**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

# The Contribution of Interaction to Learner Motivation in the MFL Classroom

By

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## ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
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Motivation is an area of language learning where researchers and practitioners share a vested interest. A major question arising out of second language learning (L2) motivation research in recent years is how to conceptualise and measure its situated dimensions. A lack of development in methodological approaches and conceptualisations which continue to treat L2 motivation as a cognitive and unobservable construct mean that addressing such issues is not straightforward. This study investigates how L2 motivation is collaboratively achieved in the moment-to-moment dynamics of L2 learning and teaching practices. It takes situated classroom interaction as its focus. It uses Conversation Analysis as a methodological tool to document a range of interactional practices, centring on hand-raising, so as to engage with L2 motivational processes in and across time. The empirical setting is a Year 9 French classroom in the UK which offers a distinctive and discrete location for the research, and is the subject of a year-long case study.

Through an inductive analytical framework, L2 motivation is conceptualised as a characteristic of context. The notion of participation is used as a way of aligning L2 motivation and interaction, in which L2 motivation is treated as both the product and the process of motivational experience. The findings reveal how L2 motivation in the language classroom develops through individual orientations to the nature of learning tasks through interaction. These learning tasks foster specific social displays of L2 motivational states which have a role in promoting L2 motivational development for some students but not, it is suggested, for others. This study contributes to increased understandings about the development of L2 motivation by stretching the boundaries of methodological and theoretical treatments in the field to incorporate localised formations of L2 motivation experience. It also provides new insights into the role of hand-raising in the language classroom and into general motivational issues in MFL teaching practices.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# List of Tables and Illustrations

## Chapter 2



## Chapter 4



## Chapter 6



## Appendix One

## List of Accompanying Material

CD-ROM containing 25 transcription files

## DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Anne Elizabeth Preston declare that the thesis entitled The Contribution of Interaction to Learner Motivation in the MFL Classroom and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission

Signed: ... [redacted] .....

Date:.....19.06.09.....

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# CHAPTER 1

## The Contribution of Interaction to L2 Learner Motivation: An Overview

### 1.1 Introduction

There is no doubt that motivation is a central part of learning in the language classroom. Here, the term motivation can mean different things to different people. Language teachers talk of having a bad or good lesson and of their students getting bored, being lazy, having no interest. Likewise students talk of needing to make more effort, enjoying a lesson and pleasing the teacher. At the same time, in L2 motivation research, there exists a commonly-held view that such personal notions are unobservable and intangible as the object of explicit and systematic study.

This research is aimed at revealing one possible route towards understanding L2 motivation from the perspective of both teachers and learners, that of L2 motivation as it is developed in situated classroom interaction. It sets out to engage with a contextually interpreted understanding of L2 motivation and to demonstrate the importance of considering L2 motivation within the analytical scope of classroom discourse.

This study is based on a year-long case-study of a Year 9 class of learners of French, aged 13 to 14, and their teacher in a UK secondary school. Motivation in Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) has been a central concern of government bodies and educational policy makers in UK language learning for some time and the decision to no longer make foreign language study a part of the compulsory curriculum after Year 9 (ages 13-14) has opened up further avenues of discussion. This year group has also drawn particular attention because of a reported downward spiral of interest in MFL learning after Year 9. This setting therefore offers a distinctive and discrete empirical setting for the research.

### 1.2 An Introduction to L2 Motivation

The rationale behind this study lies in the failure of the L2 motivation field so far to examine how motivation is embedded in classroom processes and more specifically, in classroom interaction. L2 motivation research has yet to address the role of classroom talk as an independent area of inquiry.

Current approaches to L2 motivation research are diverse. There is an abundance of theoretical and conceptual work, shaped by traditional approaches from social psychology, cognitive and motivational psychology and more recently by sociocultural and process-oriented conceptualisations. Process-oriented approaches owe much to Dörnyei and Otto (1998) and Ushioda (2001), who offer a way of viewing L2 motivation from dynamic and temporal perspectives. Growing interest in the temporal dimensions of L2 motivation however gives more importance to the role and contribution of L2 classroom processes and interaction in particular, both as units of analysis for tracing L2 learners' motivational experience and as sites of potential influence for improving motivational experience in L2 classroom learning and teaching practice itself.

The work in this thesis builds on an existing body of knowledge and research which has focussed on identifying and exploring the processes through which L2 motivation develops in classroom experiences. However, it is also presented at a time when the most current direction in L2 motivation research (i.e. Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009) is drawing more specifically on the growing globalisation of English and aims to integrate themes such as the 'language learning' self and 'language learner' identity into both new and existing approaches in the field. In some ways, this new approach can be viewed as bringing the field of L2 motivation back to its origins in social psychology and treating the construct of L2 motivation as an independent variable in language learning.

As Chapter 2 demonstrates, questions may be raised as to the extent to which these new directions are relevant for understanding the contribution of L2 classroom processes more generally and investigating UK-based language learning contexts more specifically. In short, whilst the main expansion of work in the field grew out of a wish to develop education-friendly approaches to understanding L2 motivation; current directions appear to have moved away from it.

Outside the main realm of L2 motivation work, recent developments in educational psychology offer a way forward for engaging with L2 classroom learning processes and its short-term development. They do so by re-conceptualising learner motivation, not as an unobservable construct but as something which may be identified and explored through discourse. As a way of theorising the relationship of talk to motivation, researchers in this tradition have proposed new ways of viewing what we mean by 'context' and the relationship between individual and social variables - the traditional building blocks of L2

motivation-based investigations. Theoretically, therefore, educational psychology provides some of the building blocks used in this study for conceptualising classroom interaction, and thus as a basis for investigating L2 motivation. However, the valuable developments in L2 motivation research remain central to this thesis, and Chapter 7 re-introduces a number of L2 motivation-relevant theories to link the findings of the interaction study to L2 classroom motivation-relevant processes.

So how is L2 motivation conceptualised in this study? In the work presented here, L2 motivation is conceptualised as a characteristic of context - as both the product and the process of motivational experience in the language classroom under study. More simply, what this means is that an understanding of L2 motivation is sought by treating it as something which is incrementally developed in the moment-to-moment dynamics of the construction of episodes of learning. This view is based on a rejection of traditional notions of L2 motivation as an individualised, cognitive and static construct - already 'inside the heads' of language learners as they enter the classroom door. Rather, as classroom learning is a wholly collective and goal-oriented enterprise, it is located in motivation-relevant classroom behaviour, situated and changing in relation to how L2 motivation is more practically played out where learners encounter language learning directly: in learning activities.

With this conceptualisation in mind, one of the main aims of this thesis is to learn more about the dynamic nature of L2 classroom motivation and describe how it develops in relation to the moment-to-moment activity of classroom learning. The research questions of the study reflect the aims of this investigation to engage with a more process-oriented approach study of L2 motivation. Whilst they appear broad, they are designed to incorporate a view that we cannot necessarily specify beforehand which particular aspects of L2 motivation (i.e. what are traditionally viewed as its variables or components) will become relevant to the classroom experiences of the participants.

The research questions addressed in the study are:

**1) How does L2 motivation develop in relation to the moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning?**

And,

**2) How does L2 motivation develop in relation to the possible contribution of these *in situ* processes over time?**

Finding answers to the question of 'what is L2 motivation?' is a prerequisite to answering the research questions in this study. However, reaching a characterisation of L2 motivation and tracing its development is shown to involve a simultaneous process - of characterising it as it is co-constructed in learning processes, and at the same time using these episodes to chart its development.

## 1.3 Methodological Orientation: Aligning L2 motivation with the Study of Social Actions

Re-conceptualising the development of L2 motivation in this way, drawing on interaction as the major area of investigation, and treating L2 motivation as a characteristic of context is not a simple process. Some of the main problems implicated in the approach concern the selection of an appropriate methodological orientation. The discipline of Conversation Analysis (CA) offers the theoretical and analytical power to answer the research questions in a meaningful way. The adoption of CA constitutes a new approach in the field of L2 motivation but not, however, in the field of language learning more generally.

CA has its roots in ethnomethodology and sociology and as such can be defined as a line of inquiry which studies the organisation of social actions. CA developed from the work of Sacks and Schegloff who sought to formulate a way of studying everyday social behaviours "rigorously, empirically and formally" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973: 289-290). As a discipline, CA makes talk-in-interaction the primary site of investigation for social actions. At the origin of CA is an underlying assumption that interaction, like other institutions such as the family or education, has its own "distinct moral and institutional order" (Heritage, 2004a: 222), which can be the object of systematic study.

In adopting a CA framework, the classroom is considered as a special institutional context whose social formations, organisation and constitutive practices can be explored through talk in interaction. The study of institutional settings such as language classrooms is an applied form of CA, which as Ten Have (1999) explains, shifts attention

> [...] to the tensions between those local practices and any 'larger structures' in which these are embedded, such as institutional rules, instructions, accounting, obligations. p.189.

The incorporation of an applied CA framework to study the development of L2 motivation in classroom processes holds a number of advantages. More generally, it allows for the broadening of L2 motivation research from the perspective of its methodological scope, which remains limited in relation to its theoretical expansions. More specifically, the potential of CA's contribution to in language learning research has already proved to be a successful area of application. Work based on locating second language acquisition and learning processes in classroom practices through CA has been steadily growing since the mid-1990's. The 'CA for SLA' field has not only provided detailed analyses of already documented learning behaviours such as 'focus on form' but has also provided evidence of otherwise unnoticed interactional practices also shown to be relevant for acquisition (for example: Seedhouse, 2004; Mori 2004; Markee, 2004; Koshik, 2002; Mori & Markee, 2009).

Similarly to the approach taken in the current study, the application of CA to study learning is not without challenges. At the root of these are debates concerning the use of what is seen as an essentially observable discipline to investigate issues which are commonly conceptualised as 'inside the head' and inaccessible through naturalistic behavioural study. Like those who argue for the potential for CA for SLA-based work however, this study demonstrates that the two seemingly disparate areas can be aligned.

It is not the case that CA has nothing to say about what is 'inside the head' or about cognition. CA has formulated its own theoretical approaches to dealing with what are treated as cognitive phenomena in formalised ways. This thesis draws more particularly on the notion of socially shared cognition to make links between interaction and L2 motivation (Markee, 2000; Kasper, 2009; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009; Mori and Markee, 2009). More specifically, connections are formulated with L2 motivational processes by interpreting the interactional practices documented in the analyses as social displays of L2 motivational states. Chapter 3 includes a detailed discussion of how this is possible.

Importantly for this study, the concept of participation provides the bridge between L2 motivation and interaction and allows for the interpretation of interactional practices as social displays of motivational states. That is to say, it will be argued that participating in the language learning activities of the classroom under study in institutionally-relevant ways can be treated as demonstrations of L2 motivation.

### 1.4 Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into 8 chapters. Each of these chapters plays a specific role in constructing the arguments made. The structure of the thesis reflects the particular approach adopted to conceptualising L2 motivation and more significantly, the application of CA as the major methodological orientation.

*Chapter 2* is a selective overview of L2 motivation theory and literature, from its origins in social psychology and individual differences research to the most recent re-conceptualisations of the construct and developments in methodological approaches. The review is structured chronologically into three major periods: the 1950's, 1990's and 2000's. The contents of each section are shaped by a specific focus on how the theoretical and methodological developments in each period relate to the thesis work. A large part of this review chapter is devoted to asking specific questions about how existing work lays the foundations for the current work, but also to identifying where it appears to diverge from existing work. The penultimate sections critically review current directions of L2 motivation research and their implications for this thesis work. The chapter then asks the question: Where are we now concerning L2 *classroom* motivation? In doing so, clarifies how L2 motivation is treated is this study as a characteristic of context.

*Chapter 3* deals with the methodological orientation of the study. A detailed discussion of CA is offered as an independent chapter given that CA is integrated into the study as more than a method, i.e. as an approach providing the vital link between interaction and L2 motivation in terms of social displays of L2 motivation. This chapter presents an overview of general theoretical and methodological underpinnings of CA which guide the research processes in the study and introduces the institutional CA approach which is adopted here.

*Chapter 4* reports more specifically on research design and methodology, including data collection, data management and transcription and analytical procedures. It concludes with

some initial observations on the data as a background to the main presentation of the analysis work in the following chapters. This is important as the chapters that follow reflect the product rather than the process of the conversation analysis.

*Chapters 5 and 6* focus on two types of interactional organisation: turn-taking and repair organisation respectively. In Chapter 5, a collection of detailed analyses of episodes of plenary classroom interaction are presented which describe and explicate the *local management* of a special turn-taking system in terms of explicit orientations to the number of potential turn-takers and the distribution of turns. In Chapter 6, the analyses of further episodes show the close relationship between repair and turn-taking and what happens in plenary classroom interaction when interactional trouble occurs.

The interactional practices reported in Chapters 5 and 6 form a basis for different displays of participation, constructs which are later interpreted as social displays of L2 motivational states. It is important to note that these two chapters are designed and placed in the overall structure of the thesis as self-sufficient analyses of interactional practices in this language classroom. This is based on a belief that it is central to understand how the participants of the study co-constructed and oriented to their language learning activities in terms of turn-taking and repair before examining how these may be interpreted as social displays of motivation.

*Chapter 7* aligns the findings of the interaction analysis with L2 motivational processes. As such it represents a move from a preoccupation with interaction to contextually-interpreted notions of social displays of L2 motivation. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 thus reflect a sequential approach to analysing and interpreting the findings – a move from the 'how' to the 'why'. Chapters 5 and 6 involve the grounded analysis of interaction data and the identification of practices such as specialised turn-taking shown to be consequential to the institutional setting. Chapter 7 examines the broader social, cultural and institutional relevance of these practices as specifically related classroom experiences and social displays of L2 motivation states. .

*Chapter 8* goes further in the broadening out of the research findings. Beginning by reviewing the research questions and research aims, it discusses the relevance of the study in terms of language education issues and teaching methodology more specifically. It also re-addresses a number of challenges of this thesis work: how to construct an appropriate

characterisation of L2 motivation as a characteristic of context; what makes L2 classroom motivation distinct and, when the focus is placed on micro-analytical approaches to L2 motivation, how to establish links between the in situ processes and its development in the longer term. These are issues that this thesis considers and attempts to answer on the basis of empirical work.

### 1.5 A Personal Note

This thesis was inspired by my fascination with the classroom language learning practices of young people. My interest has developed over several years in the course of my own experiences of learning French as a foreign language in the UK through school, college and university, of teaching English in France and of exploring issues of second language acquisition and education in my postgraduate studies.

L2 motivation continues to play an important role in my everyday experience as a learner of French. I am familiar with the world of the L2 secondary school classroom and I have seen for myself the enjoyment and frustration of teaching and learning in these somewhat contrived language learning contexts. My postgraduate studies into L2 learning have provided me with an academic perspective on such matters, enhancing my ability to ask appropriate questions about the L2 classroom environment and encouraging an additional curiosity about methodological approaches to language learning research.

I use this study to make my own modest contribution toward bridging the gap between what we know about L2 motivation and how it is more practically played out in the context where many learners such as myself, encounter language learning directly: the language classroom.

# CHAPTER 2

## Where Are We Now Concerning L2 Classroom Motivation: An Overview of the Development of L2 Motivation Theory and Research Practice

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a chronological overview of the development of L2 motivation research and critically engages with its theoretical, methodological and empirical concerns. It will be shown that L2 motivation research has grown rapidly in a relatively short space of time and is particularly active in publishing treatments about what L2 motivation is and how it is studied, and in producing a wide-range of empirical work.

The review shows how L2 motivation has expanded from its origins as an individual difference variable in SLA. Developments can be summarised in terms of a general trend from social psychological approaches, towards studying L2 motivation from an educationally friendly perspective to an engagement with the influence of the globalisation of English on L2 motivation.

During this time, other theoretical and methodological problems have arisen as more and more settings for the study of L2 motivation have been introduced and calls for movements from macro to micro perspective made. This review charts these problems and draws out some underlying issues including tensions between concepts such as the individual and the social, the internal and the external, the observable and the unobservable and the conceptual and the empirical.

The development of the field of L2 motivation can thus characterised as a passage of continual refinement. This review shows that this does not necessarily mean confusion or instability but a liveliness and attempt to engage with the complexities of what it means to be motivated (or not) to learn languages and to motivate (or not) those who learn them.

This chapter is to be read as a preface to the study reported in this thesis which seeks to extend the boundaries of the L2 motivational construct and its empirical study further. It is organised into five major sections, and draws on Dörnyei's classification of L2 motivation research into the "social-psychological", "cognitive-situated" and "process-oriented" periods (2005:66). The space devoted to each of these historical markers reflects their

relevance to the study. Particular attention is devoted to the theoretical, methodological and empirical work of the 'process-oriented' period.

### 2.1.2 The 'Social-Psychological' Period

The 'social-psychological' period has its origin in work of Gardner, Lambert and colleagues from the late 1950's (Dörnyei, 2005). Interest in L2 motivation as an independent field of study grew out of the work of the social psychologists who shared an interest in individual differences in SLA from the perspective of the social contexts of learning. Gardner and Lambert lived in Canada where the existence of Anglo and French speaking communities provided a unique context for the exploration of their approaches.

Interest in motivation as a construct developed from its role as a residual factor, alongside aptitude and exposure, in early models of SLA which attempted to predict success and proficiency in language learning (for example, Carroll, 1962). Here motivation was treated behaviourally in terms of "amount of time a learner was prepared to spend on learning tasks" (Spolsky, 2000: 158).

L2 motivation played a major role in formulations of a specific theoretical model of SLA emerging from the early 1970's and more specifically in 1985 in Gardner's publication, *Social Psychology and second language learning: The role of attitudes and motivation.* This publication introduced a comprehensive social psychological treatment of individual difference in SLA: the Socio-Educational Model of SLA. In this model, which has been revised a number of times since, L2 motivation was treated as an independent variable alongside two others, Integrativeness and Attitudes. Together, these three factors came together to form Integrative Motivation described as a "complex of attitudinal, goal directed and motivational attributes" (Gardner, 2001: 9).

L2 motivation constituted one predictor of individual difference in SLA. Gardner described it more particularly as the "driving force in any situation" made up of "effort", "desire" and "positive affect" (1985: 50). These inseparable conditions were what distinguished a motivated from a less motivated learner and constituted their motivational orientation. Integrativeness (also known as Integrative Orientations) is a predictor which specified the extent of interest a learner holds in the speakers of the language being learnt and its culture. Attitudes concerned attitudes towards the setting in which the language is being learnt.

Although Gardner did not directly address the issue until later modifications of the model (for example in the 2001 version), the different predictors of Integrative Motivation allowed for the application of the model to formal learning contexts like classrooms. Here, integrative orientations and attitudes could apply to the language being learnt, the course or the teacher.

Empirical work on the model was based on the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) questionnaire which contained a set of measures relating to individual difference variables of the model, to be subjected to statistical analysis. The 130 item questionnaire included Likert scale, multiple choice and semantic differential scale items. The AMTB has been modified as revised versions of the model have emerged and has been successfully applied and modified for a number of different studies, generating different hypotheses. Later versions of the AMTB have incorporated more recent additions to the model such as measures relating to instrumental factors (such as the "practical/utilitarian" factors like career benefits, Dörnyei, 2005: 70).

Research agendas drawing on the model concerned the role of the social setting, the extent to which motivation influences L2 learning and the relationship between motivation and achievement and other issues of causation. More particularly, they involved the investigation of relationships between variables in the model such as Attitudes and Motivation. Examples of the kinds of hypotheses formulated include: "Differences in attitudes and motivation will be related to differences in achievement in the second language", where Attitudes and Integrativeness are seen to be at the basis for a learner's motivation (Gardner, 2001:14).

Although only a brief introduction to the period is provided here, a number of general concerns may still be raised at this point, relating to limitations of social-psychological approaches (a more detailed treatment is provided later on in relation to the 'cognitive-situated' period). The first is that a concentration on motivation within the parameters of Gardner's Socio-Educational theory limits the potential to make links with broader conceptualisations in other areas of study, particularly those in cognitive psychology. Second, the role of motivation as an independent variable means that motivation itself is not measured. Dörnyei (2005) also points to the related issue of confusion arising from the multi-use of the term motivation as both a predictor and a construct (Integrative Motivation).Third, although the model began life as a comprehensive theory relating

motivation to language proficiency, in L2 pedagogy, L2 motivation extends beyond notions of proficiency to the very heart of classroom experience. Underlying this limitation is the focus that Gardner's theory places on the individual rather than the social. As Ushioda points out, "although we call it 'social' psychology, the focus [...] is on the individual (as social being), rather than on the social or cultural collective (as in sociology)" (2009: 216).

While the space devoted here to the tenets of the 'social-psychological' period is limited, it should not take away from its importance in developing the field as a whole. The following section explores how the next characterisable period of L2 motivation research drew on Gardner's theory as a foundation for future work.

### 2.2 The 'Cognitive-Situated' Period

The 'cognitive-situated' period encompassed work from the 1990's onwards (2005: 66). This period is summarised in terms of two *interconnected* facets: "a desire to catch up with advances in motivational psychology" and

> [...]a desire to narrow down the macroperspective of L2 motivation [...] to a more fine tuned and situated analysis as it operates in actual learning situations (such as language classrooms). (p. 74)

The 'cognitive-situated' period aimed to adopt a microperspective to conceptualising and investigating L2 motivation. It sought to uncover localised and 'situated' experiences of language learning, particularly from the point of view of classroom learning. L2 motivation was viewed in terms of classroom behaviours such as effort and persistence, and learners' perceptions of the classroom environment, including how these impacted on behaviour.

Intertwined with this, was a 'cognitive' approach where individual learners' thoughts and beliefs about their own language learning abilities and performances played a significant role. L2 Motivation was thus viewed in terms of mental processes behind human behaviour. In some ways, the move to cognitive perspectives could also be seen as a return rather than a departure as prior to Gardner's influence, L2 motivation research drew more on traditional motivational research in which individual characteristics and attributes were paramount (for example Carroll, 1962).

The main aims of the period were to be able to formulate theoretically and empirically grounded interventions and motivational strategies for learners and teachers relating to grassroots' language learning in classrooms. Drawing on interconnected 'cognitive' and 'situated' elements gave researchers more exploratory and explanatory scope in terms of conceptualising L2 motivation for this purpose.

Many commentaries appearing during this time dealt with the 'move' away from social psychological approaches which had previously dominated the L2 motivation research agenda, e.g. Julkunen (1989), Crookes and Schmidt (1991), Skehan (1991), Oxford (1994), Oxford and Shearin (1994) and Dörnyei (1994). The empirical investigations of Clément *et al* (1994) for example, were introduced as studies which sought explicitly to challenge and test out the relevance of the work of Gardner and associates, by drawing on alternative language learning contexts (outside the Canadian context) and with different methodological perspectives.

The distinction between new approaches and those in the 'social psychological period' is not as clear-cut as may first appear. What emerged during this time was an amalgam of new conceptualisations, models and research into L2 motivation which drew on a number of theoretical perspectives including those of the social psychological perspective. These new developments were not marked by a break away from the Gardnerian approaches but more by a pushing out of boundaries, which refined and reanalysed existing conceptualisations from a more localised perspective.

### 2.2.1 Reopening the L2 Motivation Research Agenda

A pioneering article by Crookes and Schmidt (1991) is seen by many commentators (Dörnyei, 2005 and MacIntyre, 2002) to be the catalyst for the reconceptualisations. In 'Motivation: Reopening the Research Agenda', Crookes and Schmidt drew on cognitive and situated elements in calls for a more "education-friendly" approach to conceptualising and investigating L2 motivation (Dörnyei, 2001a:104).

Crookes and Schmidt located their calls for a new research agenda in the wider context of SLA research and it is perhaps this which led to the influence of their work. Crookes and Schmidt drew attention to the lack of integration of the motivation concept within the field of SLA where the notion of motivation was isolated and "grouped together" in the SLA literature with other affective variables such as personality, attitudes, affective states and

learning styles (p. 470). The core of their arguments however focused on the dominance of the social psychological approach and its 'limiting' theoretical perspective for those who worked on motivation within SLA. For example, one criticism of Gardner's work was the lack of empirical evidence to support the importance of the Integrative Motive. The researchers pointed to previous research, which showed that integrative motivation and its components were not generalisable to all contexts (i.e. Au, 1988; Oller, 1981). In particular, they emphasized the negative results emerging for the hypothesized correlation between integrative motivation and achievement "across individuals, contexts and learning tasks" (1981:15).

Crookes and Schmidt also covered a number of areas of potential for the development of L2 motivation and outlined ways in which L2 motivation could be reconceptualised by drawing on ideas from the then recent developments in cognitive and educational psychology. In doing so, they emphasized "teacher-validated" uses of the word 'motivation' in terms of ideal learner behaviour and acting in a motivated way (p. 480). They attempted to support this teacher-validated use by showing the extent to which it correlated with a definition offered by the psychologist, Keller (1983):"motivation refers to the choices people make as to what experiences or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort they will exert in that respect" (p.389).

Crookes and Schmidt's education-oriented definition of L2 motivation included 4 determinants: "choice, engagement and persistence as determined by interest, relevancy, expectancy and outcomes" (p.502). The first three features in this definition can be interpreted as observable phenomena and concern the actual behavioural characteristics of a learner.

As a summary, Crookes and Schmidt's analysis demonstrates how critiques of the time initiated a move into the 'cognitive-situated' period, by arguing for the diversity and dynamic nature of L2 motivation and how, when applied to classroom contexts, different motivational measures and variables are revealed.

### 2.2.2 The MLJ Debate: 1994

Crookes and Schmidt's work was not only seen as one of the most important "position" papers of the period but also paved the way for a number of further studies (Dörnyei,

2001a: 109). The most important of these were to be found in the *'Modern Language Journal* (MLJ) debate' which occurred three years later.

A coherent way of presenting the developments is to draw on the instigating articles and responses in this debate as an organisational framework through which a number of L2 motivation views, theories and approaches from outside the debate can be introduced.

Crookes and Schmidt's work is cited as the catalyst for nearly all the articles in the debate including Oxford (1994) Oxford and Shearin (1994), Dörnyei (1994) as well as Gardner and associates (1994a; 1994b; 1995).

Oxford and Shearin were concerned with pushing the "parameters" of L2 motivation theory "outward" (p. 13). The authors pointed out that their aims were not to dismiss Gardner's ideas, or those of his associates, but to build on them by drawing on additional theories of motivation. They incorporated their comments on Gardner into an outline of issues seen to be "clouding" understandings of L2 motivation research at the time (p. 13). Namely: an absence of definition of L2 motivation, confusion between second language and foreign language learning situations, the omission in L2 research of some key motivational variables and teachers' lack of understanding of student motivation.

The first issue continues to preoccupy many of those researching L2 motivation. Oxford and Shearin did not offer an explicit definition, but characterised L2 motivation as a determiner of the "extent of active, personal involvement in L2 learning" (p.12). This can be contrasted with Crookes and Schmidt, who incorporated both the reasons for language learning and displays of motivated behaviour into their definition..

The second issue was the apparent distinction between learning a second language and a foreign language. Whereas a second language is understood as one learned in a location where it is typically used for everyday communication, a foreign language is learned in a location where it is not typically used, i.e. it is only used in the classroom context (Oxford and Shearin, 1994). By raising this issue, Oxford and Shearin reiterated the importance of expanding the scope of Gardnerian concepts of L2 motivation commonly associated with language learning in a target language community. This issue is more specifically taken up by Dörnyei (1994).

#### 2.2.2.1 The Omission of Key Motivational Variables

The third issue was the main focus of Oxford and Shearin's paper and also one of the overriding themes of the 'cognitive-situated' period: the expansion beyond social psychological theory to a wide range of other psychological theories.

Crookes and Schmidt's attempts to push out L2 motivation's theoretical boundaries into motivational psychology had not treated the theories themselves in any real detail. Rather, their discussion was principally focused on presenting a range of empirical research and results to lend support to their ideas. The rigour with which Oxford and Shearin were able to draw on a wide range of branches of psychology was seen to be the "greatest merit" of their work (Dörnyei, 2001a: 111). In all, the authors covered eight different strands of motivation theory encompassed in general, industrial, educational, cognitive developmental and sociocultural branches of psychology. An introduction to some of the most important theories from the point of view of their relevance for the L2 motivation construct is appropriate to this review.

*Expectancy-Value Theories*: Oxford and Shearin paid particular attention to 'instrumentality', or what are more commonly referred to in cognitive psychology as 'expectancy-value theories' (Fishbein, 1967, 1968). Instrumentality focuses on the notion that individuals engage in activities to achieve a desired outcome (1994). More specifically, motivation is viewed as the interaction between the success an individual expects to attain by engaging in an activity and the value he or she attaches to that success. Dörnyei claims that the main concern of expectancy-value theory as applied to L2 learning is not "*what* motivates learners but rather what directs and shapes their inherent motivation" (his italics) (2001a: 20).

*Goal-setting theory*: Goal-setting theory was pioneered by Locke and Latham (1990), and provides a way of explaining how an individual's engagement in an activity (their motivated behaviour) is related to the specific goals they accept and set themselves in order to achieve an outcome. Locke (1996) concluded that goal-setting behaviour is mainly determined by the specificity and difficulty of the goal as well as the degree of commitment an individual holds to attaining it. Oxford and Shearin were able to support the importance of goal-setting by pointing to their own research on L2 learning styles.

In the field of educational psychology, where research on goal-setting in learning environments had been developing for some time, researchers were particularly interested in finding out if learner 'characteristics' or learning styles could be influenced by external contextual factors outside the scope of personal goal orientations or cognitive behaviours of the learners. For example, research focused on how learning environments and classroom structures influenced goal saliency and the perception of goal difficulty (Ames and Ames, 1984).

*Goal orientation theory*: Ames outlined a number of specific classroom structures such as task and learning activity design, 'evaluation and recognition' (feedback) and teacher authority to show the beneficial ways in which teachers could influence learners' "achievement goals" (1992: 261). Such goals represent an "integrated pattern of beliefs, attributions, and affect that produce[s] the intentions of behaviour" (p.261). This pattern is reflected in the different ways in which learners approach, engage in and respond to different goal-oriented or learning activities (1992).

Ames concentrated on a particular type of achievement goal: the mastery goal. A mastery goal is characterised as a learner's orientation towards mastering and understanding their work and demonstrating "a willingness to engage in the process of learning" (p.262). Fostering this orientation through specific classroom structures is considered to be highly important as it elicits patterns of behaviour most conducive to learning, or in motivational terms, an *intrinsic* motivation and positive attitude towards learning. More broadly, Ames's research on the mastery goal represents a second subgroup of goal theories which is generally termed goal-orientation theory. In 2001a, Dörnyei stated that in the area of general education, goal-orientation theory was the most "active area of research on student motivation in classrooms" of the time (p. 27).

Ames' work is referred to throughout the L2 motivation literature of the period. Ames and Archer's research (1988) on the mastery approach was drawn upon by Oxford and Shearin in a specific section on extending the conceptualisation of L2 motivation to the classroom where they claimed that the approach could "foster risk-taking, participation and involvement, all of which can lead to greater proficiency in the target language" (1994:22). Secondly, Ames' earlier work (1986) on qualitative approaches to the study of learning motivation was also an influence on Ushioda (1994, 1997) and her calls for new qualitative methodological approaches to investigating L2 motivation. (Ushioda's research is discussed in detail in Section 2.3.2 below.)

Dörnyei (2001a) points out that goals are not only important in terms of engagement for achieving specific outcomes but also for providing the "standards by which to evaluate one's performance" (p.26). He draws particular attention to the importance of "proximal subgoals" such as classroom tests and exams as enhancing motivational components. Subgoals are especially beneficial as they are seen to provide feedback on progress to learners which can be a positive influence on future learning (2001a).

*Social cognition theory*: Under the general heading of social cognition theories (based on social learning theory, Miller & Dollard, 1941) Oxford and Shearin proceeded to expand on expectancy-value, goal-setting and goal-orientation theories. Within expectancy-value theory, they are concerned with factors influencing an individual's expectancy of success. The first concept most relevant to language learning is self-efficacy theory (Bandura 1977, 1986, 1997), which focuses on how individuals judge their capabilities to perform certain activities. Dörnyei (2001a) stated that self-efficacy will determine an individual's choice of activity as well as their "level of aspirations, the amount of effort exerted and the persistence displayed" (p.22). Self -efficacy in L2 learning therefore emphasizes the role of individual thought processes as a motivational driving force behind participation in the activities of language learning. Like Dörnyei, Oxford and Shearin claimed that L2 learners with a strong sense of self-efficacy will "focus on learning tasks, persist at them and develop strategies to complete tasks successfully" (1994: 21).

*Attributional processes:* Another sub-theory of expectancy-value theory deemed to be an important influence in L2 learning by Oxford and Shearin is attribution theory (Heider, 1958). Developed within social psychology, attribution theory focuses on how individuals make causal explanations and describes the processes of these explanations and their consequences. Under 'expectancy' in Crookes and Schmidt's definition, L2 classroom learning learners who attribute "success or failure to their own efforts" are seen to be more motivated that those who attribute "outcomes to external causes such as luck, a teacher's moods, or the difficulty of a task" (1991: 482).

Although research such as that of Gardner and Tremblay (1995) acknowledged the theoretical significance of L2 learners' attributional process, Dörnyei (2001a) informs us that relatively little research has been done in this area. He attributes this to the complexity of the subject and more importantly, to the preoccupation of L2 motivation research with using quantitative methods to reveal insights about causal attributions (2001a). Researchers like Ushioda (1994, 1997) on the other hand have found novel ways of gaining insights

into L2 learners' motivational experiences from the point of view of attribution processes, using qualitative investigative approaches.

#### 2.2.2.2 Teachers' Understandings of Student Motivation

The fourth issue presented in Oxford and Shearin's paper is teachers' lack of understanding of student motivation, and lack of curiosity about their students' motivational experiences. Practitioners were viewed as passive, making "assumptions" for example about their students' reasons for learning a language rather than asking them (p.16). Criticism concerned teachers' apparent lack of understanding of why their students are learning a language rather than their knowledge about motivational behaviours. Indeed, as Crookes and Schmidt claimed, when teachers talk about student motivation:

> [...] they are not usually concerning themselves with the student's reason for studying, but are observing that the student does study, or at least engage in teacher-desired behavior in the classroom. (1991: 480)

Oxford and Shearin are concerned both with the processes of language learning and practical implications of theory as demonstrated by their focus on the importance of rewards, learning strategies and learning styles. Ultimately though, their work is more concerned with theory than practice, as can be interpreted from their criticism of teachers. Two areas of particular significance not covered in their discussion are the external behavioural manifestations of motivation directly related to classroom motivation such as persistence (as in Crookes and Schmidt's definition) and continuing or long-term motivation.

Classroom motivation was of course, also a central theme in the 'cognitive-situated' period and this strand of research was more directly concerned with the 'situated' in investigating conceptualisations of L2 motivation. In order to explore this more thoroughly the review now turns to the work of Dörnyei (1994).

### 2.2.3 The MLJ Debate: Dörnyei

The purpose of Dornyei's instigating article in the MLJ debate was to offer a new way of conceptualising L2 motivation in terms of a separate foreign language motivation construct, and one relevant to the foreign language classroom. Here we see a reiteration of Oxford and Shearin's calls to distinguish between second (L2) and foreign (FL) language learning

environments. Making this distinction firmly placed the focus of his work within the classroom learning environment and demonstrated his move away from Gardnerian concepts of L2 motivation.

Dörnyei did not offer an explicit definition of L2 motivation but aimed to show how the construct was "eclectic" (1994: 274) . He characterised the construct in terms of different generalised components brought together to form a model of foreign L2 motivation.

Although Dörnyei was interested in the study of L2 motivation within the context of FL classroom learning, social and pragmatic dimensions of L2 learning were extremely relevant to his work. He found problems however, in the conceptualisation of the 'social' as used as the attitudinal component of social psychological approaches to L2 motivation which could not be clearly applied in the FL classroom. He also acknowledged the individual nature of L2 motivation as conceptualised by those working in other psychological fields such as motivation psychology already introduced by Oxford and Shearin. Overall, this led Dörnyei to make the claim that social and pragmatic aspects of L2 motivation are "always dependent on who learns what languages where" (p.275).

Dornyei designed a framework referred to as an "extended motivational framework" for education-friendly approaches to L2 motivation research (2001a: 111). The notion of an 'extended' framework represents both how Dörnyei attempted to expand on earlier conceptualisations of classroom approaches in Crookes and Schmidt's work (1991) and on broader traditions from motivational and educational psychology.

The framework conceptualised L2 motivation at three discrete levels: the *language* level, the *learner* level and the *learning situation* level. The *language* level was the "broadest" of the three and incorporated concepts relating to Integrative and Instrumental subsystems most commonly associated with Gardner (MacIntyre, 2002: 52). At the *learner* level was a synthesis of work from on individual characteristics drawn from psychology. Of most interest are those already discussed such as causal attributions and self-efficacy.

The most relevant level in terms of an education-friendly approach was the *learning situation* level which deals with "situation-specific motives" originating in the FL classroom (2001a: 112). At this level, there are three groups of components: *course-specific* motivational components, *teacher-specific* motivational components, and *group-specific* motivational components. Dörnyei based his definition of *course-specific*

*motivation* on Crookes and Schmidt's work adopting their four dimensions of motivational components: *interest, relevance, expectancy* and *satisfaction.*

There are however some differences between Dörnyei and Crookes and Schmidt which show how the field had advanced since their pioneering article. As MacIntyre claims, Dörnyei offered a "wider variety of motivational variables" than Crookes and Schmidt across all three levels (2002: 53). This is especially true of the *learner* level where Dörnyei, perhaps benefiting from the work of Oxford and Shearin, provided a more comprehensive listing of the individual characteristics most relevant to the language classroom.

Dörnyei continued to incorporate Gardnerian approaches in his work and this focus at the *language* level of the framework is a clear example of the how Dörnyei was more supportive and accommodating than Crookes and Schmidt of social and pragmatic aspects. A study by Clément, Dörnyei & Noels (1994) provided some of the overall grounding for the framework. One of the main aims was to:

> [...] reiterate the pertinence of a social psychological perspective to L2 learning within the isolated context of the foreign language classroom in a unicultural context.(Dörnyei, 1994: 418)

Clément *et al* worked within a Hungarian setting involving 301 students, aged 17 to 18, studying English as a foreign language. The status of English within this setting was similar to that of a foreign language in the UK. Students rarely had contact with native speakers and English was viewed simply as a "*communication coding system*" (his italics) (Dörnyei, 1994: 274). In the same context, the researchers also recognised that English had a certain status as the language of international communication and that English language media had some influence too.

Through questionnaires which were then analysed using factor analyses, Clément *et al* found a number of clusters relating to Instrumental motives (revealing instrumental-knowledge orientations) and other distinct orientations. These included "Xenophilic" orientations (related to the wish to make friends), Sociocultural orientations (relating to interest in the English speaking world) and an orientation towards English media (Clément *et al*, 1994: 431). In all, they demonstrated how social and pragmatic dimensions relating to L2 motivation could be conceptualised in terms of context-specific components in environments where the target language is a foreign rather than second language.

The researchers concentrated on two other main areas: the effect of individual learner characteristics such as anxiety and self-confidence, which they saw has being linked to classroom processes, and group dynamics in a classroom setting and its effect on motivation, which they referred to as a "novel" element in the study.

Group dynamics is seen to play an important role in the social structure and milieu of classroom learning. Clement *et al* were particularly interested in the phenomena of 'group cohesion' which Forsyth describes as: "the strength of the relationship linking the members to one another and to the group itself" (1990:10). In this FL context, group cohesion was considered as a variable reflecting how the learners evaluated the classroom environment and further reflected in the levels of anxiety and confidence of the learners. The questionnaire investigation sought to reveal both the learners' perceptions of classroom cohesion and also the teachers' evaluations of cohesion and cooperation.

Dörnyei has written elsewhere on the beneficial role of groups in learners' motivational processes (1997), and more specifically about the motivational basis of Cooperative Learning (CL, a group instructional technique). His work in this area argues that by conceptualising motivation processes at an individual level, researchers run the risk of missing other extremely valid motivational characteristics which originate in an individual being part of a social unit or group. He has expanded on this to show how properties of a CL situation can improve student motivation, for example, though cooperative goal structures, fostering group cohesion and establishing group-level rewards and sanctions. Overall, these properties can result in a type of "promotive interaction" which is defined as "individuals encouraging and facilitating each other's efforts to achieve and complete tasks, and produce in order to reach the group's goals" (Johnson *et al*, 1995: 20).

In Dörnyei's 1994 extended motivational framework, these properties are listed under *group-specific motivational components* and are just one set of components at the *learning situation* level. Another significant group of components at this level was that of the teacher-specific motivational components. Again, this sub-group represented a comprehensive list of influences where Dörnyei drew from educational psychology and motivational psychology. Among these teacher-specific motivational components is "Socialisation of student motivation" (1994: 278). Included here are Task Presentation, where teachers can foster interest and awareness by drawing attention to the value of activities, and Feedback, which can be presented in such a way as to communicate the teacher's "priorities" (p. 278). An important part of feedback is that teachers should seek to

avoid controlling feedback and social comparison, which can be seen to inhibit intrinsic motivation (Ames 1992).

The last section of his paper (1994) is especially important as he provides a total of thirty strategies that teachers can adopt to motivate learners. These are formulated according to the three levels of the framework and include practical interventions drawn from Dörnyei's own experience as a practitioner and researcher as well as those already introduced by Oxford and Shearin (1994). Dörnyei points out that the strategies should be taken as a "starter-set" as they are quite generalised and broad, particularly those under the *language* and *learner* levels (p. 280).

Dörnyei's framework and accompanying strategies provided the impetus and basis for further work in studies of L2 motivation directly engaging with classroom-specific behaviours and processes, especially from the point of view of his *learning-situation* level. A collection of 'reflections on motivation' edited by Gary Chambers (2001) demonstrates the long-term impact of Dörnyei's 1994 work. It is devoted to the teaching and learning of foreign languages in a UK context and the research of teacher trainers, experienced language teachers, education officers and advisors is presented according to Dörnyei's *learning-situation* and *learner* levels. Throughout the collection, Dörnyei's motivational components provide theoretical explanations as to why certain activities work as regards motivating UK learners. Some of the authors also explicitly test out various parts of the Dornyei framework.

Both approaches lend support to the practical utility of the framework. They show how the framework can be empirically investigated and used as a basis for further study in the real word of the FL classroom and that researchers can draw on it to interpret their findings. It should still be noted however that this marrying of theory and practice was, during the 'cognitive-situated' period, a rare occurrence. In 2001a, Dörnyei was still writing that:

> [...] it is questionable whether motivation research in general has reached a level of sophistication that would allow scholars to translate research results into straightforward educational recommendations. (p. 103)

#### 2.2.3.1 A Social-Constructivist Approach

Beyond the MLJ debate, the work of Williams and Burden contributed to the development of L2 motivation research, through the introduction of an educationally-inspired model

which is one of the most comprehensive treatments of L2 motivation in the SLA literature. The first presentation of the framework was in Williams (1994) where it was described as an "interactive" model specifically relevant for the developments in the cognitive-situated period (p.80).

William's rationale for the model outlined the influence of both social psychological and cognitive approaches to L2 motivation. It incorporated cognitive approaches including factors 'inside the learner' such as self-efficacy and attributions, alongside the traditional attitudinal variables. Central to the model however was the notion of mediation and the effects of external influences including interpersonal, social and cultural influences, as well as those more related to the language learning situation as in Dörnyei's approach. One of the main differences between Williams and Burden's interactive approach and the social psychological approaches of Gardner was that the former saw factors such as intelligence and aptitude as "amenable" to the influence of other people and not as fixed attributes (p.78).

In an education-friendly publication on psychology for language teachers (Williams and Burden, 1997), the model was treated as a motivational framework based on a particular theoretical approach: social constructivism. The writers did not isolate this approach to L2 motivation but presented it in terms of a general perspective, applied to a number of issues in language teaching and learning.

The authors described their social constructivist perspective as incorporating elements drawn from cognitive constructivism and social interactionism. Originating in Piaget's theorising, a 'constructivist' stance can be broadly summarised as emphasizing the constructive nature of learning and children's active construction of meaning through accommodation and assimilation with the outside world. Social interactionism extends the notion of the individual in the learning process by adding a social dimension: learners make sense of their own world within a social context through social interaction. Social interactionism is closely associated with a number of contemporary theories in psychology, notably the developmental theories of Vygotsky (1962, 1978) and more specifically in education, Bruner (1960, 1966). Another significant aspect in their 'social constructivist' approach was the notion of context. They claimed that "learning never takes place in isolation" viewing the learning context as shaping the nature of learning processes happening within it (p.137).

In applying all this to L2 motivation, Williams and Burden described their approach as "cognitive and constructivist, socially contextualised and dynamically interactive" (p.137). They were quite specific about their own definition of L2 motivation which they described as an interactive process involving the arousal of interest to do something as well as the effort needed to translate that interest into action and consequently sustain it. This definition was also influential in later approaches to conceptualising L2 motivation as a process and is discussed in more detail in Section 2.3.

Overall, Williams and Burden's framework was similar to Dörnyei's in that it incorporated a number of constructs from the general motivational and educational psychology literature. Similarly, it also has much practical utility in summarising a comprehensive range of possible influences of L2 motivation in the language learning situations. The Williams and Burden's framework has a broader application than Dörnyei's as it can be adapted to a variety of language learning contexts including the FL classroom. For example, Williams and Burden grouped motivational components according to internal and external factors where Dornyei organised motivational components according to three context-specific language learning levels.

Williams and Burden claimed that the aim of the 1997 work was not to provide an outline of tips and guidelines for teachers or write a book about "*language teaching per se*" (p.2). . However, their approach does offer to novice practitioners a deeper, albeit theoretical, appreciation of the motivational factors involved in language learning.

### 2.2.4 Practitioner-Based Research: The UK Context and 'Demotivation'

A second area of development in the period, outside the context of the MLJ debate, concerns practitioner-inspired work on FL learning where UK-based researchers were particularly active. This involved more pragmatic approaches to L2 motivation in the teaching and learning of Modern Foreign Languages (MFLs). Indeed, during the 1990's, reforms to the National Curriculum in England, the setting of new national targets for literacy, the creation of groups to review the situation of MFLs and the introduction of schemes promoting Languages for All created a climate whereby those at the grass-roots became encouraged to investigate their own practices (DfES, 1999; DfES, 2002).

One of the overriding themes here was the issue of demotivation. This was reflected for example in Alison (1993), which posed the question "Not Bothered? Motivating reluctant

language learners in Key Stage 4" (Key stage 4 is Years 10 and 11, ages 14-16, of secondary school). Likewise, Chambers (1993, 1994, 1998, 1999), worked on a series of projects concerning "Taking the 'de' out of demotivation" where he focussed on 191 Year 9 (Key Stage 3, ages 13-14) learners of German in four schools in Leeds, England.

This concentration on demotivation was linked to the prospect that in 1995, all pupils at Key Stage 4 (GCSE, General Certificate of Secondary Education, level) would have to learn a foreign language. The main concern was that many pupils who would not necessarily have chosen to take a foreign language at this level would be reluctant to continue and in short, be demotivated.

Such contexts were especially relevant for the study of classroom L2 motivation as the demotivation issue allowed practitioner-researchers to focus on particular areas of concern, rather than attempting to identify groups of generalised variables as done in previous L2 motivation research. Teachers were less worried about the new schemes of work demanded by the curriculum change and more about the prospect that their classes would contain demotivated pupils. Added to this, was a concern that reluctant learners would have a potentially negative influence on the classroom environment and discourage pupils who were enthusiastic about languages.

In her case-study, Alison (1993) provided a description of the realities of MFL classroom life with examples of both negative and positive behaviours. She also gave general advice on teaching techniques, class groupings, activities and use of materials. Although such studies were cited as providing the stimulus for further work (for example, for Dörnyei and Ottó's Process model, 1998), paradoxically such descriptions were too context specific relating to the priories and composition of Alison's chosen set of pupils.

Coupled with this, such research also lacked the theoretical underpinning needed to contribute to the new 'cognitive-situated' approaches of the period. At most, practitioner-researchers, like educational researchers, could be seen to do little more than, in Dörnyei's words, "raise teachers' 'motivational awareness' by proving them with a menu of potentially useful insights and suggestions" (his emphasis) (2001a: 103).

#### 2.2.4.1 Chambers on Pupils' Perceptions

Chambers' work on 'demotivation' developed into a larger longitudinal investigation of L2 motivation in the context of UK MFL learning and teaching. It went further to establish the

scope of practitioner-based approaches and while still not directly concerned with L2 motivational theory, did lead to the development of grounded models of how L2 motivation worked in the mind-set of British secondary school pupils.

Chamber's extended investigations were in part a response to his lack of satisfaction with the small scale of his own and others' work in the UK context.. Developing from his 1993 study, Chambers undertook a four year project in which he traced the motivational and attitudinal perspectives of three sets of English MFL learners at different ages. He not only surveyed a wide range of pupils but also added a longitudinal dimension, where he sought to gain insights into how pupils' attitudes and motivations could change over time.

A resulting publication had the overall aim to try and identify reasons for the apparent diminution of motivation for language learning in pupils from age 11 onwards, in the context of National Curriculum reforms (Chambers, 1999). His focus was on pupils' perceptions of language learning experience and attitudes towards it, including the origin of these attitudes, whether rooted in parental attitudes, the classroom or foreign travel for example.

As an outcome of the study, Chambers designed a model of factors influencing motivational levels . At the centre of the model was the dependent factor which encompassed pupils' 'perceptions of learning German'. These were influenced by a number of tentative interconnected independent factors: the pupils' perceptions of the status of the German language, their attitudes towards native speakers of the German, their in-school experience and finally, the influence of others' general attitudes such as parents.

In terms of methodology, Chambers surveyed Leeds comprehensive school pupils on two occasions, two years apart, and later interviewed a selection of pupils. This group represented 10% of the sample and consisted of pupils with positive, negative and neutral motivational perspectives, who answered a range of open questions based on their original answers in the surveys. He has pointed out that trying to "unravel" all the interlinking factors to specify any particular group of variables was "insurmountable" and in reporting the research he dealt individually with different influences (Chambers, 1999: 54).

Chambers' work was relevant and timely for practitioners particularly as it attempted to provide a grounded model of the realities of classroom MFL learning. A main concern however is that his overall conceptualisation of motivation, linked as it was to attitudes and

perspectives, remained within the parameters of the traditional social-psychological views of motivation and the instrumental-integrative scale. Indeed, in a 1998 report on 'in-school' experience, he claimed that his research built on work such as Gardner and Lambert (1972), and they were the only theory-based influences cited in the report.

Given that Chambers' research appeared well into the 'cognitive-situated' period, it is surprising to find that he did not engage with the more developed conceptualising of L2 motivation by adding any cognitive variables or drawing on the more recently introduced situation-specific variables such as group cohesiveness in his work. Moreover, the concept of L2 motivation was not viewed as a dynamic construct but as a static phenomenon portrayed as a function of pupils' stable perceptions of the L2, and its speakers, as reflected in their generalised attitudes towards their 'in-school' experience' (1998).

