untimed pause

APPENDIX B

French transcription with gloss

KEY
-fam =   familiar and/or singular form of second person pronoun (*tu*)
-fem =   feminine
-neg =   negative particle (*ne*)
-pl =   formal and/or plural form of second person pronoun (*vous*)
-ques = question form (*est-ce que*)
-refl = reflexive pronoun (*me, se*)

Excerpt 1. The English

```
1  T:  alors. tu     parles quelles langues,  Yuki. >tu       parles [quelles langues<]
           so.   you-fam speak   which  languages Yuki   you-fam like     which    languages
           now. what languages do you speak, Yuki. >what languages [do you spea]k<
2  S1: [ah :: je parle    ] ah ::: le  le   japonais i ::t le anglais ?
            ah    I speak         ah    the the Japonese  i    the English.
           [ah::::::: I sp]eak ah::::: Ja- Jap- Japanese a:::nd the English?
3  T:  pas le anglais, mai :: s ? (1.0)  qui peut aider  Yuki ? on parle- Elle parle le japonais, et ?
            not  the English  but               who  can  to help Yuki    on  speaks- she  speaks the Japanese, and ?
           not the English bu:t? who can help Yuki? one speaks- she speaks Japanese, and?
4  S1: et ?
           and ?
           and?
5  S2: l'anglais=
           the English
           English=
6  T:          =l'anglais ! [l'anglais]
                 the English ! the English
                =English!   [English ]
7  S1:                 [ah l'angl]ais
                        ah  the English
                       [ah, Engl]ish.
```

Excerpt 2. I like walking?

```
1  T:  uh:: que est-ce que tu        aimes ou tu   n'aimes pas Mary
           uh   what -ques       you –fam love    or  you –neg like   not  Mary
           uh:: what do you like or not like Mary.
2  S:  um : (4.2) ((looking through papers)) j'aime, (2.8) ((looking through papers)) um, (1.8)
           um                                                      I love                                          um
           um : (4.2) ((looking through papers)) I like, (2.8) ((looking through papers)) um, (1.8)
```

((glances at teacher))
3 T: prends ton   temps. prends ton   temps
       take   your –fam time   take   your your –fam time
       take your time. take your time.
4 S: mm (4.8: ((reading notes)) oh. um, j'aime marcher ?
                                      oh. um I love   to walk ?
       mm (4.8) ((reading notes)) oh. um, I like to walk?
5 T: tu   aimes marcher ?
       you -fam love   to walk ?
       you like to walk?
6 S: mmhmm.
7 T: le marche, le marche althetique, un peu ?
       the walk,   the walk   athletic,   a little ?
       to walk, to walk for exercise, a little?
8 S: um ::
9 T: pour faire   du   sport ou simplement pour uh ::
       for   to make of the sport or   simply   for   uh ::
       for exercise or just for uh ::
10 S: um :: *both*.
11 T: ok. marcher- oui pour dire   uh j'aime bien uh, simplement ca c'est me balader. c'est une
       ok. to walk-   yes for   to talk uh I love   well uh   simply   that it is -ref to walk it is   a
       ok. to walk- yes to say uh I like good uh, in fa :ct that's to stroll (*me balader*). it's a
12 T: verbe réflexive. uh :: (5.0) ((teacher writes on board, and students take notes)) on ne
        verb reflexive   uh   one -neg
       reflexive verb. uh :: (5.0) ((teacher writes on board, and students take notes)) we don't
13 T: connaît   pas   cet construction parce que c'est réflexive. ca c'est me balader.
       to know   -neg   this construction becuase that it is   reflexive   that it is -ref to walk
       know that construction because it's reflexive. it's to stroll.
14 S: mé   balader ?=
       -ref (sic)   to walk
       to strall?   [sic]=
15 T: =j'aime me balader
                            I love   -ref to walk
                          =I like to stroll.
16 S: j'aime (.) me balader
       I love   -ref to walk
       I like (.) to stroll.

