

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

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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

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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; Tannen &

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 (IRF) or evaluates the student response (IRE). 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 Emanuel 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 translations².

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.

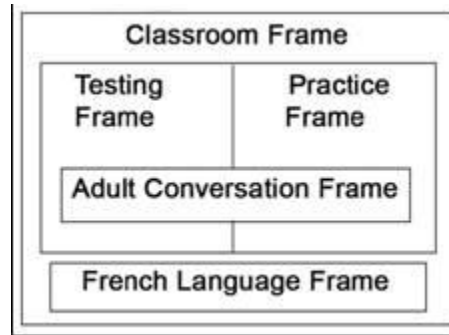
Outside of the adult conversation frame are two possible keyed frames. First, there is the *testing* frame. As mentioned earlier, it is not atypical for teachers to ask questions to which they already know the answer. What is interesting about this beginning French class is that even questions to which 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

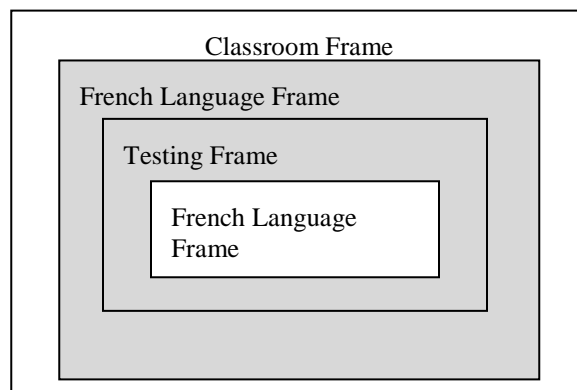
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>→ 1 T: now. what languages do you speak, Yuki.
 2 >what languages [do you speak]<
 → 3 S1: [ah:::: I speak] ah:::: Ja-
 4 Jap- Japanese a:::nd the English?
 → 5 T: not <u>the</u> English <u>bu:t?</u> who can help Yuki?
 6 one speaks- she speaks Japanese, and?
 7 S1: and?
 8 S2: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

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?

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

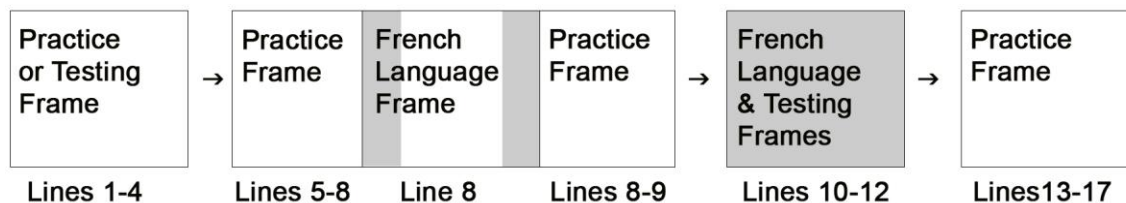
EXCERPT 3 I Love to Sleep

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 <u>ne</u> 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 gray 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



Expert Footing

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?

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

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 <i>hello</i> uh <i>my name is</i>		dire uh hello uh my name is,
→ 3		[((laughter))]		[((laughter))]
4	S1:	[in <i>Serbo Croatian</i>]? um <i>hel-</i> hello is	S1:	[en <i>serbo croatian</i>] ? um <i>hel-</i> bonjour est
5		<i>dobar dan</i>		<i>dobar dan</i>
6	S2:	ah	S2:	ah
7	T:	ah like in Czech <i>dobry den</i>	T:	ah comme en Czech <i>dobry den</i>
8	S1:	[yah]	S1:	[yah]
9	S2:	[ey y] ah	S2:	[eh yah]
10	S1:	<i>it's very very close</i>	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 <i>hvala?</i> <i>hval</i> or <i>hva</i> (.) <i>it's</i> ['h' 'v']	S1:	ah, <i>hvala?</i> <i>hval</i> or <i>hva</i> <i>it's</i> ['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] maintenant 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 <i>rakia</i> = =yes	S1:	mmm <i>rakia</i> = =oui
→ 22	T:	= <u>rih</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” (*voilà*) — 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:	<u>call</u> ah >to call<	T:	<u>call</u> 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] <u>reca</u> ::l yes (.) right	T:	[to] <u>rec</u> ::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'appellent (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.

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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
<i>italics</i>	An utterance originally in English
'ha,' 'he,' 'hu'	Laughter
<u> </u> :: underlined letters followed by a colon	A falling intonation on the vowel
:: <u> </u> 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 speak]<
- 2 S1: [ah :: je parle] ah ::: le le japonais i ::t le anglais ?
ah I speak ah the the Japanese i the English.
[ah::: I speak 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 but? 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 stroll? [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 croatian* ? 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 review review our
3 terms, our questions and you are going to ask me questions also (1.0) good. What’s
4 your name. What’s your name.

5 (1.4)

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

7 T) your name is Ana:: 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]
- 25T) 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 like 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 deliciou :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) lazy, 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 in 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 the English bu::t? who can help Yuki? She speaks Japanese, and?
- 93 S2) and?
- 94 S1) English=
- 95 T) =English! [English]
- 96 S2) [ah, Eng]ish and a little bit of Spanish and a French=
- 97 T) =great!
- 98 [four languages.] 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 of French= =a little bit of Spanish
- 104 T) =yes?=
=and a little bit of Croatia=
- 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. I do not know how to say that in French because I know,
 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 three you say the
 117 third? or do you= =the three
 118 T) =the 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 imagine, 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 love (.)
- 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 verb
- 166 that you already know.
- 167 (1.6)
- 168 S1) 'e' 'r' ?
- 169 T) yes:: 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 fact 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 stroll? [sic]=
- 236 T) =I like to stroll.
- 237 S) I like (.) to stroll.
- 238
- 239 T) and 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, because uh right now I
- 243 T) [yes]
- 244 S) uh (.8) to write uh, my, me thesis? (1.0) uh, that ((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) uhuh
- 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.