However, although Chambers appeared to adopt quite a traditional approach to conceptualising L2 motivation, his attempts to trace motivational change and development were innovative and in keeping with some of the more recent theoretical approaches to L2 motivation, described below. Chamber's work on demotivation also represents one of the few attempts to focus on the negative rather than positive side of the motivational continuum. It represents the reality of many mainstream FL classroom cultures today in the UK, where anti-learning cultures and disinterest in learning are common phenomena and in some cases portrayed as a positive way of acting in terms of pupils' beliefs (the "am I bovvered" culture).

### 2.2.5 A Summary

The aims of this part of the review were to provide an overview of the historical development of the conceptualisations of L2 motivation in the 'cognitive-situated' period and how it attempted to incorporate concepts from then current theories in the field of psychology and in doing so, make the study of L2 motivation more relevant to L2 learning situations. The second, more implicit aim, was to demonstrate how L2 motivation research was an area of concern in its own right rather than being a sub-component of an individual or affective difference variable implicated in L2 achievement in SLA.

It has also been possible to identify a number of areas of concern having implications for the advancement of the field of L2 motivation research. One of the first and perhaps most obvious areas was the lack of grounded empirical support for the new conceptualisations of

L2 motivation, including the new psychological concepts introduced by Oxford and Shearin (1994) and Dörnyei's model (1994). This can be linked to a lack of explanation of how the different measures of motivation drawn from the psychological literature fitted into their work. As MacIntyre (2002), claimed in his review of the new constructs:

> [...] listing potential additions to the literature is not at all difficult compared to the heavy theoretical and empirical work required to specify how these concepts interact. (p.55)

Secondly, although efforts were made to relate the new conceptualisations of L2 motivation to practice, including designing particular frameworks with direct reference to the language classroom, a gap still remained between theory and practice. This can be related to the lack of empirical evidence for the constructs themselves as well as the unavoidable fact that motivation can be seen to be both culture and situation specific, suggesting limitations as regards the benefits of any practical guidelines drawn from such frameworks. This last point can also be linked to what Dörnyei (2001c) has claimed as the origin of the reluctance on the part of L2 motivation researchers to formulate practical recommendations: the lack of universality of L2 motivation research.

These limitations are linked less to the practical value of the constructs for conceptualising education-friendly approaches to L2 motivation and more to their validity for enhancing the study of the field of L2 motivation as a whole. The following section demonstrates how subsequent work in the field from the early 2000 to date addressed such concerns (Dörnyei, 2005).

## 2.3 The 'Process-Oriented' Period

The transition to what Dörnyei (2005) labelled as the 'process-oriented' period involved a process whereby the L2 motivation construct was being continually "refined and re-analysed" (Ushioda 2001: 95). 'Process-oriented' research characterises the current phase of L2 motivation research and has developed from 2000. It overlaps with existing education-friendly approaches mainly in terms of its conceptualisation of L2 motivation as a dynamic construct, made up of a number of components subject to various internal and external influences.

The most important emphasis of the period is the conceptualisation of L2 motivation as fluctuating and temporary. 'Process-oriented' perspectives focus on L2 motivation as it

"happen(s) in time" where it is simultaneously generated, sustained and developed (Dörnyei, 2001a: 82). This focus on motivational change and evolution emerged as research paid more attention to motivational behaviour and more generally to its role in *processes* of language learning. Characterisations of L2 motivation and the contexts in which it is examined tend to be multifaceted but share a concern for its changing nature. They also attempt to formulate the relationships and interactions between motivational components and influences making up the L2 motivational construct in a more formalised way. This is partly facilitated through a focus on L2 motivational change.

Motivational evolution is conceptualised in two ways according to whether one is looking at long-term or short term learning experiences. In the short term, 'Process-oriented' conceptualisations offer a way of viewing motivational fluctuation in the context of a single language learning episode such as a language class or a pedagogic task. From an educational point of view, such conceptualisations give even more explanatory power to the moment-to-moment dynamics of language learning both inside and outside the classroom, as sites of analysis for tracing L2 learners' motivational experience and as sites of potential influence for improving motivational experience in L2 classroom learning. In the context of long-term language learning, as Dörnyei notes, an individual's L2 motivation is "expected to go through diverse phases" over time (2005: 83).

The aim of this third major section of the review is to demonstrate the continual refining of L2 motivation in terms of its dynamic character *and* temporal variation. The focus here is on the work of Williams and Burden (1997, 1999), Ushioda (1993, 1994, 2001, 2003, 2005a) and Dörnyei and Otto (1998, 2001). The section also includes, where appropriate, reference to how this research attempted to address concerns and limitations of the 'cognitive-situated' period.

Finally, the review turns to current directions in L2 motivation research drawing on Dörnyei (2005), Ushioda (2006, 2009), Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) and some recent empirical developments in educational psychology. The discussion engages critically with the implications of this work for the future developments of the L2 motivation construct. Concluding this section, and the review as a whole, is a summary of the work presented so far, ending with an introduction to the present study.

### 2.3.1 A Social Constructivist Approach to the L2 Motivational Process

An appropriate place to begin is to return to Williams and Burden (1997) whose research overlapped the 'cognitive-situated' and 'process-oriented' periods. Their framework and conceptualisation of L2 motivation are particularly helpful in providing a starting point to illustrating the development of a 'process-oriented' approach.

The theoretical basis of Williams and Burden's 'interactive' framework (1994, 1997) exemplifies a social constructivist approach which is based on a notion of language learning as "a social process that occurs within a social context through interactions with others" and it is within these social contexts that "individual constructions are formed" (1997: 193). As a result, motivation is understood as being in a constant state of fluctuation, involving a balancing act between the various internal dispositions and external influences to which the learner is exposed. This suggests that the different factors included in the framework provide a theoretical basis for investigating motivational change in either the long or short term.

Indeed, in their 1997 work, Williams and Burden presented L2 motivation as a process, dividing motivational experience into three temporal phases: Reasons for doing something, Deciding to do something, Sustaining the effort or persisting. The premise of this description is that motivation is more than arousing or initiating interest but sequentially, involves "sustaining interest and investing time and energy into putting in the necessary effort to achieve certain goals" (1997:121).

A study by Williams, Burden and Lanvers (2002) provides empirical support for the interactive framework as well as incorporating a time dimension rooted in the three-phase description. This cross-sectional study charted student perceptions relating to motivational issues in the context of MFL learning. The researchers' main research questions were related to some of the major issues reported in *Languages: the next generation* (The Nuffield Inquiry, 2000) which arose from *The Nuffield Languages Inquiry* (1998-2000) concerned with the UK's capability in languages.

Williams *et al's* study incorporated general issues relating to demotivation amongst UK secondary school students, gender differences, motivation to learn some languages over others and the role of the teacher as an enhancing influence. They also included factors such as age, home background and teacher competence. These were treated as "pragmatic"

variables, reflecting some of the main foci of UK based motivation research as described earlier. The mixed-method investigation involved 288 British MFL students in Years 7 (ages 11-12), 8 (12-13) and 9 (13-14) of secondary school. The researchers designed a Language Learning Motivation Questionnaire (LLMQ) made up of 16 constructs which incorporated a number of the internal and external factors from Williams and Burden's interactive framework. In a second stage, Williams *et al* used interview techniques to follow up further areas of interest, with a smaller number (n=24) of students. Their findings included quantitative questionnaire survey data, and qualitative interview extracts from individual cases.

Most relevant from a 'process-oriented' perspective was their discussion of differences in findings relating to age. Firstly, they highlighted a "clear negative trend with age" in relation to a number of external factors such as teachers and internally, relating to attitudes towards the importance of learning languages (p.522). This 'negative trend' was clearest between Years 7 and 9. The researchers also found a significant decrease in motivational factors relating to identity (i.e. self-perception of success and ability) and agency (personal responsibility) in areas such as effort exerted and strategy use.

An interesting methodological aspect of the research was the addition of interview data to complement questionnaire findings. The researchers reported that the students provided them with "clear explanations" behind their differing attitudes towards L2 learning (p.503). As a triangulation technique, the interviews helped the researchers to broaden their research perspective obtaining insights into some of the possible reasons and individual variation underlying the questionnaire findings, rather than limiting themselves to the pre-defined constructs from the survey method.

This study is a good early example of charting motivational change from the point of view of sustaining and persisting in long-term learning (over three years in this case) , William *et al's* study demonstrates other elements which can be said to characterise a 'process-oriented' approach. The first of these is the use of qualitative methods to gain a more in-depth view of the motivational process. Second, it attempts to provide ideas concerning *how* to improve motivation rather than *what* motivation is. Both elements are taken up in other research in the period.

However, while William and Burden's work constitutes one of the first attempts to conceptualise and apply a 'process-oriented' approach to the study of L2 motivation, in

other respects it remains deficient. Unlike current research approaches, there is no attempt to specify and formulate links between the different motivational factors in their framework, i.e. "to produce a model of the motivational process", including any causal or hierarchical relationships (2002: 510). The researchers stated that the internal dispositions and external influences merely "overlap" and that separating these in any way would be "over simplistic" (p.510).

### 2.3.2 Long Term Motivational Processes: Motivational Thinking

Ushioda is identified as one of the initiators of the period (Dörnyei, 2005). While her work spans almost the full length of the 'cognitive-situated' period and continues into the 'process-oriented' period (1993, 1994, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b), a detailed discussion of it has been postponed until now for two reasons. First, although some aspects of Ushioda's main study were first published in 1993, its longitudinal nature and its concern with motivation change meant that it was only in later years that the full potential of her research has been recognised. Second, extensions of her original studies, including discussions on learner autonomy and its relationship to motivational change have only started to receive attention during the past few years (Dörnyei, 2001b).

Ushioda claimed that her early research was "prompted by a concern for theoretical expansion and alternative empirical exploration at a time when research interest in this topic seemed to be waning" (2001: 93). Her 1993 study involved a small-scale longitudinal interview-based study of 20 Irish university students of French. Its aim was to build on understandings of "teacher-validated" notions of L2 motivation characterised in Crookes and Schmidt's educational-friendly approaches (1991: 480-502). In doing so, it emphasized "learner-validated" concepts of L2 motivation alongside those of teachers in terms of "salient motivational features which impinge on the consciousness of the young adult learner" (pp. 1-4).

Any commitment to defining L2 motivation was reliant on the results of the empirical descriptive study. Following the first set of interviews, Ushioda was able to formulate 'salient features' defining L2 motivation while incorporating students' feedback into eight categories. The headings of these categories were very broad and ranged from motivation arising from "external sources" to "personal goals" and "prior experience" (1993: 4). Ushioda made no direct reference to the terms being used in the L2 literature such as self-efficacy, goal-setting/orientation and instrumental orientation, but rather, kept an open and

more exploratory approach to defining characteristics of L2 motivation. The case was similar when interviewing the participants of the study, as Ushioda informs us: "[...] subjects should not be initially primed with motivational concepts and ideas" (2001: 98).

A significant finding from Ushioda's 1993 research was that motivation arising from "prior language learning experience" was one of the most reoccurring themes. During the second round of interviews, which took place 16 months later, time featured more prominently, leading Ushioda to engage more specifically with a 'process-oriented' perspective.

In her 1994 study, Ushioda discussed the implications of both sets of interview findings in terms of "motivational thinking" (p.82). This concept is used to describe students' working perceptions of factors shaping their motivation and their perceptions of motivational impetus over time. In these working perceptions Ushioda identified different patterns of thought and belief responsible for potentially sustaining and optimising the students' involvement in learning (1994).

The longitudinal nature of the work meant that Ushioda could trace how the students' motivational thinking changed and evolved. For example, she encouraged the students to think retrospectively and report any changes in terms of how they felt when they first started on the course when the initial interviews took place. An important finding emerging from the second round of interviews was that over time, those who had originally attributed their motivation to "positive past and present learning and L2-related experience" began to be more goal-oriented and focussed more on instrumental factors in their motivational thinking.

For a 2001 special edition on L2 motivation, Ushioda re-examined her data and incorporated a further characterisation of the temporal dimension in the process of language learning, categorising patterns of motivational thinking in terms of different "temporal frames of reference" (2001:109). Working bottom-up from the interview data, she classified the students' responses into two frames of reference, labelled as "causal" or "teleological"(2001: 117). *Causal* frames encompassed motivational thinking relating to positive past and present learning and L2-related experience, and *teleological* frames related to those thoughts and beliefs attributing motivation to instrumental goals like increased fluency and other future plans/aspirations.

As well as classifying these responses, Ushioda pointed to specific patterns of motivational thinking in relation to these frames based on qualitative differences between the students in terms of achievement and "quality of learning experience" (2001: 119). For example, she revealed how more academically successful students tended to focus more on their "positive learning history" as a driving force shaping their motivational thinking (2001: 102). In contrast, those students whose responses were categorised in terms of the teleological frame had less successful learning histories.

Through the concept of motivational thinking, Ushioda addressed a number of the previously identified limitations of the 'cognitive-situated' period. In qualitatively investigating the "whole complex" of motivational processes in terms of students' working perceptions, she addressed the need for integration between educationally-relevant L2 motivation components (2001: 97).

Ushioda's work on motivational thinking demonstrates how the notion of time is central both to the overall fluctuation of motivational processes and to students' own working conceptions of L2 motivation. The temporal frames offered a way of conceptualising relationships between different variables (represented here as dimensions of motivational thinking) on a continuum as they related to the learners' changing motivational configurations. .

### 2.3.3 Short Term Motivational Processes: The Process Model of L2 Motivation

Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) Process Model of L2 motivation offers a framework for conceptualising L2 motivation in classroom processes. It provides an underlying organisational structure which charts and follows through motivated behavioural processes as they 'happen in time' and also accounts for the various mediating influences operating at each level. Its main impetus was to enable better understandings of L2 learner motivation and consequently provide a theoretical basis for devising L2 classroom motivational interventions.

Dörnyei and Ottó designed the following schematic representation of their model:

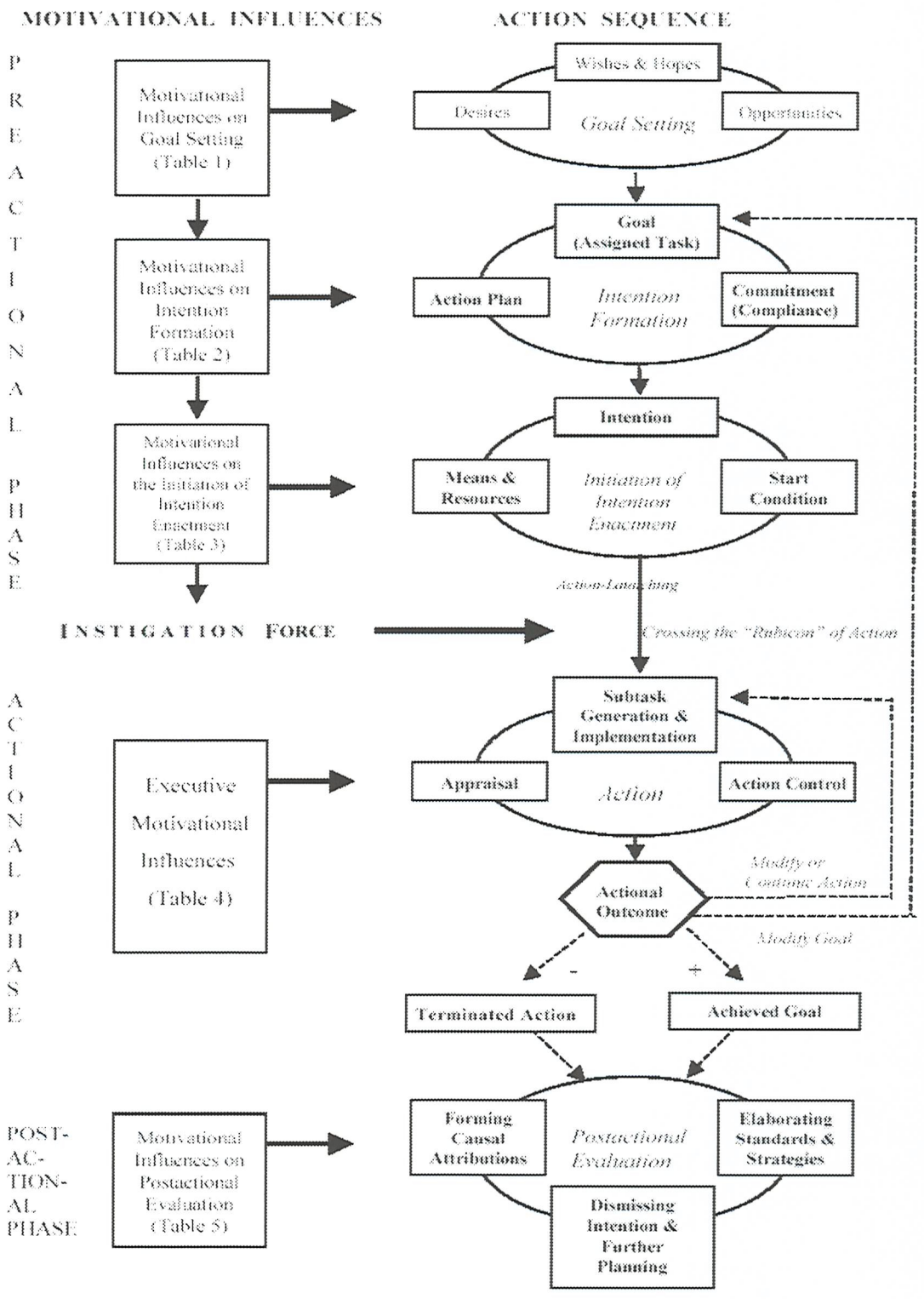



**Figure 1**. A Schematic Representation of the Process Model of L2 Motivation (from Dörnyei and Ottó 1998:48, reprinted with permission).

Figure 1 illustrates how the model is broken down into three distinct but interconnected phases: the Preactional, Actional and PostActional Phase. Each phase contains two dimensions, motivational influences and the action sequence.

#### 2.3.3.1 The Action Sequence

The action sequence represents "the sequential pattern of the motivational process" (1998:51) and is made up of phases which characterise various L2 motivational behavioural sub-processes. The phases account for different motivational processes: from the initial arousal or desire to carry out an action, to its implementation and finally its termination in the form of retrospective evaluations of the completed action process. For example, in the action sequence of the Preactional phase the motivational behavioural processes involve 'Goal Setting', 'Intention Formation' and 'Initiation of Intention Formation'. Using this temporal dimension, the model portrays L2 motivation as an evolving complex.

The theoretical basis for the separation of motivational phases can be found in the work of the motivational psychologist Heckhausen (1985, 1991), and in Kuhl's (1985) formulations of Action Control Theory (ACT). ACT is an elaboration of a more generalised theory of Action Theory (AT). Modern action theoretic approaches seek to explain the gap between cognition and action and focus on trying to bridge such gaps through "conceptual and empirical advance" (Frese & Sabini 1985: xviii). ACT is rooted in the gap between action, wish and intention. Dörnyei and Ottó were especially drawn to it as it offered a way of "detailing sequences or patterns of motivational events and components" (2001a: 42)..

Although Ushioda's earlier work engaged with identifying some of the more general patterns related to motivational patterns, the specific micro-processes based on ACT can provide better understandings of the intricacies of L2 classroom motivation.

A more explicit link between the Process model and the tenets of ACT can be found in Heckhausen (1991). Heckhausen argued for the separation of "the sequence of events involved in being motivated into "natural", i.e., discrete phases" (p.175). These discrete phases were incorporated into a temporal perspective, like the action sequence in Dörnyei and Otto's model, which divided a motivated behavioural sequence into 'predecisional' and 'postdecisional' phases. These phases correspond to the Preactional and Actional and Postactional phases of the Process Model.

The Process Model distinguishes quite clearly between motivational sources in processes involved in the initiation of actions and those which operate at the level of application. Dörnyei and Otto describe these motivational sources in terms of the distinction between "choice" and "executive" motivation (Heckhausen, 1991: 170). The notion of choice motivation encompasses motivational sources which are most relevant to the 'predecisional' or Preactional phases and so involves motivational processes concerned with decision-making, wishes and intentions.

Executive motivation, on the other hand, refers to motivational sources in the implementation of action and corresponds to the 'postdecisional' or Actional and Postactional phases. The motivational processes related to executive motivation are volitional in that they concern "motivational maintenance and control" of "intention enactment" (Dörnyei, 2000: 521). The notions of choice and executive motivation provide a basis for explaining how particular motives and motivational behavioural processes are relevant to a certain phase.

The educational significance of the action sequence for the L2 classroom is more specifically demonstrated in terms of executive motivational processes. It provides a way of explaining motivational processes in L2 classroom learning because it is a context in which "the motivational influences on action implementation are more important than the directive function of motivation" (the latter being concerned with the initiation of action) (1998: 43-44). Indeed, in classroom settings, goals and decisions are often teacher or curriculum imposed rather than originating from the learners themselves.

Further significance can be found in how motivational processes involved in executive motivation are linked to self-regulatory processes. In educational psychology especially particular attention has been drawn to volitional motivational processes such as maintaining goals, creating sub-goals and the general control learners exercise over their own behaviour and thoughts (Corno, 1993). In the model, such self-regulatory processes are represented in the sub-phases of the 'actional' phase.

L2 motivational processes accounted for in the model provide an important "temporary axis" which Dörnyei and others see as central to L2 classroom learning (1998: 43). By portraying this evolutionary path, it can account for the "daily ebb and flow" of institutionalized L2 learning (Dörnyei 2000: 523). The model is also adaptable and flexible

in that it can account for motivational processes across varying periods of time, for example a year, a month or even a day, task or activity.

### 2.3.3.2 Motivational Influences

An adequate exploration of the model is incomplete without a consideration of the second dimension of the model: motivational influences or "the energy sources and motivational forces that underlie and fuel the behavioural process" (1998:47). Focusing on this dimension further demonstrates its educational significance. An important part of the rationale behind Dörnyei and Ottó's Process model was the lack of a "sufficiently comprehensive and detailed summary of all the relevant motivational influences on classroom behaviour" (1998: 43). Here, it is possible to hear echoes of earlier claims in the 'cognitive-situated' period about the lack of 'education friendly' theoretical approaches and their application to the language classroom. However their comments also relate to the study of motivational components independently as related to theories of self-efficacy or attributions or goal-setting etc (1998).

Part of the multiple aims of the model was to integrate a comprehensive summary of motivational influences, creating what Dörnyei and Ottó termed as an "eclectic model that would list all the main motives that are likely to have an impact on learning achievement" (p. 44). These "energy sources and motivational forces" are in fact an elaboration of L2 motivational components included in Dörnyei's earlier mentioned three-phase model (1994) and therefore include of individual cognitive and affective and social and situational influences (1998:47). Many of these were discussed in the previous section. In line with the above, there is a distinction between the motivational influences informing choice and executive motivation.

The underlying structure of this is briefly summarised here in Figure 2 below:

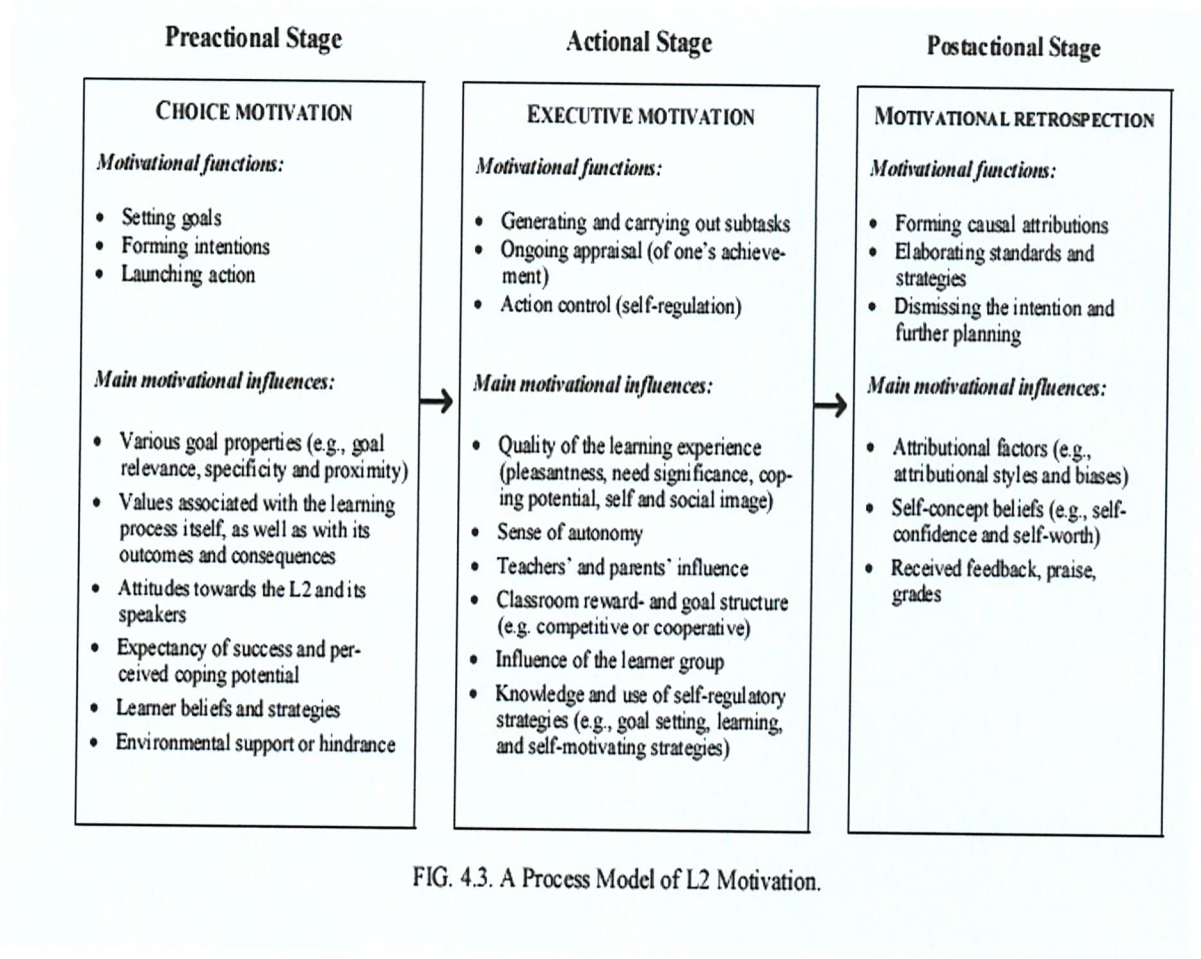



FIG. 4.3. A Process Model of L2 Motivation.

**Figure 2**. The three phases of the action sequence and their associated motivational influences. (Taken from Dörnyei, 2005:85, reprinted with permission).

Figure 2 shows how motivational influences in the Process model are associated with different phases of the action sequence ('phases' are labeled as 'functions'). Amongst the influences informing sources of executive motivation are a number of action control processes which can serve to maintain and protect behavioural intentions formed in the Preactional phase.

### 2.3.3.3 Overall Theoretical and Practical Implications of the Process Model

In terms of theoretical advance, the action sequence and motivational influences demonstrate how the Model worked towards overcoming the limitations of the previous 'cognitive-situated' period. The three phases of the model show how a wide range of motivational variables integrate and the interrelationship between different motivational constructs and concepts. This contrasts with MacIntyre (2002), who claimed that:

> [...] given its considerable breadth, studying motivation necessarily means slicing off a small piece of theoretical pie. It would be impossible to include all potentially relevant variables in a single model.(p. 55)

Dörnyei and Ottó have argued that an "eclectic" model including all possible variables impacting on L2 motivation is what is needed to engage more closely with classroom motivation (p. 44). They align themselves and their work with a widely-cited motivational theorist Weiner (1984), who argued that:

> Any theory based on a single concept, whether that concept is reinforcement, self-worth, optimal motivation, or something else, will be insufficient to deal with the complexity of classroom activities. (p.18)

A question remains however as to how such an 'eclectic' model may be validated as whole. Additionally, while the model addresses a wide range of short term factors involved in L2 classroom motivation, it engages less with a macro-perspective. This is noticeable in the division between choice and executive motivation and the associated motivational influences in the Preactional and Actional Phases. For example, the more macro-oriented motivational influences in choice motivation such as "quality and quantity of previous L2 contact" and "attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers" are considered as having no direct relationship to the motivational components of executive motivation in the action phase, and thus no direct link to actual classroom behavioural processes (Dörnyei, 2001a).

That said, one of the overriding practical implications of the Process Model is obviously its relevance for investigating general motivational processes in the L2 classroom. Dörnyei has published a number of studies with younger colleagues interested in process-conscious approaches to investigating L2 classroom motivation. Drawing on the Process model as a basis, two developments in this area are studies into motivational strategy use in the L2 classroom and motivational processes in task-based learning.

Cheng and Dörnyei (2007) looked at teachers' use of motivational strategies in the context of English learning in Taiwan and drew on what they refer to as a "comprehensive and systematic framework" of strategies growing out of the Process Model. Indeed, in his guide for teachers on motivational strategies and interventions in the language classroom, Dörnyei (2001c) uses the Process Model as the organizing principle and outlines a number of motivational strategies under the major headings of: Creating the basic motivational

conditions, Generating student motivation (Preactional phase), Maintaining and protecting motivation (Actional Phase) and Encouraging positive self-evaluation (Postactional phase). Cheng and Dörnyei's study involved a "modified replication" of Czsiér and Dörnyei's (1998) study which sought to probe the actual use and frequency of a set of 51 "macrostrategies" by 200 Hungarian teachers of English (p. 208). The 1998 study grew out of Dörnyei's 1994 work on the conceptualisation of a three-level framework treating L2 motivation at three discrete levels: the *language* level, the *learner* level and the *learning situation* level. Broadly speaking, Cheng and Dörnyei's study tests the relevancy of generic motivational strategies in specific language learning contexts and practices, in this case with a particular focus on cultural transferability.

A study by Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008) looked at the effectiveness of motivational strategy use in English teaching practices in South Korea and involved 40 ESOL classrooms. Again the model formed the basis of the research instruments designed in this study (a questionnaire and observation scheme) and conceptualised motivational processes and strategy in terms of the four headings mentioned earlier. The research questions in this study differ from those in Cheng and Dörnyei's in that Guilloteaux *et al* probed the motivational strategies as they were used in practice, exploring relations among motivational strategy use, students' classroom behaviour and personal motivation.

To do this, Guilloteaux *et al* devised an observation scheme to chart the teachers' strategy use according the four motivational dimensions and also included a section on the students' observable "motivated behaviour", where "attention", "participation" and "volunteering" served as the main variables (p.62). The questionnaire was used to gain insights into the students' motivational dispositions. Importantly, the questionnaire was devised to gain information on the participants' reports of "situation-specific" motivation rather than more generalised reports such as those found at the *language* level dimension of L2 motivation concerning culture and values relating to the target language for example (Dörnyei, 1994). Post lesson self-reports concerning the teachers' evaluations of the observed lessons were also completed.

This study focuses more closely on motivational strategy use in the minute-to-minute development of L2 motivation and includes of an acknowledgement o of the situated nature and the relationship between strategy use and student experience. The investment in the formulation of an observation scheme, with specific descriptors of motivated and

motivational-relevant behaviour is relevant for researchers and practitioners wishing to identify the *quality* of motivational experience as they 'happen in time'.

In finding positive correlations for teacher motivational strategy use with the students' self-reports and observations, Guilloteaux *et al* show how it is possible to map the effects of motivational practices onto behavioural and psychological dimensions of classroom experience and find specific relationships between the different measures. Although they acknowledge the dangers of claiming causality on the basis of correlations, the researchers claimed that: "the variation in the students' motivated behaviour is most likely a function of the quality of the teacher's motivational practice" (p.70). Overall, this study shows how investigations based on process-oriented approaches and research instruments growing out of the conceptualisation of the Process Model can be successfully applied to real-world contexts with important implications for both research and teaching practice.

A final piece of research is Dörnyei and Tseng's (2009) work on L2 motivation in interactional tasks, in the context of a Taiwanese and Chinese university. It engages most closely with the Actional Stage of the model. The research sought to describe the "motivational task processing system" involved in the execution of dyadic communication language learning tasks (p.119).

Drawing on the Process Model to produce a sub-model of task processing in the Actional Phase (based on work by Dörnyei and Kormos, 2000, 2004), the study designed self-report instruments based on three aspects of a task processing system: Task Execution, Action Control and Appraisal. The researchers were interested in how performance appraisal and action control were associated with learners' perceptions of the tasks as they 'happened in time'. Findings pointed to an inadequacy in some learners' appraisal processes which in turn were seen to hinder their use of actional control strategies.

Dörnyei and Tseng claimed that their results could be compared with those of Dörnyei and Kormos, who argued that an important aspect of task-based motivational processes is the "co-constructed nature of the linguistic process of the actual interaction" (2009: 131). The current researchers drew on the notion of co-construction to discuss the implications of the inadequate appraisal processes identified in their findings, suggesting that individuals' appraisal problems could be attributed to their lack of awareness of "the manifold cues that govern turn-taking" and being "slow to pick up on corrective feedback of different types" (p. 131).

This study contributes to the development of a 'process-oriented' perspective by mapping motivational processes onto specific and recognisable language learning behaviours and SLA. Indeed, the study is reported in a publication in honour of Susan Gass and her work on the Input Hypothesis (Gass and Mackey, 2006 for example). It draws specific attention to how task motivational processes can be associated with spoken interaction, where appraisal and the application of action control strategies are translated more specifically into communicative acts.

Together, these three studies demonstrate the extent to which short-term motivational processes represented in the Process Model can be used to conceptualise both macro and micro-based understandings of L2 motivational processes. Research on motivational strategies shows how dimensions in the three stages of the model can be applied in a more generalised way to investigate different teaching practices. In drawing on micro-approaches to task processing, a specific stage of the Process Model provides for understandings of how motivation interacts with SLA-relevant task execution processes.

The review now turns to work of a different nature in relation to short-term motivational processes, returning to Ushioda and her focus on understandings of L2 motivation from a social perspective.

### 2.3.4 Short Term Motivational Processes: A Social Theory of L2 Motivation

Ushioda's recent work (2003, 2005a, 2006, 2007) offers another way of conceptualising how a 'process-oriented' approach can engage with the shorter-term aspects of L2 classroom learning motivation. This work is primarily in the field of learner autonomy. It developed out of her motivational thinking research, which revealed how reflecting on one's own learning patterns could lead to an increased sense of responsibility.

Ushioda's research looked at fostering autonomous learning behaviour and learners' "motivation from within" (2003:1). In doing so, she conceptualises L2 motivation as a socially mediated phenomenon and draws on a sociocultural perspective.

Ushioda describes L2 motivation in terms of the "paradox" that for autonomous learning to take place, motivation, or wanting to learn, should be "internally driven" yet "socially mediated" (2005a:1). Without social processes, "healthy" internal growth and self-regulation of motivation cannot take place (Ushioda 2003: 3). 'Internally-driven' motivation is made up of intrinsically and extrinsically driven motivations and subjective

individual motivational influences "from within" (2005a: 1). The need for this to be 'socially mediated' expresses the notion that external factors present in the social milieu of the classroom will provide support and encouragement for motivational growth and its regulation.

Ushioda claims that this 'paradox' "reflects the realities of classroom motivational processes as experienced by teachers and learners" (2003: 92). In terms of external, social processes, learners reportedly refer to the class group, the teacher and the social dynamic when talking about their own individual motivations (2003). At the same time, Ushioda also draws attention to the detrimental effects of 'socially-mediated motivation' such as classroom counter cultures and the ways in which the paradox itself is at odds with teaching practices in terms of reward and punishment structures of classrooms, both of which imply teacher rather than learner control over motivational processes (2003).

Understanding how motivation is "socially formed and distributed and develops through participation in experience" offers, in Ushioda's view, a way of resolving the negative side of the external-internal paradox (2003: 1). She draws on Bronson (2000) who claimed that:

> [...] motivation to control specific situations and reach specific goals is acquired from others who transmit knowledge about which values and goals are approved by the culture. (p.33)

Ushioda (2005a) summarises:

> being motivated in this context therefore means participating in [these] discourses and appropriating [these] culturally valued ways of thinking and doing. (p.6)

Ushioda's approach suggests new methodological directions for L2 motivation research (2006). As opposed to traditional motivation research inquiries, sociocultural theory emphasizes the importance of collective activity, the social setting *and* the individual. In short, investigating how L2 motivation is 'socially formed and distributed and develops through participation in experience' calls for a necessary extension beyond individual accounts of motivational processes to those located in the interaction between the individual and the social – suggesting a need for qualitative agenda (Ushioda, 2003).

It is a truism that there is a long-standing quantitative tradition of L2 motivation research and this is not surprising given the dominance of Gardnerian approaches which originally sought to demonstrate a causal relationship between motivation and language achievement. For almost all of the empirical studies mentioned throughout this review so far, with the exception of Ushioda, a common thread is a quantitative methodological approach in research design.

The most frequent research designs are survey studies which assess the attitudinal dispositions of L2 learners in different contexts; factor analytical studies, such as those most associated with Gardner and Lambert (1959) and which led to the conceptualisation of Integrative Orientation; and correlational studies, used in almost all questionnaire based L2 motivation studies to examine or clarify relationships between motivational variables. Today, Gardner and associates as well as other prominent L2 motivation researchers of the 'process-oriented' period are still working on developing quantitative methodologies in the field. The research strategy adopted is inextricably linked to research goals and how one chooses to conceptualise the construct of L2 motivation.

## 2.4 Current Directions of L2 Motivation Research

Having provided an overview of L2 motivation research from its beginnings in the 'social-psychological' period, through the 'cognitive-situated' period and into the 'process-oriented' period, it is now an appropriate point to re-ask Oxford's (1994) original question: where are we *now* concerning L2 motivation?

Given the current interest in the field of applied linguistics to address research questions concerning language use pertaining to European Union expansion and the growing dominance of English as a world language, it is not surprising that current L2 motivation research has started to tie these themes into its research agenda.

In Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) recent L2 motivation work, he draws on personality psychology to offer a new "extended theory" of L2 motivation which reconceptualises the construct in terms of a theory of the self and identity (2005: 95). Dörnyei outlines the need to extend previous interpretations of Gardner's integrative motivation. He argues that the original construct is no longer valid, reflecting the changing climate of language learning on a global scale, people's increased sense of bicultural or global identity and their growing multilingualism or plurilingualism. For Dornyei, L2 motivation research should "leave the

term 'integrative' completely behind and focus more on the identification aspects and on the learner's self-concept" (2005: 98).

Subsequently, Dörnyei presents what he terms the "L2 motivational self-system" which contains three central dimensions: the Ideal L2 Self, the Ought-to L2 Self and the L2 learning experience (p.106). The first two dimensions are concerned with the person a learner would like to become (a speaker of the L2) and the attributes they should possess which relate to extrinsic motives (2005). The third dimension refers to the immediate L2 learning environment. In discussing the implications of the self-system for 'process-oriented' approaches to L2 motivation Dörnyei admits that more research needs to be done connecting the work to the temporal and situated aspects of motivational experience.

Ushioda (2006) has also recently published work which connects L2 motivation and the development of plurilingualism and European identity where she draws on sociocultural perspectives. She emphasises the need to recognise that these identities are negotiated locally and socially constructed, thus incorporating a 'process-oriented' perspective (2006: 148). Ushioda uses sociocultural theory to support her arguments and illustrate its application in her work on learner autonomy.

Published in 2009, both Ushioda and Dörnyei collaborated as editors on a volume entitled *Motivation, Language Identities and the L2 Self* which is introduced as representing a further "paradigmatic shift" in L2 motivation research (p.1). The volume collates recent empirical and theoretical work sharing a common interest in identity and self perspectives. It focuses on methodological and critical discussion of Dornyei's L2 motivational self-system, reports of self-system based empirical investigations, the discussion of the self-system and its components' relationship to other theoretical frameworks.

The move to what could be termed a more 'global identity-conscious' approach has been well-received and integrated into current directions for L2 motivation research. As Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) note, "L2 motivation is currently in the process of being radically reconceptualised and re- theorised in the context of contemporary notions of self and identity" (p.1).

This is a natural progression towards what is being perceived as a dominant and relevant real-world context for language learning and thus for L2 motivation investigations at the

present time. Indeed, many research contexts for the empirical work are based in Global English language learning contexts such as Japan, Indonesia and Slovakia.

### 2.4.1 Implications of Current Research

The 'reinterpretation' of integrativeness and the related notions of a L2 self-system, Ushioda's focus on locally negotiated plurilingual identities together with the growing body of theoretical and empirical work being carried out in this vein, demonstrate how the field of L2 motivation is continually developing and adding to its theoretical repertoire whilst at the same time making broader links with current trends in applied linguistics as a whole.

However, while such approaches to the L2 self have been shown to be relevant in Global English learning contexts, in the context of UK-based language learning research, the case may be rather different. Languages such as French, Spanish and German continue to form the main MFLs provision in schools, where in reality students have little or no experience of the cultures where these languages are spoken, let alone contact with their speakers. In short, in relation to the dominant practices in UK school-based language learning, it is hard to see the potential of identity-based approaches as a basis for understanding the processes of L2 motivation, even if classroom-relevant components are incorporated into them.

It is also possible to point to a number of conceptual and methodological tensions emerging as a result of the new reconceptualisations which originate in the problematic integration of these new trends into the earlier work of the 'process-oriented' and 'cognitive-situated' periods. More specifically, the issue is whether they can contribute more concretely to the original aims of L2 motivation research on which the two periods were founded.

A first tension concerns research purpose. From the way that the new work is contextualised it is clear that the focus of the current L2 motivation research has moved away from an emphasis on gaining a better understanding of the more localised and 'situated' motivational processes and experiences of language learners, particularly from the point of view of classroom learning, as its primary aim. Even though researchers have attempted to locate it within the context of classroom learning and make suggestions for practice, this does not appear to be the central area of concern.

A related issue concerns a tension between the underlying theoretical models used to support the different conceptualisations and approaches. Dörnyei's (2005) self-system and the reinterpretation of the integrative motive over-emphasizes individual orientation and cognitive activity and functions over the context and culture of learning in which 'identities' are being formed. This is related to the fact that at the base of his self-system is a conceptualisation of motivation which has its roots in early research in personality psychology. It also marks a clear move away from his earlier L2 motivational framework where individual and social aspects of learning were given equal importance (Dörnyei, 1994).

Dörnyei's inclusion of a third dimension in this system to include the influence of the immediate learning environment engages with 'context' but is also problematic in the sense that it is unclear how the external factors interact with the components of the Ideal-self and Ought-to self dimensions. As will be suggested later on in more detail, it is proposed that what is needed is an approach to L2 motivation research which allows for insights into the everyday and local motivational experiences to try and understand how language learners and teachers can work to improve their own practices as a collective and in conjunction with the positive and negative normalities of classroom life.

In conclusion, it should be reiterated that the aim of this critique is not to question the value or potential of new trends for the developing the field of L2 motivation per se but to query their relevance for advancing understandings of situated and temporal processes of motivation especially from the point of view of classroom learning. It is argued that the move to a focus on the individual and to theoretical approaches which privilege individual experience can be interpreted as a move away from this original research aim. A noticeable gap still exists in being able to apply the findings of L2 motivation research constructively to the collective practices of L2 classroom learning and teaching. There is still a lack of exploratory research directly concerned with the everyday experiences of L2 teaching and learning and which also takes into consideration the orientations of teachers and learners to the specific pedagogic goals, norms and culture in the context and more importantly, in the actual pedagogic classroom-based *activities* in which these experiences occur..

Ushioda has argued that the noticeable dearth of classroom-based studies could be filled by practitioner based research in the form of action research, exploratory practice or narrative enquiry (2005b). While this research direction is promising, there is still scope for L2 motivation researchers themselves to attempt to contribute in a similar way but, as the

above attempts to show, they need to draw on the kinds of theoretical approaches and methodologies better suited to engaging with the complexities classroom life. From a research perspective, we face the following issue: How can we measure and conceptualise the situated dimensions of L2 classroom motivation, whilst conceptualisations of L2 motivation continue to treat it as a separable, individualised, cognitive and consequently, unobservable construct?

### 2.4.2 Where Are We Now Concerning L2 *Classroom* Motivation?

The aim of this closing section is to introduce a number of approaches developed in educational psychology in recent years which theoretically and methodologically, encompass ways of conceptualising and studying L2 motivation with potential for engaging more closely with the above question.

Whilst the field of L2 motivation is still expanding into new areas of concerns, educational psychology has been developing perspectives and conducting empirical research on situated notions of classroom motivation in line with developments in general learning theory (Turner, 2001). Although it is not in the scope of this review to cover this research fully, a number of studies provide relevant background. They show how situated notions of L2 classroom motivation in classroom contexts could be approached from perspectives offering closer engagement with the issues raised in the preceding paragraphs.

The research reviewed here shares similarities with prior work of the 'process-oriented' period in L2 motivation research. It aims at a more direct focus on how and why motivation develops, shows promise as being able to lead to the kinds of implications for the practice related to how L2 motivation can be best facilitated and is holistic is the sense that it draws on many levels where motivational experience can occur. All three of these aspects were central to what Dörnyei and Ottó set out to do in the development of their Process Model of L2 motivation (1998).

Turner and Patrick (for example, Turner and Patrick 2005, Patrick *et al*, 2002, Turner *et al*, 2006), are educational psychologists who have developed a specific interest in the relationship between motivation, learning and classroom contexts. Their empirical focus is in mathematics education in the US, which is a curriculum area seen to be failing particularly in regards to motivation to learn. One of the first studies examined what Turner et *al* refer to as "creating contexts for involvement in mathematics" (1998: 730).

The focus was on how conditions for involvement (comprising of measures of cognition, motivation and affect) are shaped in wholeclass environments. The notion of 'contexts for involvement' is based on an approach to involvement practices as a "socially constructed" experience (p.744).

Their aims were to go beyond what they saw as the confines of experimental and survey type studies to engage more closely with mathematics classroom processes and explore the relationship between instructional practices and motivation. The study drew on self report and classroom discourse data to provide information about levels of involvement experienced by the students and characteristics of instructional practices. Discourse data was collected using an observation scheme based on a priori codes concerning different functions of teacher talk, for example, "negotiation", "procedures" and "intrinsic support" (p.735).

Their findings pointed to a close relationship between specific instructional practices and reported levels of involvement. In their conclusions, Turner et al claimed that "discourse was a compelling indicator of an involving classroom context" (p.744). The study shares similarities to Guilloteaux and Dörnyei's work in the sense that it also demonstrates how talk can be incorporated into the study of motivation-related areas of concern in classroom-based studies. However, what distinguishes Turner *et al's* research from the former is its treatment of motivation-related constructs such as involvement as defined and explored in terms of 'contexts', co-constructed in real-time 'moments' of experience.

This study shows an engagement with relationships between motivation and context, where motivation, as a psychological disposition, is not just 'influenced' by context, as an externally defined concept connected to classroom environmental factors, but where context *is* a characteristic of motivation. That is, there is a reflective relationship between the two, where motivation as a process is simultaneously shaping and is shaped by context. In this sense, motivation can be understood as a context of classroom life which is, in the words of Drew and Heritage (1992): "inherently locally produced, incrementally developed and, by extension, as transformable at any moment" (p.21). The issue of context is revisited later on in this section.

Another significant study is Turner and Patrick's work on participation in learning activities in mathematics from the point of view of achievement goal theory (2004). Achievement goal theory (for example, Ames, 1992) was introduced in Section 2.2.2.1 of

this review and involves "different purposes that students adopt for engaging in academic tasks" (Patrick and Turner, 2004: 1761). The notion of participation becomes a central focus of the study as a "productive work habit" and "evidence of student motivation to learn" (p. 1760). It is viewed as both an outcome and behavioural characteristic of student learning. Their overall research questions concerned the interrelationship between student goal-orientations, teacher support and participation.

Turner and Patrick used surveys to gain insights into the students' perceptions of classroom goal structures (messages communicated through learning situations which carry meaning about the overall purpose or goal of engaging in academic tasks), their personal goal-orientations and their perceptions of teacher support in relation to these. In addition, they used classroom observation and discourse coding based on a priori set of categories (instructional, motivational and organisation) to gain insights into instructional practices and notably, they analysed student talk occurring in relation to these practices.

Fuelling the research was the claim that:

> [...] neither teacher behavior, not student characteristics can adequately account for students' participation but rather that students' behavior is a unique outcome of the interaction between these two factors. (p. 1760)

The researchers treated the issue by drawing on "person-in-context" perspectives to "guide" their analysis of student behaviours and how environmental factors impact on it (p. 1764-65).

The term person-in-context represents a general label given to approaches dealing with how personal and environmental factors interact in relation to issues such as motivation. Turner and Patrick claim to answer questions such as "how do persons and contexts change in relation to each other?" and "what accounts for changes and behaviors over time?" (p.1764)..

These examples show how education psychology is developing its own approaches to study classroom motivation, using discourse as an inroad. The comparatively smaller field of L2 motivation research has by no means abandoned such approaches. In Dörnyei and Ushioda's recent publication on motivation, identities and the L2 self, Ushioda devotes a chapter to the presentation of a "person-in-context relational view of emergent motivation" (2009: 215). Here, Ushioda proposes an approach to L2 motivation which considers the

"dynamic, complex and nonlinear" relationships of "persons and contexts" as an alternative to those perspectives on the L2 self and identity underlying other papers in the volume. In line with this, Ushioda also recognises how her approach is "at odds and inevitably critical" of them (p.215).

Ushioda focuses on 'pulling apart' traditional notions of 'context', and shows how the concern with individual difference and the persistent conceptualisation of motivational development as a linear process has led to L2 motivational research's depersonalisation of language learners (2009). To support her arguments for a 'person-in-context relational' view, Ushioda refers to a number of studies where a focus on discourse has shown potential for revealing insights not yet treated in L2 motivational work. Ushioda of course makes particular reference to how this view can inform approaches to identity and L2 self-work but additionally discusses how it can also provide for more generalised understandings of 'emergent motivation', to engage more closely with the situated nature of L2 motivation, for example in classroom talk. Indeed, Ushioda cites the present work as a promising research direction here (for example, Preston 2006. 2007).

What is meant by this notion of L2 'emergent motivation' and what is its relevance for classroom-based research? It is informed by an ecological approach to the study of L2 motivation which focuses on language learners as unique *individuals*, who are the organisers of their own "complex system of social relations" which they both shape and are shaped by through their learning practices (p.219). It argues that an understanding of L2 classroom motivation, and its development, needs to be more 'contextually' interpreted, in the moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning, in contrast to the application of more generalised L2 motivational measures as a way of understanding L2 classroom processes.