Excerpt 3. I love to sleep

1 T: et: Amy qu'est-ce que tu   aime ou qu'est-ce que tu   déteste.
       and Amy what –ques   you –fam love or what –ques   you- fam detest
       a ::nd Amy what do you love or what do you hate.
2 S: ah : j'aime uh ::: dormir, (1.2)
       ah I love   uh   to sleep
       ah : I love uh ::: to sleep, (1.2)
3 T: oui=
       yes

```
        yes=
4  S:      =uh ::[:: m]ais uh ::: <je ne> (.8) je ne  dormi pas uh, parce que :: uh en ce moment je
            uh      but    uh   I -neg    I -neg sleep -neg uh because      uh in this moment I
          =uh::[::bu]t uh::: <I don't> (.8) I don't sleep uh, becau::se uh right now I
5  T:            [oui ]
                  yes
                 [yes ]
6  S:   uh (.8) écrire uh mon- moi thèse ? (1.0) uh qe        (1.4) je. déteste.
          uh      to write uh my    me thesis          uh that (sic)     I.  hate
         uh (.8) to write uh, my, me thesis? (1.0) uh, tha ((sic)) (1.4) I. hate.
7  T:   hah ! ba c'est beaucoup. c'est bien. bien formé. uh tu,     tu      écris ta       thèse,
         hah ! wow it is  a lot          it is   well  well formed uh you-fam you-fam write your-fam thesis
        ah! well, that's a lot. that's good. well formed. uh, you, you write your thesis,
8  S:   uhhuh
9  T:   et  tu       déteste ca, oui. oui. bon courage
          and  you-fam detest   that yes  yes  good courage
          and you hate that, yes. yes. good luck.
10 S:  je ne :: écrire- je ne peux : crir- écrire ?
         I -neg   to write I  -neg to can   ri (sic) to write
         I do::n't write- I ca:n't wri-
11 T:  (1.4) ((nodding)) tu        ne peux pas écrire. oh :::
                           you-fam –neg can   not  to write oh :::
        (1.4) ((nodding)) you can't write. oh::::.
12 S:  oh ::
         oh
         oh::
13 T:  pauvre Amy.
         poor     Amy
         poor Amy.
```

Excerpt 4. Is that right?

```
1  T:   voilà, elle- elle a  répondu a    la  question parce que en France et  j'imagine dans
          here   she-  she has responded to/at the question  becuase   in  France and I imagine   in
         yes, she answered the question because in France and I imagine in French-speaking
2  T:   l'Afrique francopho ::ne uh je sais pa :s au   Québec mais on utilise l'heure militaire pour
          the Africa francophone      uh I  know not at    Quebec  but   one uses the hour militray    for
         Africa:: uh I don't know about Quebec but military time is used for uh
3  T:   uh des rendez-vous
          uh of the rendezvous.
         appointments
4  S:   en Québec ? oui ?
          in  Quebec?  yes?
         in Quebec? really?
5  T:   Je ne  sais  pas.
          I -neg know not
         I don't know.
6  S:   je pense que non je pense que le même comme- comme l'heure [de   ]
```

       I   think   that no I   think   that the same as   as   the hour   of
       I think not I think it's the same as- as time [in   ]

7 T: [avec] am et p- *am* et *pm* ?
                                     with   am   and p- am and pm
                                   [with] am and p- *am* and *pm*

8 S: oui :: je pense que oui [mais] je ne- je ne sais bien   sûr=
       yes:: I think that yes but I -neg I -neg know well   sure
       ye::s I think yes but I'm n- I don't know well sure=

9 T: =oui
                                         yes
                                      =yes

10 S: *is that right ?*
       is that   right?
       is that right?

11 T: je ne suis pas sûr
       I   -neg know not sure
       I'm not sure

12 S: ah je ne suis pas sûr
       ah I -neg know not sure
       ah I'm not sure

Excerpt 5. Shall we go to Croatia?

1 S2: comment di:re um:: par exemple uh comment dire uh *hello* uh *my name is,*
        how   to say um   for example uh how   to say uh *hello* *uh my name is*
        How do you sa::y um:: for example uh how do you say uh *hello* uh *my name is*
        [((laughter))   ]

2 S1: [en *serbo croatian*] ? um *hel-* bonjour est *dobar dan*
        in *serbo croation ?*   um *hel-* good-day is *dobar dan*
        [in *Serbo Croatian*]? um *hel-* hello is *dobar dan*

3 S2: ah
        ah
        ah

4 T: ah comme en Czech *dobry den*
        ah as   in Czech *dobry den*
        ah like in Czech *dobry den*

5 S1: [yah]
         yah
        [yah]

6 S2: [eh yah]
         eh yah
        [ey y] ah

7 S1: *it's very very close*
         it's very very close
        it's very close

8 T: °oui c'est très près° (.) et comment dire merci?
        yes it is very close   and how   to say thank you
        °yes it's very close° (.) and how do you say