### 2.5 Conclusion to the Review

The opening section to this review began by introducing *L2* motivation, and more specifically the study of *FL* motivation, as a relatively new area of concern. However, as this review has demonstrated, this does not mean that it is necessarily underdeveloped or impoverished in terms of its theoretical and methodological scope. In the study reported in this thesis, the aim is to study in-situ L2 teaching and learning motivational processes as they 'happen in time', which have long been an area of concern for teachers and learners

alike. It is hoped that this review has demonstrated through careful and respectful consideration that such engagement is timely.

Part 1 summarised the origins of L2 motivation theory in social psychological approaches, drawing principally on the work of Gardner (1985). It charted the treatment of L2 motivation from its role as a predictor of success and proficiency in SLA to its investigation as an independent variable constituting one part of Integrative Motivation in the Socio-Educational model of SLA.

Part 2 encompassed developments in the 'cognitive-situated' period of L2 motivation research. Here, specific attention was drawn to the move to a more micro and 'education-friendly' approach to conceptualising and investigating L2 motivation, pioneered in the first instance by Crookes and Schmidt (1991) which led to significant expansions of the field. For example, work by Oxford, Oxford and Shearin and Dörnyei saw attempts made to incorporate a wider range of motivational variables in the construct which were relevant to language learning and its empirical study.

A gap between theory and classroom practice, an issue permeating throughout this review as a whole, was identified as a main area of concern during this phase. Neglect of the relationship between the macro-context and L2 classroom motivation was noted during this phase, and seen as a limitation where, for example, broader educational policy and curriculum could also have an impact on motivational processes.

Part 3 engaged with the most recent L2 motivation research approaches in the 'process-oriented' period. A focus on motivational change, both in the short and long term, was treated as partly facilitating attempts to formulate descriptions about the relationships between L2 motivational components. The empirical and theoretical considerations of Ushioda's contributions were introduced as having specific potential for engaging with L2 motivational processes, again, in the long-term. The review showed how the incorporation of the 'salient features' of L2 motivation, grounded in "learner-validated" conceptualisations of it, using qualitative approaches, could facilitate understandings about the interconnection between the different dimensions of L2 motivation and more particularly from the point of view of "motivational thinking" (1994:82).

The review devoted substantial space to the consideration of Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) Process Model of L2 motivation. It was presented as a model providing scope for

understanding L2 motivational processes both in the short and long-term. The theoretical, methodological and practical extent of the model was examined and the most significant aspects of this were deemed to be the extent to which it was inclusive of a wide-range of motivational components and influences, and specific about the relationships between them and their location in terms of behavioural processes. As a way of demonstrating how the model could be applied empirically, the review pointed to studies where it provided was used to model the formulation of L2 motivational classroom strategies for example. The study by Guilloteaux and Dörnyei also showed how process-oriented perspectives in the investigation of short-term L2 motivational strategies lead to the incorporation of qualitative methodological approaches and a close engagement with practice, and how motivational instructional practices may be mapped onto psychological and behavioural dimensions of L2 classroom motivational experience.

The penultimate section of the review, introduced current directions in L2 motivation research, with a concentration on the growing globalisation of English and its implications for how reconceptualisations of the self and identity should be integrated into both new and existing approaches in the field. Particular attention was paid to the relevance of this type of work for understanding L2 classroom processes more generally and the context of UK-based language learning more specifically.

Prior to this concluding section, the review raised the question: Where are we now concerning L2 classroom motivation? In doing so, it charted recent developments in educational psychology as a potential way forward for engaging with L2 classroom learning, the short-term development of L2 motivation and the broader persistent conceptualisation of it as an individualised, cognitive and unobservable construct. Examples of studies in mathematics instruction provided insights into the development of motivation in the moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning. More generally, the redefinition of what is meant by 'context' was proposed here, as a central issue influencing the conceptualisation of in-situ notions of L2 classroom motivation.

The review has shown how L2 motivation research has grown in terms of its theoretical application of a wide range of motivational-related dimensions and components deemed to be central to language learning experience. It has also demonstrated how the methodological scope of the field remains somewhat limited in relation to this theoretical expansion. This is particularly in the case of L2 classroom motivation research, where a concentration on individual perceptions of the classroom environment, commonly

investigated through the use of self-reports, is ultimately restrictive in its capacity to provide understandings about L2 motivational processes and experience in real-time.

In settings such as compulsory school-level language learning in the UK, there is particular potential for the application of a more holistic framework which does not look to separate individual activity from its social, cultural or historical context. Such an approach may be necessary to capture change as well as the complexity and contextualised dimensions of the motivational experience.

While attempts have been made to engage with L2 motivation in such ways, making novel use of qualitative methods such as observations and interviews, researchers continue to use survey methods as a way of measuring what are treated as the normative 'student' dimensions of language learners' classroom experiences. At the root of this is a view of student or learner L2 motivation as, to reiterate an earlier phrase, a separated, individualised, cognitive and consequently, ultimately unobservable construct.

An alternative approach is found, however, in treatments of motivation in educational psychology which have yet to be applied in L2 motivation research in any concrete way. 'Person-in-context' perspectives emphasising emergent forms of L2 motivation are at odds with most recent work in L2 motivation research and it may be added, to on-going investigations into L2 classroom motivation. What can be taken from developments in educational psychology and views about emergent L2 motivation is the initiation of a new conceptualisation of the role of L2 motivation in classroom learning. One direction growing out of such initiations is a formulation of L2 motivation as a characteristic of context; put more simply, L2 motivation as both the product and the process of motivational experience in the language classroom.

Re-conceptualising L2 motivation like this is not without its problems, which include questions both about the kind of theoretical framework to be adopted, and the analytical strategy.

This study examines the development of L2 motivation from the point of view of classroom processes in the minute-to-minute dynamics of language learning. It doing so, it re-conceptualises L2 motivation as a characteristic of context of L2 classroom learning, co-constructed by and co-constructing the everyday teaching and learning practices of one class of French learners and their teacher.

The following chapter presents a background to another important constituent of this study, Conversation Analysis whose theoretical and analytical power offers a meaningful approach to answering the question: *How does L2 motivation develop in the moment-to-moment dynamics of L2 classroom learning?*

# CHAPTER 3

## Methodological Orientation: CA the Study of Social Actions

This part of the thesis is devoted to a presentation of Conversation Analysis (CA), an approach which provides for the methodological orientation adopted in the study. This chapter provides the necessary background to CA as a discipline and supports its application as a main method of inquiry into the development of L2 motivation as a characteristic of context in the 'institutional' setting of the L2 classroom.

### 3.1 Conversation Analysis: The Study of Social Actions

CA developed from the late 1960's as a result of collaborations between the sociologist Harvey Sacks and his associates Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. While it began as a sub-discipline of sociology it is now considered to be a discipline in its own right (Markee, 2000, Schegloff, 1992a). The study of 'talk in interaction', a term frequently used to refer to the object of CA research, is a focus of a number of branches of discourse studies (pragmatics, ethnography of communication, sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography) as well as other disciplines sharing an interest in talk such as anthropology, psychology and social psychology. As Schegloff claims in his discussion of "talk and social structure", such disciplines have a special concern with exploring the relationship between talk and particular 'contexts' where the emphasis is on connecting talk-in-interaction to social formations, relationships and structures (1992a: 101-103).

In the adoption of a CA framework to explore classroom discourse, the classroom is considered as a special 'institutional context' whose social formations, organisation and constitutive practices can be explored through talk in interaction.

CA follows a distinct line of inquiry which studies the structures of *social actions* which *social actors* use in the production and understanding of everyday life. The origin of this core interest is traced to its development from ethnomethodology which is described as laying its epistemological and intellectual foundations (Seedhouse, 2004; Markee, 2000).

The term ethnomethodology was coined by Harold Garfinkel in the early 1970's:

> I use the term *ethnomethodology* to refer to various policies, methods, results, risks, and lunacies with which to locate and accomplish the study of the rational

> properties of practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments or organised artful practices of everyday life. (1972: 309)

A more accessible formulation can be found in the words of Roger and Bull (1989). For them, ethnomethodology studies the:

> ways in which everyday common-sense activities are analysed by participants, and [of] the ways in which these analyses are incorporated into courses of action. (p.3)

Ethnomethodology emphasises two defining elements: a) an acknowledgment of social actors' or participants' implicit skills and b) a focus on studying experiences in everyday life from their point of view. This informs ethnomethodology's, and consequently CA's, adoption of an 'emic' perspective. Underlying these features is the central assumption that members of society are continuously engaged in building and demonstrating their knowledge of the social world and their conduct within it (Ten Have, 1990).

An 'emic' perspective for studying social behaviour is traditionally compared to an 'etic' perspective. Pike (1967) summarises the two: "the etic viewpoint studies behavior as from outside of a particular system [...]. The emic viewpoint results from studying behavior as from inside the system" (p.37). An 'emic' perspective does not bring externally defined criteria to bear on its analysis of behaviour but seeks to uncover these criteria through the ways in which they are defined and played out by social actors in the course of their everyday experiences. This is why an 'emic' perspective to social behaviour is also often referred to as a 'participant' perspective. The above principles are not only embodied in CA's research interests but they also inform a major part of CA's analytic attitudes.

At its conception, CA was focused principally on exploring:

> [...] the possibility of achieving a naturalistic observational discipline that could deal with the details of social action(s) rigorously, empirically and formally. (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973: 289-290).

CA engaged with this possibility through making talk-in-interaction the primary site for the study of social actions. Its principal preoccupation is with the discursive organisational structure or "machinery" enabling social actors to partake in social actions (Benson and Hughes 1991: 130). This focus on talk-in-interaction is linked to another important influence on CA's intellectual roots, Erving Goffman. Goffman is not acknowledged as

much as Garfinkel in introductions by analysts outside the immediate sociology field such as Markee (2000). However, his work made a significant contribution to the early development of CA and threads of his influence are still noticeable elsewhere in the CA literature.

Goffman was a sociologist interested in the centrality of the "interaction order" and this is one of his most important legacies for CA (Goffman, 1983:2). The 'interaction order' was a term used to describe the domain of sociological investigation which considers ordinary face-to-face interactions as its focus of interest for the study of social behaviour:

> [...] my concern over the years has been to promote acceptance of this face-to-face domain as an analytically viable one - a domain which might be titled, for want of any happy name, the interaction order - a domain whose preferred method of study is micro analysis. (Goffman, 1983:2)

A distinguishing feature of Goffman's interaction order was that, similar to other social institutions like that of the family or education for example, social interaction embodied a "distinct moral and institutional order" and therefore had a "particular social significance" (Heritage, 2004a: 222). Goffman's recognition of talk and the interaction order was therefore an important aspect in the development of CA.

While ethnomethdology emphasised the emic study of such events and provided a strong methodological basis, Goffman's work gave CA its particular empirical focus. The enterprise is reiterated in Schegloff's research interests on his university faculty web-page at UCLA:

> For me, direct interaction between persons is the primordial site of sociality. I am interested in exploring what we can learn about any of social science's traditional concerns through the detailed naturalistic study of interaction.

Goffman's greatest contribution to CA was the impetus it provided for the development of a solid and rigorous methodology for studying the interaction order of everyday life.

The development of CA proper was more formally established in the early lectures of Harvey Sacks (1992) where, drawing on the fused influences of Garfinkel and Goffman, he established some of the main principles for which CA is commonly known today. First and foremost, in his formulations of a more solid methodology for CA, Sacks developed the

importance of empirical grounding in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction for studying social behaviour. This emphasis was not fuelled by any specific interest in language but was linked to technological advances in the 1960's, namely the introduction of audio-recording as a viable method for enabling the details study of spoken interaction. As Sacks makes clear in his methodological notes:

> [...] It was not from any large interest in language or from some theoretical formulation of what should be studied that I started with tape-recorded conversation, but simply because I could get my hands on it and I could study it again and again, and also, consequentially, because others could look at what I had studied and make of it what they could, if, for example, they wanted to be able to disagree with me. (1984:26)

Sacks also introduced the notion of "order at all points" or that "whatever humans do can be examined to discover some way they do it, and that way will be stably describable" (1984:22). Further to this, the assumed inherent orderliness in social actions was considered to be highly systematic and methodical. This echoes Garfinkel's underlying ethnomethdological stance: that everyday social behaviour is the exercise of skilled methods by competent social actors. The notion of order is central to CA's preoccupation with rigorous and formal detailing of social actions. As Schegloff notes, the structure of an interaction emerges when social actors display to "each other their analysis, appreciation and use of that orderliness" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973: 290)

Sacks treated utterances as conversational behaviours used to carry out situation specific and locally produced social actions. The situatedness of these actions is highly important in light of other approaches to language and action such as speech act theory (Searle, 1969). The latter, while still concentrated on how people 'do things with words' provides a fixed, 'context-free' approach to the actions of utterances which appears to be in direct conflict with CA's principles.

### 3.2 Definitions of CA

The work of Garfinkel, Goffman and Sacks all played a role in developing present-day CA. Before moving on to look in more detail at the research practices and analytical approaches, some contemporary definitions of CA are highlighted:

> Conversation analysis studies the order/organisation/orderliness of social action, particularly, those social actions that are located in everyday interaction, in discursive practices, in the sayings/tellings/doings of members of society. (Psathas, 1995:2).

Psathas' characterisation remains close to the underlying sociological and ethnomethodological inspired origins of CA. It is presented as an analytical approach to unpacking the social actions which constitute the building blocks for the production and understanding of everyday life. This task is to explicate or describe (the 'how') rather than provide reasons ('the why').

A second characterisation is that of Atkinson and Heritage (1984):

> The central goal of conversation analytic research is the description and explication of the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organised interaction. At its most basic, this objective is one of describing the procedures by which conversationalists produce their own behaviour and understand and deal with the behaviour of others. A basic assumption throughout is Garfinkel's (1967: 1) proposal that these activities - producing conduct and understanding and dealing with it -are accomplished as the accountable products of common sets of procedures. (p.1)

Although this characterisation appeared in the CA literature more than ten years before Psathas', it is actually closer to conceptualisations of CA appearing from 2000 onwards. For example, while it contains important connections to ethnomethodological principles (emphases on 'competences', 'ordinary speakers' within a participant perspective), it is more attentive to CA as the study of the *procedures* of conversation. It also extends Psathas' concern with the general social organisation of actions by including a reference to the production and *understanding* of conversationalists. The notion of 'common sets of procedures' is also particularly relevant to the core interests of modern-day CA and is highlighted in more detail in Section 3.4.

### 3.3 An Overview of CA's Research Approach

Atkinson and Heritage's definition accentuates CA's methodological and analytical concerns and brings out its focus on uncovering conversational procedures or practices. CA researchers, in their quest to elucidate the structures of social action through the

investigation of talk-in-interaction, share a range of common research aims as well as adhering to specific research practices.

CA's 'emic' perspective means that conversation analysts avoid formulating any specific predetermined research assumptions about the social context and refrain from specifying beforehand what they expect to find. Further, many types of conventional CA research reports do not include a discussion of their approach including the research aims and practices and many presuppose a CA competent audience. Here, the reader is faced from the outset with a presentation of interactional data and an on-going commentary and discussion of the interactional events.

Ten Have (1990) claims that the reasoning behind such approaches is related the underlying principle of CA as a data-based method of inquiry, that is:

> methodological procedures should be adequate to the materials at hand and to the problems one is dealing with, rather than them being pre-specified on a priori grounds. ( para.4).

Indications of CA's overall research aims however are found in a number of published works. Some are specifically devoted to exploring some of the theoretical and methodological problems (for example, Seedhouse, 2004; Markee, 2000; Molder and Potter, 2005; Hutchby and Woofit, 1998).

The aim of CA research is to study the organisation of talk-in-interaction "in its own right" to get to the "character of social action and social interaction" (Schegloff, 1992a: 104-105). When faced with interactional data, conversational analysts study the range of *conversational practices* used by interactants to participate in the talk-in-interaction. In doing so, they may simply study the conversation itself and describe the methods participants use to produce it. According to Pomerantz (2005), they also aim to explicate a conversational practice in terms of a number of:

> [...] the circumstances in which it is relevant to employ it, the interactional options made relevant by its use, the types of relationships constituted and reflected in its use and the orientations that participants can be seen to displaying when using it. (p. 97)

The notion of 'orientation' relates to the ways in which an interactant may orient to or display an observable reaction to another when using a particular conversational practice. That is, the interactant builds on aspects of prior talk and exhibits shared understandings of the state of the talk through the production of their contributions.

Describing how interactants display and develop shared understandings is another core interest of CA work. This interest is more specifically explored through the notion of 'intersubjectivity', used here as a sociological term to refer to the organisation of shared understandings. Displays of shared understandings were an important issue for Sacks (1992) and in Schegloff's work. Schegloff (1992b) specifically argued for the importance of establishing a formal "routine" framework for intersubjectivity: how breakdowns in intersubjectivity are made relevant and subsequently repaired (p.1295).

### 3.3.1 CA's Analytic Practices

As with its research aims, although there is an avoidance of adhering to any specific analytical framework without the presence of data, there exist some general universal features or sketches of analytic mentality which explicate CA's analytic practices. These have their origin in CA's historical links to ethnomethodology and the important groundwork of Sacks.

One of the most important features of CA's analytic practices, the adoption of an 'emic' perspective to studying social behaviour, was introduced earlier. In practice, this means that CA analysts adopt a bottom-up data-driven approach, which aims to be free of any type of preconceived theorising about the meaning of social actions, or use of preimposed categorisation schemes to analyse them (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). Any interpretation of meaning or noticeable phenomena must come through the rigorous study of what the participants themselves make evident to the analyst through their talk.

Related to this is an emphasis on the temporal organisation of the social actions. The analyst should be concerned with how the interactants establish the organisation of their social actions *in-situ*, and therefore must focus on the unfolding development of the social interactions in real time. This is more specifically related to underlying ethnomethodological principle of "indexicality" and Garkinkel's overall rejection of a "bucket" theory of context where "pre-existing institutional circumstances are seen as enclosing interaction" (Heritage, 2004a: 224).

Based on Garfinkel's rejection, CA has developed its own unique theory of context. Context is viewed as a dynamic collaborative resource. At its heart, is the principle that interactions are both "context-shaped" and "context-renewing" (Heritage, 1984: 242). Utterances, which form the basis of conversational practices, are 'context-shaped' in the sense that they cannot be fully understood outside the local sequential context within which they occur and thus any current utterance is to be treated as an interactive product of a previous one.

Utterances are also deemed to be 'context-renewing' because in contributing to interaction, an utterance simultaneously re-determines the local context in the sense of "sustaining, modifying, updating or transforming" it (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990: 286). The notion of 'context' in more general sense as describing a particular setting or environment is also valid in CA. This context is one which is "talked into being by interactants" whose characterisation is based on the orientations and actions of the interactants through their interactional conduct (Heritage, 1984: 283). This notion is central to CA analyses which deal with institutionalised conversational practices, which are explored in Section 3.5.

The meaning of an utterance for participants, and subsequently for the conversation analyst, is understood and analysed according to its sequential context or, its turn within a sequence. The turn-by-turn sequential analyses of conversational practices are therefore at the heart at CA's attempts to uncover and explicate the organisation of talk-in-interaction and to meet the kinds of research aims already mentioned.

CA's analytic mentality also rejects the use of ethnographic data with CA discourse data, insisting instead on audio or video-recordings of naturally occurring data complemented by detailed transcripts which, together, form the basis of CA's empirical project. Ethnomethodology rejected two main types of ethnographic data: "recollections of unrecorded social events" and "expert information gathered from natives' interview responses" (Nelson, 1994: 307). Recollected data is believed to lead to a misrepresented focus on only the most prominent sense-making activities of social interactions, and is seen as too heavily influenced by the researcher and the informant, as well as not being objectively verifiable (Maynard, 1989). In sum, from a CA perspective, such methods failed to make common-sense practices or the "taken-for-granted" of social interactions available for systematic study (1989: 130).

A classic ethnomethodological position argues that it is impossible to gauge interactants' understandings of social events because, when they partake in interaction, there is a different dynamic at work (Nelson, 1994). In short, interactants are only seen to have a practical interest in social events rather than a theoretically informed or aspiring one. CA has developed however, as a way of allowing for the systematic study of such practices.

However, even the most hard-line conversation analysts do not purport that CA is a completely neutral or theory-free research approach. CA acknowledges the fact that the analyst unavoidably draws on his own 'common-sense' understandings of social practices in order to engage initially with identifying social phenomena. As one CA proponent notes "it is by virtue of my status as a competent member that I can recurrently locate in my transcripts instances of the "'the same' activity" (Turner, 1971:177, Turner's emphasis).

An important question arises here concerning the notion of competence and membership. Difficulties may arise if one is not a member of the same culture as the participants. Although in the initial stages of analysis conversation analysts are seen to engage in "unmotivated looking", this is somewhat of a paradox; as Psathas claims, "since looking is motivated or there would be no looking being done in the first place" (1995: 24-25). Indeed, without 'unmotivated looking' or using one's 'common-sense' practices, there would be no object of study for CA.

### 3.4 Interactional Organisations: The Basis of Modern-Day CA

For CA practitioners, part of the systematic explicatory task following the location of instances of interesting social phenomenon or 'unmotivated looking', is facilitated by the discovery of interactional organisations which constitute its "tools for research" and the underlying social organisation of social actions (Seedhouse, 2004: 46). These tools have grown out of discoveries in early CA groundwork carried out in the early 1980's by prominent CA practitioners who included Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Pomerantz; Goodwin and Drew in Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

Interactional organisations are composed of utterances, for example adjacency pairs, turn-taking, repair and preference organisations. The explicatory scope of interactional organisations is rooted in Sacks's notion of order 'at all points' and is linked to the ethnomethdological assumption of "reciprocity of perspectives" (Seedhouse, 2004: 9). Interactional organisations form the basis of the inherent orderliness of social interaction

and underlying this orderliness is a "common willingness of interactants to follow the same interactional norms, show affiliation and aim for intersubjectivity" (2004: 9). The norm of reciprocity is used as a template for interpretation and sense-making practices and is especially important for both interactant and analyst. Obviously, there will be some larger environments where these norms are constrained or resisted. In institutional contexts, for example, this can be highly prevalent and conversational analysts have developed CA theory and analytical approaches to account for this. This is described in more detail in Section 3.5.

This earlier work provided a foundation of knowledge and thus became the "action templates" that CA analysts could subsequently use in the locally produced descriptions and interpretations of social actions (Seedhouse, 2004: 17). Sacks *et al* (1974) referred to them as both "context-free" and "context-sensitive" methods used by social actors (p.699). Here, the notion of 'context-free' related to the idea that they were quite general methods and open to a range of uses for a range of participant-relevant purposes. 'Context-sensitive' described their sequential use in relation to the demands and relevancies of the local situation.

The underlying significance of interactional organisations is further supported through the assumption of "normative accountability" which develops on from 'reciprocity of perspectives' (Seedhouse, 2004: 10). This principle is based on the notion that social actors hold each other accountable for their actions by reference to common norms of behaviour, in this case, norms are interactional organisations. For CA, Seedhouse is keen to point out that such 'norms' are not rules to be followed by interactants but used "as a point of reference through which we can design and perform our social actions [...] and hold the other accountable" (2004: 10).

Interactional organisations form the basis of CA's analytical procedures. They are not units or categories of analysis but rather represent the normative interactional competences that interactants draw on to participate in social interaction. The underlying principles of 'normative accountability' and 'reciprocity of perspectives' are incorporated into the notion of an assumed recipient design of interactional organisations. That is, in the words of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), interactional organisations are "designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (p.727).

Conversation analysts draw on interactional organisations to provide analytical accounts to answer the kinds of research questions relating to 'social formations, relationships and structures'. However, before they get to this point, they must engage with the interactional organisations themselves and ask preliminary questions such as what conversational practice is being mediated or accomplished through the use of turn taking patterns or preference organisation? And, by the same token, how do participants demonstrate their active orientation to this conversation practice through the use of similar organisations?

(Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998). Or put more simply, "why that" (action) "in that way" (which is expressed using locally produced interactional organisations ) "right now" (in a developing sequence of recognisable speaking turns constructed by interactants) (Seedhouse, 2004: 16)?

An outline of the most investigated interactional organisations follows.

*Adjacency Pairs* (Schegloff, and Sacks, 1973): Adjacency pairs are groups of speaking turns that go together such as a question-answer, offer-acceptance and request-acceptance. A number of normative features have been defined for adjacency pairs. Some are that they are: 1) adjacent to each other; 2) produced by different speakers; 3) ordered as first and second parts with a first requiring a second and 4) achieve conversational functions such as starting and closing conversations, conversational moves, speaker selection and building extended streams of speech.

*Turn-taking* (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974): Adjacency pairs are constructed through turn-taking. Markee (2000) defined a turn as "a spate of talk that is collaboratively constructed by speakers out of one or more TCU's", (Turn Constructional Units), "whose projectability allows possible next and current speakers to identify when (a) current speaker's turn might hearably be coming to an end" (p. 84). A Transition Relevance Place (TRP) is the "point at which a speaker change may occur" (Seedhouse, 2004: 28).

*Repair* (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977): Seedhouse (2004) defines repair as "the treatment of trouble occurring in interactive language use" (p.34). Repair practices are made up of a repair initiation, distinguishable from the preceding talk, and a repair outcome. Repair is also signalled by markers such as pauses, which can be viewed as markers of initial repair. Repair practices are analysed in terms of who initiates: the interactant (self-initiation) or someone else (other-initiation).

### 3.5 Introducing Applied CA: The Study of Institutional Interaction

Having presented an outline of CA's intellectual foundations and overall research approach and established its emerging analytical resources in the form of interactional organisations, it is now appropriate to locate the study of classroom talk more thoroughly within a CA framework. In the opening section, classroom talk was introduced more generally as a form of 'institutional' interaction, that is, talk in a distinct speech exchange system which can be contrasted with normal everyday conversation. A 'speech exchange system' is an inclusive term to describe forms of talk present in different institutional settings such as ceremonies, debates, meetings, therapy sessions, interviews, trials. It is within an Institutional CA perspective (Institutional CA, henceforth) that the potential of CA to investigate classroom talk and, by an extension the development of L2 motivation, can be examined.

The focus of Institutional CA in institutional contexts such as the classroom is the relationship of talk to setting. One feature of this is to relate the "talk with properties which [are] seemingly related to its production by participants oriented to a special 'institutional' context" (Schegloff, 1992a: 102, his emphasis). This interest reflects an overriding technical concern in the explication of particular speech exchange systems. Here, the aim of conversation analysts is to address the "distinctive properties of the talk, rather than ones held in common with other forms of talk", as in the study of ordinary conversation for example (p.102).

The study of institutional interaction is viewed as the exploration of "social institutions *in* interaction", as opposed to earlier definitions which took a 'pure CA' stance in the sense of viewing "the institution *of* interaction as an entity in its own right" (Heritage, 2004a: 223, italics in original). Institutional CA is thus considered to be an applied version of the discipline.

Recently, particular attention has been paid to the relationship between "pure CA" and how its applied perspective is conceptualised both within the field of CA and in other disciplines (Ten Have, 1999:189). The main issue here has been a call for CA practitioners on all sides to be wary of conventional views about the applied versions of 'pure' disciplines which portray them as somehow "subordinate" or "inferior", but which are neither relevant nor appropriate to the pure CA–applied CA distinction (Richards, 2004: 2-

3). Applied CA is a term used to describe the application of CA methods to investigate institutionalised talk or interaction in formal work settings. For Ten Have (1999):

> [...] in 'applied CA' attention shifts to the tensions between those local practices and any 'larger structures' in which these are embedded, such as institutional rules, instructions, accounting, obligations. (p.189)

The significance of this approach was initially addressed in the early work of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) on turn-taking where the trio indicated the lack of comparative investigations of various speech-exchange systems whose turn-taking parameters differed from everyday mundane conversational practices and from each other. Such systems were seen to contain varying transformations of the normative turn-taking organisation of everyday conversation, a result of restraints and restrictions imposed by social organisations emerging from the institutional setting. That is, the format of everyday conversation underlies that of institutional interaction but in a reduced, specialised and re-specified fashion (Heritage, 2004a).

A widely-cited and early example of turn-taking research in a classroom setting is that of McHoul (1978) who explored the notion of the classroom as a specific speech-exchange system. Drawing on the work of Sacks *et al* (1974) on turn-taking practices in everyday conversation, McHoul carried out a comparative CA investigation seeking to locate the 'formality' of talk in the classroom. More specifically, he wanted to discover "where along a linear array which has its poles in exemplars of formal and informal speech exchange systems, can classroom talk be placed?"(p.183). In referring to the notion of a 'linear array', McHoul made a direct link to the work of Sacks *et al* (1974) and their claim that from the basic format of everyday conversation, speech-exchange systems could be placed on an "array representing a variety of transformations on conversation's turn-taking system" (p.722).

As Macbeth (1990) indicates, in approaching his data analysis, McHoul only had a "vague notion" about what formal talk looked like within this setting (p.193). At this point, McHoul may have been relying on his 'common-sense' practices to engage with the organisation of the conversational practices adopted by participants in the classroom setting. The results of the inquiry revealed three main re-specifications of the normative uses of turn-taking in everyday conversation: a potential for increased pauses and gaps between turns, a potential decrease in overlapping turns and an general decrease in the

possibilities for different turn-taking patterns (1978: 189). In terms of orientations to these turn-taking procedures, McHoul demonstrated that these were predominantly bound to the status of the 'teacher' as directing the talk. He used this to support claims that in those settings at the 'formal' pole of the linear array, there appears to be a pre-allocated system reigning over turn-taking organisation. Interestingly, a contrasting approach to the pre-allocation of interactional organisations is introduced later on.

Another feature of research on the relationship of talk to institutional setting is a broader focus on sociological themes and relating forms of talk to what Schegloff refers to as "social structures" (1992a: 102). Schegloff points out that such interest represents an extension of CA's already existing "sociological office" (p.105). The kind of sociological themes referred to in institutional CA investigations seek to identify the interactional significance of more traditional concerns of classical sociology including social formations, the distribution of power and status and the characterisation of affiliations to particular societal membership groups such as ethnic, gender or occupational memberships (1992a). The overall aims are to investigate the relationship between participants' understandings of institutions and how talk is influenced by institutional relations. There is also a further aim to gain understandings of how people see themselves in relation to those institutions through analysis of interactional conduct.

Studies of institutional talk drawing on CA have been open to a number of criticisms from those adopting more positivist positions on spoken discourse and whose primary focus is on received notions about 'social structure'. The principal criticism is that the apparent interactional restrictions and re-specifications of normal conversational practices are related to the underlying established institutionalised power relations between individuals.

The issue centres therefore on differences between traditional approaches to the study of social structure, institutional contexts and the role of talk. This difference is discussed more particularly by Schegloff (1991) in terms of a focus on "social structure or conversational structure" (p.57). In the former, there is an interest in talk as providing generalisable confirmations of 'characteristics' of the context under investigation. In the latter, which is CA's way, the primary concern is with the localised relevant aspects of talk and showing how social structure impacts on talk and is thereby "reproduced, modulated, neutralised, or incrementally transformed in that actual conduct to which it must finally be referred" (Schegloff, 1992a: 110).

A CA perspective would therefore respond to such criticism by accentuating its empirical philosophy that grounds institutional identities and power relations in the talk - in how the participants' sequential interactional conduct in those institutions embodies the social structure and the social relations.

Institutional CA does not reject the existence of external notions of social structure formed from professional theories and motivated observations, but claims that reference to such notions should come about through empirically identifiable and analysable instances in the institutional interaction itself.

This situation is aptly summarised by Ten Have (2001) who suggests that analysts should try to:

> [...] keep one's mind open amidst the 'lower' interests that pre-structure one's perceptions and insight, while at the same time letting oneself be informed by the doings and sayings in the practical institutional situations under study. (p.11).

For conversation analysts, this is more than a methodological challenge but also offers the possibility of going further than locating empirically determined phenomena and revealing new and previously unnoticed features of social structure through an emphasis on localised talk-in-interaction. One of the aims of applied CA is to explicate how the particular workings of an institutional context may be different from what more conventional notions might suggest.

Another central feature may be to relate applied CA work to professional practice. However some applied conversation analysts warn against attempting to apply discoveries from applied CA work in a prescriptive manner or as quick-fix solutions to teaching methodology for example, in the professional work settings on which they are based (Richards, 2004). Rather, a more appropriate way of viewing applied CA's possible contributions to professional practice is in the way that it can raise awareness of the importance and influence of interaction competences and provide a better understanding of the interactional possibilities, in institutional or 'professional' settings (Richards, 2004).

### 3.5.1 The Development of a Specifically CA Approach to the Analysis of Institutional Interaction

Atkinson, Drew and Heritage have worked closely on initiating the field of institutional CA (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, 2004a, 2004b; Atkinson, 1982). Following Schegloff's original concern for extending the comparative scope of CA, these researchers were most interested in expanding the comparative perspective within the field of institutional interaction with a view to developing more theoretical and analytical coherence across different varieties of institutional talk (1992).

Drew and Heritage (1992) were particularly interested in 'talk at work' (talk in work related settings such as medical encounters, social work meetings, counselling talk, courtroom proceedings, broadcast talk and classroom interaction) and how the realities of these settings are "evoked, manipulated, and even transformed in interaction" (Heritage, 2004a: 223) . They address talk-in-interaction as:

> [...] the principal means through which lay persons pursue various goals and the central medium through which the daily working activities of many professionals and organisational representatives are conducted. (p.3)

It is possible to see in this description a more developed view about what institutional settings consist of. Interactants are seen as having a generalised identity of either a 'professional' or 'lay' person which is related to his or her own goals. There is also a focus on the activities or tasks of the setting. At first glance, this depiction could appear somewhat top-down in its approach and in opposition to CA's underlying 'emic' perspective. It functions, however, to summarise the "family resemblances" which are found in many types of institutional talk (1992: 21). These originate from accumulative interactional evidence from bottom-up investigations across a range of institutional contexts, where interactional practices have been compared to those in everyday conversation.

These resemblances are brought together in a "unique fingerprint" common to many institutional encounters which consists of orientations to specific institution relevant goals and identities as well as constraints or restrictions on interactional conduct and special "inferential frameworks and procedures" (Heritage 2004a: 225). The former relates to the notion that in specific institutional contexts, particular conversational practices will be

interpreted in different and conflicting ways compared to their normative use in everyday conversation.

The focus of applied CA studies of talk-in-interaction at work is therefore on a re-specification of the general concerns with 'social structure' to a concern with the nature of the localised social relations between the participants. This is linked to their institutional identities and goal orientations and to the interactional practices through which a range of work settings are commonly recognized or "talked into being" by participants (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984: 283).

Although applied CA draws on the interactional organisations of 'pure CA' to analyse institutional interaction, the approach to data collection, management and analysis remains the same and CA's theory of context is a central part of institutional CA's own analytic mentality. Applied or institutional conversation analysts adopt an 'emic' or participant relevant perspective in their examination of the localised and oriented to conversational practices, and the actions which they realise are located in the sequential context and analysed on a turn by turn basis.

The additional interest of institutional CA in social structure, or in the case of the talk at work programme, the institutional identities, goal-orientations and occupational practices, means that analysts go one step further in their analytical approach. They seek to explicate how the organisation of the interaction: embodies orientations which are specifically institutional or which are, at the least, responsive to the constraints which are institutional in character or origin. (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 20)

A lot of the groundwork for such analytical approaches is found in the work of Schegloff (1991, 1992a) who, in discussing some of the conceptual and analytical 'challenges' of those working within the talk and social structure framework, drew attention to two 'problems' to be faced for the empirically-viable CA study of social structure. The first is "relevance" which links to issues of institutional relevant identities (p.107). The notion of relevance has its origin in early CA work on membership categorisation which was concerned with "how members characterise, identify, describe, refer to, indeed conceive of persons in talking to others" (1992a: 107).

Schegloff argues that in characterisations of participants in terms of their membership to specific categories of social structure or relations such as gender, status, race or occupation,

there must be a justification or warrant of the relevance of these category terms (1992a). This warrant comes about through the ways in which the participants demonstrably orient to and make relevant categorisations in talk-in-interaction at the moment of the encounter and thus simultaneously produce and re-produce the localised social structure or institutionality of the setting.

For institutional CA, the task of conversation analysts is to explicate the nature of these institution-relevant identities, to examine how they are recurrently and jointly established in the participants' goal-orientations and to demonstrate their consequences over the development of course of the institutional encounter overall.

A second 'problem' raised by Schegloff (1992a) is that of "procedural consequentiality" (p.110). This principle links to institutional CA's concern with interactional occupational practices through which work settings are commonly recognized or 'talked into being'. For Schegloff, the analyst should not take a setting such as 'the classroom' for granted and automatically 'consequential' to the actions and conversation practices that make up the interaction. Rather, it is the task of the analyst to demonstrate how the classroom setting creates any "consequence for the shape, form, trajectory, content, or character of the interaction that the parties conduct" (1992a: 111). This is particularly relevant in terms of gaining understandings of the localised practices contained in the second and third characteristics of the 'talk at work' unique fingerprint, concerning the reduction and re-specification of normative everyday conversation practices in institutional interaction.

### 3.6 CA for SLA

CA's potential to make a unique contribution to studies of L2 classroom interaction and the related field of SLA has built on expansions of the discipline of CA from the late 1960's and its more specific application to the study of institutional discourse from the mid 1980's onwards with work by Heritage and Drew. Whilst Seedhouse points more generally to the period of 1995 onwards as the starting point of the "rapid growth" in this area, the first specific initiation of CA's integration into the field of SLA is most clearly identified in calls by Firth and Wagner at the Congress of the International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA) in 1996 (2006: 111). A follow-up paper published in *Modern Language Journal* in the following year marked the specific turning point and attracted attention throughout the field of SLA.

This paper was devoted to a critique of traditional approaches to SLA research and focused on the need for a re-conceptualisation in SLA research of its accepted theoretical orientations and its prevailing methodological and empirical approaches. Firth and Wagner saw both facets of SLA research as reflecting an "imbalance": between cognitive and mentalist orientations seen to dominate the SLA research agenda and contextual and interactional dimensions of language use (1997:285). They claimed that such an imbalance had led to a "skewed perspective" on the role of discourse and communication in language learning, especially at the expense of the learner who was viewed negatively as a "deficient communicator" (p.285).

Language use and interaction had been an established area of SLA research before Firth and Wagner's paper. Such studies drew on a variety of interaction theories such as socio-interactionist approaches, and applied them to gain better understandings of the language learning process. Two of the most well developed areas were Long's "interaction hypothesis" (1981, 1996) and "communication strategies" (Færch and Kasper, 1983). These theoretical approaches provoked much interest, as they had to try and reconcile a number of important SLA issues and concepts.

Long's work was was criticised, for example, by those adopting more socially informed perspectives. Commentators like Leo van Lier claimed that in such experimentally-oriented approaches, "the security of isolating variables" was "largely lost, as the researcher is forced to look for determinants of learning in the fluid dynamics of real-time learning contexts" (1998: 157).

One of Firth and Wagner's proposals for attending to the dynamics of real-time learning contexts was to have an increased "emic sensitivity" of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language learning (p.285). Section 3.1 in this chapter introduced the notion of an emic-etic distinction drawing on Pike (1967) in its presentation of CA's ethnomethodological roots. Applying this to SLA research, Firth and Wagner characterised the major theories of SLA as reflecting an external etic view, which focussed solely on the linguistic description of language learning. In contrast, they characterised the emic view as reflecting an enhanced "participant relevant" perspective, which takes into account the dynamics of how language is acquired and used interactively highlighting a variety of social and contextual phenomena (1997: 285-296). In short, SLA's emic sensitivity

involved examining participants' own methods for organising their talk in the language learning classroom for example, and using these as the basis for explaining their behaviour.

Calls for a move away from experimental and etic approaches also drew attention to the reliance on quantitative methods which, as referred to throughout Chapter 2 in relation to L2 motivation research, were seen to lead to a focus on generalising language learning behaviours, producing proxies rather than realistic representations of such behaviours and ultimately limiting insights into individual variation between learners.

Firth and Wagner's arguments were powerful and a proliferation of responses followed from other prominent researchers in a number of strands of SLA research. Whilst some were critical (for example, Kasper, 1997; Long, 1997) others working within the framework of sociocultural theoretical approaches were supportive. Some of this supportive empirical work is discussed below. However, in suggesting that researchers formulate more pragmatic and balanced theories taking into consideration contextual and interactional dynamics of L2 learning, Firth and Wagner were not specific about their agenda for SLA research. Furthermore, they did not show how to put the strategies they presented into effect nor did they go into any real detail about the advantages of these. Overall, the culmination of the debate was marked by a gap between theory and practice, or more specifically, the absence of a specific methodological approach based on their arguments.

Perhaps in some ways responding to this lack of clarity, a subsequent special edition of *Modern Language Journal* in 2004 lent much support to their research program. Entitled Classroom Talks, it introduced a new debate based on Firth and Wagner's original proposals and offered a number of different perspectives on integrating the social, contextual and interactional dimensions into analyses of L2 classroom interaction. In doing so, the main emphasis was on the introduction of CA into the wider domains of SLA.

In SLA studies incorporating CA into their research methodologies, CA is drawn upon as a methodological tool to investigate language learning processes and behaviours. In line with the nature of CA-based research in both its 'pure' and 'applied' forms, there is no specific framework informing researchers how to specifically go about applying CA in SLA studies. However, as is the case with the approach adopted in the current study, principles from the application of CA to the study of institutional talk are integrated into analytical frameworks. In SLA more specifically, proponents such as Seedhouse (2004) have used

empirical data to produce a "*fingerprint*" of interactional properties of L2 classroom interaction (p.183).

One of these properties, which is drawn upon in the current study, is the notion that "there is a reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction" (p.183). The other two concern the notion that language itself is "both the vehicle and object of instruction" in classrooms and that the "linguistic forms" produced by participants are "potentially subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way" (pp.183-184). Seedhouse's fingerprint of interactional properties of the language classroom reflects the view in CA studies of institutional settings that talk produced there is designed in relation to the pursuit of institutional goals, namely learning the L2.

Seedhouse's formulation represents one particular approach that may be adopted for the investigation of L2 classroom talk. It can be complemented with other approaches such as those in the 2004 special edition of the *Modern Language Journal* which combine CA techniques as a tool in the service of particular learning theories, focussing particularly on sociocultural theory. Sociocultural theories of language learning see learning itself as demonstrated in and through learners' "participation in social practice" and the on-going activities that make up the talk-in-interaction (Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004: 501). CA offers a powerful tool to this approach in locating language acquisition in the communicative and social processes of spoken interaction. Furthermore, the approach goes some way to reconcile the distinctions between domains of acquisition and use.

The research of Mondada and Pekarek Doehler's (2004) argued for the incorporation of both CA methodology and sociocultural theory to investigate the situated nature of language learning tasks in a French as a foreign language classroom in Switzerland. CA served as a tool for studying how learning gets refined in the moment to moment dynamics of the instantiation of tasks in student and teacher interactions, as well as providing participant-relevant understandings of what constitutes learning itself (2004). Mondada and Pekarek Doehler drew on the Vygotskian notion of mediation in sociocultural theory to explain the local management of language learning processes.

In the same edition of *Modern Language Journal,* Mori (2004) reported research into collaborative peer interaction in a Japanese as a foreign language classroom in a North American context. Based on a single case analysis, Mori analysed a short sequence of talk between two participants to document the local management of side sequences involving

collaborative work on finding lexical items relevant to conversational language learning tasks. Mori uses CA to shed light on the different orientations of the participants toward the pedagogic goals which at times are observed to lead to certain difficulties for the completion of the task. Mori broadens out the discussion of her findings to describe how, using CA methodology, it is possible to gain valuable insights into the apparent gap between what a task is designed to do in terms of learning and what actually happens in practice when it is underway. Mori's work is similar to Seedhouse's perspective on the application of CA to understandings of SLA processes in terms of the reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction. It shows how the shift from one pedagogic interactional context (taking part in a conversational task) to another (a focus on specific lexical items) displays different interactional practices.

Markee's work in the area of CA for SLA (2004) involved the investigation of what he termed "zones of interactional transition" in ESL classes in the United States (2004: 583). Markee used a CA methodology to show the ways in which the interactional processes develop in unpredictably and situationally specific ways, ultimately producing different types of classroom talks.

In order to systematically account for a particular type of phenomena revealed in his analysis, he introduced the concept of Zones of Interactional Transition (ZIT's). ZIT describes the linguistic space which occurs when teachers and students move from pedagogical focus to another. Markee demonstrated that within these ZIT's there are a number of "micromoments" which signify types of locally produced interactional structures such as challenges to the teacher talk or tactical questions from learners (p.593). His work is similar to that of Mondada and Pekarek Doehler, although he does not draw on sociocultural theory to make specific links to learning in elaborating on his data.

Overall, Markee emphasised the social construction of classroom interactional processes and their emergent nature whereby, when the conventional teacher-student exchange structure is not so prominent, a host of different locally situated phenomena occur.

Markee's study is also similar to that of Koshik (2002), who revealed how the language teachers in her study used a pedagogical practice of incomplete utterances to instigate learners to self-correct. Koshik stated that her aim was "not to evaluate the pedagogy but to describe an institutional practice, showing how practices of ordinary conversation can be adapted for specialized institutional tasks" (p.278).

A final study that can be used to highlight the range of work done in CA for SLA is that of Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher (2003) who examined the use of repair in a content-based German as a foreign language classroom. This study differs slightly from the previous ones discussed here as it is more specifically concerned with reporting on how the interactional organisation of repair as a practice is used for talking into being the potential classroom roles and identities in the language classroom. Repair has an important part to play in the analysis of language learning discourse, as its use to initiate solutions to breakdowns in understandings is seen to be central to learning opportunities, as in scaffolding. However, in Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher's study repair was also found to be used as a resource for marking different roles for the learners particularly in contrast to the teacher. The use of the L1 in this classroom was specifically linked to these practices.

The studies mentioned here show the specific ways in which CA has been used to shed light on the in-situ practices of the language classroom and importantly, where researchers aimed to make specific links with learning. Debates continue however about the extent to which such research can make a valid contribution to the sub-fields of SLA. One of the most significant issues here concerns the notion that whilst CA may be able to say a lot about language use, its insights into acquisition are not so well established. Part of the problem is that the kinds of learning practices revealed in the research above are not seen by some to engage with the more traditional concerns of SLA (Markee, 2000). In addition, a common assumption exists, perhaps shared by those working outside CA or who are new to the discipline, that CA has nothing to say about cognition or psychological constructs such as acquisition or indeed motivation, which are traditionally treated as located inside the head.

The following section addresses this apparent gap and introduces the concept of socially shared cognition, which offers a way of formulating links between use and acquisition, if indeed one chooses to make the distinction. It also provides a necessary background for conceptualising the 'missing link' between L2 motivation and CA in the current study, as will be shown in detail in Chapter 7.

### 3.6.1 Socially Shared Cognition in CA

The concept of socially shared cognition in CA is based on the notion that interaction can be studied as a system by which social actions are accomplished.When participants display an orientation to a turn by taking a next turn, they are seen to be displaying an

understanding of the previous turn, performing a relevant next action and setting up an interactional context for a recipient to display and perform the same in the next. Such practices have important underlying implications for the role of cognition in CA as they are seen to display cognitive processes through their use, including those involved in language learning actions. As Markee (2000) states:

> When researchers investigate the structure of conversational practices such as sequencing, turn-taking and repair, they are in fact also investigating processes of socially shared cognition. p.32.

The notion of socially shared cognition is also closely related to the ethnographic principle of "reciprocity of perspectives" discussed in Section 3.4 in the current chapter (Seedhouse, 2004: 9).

Returning to the issue of language use and acquisition in CA, to draw on socially shared cognition makes separating the two difficult. The studies described above whose foci may be understood as demonstrations of interactional practices which investigate language learning use and at the same time reveal practices which are also of acquisitional relevance as active demonstrations of learning of the linguistic structures involved.

Kasper's (2009) discussion of locating cognition in a recent special issue of the *International Review of Applied Linguistics* (IRAL) serves to elucidate further theoretical and methodological developments in this area. It forms part of a larger collection of papers which build on earlier commentaries about the relationship between interaction, cognition and learning. Kasper describes three positions in CA for SLA approaches which are helpful to this discussion. The first position concerns the notion of interactional competences as representations of demonstrations of learning. This represents the kinds of understandings of how CA can contribute to SLA voiced by more CA sceptical SLA researchers such as Larsen-Freeman (i.e. 2004). Whilst they agree it is a suitable approach for gaining insights into the competences participants bring to L2 interaction, they also claim that it cannot yet be viewed as a valid way of making claims about how these competences are actually developed by learners (and thus make explicit links with cognition and learning). The notion of CA as a way of describing interactional competence has similarities to Mori's (2004) research described above.

The second "developmental" position presented by Kasper (2009: 12) characterises approaches taken by Mondada and Pekarek Doehler (2004) whereby SLA researchers use CA in the service of learning relevant theories such as sociocultural theory as a way of bridging the gap between L2 interaction practices and cognition to explain how the latter is socially shared. Although such theories are used as a way of describing the processes through which learning takes place, the incorporation of what are viewed as "exogenous" theories to explain behaviour is still contestable amongst CA practitioners (Kasper, 2009:12).

The third approach and one which Kasper draws upon in the remainder of her paper to examine the relevance of repair for SLA processes, represents an approach more directly relevant to the description of socially shared cognition in the opening of Section 3.6.1. Such approaches are supported by widely cited CA for SLA practitioners such as Seedhouse and Markee. These argue for socially shared cognition as a situated display built into interactional organisations, and as evidence for "socially distributed learning" (Kasper, 2009: 12). That is, the ability of learners to take part in appropriate recipiency work displays their "concerted attentional focus" and "demonstration" of socially shared cognition in an L2 learning setting (Mori & Markee, 2009: 3).

This stronger position on socially shared cognition is offered as a solution to the problem identified by SLA thinkers such as Larsen-Freeman: that CA is not profound enough in terms of its understandings of the relationship between L2 interactional practices and second language learning processes. It may also be extended to similar debates concerning other observable and systematic cognitive constructs, such as L2 motivation. A research report by Mori and Hasegawa in the same special issue highlights how such approaches are uniquely applied to L2 learning. Their work is particularly helpful to understanding how links may also be made between interaction and L2 motivation.

Mori and Hasegawa's research builds on earlier work by Mori (2004) which was briefly described above. It demonstrates a move from using CA to describe interactional competence in L2 interaction to drawing on such competences as a way of documenting development and learning, and explicitly referring to the notion of socially shared cognition as a basis. The study analyses peer interactions in Japanese as a foreign language courses and focuses more particularly on the activity of "word searches" (2009:65). The analysis identifies and explicates a range of resources used by the participants including verbal and non-verbal orientations, paying specific attention to the learners' interactions

with learning resources such as textbooks. The title of the paper, "Doing being a foreign language learner" reflects a particular approach taken to the integration of talk and cognition and an understanding of learning (p.65).

Mori and Hasegawa question the very notion of L2 learning as a system of rules and linguistic structures to be internalised, proposing a contrasting view which sees it as a process of acquisition of competences required to participate in learning activities. This approach is related to understandings of institutional discourse in CA which sees interaction in settings such as the Japanese language classroom as specifically goal-oriented and the talk-in-interaction produced there as working towards the accomplishment of shared orientations to learning the L2. L2 learning therefore becomes an active and situated construct located in the moment-to-moment participant-relevant understandings of the on-going activities. Cognition is viewed as a "social event" and "embodied" in the interaction (p.68). Learning as a practice is re-specified as observable in and through peer interaction.

Mori and Hasegawa's work is particularly relevant to the ways in which L2 motivation is conceptualised and investigated in the current study. Their view of cognition as a "social event" can be compared with the approach taken here that L2 motivation is a characteristic of context (p.68). Like L2 learning, L2 classroom motivation as a cognitive construct is treated as talked into being through the individual orientations of the participants to institutional goals rather than as an exogenous cognitive process existing outside learning-relevant actions. Importantly, in specifying L2 motivation like this, it is not the case that the CA analysis provides direct insights into the cognitive states of the participants as regards their motivational dispositions. Rather, insights are gained by treating analysed interactional practices in terms of socially shared displays of L2 motivational states. Such states are identified on the basis of the mutual orientations of the participants to the on-going goal-oriented interactions through participation. This approach is described in more detail in Chapter 5.

As a way of summarising the current section, it is argued that a strong case has been created for the role of CA methodology in SLA, and this strength lies in the way that researchers are able to obtain participant relevant orientations to language learning grounded in "empirically observable conversational conduct" (Markee, 2004: 495). Socially shared cognition is an approach to conceptualising the relationship between interaction and cognition in everyday sense-making practices, which holds the potential to

provide a deeper understanding of L2 classroom interaction and learners' classroom experiences. This study sets out to show that this approach is also valid for the study of L2 motivational development.

### 3.7 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to provide a summarised but comprehensive account of CA and its analytical practices as a background to the methodological orientation drawn upon in this study. The principles, tools and findings of CA inform many aspects of this study from data collection to analysis and discussion of its findings.

The following chapters show how it is possible to draw on an institutional CA approach to investigate the development of L2 motivational experience. It may be felt from the thesis work presented so far that using the wholly empirical discipline of CA to investigate what is traditionally considered to be an essentially psychological field, that of L2 motivation, is a contradictory enterprise - that the two areas are somehow at odds with each other. However, this thesis aims to show that institutional CA is a viable approach for engaging more closely with L2 motivation as it develops in real time and in relation to the actual day to day activities of the language classroom. The justification for this viewpoint is fully developed below in Chapter 4.

# CHAPTER 4

## Research Design and Methodology: A Case Study in Modern Foreign Language Learning

### 4.1 Introduction

In a recent discussion of research practices in 'instructed SLA', Ortega (2005) makes the following observation:

> research communities make decisions about the best ways to approach the task of producing evidence (methodology) on the basis of agreed-upon notions of the nature of what or what cannot, be captured and explicated as evidence (epistemology) and by drawing on agreed-upon valuations of what is, or is not, worth understanding and transforming (axiology). (p. 317)

This chapter is the result of a good deal of critical reflection about the most appropriate and worthwhile ways of producing evidence of the development of L2 motivational processes and experience in L2 classroom learning. The challenges and difficulties inherent in this process arose precisely as a consequence of a dearth in the L2 motivation literature about agreed-upon notions of how to capture and explicate L2 motivational experience from the point of view of close analysis of the *in situ* processes of language learning.

One of the main aims in writing the opening chapters to this thesis was to explicate and demonstrate the interrelationship between the epistemological and methodological dimensions on which this study is based. Chapter 2 argued for the timeliness and relevance of its purpose. Chapter 3 reviewed CA, the methodological orientation adopted in this study, drawn upon to investigate the development of L2 motivational experience. The principles, tools and findings of CA research inform many aspects of this study from data collection to analysis and discussion of its findings.

This chapter outlines the study's design and focuses on the empirical setting, issues of reliability, validity and generalisation and collecting, managing and analysing the data, where preliminary analyses are also presented.

### 4.2 Research Questions and Research Aims

In traditional approaches to L2 motivation research, an important part of formulating research questions involves a specification of the particular area of L2 motivation to be targeted. However, as the overall approach in this study is based on a more holistic and process-oriented approach to L2 motivation and departs from more conventional approaches, it is harder to specify beforehand which particular L2 motivational components will be targeted and therefore incorporate them into the research questions.

An explicit conceptualisation of L2 motivation in terms of a particular theoretical perspective or framework is therefore not presented at this point. This seemingly non-committed stance to theory reflects the broader underlying commitment to approach L2 motivation in terms of its context-relevant understandings. This is similar to Ushioda's comment on the person-in-context relational approach, that such approaches "need not (and perhaps should not) privilege any particular theoretical framework over another" (2009: 295-96).

This does not mean to say that the process of locating L2 motivation in classroom interaction in this study was a completely theory-free process. Rather, as Charmaz (2006) puts it in her discussion of grounded theory, theories and concepts may,

> [...] influence what I see and how I see it [...] However, these concepts remain in the background until they become relevant for immediate analytic problems. (p.169)

In line with this, the following analysis chapters are prefaced with a post-analytical formulation of a theoretical framework whose purpose is to guide the reader's understanding of them.

The main research question addressed in the study is:

**1) How does L2 motivation develop in relation to the moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning?**

A secondary question engages with the longer-term development of L2 motivation:

**2) How does L2 motivation develop in relation to the possible contribution of these *in situ* processes over time?**

The research questions reflect two interconnected aims of the study. The primary exploratory aim is to gain a better understanding of the dynamic nature of L2 classroom motivation by engaging closely with the contribution of the learning situation, and the interaction between L2 motivation and classroom processes *in situ* and over time.

A second aim of the research is to investigate how classroom interaction can contribute positively to L2 learner motivation. This not only acknowledges the role of interaction as a domain of study for the development of L2 motivation but also the study's focus on naturally occurring interaction and the potential that investigating localised practices of everyday teaching and learning holds for providing insights relevant for professional practice.

### 4.3 Research Design

A case study design was selected as the most suitable way for answering the research questions and addressing the research aims. The choice of the case was influenced by: a) gaps identified in Chapter 2 concerning the development of specifically- UK-based foreign language learning motivational research from a process-oriented perspective; b) the wish to be able to engage closely with language learners' experiences in an in-depth fashion and over time and c) the nature of the support the researcher received from the participating institution more generally.

The type of case study in this research can be characterised as sharing similarities with those used in educational research which tend to be viewed as a continuum, "where the researcher can draw on more than one model" (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995: 322). This study can be described as descriptive (Merriam, 1988) where the focus is on the narration of "a sequence of events, rich in detail and atheoretical in the sense that basic description comes *before* hypothesizing and theory testing" (1995: 321, researcher's emphasis). However, it also goes beyond the mere intrinsic description of the case in that it can be dually characterised as "instrumental" (Stake, 2000: 437-8) where "the researcher examines a particular case to gain insight into a certain issue or theory" (1995: 322). These classifications reflect the empirical and theoretical scope of the study.

The research took place in a secondary school French MFL classroom in the UK. The institution approached was a large comprehensive school (children aged 11 to 16) in the North of England. This UK context offered a distinctive and discrete empirical setting for this research:

1) As mentioned in Chapter 2, in UK society, there exists continual public debates about the lack of interest and motivation to learn foreign languages at secondary school level. Motivation in MFL is one of the central focuses of government bodies and educational policy makers in the UK The decision to no longer make foreign language study a part of the compulsory curriculum at Key Stage 4 (GCSE level) has opened up further avenues of discussion. Yet every day young people attend and participate in compulsory MFL classes and this is the first and only real extended experience of language learning some of them may ever have.

2) From a research perspective, work such as that of Chambers (1993, 1994, 1999) and Williams and Burden *et al* (2002) are good examples of longitudinal studies conducted in an instructed foreign language UK setting; however the amount of research devoted to this specific context has been meagre relative to the breadth of L2 motivation research as whole. In L2 motivation research, as in other language- based approaches to foreign language education, it is possible to concur with Rampton (1999) that there is a lack of "detailed macro or micro analyses of foreign language education" from a uniquely UK perspective (p. 491).

On deciding which school to target, a number of factors were taken into account. The main issue was finding a school which would be sufficiently supportive and willing to participate in the study to allow the researcher to make regular visits and generally become accepting and familiar with the researcher's presence in the school as a whole (in the staffroom, corridors, school office etc). As the researcher had carried out previous Master's level research at the same school the previous year, access was hugely facilitated by the then participating teacher who was also a member of senior staff. On request, she provided the initial contact (an email address) with a potentially interested teacher.

The school's policy on letting 'outside agencies' such as researchers spend time in its classrooms reflects an overall open-door policy and the institution's adoption of current trends in UK education of public accountability and partnership and participation with

stakeholders such as parents and school governors. This situation not only meant that the researcher was fortunate enough to gain the cooperation of the school in addition to her previous research, but also that the data collection visits proceeded in a smooth and welcoming fashion. It also meant that certain 'freedoms' were afforded in relation to the research setting when choosing the case and locating its boundaries.

### 4.3.1 Participants

The participants were a group of Year 9 (aged 13-14) male and female learners of French (n=25) who had been placed in the middle band ability group ('setting band 2'), and their teacher, a female native English speaker. Contrary to some school curricula, Year 9 is not the last compulsory year of language training within the school and pupils are expected to study French or German up to GCSE (school-exit examinations). UK-based L2 motivation research (i.e. Chambers, 1999) has drawn particular attention to this year group in terms of changes to motivation from Year 7 (ages 11 to 12) onwards, with a noticeable downward spiral of interest at Year 9.

An additional request was that the researcher wished to involve a community of learners who had already quite well established relationships with each other and were used to working together as a group in a general sense of having lessons together. The class comprised a mixture of pupils from three separate tutor groups within the year group. Depending on which group some of the pupils were assigned to in other ability-grouped subjects such as Maths, English and Science, some of the pupils may also have had other lessons together. Notably, the same group of pupils were also together for their German lessons (one of which was video-recorded for further research purposes at a later date).

## 4.4 Collecting, Managing and Analysing the Data

Data collection methodology was designed in conjunction with the overall research aims to trace L2 learners' motivational experience both in and across their classroom learning practices. The data used were video-recordings of naturally occurring classroom interactions (n=11 one hour lessons collected over a period of 10 months). As such, they form part of a larger corpus of data collected in the research setting, designed to address the research aims. This is in keeping with the case-study approach adopted where data collection reflected the wish to collect rich and in-depth data on the "key players" and "key situations" bounded within the case (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995: 319).

The study focuses more specifically on the unique contribution of *interaction* to learner motivation and thus the exclusion of further engagement with other types of data which were also collected reflects this. Table 1 provides an outline of the corpus of data. It is worth mentioning that the inclusion of this additional data, aside from the interviews, was designed to complement and not "compete with primacy of the recorded data" and was not something necessarily decided on from the outset (Ten Have, 1999: 59).

While spending more time in the research setting and in the process of starting to manage and analyse the interaction data, the researcher became aware of the need and relevance for additional data to support what was being revealed and oriented to in the classroom and in the interviews. In order to more fully understand what was being revealed and oriented to in the classroom, for example in relation to National Curriculum levels of achievement and assessment, information was needed as a "'virtual membership' requirement" (Ten Have, 1999:59).

A second decision to record informal conversations with the teacher and conduct two semi-structured interviews at the end of the Christmas and summer terms, was a result of the realisation that, as well as drawing on the learners thoughts and feelings of their language learning on a lesson to lesson basis, a focus was also needed on the teacher's motivational experiences. This came about as a natural consequence of the research process and related to the fact that as a result of the researcher's regular presence in the classroom as a non-participant observer, at the end of lessons the teacher would often discuss her experience of the lesson's events.

| **Data Type** | **Purpose** | **Management and extent of use in this study** |
|---|---|---|
| Video-recordings: 11 one hour lessons | Naturally-occurring classroom interaction for detailed interactional analysis | All data observed and 25 episodes subjected to detailed transcription and analysis |
| Semi-structured post-lesson interviews with 6 student participants: 9 data-sets (minimum 2 interviews per data-set) | Semi-stimulated recall self-reports for insights into students' perceptions of classroom events | Preliminary management of the data completed (transcription, initial coding). Not used in this study but available for further research. |
| Documentary data concerning the school, curriculum and local education authority | Overall educational and institutional relevant information ('virtual membership requirement', (Ten Have, 1999) | Reading completed and some information used as relevant to discussion of findings |
| Achievement data: End of unit and year test results/NC Levels of attainment | Triangulation with findings and discussion with individual students | Not used in this study but available for further research. |
| GSCE language option choices and reasons: 17 mini-questionnaires completed | Triangulation with findings and discussion with individual students | Not used in this study but available for further research (especially longitudinal perspective) |
| Semi-structured interviews with classroom teacher, senior teacher and head teacher. : 4 data-sets | Overall educational and institutional relevant information , 'virtual membership requirement', (Ten Have, 1999) | General listening completed but no further management or level of analysis completed. Not used in this study but available for further research. |
| Web-pages of individual student members of the class | Triangulation with findings and discussion with individual students | General observations completed. Not used in this study but available for further research. |

**Table 1**. Overview of data corpus with purposes for data collection and extent of use in this study

In terms of charting the development of L2 motivational experience in and across time, there were a number of features of the institutional context which both determined and

facilitated the methodological decisions. The first issue to address was the length of time to spend on conducting the research. This also relates to the identification of the case boundaries. It was decided that the research should adopt a similar approach to how the participants conceptualise institutional time in relation to its start and end points. The research was therefore structured along the time frame of an academic year. The academic year for the current study ran from the beginning of September 2006 to mid-July 2007. In deciding on the frequency, spacing and number of data collection points, institutional scales were most appropriate. Institutional scales concern "key events and turning points" in the institutional context and in the case of the classroom under study, this meant drawing on markers such as the school holidays, class trips and the structure of curriculum units (Ortega *et al*, 2005:38).

### 4.4.1 Collecting the Classroom Data: CA's Method

The adoption of CA methodology to *capture* classroom L2 motivational experience from the point of view of classroom interaction had specific implications for the data collection procedures. These differ to a certain extent from traditional observational methods. In order to adequately capture talk-in-interaction, audio-recording is a minimum requirement when using CA methods. Video-recording was deemed the most appropriate method here as it provided for a closer and more reliable way of capturing the context of interactional phenomena including non-verbal features such as teacher and learner gaze, body line (what a speaker is doing with his or her body, especially for the teacher) and hand gesture (especially learner hand-raising), all of which are part of talk-in-interaction.

Video-recordings of whole events, that is, complete lessons from the point at which the participants entered the classroom to their exit, were collected using two small wide-angled digital video-cameras. They were positioned in order to capture as much visual data as possible including use of objects such as the interactive whiteboard or other teaching and learning props. The first was placed at the back right hand corner of class on a tripod providing a face view of the teacher and the front of the classroom and a back view of the student participants. The second camera was positioned on top of a cabinet at the front left hand corner of the classroom and provided a face view of the learners. This second camera was set-up to be as unobtrusive as possible: it was smaller than the other one and as the cabinet provided the necessary height to capture the physical area taken up by the learners, a tripod (which may have drawn more attention to the camera) was not needed. It also

blended in quite naturally with the other items at the front of the class such as the overhead projector.

Figure 3 shows a graphical representation of the classroom layout with the recording equipment. The multidirectional sound quality on both cameras was of a high standard and provided good quality visuals. The front facing camera also had an additional external microphone attached for more efficient sound coverage from the back of the room. For practical purposes, having two cameras recording at the same time also meant that if it was not possible to clearly hear what was being said or seen on one camera, it was usually possible to pick up on the other.

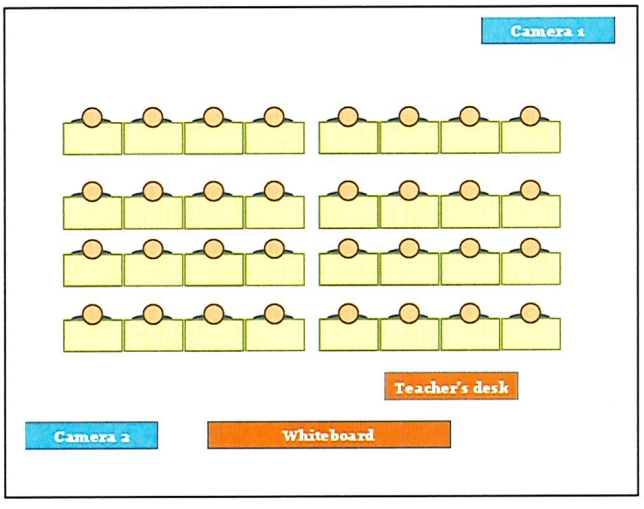



**Figure 3.** Graphical representation of the classroom layout with the recording equipment.

As there are slight unavoidable differences in the speed at which individual video-cameras record, it was important to synchronise between the two cameras in order to not get a distorted view of the sequentiality of actions, particularly for hand-raising actions. The front facing camera recordings were used as the main video- recorded data (they are also submitted with this thesis and for ethical reasons used for other data-sharing purposes) with the back facing camera, which also identifies the student participants' faces, used as a complementary source for the researcher's use.

The data collection procedures reflected a compromise between practical/ethical issues, quality (proximity) of interaction data and a wish to preserve the naturalness of the events. In terms of the latter, the naturalistic approach to data collection meant that selective

attention to certain participants or actions, by purposeful moving around with the video-camera, was inappropriate and would have been too obtrusive. At the same time, it was also felt that this would have been a disturbance to the participants' work in the lesson, something that the teacher also mentioned in fieldwork preparation consultations.

Although Markee (2000) claims that the use of a single camera (or two) "does not yield useable data" in classroom settings, where small group work takes place, he acknowledges the adequacy of the use of one or two video-cameras for "teacher announcements and other teacher-to-whole-class interactions" (p. 51). While the advantages of the separate microphone approach are recognised, it was also found that the lessons under study were broadly organised overall in terms of public work, as opposed to private desk work or pair-work activities (see also Section 4.4.2). While there were some cases of non-public work in the video-recordings, it was not feasible to know in advance when these would be nor did the financial resources or equipment availability (for example, lapel microphones for some or each of the participants) of the researcher allow for this. It is acknowledged that some of the interaction based around desk-work activities were inevitably lost using this method and that this also has consequences for the nature of the claims being made about L2 motivation in this thesis. Chapter 8 addresses this concern as an area for future research.

Given the longitudinal nature of the research, it was possible for the researcher, without running the risk of losing too much of the 'un-manipulated' data, to experiment with different approaches for recording some pair work interactions. Notably, during one pair work episode, the researcher placed the smaller camera in closer proximity to three pairs of participants consecutively to pick up audio data. This alternative data may be used for further analysis at a later date. Preliminary observations of this data raise further interesting questions about L2 motivation development relevant to the findings of this study, for example, the footage shows the participants taking turns at 'playing the teacher', initiating question and answer sequences and providing feedback.

Further steps were also taken to reduce elements of bias that the cameras might introduce, particularly in the first few recordings. A number of 'dummy' runs were carried out in the first week of the first term (September 2006) whereby the video camera was placed in the classroom with the power off in lessons leading up to the recording proper. The video camera was always in place with the record button activated before the student participants and the teacher entered the room. After a number of video-recordings had taken place, the

student participants began to demonstrate less awareness of the cameras when entering and exiting the classroom (i.e. not as many funny faces pulled at the camera) and the teacher communicated less concern when the researcher arrived to set up the equipment on the morning of each visit. This does not mean to say that the participants completely forgot about the video-cameras but it can be interpreted as showing their reduced obtrusiveness.

Another methodological issue was to minimise as much as possible any manipulation of the research setting by the researcher's physical presence. Although the researcher was present during the lessons, the role adopted was one of non-participant observer. The decision to remain in the classroom for the duration of the recordings is related to a broader issue of the researcher's wish to remain as close as possible to the lived-experience of the recorded interactions. Although subsequent treatments of the data involved working through the recordings and the transcripts, it was felt that this one-off experience of "hearing and seeing" was valuable in relation to the later stages, where the events would become "objects" for watching (on DVD's) or "reading" (transcripts) (Ashmore & Reed, 2000: par. 32-35).

The researcher sat alone on an empty row of desks at the back of classroom and was in place before the student participants entered the room. Any eye-contact or verbal communication with the participants was avoided at the opening of lessons when the participants took their seats.

### 4.4.2 Managing the Data

Managing the video-recordings represented the first stage of engaging analytically with the data. Although the CA literature offers guidelines on how to approach data analysis from the point of view of the preliminary identification of interactional phenomena (for example, through recursive watching and transcription methods) and more specifically on analytical elaboration (Seedhouse, 2004; Markee, 2000; Hutchby & Woofitt, 1998, Ten Have, 1999 offer helpful guidelines), there are no direct treatments of how to make the initial transition from a large corpus of video data to the point of being able to carry out such activities.

As the video-recordings had been collected and digitised for computer readable format in the form of 11 separate recordings, a decision was made to work through these chronologically and systematically in the first instance. A comprehensive and principled

approach was needed before starting to investigate the interactions in terms of intricate sequential and conversational practices at this beginning stage.

The approach taken was drawn from existing treatments of classroom interaction whereby broad characterisations of the overall structure of the interactions have been formulated on the basis of "floors" (Jones and Thornborrow, 2004: 399; see also Edelsky, 1981 & Schultz et al 1982). Here, a classroom floor refers to the organisation of talk as "a set of possibilities with identifiable activity-related constraints" (2004: 400). Floors, in the sense used here, share similarities with the kinds of 'participation structures' investigated in classrooms by Philips (1972) but also differ in that Jones and Thornborrow do not promote the systematic top-down classification of common floor types. Rather, they draw on aligning floors with Levinson's notion of 'activity types' (1979, 1992) which "ties" them "to the activity in hand and to the local, flexible organisation of talk within that activity" (2004: 399). There is thus a reflexive relationship between floor and activity in that a floor is also the product of the local construction of these possibilities. This notion of floor is in line with the Institutional CA approach adopted, as activity types constitute:

> [...] a fuzzy category, whose members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded events with constraints on participants, setting and so on but above all in the kind of allowable contributions. (Levinson, 1992: 69)

The initial characterisation of floors represented a broad way of managing the data into a possible overall structural organisation in terms of tentative observations about the interpretive resources used by the participants to organise their activities. The ways in which the floors were characterised compare to how interactional organisations, described in Chapter 3, are viewed. That is, a floor is can be seen as both "context-free" and "context-sensitive" (Sacks *et al*, 1974: 699). The identification of the possible floors was facilitated in part by making simple orthographic transcriptions of the data using software provided by TalkBank, part of the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES). A discussion of the use of this software and its transcription tools is found in Section 4.4.4, along with a more detailed treatment of the role and use of transcription. For the moment, it is worth briefly noting that the simple transcriptions made at this stage facilitated the initial stages of analysis, providing a preliminary "'representation' of the data" (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 74).

Figure 4 is an extract from a table forming part of the 'rough work' used to manage the initial identification of floors. A column for 'Lesson activity and description' was used to record the nature of the institutional activities and included automated-line numbers from the preliminary transcripts from the CHILDES program which corresponded to the identified data segments. A column for 'Notes on floors' provided a space for the recording of preliminary observations about the organisation of the interaction in terms of turn-taking and sequence organisation. This *subsequently* formed the basis for the column, 'Classroom floors', where some initial categorisation was performed. The terms used to describe the floors are modified descriptors used by Jones and Thornborrow (2004). As already mentioned, this process formed part of the very first stages of pulling the data apart; some of the categorisations changed as more recursive observation of the video-recordings and more detailed transcription took place.

| No | Date | Lesson/activity description | Classroom 'floors' | Notes on floors, subfloors | Observation Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 20/09/06 | 13-31 'Bonjour la classe' | Tight/Chorusing floor | Participants addressed as collective responder/listener. One-to-one [all] floor.<br>Tight floor with TEA as moderator, deviating for formulation on chorusing. | **Topic 1 : L'hexagone**<br>Kate<br>James<br>Grammar point – you can<br>James<br>Chloe contributes<br>Kate cannot answer questions here<br>T asks for others to contribute other than Chloe and James<br>Making/writing sentences out of the pictures on a worksheet drawing attention to use of text book<br>question from Ryan- 'he's never done French before and only started last year' and doesn't know how to answer/what to do here.<br>T instructs to look at book<br>Kate, doesn't establish eye contact<br>** check handraising!<br>**Shift of address=** switch to one to one individual floor but with no consequences for activity- pupil no longer representative of |
| | | 35-141 Register taking and sentence on French town | Tight/constrained floor | TEA defines activity<br>Two-part sequences, series of one-to-one sub-floors, Preallocated turns, other to attend, specific responses required.<br>Sub-floors: **55-64 Liam** [shift of floor/post-expansion/reprimand]<br>**90-94 Ryan** [shift of floor/reprimand]<br>**120-133 Ryan** [shift of floor-postexpansion/reprimand] | |
| | | 142-250 Case-study Bergerac – reading then listening exercise and feedback | Whole-class floor/tight floor | Participants addressed as collective [shift of activity]<br>Participant other selection & self-selection**<br>Shifts of address [collective-individual]<br>Active-listening [overhearing]<br>Bidding is spread over initiating turns- orientation of attending by many and tea then repeats q before selecting bidder for the turn.<br>**155 - 164– FIVE MINUTE INCIPIENT FLOOR**<br>Subfloors: **Danny 157** [reprimand]<br>**175 Correction sequence-extended [keleigh?]**<br>**214 Reprimand Cameron**<br>**230 Chris [replies and doesn't bid and is wrong]**<br>**233 correction**<br>**241 danny - attention** | |
| | | 251-321 Ball throwing depuis and quand practice | Whole-class floor/tight | Participant other selection **<br>Active-listening & watching (ball)<br>Sub-floors: **268-282 Cameron** [shift of floor –correction]<br>**283-295 Kate** [shift of floor-post-expansion/reprimand]<br>**297 explicit orientation Tea- Madeline and many** | |

**Figure 4**. Extract from table created for recording of initial identification and descriptions of institutional activities and classroom floors

The copy of the table in Figure 4, shows that there was some variation within each floor and the organisation of the activities were not so 'cut and dried' as may be implied from the categorisation process. Also, decisions about where one institutional activity (a floor) began or ended needed to be made. These decisions were subsequently based on how the participants themselves oriented to such divisions. The institutional activities were designed in such a way that the overall structure of the lesson was made available to both

the participants and the analyst through explicit orientations to the beginning and end of activities by the teacher (TEA).

This initial stage, although still only providing a 'macro' view of the data-sets, provided for more manageable data segments which then facilitated the next stage of detailed interaction analysis.

Figure 5 shows the type and number of floors identified in each lesson based on the preliminary level of analysis:

| No | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **lesson** | **20/09** | **18/10** | **08/11** | **01/12** | **13/12** | **24/01/07** | **21/02** | **16/03** | **20/04** | **08/06** | **04/07** |
| Tight/Chorusing floor | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Tight/constrained floor | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Whole-class floor/tight floor | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 6 |
| Wholeclass/ procedural floor | 1 inclusive | 1 inclusive | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 inclusive | 1 inclusive | 1 inclusive | 1 inclusvie |
| Whole-class/open floor | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Incipient floor | 1[2] | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| Single? Monologic floor | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Loose floor | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dyadic floor | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

**Figure 5**. Collated classroom floors in each lesson

Having identified a number of data segments in the lessons, allowing for the identification of the natural boundaries of the activities and some initial observations about the interactions in terms of turn-taking and sequence organisation, a further decision needed to be made about the selection of data for detailed analysis. It was not within the scope of this PhD study to submit the entire corpus to detailed analysis. In addition, given the design of the data collection, not all types of institutional activity were recorded to equal levels of quality. For example, those floors labelled Incipient floors involved desk-work where one to one interaction (student to student or student to teacher) or private speech was unavailable for detailed analysis. Detailed analysis of the data focussed therefore on one particular set of floors given the tentative label, 'Wholeclass/Tight' floors. (Other 'institutional' terminology used for such floors could be plenary work, teacher-led talk or "teacher-to-whole-class": Markee, 2000:51).

Another reason to focus more specifically on this floor was the frequency with which the activity-types occurred across the data-set as compared to others. Thus, choice of this particular category of activity-types represented a compromise between drawing on all of the data and only a smaller representative part of it in terms of activity types. Even though the less frequently occurring floors involved long sequences of interaction, these were often comprised of monologic speech on the part of one participant, TEA. In sum, it was decided that both representativeness of the institutional goal and quality of analysis would be better assured with a closer focus on this particular activity-type.

The previous section described how the management of the data involved a pulling apart, and to a certain extent, a purposeful cutting down of the data to allow for the closer analysis of specific activity types. The next section is concerned with transcription as an additional step in "making possible the analysis of recorded interaction in the way that CA requires" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998: 73).

### 4.4.3 Transcribing the Data

Transcription was treated in two ways: as an analysis procedure and as a way of representing the data for the reporting and communicating of the analysis. This approach can be contrasted with those that treat transcription as a form of core data in itself and draw on it for its "evidential utility" (Ashmore and Reed, 2000: par.3). At the heart of this distinction is how CA practitioners formulate the relationship between recorded data and the transcript. Ashmore and Reed, in their critique of CA practices, engage with differing interpretations of this relationship and show how CA proponents vary in their approaches in terms of how they characterise the roles of transcription and recorded materials (they refer to the latter as the 'tape') in the analytical process.

The commentators argue that some approaches, by treating transcription in the early stages of analysis as constituting the reproduction of the (recorded) event, treat transcripts as objects of "evidential utility" (2000: par.3). Thus it is "the need to prove those objects' adequacy, reliability and mutual fidelity" (par.40) which drives their analytical processes. This can be contrasted with an approach which focuses on explorations of the original (recorded) events.

CA practitioners such as Hutchby and Wooffit (1998) treat transcription as a process of representing but not reproducing the (recorded) event, and keep the event as the main object of study in both the early and later stages of analysis. These practitioners emphasise its "evidential utility" (2000: par.3) and superiority over the transcript, viewing the latter as a "convenient tool of reference" (1998: 74). Analytical processes are seen to involve a focus on producing "worked *up* and workable analytic objects" (par. 39, researcher's emphasis).

In this study, the emphasis is very much on the value of the (recorded) events as core data and a 'working up' production of transcriptions to represent the 'evidential utility' of the video-recordings in addressing the research aims. This emphasis can be seen in a number of methodological and analytical steps taken in the production and the accessibility given to presentations of the transcripts and the video-recordings.

The transcripts played a role as an analytical tool, initially in conjunction with the preliminary treatment of the data as beginning to represent the talk as 'text'. This facilitated the pulling apart and preparing the data for closer study in terms of specific activity types in the ways described in Section 4.4.5. This involved a reiterative and reflexive process whereby repeated viewings of the data led to the production of the transcripts to represent the data. The processes involved in the production of the transcripts also facilitated a closer watching or 'reading' of interaction.

In these early stages of analysis, which involved the production of simple orthographic transcripts, one of the main decisions concerned the "top to bottom" representation of the interactions: the transcription of the interactions in terms of utterances and more specifically decisions about how to represent one or more utterances in an individual turn or two or more utterances in turns produced by different speakers (Ochs, 1979:49). This was partly determined (and somewhat solved) though the adoption of the CHILDES/ Talkbank tools which had a specific system for utterance terminators within the transcription system (see Figure 6).

The production of the transcripts for the more detailed analytical purposes of the study necessitated specific choices about what to represent from the interactions and how to represent it. The early preparation of the data and the choices made in the later stages

involved a reduction in the kinds of interactional phenomena available in the recorded-data. This fact means, as Ten Have (2001) notes:

> one has to clarify which aspects, properties or features of the original [the event or the recording] will have to be analysed and explicated. (p.3).

The CA literature provides a wealth of transcription methodology resources and notations and systems devised by Sacks et al (1974) Jefferson (1985, 2004) Atkinson and Heritage (1984) and Goodwin (1981).These allow for the transcription of a wide range of interactional phenomena and promote the act of transcribing as much as possible.

It has already been mentioned that transcription also served as a way of representing the data for the reporting and communicating of the analysis. The resulting transcriptions accompany the descriptions of episodes in the following chapter. Although their use is different for this reporting function, their content still reflects the actions and choices taken in the analytical stages of the study. The transcriptions are the result of a subjective process showing only what the researcher wants the reader to see. The underlying motivation of this selective attention is to make the transcripts more "accessible" (Goodwin, 1981: 47) to the first-time reader and not too "difficult to follow" (Ochs, 1979:44). The inevitable omission of certain features of the interactions, at both the early analytical stages and later on when preparing the transcripts for presentation, and influence of unmotivated biases on what and what not to include on the part of the analyst is also acknowledged. The transcription processes then can be seen to "mirror the diversity of phenomena in the data" and reflect the research goals of the study (Brouwer and Wagner, 2004: 31).

Figure 6 is an example of the graphical interface from the CHILDES tool, CLAN, used to transcribe and present the analysed episodes. The transcription devices are highlighted in the circles and an accompanying description is provided, which this helps to demonstrate their relevance to the transcription processes. This extract also serves as an explanatory introduction to the transcripts to be read together with the analyses in Chapters 5 and 6.

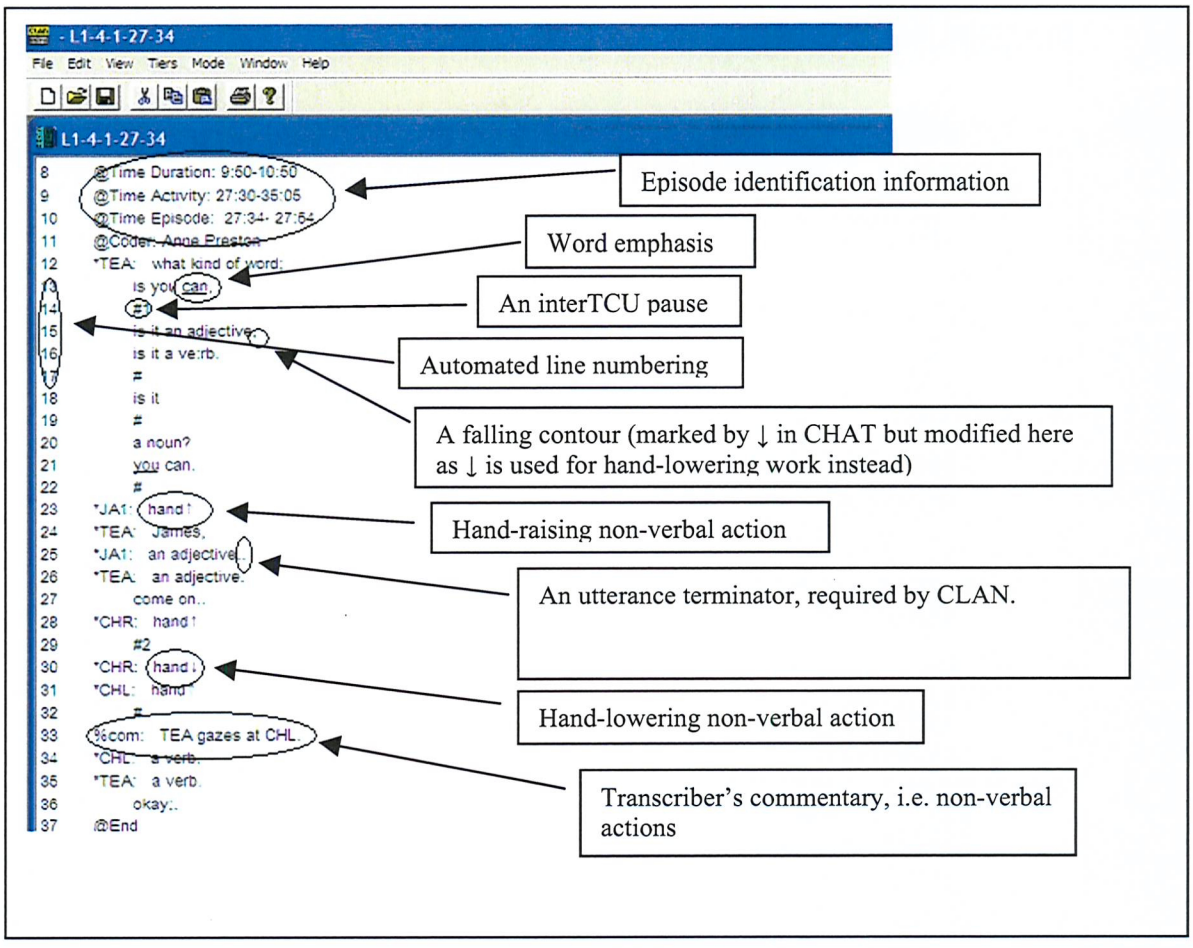



**Figure 6**. Graphical Interface from CLAN

A noticeable feature from this extract is the use of notations to represent non-verbal actions on the speaker-line. This can be compared to other CA-based transcription which attempts to represent non-verbal actions such as hand-movements and other gestures. Depending on the particular analytical focus, analysts working on non-verbal actions need to make a decision as to how to represent them. A traditional approach is to describe such actions on a separate 'commentary line', as is also done above. This minimises the analytical emphasis on such actions as they are being treated as somehow less central to the representation of the data as the spoken word. Other alternatives are to place the description of non-verbal actions on the same line as the verbal actions in brackets. In work by Schegloff (1984) for example, non-verbal actions such as hand gestures are imposed onto the transcript and intricate attention is paid to the occurrence of verbal and non-verbal actions drawing attention to their mutual dependence.

In the transcription work in this study, the non-verbal activity of hand-raising and lowering work became a central focus of the analysis. It is therefore reflected in the transcripts in the placement of hand-raising on a separate line and the creation of a notation scheme to represent it (hand↓ for hand-lowering actions, and hand↑ for hand-raising actions). The decision to represent it in this way also reflects how hand-raising was treated by the participants as a relevant action in turn-taking and sequence organisation and procedurally consequential to the interactions and their institutional goals. This methodological and analytical choice is supported by Schegloff's (1984) comments on hand gestures:

> Hand-gesture is largely, if not entirely, a speaker's phenomenon. With a few exceptions [...]: (1) current non-speakers who initiate a hand-gesture may show themselves thereby to be intending and incipient, speakers and the gestures may thus be used as a way of making a move for a turn at talk next [...]. (2) Gestures may be used "in lieu of" talk as when others are talking and a current non- speaker tries to communicate without interrupting. In such cases, it appears that the gesturing "non-speaker" is a sort of covert speaker nonetheless. (Schogloff's emphasis) (p.271)

Here Schegloff supports the possibility that hand-raising and lowering work may be treated as constituting a relevant action in its own right rather than being understood in relation to the talk with which it co-occurs.

### 4.4.4 Using the CHILDES/Talkbank Tools

This study used tools provided by the TalkBank project (http://talkbank.org) which has emerged out a larger system of resources for spoken data, CHILDES. The purpose of the TalkBank project is to "support data-sharing and direct, community-wide access to naturalistic recordings and transcripts of human and animal communication" (MacWhinney *et al*, 2004). The current study drew on a number of well developed resources from the TalkBank /CHILDES projects, beginning with the transcription system. TalkBank incorporates a system for transcription: Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts CA (CHATCA, henceforth), which provides support for transcription in CA and a comprehensive standardised but flexible format for producing computerised transcripts of spontaneous CA-based interactional data.

The CHATCA 'coding' system is based on transcript notations developed from previous CA studies, used by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), and Atkinson and Heritage (1984). There are a number of helpful resources contained in CHATCA which are unique to the TalkBank program such as markers to show where specific episodes begin and end (@Bg, @Eg). These markers were used to represent and identify the location of episodes in terms of the simple transcriptions of *whole lessons* and a font (FixedSys Excelsior 2) for the alignment of overlapping turns of talk.

The CHATCA system greatly enhanced the transcription process. Firstly, it eased the overall process of doing the transcription especially in terms of representation of detailed features of the interaction. It also helped in working towards clarity and systematicity in that the coding was used in a consistent way across the transcripts. Adopting the CHATCA system in the current study does mean that the transcriptions differ substantially from original CA notation systems. The system has and is being continually developing in conjunction with the support of established and experienced conversation analysts, particularly Johannes Wagner (MacWhinney *et al*, 2001). The CHATCA transcription notations used in this study, together with their original CA counterparts, can be found in Appendix Two.

The inclusion of closely analysed segments of transcription in research reports is the norm in CA-based research. The current study is to make use of TalkBank's facility for attaching digitised video-data to CHATCA transcription files at a later date and contact has been made to contribute the data used in this thesis to the Talkbank database. This is possible in the CLAN (Computerised Language Analysis) editor, through 'Video mode'. The implications of this for the presentation of the data is that transcript data can be read at the same time as the video is viewed through QuickTime on a small browser in the CLAN editor graphical interface. Providing direct links to the original data can strengthen the validity of the analytical claims represented through the transcribed classroom interactional episodes and lessen the limitations of the selectivity of transcription choices.

The practice of submitting both digitised and transcription data has already been used to good effect in journal publications with a special interest in collaborative commentary, and notably with a focus on classroom interaction. A special issue of *Discourse Processes* in

1999 brought together a series of papers on classroom interaction and problem-based learning all of which were based on the same 5-minute episode of talk which was attached on a CD ROM to the back page of the issue. The CD ROM also included a CA-based transcript. While this work was seen to be "ground-breaking" in terms of its presentation of interactional data, the transcript was not directly linked to the video (MacWhinney, 2001: 22). A later special issue of the *Journal for the Learning Sciences* in 2002 did use a video segment which was directly linked to a CLAN transcript.

While the integration of the technological tools offered by TalkBank with studies of classroom interaction shows great promise especially for researchers working more specifically in the CA tradition as in the current study, it does give rise to some ethical issues. The methodological purpose of allowing interactional data to be more openly and repeatedly viewed, scrutinized and made easily accessible (all of which are central to CA's philosophy and practices) involves extending the scope of consent sought from research participants and is particularly challenging when working with children. However the TalkBank project has developed a special set of methods for dealing with this which provides an outline for different levels of confidentiality which can be incorporated into research designs.

A final tool contained in the TalkBank project is the database itself which provides access to transcribed and recorded data from projects relating to CA and beyond. One of the central concepts of the TalkBank project as a whole is that it provides a system for the sharing of data. Researchers drawing on the TalkBank/CHILDES system and tools are expected to contribute corpora, Accordingly this research took into additional consideration TalkBank's specific code of ethics and guidelines for informed consent. As this research primarily involved children, letter templates provided by the project were modified to make them more understandable from a child's perspective.

### 4.4.5 Analysing and Elaborating on the Interaction Data

So far, this chapter has shown how the adoption of CA influenced the data collection and transcription procedures in the preliminary management of the interaction data. The aim of this sub-section is to outline the procedures for the detailed analysis and elaboration of

the data from a CA perspective.

The researcher drew on guidelines provided by Ten Have (1999) in his publication, *Doing Conversation Analysis* and by Heritage (2004a; 2004b). Ten Have offers a particularly 'hands-on' approach to dealing with interaction data and frames his outline of CA's analytical practices in theoretical and methodological descriptions of CA provided by Sacks in his original lectures (for example, Sacks 1992)

Heritage's work offers a more specific approach to CA data analysis from the point of view of analysing and elaborating on institutional interaction, which as mentioned in the Chapter 3, encompasses specialised ways of dealing with interaction from the point of view of the unique 'fingerprint' of institutional talk.

Subsequent steps taken in the analysis procedures concerned the identification and preliminary identification of episodes.

Step 1: selection of episodes in the preliminary analysis

For this stage of data exploration, the researcher adopted the general strategy offered by ten Have which involved working through the data in terms of interactional organisations, the normative points of reference developed in early CA work. This process is more specifically formulated by Ten Have:

> [...] check the episode carefully in terms of *turn-taking* [...] make notes of any remarkable phenomena, especially on any disturbances in the fluent working of the turn-taking system
>
> [...] then look for *sequences* in the episode under review, especially adjacency pairs and their sequels"
>
> [...] and finally, note any phenomena of *repair*, such as repair initiation, actual repairs, etc. (his emphasis) (1999: 104)

At this point, more specific observations were collated about what might be happening in the interaction: the interactional practices being used by the participants and the specific social actions being accomplished through their use. It is important to note that this stage of analysis overlapped with the initial identifications of classroom 'floors', in that broad turn-taking and sequence organisational characterisations had already been identified.

This process described was facilitated by importing the simple orthographic transcripts into the qualitative analysis software, Atlas.ti, which enabled the researcher to note down observations from the recordings alongside the transcripts. Atlas.ti served as a place to *record* observations for building up an easily accessible permanent record of the single-episodes for further analytical work. Initial observations about wholeclass/tight floors were the following:

- Restrictions on speaker turns
- Hand-raising throughout for self-selection
- Short turns
- Two part sequences
- One (TEA) to many (Students) speakership
- Active listenership
- Specific responses required
- Participants addressed as collective
- TEA is moderator of the talk and oversees who speaks when and what about
- Student participants speak to and through TEA
- Other student participants are over hearers

Figure 7, on the following page, is a sample of how the identification of episodes (labelled in the second column as 'sequences' but later changed to 'episodes' ) in wholeclass/tight floors was collated. Their placement in the interactions (the lessons) is recorded as well as their duration. The last column records characterisations of the actional contexts in relation to turn-taking, sequence organisation and repair.

| Lesson | Sequence | Footage [fronmt] | Duration | # of turns | Dominant interactional context |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | WC1 /1 | 15:16 - 15:25 | 0:08:00 | 5 | Bidding+gaze+oui |
| | WC1/2 | 15:57 - 16:10 | 0:13:00 | 5 | Bidding +nominate |
| | WC1/3 | 19:02 - 19:16 | 0:18:00 | 5 | Bidding+gaze |
| | WC1/4 | 19:57 - 20:29 | 0:22:00 | 20 | Combined above |
| | WC1/5 | 21:25 - 21:44 | 0:19:00 | 13 | Collective Repair |
| | WC2/1 | 22:42 - 22:51 | 0:09:00 | 5 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC2/2 | 24:16 - 26:00 | 1:44:00 | 13 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC2/3 | 27:57 - 28:11 | 0:14:00 | 11 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC2/4 | 24:22 - 25:15 | 0:53:00 | 22 | Collective Repair |
| | WC2/5 | 23:26 - 24:21 | 0:51:00 | 20 | Individual nomination |
| | WC4/1 | 29:11 - 29:29 | 0:18:00 | 11 | Collective Repair |
| | WC4/2 | 33:28 - 34:22 | 0:54:00 | 11 | Collective Repair |
| | WC4/3 | 34:54 - 35:18 | 0:24:00 | 8 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC4/4 | 35:34 - 35:59 | 0:25:00 | 8 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC5/1 | 37:25 - 38:05 | 0:50:00 | 20 | Collective Repair |
| | WC5/2 | 38:47 - 39:01 | 0:14:00 | 12 | Collective Repair |
| | WC5/3 | 39:02 - 39:22 | 0:20:00 | 10 | Collective Repair |
| | WC5/4 | 38:06 - 38:24 | 0:18:00 | 14 | Collective Repair |
| | WC5/5 | 41:16 - 41:47 | 0:31:00 | 14 | Collective Repair |
| | WC5/6 | 42:16 - 42:43 | 0:27:00 | 7 | Procedural |
| | WC6/1 | 43:51 - 44:06 | 0:15:00 | 7 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC6/2 | 44:07 - 44:35 | 0:28:00 | 15 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC7/1 | 49:41 - 50:07 | 0:27:00 | 7 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC7/2 | 51:29 - 51:58 | 0:29:00 | 9 | Collective Repair |
| | WC7/3 | 52:39 - 53:51 | 1:12:00 | 30 | Collective Repair & Explicit |
| | WC7/4 | 53:52 – 54:15 | 0:23:00 | 7 | Explicit orientation to bidding |
| | WC7/5 | 54:16 - 55:08 | 0:52:00 | 15 | Collective Repair |
| | | Total duration | 8:18:00 | | |

**Figure 7**. Identification of episodes with preliminary observations of action contexts

Step 2: elaboration and building up the corpus

After the initial flexible period of data exploration, Ten Have suggests that "subsequent phases of analytical work" need a more "systematic data selection procedure" ( p.132). The study drew on two approaches to engaging more systematically with explicating and managing the growing collection of interactional epsiodes. The first approach was informed by analytical strategies from Heritage (2004a; 2004b) in dealing with institutional talk. After examining the data in terms of the context-sensitive ways in which the participants used various interactional organisations, the researcher began to review the preliminary observations in terms of "probing the institutionality" of the episodes (2004a: 225). This involved exploring any possible specialised ways in which turn-taking, sequence organisation or repair phenomena were being used by the participants, which revealed specific orientations to institutional goals, tasks and identities.

The second approach encompassed the first in the sense that it involved a broader process of data elaboration, both for single cases and as a method for selecting further episodes for "analytic generalisation" (Ten Have, 1999: 136). This term is used specifically in CA to refer to the generation of the formulations or rules of the orderliness and machinery of talk-in-interaction, which is at the core of CA's analytic project (1999).

The study adopted the general qualitative analytical approach of "theoretical sampling" introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967), which is referred to in Ten Have's work as a common method of data elaboration in CA. The central link between this approach and CA's general analytical aims is that both are based on the continual and consistent comparisons between interactional phenomena. The 'theoretical sampling' method is best explicated by Glaser and Strauss:

> Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. (1967: 45)

The overall purpose in applying this analytical method was to focus on social actions and their interactional practices which evidenced potential for analytic generalisations identified in the preliminary observation period .

As a result of this sampling method, not all the episodes identified in Step 1 were incorporated into the 'case'-based building up of the corpus. Instead, the analysis process involved a streamlining of institutionally-relevant actions and their interactional practices. The episodes analysed and presented in the following chapters thus provide a selective view of data. In line with this, it is not possible to claim that the analysis work was based on a comprehensive treatment of all of the institutionally-relevant interactional practices in this classroom during the academic year. However, what this process did produce is an account of the orderly practices made relevant by the participants in relation to a special turn-taking system and the repair organisation it furnished in the selected floors or activity types. As Psathas (1995) stated:

> Issues of how frequently, how widely, or how often particular phenomena occur are to be set aside in the interest of discovering, describing, and analyzing the structures, the machinery, the organised practices, the formal procedures, the ways in which order is produced. (p.3)

The following section outlines issues of reliability, validity and generalisation relevant to this study. The concluding part of this chapter, Section 4.6, provides a background to the analysis and the structured presentation of the findings in the following chapters.

### 4.5 Reliability, Validity and Generalisation in CA

All research needs to acknowledge issues of reliability, validity and generalisation; however, the adoption of a case study design and a CA methodological orientation leads to specific areas of concern about how these issues are dealt with in the research design. As Hitchcock and Hughes argue, there are attempts in qualitative research approaches to "re-define them in line with qualitative aims of inquiry" (1995: 318). Guba and Lincoln (1989) formulated alternative criteria relating to validity and internal and external reliability in terms of dependability, credibility and transferability respectively. These are particularly helpful to the discussion of how both CA and case study approaches treat these issues.