9 S1: ah, hvala ? hval *or* hva *it's* [*'h' 'v'*]

```
          ah, hvala      hval or hva  it's   h    v
          ah hvala? hvalorhva (.) it's ['h' 'v']
10 S2:                                [he he ]
11 T:  'h' 'v' (.) on vas  en Croatie? Oui? des  [vacances mai]ntenant on peut dire
          h   v      one goes in Croatia ? yes ? of the  vacations   now              one can  to say
          'h' 'v'(.)shall we go to Croatia? yes? for [ vacation?    ] now we can say
12                                                   [ ((laughter)) ]
13 T:  bonjour et merci.   et  il   y   a  un      boiss- uh un        liqueur une  uh un     liqueur
          hello    and thank you and he there has a-masc drin-  uh a -masc  liquor  a-fem uh a-masc liquor
          hello and thank  you. and there's a dri- uh a liquor a uh a well known
14 T:  très connu.
          very known.
          liquor.
15 S1:       mmm rakia=                 =oui
          mmm  rakia                    yes
          mmm rakia=                    =yes
16 T:              =voi :- oui oui=
                    there- yes yes
                    =righ- yes yes=
```

Excerpt 6. Recall

```
1  T:   rappeler c'est plutôt (.)  ah, en fait, qu'est-ce que vous  vo-i qu'est-ce que vous voyez
           recall      it is   more       ah in fact  what –ques     you-pl see- what-ques      you-pl see
           recall is more (.) ah, in fact, what do you se- what do you see
2  T:   dedans. quelle verbe que vous connaissez déjà.
           within.  which  verb  that you-pl know       already.
           in the word. what verb that you already know.
3       (1.6)
4  S1: 'e' 'r' ?
5  T:   oui :: il y a     la terminaison (.) 'e' 'r' mais il  y   a une autre verbe la
           yes.   he there has the ending        e  r  but   he there are an other  verbe there
           yes:: there's the 'e' 'r' (.) ending but there's another verb there
6  S1:  ahhh
           (1.2)
7  T:   appeler=        =et appeler ça  veut  dire ? (2.8)
           call                  and call     that wants to say ?
           call=    =and call means?
8  S1:        =appeler=
                 to call
                 =call=
9   T:  call ah >to call<
10 S2:        appeler [ah]
           to call
           call      [ah]
11 S1:          [ah] ::
12  T:  alors rappeler, qu'est-ce que ça  veut  dire ?
           so     to recall    what-quest       that wants to say
```

       so recall, what does that mean?
13 S2: *recall*
14 S1: [ah]
15 T: [*to*] *rec ::ll* oui (.) voilà
                   yes.   right
      [*to*] *reca::l* yes (.) right

Excerpt 7. My sisters' names

1 T: alors. Est-ce que tu   as   des frères ou des sœurs. (1.2) ah Samantha. Est-ce que
       so   ques-   you-fam have of the brothers or of the sisters   ah Samantha   ques-
       now. do you have brothers or sisters. (1.2) ah Samantha. Do you
2 T: tu   as   des   frères ou des soeurs.
       you-fam have of the brothers or of the sisters
       have brothers or sisters.
3 S: oui. j'ai (.) deux sœurs=   =deux
       yes. I have   two   sisters   two
       yes. I have (.) two sisters=   =two
4 T: =deux sœurs=
                             two   sisters
                         =two sisters=
5 S: sœurs=
       sisters
       sisters=
6 T: =comment elles   s' appellent,
            how   they-fem –refl call
          =what are their names,
7 S: um (.) elles s' appe:llent (1.2) Ruth iii Ruth et Helen
             she refl-call   Ruth   Ruth and Helen
       um (.) their names are (1.2) Ruth eee Ruth and Helen
8 T: Ruth et Helen. et. elles   font quoi dans la vie?
       Ruth   and Helen and they-fem do   what in   the life
       Ruth and Helen. and. what kind of work do they do
9 S: aum::: ma sœur Ruth? et eum::: comment d- chef? de cuisine?
             my sister Ruth   and   how   s- chef ? of cooking ?
       um::: my sister Ruth? is um::::: how do- chef? cook?
10 T: très bien.
       very well.
       very good.