In relation to CA, the central emphasis on naturalistic data and representation means that there is less space for interpretation on the part of the researcher, although as Peräkylä claims, "the method itself does not guarantee reliability" (2004:289). Solutions to 'dependability' issues are however partly offered though this, and in addition, access to recorded data (in this case, recordings of the interactions are included and can be viewed alongside their transcriptions).

CA practitioners treat 'credibility' issues in terms of "validity of claims" and this is specifically relevant to analyses of institutional interaction (2004: 294). The issue here revolves around the question: "what grounds does the researcher have for claiming that the talk he or she is focusing on is in any way 'connected to' some institutional framework?" (p.294). Again, this demonstrates how more general research issues such as internal validity are intrinsic to the very practices of CA itself. The previous chapter described how Schegloff's notions of "relevance" (p.107) and "procedural consequentiality" (p.110) were introduced as problems to be faced in the empirical investigation of social structures such

as the classroom (1992a). Showing how these criteria are at work is central to Institutional CA's credibility.

A further issue of concern, which has been treated rather uniquely in CA, is generalisability. A claim is made in CA commentaries that "case studies on institutional interaction have a very restricted generalizability" (Peräkylä, 2004: 297). At the origin of such a claim is the question of the extent to which one can transfer the kinds of interactional practices uncovered in one specific institutional setting to another. In response, Peräkylä proposes an approach to the transferability issue by focusing on the notion of "possibilities of language use" (p.297). He argues that while it is not possible to argue for the generalization of local institutional interactional practices, one could argue for their generalisability in terms of descriptions of what any institutional representative "can do" and represent practices "made possible by any competent member (at least any Western) society" (p.297).

It is acknowledged that there were certain risks in settling on one school, one class and one teacher in terms of choice of case. For the research aims however, the scale of the study was less important, as the focus was on individual experiences of learners within their classroom community. This study involves a trade off between being able to produce universal explanations and generalisations and to focus on the variations between participants, the local socio-historical context and the heterogeneity rather than the homogeneity of groups such as a class of language learners. This does not mean to say that a comparative dimension was not initially sought; however attempts to access other institutions in addition to the one in this study were unsuccessful. This emphasises the fact that gaining access to a busy mainstream secondary school language department is particularly challenging for an 'outsider'and that schools which do operate more of an open-door policy are unusual.

### 4.5.1 Reliability, Validity and Generalisation in Case-Study Approaches

Returning to Ten Have's comments, it is important not to dismiss the treatment of reliability, validity and generalisation issues in the case study literature, which may influence CA work if 'other examples are required'. Case-study research strategies in these areas have been developed to address dependability, credibility and transferability. Dependability is somewhat subsumed by credibility in the sense that "a demonstration of internal validity" is seen to "amount to a simultaneous demonstration of reliability" in

case-study work (Guba and Lincoln, 1981: 120). In this study, steps taken to increase credibility included: the collection of non-interaction data for data triangulation at a later date (see Table 1 below), data analysis sessions involving colleagues in working applied linguistics, and a conscious focus on ethical considerations and relationships with the participants, including the role of the researcher. The last two steps are now briefly discussed.

*Ethical considerations*: Having potential entry into the field, did not automatically lead to access and more importantly, to the language learners. It was thought that how the researcher went about communicating the research with participants would not only influence the sorts of evidence to be acquired but also working relationships. In order to limit constraints, the researcher's first point of call was the language teacher, who appeared a more neutral entry point than the head teacher.

With the teacher's consent granted, the learners were then informed about the study and encouraged to participate on a voluntary basis. Formal clearance was sought through CRB application procedures and consent letters were given to students to be signed by their parents. The researcher addressed the whole class prior to data collection and issues such as anonymity and confidentiality were discussed. There was also a continual reviewing of ethical issues with the participants concerning the extent to which they understood the nature of their participation and checks on levels of comfort for continuing. The researcher drew on ethical considerations and procedures of 'good practice' of the British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL) and attempted where possible to follow other relevant codes of conduct (see Section 4.4.4). An important part of the researcher's role during the fieldwork period was to create and sustain a good working relationship with the school and the participants on a visit to visit basis.

*Role of the Researcher*: The researcher attempted where possible to incorporate advice offered in Cooper & McIntyre's (1996) discussion of humanistic measures in classroom-based research. This involved adopting specific behaviours in interactions with the participants such as showing empathy (this was exercised more specifically in an 'interview' dimension of the fieldwork), and displaying a sense of interest in the participants using eye-contact and body language. The researcher used opportunities to interact with participants in an informal way, for example, saying hello in the corridors and asking about the personal well-being of the students and the teacher. Attentions to these

actions were deemed particularly important given the long-term commitment from the participants that the study involved.

A major issue to address prior to interacting with the participants was the researcher's own role. The researcher decided to make a role for herself as a learner interested in the learning of French (also as opposed to the 'teaching' of it). Part of this decision was based on a wish to establish distance between the researcher and authority figures such as teachers within the school from the point of view of the students. At the end of the data collection period, the researcher made a DVD of 'best-bits' (a notion taken from the TV programme, 'Big Brother') based on requests from the student participants. Interestingly, when the researcher offered to give copies of this DVD to the students (in the spirit of participatory research), the teacher did not agree out of fear that the students may misuse them (i.e. upload them to You Tube or other internet-based WebPages, for example, 'rate my teacher.com').

Transferability issues are treated as a major issue in case study research and the same tensions exist between the "unique" and the "universal" as in CA-based discussions (Simons, 1996: 238). Case-study approaches, however, have again formulated specific lines of thought placing generalisation on a continuum. Two different but complementary approaches are relevant here. The first focuses on the notion that cumulative insights into the naturalistic practices of professionals such as teachers (and learners), concentrating on the production of "vicarious" properties and the "primacy of the particular", are of great value. (This is based on a conceptualisation by Donmoyer, 1990 in Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995: 326.)

The second, which is particularly relevant to the design of this case-study, concerns the notion that generalisation is possible if the researcher takes the issue on board at the design stages. Three targets identified by Schofield (1990) in this regard are studying "what is the case" (typicality), "what may be" (engaging with current trends and issues) and "what could be" (examining the exceptional) (p.226). The first is adopted in the current study in the sense that it aims to uncover the normative practices (using CA) of interaction in typical language learning experiences of the group of learners. The second is addressed in the choice of case bounded by a focus on a Year 9 class of MFL learners at Key Stage 3, described earlier as a particularly relevant area due to reported motivational issues in MFL with this year group. The final target is adopted by having access to an institutional where an open door policy is the norm for the school but an exception for others.

As a way of resuming this section, it is helpful to draw on Simons (1996), who claimed that:

> [...] the tension between the study of the unique and the need to generalise is necessary to reveal both the unique and the universal and the unity of that understanding. (p.238)

This quotation neatly incorporates the ways in which generalisation is treated in this *CA-based* case-study of motivation in the MFL classroom, which could be understood as an overall process of making the so-called familiar (universal) strange (unique) and back again.

### 4.6 Towards the Findings: Initial Observations

This section exemplifies and describes turn-taking organisation made relevant through following the steps outlined in Section 4.4. It is deemed important to include this here as it demonstrates how the move from this more 'basic' task led to the possibility of being able to argue empirically for the existence of specific organised practices.

Moving from initial observations of the data to the identification of episodes to the identification of some institutionally relevant forms of turn-taking led to the finding that specific re-specifications or constraints were operating at the level of next-turn speaker selection in comparison to those observed and reported in ordinary conversation.

This concerned the interactional turn-taking mechanism where a speaker may self-select as a next turn speaker if the current speaker does not select a next speaker (rule 1b, established by Sacks et al, 1974). In the research setting, next-turn speaker selection was observed to occur on the basis of a willingness to identify oneself as a potential next turn speaker prior to the actual turn-take. In addition, the selection of said speaker was locally managed, in each case, by one party- the 'teacher', referred to as TEA in the transcripts. At this point it is necessary to observe Episode 1* taken from the classroom data.

*A transcription of this episode and all others may be accessed using the CLAN program in the correspondingly labelled file on the CR-ROM attached to the back of this thesis. Details of how to open and play these files and use CLAN can be found in Appendix Three.

**Episode 1** (L1-1-1-13-14)
**Unit**: Unit 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: J'habite à Bergerac, reading comprehension feedback from exercise book

Episode 1 shows how, on the production of a First Pair Part (FPP, henceforth), two participants, JA1 and JD1, orient to the position of a potential next turn speaker. This orientation is displayed through a non-verbal gesture of hand-raising, lifting both the arm and the hand from a 'down' position so that one's arm and hand are extended vertically as Figure 8 demonstrates:

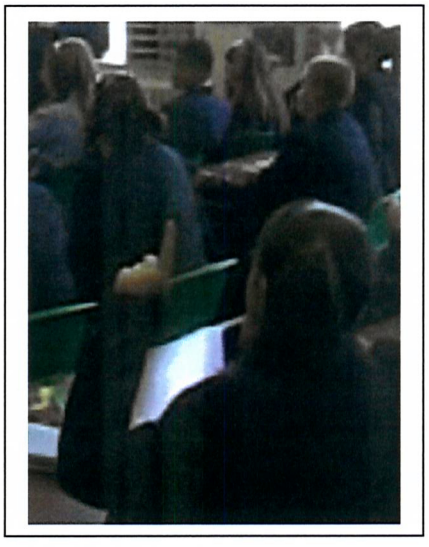


**Figure 8**. Example of hand-raising gesture

During this orientation, the producer of the FPP, TEA maintains her gaze towards the collective of participants co-present, then fixes her gaze on JD1 to display TEA's acknowledgment of JD1 as a potential next-turn speaker. TEA then responds with "oui" (yes) which has the function of *allocating* the relevant Second Pair Part turn (SPP, henceforth) to JD1. JD1 displays an orientation to her confirmed position as next-turn speaker by lowering her raised hand and providing a relevant answer to TEA's question (the relevancy is displayed at the end of the episode in TEA'S evaluating turn). For the duration of this sequence, since the initiation of a SPP, JA1's hand remains raised. It is only on the production of the SPP, that JA1 performs hand-lowering work.

Although the analytical focus of this episode is on TEA's role to identify a potential next-turn speaker and the ways in which those co-present display their orientation to be a potential next-turn speaker, an important feature here is the initiation of the FPP as

specifically designed to address any *one* of the participants present. As Sacks et al notes, "just because a question is asked does not itself select who to take the next turn" (1974: 717).

This example can be compared to a institutionally-recognised turn-type: elicitation questions (Mehan, 1979, 43-46) whose design is also discussed by Lerner (1995) as central to the specific action a turn accomplishes as well as the different "opportunities for participation" that issue from it (p.115). This example shows how elicitation questions provide the context for different constraints on participants to do different forms of interactional work before a turn can be allocated. TEA for her part, must actively observe who is orienting to the position of next-turn speaker and then select that person; the student participants (made up of individual participants and named individually in the transcript) are obliged to a) identify the FPP as doing the kinds of elicitation work as described above and b) make themselves available, in this case through the gesture of hand-raising, as next-turn speakers.

In the next episode, further work on the part of TEA and some of the student participants can be observed; displaying the monitoring work required in turn allocation in this classroom setting:

**Episode 2 (L1-1-3-18-22)**
**Unit**: Unit 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: J'habite à Bergerac, reading comprehension feedback from exercise book

This lengthy episode involves multiple elicitations of activity-related language items concerned with places to visit in a French town, Bergerac. There are a number of turn-allocation features made available as the analytical focus. The first concerns the reformulation or "recycling" of earlier utterances and the addition of very short pauses within them in the design of TEA's FPP (Goodwin, 1981: 131). After the production of a first Turn Constructional Unit (TCU) in line 13, there is a slight pause in TEA's turn, before she re-specifies the kind of information she is eliciting in her question. During this time, three student participants, CHR, CHL and JD1, display an orientation to this turn as potential next-turn speakers. After the reformulation of the FPP in line 18, a further three participants display a similar orientation to TEA's second FPP. In line 22, AL2 is selected as the next turn speaker.

Based on a sequential examination of the episode so far, TEA does not immediately select those student participants raising their hands after the first FPP. Nor does she immediately select those first to self-identify after the second FPP. TEA delays the initial completion of the TCU over a number of turns. She selects and also re-specifies a turn-taking norm relating to Sacks et al's rule 1c (1974) that if a current speaker does not select a next speaker, and if no other speaker self-selects (in the sense of taking a turn of talk at a relevant 'turn-transition relevant place') then the current speaker may continue. Part of what allows TEA to continue at her turn of talk without the verbalised self-selection of a student at a TRP is related to asymmetry present in such institutional talk. This asymmetry is reflexively linked to distribution of knowledge and rights to knowledge, discussed later on (Heritage, 2004a).

The extended FPP provides the recipients with a number of Turn-transition Relevant Places (TRP, henceforth) in which they display their orientations to the position of potential next-turn speaker. This demonstrates how the interaction leading up to the allocation of a turn is mutually constructed and negotiated by both parties: TEA and the student participants. The participants influence the length of the eliciting question action turn through their orientations and at the same time TEA provides the context or interactional space in which the number of potential next-turn speakers is maximised.

In his discussion of how speakers modify and co-ordinate their talk with "recipients", Goodwin demonstrates how interactional practices, such as those described in the relation to the opening of Episode 2, can be consequential for different types of turn construction (1981: 127). In this case, the specific institutional relevance of elicitation questions in this French classroom maximises involvement in the on-going task.

This episode shows the potential for *multiple* next-turn speakers on the production of a relevant FPP. It demonstrates how the orientation to self-identify as a next-turn speaker is voluntary in nature but also the number of participants can be interactionally negotiated. Together, both episodes illustrate that although there are constraints on turn allocation, this does not operate on who can orient to be the next-turn speaker.

In the opening of Episode 2 participants orient to the position of next-turn speaker at any moment during the production of a TCU (lines 14, 15, 21) and in relation to the hand-

raising activity of any other student (lines 19, 20). More specifically, this means that the extension of the FPP provides the context for maximising self-identification and that there is a potential range of TRP's before the actual allocation of a turn. So as well as monitoring what a FPP action is doing and orienting accordingly, the distribution of potential TRP's and recipient orientations are institutionally recognisable demonstrations of active listenership on the part of the student participants. In the turn-taking organisation of ordinary conversation, in order to secure a turn at talk, a potential speaker is obliged to listen actively in order to identify a relevant TRP. However, Episode 2 shows a specific practice whereby participants' original orientation to a FPP can extend beyond the interaction space between the question, turn allocation, answer and evaluating turns.

Hand-raising is maintained beyond the first TRP's i.e. beyond line 17, and again beyond the completion of the next-turn allocation and provision of the first answer-item (line 24). Participants still orient to the position of next-turn speaker even though they might not get a turn at talk, or when their first attempts were not successful. Hands remain raised and are lowered at different points throughout the episode.

The maintenance of hand-raising could be linked to securing a turn, rather than to some underlying institutional significance of hand-raising as active listenership. As there are three places to visit, so the participants who orient display that they are able to provide all three answers. Thus, they maintain their recognition as potential next turn speakers in order to secure a turn where they can provide one of the three possible places. This in itself is a significant achievement especially in a large group of 23 potential speakers and hand-raisers. One has to actively listen to the places offered so far and other events (like the occurrence of trouble) that occur along the way such as in lines 33 to 36. Indeed, HAY's turn was secured not on the basis of the re-initiation of the FPP but a simple orientation by TEA to select a next-turn speaker out of those remaining after the first place to visit had been provided. Thus, turns don't necessarily have to be re-initiated in order for a next turn speaker to be selected- it is sufficient that the potential next-turn speakers make themselves available. Active listenership is central to this type of turn allocation practice. The role of hand-raising and its relationship to turn-taking in this classroom plays an integral part of the listening element in Sack et al's familiar citation: "translates a willingness or potential desire to speak into a corollary obligation to listen" (1974: 728).

Hand-raising as a student-specific action does more than the simple act of displaying oneself as a potential next-turn speaker to one's co-participants. It is part of a broader interactional competence mastered by participants which is 'controlled' as much by the recipients as it is by initiator of FPP's as a turn-allocation procedure.

**A summary of initial observations of the special turn-taking system**

The two episodes described in detail above were drawn upon to exemplify turn-taking practices found to be present in this French classroom. As a summary, they have made relevant the following observations:

1) there are re-specifications of the organisations of turn-allocation procedures specifically related to one turn-type: the elicitation question;
2) participants can occupy different interactional positions in relation to these turns. TEA actively observes who is self selecting, while other participants are involved with the identification of a relevant FPP and must chose to make themselves available (to self-select) as the potential next turn speaker;
3) FPP's can be re-formulated and extended through mutual negotiation and this provides a number of possible TRP's ;
4) here, there is a bias towards maximising the involvement in the number of potential next-turn speakers;
5) there does not appear to be a limit on the number of potential next-turn speakers who self-select;
6) there exists a range of TRPs which display the active listenership and monitoring of those involved;
7) the analyses suggest that the social/institutional function of hand-raising goes beyond the simple act of self-identification as potential next turn speaker.

**A special turn-taking system and its institutional relevance**

Sub-section 4.6 began by characterising the practice of next-speaker selection in terms of a participant's willingness to identify oneself and the relevance of this action for the subsequent possibility turn allocation (so that the actual turn could be taken). The notion of 'willingness' and the indication of some kind of 'conditional force' behind this characterisation are not incidental. Indeed, they reflect the relationship between the

underlying institutional and goal oriented origin of the interactional practices, something which has not been treated in any specific detail so far.

At a first level, the different elements of the special turn-taking system can be viewed as a way in which this classroom is organised more specifically as a *large group* of potential speakers. That is, as in each possible elicitation question sequence there are up to 23 potential speakers at any one time, there is a bias towards a system which both allows each participant to be a potential next-turn speaker but which at the same time restricts who ends up actually being one. This restriction comes into place once the turn has been allocated.

However, attributing this special turn-taking system to the number of potential speakers alone does not fully account for its organisation. At a second level, if we return to the notion of the elicitation question, it is possible to argue for more specific institutionally-relevant explanations. The elicitation question action sequences involved specific kind of question: referred to as known-answer questions (or in the case of second language learning interaction they are also known as 'display questions', Long & Sato, 1983). 'Known-answer' questions are ones in which the questioner 'knows' the answer (that is, they already possess what can be viewed as the 'right' answer to the question) and where the production of this particular turn-type makes relevant a next turn whereby its addressee is required to display that they too 'know' the right answer. The existence of a third evaluating turn, as shown in lines 20 and 21 of Episode 1 and lines 27, 28, 43 and 49 of Episode 2, confirms the known element of this turn-type.

The notion of a right answer is also based on the larger institutional activity being performed. For example, in Episode 2, the participants are engaged in a larger goal of identifying three places to visit in Bergerac based on a written text in the exercise book. The goal of this particular episode pertains to displays of knowledge about is written in the text in relation to the information initiated by TEA in the form of known-answer elicitation questions.

If we return to the institutional actions that these interactional practices embody, it is possible to extend the initial understandings of the turn-taking organisation. For example, after the production of FPP (the known-answer question), the participants' orientation potential next-turn speaker positions can be understood as an orientation to potential

knowledge displays. As a relevant next action, the participants display a specific orientation to the knowledge demonstration required and also that they are *willing* to share this with TEA and the other co-participants. This explanation of the turn-taking organisation in institutional goal oriented terms demonstrates how the special practices of turn-taking and allocation, particularly in relation to hand-raising are institutionally re-specified in terms of orientations to 'displays of knowledge' and of a 'willingness to share knowledge'.

The organisation of turn-taking in relation to the particular turn-type, known answer questions demonstrates a further institutionally-relevant issue pertaining to the special turn-taking system revealed in this classroom. This issue relates to the notion that known answer questions as instantiations of turn-type pre-allocation whereby one party (in this case, the student participants) holds the responsibility of answering a question and another party (in this case, the 'teacher' or TEA in the transcripts) holds the responsibility of asking it (Atkinson & Drew, 1979). The notion of 'parties' or the 'student participants' as co-members of the same "association" and the teacher as the other is made relevant in the use of hand-raising in the ways identified in sub-section 4.6 (Lerner, 1993: 218).

Known answer questions as forms of turn-type pre-allocation make relevant how there are particular asymmetries in the language classroom in terms of knowledge and "rights of access to knowledge" (Heritage, 2004a: 238). The pre-allocation of turn-type roles is not just tied to some 'given' in TEA's role as "institutional representative" and the student participants roles as clients or "lay" participants but to the distribution of knowledge within their interactions and how they are allowed or expected to display this in relation to the institutional goals. 'Known answer question' sequences can be viewed as part of an overall strategy used in the execution of the lesson plan (pre-formulated by TEA before the actual lesson and in relation to the wider institutional constraints of the National Curriculum and the textbook for example), which are initiated by TEA and oriented by the student participants to manage their interactions as a recognisably doing 'French learning' or being in a 'French lesson'.

Section 4.6.2 described the institutional relevance of a special turn-taking system, one where next-turn speaker selection was observed to occur on the basis of a willingness to identify oneself as a potential next turn speaker before the actual turn could be taken or allocated. The relevance of the system was shown to manifest itself in a particular type of

turn pre-allocation where the focus was on the initiation and development of 'known answer elicitation question' sequences. Although these sequences are characterised in such terms, the following chapter demonstrates that they are not merely used and managed to elicit information but are complex and perform a range of actions which have implications for what are termed in this thesis, displays of participation.

Having demonstrated the existence of the system and hypothesised about its importance in terms of its institutional relevance, the following chapter turns to an explicit focus showing how the special turn-taking system can be considered more specifically as displays of participation. The next chapters offer a way of observing and understanding how L2 motivation can develop in the moment to moment dynamics of classroom learning in real time thus working towards answers to the question: **How does L2 motivation develop in moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning?**

# CHAPTER 5

## Analysis I: The Organisation of Turn-Taking in Plenary Language Learning Activities

### 5.1 Introduction

This study set out to examine the development of L2 motivation in relation to the moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning. A central issue made relevant throughout this thesis is the challenge of attempting to identify or construct an appropriate definition of L2 motivation when one aims to locate it within the in-situ processes of classroom learning.

The current chapter engages with this research aim and the challenges surrounding a definition of L2 classroom motivation through the presentation of a collection of detailed interactional analyses of episodes of plenary classroom interaction. The analysis of these episodes show the specific but normative ways in which one classroom of French learners and their teacher can be observed as 'doing L2 motivation' in the implementation of everyday learning and teaching practices. It is through the empirical investigation of such practices, that an *interaction*-relevant definition of L2 motivation and a characterisation of its development are formulated.

This is the first of two analysis chapters which focus on two types of interactional organisation: turn-taking and repair organisation. The current chapter is divided into three main sections. The first describes how preliminary observations of a special turn-taking system develop into the more specific focus for the analysis work to come: explicit orientations to turn-taking. Also included here is a presentation of a post-analysis theoretical framework to guide reader through the analysis and which provides a basis for the links between interaction and L2 motivational development. The next two sections are concerned with the analysis proper and describe and explicate the *local management* of a special turn-taking system in terms of explicit orientations to the number of potential turn-takers and the distribution of turns.

The time and space devoted to the various parts of the analysis reflect complex analytical processes and a multilayered reporting format. This is unavoidable, however, if we want to

engage more closely with L2 motivation as it develops in real time and in relation to the day to day, minute to minute, activities of the French MFL classroom.

### 5.1.1 Building on the Initial Observation of a Special Turn-Taking System

Section 4.5 in Chapter 4 described some preliminary observations of a special turn-taking system and its institutional relevance: one where next-turn speaker selection was observed to occur on the basis of a willingness to identify oneself as a potential next turn speaker before the actual turn could be taken or allocated. The relevance of the system was shown to manifest itself in a particular type of 'turn pre-allocation' where the focus was on the initiation and development of Known Answer Elicitation Question (KAEQ, henceforth) sequences in what is now referred to as 'plenary' language classroom activities. Although these sequences were characterised as such, further analysis shows that they are not merely used and managed to elicit information but are complex, and perform a range of actions which have implications for the development of L2 classroom motivation.

Having demonstrated the existence of the system and speculated about its importance in terms of institutionality or localised social structures, the analysis now turns to the more explicit focus of this chapter, offering a way of observing and understanding how L2 motivation can develop in the moment to moment dynamics of classroom learning in real time.

The CA work presented below develops in what might be viewed as a rather unconventional way in relation to previous work on classroom interaction from an Institutional CA perspective. That is, its analytical focus is on specific "departures" from a special turn-taking system and on associated "explicit sanctions" (Heritage, 1998: 7 & also Heritage, 2004a and 2004b). In doing so, it draws on the approach of Heritage (1998) who used examples from news interviews to demonstrate how distinctive turn-taking systems may be identified. The importance of such an approach is its analytical power in showing the underlying turn-taking system from which these sanctions and departures originate as being "oriented to normatively in its own right" (emphasis in original) and that the initial hypotheses held about a special turn-taking system "are in fact rules that the participants recognize that they should follow as a moral obligation" (1998: 7).

Episodes 1 and 2 in Section 4.5 of Chapter 4 were used to exemplify the role of a special turn-taking system as inextricably related to mutually constructed expectations or obligations forming part of a larger goal of instantiating what can be referred to as the 'lesson plan'. The episodes in this Chapter are concerned with what happens when the instantiation of this plan breaks down or when there are diversions from the envisaged path the lesson was 'meant' to take, in moment-to-moment, interactional time. These diversions are what Heritage might call "departures" or "explicit sanctions" (1998, 2004).

### 5.1.2 An Introduction to Explicit Orientations to a Special Turn-Taking System

For language teachers, in this case a French teacher, part of what might lead to negative member categorisations of a lesson is the occurrence of some kind of departure from a lesson plan - or how it was 'meant' to proceed. Importantly, such departures occur *interactionally* in the local management and instantiation of the plan and are the result of actions on the part of all members of the classroom setting - the teacher and students. For L2 French students, feeling that one had a 'bad' or 'good' lesson might be attributed to some aspect of how the teacher oriented to their management of an envisaged activity making up the lesson plan. These folk understandings of what happens in everyday language learning experiences can be related to Seedhouse's "pedagogical landing-ground perspective", where he recognises the interaction between the "task-as-workplan' and L2 classroom interaction, to provide a much better indication of what actually happens in L2 pedagogy (2004: 93-95). Central to teacher's and learners' interpretations perspective then is some kind of orientation (albeit in a form of self-reported orientation), in the process of pursuing the pedagogical goals of French learning, to some form of mutually constructed normative expectations or obligations on what constitutes 'doing learning French'.

The analyses here present interactional practices where there are explicit orientations to "departures" from specific kinds of interactional norms and mutually recognised obligations pursued in the pedagogical goals of 'doing learning French' in the classroom under study (Heritage, 2004a: 226). The focus of the analysis is on the ways in which departures from a special turn-taking system are "explicitly sanctioned" (p.226). These different orientations turned out to be significant to the discovery of specific institutional-relevant practices taken later on as evidence of L2 motivationally-relevant forms of talk.

### 5.1.3 A Grounded Post-Analysis Theoretical Framework

This chapter roots the development of L2 motivation more specifically in notions of *participation* and *participating* in and through classroom interaction as a form of institutional talk. Participation is, of course, not a new phenomenon in research which examines classroom language learning and teaching, particularly that which focuses on interaction. The use of the term is widespread in the different theoretical and methodological disciplines of SLA, educational psychology, language pedagogy and CA..

In areas of second language learning pedagogy and acquisition, *participation as negotiation* is central to a number of approaches, not least those related to communicative language teaching and task-based learning (i.e. Breen, 1984; Willis, 1996) In the more recent explosion of debates around CA for SLA, L2 *participation as "intersubjective achievement" (*Markee & Kasper, 2004: 496) is at the basis of arguments concerning the acquisitional relevance of certain elements of interaction and the otherwise unnoticed opportunities they offer for L2 learning.

In the discipline of CA, what we may call *participation as (inter)actional accomplishment or achievement* is at the heart of CA's enterprise to uncover the structural machinery of particular social actions and the competences used by participants to participate and make sense of everyday experiences. This understanding is reflected in Goodwin's definition in a short essay on participation for an issue of the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology:*

> The term participation refers to actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties with evolving structures of talk. (2000: 177)

This notion of participation is implicit in the very use of the term 'participant' used in most CA work. It has links with Dell Hymes' use of it to refer to parties involved in conversation as opposed to more simplistic models drawing on distinctions between speaker-hearer roles (1972). More importantly however, within CA, participation is not just a structural achievement in terms of the different interactional organisations but is also considered *as a social achievement.*

As shown in Chapter 3, at the root of CA's sociological enterprise is an underlying aim to examine "human sociality" (Heritage, 2004b: 104). Thus, the notion of participation in CA

is also about the *social* organisation of talk-in-interaction. A focus on participation as social action, viewing participation through the sociological lens of CA, offers an understanding of it as collaborative and inextricable shared entity.

Instead of focussing on individual speakers in relation to the utterances they produce, this approach is more encompassing and takes into account all possible positions made relevant by those involved in some stretch of talk, for example, those producing an utterance (the speaker) and those listening to it (the hearer). This also means that all participants in an interaction are viewed as constructing 'context'. Consequently, analysts may examine the specific roles that hearers play, how they display their participation to the on-going action and whether this has any influence over what a speaker is doing. (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004, have contributed much to this area, particularly from the point of view of gesture.)

In Institutional CA, a similar notion of participation is identified. However in line with the specific objective of this particular form of CA, it may be viewed slightly differently. Institutional CA's aim to examine "social institutions in interaction" (Heritage, 2004a: 223) means that participation is one part of 'human sociality' but can also take on distinctive and additional meaning in specific institutional settings where participants pursue institutionally-relevant goals.

In speech-exchange systems where talk is hearably designed to address an overhearing audience such as courtroom or a news interview or where there is a large collective of participants for example, participation may be constituted by some form of "specific inferences", or institutionally-relevant shared interpretive resources needed to successfully participate in that setting (Levinson, 1992: 69).

This chapter shows how participation *as a social and inter-(actional) achievement* (referred to as *displays of participation* henceforth), as described in relation to CA and Institutional CA, is a relevant analytical concept to conceptualise the orientations of the participants in the classroom under study. The analysis itself will show how 'displays of participation' can offer a window on how L2 motivation develops in the moment to moment dynamics of classroom learning.

### 5.1.4 A Preliminary Discussion Linking Displays of Participation to L2 Motivation

An analysis of departures and sanctions has the potential to tell us a lot about different displays of participation in this language classroom; however it still does not accommodate fully the specific aims of the research. The analysis must be developed further to use the findings from an examination of 'displays of participation' as a window on to L2 motivational development.

It is not simply the case that L2 motivation can be 'read' off the interaction. Rather, it is one of the central arguments of this thesis that it is rooted in the actual practices of participation as social action in the French classroom. Consequently, a series of steps were taken to track individual participants in and across the different episodes presented here in relation to their orientations in the departures from the special turn-taking system. The analysis leads to a focus on the interaction from the 'students' perspective as well as the 'teacher's'.

The same questions were asked of the data segments as any CA oriented study would ask, and which were already asked in relation to establishing the existence of a special turn-taking system. The focussed on participant orientations in relation to a) how they "addressed themselves to preceding talk" b) how they created the "context for the next person's talk" and c) how understanding was displayed "by these means" (Heritage, 2004b: 105). These three aspects, introduced in more detail in Chapter 3, are the basis of any study of interaction and the construction of "meaning and context" (p.105). They are also at the origin of CA's underlying view that "context is both a project and product of the participants' actions" (Heritage, 1998:4). The episodes show the participants being held accountable to departures from the special turn-taking system in relation to these three underlying orientations. The analysis involves zooming in on who, in terms of individuals forming the collective of the association, orient to the departures, and in what ways.

## 5.2 Findings 1: Explicit Orientations to Number of Potential Next-Turn speakers

As normative examples of the special turn-taking system, Episodes 1 and 2 in Section 4.5 of Chapter 4 illustrated that in order for a turn to be allocated, TEA actively observes who is orienting to the position of next-turn speaker and selects on the basis of this orientation. This is the overriding method through which KAEQ sequences operate in the data, despite

the fact that the organisation of the system does not show any evidence that TEA could not simply allocate the turn *without* this specific orientation (and therefore simply nominate a speaker without hand-raising). That is, next-turn speaker allocation operates according to a system whereby potential speakers are selected from the collective of participants, *any one* of whom may display an orientation to the initiation of a KAEQ.

Maximisation of number of speakers is thus built into the organisation of such sequences through the technique of hand-raising as a display of 'willingness to answer' and thus a 'bid' for the next turn. Similarly to ordinary conversation, in plenary classroom interaction such as this, it is possible that the *number* of potential next-turn speakers can "vary" without any particular restrictions and upon the initiation of a KAEQ, the production of a relevant next turn is dependent on the mutual orientation of an *unspecified* number of participants (Sacks *et al*, 1974: 712).

With this in mind, observe the following episode:

**Episode 3** (L2-3-2-24-41)
**Module**: 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary feedback from grammar test on the perfect tense, using the textbook, "talking about what you have done" (Metro Vert, p.14, see Appendix One)

The institutional focus is on the production of a SPP where the participants are asked to provide a French translation of the formulation "I ate". The episode shows how, on the initiation of a FPP, two participants immediately orient to the position of next-turn speaker in the next TRP. As well as raising his hand, JA2 also offers a candidate response without being allocated the turn. TEA orients to this individual orientation using the formulation, "levez les mains" (raise your hands). The intonation of this instruction suggests that it is a reminder and a separate action designed to address JA2 specifically. In line 20, TEA's monitoring actions lead to an explicit orientation to the on-going action in terms of how the recipients are orientating to the FPP. This explicit orientation functions more specifically as a sanction: TEA orients to lack of the number of potential next-turn speakers displaying an orientation, through hand-raising, to a next turn speaker position as "noticeable", "accountable" and ultimately "sanctionable" (Seedhouse, 2004: 24-25).

The sanction displayed in the use of "come on" with accompanying accountability-relevant formulations initiates further hand-raising on the part of six recipients- DIO, JA1, CHL, REB, SAM and HAY. These occur in overlap at the beginning of the next TCU of TEA's turn beginning in line 17. So far, TEA's sanction is mutually constituted through the additional hand-raising work of some of the participants seen in lines 21 to 26.

The continuation of TEA's turn, overlapped by the first set of hand-raising work, results in further orientations by three recipients shown at lines 28, 30 and 32. PAI orients in the TRP space between the third and fourth TCU whereby TEA reiterates the institutional arrangements through which the SPP is being made possible- the participants need to locate the picture illustrating the 'eating' action and read out the accompanying text 'j'ai mangé' (I ate). In line 30, HAN hand-raises during the fourth TCU where TEA offers a candidate evaluation of the task - reading from the book is not "that difficult". TEA selects this potential next-turn speaker through nomination. In the next turn space, CHR also raises his hand (line 32); however TEA has already allocated the turn. HAN, to whom the turn is allocated, occupies the 'last' hand-raiser position.

HAN offers a relevant answer as SPP and TEA provides a third evaluating move for this KAEQ sequence - confirming the provision of an appropriate answer. In line 35, we see a number of the participants lowering their hands- although CHR and JA2 maintain hand-raising work beyond the close of this particular episode into the initiation of the subsequent one. By lowering their hands, the other potential speakers display recognition of HAN's successful completion of the pedagogical task.

The sanction in this episode is constituted by the actions on the part of all of the participants actively and displays specific departures from the normative procedures that there is *no limit* or restrictions on the number of self-selecting potential next-turn speakers. The departure is mutually constructed in the sense that those involved in the episode treat the sanction as normative - as related to the underlying procedure of 'no limit'. Episode 3 leads to a question: what constitutes an appropriate amount of hand-raising work in order for a turn to be allocated? In Episode 3, turn allocation is dependent on the recipiency work of 8 participants (Goodwin, 1981).

However, we may also consider the following episode:

**Episode 4 (L1-7-4-53-52)**
**Module:**1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary feedback on writing activity from a worksheet based on La Rochelle related to 'talking about your own town and what you can do there'.

In this episode, TEA explicitly orients to the number of potential next-turn speakers by providing a formulation of the number of hands raised – "one hand again" (line 17). This is orientated to by two participants, CHR and MAD. On the basis of this orientation, TEA allocates the turn to MAD, who provides an appropriate SPP. Again, although there are fewer bidders, MAD occupies the 'last' hand-raiser position. In comparison to Episode 3, there are only two participants who display an acknowledgement of the normative system of 'no limits' but the turn gets allocated without additional sanctioning work.

Episodes 3 and 4 provide two observations of the special turn-taking system in KAEQ sequences which have implications for understanding displays of participation. First, although there are no restrictions on the number of potential next-turn speakers or on who, amongst them, must self-select, the relevant action after a FPP is addressed collectively to the participants as a group and consequently, some kind of *collective* orientation is required. This is made all the more relevant by the fact that TEA does not simply choose the speaker occupying the 'first' hand-raiser position after the sanctions but in both cases select those occupying the 'last' position.

This collective orientation is something which, TEA, in her role as instructor and KAEQ initiator, can make relevant at any point on the basis of the moment-to-moment orientations to the on-going management of pedagogical goals. The recipients are individual speakers who 'make-up' the collective. Thus, even though FPP's are addressed to the collective, a relevant answer is provided by only one member who speaks for or on behalf of that "association" (Lerner, 1993:220).

Episodes 3 and 4 show how the special turn-taking system is "interactionally managed" and that TEA works towards a balance between addressing the collective and allocating individual turns (Sacks *et al*, 1974:725). The explicit orientations in this arrangement show what constitutes appropriate displays of participation at any given moment. The differences in the number of potential next-turn speakers orienting to the FPPs and TEA's subsequent sanctions, show that the number of participants displaying their collective orientations is not static but changes on a moment-to-moment basis. TEA does not require every member of that collective to raise their hands in order to allocate a turn. The participants have a

number of choices: they are not under any obligation to display an active orientation to each and every FPP or every sanction. TEA makes relevant these displays through orientations to sanctionable behaviour and the participants orient to them accordingly. As members of the collective however, the participants demonstrate individual orientations in these interactionally-managed displays.

A further focus on individual participants' actions in relation to the turn-taking system and explicit orientations across the data set holds the potential to reveal more about the special turn-taking system and about the different constituents of displays of participation. The episodes in the remainder of the analysis are grouped and presented according to individual orientations to sanctions. Some individuals orient at different points in the sequences. For example, some display a willingness to be a potential next-turn speaker both before and after sanctions, while others are more consistent, and continuously orient to specific pre and post-sanction TRP's through hand-raising. The analytical aim is to exemplify the range of orientations and use them to argue for differential participant-relevant understandings of what constitutes normative practices of displays of participation in this classroom.

This part of the analysis provides exemplification, rather than the construction of any argument for the characterisation of specific displays of participation and related institutional-relevant identities. It does however provide for a range of specimen normative individual orientations to be explored in more detail in Part 2 of the analysis.

In terms of presentation, the episodes are grouped and presented according to the shared individual interactional orientations of the participants. This grouping reflects how the episodes, as 'cases', were selected for "maximum similarity" in the inductive analytical approach taken in the treatment of the interactional data overall (Ten Have, 1999: 132).

### 5.2.1 Hannah, Rebecca and Madeline

**Episode 3** (L2-3-2-24-41)
**Module**: 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: 'Plenary feedback from grammar test on the perfect tense, using the textbook, "talking about what you have done" (Metro Vert, p.14, see Appendix One)

In this example, we return to the episode involving HAN and the analytical focus is on her individual orientations. Earlier it was described briefly how she secured the turn allocation through an orientation to TEA's collective sanction of the number of participants displaying a willingness to be a potential next-turn speaker.

This episode demonstrates how the turn is allocated through HAN's occupation of a last TRP position. The sequential positioning of her hand-raising shows her orienting to the latter part of TEA's turn where TEA provides a candidate assessment of the institutional relevance of the KAEQ. A candidate assessment can be understood in Schegloff's terms as a "*members' then relevant* sense and practice of explicitness" (1996: 191, his emphasis). This begins in line 20 and ends in line 29: "I'm asking you … to read out of the book ... it's really not that difficult". HAN orients to the normative expectations of the institutional relevance of KAEQ's: that they are questions that anyone "would expectably know" (McHoul, 1978: 201). HAN's orientation displays both her willingness to be a next-turn speaker and at the same time, her 'knowledge' of the institutional expectations. Other participants also display an orientation to the sequence; however HAN is allocated the turn as a last TRP position bidder and in relation to explicit sanctions of knowledge display.

**Episode 5 (L11-5-3-44-48)**
**Module**: 6 En plein dans l'actu
**Activity details**: Plenary feedback from desk-work comprehension activity matching headlines to illustrations based on 'what is happening in the news'

On the production of the FPP in lines 12 to 16, a number of participants orient to the position of next turn speaker. This leads to a sanction by TEA which begins in line 30. At a TRP at the end of TEA's TCU in line 31, HAN displays a willingness to provide a SPP. TEA's turn provides further TRP opportunities, where she orients more specifically to the institutional relevance of the task and the prior work on the headlines (prior to the desk-work activity, the participants had worked collectively on some vocabulary items included in the headlines), confirming the 'knowledge display' goal of the task. In line 42, TEA allocates the turn to HAN and the sequence continues. Most other hand-raising participants lower their hands on the production of the SPP in line 43, although LIA maintains his hand-raise throughout. This episode, which takes place towards the end of the academic year, shows HAN securing a turn as an 'early' TRP position bidder.

**Episode 4 (L1-7-4-53-52)**
**Module**: 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary feedback on writing activity from a worksheet based on La Rochelle related to 'talking about your own town and what you can do there'.

Episode 4 was described earlier on in the analysis to show how collective orientations operating at the level of the number of potential next-turn speakers were interactionally managed. With a closer focus on MAD as an individual participant, it also displays TEA allocating a turn to her as a post-sanction bidder rather than to initial bidders orienting directly to the FPP.

After TEA's sanction in line 17, MAD and CHR orient to TEA and the number of potential next-turn speakers, who they now display a wish to join. In line 21 the turn is allocated to MAD; this is followed by hand-lowering by JA1, immediately following, in line 23 and by CHR during TEA's confirmation turn in line 26. Similarly to HAN, MAD is allocated a turn as a late sequence bidder and, although there are only two 'students' orienting to TEA, MAD also occupies a late TRP position.

**Episode 6** (L7-5-1-45-10)
**Module**: 3 Programme de la visite
**Activity details**: Oral practice of the formulation 'how do I get to (pour aller) + place' using gender agreements with "to the" (a + la, a + le), based on illustrations displayed on the interactive whiteboard,

TEA initiates a FPP requesting the French equivalent of "how do I get to the public gardens?" (line 16). JA1 raises his hand as a bid for the next-turn. TEA extends on this FPP to include additional pedagogical clues, providing a number of TRP's for hand-raising work. After a slight pause in line 23, TEA explicitly orients to the normative expectations of the turn-taking system. TEA initiates a second FPP where she asks if she should change the turn allocation procedures (line 24). This is oriented to by three participants who raise their hands, TEA continues by re-stating the normative arrangements - that participants should 'offer' a willingness to be a next-turn speaker. This is followed with an additional collective orientation – "it's your choice" (line 29). TEA closes the turn by allocating the next-turn position to REB, a bidder from earlier on in the sanction turn. On allocating the turn, one of the remaining participants performs hand-lowering work followed by another at the end of REB's SPP. JA1 maintains hand-raising work throughout the sequence. REB's appropriate SPP is confirmed in line 35.

In this episode there is a further exemplification of how those orienting to TEA's sanctions secure a turn at talk. As in Episode 5, this is not always the result of occupying the last TRP position, although doing so can also result in turn allocation (also see MAD, Episode

4). This variation suggests that displaying one's willingness to be a next-turn speaker is 'noticed' by TEA - even though for the analyst and the bidder it is not visually possible to specify when exactly.

A consideration of the episodes analysed so far leads to the suggestion that these bidders may be characterised as rewarded bidders. This is rooted in the ways in which their orientations conform to interactionally managed displays of participation. That is, they orient to the institutional significance of the sanctions and show ability to adapt and co-construct the on-going management of these actions. This is considered in more detail in Section 5.3.1.

### 5.2.2 Chris, Chloe and Liam

So far, the analysis has focussed on two general types of exemplifications which concerned the securing and non-securing of turns through specific orientations to sanctions and the implications of this for appropriate displays of participation.

Now the analysis turns briefly to an exemplification of participants' orientations in more complex episodes where more than one FPP is initiated in pursuit of pedagogic goals.

**Episode 7** (L4-2-3-10-48)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Oral practice of vocabulary items for a comprehension activity from the text book (Metro Vert, p.31, see Appendix One), based on thematic area of 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'.

TEA initiates a first FPP in line 12. Two participants immediately raise their hands to bid for a turn. TEA continues however which provides further TRP opportunities for hand-raising work. CHR raises both hands, one in line 13 and the other 19 after TEA repeats the vocabulary item requested. In lines 22 to 26, TEA explicitly orients to the number of bidders, instructing the remaining participants to raise their hands – this sanction includes the phrase "beaucoup de mains" (lots of hands) which reinforces the collective orientation expectations of the turn-taking system. In line 27, AL1 orients to this sanction and is allocated the turn. The remaining hand-raisers display an orientation to this by performing hand-lowering work on the allocation of the turn – although CHR lowers only one of his two raised hands.

AL1's SPP provides the context however for the initiation of repair as his answer is not the 'known-answer' TEA was seeking. TEA initiates repair and identifies the trouble source in line 35; AL1 responds notably to this with the acknowledgement "o:h no". TEA's repair initiation leads to a number of re-orientations to the first FPP by JD1, CHL and CHR (his second hand) and by LIA and CAM later on. The last four of these had displayed an orientation to the FPP as pre-sanction bidders in lines 13 to 17. Although TEA displays an individual orientation to AL's TS and his acknowledgement (lines 35 to 45), she then re-allocates the turn to CAM. On the production of an appropriate SPP, the other participants lower their hands, including CHR, who lowers both hands.

**Episode 8** (L3-6-3-32-48)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary comprehension checking from a deskwork-based reading activity of an extract in the textbook (Metro Vert, p.28, see Appendix One), based on thematic area of 'talking about your own home'.

This episode provides a focus on two issues relevant to this part of the analysis: the recursive orientation of CHR and CHL to a FPP and the individual nomination of one participant, SAM.

TEA initiates a FPP in lines 11-12 which is oriented to by one participant, CHR. After a two second pause, TEA performs a sanction of the lack of hand-raising orientation by acknowledging CHR as the only hand-raiser. After a pause, JA1 and CHL perform hand-raising work. In line 22, TEA displays an orientation to this hand-raising work and her active observations with the marker "er:m" with rising intonation; she then allocates the turn to JA1. Overlapping with the production of a SPP, both CHR and CHL perform hand-lowering work.

However, in line 29, an inappropriate SPP leads to the initiation of repair. CHR immediately re-orients to the new potential next-turn speaker position, closely followed by CHL who orients to further repair initiation work on the part of TEA. A second FPP is more explicitly initiated in line 33 but instead of proffering the relevant SPP to the collective of participants, TEA nominates an individual participant, SAM.

On the nomination of SAM, both CHR and CHL lower their hands displaying recognition of the turn allocation. SAM provides the first TCU of the relevant SPP, with the aid of some 'scaffolding' support from TEA – involving the initiation of a third FPP. On completion of this first TCU, TEA then performs a sanction of SAM's individual lack of 'display of willingness' to be a next-turn speaker. This is made relevant through the appropriate SPP she is able to provide through individual nomination. TEA's turn in lines 38 to 40 makes relevant two SPP's - one relating to SAM's 'unwillingness' as a next-turn speaker and the other relating to the missing second TCU of the KAEQ reply. After a pause, SAM provides the second TCU of the SPP but does not explicitly address TEA's issue with her hand-raising. However, as TEA's sanction in line 39 is concerned with her display of 'knowledge', through the subsequent 'knowledge' display in line 42, SAM is obliged to indirectly address the sanction, thus her demonstration of knowledge reinforces her earlier 'unwillingness'.

These episodes show how early bidding participants re-display their willingness to be the potential next-speaker when the interactional management of the sequences allows for it. Even if they are not initially allocated a turn when explicit sanctioning takes place, when trouble occurs it is still possible for these participants to display their previously demonstrated knowledge orientation to the FPP. This is locally managed though their individual persistence and not through nomination by TEA. In Episode 7, although CAM secures the turn, the four other participants, three of whom are early bidders, display an orientation to the FPP until the SPP is provided. CHR and CHL make relevant individual orientations to displays of willingness and knowledge up to the close of the sequence as well as of their active listenership to the actions underway, suggesting their full attention to the pursuit of the specific pedagogical task made relevant in the initiation of a FPP.

### 5.2.3 Chris

The next two episodes, occurring in the same lesson, exemplify the interactional behaviour of Chris and provide additional insight into his individual orientations to displays of participation, as both an early and unrewarded post-sanction bidder. The analytical focus is on Chris's explicit orientations to TEA and the local management of the special turn-taking system.

**Episode 9** (L4-4-1-24-20)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice of question sequences in the thematic area of 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'

TEA initiates a KAEQ in lines 10 to 13. After a two second pause in line 14, where no hand-raising work takes place, CHR orients to the FPP by claiming that he "knows" the answer to the question (he knows how to say 'do you have', in French). At the same time as explicitly orienting to his 'knowledge' of the formulation, he also raises his hand. TEA acknowledges this by addressing CHR directly: "merci Chris, I'm glad you do" (lines 18-19). Although CHR has demonstrated his ability to provide a relevant SPP, TEA does not allocate the turn to him but rather, re-initiates a FPP to the collective of participants. After a gap, another student orients to the position of next-turn speaker and is allocated the turn. During the production of this SPP by DIO, CHR lowers his hand.

**Episode 10** (L4-5-2-29-30)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral preparation for a written desk-work activity from a worksheet on 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'

In this extended episode, which occurs 5 minutes after Episode 9, a number of different FPP's are initiated before the relevant SPP to the first FPP is provided. These occur in the local management of the interaction as repair initiations resulting from a number of trouble sources originating from the KAEQ initiation. Although this episode is rich with individual orientations from a number of participants, the analysis focuses on CHR more specifically as a particularly active and consistent participant in relation to turn-taking.

After TEA's FPP initiation in line 12-16, CHR orients to the position of next-turn speaker. He is followed by CHL and JA1, who orient at later TRP opportunities. After a three second pause, TEA performs a sanction of collective orientations to the FPP by orienting to the participants' displays of 'unwillingness' as well as their lack of knowledge displays. After a sanction which extends over a number of TCU's, CHL provides a SPP. On its production, CHR lowers his hand. The trouble source in CHL's turn leads to the initiation

of further FPP's. On the production of a second trouble source in line 41, CHR orients to a potential next-turn speaker position.

During a confirming third turn, where TEA also elaborates on CAM's successful provision of an appropriate SPP to the second FPP from line 39 – "what's a noun", CHR raises his hand for a third time. As this occurs without the immediate initiation of a FPP and after the allocation and successful completion of a FPP, this action can be understood as orienting to the original FPP "what type of word is can" (lines12-32). The pedagogical focus on other grammatical items, in the form of repair work, has supported CHR's understanding. How exactly this occurs is unclear, as the interaction does not show evidence of this mental 'working out'. However, the design of the first FPP helps to give us some insight into the issue.

TEA's first FPP is designed to provide the participants with a number of candidate SPP's ("is can; a noun, an adjective, a verb"). Although this is not identical to the "list" design in the kinds of collectively addressed turns described by Lerner (1995), it shares similarities with it as it is treated by CHR later on in the episode as an un-elicited opportunity to bid for a turn (p.117). Lerner shows how the list design, "can relax the proscription against entering another's turn at talk, insofar as a next list item is designed as a completion for or an extension of a prior turn" (1995: 118).

Although TEA has not provided an incomplete list which invites the participants to complete it, the prior repair work shows a working through of the relevant items of the list, where the participants have been involved in a form of a 'definition search' (as opposed to a "word search" which is observed in Lerner's data, 1995:117). CHR orients to the first FPP at a point when one item ("a noun") has already been the pedagogical focus and a definition of another grammatical item ("a verb") has also been proffered as a relevant SPP ("a doing word"- line 41). His orientation is linked to a process of 'deduction' and selection of a candidate SPP from a list of alternatives offered.

Lerner claims that the list TCU differs from that of an elicitation question turn because it reduces the interactional restrictions on turn-allocation, given that it invites a response from a collective, in the ways cited above, and makes relevant the provision of a SPP immediately after it. As shown previously, in this special turn-taking system, KAEQ'S

also make relevant collective orientations from their addressees in conjunction with specific turn-allocation procedures.

In Episode 10, there is a complex re-specification in the local management of both the elicitation *and* list turn structure which results in variety of different individual orientations to the FPP. Again, these re-specifications arise interactionally, as a result of the actions of *all* participants and not just TEA as the overriding producer of FPP's and third turns.

To return to the episode, in line 63, TEA initiates a further FPP where she reformulates the first FPP, adding further TCU's. At the beginning of the third TCU of this turn, CHL also orients to the FPP. Before a turn is provisionally allocated, TEA does further repair work by providing a definition (of "an adjective"). On the reformulation of the first FPP, TEA allocates a turn to MAD through individual nomination. The absence of a relevant SPP is noticed in line 73. Here, TEA initiates a list-in-progress, by providing different pronominal phrases using the verb, "can". Although the pedagogical focus at this point is still to provide the grammatical descriptor of "can", this list functions as a memory aid.

Overlapping with the second pronominal phrase, CHR displays an explicit orientation to the local management of the talk - using the emphatic marker "god" (line 76). In line 78, TEA acknowledges CHR's un-elicited input where she performs a formulation of CHR's orientation which is addressed to the collective. In line 81, TEA displays an additional orientation to this and humorously evaluates his explicit orientation – "it's not god". CHR draws on this as an opportunity to follow up on his previous orientation. He provides a relevant next-pair part, "no", and then provides the correct answer to the first FPP in the episode, "it's a ver:b", with a sound stretch to emphasis his answer. TEA displays her acceptance of this proffering turn and positively evaluates it. As the sequence closes, two participants display recognition performing hand-lowering work.

Both episodes show Chris as an individual member of the collective engaged in specific orientations to turn-allocation and the local management of complex multi-party institutional talk. He performs explicit orientations in response to the interactional behaviour of *all* participants. In the first episode, while TEA displays an orientation to CHR's active engagement as a willing next-turn speaker who processes the knowledge to provide a relevant SPP, he is observably restricted in terms of his possibilities for turn allocation. In the second episode, CHR displays active listenership in relation to on-going

repair work. In terms of his awareness of the opportunities offered by the design of turns, he uses a 'list' format as an opportunity for further bidding which also gives an insight into his cognitive activity. In this episode, he also expresses what could be summarised as his 'frustration' at not being allocated a turn even though he is in a position to provide one.

While the episodes show CHR's individual awareness of the special turn-taking system, his explicit orientations also provide insight about how the system is designed more specifically in terms of 'collectivity' involving, a specific practice where the completion of KAEQ sequences is withheld. In the first, this involves CHR individually, where turn allocation is withheld until another participant raises their hand. In the second, sequence closure is withheld through the use of repeated repair initiations. CHR's frustration can be seen as a result of this withholding procedure, rather than the mere fact that TEA does not allocate the turn to him.

Withholding sequence completion shows further ways in which the turn-taking system is designed for collective orientation by all participants and how FPP's are designed to address each member, including an avoidance of individual nomination. Lerner (1995) describes this kind of practice as a particularly "apt procedure" to "employ with a talkative class, since it musters, coordinates and limits the participation of all those students who are prepared to reply" (p.117).

The use of the procedure in this special turn-taking system serves to coordinate the pursuit of the relevant answer to TEA's question. In doing so, it limits participants' involvement, to an extent that it could lead to expressions of frustration.

### 5.2.4 Interim Summary 1

The analysis has shown participants engaged in a range of displays of orientations to the special turn-taking system used in the local management of the instantiation of the institutional and pedagogical goals of this classroom. The focus of the analysis is on hand-raising in plenary interaction, which is used as an interactional resource by this large group of potential speakers. More specifically, hand-raising is observed as a relevant action in the management of next-turn speaker selection in the KAEQ sequences which are the principal means through which the activities and the pedagogical tasks embedded in them are structured.

Part 1 examined interactional sequences where departures from the normative expectations of the turn-taking system resulted in sanctions of the number of participants displaying an orientation to be a potential next-turn speaker through hand-raising.

The episodes described involved sanctions performed through explicit orientations to the turn-taking system, making relevant obligations on the part of participants to treat FPP's as addressing the collective of participants. This led to the observation that the role of hand-raising is more than a mere resource for the selection of potential next-turn speakers in this multiparty interaction – it is also a resource used to display a willingness to be a next-turn speaker. The analysis showed how the participants are held to account for this throughout the interactions. It can be made explicit at anytime and is therefore interactionally managed.

Second, the analysis also yielded some preliminary findings about the normative expectations on the institutional significance of hand-raising as an interactional resource, used to display a willingness to demonstrate knowledge and understanding. Knowledge and understanding were made relevant as categories in TEA's accounts for departures from the normative arrangements.

The analysis also demonstrated how sanctions of the number of potential next-turn speakers involved a range of individual orientations on the part of the participants, namely from Rebecca, Hannah, Madeline, Liam, Chris, Chloe and James1. The analysis focussed on discovering how these participants, as recipients, oriented individually to TEA's sanctions through hand-raising work.

It was found that Rebecca, Hannah and Madeline were participants involved in a number of displays of receptiveness to TEA's calls for more willing collective orientations to potential next-turn speaker positions in post-sanction positions and for knowledge and understanding demonstrations. These displays resulted in their securing next-turns.

The orientations of Chloe, Chris, Liam and James1 to sanctions involved hand-lowering work at specific points post-sanction, after apparent minimisation of their potential as next-turn speakers. This displayed orientations to an on-going preoccupation with the allocation of SPP's, and in the case of Chloe and Chris, the pursuit of 'knowledge demonstration'. The analysis demonstrated the interactional behaviour of Chris more specifically in this respect. These participants were 'persistent' in their interactional orientations.

The treatment of the episodes involving these individual participants represents a preliminary grouping of the episodes in terms of their interactional behaviour in relation to one particular aspect of the special turn-taking system. As such, the episodes can be used as a basis for more detailed observations of what can be understood more generally as orientations to the constituents of appropriate displays of participation in this classroom. These orientations are examined later on in terms of their L2 motivational implications.

With this in mind, the next section examines a second area of interest in the data where explicit orientations occurred, this time in relation to the distribution of turns.

## 5.3 Findings 2: Explicit Orientations to the Distribution of Potential Next-Turn Speakers

The analysis now turns to a selection of cases characterising displays of participation where explicit orientations to the turn-taking system make relevant the "relative distribution" of potential next turn speakers (Sacks *et al*, 1974: 711). That is, the episodes analysed here involve sanctions of the 'distribution of turns' in contrast to 'the number of bidders'.

This section builds on the findings from the previous analysis as it is concerned with similar normative expectations of the special turn-taking system in terms of maximisation of next-turn speakers and the 'freedoms' operating at the level of the number of bidders. Sanctions of the 'distribution of turns' result in the minimisation of turn-allocation opportunities for some and for others, the maximisation of turn-allocation opportunities. The problem of minimisation or maximisation is a phenomenon made relevant by all participants' orientations to the sanctions and not just a result of TEA alone placing limits on who can speak (or in this case, bid) when and where.

A relevant point made by Sacks *et al* is that turn-taking procedures, including those operating at the level of rule 1b (that a turn is designed in such way that allows for *self-selection* for the next turn), provide "for the possibility of any over-all distribution of turns". This prospect "frees turn distribution for the manipulation of such interests as can be realized with the distribution of turns" (1974: 711). The sanctions on the distribution of turns in this section show how this freedom is locally managed and operationalised.

Moreover, it is 'manipulated' through explicit orientations to the special turn-taking system which lead to constraints and affordances in the distribution of turns.

TEA's explicit orientations are packaged in such as a way as to offer candidate assessments of the participants' recursive orientations to turn allocation across a number of KAEQ sequences both in and across episodes. In doing so, TEA ascribes turn-taking identities to the participants.

The analysis shows how normative expectations placed on turn-distribution in relation to KAEQ contexts can lead to characterisations of constituents of normative displays of participation in this classroom for all participants. Again, the analysis studies how individual participants demonstrate different understandings of the actions carried out in preceding talk and how this creates the context for the next potential speakers' talk and understandings (Heritage, 2004a). As with the previous section, it shows how a number of participants display individually designed orientations.

### 5.3.1 Rebecca, Hannah and Madeline

REB, HAN and MAD were introduced in Section 5.2.1 as participants displaying a 'willingness' to be a potential next-turn speaker. It was found that although these participants rarely oriented to FPP's as early bidders, that is, before the explicit orientation in TEA's sanction, they secured a turn at talk on the basis of post or mid -sanction interactional behaviour.

In episodes involving sanctions of the distribution of turns, their individual orientations are similar in terms of the placement of hand-raising (post and mid- sanction) and the securing of turn allocation. What is meant by explicit orientations to the distribution of turns in the ways summarised here? Observe the following episode:

**Episode 11** (L4-6-2-37-47)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral preparation for a written desk-work activity from a worksheet on 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'

The episode involves a number of FPP's, a result of TEA's request to 'split-up' the formulation of "can I have something to drink" into its constituent parts (line 20). An

explicit sanction of turn distribution is initiated after a second FPP has been initiated on the first part of the formulation, "can I have". Although TEA provides a number of TRP's where the recipients display their willingness to bid for a turn (lines 26 and 28), the explicit orientation begins in line 30 and ends with the request "someone different please". In line 34, at a relevant TRP, REB orients to this, performing hand-raising work. TEA then allocates the turn to REB and the remaining 'bidders' lower their hands. In line 35, TEA displays a specific orientation to *who* is orienting to the position of next-turn speaker in terms of turn distribution rather than the number of speakers. In doing so, she demonstrates her active observation of hand-raising work and that she is unwilling to allocate on the basis of those participants orienting to the FPP so far. As a consequence, she both minimises turn allocation opportunities for those already bidding and maximises those for participants who have yet to bid.

Although this sanction places restrictions on the turn distribution in this part of the sequence it does not represent any change in the normative expectations of the special turn-taking system, and consequently for displays of participation. That is, it specifically addresses the significance of orientations to SPP of KAEQ's and the role of hand-raising as central to turn-taking procedures. It provides understandings about the collective relevance of the FPP for the participants. Even though TEA places restrictions on who potentially can be allocated the turn, these restrictions have the interactional function of extending the potential for turn allocation beyond those currently bidding.

TEA designs her explicit orientations to turn distribution to specifically address those bidding and not bidding during the sequences. The packaging of these turns is consequential for who bids at the post-sanction stage and those who do not bid due to the locally managed turn distribution restrictions. It is not (simply) the case that TEA packages her turns to inform the participants that she will allocate turns to the on-going bidders, but rather she makes relevant specific categories of recipient and ascribed particular turn-taking identities to the participants. This is similar to Zimmerman's notion of "discourse identities" (1998: 88), which relates to categorisation work in Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1992).

The ways in which the different turn-taker identities are ascribed, accepted or rejected in the episodes, *and* the possibilities provided for this acceptance and rejection through hand-raising work, are highly relevant to the notion of appropriate displays of participation.

In Episode 10, TEA temporarily ascribes a turn-taking identity to the remaining non-bidders, using the identifier "someone different" (line 33). This creates the context for the minimisation for some participants and maximisation of potential next-speaker turn allocation distribution for others and makes relevant a next action in which a willing next-turn speaker must accept to be the recipient of the identity ascription. As REB orients to this position (line 34 and in lines 37 to 46), her turn exhibits an acceptance as 'someone different'. TEA's ascription is not specifically designed to address a particular participant but a set of potential next-speakers from those behaviourally characterisable as 'non-bidders' in terms of the development of the sequence so far. REB's orientation is a public display of her acceptance and an active demonstration of the relevance of the turn as personally addressed to her.

The analysis now turns to a more detailed treatment of similar episodes involving REB, HAN and MAD.

**Episode 12** (L1-4-4-35-34)
**Module**: 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice of asking and answering questions based on the thematic area of 'talking about your own town and what you can do there'.

TEA initiates a KAEQ in which she asks the participants to provide the French translation of "you ca:n go canoeing," (line 11-13). The pre-sanction interactional space is taken up with similar TRP opportunities as TEA provides more information to support the production of an appropriate SPP, including information already made relevant in earlier pedagogic tasks. In line 26 TEA performs a sanction of the distribution of turns manifested in the observable hand-raising work with a candidate assessment - "same people again". In comparison to the previous episode, this action ascribes a turn-taker identity to the pre-sanction bidders as persistently orienting to FPP's (it is assumed in relation to other KAEQ sequences in the same lesson). This turn minimises potential for these bidding participants to be allocated a turn.

TEA then makes relevant the FPP as specifically addressed to the remaining non-bidding participants. TEA designs her turn to display an orientation to the specific pedagogic relevance of the SPP as a display of understanding. This relates to the linguistic focus of the activity which is on the production of "you can + infinitive" in the context of leisure

activities in one's hometown. As well as knowledge demonstrations, relevant next actions in this turn-taking system also display understanding of the pedagogical focus.

The turn closes with a further TCU where TEA temporarily ascribes a turn-taker identity to the remaining non-bidders: "someone that doesn't say very much" (line 28). Three participants orient to the next-turn position performing hand-raising work, including REB who is allocated the turn. As in the previous episode, REB's orientation as a post-sanction bidder is accounted for in terms of her orientation to a turn-taker identity, indirectly ascribed by TEA but accepted by REB. REB's turn allocation also demonstrates that the expectations and conditions placed on the interaction and its institutional relevance are shared by TEA's co-participants.

Episodes 11 and 12 demonstrated episodes where turn allocation was successful on the basis of mutual and voluntary orientations of one participant, REB, to the norms and expectations placed on appropriate displays of participation. The following episode demonstrates similar interactional phenomena but where a turn is allocated on the basis of individual nomination of one participant, HAN.

**Episode 13** (L4-6-1-36-25)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice preparation for a written desk-work activity on a worksheet, based on the thematic area of 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'.

The episode opens with the initiation of a KAEQ where TEA asks the participants to construct the phrase "can I open the window" in French (lines 11-17). In lines 19-24, TEA designs her turn to make relevant the pedagogical focus and outlines the procedure through which the phrase is to be constructed. At the same time, this provides a number of TRP's for displays to be a potential next-turn speaker. In lines 16, 25, 26, there is pre-sanction hand-raising work on the part of three participants, two of whom orient to the FPP after the provision of this procedural information. In line 27, TEA begins to perform a sanction of the distribution of turns, in the first instance explicitly orienting to those already bidding. TEA provides a candidate assessment of the on-going action, ascribing turn-taker identities to JA1, CHR and CHL as persistent bidders. In the next TCU, TEA orients again to the notion of understanding as one of the pedagogic goals of the FPP.

In lines 29-30, TEA explicitly orients to the FPP as relevant to the collective of participants: "because i'm not just asking this question for those of you that feel like doing it". This turn is explicitly designed to minimise turn-allocation opportunities for those already bidding and maximises those for the remaining 'non-bidding' participants. Minimisation is achieved through the turn design which addresses the notion that the FPP is not just aimed at those perceived by TEA to be persistent bidders. Maximisation is achieved because this provides a context, in the next turn, for some kind of broader orientation by the participants. In line 32, TEA reinforces this, by re-formulating the FPP with a reduction in linguistic focus. At this point, however, post-sanction orientations are still absent. TEA proceeds in line 34 to nominate HAN as a next-turn speaker.

In doing so, TEA re-ascribes a turn-taker identity, this time specifically to HAN. TEA's individual nomination of HAN makes relevant her role as one of the previously-oriented-to 'non-bidders'- who 'don't feel like' providing a SPP. While it is not possible to show that TEA specifically nominates HAN out of some pre-disposed judgement or expectation about her, her nomination is significant if we consider it alongside HAN's overall interactional orientations in this classroom, demonstrated through a number of episodes (Episodes 3, 4). Here, HAN is allocated a turn without pre-sanction hand-raising work.

This episode shows how the notion of choice is suspended when the turn-taking organisation is temporarily based on a system of turn allocation without hand-raising. Alongside this suspension is the ascription of a turn-taker identity. Thus, the system is managed so that HAN both provides a SPP and accepts the ascription. This can be compared to those episodes where participants such as REB orient to FPP's in post-sanction positions and choose to accept such ascriptions on a personal and voluntary basis.

From line 36, HAN attempts to provide an appropriate SPP but is unsuccessful. TEA's gaze remains fixed on HAN until line 45, where she orients to the collective of participants on the occurrence of further obvious trouble. This trouble is made relevant through hesitation and the production of inappropriate linguistic items ("avez-vous" (have you)). CHL orients to this and provides an appropriate SPP, after hand-raising work. The relevance of CHL's input is described further in Section 5.3.2.

**Episode 14 (L1-2-2-23-59)**
**Module**: 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice and revision responding to questions based on the thematic area of 'talking about your own town and what you can do there', drawing on the textbook ((Metro Vert, p.10, see Appendix One)

In this episode and the one following, the analytical focus is on MAD's orientations to turn allocation. In both episodes there are a number of other interactional features relevant to the analysis; these are treated in Section 5.3.3.

On the production of the three part FPP in lines 11-18, a number of 'early' bidders display willingness to be next-turn speakers. In line 21, after a short gap, TEA adds that the relevant three part SPP will also result in a signature. A signature is a reward, which TEA writes in an allotted page of a participant's homework diary (personally-managed school record).

Thus far in the interaction, TEA has provided a number of TRP's, which provide points at which participants may perform hand-raising work. TEA then performs a sanction of the non-response to these additional opportunities, which involves a candidate assessment of one of the early bidders, JA1. In lines 25 - 28, she designs her turn to address the remaining non-bidders. This involves a sanction of turn distribution: "I want to see some of the rest of you ... letting the rest of you everybody doing the work". Again, this orientation provides a context for the minimisation and maximisation of turn-allocation opportunities in that TEA explicitly orients to earlier hand-raising work to make relevant its absence from the remaining non-bidders. This minimises turn allocation opportunities for early bidders, while for the remaining non-bidders, a context is created for displays of willingness where institutional expectation of 'collectivity' is reinforced.

Although this orientation results in further orientations by some of the original bidders, there is no hand-raising work from the non-bidders until line 32, when it is initiated through a second FPP in line 31, "who haven't I heard from much today", which encourages wider displays of willingness to be a next-turn speaker.

This FPP shares similarities with the ascription of turn-taker identities which REB orients to in line 34 of Episode 11. The question makes relevant a SPP by asking potential recipients to identify themselves in terms of the local management of the interaction thus far in the lesson in relation to turn-taking.

By raising her hand, MAD displays an orientation to the relevance of this second FPP and temporarily accepts the ascribed turn-taker identity. In doing so, MAD publicly displays

her ascribed role, including its historical implications - she displays an awareness that 'so far' in the lesson she has not been in a position of hand-raiser.

MAD's provision of the SPP to the first FPP develops over a number of turns with interjections from TEA where immediate feedback is given to confirm its relevant linguistic components – MAD also receives the signature as a reward.

**Episode 15** (L5-1-6-17-07)
**Module**: Revision
**Activity details**: Plenary oral revision practice of Modules 1 & 2

TEA initiates this FPP over a number of turns where she provides additional support to emphasise the specific pedagogical focus of the requested target-language construction. This provides a number of TRP opportunities for hand-raising work which is oriented to by some participants. In line 26, TEA offers a candidate assessment of hand-raising work so far. In line 25, she initiates a sanction in which she calls for collective orientation using an emphatic "come on". TEA then packages her turn to make relevant the distribution of turns- this involves turn-taker ascriptions to two early bidders, whose displays are acknowledged, but also results in the minimisation of their turn-allocation opportunities. From line 28, TEA addresses the collective of remaining non-bidders more specifically with the suggestion: "have a go it doesn't matter if you get it wrong".

This sanction involves the maximisation of turn distribution for non-bidders through a specific orientation to the underlying institutional-relevance of KAEQ's as displays of understanding; as a process of trial and possible error as opposed to knowledge demonstration. Trial and possible error changes the pedagogical focus of KAEQ's. It emphases the notion that participants are explicitly offered the opportunity to test out hypotheses about target-language constructions, and encompasses an underlying assumption that what is elicited could be incorrect or partially incorrect. It takes the focus away from the known element of the action.

A context is constructed in subsequent turns therefore for some form of possible scaffolding to take place. To display an orientation to such a turn, involves an act of positive risk-taking. The turn also makes relevant an underlying assumption of L2

classroom interaction as "potentially subject to evaluation by the teacher" (Seedhouse, 2004: 186).

MAD displays an orientation to this turn in line 31 and in doing so accepts the implied turn-taker identity of risk-taker. In line 33, her attempts to provide an appropriate SPP result in trouble and the sequence continues as a series of repair-relevant organised turns. The following chapter devotes more space to a consideration of such trajectories.

In summary, these episodes show the manipulation of turn distribution which results in the maximisation of turn allocation opportunities for post-sanction bidders, REB, HAN and MAD. This also makes relevant different conditions and expectations concerning KAEQ's, and provides insights about the constituents of appropriate displays of participation in this classroom, defined interactionally and institutionally.

So far the analysis had been concerned with consequences of explicit orientations to turn distribution in relation to post-sanction bidders and the allocation of turns. The next section focuses on pre-sanction bidders and the local management of sanctions in KAEQ's.

### 5.3.2 Chloe, Chris and James1

**Episode 11** (L4-6-2-37-47)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral preparation for a written desk-work activity from a worksheet on 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'

Here the analysis returns to Episode 11 which was originally described in terms of REB's orientations. On the production of the FPP, we observe that CHR and JA1 perform hand-raising work. In line 20, TEA modifies the KAEQ to re-focus on the first part of the FPP 'can I have'. This leads to further hand-raising from CHL and LIA. TEA delays the allocation of the turn and thus provides further TRP's where the remainder of the participants have the opportunity to display an orientation to the production of SPP. Four other participants take up these opportunities, including TRP's in the middle of the sanction initiation. In relation to REB more specifically, Episode 11 showed how she secured turn allocation through her orientations to TEA's sanction. The sanction, "come on … someone different please" (lines 30-33), involved the manipulation of turn distribution leading to maximisation of turn allocation for those non-bidding just prior to the sanction,

and minimisation of turn allocation opportunities for those already bidding. This part of the analysis treats the minimisation of turn allocation in more detail by asking the question: what are the specific interactional consequences for early bidders?

TEA's sanction makes relevant that the turn will be allocated to bidders other than those displaying a willingness to be potential next turn speaker at pre and mid-sanction stages. However, the sanction is locally managed in such a way that does not necessarily exclude the orientations of earlier bidders. That is, its design also displays TEA's acknowledgment and active observation of hand-raising work conducted so far.

The sanction indirectly characterises interactional orientations of those bidding thus far as relating to some form of persistent behaviour, in events prior to this episode. Whereas in Episode 11 REB displays an acceptance of an ascription as "someone different" in the turn space made relevant by TEA here , the sequential organisation of this episode does not provide any specific opportunity for similar actions. However, it is only after the allocation of the turn in line 35 that these early-bidders perform hand-lowering work. One implication of this delayed hand-lowering work is that it displays an orientation to something that extends beyond a demonstration of willingness to be a next-turn speaker, that is, to a pre-occupation with the allocation of the turn itself. This is explored in more detail in the following chapter.

In the development of the sequence, further re-orientations occur on the part of the early-bidders to the local management of the provision of an appropriate SPP. In line 37 and 39, REB's hesitations and TEA's mutual orientation results in hand-raising work by CHL. This displays an orientation to some kind of potential trouble she has identified in REB's SPP. In line 49, after REB provides an appropriate SPP, TEA initiates a second FPP which returns the pedagogical focus to the provision of the SPP originally initiated at the start of the episode. The remaining early-bidders re-display an orientation to this and CHL, whose hand remains raised since her orientation to potential trouble, secures the turn. On the provision of the appropriate SPP, other bidders perform hand-lowering work.

This episode also shows the early-bidders' re-orientation to FPP's where there are opportunities to display a willingness to be a potential next-turn speaker. In Section 5.2 of the analysis, these early bidders re-displayed a similar orientation to FPP's on the occurrence of trouble and also where the interactional management of the sequences

allowed for it in relation to episodes involving sanctions of the number of participants performing hand-raising work. This part of the analysis considers re-orientations occurring in episodes where earlier sanctions are specifically designed to minimise turn allocation.

In the next episode, CHL, CHR and JA1 display similar orientations, where CHL is again allocated a turn, this time as a direct result of her orientation to trouble.

**Episode 13** (L4-6-1-36-25)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice preparation for a written desk-work activity on a worksheet, based on the thematic area of 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'.

The analysis returns to Episode 13 which was described previously in terms of HAN as an individually nominated participant. CHL, CHR and JA1 display an orientation to the FPP early on in the sequence in post-sanction TRP positions. The sanctioning turn performed in lines 27-30 shares a similar design to that in Episodes 14 and 15 where TEA's candidate assessment of turn distribution is designed to ascribe similar turn-taker identities to the early bidders as persistently willing to be potential next turn speakers.

In lines 29-30, TEA's sanction is designed to explicitly orient to the minimisation of turn allocation opportunities for CHL, CHR and JA1. While this is addressed to the collective of participants, it is dually designed to address the early bidders as those "who feel like" providing a relevant SPP. In the turns where HAN attempts to provide a SPP, CHL and CHR lower their hands at different TRP's. However, it becomes clear that HAN is experiencing some trouble; TEA displays an orientation to this, moving her visual attention away from HAN to a wider focus on the collective of participants. Although TEA does not perform an explicit verbal initiation of repair, CHL orients to this as such and raises her hand- re-displaying her willingness to be a potential next-turn speaker. CHL successfully secures a turn, provides the appropriate SPP as an other-repair of HAN's Trouble Source (TS). JA1, whose hand remains raised throughout this episode, then lowers his hand.

Episode 11 shows how the individual orientations of CHR, JA1, CHL and LIA, as early bidders can be characterised more generally in terms of a notion of persistence. This arises interactionally, through re-displays of willingness to the re-initiation of FPP's and more particularly, even in the context of sanctions which serve to minimise their potential turn

allocation opportunities. One of these bidders, CHL, is successful in securing a turn through specific orientations to repair (and potential repair) initiations arising from trouble displayed by those originally allocated with a turn through sanctions serving to maximise their turn allocation opportunities. In terms of individual orientations then, part of what leads to the securing of turns by these early bidders is their interactional competence to continually monitor what is happening in the sequences and thus display a persistent active listenership. This persistence originates in the local management of the interaction by all participants. These bidders are not just orienting to TEA's actions but also to those of others, which provide a context for them in terms of "preceding talk" (Heritage, 2004b: 105).

CHL's active listenership is similar to that examined in Episodes 9 and 10 in relation to CHR. However, where CHR fails (which results in explicit orientations on his part), CHL is successful in securing a turn. In the analysis of Episode 10, CHR's displays of active listenership displayed an orientation to his individual awareness and use of mechanisms through which the special turn-taking system operated. In the episodes described here, the early bidders' orientations display a similar awareness.

These participants' individual orientations display their capitalisation on the normative flexibility of the special turn-taking system. As potential turn-takers, their behaviours also display constituents of appropriate displays of participation in this classroom. The analysis now moves to an individual focus on one early-bidder more specifically, JA1.

### 5.3.3 James1

JA1 shares similar orientations to CHL and CHR. He orients at early-bidding positions in relation to the production of FPP's, becomes the subject of a number of explicit orientations by TEA's and his interactional behaviour is subject to sanctions of turn distribution and minimisation. However, JA1 displays different post-sanction behaviours to those sharing these similar orientations. It is these differences which are explored here.

**Episode 13** (L4-6-1-36-25)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice preparation for a written desk-work activity on a worksheet, based on the thematic area of 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'.

Returning to Episode 13, JA1 displays an early orientation to the production of a FPP and is more generally oriented to by TEA as a persistent bidder in terms of his hand-raising work. This episode involves delayed hand-lowering work on the part of CHL, CHR and JA1 in relation to TEA's sanction which minimises potential turn allocation opportunities. The analytical focus here is on the sequential placement of JA1's hand-lowering work (line 50), after CHL's repair of the HAN's provision of an appropriate SPP.

CHL's and CHR's hand-lowering work in this sequence (positioned after the allocation of the turn) was explored earlier in terms of an orientation to the flexibility afforded by the special turn-taking system. It provided these participants with a number of opportunities to display an orientation to the initiation of a FPP. The institutional relevance of these orientations, along with other aspects of their interactional behaviour, was described as a preoccupation with answer-provision.

This contrasts with the institutional relevance of JA1's hand-lowering work. JA1 displays persistent active listenership in relation to the production of an appropriate SPP through his maintenance of hand-raising, including during the re-initiation of the FPP as repair initiation. This displays his continued willingness to be a potential next-turn speaker – which he initiates from the moment of his hand-raise in line 16. It is also made relevant through the observation that JA1 still displays an orientation to the FPP even though the potential for turn allocation has been minimised.

Further, even though JA1 has his hand raised on the initiation of repair (and therefore is immediately available as a potential next-turn speaker), TEA allocates the turn to CHL. JA1 does not lower his hand, although it is assumed that he observes that his potential turn allocation has been further minimised.

**Episode 14** (L1-2-2-23-59)
**Module**: 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice and revision responding to questions based on the thematic area of 'talking about your own town and what you can do there', drawing on the textbook ((Metro Vert, p.10, see Appendix One)

In Episode 14, JA1 maintains his hand-raising work throughout. This is particularly noticeable given that TEA's explicit orientation to turn distribution was designed to specifically ascribe a turn-taker identity to JA1, minimising his turn allocation opportunities.

Here, JA1 is the only early-bidder to delay his hand-lowering work beyond the provision of the appropriate SPP and more noticeably, during the extended sequence in which TEA performs scaffolding actions in MAD's construction of the target language phrases. This again displays active listenership on the part of JA1.

JA1's delayed post -SPP and -evaluating third turn provision displays his individual orientation to displays of participation as consistent displays of willingness to be a potential next turn speaker, initiated through hand-raising and maintained through a process of active listening. This contrasts with other early bidders whose orientations display an occupation with answer provision.

JA1's hand-raising and lowering work is relevant to cases concerning other participants too. Throughout the data set and in many of the episodes presented throughout both analysis chapters, JA1 displays an active orientation to the on-going action. For example, in the examination of the post-sanction orientations of HAN, MAD and REB, JA1 occupies many early-bidding positions.

The analysis now moves on to an individual focus on another early bidding participant, LIA.

### 5.3.4 Liam

In the analysis of explicit orientations to the number of potential next-turn speakers, LIA occupies an early-bidding position in Episode 5. In Episode 11, where the distribution of turns is the focus, LIA displays an orientation to be a potential next turn speaker in the TRP opportunities afforded by TEA's delay in turn allocation. His orientation is included in the recognition given by TEA in her sanction in lines 30 and 33. Similarly to the other early-bidders, LIA performs hand-lowering work on the allocation of the turn. It may be argued that LIA displays here, like the other early bidders, an orientation to answer provision. However, his orientations elsewhere suggest that they may differ. For example,

in Episode 5, LIA maintains hand-raising work throughout the episode, beyond turn allocation and the evaluating third turn provided by TEA. Consider also Episode 12:

**Episode 12** (L1-4-4-35-34)
**Module**: 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice of asking and answering questions based on the thematic area of 'talking about your own town and what you can do there'.

Episode 12 was described earlier on in relation to REB's individual orientations and her post-sanction orientations to FPP's and the opportunities afforded by the maximisation of turn distribution in the design of TEA's sanctions. LIA orients to the production of the FPP as shown in line 25, where he displays an orientation to the TRP opportunities provided through turn allocation delay. TEA's sanction in line 26 is designed to display an explicit orientation to those already bidding. LIA's hand-raising work is thus hearably recognised by TEA along with that of CHR and JA1. Although the continuation of the sanction in line 28 makes relevant the subsequent minimisation of turn allocation opportunities to LIA, CHR and JA1, they persist with hand-raising work. In lines 33 and 34, JA1 and CHR perform hand-lowering work on the allocation of the turn, together with those post-sanction bidders who are not allocated the turn.

LIA, on the other hand, performs hand-lowering work in line 39 only after TEA's confirmatory turn. As an orientation to the initiation of the FPP, this action displays an orientation to turn allocation rather than sequence completion.

In Episode 16, we see LIA orient to the initiation of FPP's in a number of sequential positions:

**Episode 16** (L11-3-2-17-37)
**Module**: 5 La mode
**Activity details**: Plenary oral feedback from a desk-work comprehension activity on adjective construction from a worksheet, based on the thematic area of 'talking about what someone is like', drawing on the textbook (Metro Vert, p.95, see Appendix One)

This episode involves the initiation of two FPP's reflecting the grammatical agreement of the adjective 'lazy' as used to refer to a male (paresseux) or a female (paresseuse). On the initiation of the first FPP, LIA orients to the position of potential next-turn speaker. In line 19, TEA allocates the turn to LIA after a short delay. On his production of an appropriate

SPP the sequence continues. TEA then initiates a second FPP in lines 24-25 which concerns the female counterpart. In the immediate TRP space following this initiation, further orientation by participants is noticeably absent. This is made relevant through TEA's sanction which begins in line 27. The first TCU of the sanction is designed in a similar way to that in Episode 11.

TEA's sanction, "someone different", is hearably designed to address the remainder of participants (there is only one bidder at this point, MEG) and maximise turn distribution in terms of collective orientation. In addition though, it makes relevant the continued noticeable absence of displays of recipiency in relation to the previous turn where LIA was the only bidder, and thus exhibits indirect recognition of him as a sole willing bidder. In this way, although not explicitly done, this turn is consequential for LIA's turn allocation minimisation.

In the next TRP at the end of line 28 however, LIA displays an orientation to be a potential next turn speaker. This displays his continued orientation to the pedagogical focus and his rejection of TEA's sanction as consequential to him in terms of turn allocation opportunities. In the following extended turn, TEA continues to perform a sanction of turn distribution making relevant the information the participants already have in order to provide an appropriate SPP. In line 36, TEA designs the close of this turn to perform a candidate assessment which makes relevant the orientations of those displaying an on-going orientation to FPP's. In doing so, she ascribes a turn-taker identity to these bidders, which, similarly to the use of an identical turn in Episode 11, can be understood to minimise their turn allocation opportunities.

The consequences of maximisation of turn distribution are displayed in TRP's after the sanction close in lines 37 to 39. In line 41, however, the turn is allocated through individual nomination to JA2. On the allocation of the turn, three participants are observed to lower their hands, namely, MEG, SAM and EMM. However, LIA does not perform hand-lowering work until well into the actions performed by JA2 and TEA in the pursuit of an appropriate SPP, which involves some interactional trouble. AL1 and MIC lower their hands during and after the SPP respectively.

On the basis on LIA's orientations in Episodes 12, 16 and 5, LIA shares with JA1 an orientation to active listenership that extends beyond the turn allocation: LIA's hand-

raising work occurs in early-bidding positions, where his orientations are explicitly recognised by TEA's and performs hand-raising work where his opportunities for turn allocation are minimised. LIA rejects the turn-taker roles ascribed to him and the constraints in the "manipulation" of turn distribution (Sacks *et al*, 1974: 711). Rather, LIA capitalises on the freedoms afforded by the special turn-taking system, but in different ways than CHL and CHR.

LIA's orientations as constituents of displays of participation are linked to a continued active engagement in the on-going actions of KAEQ sequences from the point of hand-raising onwards. This contrasts to orientations displaying a willingness to demonstrate knowledge as a next turn speaker. In contrast to JA1's active listenership, LIA does not persistently orient to the initiation of FPP's in the data, but his interactional behaviour is directed at the provision of appropriate SPP's. This is not something necessarily 'initiated' by TEA but a result of his individual orientations to the local management of the episodes.

### 5.3.5 Interim Summary 2

The second part of the analysis provided for a focus on participants' individual orientations in the local management of the interaction resulting from TEA's sanctioning of who bids for turns in KAEQ's.

It shares similarities to Part 1 displaying orientations to collective recipiency, a willingness to be a next turn speaker and to knowledge and understanding demonstrations. A more detailed focus on individual participants led to the discovery of additional categories and sub-categories of the constituents of appropriate displays of participation.

Rebecca, Madeline and Hannah were involved in specific displays of recipiency through hand-raising at mid and post-sanction points where particular turn-taker identities were interactionally ascribed to the participants by TEA, in her explicit orientation to the distribution of turns. Hand-raising work involved affiliation to the specific categories of potential next-speaker made relevant by TEA, which were related to a willingness to demonstrate knowledge and understanding.

Chloe and Chris also displayed orientations to institutional norms, through their hand-raising and lowering work, to a willingness to demonstrate knowledge and understanding.

Individual orientations to a preoccupation with the allocation of a SPP was exemplified first in relation to the local management of explicit orientations to the number of potential next-turn speakers in and then described more specifically in relation to turn distribution. In the case of Liam, another persistent bidder, orientations to turn distribution revealed a particular focus on the processes leading to the provision of the SPP. Although there is a fine line between the suggested individual orientations of Chloe, Chris and Liam, the sequential placement of Liam's hand-raising and lowering work demonstrated specific attention and concentration directed at the SPP itself, rather than the allocation of the turn.

James1's individual orientations revealed a similar persistence and overall orientation to a willingness to demonstrate knowledge through his hand-raising and lowering work. Again, as with Liam, the nature of this persistence differed from that of Chloe and Chris. James1 displayed forms of active listenership, which showed an individual orientation to displays of an on-going willingness to be a next-turn speaker.

The following chapter builds on the findings presented in the current chapter by examining the "relevance" of repair in the participant-relevant organisation of the interaction and in the pursuit of the institutional goals of this classroom (Schegloff, 1992a: 107).

# CHAPTER 6

## Analysis II: The Organisation of Repair in Plenary Language Learning Activities

### 6.1 Introduction

Repair organisation is an observable feature of talk-in-interaction used by participants to deal with what Schegloff and others have referred to as "breakdowns of intersubjectivity" (for example, Schegloff, 1992b: 1295). Intersubjectivity is at the heart of CA's sociological approach and is treated as both the process and product of shared understandings and knowledge allowing for the achievement of organised social reality. Analysis of the mechanics of repair involves uncovering how: "breakdown in intersubjectivity is woven into the very warp and weft of ordinary conversation, and by implication, possibly any organized conduct" (Schegloff, 1992b: 1299).

The previous chapter showed how interactional organisations such as turn-taking are adapted and re-specified in the institutional setting of the French classroom, in the service of the institutional goal, learning French. Evidence of a special system of turn-taking was observed in relation to the initiation of a specific turn type, KAEQ's. In the treatment of repair in this thesis, there are adaptations in how trouble is dealt with in similar interactional contexts, and in line with the above, these provide situated insights and the "sequential basis" for the discovery of institutionally-relevant notions of intersubjectivity in the organisation of social life in this classroom (1992b: 1299).

It is by drawing on the notion of intersubjectivity in this examination of repair that specific links are made between interaction and the overriding aim of the analysis: to identify constituents of appropriate displays of participation. This is because these situated examples of institutionally-relevant intersubjectivity provide observable insights into participant-relevant notions of what is central to the shared interactional understandings and knowledge required in order to achieve the institutional goal, and by the same token, participate, in this classroom.

In Chapter 5, sanctions of turn-taking were introduced more broadly as departures from the normative organisation of turn-taking in this classroom. In this chapter, although the

analytical focus is on the notion of breakdowns in intersubjectivity and thus implies some form of departure from the on-going action, breakdowns are not oriented-to simply as "side-sequences" by the participants (Kasper, 1985: 208).

That is, repair activity is broadly characterised as forming a central part of institutional activities (Kasper, 1985). The analysis demonstrates how what constitutes trouble and how it is dealt with by the participants is re-specified in termsof pedagogic tasks and becomes central to how these tasks develop and their institutional purpose.

Repair is an integral practice in displays of participation. As such, the findings provide the basis for the discussion in the following chapter of how repair organisation features in the development of L2 motivation, and is thus a L2-motivational relevant form of talk.

### 6.1.1 The Relationship of Repair to the Special Turn-taking System

Repair organisation cannot be separated from the special turn-taking system in this classroom but is inextricably linked to it. Repair activity is considered as further evidence of the existence of a special turn-taking system and as a mechanism of social action in its own right. This is supported by Sacks *et al*:

> A major feature of a rational organization for behaviour which accommodates real-world interests [...] is that it incorporates resources and procedures for repair into its fundamental organization. (1974: 724)

The analysis shows how there is a close relationship between repair and turn-taking in terms of their structural properties and institutional relevance. The analysis demonstrates how participants display a range of orientations to the occurrence of a Trouble Source (TS, henceforth), its initiation and its repair. In these different mutually constructed orientations, the analysis further explores constituents of appropriate displays of participation in this classroom.

The discovery of normative expectations about repair organisation developed in conjunction with the identification and description of a special turn-taking system. Initially, in the broad treatment of the data, it was found that within some episodes, participants displayed trouble in the provision of an appropriate SPP. This related to "obstacles" to

hearing, speaking and understanding preventing participants from continuing from one sequentially relevant position to another (Schegloff *et al*, 1977:379). Such trouble is not related to more conventional understandings of it as difficulty or an item which a recipient may 'object' to. Repair involves finding or in some cases, unsuccessfully seeking, a solution to interactional obstacles.

Trouble led to extended-sequences in which participants displayed a range of orientations, executing repair-relevant actions. The initiation of a new FPP (unrelated to the one initiated through repair) and the continuation of the pedagogical activity under way was not possible until a solution was found.

These observations are in line with Schegloff's claims concerning 'sequence closure' and "post-expansion" in everyday conversation; that a "sequence cannot be possibly complete after a first pair part but before its second pair part" (2007: 115). What leads to sequence closure is the production of an appropriate SPP, one which is oriented to by participants as closure-relevant.

In the initial stages of analysis, it was found that the participants expanded KAEQ sequences beyond the provision of an initial SPP and this continued until some mutually recognisable and constructed point of sequence completion.

On detailed examination of such episodes, it was found that post SPP-expanded sequences had similarities with the observations about a special turn-taking system. The organisation of repair involved the same interactional orientations as Points 1 to 7 in Section 4.5.1 in Chapter 4. These similarities confirmed Sacks *et al*'s finding that:

> the turn-taking system is a basic organization device for the repair of any troubles in conversation. The turn-taking system and the organization of repair are thus 'made for each other' in a double sense. (1974: 724, their emphasis)

The close relationship between turn-taking, the sequence organisation it furnishes *and* repair in the institutional setting of the classroom has been observed by others (McHoul, 1990; Kasper, 1985, Hall, 2007, Seedhouse, 2007). Some have drawn attention to the similarities between the trajectories of repair in classroom interaction and what is referred to as the "triple structure of classroom talk" and "Q-A-C triads" (McHoul 1990: 355 &

375), "pedagogical exchange" (Kasper, 1985: 208) and "instructional correction" (Hall, 2007: 522). However, this association which essentially fuses CA with discourse analytical approaches to analyses of interaction can lead to misunderstandings (Seedhouse, 2007). Hall, for example, has argued more specifically for a distinction between "CA repair" and "instructional correction", viewing the treatment of actions such as correcting in classroom talk as independent from the treatment of interactional trouble (p.522). Hall claims that instructional correction is structured in terms of Initiation-Response-Feedback (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975), based on etically defined coding of turn-taking activity. This is contrasted with CA repair which Hall views as:

> interactional resources available to teachers and students [...] to deal with troubles in speaking and hearing that have the potential to threaten their mutual understanding of the interactional work they do together. (p.523)

Such perspectives, in Seedhouse's terms, "linguistify", how repair is treated in classroom interaction (2007: 527). In this thesis, the analysis focuses on repair, which includes moments of interactional trouble where 'correcting' becomes a central activity, as a context-free interactional mechanism which takes on context-sensitivity when "the constitution of trouble, of what is repairable and how repair is conducted, becomes adapted to the particular institutional focus" (p.530). As opposed in Hall, the trajectories of repair, where 'correcting' activity takes place, are shown to work by reference to a turn-taking system, whose normative organisation is 'talked into being' by the participants, thus 'correction' is trouble like any other.

As preface to the analysis, the following section describes some initial observations of repair in plenary interaction with a particular focus on how the turn-taking system furnishes its organisation.

### 6.1.2 Initial Observations of the Organisation of Repair

**Episode 17** (L1-4-1-27-34)
**Module**: 1 L'hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary discussion and oral practice of grammar point 'you can + infinitive', based on the thematic area of 'talking about your own town and what you can do there'.

Episode 17 begins with the initiation of a FPP in lines 11-20. It is designed in a similar way to that opening Episode 10 discussed in Section 5.2.2, as TEA uses a "list construction" to make relevant an appropriate SPP (Lerner, 1995: 117). The initiation of this KAEQ provides the recipients with a number of relevant candidate SPP's from which to choose. This action is not immediately taken up by the collective but after a brief pause, JA1 bids for the position of next-turn speaker, is subsequently allocated the turn and provides a SPP. The inappropriate nature of his response is observed in the first TCU in line 25, where TEA performs an Other Repair Initiation (ORI/TEA, henceforth). This turn is designed to signal to JA1 that his response is not the appropriate SPP and is hearably designed as an initiation of a further FPP, reinforced by the TCU "come on" in line 26.

In the following turn, CHR orients to this by performing hand-raising work. CHR raises his hand immediately following the ORI/TEA and then lowers it. This is followed by hand-raising work by CHL, whose orientation functions as a delayed response to the ORI/TEA in lines 25-26. After a moment, TEA diverts her gaze to CHL who is allocated the turn and provides the appropriate SPP. This is confirmed by TEA's turn in lines 34-35. The sequence then closes. CHL's turn can be viewed as an Other Repair 'Student' completion (ORC/STU, henceforth).

The initial analytical focus of this episode is on the organisation of turn-taking in relation to the production of an appropriate SPP. At a basic level, it shows how in the management of trouble, there is a collective orientation to the initiation and completion of repair after the production of the TS. This is explicated more specifically by re-viewing some of the ways in which the turn-taking system provides for dealing with trouble.

In the first instance, this episode re-demonstrates that: "FPP's can be re-formulated and extended through mutual negotiation and this provides a number of possible TRP's;" (Point 3, Section 4.5.1). In line 25, TEA's turn is designed to evaluate. In earlier episodes in Chapter 5, this type of turn was shown to exhibit the specific action of sequence closing; in Schegloff's terms, it could be given the label "sequence closing third" (2007:118). Here however, the turn does not lead to sequence closure but sequence expansion.

Given its sequential location and subsequent orientations from the co-participants, this second FPP exhibits an additional action, that of ORI/TEA. It is designed to signal some form of trouble in JA1's SPP and at the same time make relevant a SPP which provides for

the solution of the trouble. Given the list format of the initial FPP design here, a relevant SPP, and thus repair, is to be chosen from the existing list options.

Although point 3) originated in observations about the initiation of FPP's in terms of sanctions of the number of potential next-turn speakers and the minimisation of turn allocation for some, in repair contexts, this is transformed and re-specified in relation to the current pedagogical focus.

A further point to reiterate here is the dual role of FPP's and ORI/TEA as forms of 'turn-type pre-allocation' originating in the institutional significance of KAEQ's and their relationship to the asymmetrical distribution of knowledge in this setting. It shows how the range of possibilities for repair trajectories in this classroom is potentially re-specified and constrained by the institutional goal. This reflects the initial observation that: "there are re-specifications of the organisations of turn-allocation procedures specifically related to one turn-type: the elicitation question;" (Point 1, Section 4.5.1). In the same way that turn-taking organisation is re-specified in terms of this turn-type pre-allocation, so too is repair.

In seminal work on repair, Schegloff *et al* (1977) explicated a number of ways in which other-repair initiation is organised in non-institutional settings. This included a detailed demonstration that conversation is "strongly skewed" (p. 378) in the direction of self repair initiation and, if other-repair is initiated, it is often designed to incorporate techniques with the "repair initiation opportunity space" to avoid or delay its immediate initiation (p. 375). The occurrence of other-repair initiation in the way that is shown in Episode 16, is seen to be "disagreement implicated" (Schegloff, 2007: 151). This observation is based on the notion that if a recipient involved in an occurrence of trouble can repair the trouble themselves then "it ought not to be done" (Schegloff et al, 1977: 380). This episode therefore exemplifies the re-specification of these practices in the service of the institutional goal of 'doing French learning'.

In the remainder of the episode, lines 27-32 of the transcript show participant orientations to a number of TRP's in the "repair initiation opportunity space" after the initiation of the expansion of the sequence (1977: 378). This re-demonstrates that FPP's provide a number of possible TRP's but also that: "participants can occupy different interactional positions in relation to these [KAEQ] turns, TEA actively observes who is self selecting, while other participants are involved with the identification of a relevant FPP and must chose to make

themselves available (to self-select) as the potential next turn speaker;" (Point 2, Section 4.5.1).

In terms of participants who are overhearers of TEA's prior turn, their orientations perform the kinds of monitoring work already mentioned in relation to this special turn-taking system, made relevant by the initiation of the second FPP (displays of willingness to be a potential next-turn speaker). They can also, however, be considered in relation to the production of the turn as an ORI/TEA.