APPENDIX C

English Transcriptions

NOTE: Speech that was originally in French is in roman type. Speech that was originally in English is in *italics*. A series of dots (……….) marks an un-transcribed break within a section of the class and double parenthesis [(( ))] are used to label each section. 'T)' stands for the teacher and 'S1)' S2)' 'S3)' etc. are students.

1 **((Section 1— The teacher is asking students questions about their lives))**

2 T) We're going to start with our open discussion, we're going to <u>review review</u> our

3   terms, our questions and <u>you are going to</u> ask me questions also (1.0) good. What's

4   your name. What's <u>your</u> name.

5   (1.4)

6 S1) mm:::::: my name is Ana

7 T)   your name is <u>Ana</u>:: and what's your name?

8 S2) ah my name is Ra[chel]

9 T)   [Rach]el ah:: how old are you Sue.

10 S3) I'm::::: um::::: twenty eight?=

11 T)   =twenty eight.

12 ……….

13 T) But in the United States you're twenty eight (.) is that it? Sue. In the United States

14   you're twenty eight.

15 S3) ah:: *sorry that first part* ? In the?

16 T) In the United States?

17 S3) In the United States?

18   S2) *here*

19   S3) ah::

20   T)   you're twenty eight.

21   S3) oh::

22   T) yes. [very good]   [very good]

23   [((laughter))]

24   S3)   [oh yes yes] yes yes ha [he ha ha   ] ……….

25   ……….T)   ok. (5.2) ((sitting down)) what kind of work do you do::: uh >Ana what kind of

26   work

27   do you do<

28   S1) mmmmmmm (.) I study co- co- co- cooking

29   T)   cooking yes, yes, I remember. what do you <u>like</u> to cook?

30   S1) ah: (6.8) uh (laughter) ah *desserts?*

31   T)   how do you say that (.) in French

32   S2) desserts? ((*patisserie*))

33   T)   yes, yes, for example. ……….

34   ((**Section 2 — A discussion about adjectives that end in 'x'.**)) T)   and why (.) is it the same,

35   (.) why is the plural th- the desserts are delici<u>ou</u> :s

36   (1.0)

37   S2) °delicious°=

38   T)   =°do you remember?°

39   S2) 'e' 's'?

40   T)   why don't we add an 's'? who was here that day? Sue was

41   the[::re]   [do] you remember? what's the exception with adjectives ending in 'x?

42   S3)   [he h]e ha[he]   (covers mouth)

43   (3.8)

44   S2) °ah ah ah ah°

45   (2.2)

46   S2) °what was it?° (3.0) um (3.8) ho- ah he he how do you say *change*?

47   T)   chan[ge, to]change

48   S2)   [change]   °'s' and *put* 's' 'e' 's'°

49   T)   ok. now what happens (.) is that we ha::ve our masculine. which ends in 'x' (.) the

50   feminine version ends in 's' 'e'. do you understand?

51   S1) yes

52   T)   >for the plural< normally (.) in French (.) we add (.) 's' but (.) <with adjectives> that

53   end in 'x' (.) we don't, we don't add [any]thing. so the plural for delicious (.2)

54   S2)   [oh]

55   T)   is also, (.) delicious.

56   ………

57   T)   we had a list of adjectives that end in 'x'. do you remember? certain adjectives that

58   end in 'x'?

59   S1) 'x' ? series

60   T)   serious=

61   S1)   =ah serious, generies

62   T)   generous

63   S2) lazy?

64   T) <u>lazy</u>, yes, and may[be   ] serious, yes=

65   S2)   =nervous

66   T) nervous. Exactly……….

67   ((**Section 3 : The teacher continues to ask questions about students' lives.**))

68   T)   now. do you have brothers or sisters. (1.2) ah Samantha. do you have brothers or

69   sisters.

70   S1) yes. I have (.) two sisters=   =two sisters=

71   T)   =two sisters=   =what are their names,

72   S1) um (.) their names are (1.2) Ruth eee Ruth and Helen

73   T) Ruth and Helen. and. what kind of work do they do?

74   S1) um::::::: my sister Ruth? is um:::: *how do-* chef? cook?

75   T) very good

76   S1) and the other is (.) a:: violoncello, cell student=   =cello=

77   T)   =cello=   =cello

78   T) ah: a musician?=   =and a cook. should we talk about de- de= des= desserts again?

79   S1)   =yes=

80   ((laughter))

81   S2) she [   ] classical music? o::r

82   S1) classical

83   T) I love the cello. very very sweet. (1.0) ahm::::: do you have brothers or sisters, ah

84   Yuki do you have brothers or sisters?

85   S2) ah, I ah::: one ah sister, ah:: her names is Mariko and she lives (.) on Japan

86   T) she lives <u>in</u> Japan

87   S2) in Japan ……….

88   **((Section 4 — A discussion about languages turns into a discussion about Croatia.))**

89   T)   now. what languages do you speak, Yuki. >what languages [do you spea]k<

90   S2)   [ah::::::: I spe]ak ah::::: Ja

91   Jap- Japanese a:::nd the English?

92   T)   not <u>the</u> English bu<u>::</u>t? who can help Yuki? She speaks Japanese, and?

93   S2) and?

94   S1) English=

95   T)   =English! [English]

96   S2)   [ah, Engl]ish and a little bit of Spanish and a French=

97   T)   =great!

98   [four <u>lan</u>guages.] impressive. impressive, what languages do you speak Ana.

99   S2) [°a little bit of°   ]

100   A) mm:::: I speak Spanish, English, uh:: a little (.) of French eh [he he]

101   T)   [very   ] good three

102   languages, three languages. and Rachel, what languages do you speak.

103   S1) eh::: I speak English? a little bi:t (.) little bit <u>of</u> French=   =a little bit of Spanish

104   T)   =yes?=

105   S1) =and a little bit of Croatia=

106   S2)   =Cro[atia]?

107   T)   [Cro]atian. yes. Serbo-croatian

108   S1) yes

109   T)   yes Serbo-croa[tian]

110   S1)   [but] now in Cro- Croat[ian]   =Croatia? it's very important to=

111   T)   [in C]roatia=

112   S1) = say Croatia (.) not Serbo Croatia

113   T)   yes. yes. ok I can imagine. <u>I do not know how to say</u> that in French because <u>I know</u>,

114   the term Serbo-Croatian=   =so I don't know if they say Croatia o:::r

115   S1)   =ah ah=   and now

116   there's (.) uh Croatia, Serbia, and Bos- Bosnia [those] third those <u>three</u> *you say* the

117   third? *or do you*=   =the three

118   T)   =<u>the</u> three=   yes. now we can say mm: yes. uh <I don't want

119   to put it on the blackboard> because I don't know [he he] because I know: (.)

120   S2)   [oh::]

121   T)   Serbo Croatia so I'll write it in parentheses because I don't know these days=   =uh

122   S1)   =yes=

123   (2.2) ((teacher writes on blackboard))

124   S1) in English (.) uh it's *Croatian*=

125   T)   =yes. I <u>imagine</u>, I imagine it's Croatia=   =but I=

126   S2)   =°Croatia°=

127   T)   =don't know:: (.2) and and the the the countries. are. ((writing on board)) [Cro-]

128   S1)   [Cro]ate

129   T) Croatia=   [Cr]oatia it's pronounced a little like Croatia ((Croisie))=

130   S1)   =Croat[tia]   =[Croatia]

131   S2)   =[Croatia]

132   S3)   =[Croatia]

133   (3.2) ((teacher writing on board))

134   S2) oh not Croatie, Croatia=

135   T)   =Croatia yes. hm. so Croatia, for vacations, the French <u>love</u> (.)

136   going to Croatia on vacation

137   S2) becau::se

138   T)   becau:::se well describe Croatia a little ((speaking to S1))

139   S1) yes the ocean and the how do you say *coast?*

140   T)   coast

141   S1) the coast is very very very beautiful=   =theres th- the Adriatic? ocean °is beautiful°

142   S2)   =oh::=

143   T)   very blue

144   S1) very blue. very (.) clear?

145   (1.2)

146   S2) How do you sa::y ummm for example uh how do you say uh *hello* uh *my name is*

147   [((laughter))   ]

148   S1) [in *Serbo Croatian*]? um *hel-* hello is *dobar dan*

149   S2) ah

150   T)   ah like in Czech *dobry den*

151   S1) [yah]

152   S2) [ey y] ah

153   S1) *it's very close*

154   T)   °yes it's very close° (.) and how do you say thank you?

155   S1) ah hvala? hval or hva (.) *it's* [*'h' 'v'*]

156   S2)   [he he]

157   T)   'h' 'v'

158   T)   shall we go to Croatia? yes? for [vacation? now] we can say hello and thank you

159   [((laughter))]

160   T)   and there's a dri- uh a liquor a uh a well known liquor

161   S1) mmm rakia=   =yes

162   T)   =righ- yes yes=

163   ……….