A return to an examination of the ORI/TEA better demonstrates this. Accepting the repair-initiation itself is not necessarily marked or noticeable in its occurrence but as a normative mechanism for dealing with trouble in KAEQ sequences, a question still remains: who is the repair of the trouble aimed at? Given that TEA does not use any specific mechanism to allocate the repair such as individual nomination, this question must be explored by examining what happens in the space after the ORI/TEA: TEA does not immediately allocate the turn to the willing bidders and there is a gap in the proceedings.

One possible way of understanding this activity is as evidence of a temporary withhold from other-repair (by TEA and the other participants through the delay in the allocation of the turn) and/or a non-taken self repair opportunity on the part of JA1. Both options are made relevant by the ORI/TEA, which is designed to address both JA1 *and* CHR and CHL. Schegloff *et al* (1977) discuss a similar technique of "withhold" (p.373). However, they are more specifically concerned with the gaps before repair segments related to the initiation of repair. In spite of this difference, Schegloff's findings are still helpful and relevant to the explication of this episode. (McHoul also discusses a similar phenomenon in his work on withholds in his classroom study: 1990.)

Schegloff et al (1977) discuss how withholds provide the TS speaker with opportunities to self-initiate repair of the trouble. Withholds refer to the withholding of other-initiation in the turn-transition space beyond the completion of the TS turn. In this episode, as McHoul also finds, the space shown after line 26 in the transcript can be understood as in terms of the withholding of other-repair. This provides the TS speaker with a specific opportunity to self repair, and in this case, select another item from the list. JA1, however, does not take up this opportunity.

The repair space also gives rise to orientations from other potential recipients, notably, CHR, who orients to the repair immediately after the ORI/TEA but then de-self-selects after a gap. This orientation displays active listenership with a preoccupation with answer provision, as discussed in Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3.

The sequential position of CHL's hand-raising work, shown in line 30, displays an orientation to JA1's failure to self repair. This secures the allocation of the turn as an other-repair from line 32, where TEA delegates the repair to CHL.

CHL's actions display an orientation to the noticeable absence of JA1's self repair. Although this absence is not explicitly oriented to by TEA, TEA's delegation of other-repair displays an orientation to the "dispreferred" but non-"sanctionable" actions on JA1's part (Seedhouse, 2004:24-25).

To expand on the relationship of repair organisation to Point 2 of the observations, JA1 chooses to not make himself available as a potential next-turn speaker, and CHR and CHL utilise other features of the special turn-taking system to display orientations to repair. This links to the observations that: "there does not appear to be a limit on the number of potential next-turn speakers who self-select;" and "there exists a range of TRP's which display the active listenership and monitoring of those involved;" (Points 5 and 6 respectively, Section 4.5.1).

The freedoms and flexibility of the turn-taking system can account for CHR and CHL's orientations. However, in repair contexts, a further question may be posed: do their orientations also constitute other-repair initiations (ORI/STU, henceforth)? Part of the motivation for this question is linked to the preliminary suggestion that: "the social/institutional function of hand-raising goes beyond the simple act of self-identification as potential next turn speaker" (Point 7, Section, 4.5.1).

Chapter 5 showed how hand-raising was part of a broader interactional competence mastered by the participants, controlled as much by the collective to display a range of orientations, as by TEA as a turn-allocation procedure in the execution of KAEQ's. In the detailed examination of the episodes, the range of interactional orientations were described and considered in terms of constituents of displays of participation going beyond the functions of self-identification. This chapter shows how participants display different

orientations to breakdowns in intersubjectivity as constituents of displays of participation in similar ways, where individual orientations to trouble extend beyond the action of bidding for turns.

## 6.2 Findings: The Organisation of Repair in Plenary Language Learning Activities

The cases below are grouped in terms of participants who share similar individual orientations in terms of their treatment of trouble.

### 6.2.1 Chris, Chloe and Liam

**Episode 18** (L3-1-3-5-37)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral revision practice (object pronoun agreements) of topics in Module 2 based on the thematic area of 'talking about my family and what they do' in the text book (Metro Vert, p.26, see Appendix One)

TEA initiates a first FPP in lines 12-14 concerning a first noun phrase "my mum". From line 18, there are a number of potential next turn speakers orienting to this FPP who perform hand-raising work with the aim of bidding for turn allocation. In line 30, a second FPP is initiated which elicits the French for "my dad". The same participants re-orient to this second FPP, except MAD who had previously secured a turn. In line 43, a third FPP is initiated which elicits the French for "my grandparents". In this particular TL phrase, the pronoun "my" demands plural agreement with the noun phrase. At this point, three participants orient to the position of next-turn speaker, AL2, CHR and JA1. TEA allocates the turn, directing her gaze to AL2. In line 49, AL2 provides a SPP which subsequently becomes the subject of repair as it does not match the appropriate TL form. At the end of this turn, CHR performs hand-lowering work, displaying an orientation to the production of the SPP.

In the next turn however, TEA begins to initiate other-repair. This turn is designed to locate the TS using a technique of repetition of what TEA understands to be the original version of the TS. On transcribing and recursive listening to this episode, it was found that AL2's SPP represents a partial production of the TL phrase and that the apparent trouble originates in the pronoun ('mon' as opposed to 'mes' for 'my') rather than, and not additionally to, some problem with the noun, 'grandparents'. TEA's next turn shows that

she has misheard AL2's reply as 'grandpère' (granddad). TEA's initiation therefore constitutes a potential repairable in itself, but this is not taken up by the participants.

To return to TEA's repair initiation, the (partial) repeat of the TS is also produced with a rising intonation. This can be understood in a similar way to those addressed in relation to classroom interaction by McHoul (1990), in terms of modulated or tentative forms of repair practices which have the effect of downgrading the action in terms of "confidence or certainty" (p.368). McHoul draws on Schegloff *et al's* (1977) discussion on modulation as a basis for this. However, the latter approach it more particularly from the observation in everyday conversation that forms of next turn *repair* can be downgraded on a "'confidence/uncertainty' scale" (1990: 378). This displays an orientation to the "dispreferred status" of other-repair in everyday conversation (p.379).

McHoul on the other hand, observes that in classroom interaction, there exist orientations to modulated forms of *repair-initiation.* He reports that repair initiations (mainly performed by the 'teacher') commonly involve modulated forms to locate a TS in some aspect of the SPP produced by a speaker (mainly performed by the 'student'). The overall consequence of modulations in classroom interaction, as in everyday conversation, is that the TS is located in a way that opens up their other-initiation (or other-repair) to some form of confirmation or acceptance by its recipient. By implication, for other-initiation, the modulated form is designed to make relevant some form of self repair opportunity on the part of the TS speaker.

The participants in this classroom are involved in the specific task of finding appropriate SPP for the completion of KAEQ sequences and as such this modulated form of repair-initiation forms a normative part of the pedagogical task. In everyday conversation, modulation is seen to relieve the disagreement status of other-repairing practices.

On the production of this ORI/TEA in line 51, two participants raise their hands, LIA and HAY. Immediately following this hand-raising work, TEA extends her repair-initiating actions to include further information concerning the apparent TS in AL2's SPP, ending with a TCU which re-initiates the FPP. Overlapping with the turn in lines 54-57, CHR performing hand-raising work. Subsequently, TEA directs her gaze towards CHR who secures the turn. CHR provides the appropriate SPP which also repairs the original TS. TEA confirms the repair in a next turn and the sequence continues. Here, TEA refers back

to each of the TL phrases in the overall episode and uses gesturing to specify who provided the appropriate SPP in each of the sequences.

Next, observe the same participant CHR, in Episode 19:

**Episode 19** (L2-2-6-16-14)
**Module**: 1 L'Hexagone
**Activity details**: 'Plenary feedback from grammar test on the perfect tense, using the textbook, "talking about what you have done" (Metro Vert, p.14, see Appendix One)

The episode begins with the initiation of the FPP which seeks a SPP providing 'I played' in French (j'ai joué). TEA does not allocate the turn to the first bidder but there are a number of TRP's, providing the opportunity for a range of hand-raising work. In line 22, TEA allocates the turn to CAM, who had self-selected as a potential next-turn speaker in line 18. CAM attempts to provide an appropriate SPP in the next turn. His SPP is partially appropriate; however, his pronunciation of the TL verb played (joué, / ue/) suggests he may have omitted the accent required to indicate the past participle in his written work. TEA performs ORI/TEA in the next turn, by a repeat of the TS as in Episode 18. Following this, some previous bidders lower their hands, namely CHR and LIA, displaying an orientation to the production of the SPP, "j'ai joué".

In line 28, TEA extends her other repair initiation to include a further candidate account of the trouble in CAM's SPP. During this turn, CHR re-orients to the FPP, raising his hand, followed by EMM who also raises her hand at overlapping points in TEA's turn. After the final TCU, TEA allocates the revived FPP turn to EMM, delegating the repair of the TS. In line 39, TEA performs confirmation work that the second attempt at the provision of an appropriate SPP has been successful and so too has the repair. CHR and JA1, whose hand-raising work is maintained throughout the sequence from line 14 display an orientation to this provision performing hand-lowering work. TEA closes the sequence with more procedural information about the TL rules underlying the perfect tense of regular verbs in French. Although heard by all, this is specifically designed to address CAM as its main recipient.

To extend the discussion on the repair practices in both these episodes: TEA's modulated and extended-turn other-repair initiations function to locate the trouble. In both episodes,

TEA's next-turn repair initiation reflects a move from modulated forms to overt accounting for the TS to re-initiations of the FPP as in 31. (See also Schegloff *et al*, 1977: 369)

Earlier, modulation was introduced as a technique used for the 'down-grading of the certainty' of repair-initiation. It is possible that TEA's turns are designed to address the TS speaker in the same way (i.e. as a type of modulating ORI/TEA). However, given that this exchange occurs in a setting where there are 22 other overhearers, other participants orient to the production of the modulated-repair work, and, given the normative procedure for turn-taking, display this orientation through hand-raising.

In TEA's extended turns she overtly treats the TS, developing on from the previous modulated form, when she specifically proffers a candidate account of the trouble in AL2's and CAM's turns. These turns provide a number of TRP's where CHR (and EMM) perform hand-raising work.

Episode 7 shows CHR, LIA and CHL engaged in similar orientations to the occurrence of modulation and extended turns which provide TRP's for hand-raising work:

**Episode 7 (L4-2-1-10-48)**
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Oral practice of vocabulary items for a comprehension activity from the text book (Metro Vert, p.31, see Appendix One), based on thematic area of 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'.

This re-examination of Episode 7 (Section 5.2.2) returns to the occurrence and treatment of repair of the TS produced in AL1's turn in line 34. On the occurrence of AL1's SPP, TEA performs a form of modulated other-repair initiation, designed in similar ways to those in the above episodes, and uses techniques of repetition with rising intonation. On the production of this ORI/TEA, CHR, CHL (and JD1, as a first orientation) re-orient to the production of a SPP, and further, CHR, who raises a second hand. TEA extends this other-repair activity to include more information, offering a candidate account for origin of the trouble in AL1's turn. Overlapping with this TCU, LIA re-orients to the sequence (line 41). Following this initial repair activity, TEA's turn provides further TRP's where another participant orients to the production of a SPP, subsequently secures the turn (where self-initiation self repair occurs), and thus completes the delegated repair action. When the

repair is performed, all earlier bidding participants lower their hands in recognition (from line 49). TEA then confirms the successful repair of the trouble and the sequence closes.

The mutual orientations of LIA and CHR in Episodes 18 and 19 and all three participants in Episode 7, demonstrate how hand-raising can be consequential for the development of the repair trajectory in terms of how the TS is repaired and who gets to repair it. One consequence is that it appears to limit the possibilities for self repair on the part of the TS speaker. This minimisation manifests itself in the sequential placement of hand-raising at TRP's immediately after and during the ORI/TEA, where self-selecting recipients display an understanding of it as making relevant a 'new' FPP in the sense that they treat it as the initiation of a collectively addressed KAEQ, rather than a specific action addressed solely to the TS to deal with the trouble. As this action is performed through hand-raising, it is visually designed to actively demonstrate this understanding to both TEA and the TS speaker. Schegloff's (1984) remarks on hand-gesturing help to further elucidate this point:

> Gestures may be used "in lieu of" talk, as when others are talking and a current non-speaker tries to communicate without interrupting. In such cases, it appears that the gesturing "non-speaker" is a sort of covert speaker nonetheless. (his emphasis) (p.271)

In this way, LIA and CHR's actions monopolise, or indeed 'interrupt', the possible self repair opportunity space to their own advantage.

As well as the hand-raising work, TEA's stronger "exposed" repair initiations, where the repair activity replaces the on-going sequence and becomes the focus of the interaction, delay self repair opportunities in the trajectories (Jefferson, 1987: 86). As Schegloff *et al* observe, "next-turn repair initiation should be understood as showing ... opportunities NOT TAKEN for the same turn and transition space repair initiation" (emphasis in original) (1977: 375) .

The analysis of hand-raising practices here account for the development of the repair trajectory in terms of *who* gets to repair the TS (here, not the TS speaker). However it does not offer yet a fuller understanding of *how* the TS gets repaired. TEA as the potential recipient of this hand-raising work re-orients to these non-TS speaker participants. She observably adjusts the treatment of repair in light of it, which leads to delegated repair.

Chapter 5 demonstrated how the allocation of turns involves active monitoring work on the part of TEA before the selection of a next-turn speaker. Delegated repair results from a similar monitoring process which implies that the notion of choice still operates on the allocation of repair turns.

This choice involves the identification and selection of who gets to be a next-turn speaker, and in repair contexts, the selection between alternative routes to dealing with the trouble presented. The analysis shows, as Schegloff et al make clear, that TEA does not simply select or allow for other-repair as a "independent" or separate alternative to self repair but it occurs as a result of a complex process originating in the relationship between self and other repair as "ordered relative to each other" (1977: 370-373).

As CHR, LIA and CHL treat ORI/TEA's as FPP's in the ways described above, as the normative initiation of a new KAEQ FPP, their hand-raising work also functions to displays a willingness to be a potential next-turn *repairer*. It is locally transformed into a type of 'second-position' ORI/STU displaying that those orienting possess enough knowledge to provide an appropriate SPP.

As opposed to everyday conversation, the three episodes presented so far demonstrate how different types of other initiated other repair are treated as normative by the members of this classroom. Where similar repair practices in everyday conversation have been examined in terms of a structural dispreference for other repair and their characterisation as being "disagreement implicated" (Schegloff, 2007: 151), here they are treated as normative and 'preferred' sequential features of KAEQ's. These orientations also show how dealing with 'breakdowns in intersubjectivity' through these interactional practices is treated as normative by the participants and related to institutional goals.

What are the implications of these institutional-relevant forms of repair practices for appropriate displays of participation in this classroom (and later on in terms of L2 motivation)? Chapter 5 demonstrated how LIA, CHR and CHL exploited the freedoms and flexibilities of the turn-taking system, displaying specific orientations to displays of participation. When breakdowns in intersubjectivity occur, these bidders orient in similar ways. First, the analysis turns to CHR and CHL.

These participants were characterised as persistent bidders whose interactional orientations display a willingness to be a next-turn speaker, demonstrating knowledge and understanding but also more specifically exemplifying a pre-occupation with answer provision. This is seen in CHR and CHL's monopolisation of 'repair initiation opportunity space' through their hand-raising work and the actions it performs in relation to TEA's repair-initiation turns.

CHR and CHL's exploitation of the special turn-taking system in this way provides the context for them to display specific affiliation to TEA as the repair initiator. As TEA performs the initial repair initiation, CHR and CHL do not display an orientation to the TS but an affiliation with the repair-initiation performed by TEA. As TEA is the initiator of KAEQ FPP's, affiliating with her is more particularly characterised as association with a turn-taker identity of knowledge bearer.

Affiliation is a theme in the investigation of repair practices in other studies of multiparty interaction. In studies of everyday conversation, such as that of Egbert (1997), other-initiated repair is described as a "unique" feature in the formation of "collectivity" ( 611-619). Egbert's data comes from everyday multi-person conversation involving friendship groups where initiation of other-repair does not make relevant the same 'disagreement-implicated' practices as described by Schegloff (2007) and as demonstrated in this analysis. Rather, it is understood as way in which participants "can recognise" multiparty interaction "so as to resemble dyadic interaction in that there are two 'parties'" (619).

The analysis has demonstrated how KAEQ's in plenary interaction are procedurally consequential for the organisation of the interaction as 'dyadic'. CHR and CHL however, make relevant a temporary diversion from the normative set-up. There is the creation of a "momentary association", whereby the occurrence of repair activity displays individual orientations (Lerner, 1993: 237). This 'momentary association' is one where CHR and CHL align themselves with TEA as a "single party" for the duration of the repair trajectory, providing an account for their characterisations as persistent bidding repairers (Egbert, 1997: 616).

The instantiation of CHR and CHL's understanding of constituents of appropriate displays of participation is interactionally supported by TEA in the mutual construction of the repair

trajectory and contributes to sequence closure. In the next episode CHR and LIA display similar orientations, which have further consequences for how the TS gets repaired:

**Episode 20** (L4-4-2-24-40)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral practice of question formation ('can I' (est-ce que je peux), based on the thematic area of 'saying what wrong and asking for something'

In the initiation of the FPP, TEA produces a TS and performs self-initiated self repair - the pedagogical task is to produce a SPP to the KAEQ initiating the French equivalent of "can I" not "can I have". Subsequently, a number of participants orient to the position of next-turn speaker including CHR, CHL and LIA. There are number of possible TRP's produced in the initiation of the FPP and during TEA's self repair where 9 participants perform hand-raising work. In line 31, TEA allocates the turn to KAT who provides a SPP in line 33. In the following turns, five of the original bidding students, including LIA and CHL, perform hand-lowering work displaying an orientation to the production of a SPP.

In line 39, TEA initiates other-repair using repetition of the TS, extending this turn to perform a more detailed and exposed ORI. This provides a number of TRP's where CHR and LIA re-orient to the production of an appropriate SPP. CHR re-orients by raising a second hand to the one already displayed which is then lowered during the second half of the second TCU of the exposed ORI/TEA. TEA closes the turn by making relevant the ORI/TEA as explicitly addressed to the TS speaker, KAT. In line 53, an additional participant performs hand-raising work. In line 54, TEA delegates the repair to LIA who produces an appropriate SPP. During this turn, CHR lowers his first hand. Finally, after confirmation by TEA that a solution to the trouble has been found, the remaining hand-raisers perform hand-lowering work.

In terms of CHR's orientations, the sequential placement of his hand-raising work and the actions it performs echo earlier descriptions about his individual orientations in relation to the on-going development of the treatment of repair. This displays his understanding of TEA's exposed ORI as making relevant a further FPP thus aligning himself with TEA as a knowledge bearer. As CHR maintains this orientation (albeit with just one hand raised)

beyond the close of TEA's turn, where she demonstrates some form of orientation to KAT individually, his hand-raising work monopolises self repair opportunity space.

Given the orientations of CHR, LIA and others in the 'repair opportunity space' in the face of TEA's individual orientation to KAT, and that the repair is delegated to LIA, this episode exemplifies how TEA adjusts the treatment of repair in light of the mutual orientations of her co-participants. CHR and LIA are recurrent participants in the development of these repair trajectories.

In Episode 21, hand-raising work is performed by LIA in direct relation to the TS, rather than or additionally to ORI/TEA in repair initiation opportunity space.

**Episode 21** (L1-6-1-36-41)
**Module**: 2 J'arrive
**Activity details**: Plenary oral revision practice of grammar construction 'on peut + infinitive' ('you can + infinitive), from the thematic area of 'talking about your own town and what you can do there', based on Metro Vert, p.10 (see Appendix One).

The first FPP is initiated in lines 11 to 20. This turn extends over a number of possible TRP's where CHL and JA1 display an orientation to be a potential next-turn speaker and where TEA adds a number of TCU's to her original FPP. In line 21, TEA allocates the SPP to CHL. Overlapping with the end of CHL's provision of a SPP, LIA performs hand-raising work. However, he then lowers his hand in line 25 after TEA's turn. This is a form of modulated other-repair initiation using a technique of repetition of CHL's candidate response; however, the exact location of the 'trouble' is not specified.

In line 26, TEA performs an ORI but does not deal overtly with the TS in the first TCU of that turn. Rather, she exposes the occurrence of trouble by making the initiation of repair the topic: "can anyone pick up on CHL's mistake" (line 26) . At the end of this TCU, LIA re-orients to the sequence, performing hand-raising work. In the next TCU of the turn beginning in line 28, TEA displays a more explicit orientation to repair-initiation and locates the TS which also serves as an initiation of a second FPP (and delegated form of other-repair): "what hasn't she done to the second verb" (28). The turn in lines 28-30

represents a sharp shift from the previous modulated form to a much stronger form. In the next turn LIA lowers his hand.

In the process of its repair initiation, there is the complex construction of mutual orientations to the TS. LIA displays an orientation to CHL's SPP before TEA's third turn where TEA begins ORI. The sequential placement of LIA's hand-raising work makes relevant a form of modulated ORI/STU. LIA raises his hand immediately after the production of the TS where, instead of using the infinitive of the verb 'habiter', CHL conjugates the verb with the personal pronoun 'je' producing a non-TL construction. LIA's hand-lowering in line 29 however, displays an understanding of TEA's modulated repair as something other than an orientation to trouble. That is, it displays a mutual recognition of the production of an appropriate SPP in a similar way to that of CHR in Episode 19. In this sense, it functions as a form of self-initiated self repair.

When TEA extends the third-turn space to incorporate other repair-relevant actions, LIA re-orients to the TS, which confirms the earlier assertion that LIA performs a form of ORI/STU in line 26. LIA displays an orientation to be a next turn speaker in relation to TEA's ORI turn. However, his hand-lowering in line 29 then displays an unwillingness to be next turn speaker once TEA changes the focus of the next-turn action to provide an explicit account for the TS rather than the repair itself in the second TCU of the same ORI turn. From line 32, the sequence continues and an appropriate second SPP is proffered by JA1 which performs an account for the trouble. CHL is then offered an opportunity to self repair which she successfully performs.

So what are the implications of LIA's individual orientations here in relation to those of CHR and CHL and in terms of his displays of participation? The analysis has shown LIA to be a willing bidder whose interactional orientations were linked to an individual orientation to active engagement through demonstrations of active listenership (Section 5.3.4). More specifically, this active-listenership was accounted for through hand-raising work in terms of a directed attention to an appropriate SPP. Similarly LIA's orientations display an alignment with the TS itself, compared to CHR's and CHL's orientations as affiliation practices with TEA as the other-initiator of repair.

In both episodes involving LIA described in this Chapter, in his orientations to the occurrence of the TS and its subsequent repair, he instantiates a similar individual

orientation. He performs observable monitoring work through hand-raising actions in relation to the TS and subsequent second or first position other repair initiation. Episode 21 demonstrates monitoring work and attention to the SPP in hand-raising and lowering over a short sequence of actions. Although LIA's individual orientations differ from those of CHR and CHL, he is still a persistent bidding repairer. As opposed to CHR and CHL however, TEA does not orient in the same way to LIA's orientations. This may be indicative of some similarity in what constitutes appropriate displays of participation for TEA and CHR and CHL. This is explored in more detail in Chapter 7.

### 6.2.2 Ryan and Kate

This section incorporates two new participants into the analytical focus, Ryan (RYA) and Kate (KAT). They are participants whose troubles in relation to the production of a SPP result in a range of orientations on the part of TEA and other participants, namely CHR and CHL. In displaying orientations to RYA and KAT, similar practices of repair initiation and repair on the part of TEA and CHR and CHL reoccur. The four episodes to follow offer further evidence for the existence of these practices as normative. They provide further empirical evidence for the individual orientations of CHR and CHL and allow for a detailed examination of the orientations of TS producers, KAT and RYA. TEA displays an orientation to these participants through ORI/TEA. However, these trajectories differ somewhat to the previous repair contexts in that more opportunities for self repair occur. These are locally managed in relation to the pedagogical task and constitute appropriate displays of participation in this classroom.

**Episode 22** (L1-5-3-37-30)
**Module**: 1 L'Hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary comprehension exercise from an interview transcript in the textbook (Metro Vert, p.10 see Appendix One) based on the thematic area of 'talking about your hometown and what you can do there'.

In Episode 22 lines 16-18, TEA allocates the SPP of the FPP initiation, to identify an infinitive verb in the interview transcript, to RYA. This turn is allocated through individual nomination without any prior hand-raising work, on RYA's part. In lines 17 and 19, CHR and CHL, who originally bid for the position of next-turn speakers, perform hand-lowering work displaying a recognition that the ownership of the turn now rests with the nominated

turn speaker. After a two second pause, CHR re-displays an orientation to the on-going action, followed an exposed other-repair initiation on the part of TEA. This turn is similar to line 26 in Episode 21, where the occurrence of trouble is exposed and treated as topic-relevant. However, the nature of the trouble differs somewhat from that produced by CHL in the earlier episode as, instead of focussing on what Seedhouse calls repair in a "form and accuracy context" where the pedagogical task is to produce TL linguistic formulations, there appears to be some kind of procedural trouble in the production of the SPP (2004: 144). Here, RYA does not offer a SPP.

RYA does not indicate whether or not he can produce a SPP and subsequently this is treated by TEA as procedural trouble. CHR, who orients to the noticeable absence of the SPP before TEA, also treats it as such. In line 27, the SPP and the repair are delegated to CHR. However, this makes relevant further trouble, this time in terms of 'form and accuracy'. In contrast to the development of self repair in the previous episodes, CHR as the TS speaker makes a number of attempts at self-initiated self repair. This delayed SPP completion turn also provides TRP opportunities for CHL to orient to the trouble through hand-raising work. In line 33, TEA performs a partial other-repair of the TL item, "se baigner" (to swim), and accounts for her actions, when the sequence ends.

Episode 22 demonstrates a range of repair organisation phenomena. The first is a re-demonstration, and thus evidence, for the relevance and procedural consequentiality of ORI/STU in repair contexts. CHR performs a similar role to that of LIA in Episode 21: a first position other-repair initiator. Given its sequential placement before the ORI/TEA, CHR's orientations display an affiliation not with TEA but with the non-production of a SPP. In doing so, he monopolises self repair opportunity space in that he actively demonstrates a willingness to repair the trouble.

Although displaying a similar alignment to the TS, CHR and LIA differ. Where LIA's individual orientations display his attendance to the completion of an appropriate SPP, where attempts were actually made to provide one, CHR performs hand-raising work in relation to its production.

The mutual production of other repair is facilitated by CHR's individual orientation to answer provision and TEA's (immediate) abandonment of SR initiation opportunities. As this occurs in a turn-taking organisation which is initially hearably designed to individually

address RYA, the flexibility in turn-taking exercised by CHR in repair contexts is shown to be particularly influential for the ways in which problems are solved in KAEQ sequences.

CHL exercises a similar practice of ORI/STU in relation to CHR's trouble. However, this brings the nature of trouble in the sequence back to a focus on 'form and accuracy' rather than 'procedure'. CHL's orientation demonstrates a second first position ORI/STU given its sequential placement.

Episode 22 introduces two other interactional features of the repair organisation: individual nomination of next-turn speakers in the initiation of the FPP's and the notion of procedural trouble. These features are interconnected and the episodes display how turn-taking allocation and the mutual orientations of participants in terms of constituents of displays of participation are consequential for the treatment of trouble.

In Episodes 23, 24 and 25, KAT is the TS speaker.

**Episode 23** (L1-2-4-22-43)
**Module**: 1 L'Hexagone
**Activity details**: : Plenary oral practice and revision responding to questions based on the thematic area of 'talking about your own town and what you can do there', drawing on the textbook ((Metro Vert, p.10, see Appendix One)

TEA begins to initiate a FPP in lines 12-16. The focus is on providing an appropriate SPP to the question: "Manchester, c'est une grande ville?" (is Manchester a big town?). The FPP is designed as a closed question: it requires a yes or no answer and a confirmatory repetition of part of the FPP TCU: "oui, c'est une grande ville", (yes, it is a big town). From line 19, a number of participants perform hand-raising work, displaying an orientation to be a potential next-turn speaker; this includes CHR, CHL and LIA. Subsequently, TEA nominates KAT, who like RYA in Episode 23, has not performed hand-raising work prior to this turn allocation. Part of the turn-allocation organisation in this activity is to catch a ball, which KAT does. Following this action, the original bidding participants perform hand-lowering work, displaying their mutual orientation to TEA and KAT that the ownership of the next-turn now lies with the nominated speaker.

KAT's SPP is not forthcoming; TEA notices this by repeating the FPP in line 34 and after a further pause provides alternative candidate responses relating to part of the appropriate SPP. TEA's orientations to the noticeable absence of a SPP function as other-initiated self repair and the inclusion of alternative candidate responses, "oui" and "non", demonstrate clueing work to assist KAT with its production. This action constitutes the proffering of modulated self repair opportunities which are techniques reported by Lerner (1995) in relation to 'listing' (Section 5.2.3, Chapter 5). In this episode, this technique is hearably designed to address KAT where she is invited to select from a (limited) list of possible alternatives. Here, this technique is re-specified in the service of repairing trouble. From line 40, the transcript shows how other participants display an orientation to the perceived trouble. This consists of hand-raising on the part of four participants of which CHL is one. TEA then displays an orientation to this hand-raising work by delegating the repair to EMM. Following this, the current hand-raisers display their understanding that the turn has also been allocated. In line 53, TEA confirm the production of an appropriate SPP.

In the sequence so far, there is a move from ORI/TEA self repair to ORI/TEA other repair. This transition occurs in the face of attempts by TEA to engage with KAT more specifically as the TS speaker and her opportunities for SR in the repair opportunity space. To what extent is the sequence locally managed by all participants so provide an account for how the TS gets repaired by whom?

Although TEA delegates the repair, this occurs in conjunction with the orientations of other participants, namely through hand-raising work. Hand-raising is performed in TRP's where SR is made relevant in a next turn and through specific list techniques which have been shown by Lerner to "relax the proscription against entering another's turn at talk, insofar as a next list item is designed as a completion for or an extension of a prior turn" (1995: 118). Hand-raising therefore functions to display orientations to the collective relevance of the re-initiation of the FPP and monopolise SR opportunity space. TEA again adjusts the treatment of repair in light of these.

KAT's SR failure leads to the occurrence of modulated other initiated SR without any subsequent repair work as a SPP is absent. As a consequence, TEA cannot provide KAT with additional information which may assist her in providing an appropriate SPP. For the analyst, it is also difficult to gauge the origin of KAT's trouble more specifically at this point.

To return to the episode, in line 54 TEA re-orients to KAT as the original TS producer and makes relevant an additional SPP. This time TEA's re-orientation deals more specifically with occurrence of trouble and exposes it. Following a third FPP, KAT throws the ball back to TEA, which displays an orientation to sequence closure. However, as TEA makes relevant, the sequence is not yet closed.

TEA exposes the trouble as indicative of some problem of understanding of the first FPP: TEA repeats the first FPP and initiates a SPP in which KAT is required to provide a translation of the TL formulation as "is Manchester a big town". However this leads to the identification trouble by TEA and the other participants. The noticeable absence of a further SPP is displayed through TEA's repetition of the TL formulation (a form of modulated other-initiated self repair) and through hand-raising in the SR opportunity space by a number of returning participants, including CHR and CHL. In line 65, KAT finally provides a SPP which leads to further trouble. From this and TEA's exposed other initiated SR in lines 66-70, KAT's SR failures demonstrate 'procedural' trouble in the sense that KAT does not actually understand the TL item in the first FPP.

In line 73, although the origin of the trouble is now more explicit, TEA does not persist at this point with some form of repair but provides sanctions for KAT: she "should" normatively possess the appropriate institutional knowledge to provide the appropriate SPP. The use of "that" makes it unclear to the analyst, and maybe to KAT herself, as to whether she should have the knowledge to answer the first FPP or to more generally understand it, but it can be assumed that both is required here. From line 74 onwards, the second occurrence of repair is delegated and the sequence closes. Here, TEA explicitly orients to EMM as the repairer.

In Episode 24, KAT encounters further trouble which is of a procedural nature:

**Episode 24** (L1-7-3-51-03)
**Module**: 1 L'Hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary feedback on writing activity from a worksheet based on La Rochelle related to 'talking about your own town and what you can do there'.

The analytical focus of this episode begins in line 46 where TEA initiates a third FPP requiring participants to locate a source of trouble which TEA purposely initiates, based on the appropriate SPP provided by AL2 earlier on in the sequence. The pedagogical focus is on TEA's purposeful omission of the infinitive form following the use of "on peut" (you can) on the verb "manger" (to eat). At TRP's at the end of line 49, two participants perform hand-raising work, including CHR. Instead of allocating the turn to one of these bidders, TEA nominates KAT as a next-turn speaker. On KAT's nomination, CHR, JA2 and JA1 perform hand-lowering work. CHL also performs hand-lowering work which she initiates on the production of the purposeful TS in line 44. There after occurs a long pause in the proceedings where, after a four second pause, JA1 re-orients to the FPP. TEA then orients to the noticeable absence of a SPP.

In TEA's turn design, instead of making relevant the prior identification of the TS as the pedagogical focus, she makes relevant a new SPP which requires a 'yes' or 'no' response related to whether KAT is able to provide the SPP. The relevance of this change of focus is made further relevant by the statement following this new FPP that TEA "does not like silence". Thus TEA displays an explicit orientation to KAT's failure to produce a SPP and sanctions its noticeable absence.

In line 60, KAT provides an appropriate SPP to this new FPP. From lines 63 onwards, a number of participants re-orient to the sequence, including CHR and CHL, who display an understanding that the previous pedagogical focus of identifying the TEA's initiated TS is now back in view, and the sequence continues without further trouble.

In contrast to the previous episode, there is no use of ORI/TEA SR modulated or otherwise, on the start of the trouble subsequent to the FPP in line 49. TEA does not repeat the original FPP or provide further information to guide KAT to an appropriate SPP. Whereas in Episode 22 TEA delegates the repair after the occurrence of the noticeable absence of a SPP, here TEA explicitly orients to it, initiating a new FPP in an attempt to deal with the trouble - which functions as a ORI/TEA self repair. In this episode, TEA exposes the underlying procedural trouble preventing KAT from providing an appropriate SPP earlier on in the sequence.

In Episode 24, the other participants are not as forthcoming with hand-raising work. Only one participant, JA1, performs hand-raising work in the TRP space after TEA's turn

allocation in line 49. This is related more specifically to the absence of any repair work on the part of TEA in this same space, which has been shown previously to be understood by CHR, CHL and LIA as making relevant SPP's collectively available. Here, CHR and CHL have nothing to align themselves with in their pursuit of answer provision.

These differences make relevant how when trouble occurs in KAEQ's and is treated as distinctly procedural in nature, the design of the repair trajectories reflect this and there is a collective orientation on the part of almost all the participants to its occurrence. SR opportunities concerning the pedagogical focus of the FPP are not made available and instead, there is a temporary focus on the underlying institutional significance of the FPP as a display of knowledge and the TS producer's failure to display this in and through their displays of recipiency.

In Episode 25 taken from the same activity, there is reoccurrence of both types of the repair-activity observed so far in relation to KAT:

**Episode 25** (L1-7-5-52-40)
**Module**: 1 L'Hexagone
**Activity details**: Plenary feedback on writing activity from a worksheet based on La Rochelle related to 'talking about your own town and what you can do there'.

KAT is allocated as the next-turn speaker of the SPP through individual nomination, where she is required to provide the French equivalent of "you can swim" (on peut nager). There is no hand-raising work on the part of the other participants prior to this TRP. On KAT's nomination, TEA reformulates the original FPP to make relevant the notion of 'being able to produce a SPP'. As this episode occurs very shortly after Episode 24, this turn design reflects TEA's specific adaptation to KAT.

In line 16, TEA attempts to provide some clueing for the production of an appropriate SPP by proffering the first part of the TCU required, "on". After a further pause, TEA repeats the pedagogical focus. Although attempts are observably made on TEA's part to assist KAT, the extended pause after this indicates that at this point they this is not successful.

In line 20, TEA performs other-initiated self repair. Again, this other-initiation relates more specifically to what TEA treats as the TS: the absence of any response from KAT. Here, TEA initiates a third FPP, this time making relevant a response from KAT which

seeks a choice between "yes" or "no" as an appropriate SPP as to whether KAT is able to produce it. In orienting to this type of self repair opportunity, TEA makes relevant the institutional significance of SPP's as instantiations of displays of knowledge.

This technique, also observed in Episode 24, provides an opportunity for the next-turn speaker, KAT, to abandon the repair altogether. This is in contrast to other repair opportunity space turns where the trouble originates from the non-TL form produced in the TS speaker's turn. There, ORI/TEA self repair and ORI/STU seek to initiate repair of the non-TL form in the next turn or monopolise the SR space in the service of repair respectively. In either case, these repair actions are not abandonment implicated.

During another period of extended pauses, during which JA1 displays an orientation to be a potential next-turn speaker, KAT attempts to provide an appropriate SPP to the original FPP. This SPP is not the one initiated by TEA in her closed question. KAT's self repair attempts lead again to trouble. First, TEA mishears the last TCU of KAT's turn, initiating repair which is performed in line 28. On the production of this TL item, TEA initiates other repair, locating the trouble in KAT's turn, where she uses the noun "swimming" instead of the verb "to swim" to complete the verb phase "on peut nager". Overlapping with this turn, at a TRP, CHR performs hand-raising work which displays his orientation, as in previous episodes, to other initiated repair work as making relevant a collectively addressed FPP, thus aligning himself with TEA as a knowledge bearer.
In line 34, another participant, KEL, performs hand-raising work at the beginning of another TCU of TEA's exposed repair turn. At a TRP at the end of this turn, TEA allocates a turn to KEL and thus delegates the repair of KAT's TS. Immediately following the production of the appropriate SPP, which is confirmed in line 38, CHR lowers his hand followed soon after by JA1 who waits for TEA's confirmation.

In this episode we observe two types of repair actions performed in relation to two types of trouble, one linked to production of TL forms and the other more explicitly linked to the production of appropriate displays of participation in KAEQ's. Of particular interest is the juxtaposition of these two repair actions in the same episode as evidence that such trajectories are distinctive.

Throughout this chapter, the analysis has shown how the organisation of repair is re-specified in the service of the institutional goal, 'doing learning French'. In terms of

episodes involving KAT and RYA, the absence of a SPP is treated as problematic and relevant for repair initiation because of its role as hindering the pursuit of the institutional goal and its pedagogical tasks. This shows how TEA and other participants display orientations to the absence of a relevant next-turn as symptomatic of a breakdown in institutionally-relevant forms of "understanding display" (Schegloff, 1991: 167).

The 'trouble' is solved through delegated repair, performed by participants who orient to TEA's repair initiation through hand-raising work, the institutional significance of which is to indicate a willingness to share knowledge.

This pursuit of knowledge display is supported by the observation that repair initiations concerning KAT and RYA rarely involve more exposed forms of candidate assessment of the TS, found in Episodes 18,19,7, 20 and 21, which provide clues on how a trouble may be solved. Even when opportunities for SR are offered, these concern actions providing participants such as KAT with the option of opting out of the repair of the original trouble.

Episodes 22 to 25 indicate a mismatch between the pedagogical goal to provide a 'known' answer and the turn-taking organisation used to organise them where KAT and RYA are allocated turns through individual nomination. Procedural trouble occurs because KAT and RYA do not posses the appropriate knowledge to provide a SPP. Although repair initiation work on TEA's part attempts to solve the procedural trouble, the solution to the initial provision of the missing SPP is found through turn-taking organisation involving other participants performing hand-raising work - leading to delegated repair. Thus 'bidding for turns' appears to be better suited as a way of organising collective turn-taking opportunities than individual nomination in the pursuit of meeting the pedagogical goals of KAEQ's.. Chapter 7 engages with this prospect in more detail and discusses the implications.
To close this analysis, the chapter returns to a brief focus on JA1, whose interactional orientations were first described in Chapter 5.

### 6.2.3 James1

JA1's orientations to trouble mirror his interactional behaviour throughout the data considered in this thesis. Similarly to behaviours described in Section 5.3.3 of Chapter 5,

JA1 performs hand-raising and lowering work in a number of the repair episodes. In Episodes 18, 19 and 21, for example, JA1 maintains hand-raising from an early-bidding position until the provision of SPP's and sequence closing turns.

The emphasis in this part of the analysis in relation to JA1 is on his orientations in episodes where the primary analytical focus was originally on KAT as the TS speaker. His specific hand-raising and lowering work holds particular significance where SPP's are allocated through individual nomination. In Episode 25, JA1 performs hand-raising work in repair initiation space before and after ORI/TEA. JA1 is the only participant raising his hand after line 22, that is after the last TCU of TEA's initiation of SR where KAT is offered the opportunity to abandon the SPP addressed to her. JA1 maintains this orientation, lowering his hand only in the closing turns of the sequence where TEA confirms the appropriate provision of a SPP and delegated repair. As TEA's TCU in line 25 is hearably designed to address KAT as next turn speaker as a specific SR initiation, JA1's hand-raising work orients to something other than bidding for a next-turn and the monopolisation of the turn-space. That is, similarly to his previously described displays of participation, JA1's hand-raising and lowering work displays a specific orientation to active-listenership and persistent displays of willingness or availability for next-turn positions without necessarily orienting to turn allocation itself.

Episode 23 displays a similar orientation. While JA1, like a number of other participants, orients to the individual nomination of KAT as a next-turn speaker in line 54, he also orients to the noticeable absence of KAT's SPP. JA1 maintains hand-raising throughout the repair activity until the delegation of the repair in line 78. Again, in earlier episodes, pre-ORI/TEA hand-raising work on the occurrence of trouble was understood as a specific orientation on the part of CHR and LIA as a form of second position ORI/STU. In contrast, JA1's hand-raising and its sequential placement display further active listenership and an orientation to the occurrence of trouble, without a specific bid to repair it.

In Episode 24, JA1 performs hand-raising work in the repair opportunity space initiated by TEA to deal explicitly with KAT's procedural problems in understanding the FPP initiated at the opening to the episode, for which a SPP was provided by another participant as delegated repair. This occurs immediately after the ORI/TEA in lines 58-59 and before TEA's further initiation of SR. It is only at this SR point that other participants, including

CHR and CHL raise their hands. JA1, on the other hand, maintains his hand-raising until the provision of an appropriate SPP and second delegated repair.

The sequential placement of JA1's hand-raising and lowering in the occurrence of trouble in these episodes contribute to an account of his individual orientations as linked to persistent active listenership and a willingness to be a next-turn speaker instantiating understandings of appropriate displays of participation. Moreover, in the same way that LIA and CHR and CHL's hand-raising work demonstrates alignment or affiliation with the TS and TEA as primary knower, JA1's orientations display a more specific alignment with the TS speaker. This suggests that JA1's interactional behaviour demonstrates 'face-saving' behaviour: he affiliates with KAT where he, as in the case of CHR and CHL (Episodes 7, 18 & 19), can be seen to create a "momentary association" as a potential next-turn speaker (Lerner, 1993: 237).

### 6.3 Summary

This chapter was concerned with explicating repair organisation in the development of KAEQ's in plenary language learning activities. It concentrated more particularly on how the special turn-taking system at work in these episodes, described in Chapter 5, furnishes this organisation in the treatment of trouble by the participants. As with the previous chapter, the individual orientations of some of the participants made relevant constituents of appropriate displays of participation.

The analysis first focussed on the orientations of CHR, CHL and LIA as persistent and willing repairers. CHR and CHL drew on the flexibilities afforded by the normative practices of the turn-taking system to display orientations to trouble through hand-raising work (for example, second position ORI/STU). This involved the monopolisation of repair initiation opportunity space. The notion of affiliation was introduced as a way of accounting more specifically for these actions. These participants demonstrated a "momentary association", aligning themselves with TEA as knowledge bearers and other-repair initiators (Lerner, 1993: 237). Observations mirrored earlier findings in the previous chapter about CHR and CHL's preoccupation with answer provision.

As another persistent and willing repairer, LIA's individual orientations were also described here and in relation to re-orientations to FPP's, TS turns and initiations of other

repair. In comparison to CHR and CHL, based on the sequential placement of his hand-raising LIA displayed alignments with the TS, displaying active listenership and monitoring work in relation to the processes of sequence completion. This mirrored his interactional behaviour identified in Chapter 5.

JA1, although described as similarly persistent in his orientations to turn-taking and constituents of appropriate displays of participation, was allocated a separate section in this analysis given sequential positioning of his hand-raising and lowering work, which differed from that of the other persistent and willing repairers. In line with displays of participation in Chapter 5, JA1 maintained hand-raising work from early-bidding positions until the provision of SPP's and sequence closing turns, thus, across repair trajectories. He did this in spite of obvious minimisation of his turn allocation opportunities (turns were individually nominated). In general JA1's orientations to repair activity displayed active-listenership and persistent displays of availability for next-turn positions even where turn allocation was not an obvious possibility in the sequences. In this way, JA1 is characterised as a willing bidding repairer.

The section on RYA, and more specially KAT, as failed repairers, introduced new participants into the analytical focus. The episodes here showed CHR, CHL and JA1 in specific interactional contexts where turns were allocated on the basis of individual nomination. However, the central interest in this part of the analysis was on the demonstration of an additional type of repair activity. This concerned explicit treatment of procedural problems in the production of SPP's, namely their noticeable absence. A mismatch between the institutional goals of KAEQ's and turn-taking organisation was proposed as accounting for this type of repair activity, where individual nomination as opposed to bidding for turns resulted in trouble. The question was posed as to whether such turn-taking organisation is appropriate to the pursuit of such goals.

### 6.3.1 Displays of Participation as Concepts of Participation

The move to discussion of these findings in terms of charting the development of L2 classroom motivation is represented in this thesis in terms of a conceptual transition. Here, categories of displays of participation revealed in the analysis and through the characterisation of participants such as CHL and CHR as persistent, willing repairers for example and those from the previous chapter such as REB, HAN and MAD as rewarded

bidders, are raised to *participation concepts*. As concepts, they are treated as core variables, carrying different properties in relation to participant-relevant notions of L2 motivation.

This approach is different from the treatments of participation in recent (L2) motivational work, where concepts of participation such as 'actively taking part in classroom interaction' are dealt with in relative isolation from the context-sensitive interactional environment in which they occur. Here, concepts are formed from the analysis of interactional practices taken from the 'talking into being' of the institutional setting.

The participation concepts which have been identified are formulated as the following:

1. Participation as willingness to be a next turn speaker
2. Participation as willingness to demonstrate knowledge
3. Participation as willingness to demonstrate understanding
4. Participation as persistence with a willingness to demonstrate knowledge
5. Participation as persistence with the *allocation* of answer provision
6. Participation as persistence with the *process* of answer provision

**Figure 9:** Participation concepts related to displays of participation

These concepts are not listed in optimal order. However Concept 1 is linked to what Heritage (2004a) refers to as the "special constraints" in terms of the international management of the turn-taking system (p.225). Its properties are what have been shown to be the normative practices and procedures used and established by the participants as they carry out their pedagogic goals. Concepts 2- 6 encompass properties relating to the pedagogical functions of the interactions and the specific inferences associated with particular interactional practices in terms of the negotiation of these practices by individual participants. Together, these 6 concepts encompass properties which reflect what Seedhouse refers to as the "reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction in the L2 classroom" (2004: 163). The participation concepts made relevant in the interactions reflect the range of individual orientations of participants: Rebecca, Hannah, Madeline, Chris, Chloe, Liam, James1, Ryan, Kate and TEA who have become the focus of the study.

The next chapter links constituents of appropriate displays of participation in terms of participation concepts with broader conceptualisations of L2 motivation and its

development. In doing so, it incorporates a view of motivation as a characteristic of context by considering displays of participation as participant-relevant and observable manifestations of 'doing L2 motivation'.

# CHAPTER 7

## MFL Classroom Interactional Practices as Social Displays of L2 Motivation

### 7. 1 Introduction

*How does L2 motivation develop in the moment-to-moment dynamics of L2 classroom learning?* In seeking answers to this question, this study aligns notions of *participation*, first as social and interactional achievement in an Institutional CA perspective, and second as a theoretical construct involving "evidence of motivation to learn" (Patrick and Turner, 2004: 1760) or "actively taking part in classroom interaction" (Guilloteaux and Dörnyei, 2008: 62). In this chapter, interactional and theoretical notions of participation are brought together by linking interaction and the development of L2 motivation .

As indicated in Chapter 1, the current chapter represents a move from a preoccupation with interaction - the documentation of interactional practices made relevant in the overall goal of learning French in the classroom under study, to that of 'context'. Here, the notion of context refers to the broader social, cultural and institutional frameworks encompassing the work carried out in this specific institutional setting. In doing so, it debates the relationship between what are viewed as disparate objects of study. Chapter 3 described how CA's approach to the study of institutional talk has been criticised for its "unresponsive" treatment of "how members attend to the social contexts of their talk" (Silverman, 1999: 401). At the origin of this is CA's apparent concentration on the detailed mechanics of interaction, such as turn-taking, in the face of what others may see as much larger social, cultural and institutional frameworks encompassing institutional talk. Others, such as Hak (1999), also argue that distorted understandings of such frameworks arise if too narrow a focus is taken. Chapter 3 also outlined CA's unique approach which treats context as interactionally constructed and locally "talked into being" by members in relation to the pursuit of the activities and goals of an encounter (Heritage, 1984).

Exponents of CA who share an interest in ethnographic approaches to studying institutional settings have suggested and demonstrated that links can be made between the two camps (Silverman, 1999; Maynard 1991; Clayman 1992). This is proceduralised through timing. First, one deals with the "how" question: the grounded analysis of the interactional data and identification of practices such as specialised turn-taking shown to

be consequential to the setting (Silverman, 1999: 407). Subsequently, the analyst may then move on to the "why" question: the examination of the relevance of these practices in terms of broader social, cultural and institutional matters pertaining to settings of that kind and the goal-oriented work undertaken (1999: 408).

This thesis explicitly addresses how links between the local interactional practices of institutional settings such as the language classroom and broader "brought about" issues such as L2 motivational development, can be established through a sequential approach from how to why (Koole, 2003: 22). This chapter represents the second stage of this process, where Chapters 5 and 6 represented the first: the documentation of how the L2 interaction is organised as a precursor to more global considerations. Chapter 7 shows how L2 motivation, as a broader issue in language learning, can be probed through the interactional practices of participation in a French classroom. The analysis showed differences in the ways participants oriented to their language learning experiences. This was associated with the negotiation and local management of different constraints working on the normative expectations of displays of participation, as well as participants' individual orientations to these as relevant forms of talk.