164   **((Section 5 — The teacher explains the meaning of 'rappeler' (*to recall*).))**

165   T)   recall is more (.) ah, in fact, what do you se- what do you see in the word. what <u>verb</u>

166   that you already know.

167   (1.6)

168   S1) *'e' 'r'* ?

169   T)   <u>yes::</u> there's the 'e' 'r' (.) ending but there's another verb there

170   S1) ah::

171   (1.2)

172   T)   call=   = and call means? (2.8) *call ah >to call<*

173   S1)   =call=

174   S2) call [ah]

175   S1)   [ah]::

176   T) so recall, what does that mean?

177   S2) *recall*

178   S1) [ah]

179   T)   [*to*] *reca::l* yes (.) right

180   ……….

181   **((Section 6 — Students are learning to tell time in French.))**

182   S2) I don't like (.) military (time)

183   T)   You don't like military time? Military is very important. We don't- why is military

184   time important. In Europe yes in the world but=

185   S1)   = in Japan? [you use?]

186   S2)   [ahhhhhh] *sometimes?*

187   how do you say

188   T)   sometimes ((quelquefois))

189   S2) sometimes, sometimes yes uh *the same?*

190   T)   *the same* ((le meme))

191   S2) the same uh as in French

192   …………

193   T)   in France and I imagine in French-speaking Africa:: uh I don't know about Quebec

194   but military is used for appointments

195   S1) in Quebec? really?

196   T)   I don't know.

197   S1) I think not I think it's the same as- as time [in   ]

198   T)   [with] am and p- *am* and *pm*

199   S1) ye::s I think yes but I'm n- I'm not right sure=

200   T)   =yes

201   S1) *is that right?*

202   T)   I'm not entirely sure

203   S1) ah I'm not entirely sure

204   ……….

205   T)   what time is it.

206   (1.8)

207   S1) it's twelve o'clock

208   (1.0)

209   S2) it's midnight

210   T)   right. midnight o:::r

211   S2) [noon]=

212   S3) [noon]=

213   T)   =noon. twelve o'clock, [ye::s that w]ill work that will work but midnight (.)

214   S1)   [ah yes yes]

215   T)   or noon is better

216   ……….

217   T)   at what time do you eat lunch Rachel.

218   S1) ah: I eat lunch ah::: uh::::: twelve o'clock an::: e::: twenty-five minutes after twelve"

219   T)   so, twenty five >after twelve<

220   **((Section 7 — The teacher is asking students about their likes and dislikes))**

221   T) uh:: what do you like or not like Mary.

222   S) um : (4.2) ((looking through papers)) I like, (2.8) ((looking through papers)) um, (1.8)

223   ((glances at teacher))

224   T) take your time. take your time.

225   S) mm (4.8) ((reading notes)) oh. um, I like to walk?

226   T) you like to walk?

227   S) mmhmm.

228   T) to walk, to walk for exercise, a bit?

229   S) um ::

230   T) for exercise or just for uh ::

231   S) um :: *both*.

232   T) ok. to walk- yes to say uh I like good uh, in fa :ct that's to stroll ((*me balader*)). it's a

233   reflexive verb. uh :: (5.0) ((teacher writes on board, and students take notes)) we don't know that

234   construction because it's reflexive. it's to stroll.

235   S) to strall? [sic]=

236   T)   =I like to stroll.

237   S) I like (.) to stroll.

238   ……….

239   T) a ::nd Amy what do you love or what do you hate.

240   S) ah : I like uh ::: to sleep, (1.2)

241   T) yes=

242   S)   =uh::[::bu]t uh::: <I don't> (.8) I don't sleep uh, becau::se uh right now I

243   T)   [yes]

244   S) uh (.8) to write uh, my, me thesis? (1.0) uh, tha ((sic)) (1.4) I. hate.

245   T) ah! well, that's a lot. that's good. well formed. uh, you, you write your thesis,

246   S) uhhuh

247   T) and you hate that, yes. yes. good luck.

248   S) I do::n't write- I ca:n'twri-

249   T) (1.4) ((nodding)) you can't write. oh:::.

250   S) oh::

251   T) poor Amy.