As a second phase in the main investigative process of this study, linking notions of participation onto L2 motivational processes involves the *alignment* of behaviour and context which makes relevant issues of intentionality and causality, as well as cognition in the sense that motivation is traditionally treated as a psychological construct. Intentionality and causality are important considerations in both the CA tradition and modern L2 motivation research. In the latter, such issues are central to "the challenge of consciousness vs. unconsciousness" (Dörnyei, 2001a: 9). Here, researchers make assumptions that individuals are conscious of their behaviour, and this is reflected in their methodologies. These use the claim either that behaviour is the result of "automated" and "routine" actions, or alternatively that behaviour can be explained logically or rationally as grounded in intentionality (Dörnyei, 2001a: 9).

These approaches reflect what Heritage refers to as the "metaphorical extension of notions derived from conscious activity to "unconscious" domains" which he sees as "problematic when we turn to the domain of talk-in-interaction" (his emphasis) (1991: 315). Indeed, in CA, claims of intentionality and consciousness are avoided and do not form part of its analytic mentality. However, practitioners such as Pomerantz (1991, 2005) argue that CA

should "take this as a challenge", posing the question: "how do we describe interactants' orientations and concerns in ways that appreciate their social and occasioned nature?" (1991: 302-303). There is an overall agreement in CA that intentionality should be probed in the local management of interaction, as Heritage advises:

> [...] intention ascription is properly analyzable as a locally produced object of interactional analysis but it may not function as a global interpretive resource in such analysis. (1991: 329)

The approach taken in this thesis is to draw on displays of participation, reinterpreted as locally occasioned "interpretative frameworks" made up of inferential schemata (or, how what is said is understood in a particular interactional context) which are tied to the activities and goals they are used to perform (Pomerantz, 1991: 305).

The different concepts of participation, introduced at the end of Chapter 6 in Section 6.3.1, are treated here as different categories of the local sense-making practices of courses of social actions performed in this classroom. As such they are treated in this chapter as social displays of L2 motivation. Therefore, in terms of L2 motivation research, this discussion engages less with the 'challenge of consciousness vs. unconsciousness' and more with "challenge of context", tensions between the individual and the social (Dörnyei, 2001a: 15). Where L2 motivation work separates the two, this thesis aligns them, rejecting claims to consciousness and intentionality and instead using L2 motivation as a characteristic of context.

### 7.1.1 Conceptualising L2 Motivation as a Characteristic of Context: Social Displays of L2 Motivation

Chapter 3 introduced the specific and unique approaches developed in CA which also relate to notions of intentionality and causality. Section 3.6.1 in that chapter presented an overview of CA's approach to studying cognitive constructs such as learning in SLA through the notion of socially shared cognition. It was also initially proposed that the way CA formulates understandings of socially shared cognition offers an important conceptual link between L2 motivation and interaction in the current study.

By applying the concept of socially shared cognition to SLA processes, CA practitioners locate cognition, and subsequently acquisition-relevant behaviours, by identifying, as Drew (1995) explains:

> [...] ways in which participants themselves orient to, display, and make sense of one another's cognitive states (among other things)". (p.79)

It is important to reiterate that such interpretations are made possible through an understanding of the study of interaction as the study of social actions. Consequently, analysts are able to study the sense-making practices of these actions and subsequently make links with cognition on the basis of what Sacks *et al* called the "next-turn proof procedure" (1974:729). Put simply, this means that a turn at talk will always be seen as a display of understanding or interpretation of a previous turn which also sets the interactional context for the next. Related to the notion of shared cognition, CA views intersubjectivity as the main achievement of such sense-making practices. Intersubjectivity was also introduced in Chapter 6 in relation to repair practices and is treated as both the process and product of shared understandings and knowledge. The repair practices revealed in this study and, by the same token, explicit orientations to the turn-taking system are viewed as situated examples of institutionally-relevant intersubjectivity. They provide observable insights into participant-relevant notions of shared interactional understandings and knowledge in the pursuit of interactional goals and the participation frameworks required to achieve them.

By applying the notion of socially shared cognition to the study of L2 motivation, this chapter shows how the interactional practices revealed in Chapters 5 and 6 can be understood as social displays of L2 motivational states. The range of displays of participation, introduced in Section 6.3.1 and re-presented below, are the central concepts in this thesis in aligning interaction and L2 motivation. Participation is treated overall as the L2 motivational-relevant variable, and different goal-orientations made relevant in the organisation of the participation structures are reinterpreted in this chapter as social displays of L2 motivation states, including their development in the moment-to-moment dynamics of L2 learning.

This chapter is structured according to a set of participation concepts which are proposed to formulate links between interactional practices and their interpretation as social displays of L2 motivation. The participation concepts are:

1. Participation as willingness to be a next turn speaker
2. Participation as willingness to demonstrate knowledge
3. Participation as willingness to demonstrate understanding
4. Participation as persistence with a willingness to demonstrate knowledge
5. Participation as persistence with the allocation of answer provision
6. Participation as persistence with the process of answer provision

The kinds of questions guiding the discussion of the interaction findings in this way were: What is the nature of the different displays of participation when participation is treated as a variable of L2 motivation? How are orientations about what it means to engage in specific language learning activities formulated and negotiated in interaction as social displays of L2 motivation states? What, in was revealed in terms of the interactional norms and expectations required to participate in this classroom, can be most fruitfully linked with existing (L2) motivation theory so as to more fully characterise displays of participation as social displays of L2 motivation states?

## 7.2 Concept 1: Participation as a Willingness to be a Next Turn Speaker

Concept 1 is linked to what Heritage (2004a) refers to as the "special constraints" in terms of the interactional management of the turn-taking system (p.225), i.e. the normative practices and procedures used and established by the participants as they carry out the pedagogic goals.

The discussion first returns to the findings concerning Rebecca, Madeline and Hannah and the characterisation of them as rewarded bidders.

### 7.2.1 Rebecca, Madeline and Hannah as Rewarded Bidders

The analysis described how these participants were rewarded with next-turn speakership positions, gained as a result of their orientations to the interactional problem of no-limits to the number of participants orienting to the position of next-turn speaker and to the

opportunities made relevant for them in the maximisation of the distribution of turns (Episodes 3, 4, 5, 6 Section 5.2.1; Episodes 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 Section 5.3.1, Chapter 5). As such, their hand-raising work showed orientations to collectivity: acknowledgement displays that a turn was being addressed to them as a member of a collective party of recipients.

In terms of specific orientations to Concept 1, Rebecca, Madeline and Hannah displayed an understanding of turn allocation as constrained (in CA terms) and negotiated by their joint actions in the interactional management of the special turn-taking system. Moreover, they conformed to extrinsically-defined co-operative purposes for engaging in the activities. Their rewards (turns allocated in the moment-to-moment dynamics of learning) were short-lived however and related to procedure rather than learning *per se*.

### 7.2.2 Chris, Chloe, James1 and Liam as Persistent Bidders

Chris, Chloe, James1 and Liam engaged in specific hand-raising work in episodes concerning orientations to the number and distribution of turns (Episodes 7, 8 Section 5.2.2; Episodes 9, 10 Section 5.2.3; Episodes 11, 13 Section 5.3.2, Chapter 5).

The persistence displayed by these bidders in relation to Concept 1 was demonstrated through a consistent orientation to next-turn speaker positions both before and after sanctionable departures from turn-taking norms. Additionally, they re-displayed orientations to turn allocation opportunities even in cases where these were explicitly minimised. These persistent bidders maximised a range of opportunities made available through the special turn-taking system and capitalised on its freedoms. In short, their interactional behaviour displayed orientations to the expectations of collectivity as a specific goal of the interactional arrangements. All this was in comparison to the rewarded bidders, whose orientations to collectivity occurred in different sequential positions; only after explicit sanctions where turn allocation opportunities, for them, were explicitly maximised.

The persistent bidders' hand-raising and lowering work developed sequentially in conjunction with TEA's local management of the turn-taking system. This coordination of interactional practices also relates more specifically to the notion of interdependence: the joint responsibilities of the participants in the allocation of turns were displayed without

prior re-initiation through sanctions. That is, these bidders co-operate with, or display shared individual orientations to collectivity in terms of a willingness to be a next-turn speaker; from initiation of *first* FPP's and thus had an important role in maintaining and upholding it.

### 7.2.3 Implications of Concept 1 for the Development of L2 Motivation

Drawing first on Dörnyei and Ottó's work on the conceptualisation L2 motivational processes in the Process model (1998, 2001a) shows how the individual orientations of the persistent and rewarded bidders in terms of Concept 1 map onto components of L2 motivational development and its influencing factors from a moment-to-moment perspective. This also characterises how their orientations to the organisation of participation can be understood as social displays of L2 motivational states.

Introduced in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3, the model describes motivational processes in an "action sequence", comprising three phases including the initialisation of goals and intentions, their enactment and finally an evaluation or appraisal process (2001a:85). It includes a large number of L2 motivational influences, and Dörnyei and Ottó describe how these influences interact with distinct phases of the action sequence.

The processes and components described in the second phase of the model, "Actional Phase", and its respective motivational influences are most relevant to this part of the discussion (1998:50). Re-interpreting the findings for this purpose involves re-conceptualising the participation concept of a willingness to be a next turn Speaker as an instantiation of processes in the Actional Phase.

The orientations of the rewarded bidders illustrate the execution of "appraisal sub-processes" where their evaluations of "the multitude of stimuli coming from the environment and the progress one has made towards the action outcome" are observably manifested (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998: 50). Their hand-raising work in relation to explicit orientations to sanctionable departures exhibits the application of "action control mechanisms" i.e. strategies used as a result of appraisal sub-processes (p.50). Such mechanisms are called upon by language learners to "'save' the [on-going] action when on-going monitoring reveals that progress [towards the goal] is slowing, halting or backsliding" (2001a: 89-90).

The mutual orientations of the persistent bidders and TEA are representative of motivational influences in the Actional Phase linked to group dynamics. They function as influential observable orientations to the proceduralisation of a "norm and reward system" (2001a: 98; see also Dörnyei, 1994: 278). The persistent bidders serve to protect co-operation as a specific group norm of this classroom through their orientations to the turn-taking system. The sanctions, where the lack of collectively-oriented-to hand-raising is made relevant, are treated as violations of group norms by TEA and these participants.

A collective orientation to a willingness to be a next-turn speaker is thus taken on by these participants as a group norm. According to Dörnyei, group norms are "standards that the majority of group members agree to and which come a part of the group's value system" (1994: 278). They start as extrinsically-defined standards which are initially rewarded or punished. As they become "internalised" by a group they become norms of behaviour where any deviations of use are treated as violations (p.278). Both students and teachers engage in the active protection of these norms and treatment of violations as inappropriate behaviour.

Using Dörnyei and Ottó's model explains the processes through which Concept 1 as an institutional goal is proceduralised in action. The processes constitute observable manifestations of goal salience processes, treated very generally in the motivational literature as messages somehow communicated to learners. These are re-interpreted in terms of the phases of the Process model which describe how L2 motivation changes over time, both in the long and *short* term. The discussion returns to the model later in the Section 7.4.1.

### 7.3 Participation and Pedagogical Functions

Beyond notions of collectivity, other specific inferences in relation to the institutional goal are also relevant. Here the discussion focuses on the negotiation of interactional practices in terms of the pedagogical functions of the learning activities. This is done through the introduction of participation concepts 2 to 6.

Explicit orientations to the sanctionable departures from the number and distribution of turn in Chapter 5 displayed understandings of turns as making relevant the pedagogical functions of knowledge and understanding demonstration. Additionally however, other

locally-produced understandings of knowledge and understanding demonstrations were made relevant through variation in displays of participation. In Chapter 6 such understandings were observed in relation to the repair organisation of the special turn-taking system (see especially Section 6.2.2 on the organisation of self repair opportunities). This section focuses on how the pedagogical functions are formulated and negotiated as pedagogical purposes for engaging in the activities within the framework of classroom goal structures.

The interest here is how the pedagogical functions of the activities, reflected in participation concepts, interacted with the turn-taking system and placed various constraints on its formation. The following sections explore how reasons for engaging in language learning activities are locally managed and united through a constellation of behaviours contributing to the negotiation, creation and maintenance of normative social displays of L2 motivational states.

### 7.4 Concepts 2 and 3: Rebecca, Hannah and Madeline as Rewarded Bidders

In terms of the rewarded bidders, participation as willingness to demonstrate knowledge (Concept 2) and as willingness to demonstrate understanding (Concept 3) were made relevant in TEA's turn designs, which were also used to sanction departures from the normative expectations of collectivity. In these cases, the reflexive relationship between the special turn taking system and these pedagogical functions became participant-relevant categories.

As rewarded bidders, it was found that Rebecca, Hannah and Madeline were initially un-co-operative in their orientations to be willing next turn speakers. After TEA's sanctions, making relevant various turn-taker relevant identities and the pedagogical functions of the episodes as knowledge and understanding demonstration, they displayed affiliating actions. This affiliation was observed in their hand-raising work, leading to the subsequent allocation of turns and the successful provision of appropriate SPP's (Episodes 3, 4, 5, 6 Section 5.2.1; Episodes 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 Section 5.3.1, Chapter 5).

These bidders adapted to the moment-to-moment pedagogical requirements placed on them in the interaction for which they were rewarded with a turn allocation and an opportunity to display knowledge or understanding. Gaining rewards in this way shows the type of

"accountability structure" talked into being in this classroom (Doyle, 1983: 181). That is, they convey messages about what counts as doing learning French in this particular setting, where learning is structured around making oneself available at all times (collective orientation) to be able to provide the appropriate SPP in the form of the correct known answer.

This seems an obvious task in the doing of learning French when compared to broader understandings of what happens in classrooms. However it can be contrasted to other activity types where pedagogical functions might involve expressing an opinion, or where the answer to a question goes beyond the provision of a just-introduced vocabulary item or grammatical structure.

It should be noted that throughout the data set, the episodes made relevant the specific notion of knowledge and understanding demonstration in terms of providing the correct answer as opposed to other constituents, e.g. demonstrating knowledge through describing an understanding of a TL structure. The episodes made relevant a conceptualisation of understanding as being more or less synonymous with knowledge demonstration. The notion of understanding was something displayed as an outcome through the provision of a known answer.

Doyle (1983), in his discussion on the evaluative climate of the classroom, identified "risk" and "ambiguity" as two central conditions impacting on the accountability structure of academic work (pp. 182-183). Ambiguity represents the "extent to which a precise answer can be defined in advance", and risk refers to the "stringency of the evaluative criteria [...] and the likelihood [...] that these can be met" (p.183).

Doyle found that different types of tasks such as memorisation, routine, opinion or understanding tasks involved different levels of risk and ambiguity, where opinion tasks involved high levels of both and routine tasks required low levels of both. According to Doyle's classification, the levels of risk and ambiguity in the language learning activities in this classroom are relatively low – the activity types are based on revision and feedback exercises and public practice of pre-fabricated French phrases, introduced through desk-work. When this broader "'brought along'" view is compared to how these activities are organised in this classroom at a local level, low levels of risk and ambiguity are also shown to be participant-relevant notions (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999).

This is demonstrated in the ways that during sanctionable departures from a collective orientation to the pedagogical functions of Concepts 2 and 3, the rewarded bidders displayed a readiness to perform hand-raising work and were able to produce an appropriate answer in trouble-free ways. This is also made relevant and explicitly oriented to in episodes where participants are reprimanded by TEA for not performing hand-raising work early on in sequences, but produce an appropriate answer when individual nomination is used (Episode 8, Section 5.2.2 involving SAM; Episode 13, Section 5.3.1 involving HAN, Chapter 5).

This practice can be compared to episodes involving failed repairers such as Ryan and Kate, who in sequences of the same nature and on the occurrence of individual nomination, experience trouble both with the production of an appropriate answer and a readiness to perform hand-raising work (Episodes 22, 23, 24, 25, Section 6.2.2, Chapter 6). One way of accounting for the orientations of both the rewarded bidders and failed repairers in relation to low levels of risk and ambiguity is that they simply switched off from the on-going activities, leaving those more willing bidders to cooperate with TEA in working towards the achievement of the pedagogic goals throughout the lesson.

### 7.4.1 Implications of Concepts 2 and 3 for the Development of L2 Motivation

The properties of the participation Concepts 2 and 3 and their pedagogical implications in terms of low levels of risk and ambiguity can be mapped onto L2 motivational development processes in the Actional Phase of the Process model, more specifically those relating to appraisal sub-processes and their associated influences (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998). This also builds on earlier accounts in Section 7.2.1 about the relationship between the orientations of the rewarded bidders, their appraisal processes, and what influences these processes in the minute to minute dynamics of classroom interaction.

Of a list of important influences on action implementation, Dörnyei and Ottó point to two areas relevant to this re-interpretation of the findings: "selective sensitivity to aspects of the environment" and "the perceived contingent relationship between action and outcome and perceived progress" (p.57). In relation to selective sensitivity, appraisal processes are affected by the different weightings that L2 learners assign to certain aspects of learning activities where, based on previous experiences and "idiosyncratic features", they have encoded different aspects of the learning task in different ways (p.57). The rewarded

bidders in this study display a change in the ways they encode the pedagogical purposes of the sequences making up the learning tasks – a move from an some form of personal goal orientation unobserved in the interaction to a co-operative one made up of knowledge and understanding demonstration. Their hand-raising work represents the application of "action- control" mechanisms as a result of this re-encoding appraisal process (1998: 50).

The second influence helps to conceptualise more specifically how the notion of low levels of risk and ambiguity work in relation to motivational processes. The influence of the relationship between action and outcome helps to account for why the rewarded bidders (and indirectly, the failed repairers) switched off from the on-going activities. Dörnyei and Ottó view individuals' perceptions of the levels of progress made towards an outcome, and positive perceptions that their actions are contributing to these outcomes, as central to L2 learners' evaluations of task success, which in turn promotes motivation. They turn to Boekaerts' work to support this, including his claim that the opposite can also be true when a learner does not "perceive a contingent path between his potential actions and learning outcomes [...] mental withdrawal from the threatening demands may result" (1988: 275).

Based on this, switching off can be understood as a result of a process of lack of a shared orientation between TEA and the rewarded bidders to the normative expectations of knowledge and understanding demonstration and the organisation of the special turn-taking system based on hand-raising as displaying a willingness to be a next-turn speaker. Put simply, the action of hand-raising constitutes something other than a willingness to be a next-turn speaker in knowledge and understanding demonstrations for the rewarded bidders. What this 'other' is cannot be clarified within the analytical scope of this study but provides questions for further analysis of the data in future work. Low levels of risk and ambiguity in the cognitive demands of the normative functions is one likely causal factor at the root of the lack of a shared mutual orientation.

Dörnyei (2001a) refers to notions of 'switching off' in his discussion of the application of "action control mechanisms" or strategies in compulsory FL learning settings (p.89). To reiterate these strategies are used to "save" action when progress towards language learning goals are "backsliding" (2001a: 89-90). He claims that such mechanisms are particularly important in school settings as very often students experience low levels of motivation and feel "bored, detached and lonely" (Wong and Csikzentmihalyi, 1991: 544).

Dörnyei draws on the concept of 'flow' to describe the processes through which these feelings can arise. Flow is

> [...] a subjective state that people report when they are completely involved in something to the point of losing track of time and of being unaware of everything else but the activity itself. (Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde and Whalen, 1997: 14)

To achieve a flow state, a balance of high levels of skill and challenge are required. If the balance between these levels is unequal (one high or one low) or if levels of both challenge and skill are low, this can lead to apathy. Flow and the balance of challenge and skill have an influential role in the L2 motivational process in individuals' perceptions of degrees of progress and the positive perception that actions are contributing to outcomes, as described above.

Flow is an optimal, individually-oriented state, and compulsory FL learning practices cannot be expected to encompass flow experiences as a normative goal structure. However flow-relevant processes provide a characterisation of what is happening when students, such as the rewarded bidders, display a negative orientation to classroom experience. If the balance of challenge and skill is low due to the low levels of risk and ambiguity of the tasks, then this influences perceptions about the "contingent relationship between actions and outcomes" (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998: 58).

Having examined the findings concerning the rewarded bidders' orientations in terms of pedagogic functions and mapped them onto motivational processes it would appear that they do not partake initially in social displays of L2 motivation states seen to be prominent in this classroom with other learners. This said, their actions do contribute to their maintenance in the moment-to-moment dynamics of the interaction. This section has shown how initially rejecting initiations to collectively orient to the turn-taking system involves a rejection of the pedagogical functions which they constrain. The discussion has described how this arises by considering the rewarded bidders' orientations in terms of appraisal processes and their influencing factors. Their orientations relate to issues of cognition and learning and importantly, how these work from the point of view of L2 motivational processes as formulated by Dörnyei and Ottó.

This section attempted to demonstrate the social display of L2 motivation states through the examination of the negotiation of pedagogical functions in the special turn-taking system. The following section discusses the individual orientations of James1, a persistent willing bidder and repairer. Overall, his interactional behaviours displayed affiliation to the pedagogical purpose of knowledge demonstration.

### 7.5 Concept 4: James 1 as a Persistent Willing Bidder/Repairer

The orientations of Rebecca, Hannah, Madeline, Chris, Chloe, Ryan and Kate demonstrate social displays of L2 motivational states which are not isolated to them only, but are shared by other participants in the classroom under study. James1, however, represents a more unique case, performing recursive displays of participation across many of the episodes of the data-set and thus making relevant specific interactional properties of Concept 4: participation as persistence with a willingness to demonstrate knowledge.

Persistence was rooted in his recursive hand-raising and lowering work initiated in early-bidding positions just after the production of first FPP's and performed across the development of sequences. James1 displayed continued orientations to turn allocation even when his specific turn allocation opportunities were minimised: TEA's sanctions made relevant a turn-taker identity for James1 as a persistent and willing bidder (Episode 11, Section 5.3.2 and more specifically, Episodes: 13, 14 Section 5.3.3 Chapter 5). In repair contexts, James1 engaged in similar interactional behaviour, displaying an understanding of other repair initiations as making relevant collectively addressed FPP's (Episodes 18, 19, 21 6.2.1; Episodes 23, 24, 25 Section 6.2.3 Chapter 6). James 1 oriented to different constituents of appropriate displays of participation from those of Chloe and Chris, whose persistence is discussed in more detail below in terms of participation concept 5: Participation as persistence with the allocation of answer provision.

James1's hand-raising and lowering work displayed orientations to a willingness to be a next-turn speaker maintained through consistent active listenership in the development of the sequences. His active listenership showed his negotiation of the pedagogical purposes of the interaction oriented towards knowledge and understanding demonstration.

The analysis showed how the normative practices of this turn-taking system and its pedagogical functions fostered James1's displays of participation. The publicly available

statements by TEA about James1 in turn designs performing sanctions are confirmation that his orientations were valued in the overall organisation of the activities. There is a positive alignment between the organisation of the turn taking system and James1's orientations to constituents of appropriate displays of participation. There is also a positive match between the pedagogical purposes of knowledge and understanding demonstration in the activities and James1's individual orientations. Overall, James1's individual orientations can be seen as contributing to the construction of normative expectations of participation and what constitutes appropriate social displays of L2 motivational states.

### 7.5.1 Implications of Concept 4 for the Development of L2 Motivation

James1's social displays of L2 motivation can be mapped onto L2 developmental processes in the moment-to-moment dynamics of the interaction in terms of broader motivation theory concerning the construction of "approach" motivational processes (Elliot, 1999: 170; see also Middleton and Midgley, 1997 & Elliot, 1997). Approach (and avoidance) motivation has similarities to Dörnyei and Ottó's notions about the influence of contingent relationships between action, outcome and progress perceived by L2 learners. However in the educational psychological literature it is related more closely to achievement goal theory which in this case provides for a more specific understanding.

The concept of approach motivation is one part of a dichotomy which explains how "behaviour is instigated or directed by a positive or desirable event of possibility" (1999:170). Its focus is on how achievement behaviour, or the pursuit of specific pedagogical purposes, is valenced – how the degree of attraction one associates with a pedagogical event affects one's pursuit or engagement in it. On the other hand, avoidance motivation relates to "behaviour that is instigated or directed by a negative or undesirable event or possibility" (p.170), e.g. when a person does not engage in an activity due to the fear of failure attached to it.

The approach-avoidance motivation distinction enhances understandings of performance goals (which describe how an individual's behaviour is directed towards demonstrating competence specifically in relation to others, and which have been seen as detrimental to intrinsic motivation) by separating them into performance-approach and performance-avoidance goals. Performance-approach goals see as behaviour focussed on "attaining normative competence" and performance-avoidance goals on avoiding "normative

incompetence" (1999: 174). Research based on the performance-approach framework has shown a number of positive consequences of the adoption of such goals from "absorption during task engagement" to "persistence" and "calmness during evaluation" (p.180).

From this perspective, James1's individual orientations display a co-operative-approach orientation. This is demonstrated in the direct positive reinforcements he receives through the interaction and the on-going alignment between his individual orientations and those manifested in the normative interactional practices and their pedagogical functions of knowledge and understanding demonstration. The observable manifestation of James1's co-operative-approach orientation displays the pursuit of "normative competence" and has similarities to the behaviour-based findings in performance-approach goal research such as persistence and task absorption (for example, his active listening) (1999: 174). It is interesting to note that in the interactions, James1 was the only participant to display such orientations in plenary language learning activities. Further analysis of other classroom activities would provide more opportunities to investigate this in more detail.

### 7.6 Concept 5: Chris and Chloe as Persistent Willing Repairers

Chloe and Chris were characterised throughout the analysis as persistent bidders, reflected in their consistent orientations to next-speaker positions in the development of sequences involving explicit orientations to sanctionable departures from the normative arrangement of the turn-taking system. In Section 7.2.2 these practices were discussed in terms of normative expectations of collectivity and the interdependence of actions. They were described as one way in which normative orientations to social displays of L2 motivation were pursued and maintained.

Their individual orientations to these displays were mapped onto specific L2 motivational processes, based on Dörnyei and Ottó's Process model. Their actions were described as manifestations of possible motivational influences relevant to the area of group-dynamic influences and the pursuit of group norm protection in the Action Phase of goal-directed activity.

This section builds on the above characterisation of Chris and Chloe more specifically in terms of the negotiation of their orientations to the pedagogical functions made relevant through their hand-raising and lowering work. The discussion returns to the issues of risk

and ambiguity raised earlier. It considers these in relation to Chloe and Chris' individual orientations to social displays of L2 motivation concentrating on the organisation of repair (Episodes 18, 19,7,20, 21 Section 6.2.1; Episodes 22, 23 Section 6.2.3 Chapter 6 and also Episode 8 Section 5.2.2; Episode 10 Section 5.2.3 Chapter 5).

These orientations are now discussed as properties of Concept 5: participation as persistence with the allocation of answer provision. This concept is again associated with the pedagogical function of knowledge and understanding demonstration.

As a variant of Concepts 2 and 3, participation as persistence with the allocation of answer provision was observed in the re-orientations displayed by these participants to the sanctionable departures from the number and distribution of potential next-turn speakers in relation to collectivity (Episodes 7, 8 Section 5.2.2; Episodes 9, 10 Section 5.2.3; Episodes 11, 13 Section 5.3.2, Chapter 5). However, in repair contexts these re-orientations became especially consequential for the on-going development of the activities (Episodes 18, 19, 7, 20, 21 Section 6.2.1; Episodes 22, 23 Section 6.2.3 Chapter 6).

The repair analysis revealed how TEA's repair initiation practices provided a context for a range of alternatives for the treatment of trouble. Chloe and Chris displayed specific orientations to modulated repair initiation practices, making relevant the notion of collectivity in the treatment of trouble by orienting to repair initiations as collectively addressed FPP's. The repair trajectories demonstrated how this collective orientation was acknowledged by TEA who displayed re-orientations to these non-Trouble Source (TS) speakers, delegating the repair. Subsequently, the hand-raising and lowering work of Chloe and Chris was understood as the monopolisation of repair initiation opportunity space. As well as modulated repair initiation, TEA used stronger forms such as exposed repair to draw attention to the TS and procedural information about the required TL form (for example, Episodes 18, 19, 7, 20 Section 6.2.1 Chapter 6). This led to delays in the production of repair and a number of TRP's for further hand-raising work from the collective of participants, making relevant further opportunities for the monopolisation of repair initiation opportunity space.

In terms of its institutional relevance, the monopolisation of this space involved the participants' alignment with the repair initiation and more specifically an affiliation with TEA as knowledge bearer. This involved the establishing of a temporary set-up whereby

Chloe and Chris momentarily linked themselves to TEA as a single party (for example Episodes 18, 19, 7 Section 6.2.1 Chapter 6). These individual orientations to knowledge and understanding demonstration contributed to a characterisation of these students as persistent willing repairers, preoccupied more specifically with the *allocation* of SPP's.

The individual orientations of Chris and Chloe display how a commitment to the normative expectations of the special turn-taking system in repair contexts, and its pedagogical functions, work to maintain the normative interactional arrangements involved in social displays of L2 motivation. These participants orient to trouble, and thus a breakdown in these displays, as much as they orient to the trouble-free completion of FPP initiations.

This however has consequences for the treatment of the TS, which in principle has the potential to move the pedagogical functions of the episodes away from a focus on knowledge and understanding demonstration to a concern for deeper understanding processes. Contexts are not made relevant for a move to processes involving the treatment of why such TL structures exist, or from what specific domain of TL knowledge the known- answer originates. In short, the options for feedback in detailed form are limited to evaluations.

An additional cognitive emphasis on deeper-level learning involved in processes of feedback may involve the levels of risk and ambiguity in the learning activities being raised from low to high (Doyle, 1983). The individual orientations of Chloe and Chris shape and are shaped by limitations in this regard and are subsequently procedurally consequential for the maintenance of low levels of risk and ambiguity.

Research in educational psychology attempting to link discursive features of classrooms to concepts of involvement (also reviewed in Section 2.4.2 Chapter 2) provides support for the relationship between repair practices and social displays of L2 motivation. It found that low involvement in classroom activities could be related to "discourse patterns" encouraging evaluative contexts where activities were "degraded to routines" and memorization (Turner & Meyer et al, 1998: 743). The implications of this analysis were that this type of interaction had the primary purpose of "gaining cooperation to maintain a comfort level" in the classroom by ensuring that skills exceeded challenges (p.743). Turner et al's study also suggested that co-operative behaviour served to assure teachers that students were learning, increasing "teacher efficacy" (1998: 743).

### 7.6.1 Implications of Concept 5 for the Development of L2 Motivation

Having accounted for the formulation of Concept 5: participation as persistence with the allocation of answer provision, it is important to link this in turn to L2 motivational development.

Returning to the Process model and its Action Phase, of most relevance here is a group of motivational influences referred to as "task conflict, competing action tendencies, other distracting influences and the availability of action alternatives" (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998: 59). These influences have an impact on the implementation of courses of action once the pursuit of a goal has begun. They impact on the sub-processes involved in action control, which may be "called into force" to "enhance, scaffold or protect learning specific action" (Dörnyei, 2001a: 89), as discussed earlier in relation to the rewarded bidders.

Such influences offer a way of accounting for the development of L2 motivation in relation to the monopolisation of repair initiation space. The persistent willing repairers influence the move away from deeper level understanding opportunities, possible through self repair trajectories, to the maintenance of a preoccupation with answer provision and appropriate social displays of L2 motivation states. The relationship between these repair alternatives and their pedagogical functions can be viewed as the proceduralisation of "competing action tendencies" (1998: 59). Dörnyei and Ottó claim that such competing processes have a negative effect on behaviour directed towards a course of action, resulting in its abandonment or disruption.

TEA's delegated repair practices also demonstrate the manifestation of an action control mechanism used to preserve the on-going action. TEA's pursuit of one course of action (self repair) in initial turns is weakened because of the competition between other action tendencies made relevant in the interaction (rooted in Chloe and Chris' orientations to the allocation of known-answer provision). As the delegation of repair leads to the successful repairing of trouble, TEA's actions receive positive confirmation in and through the normative expectations of the interaction and its pedagogical functions. To summarise, competing action tendencies are manifested in the observable mismatch between the normative practices of the turn-taking system and its pedagogical functions, and the possibilities these afford for the treatment of trouble.

In Episodes 9 and 10 (Section 5.2.3 Chapter 5), the analysis showed how Chris drew on the flexibility of the special turn-taking system displaying re-orientations to FPP's in repair opportunity spaces. In Episode 10, Chris recursively orientated to the treatment of trouble where TEA expanded the sequence using a number of FPP's. These functioned to scaffold the collective of participants to arrive at the production of an appropriate SPP. Towards the end of the episode, Chris explicitly oriented to the absence of the direct acknowledgment by TEA of his role as a potential next-turn speaker in possession of a known-answer, a repair turn. This episode can also be mapped onto the manifestation of competing action tendencies in the development of L2 motivation.

In this episode however TEA displays a resistance to applying the kind of motivation maintenance strategies usually brought into play in the repair trajectories, where participants such as Chris monopolise the treatment of trouble. That is, because TEA persists in Episode 10 with a feedback-oriented approach to the difficulties of providing an appropriate SPP, so that the action tendencies performed by Chris to persist with answer-provision are weakened. However, this does not lead to abandonment but rather disrupts the execution of his individual orientations, manifested in his explicit orientation to his non-next turn speaker allocation (lines 77-80).

To develop the discussion concerning of the persistent willing repairers, the following section moves to an elaboration of Liam's orientations.

### 7.7 Concept 6: Liam as a Persistent Willing Repairer

At first glance, there may appear to be little variation in the conceptualisations of participation as relating to persistence with the process of answer provision for Liam and as relating to persistence with the allocation of answer provision for Chris and Chloe. These formulations are however based on important distinctions. As a persistent bidder, Liam's orientations have been discussed so far in terms of Concept 1: participation as a willingness to be a next turn speaker (Section 7.2.2). Bidders like Liam were shown to be contributing to normative expectations for social displays of L2 motivation, while in relation to the development of L2 motivation, displays of persistence functioned to protect the maintenance of co-operation as a group norm in the face of violations.

This section points to Liam's individual orientations as displaying a specific alternative to the normative practices of knowledge and understanding demonstration promoted by and constraining the organisation of both the special turn-taking system and of repair. In exploring Liam's hand-raising and lowering work and its sequential placement more specifically (Episode 5, Section 5.2.1; Episodes 12, 16 Section 5.3.4 Chapter 5), the analysis demonstrated how they displayed orientations to the properties of pedagogical functions through active listenership and continued active engagement, suggesting a concentration on the production of a SPP as opposed to the allocation of the FPP (as in Chloe and Chris). This was made relevant through the maintenance of his hand-raising work until sequence closure positions. On the occurrence of explicit orientations to sanctionable departures from turn-taking practices, Liam displayed a rejection of the minimisation of turn allocation opportunities through turn distribution manipulation and the accompanying turn-taker identity ascriptions.

Analysis of the repair episodes (Episodes 18, 19, 7, 20, 21 Section 6.2.1 Chapter 6) demonstrated how Chloe and Chris' monopolisation of self repair opportunity space differed from Liam's as instead of displaying affiliative actions with TEA as knowledge bearer, his orientations were linked to alignment to the TS itself (Episode 21). His hand-raising work occurred as an other-repair initiation, and a short sequence of fast paced hand-raising and lowering actions displayed specific non-TEA initiated monitoring work in relation to trouble and attention to the processes involved in getting to the appropriate SPP.

How can participation Concept 6 be interpreted in terms of demonstrations of social displays of l2 motivational states?

A first answer to these questions is offered by exploring the relationship between knowledge and understanding demonstration and Concept 6 as its variant in terms of cognitive processing. Knowledge and understanding demonstration have been linked to lower levels of cognitive demand in relation to the conditions of risk and ambiguity promoted in and through the interaction. An orientation to processes of answer provision however reflects the pursuit of higher levels of cognitive processing, namely those involved in understanding the knowledge base from which answers originate. This notion of understanding is different from that involved in knowledge and understanding demonstration, which can be seen as an outcome rather than a process.

The notion of understanding made relevant through Liam's individual orientations, demonstrates higher-level cognitive processing than the mere recall of information, involving the workings out of why a particular TL structure or vocabulary item is being used and perhaps when to use it. Doyle (1983) makes the following distinction between procedural and comprehension tasks which is helpful here:

> A procedural task is one that can be accomplished with understanding by simply knowing how to follow a series of computational steps. Understanding tasks on the other hand, requires knowledge about why the computational tasks work. (p.165)

Liam's orientations display higher levels of risk and ambiguity associated with his sometimes inconsistent or erratic hand-raising and lowering work at different moments in the development of episodes (Episode 21, for example).

Liam's individual orientation to the processes of answer provision could however be at odds with the organisation of the special turn-taking system and the repair trajectories it furnishes. There is an implied tension between co-operation in the management of the normative pedagogical functions of the activities and its variants demonstrated by Liam. Although Liam is characterised as a persistent willing repairer, his displays of participation and their pedagogical functions may not be well supported overall in the pursuit of other social displays of L2 motivational states made relevant and negotiated by TEA, Chris, Chloe and James1.

### 7.7.1 Implications of Concept 6 for the Development of L2 Motivation

How does an orientation to the properties of Concept 6 relate to the development of L2 motivation? Two areas of the Process Model of L2 motivation provide insights here. The first relates to the influence of 'competing action tendencies' through Liam's appraisal processes and a suggested conflict between Liam's courses of action and those promoted throughout the interaction. Viewing Liam's individual orientations in this way also has implications for longer-term L2 de-motivational development, which may be weakened by consistent disruption to their pursuit.

The second more relevant area relates to motivational influences on appraisal processes in the Actional Phase of goal implementation and the effect of the "quality of the internal model of reference" (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998: 57). As seen above, this factor originates in Boekaerts' work (1988). Attention is drawn to the importance of this component for learners' choice and construction of "monitoring strategies and sub-tasks" (1998: 57). These constitute the actions and steps taken by individuals to complete the requirements of a learning activity, in this case a question and answer sequence. The component comprises a model of information stored by learners relating to "declarative, procedural and episodic knowledge" (1988: 275). Such information is stored in the long-term memory and activated once a learner engages with a learning task (1998). The individually generated model provides a reference or "performance standard" for the individual and a benchmark for what constitute success in different task situations where it is called into force (p.57).

This component accounts for how internally-driven factors, which are closely associated with cognitive aspects of learning activities and their goals, interact with the pursuit of activity goals through appraisal processes. The lack of support for Liam's individual orientations due to the salience of social displays of L2 motivation like those of Chloe and Chris, which are in turn supported overall by TEA, demonstrates how L2 motivational development might be influenced in terms of how he evaluates and appraises the progress he makes towards goal achievement. Liam's 'internal model of reference' could be at odds with what is being made relevant externally through the activity requirements. Therefore, Liam may subsequently negatively appraise his own behaviour.

This leads to the further question of whether, in the longer term, he would resort to action control mechanisms to change or adapt his behaviour to fit in with the normative co-operative activity, or simply abandon his active participation altogether and switch off. While it is not within the scope of the current discussion to develop answers to these questions, they present avenues for further investigation. Additionally, given the close relationship between the potential implication of switching off and the suggested manifestation of it through the orientations of the rewarded bidders (Rebecca, Madeline and Hannah), it may be possible to draw comparisons and interpret Liam's orientations as providing an understanding of the individual goal orientations of that group; as participants who seek deeper level understanding learning opportunities.

The final section of the discussion concerns the two remaining bidders who became the focus of the analysis - Ryan and Kate - where the focus is on the notion of social displays of demotivation.

### 7.8 Kate and Ryan as Failed Repairers

This section explores of the relevance of the orientations of Kate and Ryan, two participants whose interactional behaviours were introduced and described in the analysis in terms of the organisation of repair (Episodes 22, 23, 24, 25 Section 6.2.3 Chapter 6). So far the discussion of repair has focused on the orientations of the persistent willing/bidding repairers and explored how the monopolisation of repair initiation opportunities leading to its delegation made relevant different variants of the pedagogical function of knowledge and understanding demonstration. In this section, the focus returns to the role of the TS producers, and the implications of how the TS gets repaired and by whom for the construction of normative social displays of L2 motivation.

Both participants experienced problems as a result of procedural difficulties: they were unable to produce SPP's on the initiation of known-answer questions. The procedural nature of the TS's was made relevant through the orientations of other participants to the noticeable absence of a next-turn, displayed through various repair initiation types. Opportunities for self repair were offered in modulated forms(for example, Episode 23, line 35); however the move to a more exposed form dealing more specifically with the TL item were not pursued except partially in one case with Kate (Episode 25). In the former cases, once it was made relevant that Kate's difficulties arose from a lack of an appropriate understanding of the TL sentence, self repair was not pursued.

Other forms of orientations to trouble involved explicit orientations to sanctionable departures from the normative expectation to produce a SPP (Episodes 22, 23, 24). Here, turns were designed to make relevant the pedagogical functions of the SPP's as knowledge and understanding demonstrations. Other repair initiations involved initiating opportunities for self repair, which offered Kate, as the TS producer, the option of abandoning the action altogether. This involved the initiation of closed questions requiring a minimal response to the question of whether Kate had the'knowledge or understanding to provide a SPP (Episodes 24, 25).

A recurrent feature of these repair episodes was the initiation of FPP's and allocation of next turns through individual nomination. As opposed to making relevant a next-turn as potentially belonging to any participant, TEA immediately allocated turns to a next-turn speaker by personally naming them. Subsequent to their individual nomination, the organisation of the turn-taking system returned to procedures of bidding for a next-turn. It was on the re-orientation to these procedures, observed through the behaviour of the other participants, that monopolisation of repair initiation opportunity space was seen to occur.

To argue for the existence of some form of social display of L2 demotivation on the part of Ryan and Kate,, not shared by the rest of the participants, involves considering the above findings in terms of Concept 1: Participation as willingness to be a next turn speaker and Concept 4: Participation as persistence with a willingness to demonstrate knowledge.

In terms of Concept 1, Kate and Ryan's apparent demotivation is displayed in relation to the absence of an orientation to collectivity. It is certainly the case that their orientations are treated as such by TEA and the other participants in the development of the sequences on the occurrence of trouble. A tension can be observed between these problematic displays of participation and the functions of knowledge and understanding display. Opportunities to solve the apparent trouble are treated through next turns making relevant re-displays of knowledge, for example, in TEA's modulated self repair initiations in the form of closed questions: "can you tell me what's wrong with it, yes or no" (Episode 24, lines 59-60). The orientations of Chris and Chloe to answer provision make relevant an orientation to specific displays of participation which function as social displays of L2 motivation as an underlying solution to the trouble.

Although characterised as demotivated, is it the case that Kate and Ryan's orientations are really at odds with the normative institutional expectations of this classroom? Put more simply, on the basis of these tensions, are Ryan and Kate to be judged as unwilling?

A closer examination provides an alternative understanding. It is argued that in a similar way to Liam, there is a disparity between the organisation of the special turn-taking system and the repair trajectories it furnishes, and the pursuit of knowledge and understanding demonstration, when trouble occurs. Expectations of normative orientations to social displays of L2 motivation limit variation in the dealing with breakdowns in processes of TL learning. Such breakdowns have the potential to provide important impromptu learning

opportunities, including opportunities for higher-level cognitive processing as pursued by Liam and perhaps the rewarded bidders. In the data, such opportunities are rare.

### 7.9 A Conclusion to the Discussion

This chapter has shown how L2 motivation can be treated as a characteristic of context in terms of social displays of L2 motivational states. This is rooted in the relationship between the interactional practices described in Chapters 5 and 6 and their role as institutionally relevant displays of participation. Here, these practices have been reinterpreted as a set of concepts of participation, mapped onto processes of L2 motivational development.

Section 7.2 discussed how "special constraints" in terms of the interactional management of the turn-taking system displayed orientations to collectivity (Heritage 2004a: 225).The rewarded bidders conformed to this notion of collectivity which was subsequently mapped on to the instantiation of appraisal sub-processes in the Actional Phase of the Process model (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998). The persistent bidders worked to maintain collectivity, orienting to their position as part of this classroom's norm and reward system.

Section 7.4 was more specifically concerned with the negotiation of interactional practices in terms of their pedagogic functions, discussing how individual orientations reflected interpretive frameworks related to activity goals and actional contexts. Drawing on CA's approach to cognition in talk, the social actions making up these interpretive frameworks were treated as different social displays of L2 motivational states. Participation as knowledge and understanding demonstration was linked to the talking into being of "accountability structures" involving low levels of risk and ambiguity in the activities, which in turn implied switching off on the part of some students (Doyle, 1983: 181). Motivational influences in the Action Phase: the localised encoding of aspects of the learning tasks and the relationship between action and outcome, were mapped on to the implied withdrawal of the rewarded bidders. The concept of flow was also made relevant here, establishing links between the degree of cognitive challenge embedded in the accountability structure and L2 motivational development.

Section 7.5 was devoted to a discussion of James1 as a persistent willing bidder/repairer whose individual orientations were re-presented as persistence with a willingness to

demonstrate knowledge. His displays of active listenership and recursive hand-raising work could be aligned with the co-construction of normative social displays of L2 motivational states and the pursuit of attaining "normative competence" when mapped on to processes of a performance-approach goal orientation (Elliot, 1999: 174).

Section 7.6 returned to two of the persistent bidders more specifically, Chris and Chloe, and considered their individual orientations in terms of the participation concept of persistence with the allocation of answer provision. The discussion focussed on repair practices and the monopolisation of repair opportunity space and affiliating functions. These were considered in the context of the maintenance of normative social displays of L2 motivation states where evaluative feedback on non-TL forms was promoted, as opposed to more detailed and more exposed repair allowing for deeper-level learning opportunities. Chloe and Chris' orientations were discussed in terms of their contribution to the maintenance of a "comfort level" embedded in the promotion of certain social displays of L2 motivation (Turner and Meyer *et al*, 1998: 743). The notion of "competing action tendencies" was introduced as a way of describing how the monopolisation of repair opportunity space and the subsequent delegation of repair by TEA could be mapped onto the L2 motivational process (Dörnyei & Ottó 1998: 59).

Participation as persistence with the process of answer provision was discussed in Section 7.7 in relation to Liam. The properties of this concept comprised active listenership interactionally managed in relation to the formulation of SPP's and affiliation with TS's. Higher levels of cognitive processing, risk and ambiguity were associated with this concept. The discussion also pointed to a tension between Liam's individual orientations and the notion of appropriate social displays of L2 motivation made relevant in and through the interaction. The proceduralisation of competing action tendencies was discussed in relation to L2 motivational development and "the quality of the internal model of reference"; these competing tendencies were viewed as a possible influence on Liam's appraisal processes (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998: 57).

The final section was devoted to a discussion of Ryan and Kate as demotivated bidders. The discussion challenged the notion that these participants were unwilling participants, working against normative expectations on social displays of L2 motivation. This argument was rooted in the mismatch between the interaction practices used in the

initiation of FPP's, individual nomination and the pursuit of knowledge and understanding demonstration on the specific occurrence of trouble.

In sum, the discussion of the collection of moments of experience shows how the development of L2 motivation can be located in classroom interaction and linked to a range of processes. While some of these processes relate to how participants evaluate "the multitude of stimuli coming from the environment" as they work towards common goals, others are more specifically concerned with issues of cognition and learning (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998: 50).

The following chapter presents the conclusions of this study and some of the implications of the research.

# CHAPTER 8

## Broadening the Findings: Research Questions, Challenges and Implications

### 8.1 Introduction

> When the limits of the immediate context have been reached through a constitutive analysis of events, principled reasons are provided for considering the influence of factors that existed prior to and surround the assembly of particular events. On the one hand, increasing the boundaries of the analysis in systematic and controlled ways means classroom events will be place in the larger context of society. On the other hand, social structure, past history, school organisation will be placed in the day-to-day interaction of participants in educational settings. (Mehan & Griffin, 1980: 363)

Mehan and Griffin's comments make relevant an issue central to the type of educational research reported in this thesis: the role and status of broader knowledge about a particular educational setting in relation to localised practices of teachers and learners in their everyday, moment-to-moment experience. This chapter addresses this issue by reviewing the research questions and re-addressing the research aims in light of the findings.

First it offers answers to the questions, what is L2 motivation and how does it develop in the moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning? Answers based on participant-relevant characterisations of social displays of L2 motivation states were developed inductively through the analysis, and characterised later on as a range of participation concepts. With this foundation in place, the chapter broadens in scope to include a discussion about the relevance of the study for language education as well as MFL teaching methodology. Section 8.4 addresses the more theoretical question of the differences between understandings of L2 classroom motivation versus more generic forms of motivation in other curriculum areas.

The chapter is subsequently brought back to a specific focus on the secondary question of the study: How does L2 motivation develop in relation to the contribution of *in situ* L2 motivational processes in the longer-term? Then, the question of the extent to which CA can contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of L2 motivational processes is

answered. Some limitations of the work presented in this thesis are then discussed and a following section addresses future research possibilities as a way of engaging with such limitations. Finally the notion of generalisability is re-addressed.

This study had two aims; first, to gain a better understanding of the dynamic nature of L2 classroom motivation and second, to investigate how classroom interaction can contribute positively to L2 learner motivation. The research questions reflected these aims; the first sought to examine the short-term development of L2 motivation in the moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning and a secondary question addressed its longer-term development in relation to the possible contribution of these *in situ* processes over time.

The study was designed to provide answers to these questions by anchoring L2 motivation in the everyday teaching and learning practices of one class of French learners and their teacher. It drew on situated classroom interaction and used the explanatory power of CA to analyse a collection of episodes, culminating in the formulation of concepts of displays of participation reflecting the specific but normative ways in which participants could be seen to be 'doing L2 motivation'.

The notion of participation as an interactional achievement and subsequently as a theoretical construct provided a foundation on which to map L2 motivational processes and thus link interaction and social displays of L2 motivation. The identification and characterisation of social displays of L2 motivational states was developed inductively from the different properties of interactional displays of participation made relevant in the negotiation of pedagogical goals in the classroom.

The rationale for this was based on the conceptualisation of L2 motivation as a characteristic of context. This built on person-in-context emergent perspectives on the study of L2 classroom motivation relevant to recent developments in the 'process-oriented' period (Section 2.4.2, Chapter 2). Contextually characterised L2 motivation provided one solution to the problem reiterated throughout this thesis: how do we construct an appropriate characterisation of L2 motivation when aiming to locate it within the in-situ processes of classroom learning?

## 8.2 What is L2 Classroom Motivation?

Finding answers to the above question is a prerequisite to answering the research questions in this study. Here, L2 motivation was treated as both the product and the process of motivational experience; it was then possible to explore how far social displays of L2 motivation states were constituted in interaction and more importantly, how they developed in the moment-to-moment dynamics of L2 learning. In sum, the approach provided a definition of L2 motivation in terms of "who learns what language where?" (Dörnyei, 1994: 275) by answering CA's question of "why that, in that way, right now?" (Seedhouse, 2004: 66).

Based on the findings of this study, L2 classroom motivation as a characteristic of context can be described as a dynamic and interactive process composed of pedagogic goal-oriented behaviours and orientations to the interactional management of MFL learning activities in terms of who speaks when and where. Implied in this is the notion that L2 classroom motivation is "inherently locally produced, incrementally developed and, by extension, as transformable at any moment" (Drew and Heritage, 1992:21).

### 8.2.1 How does L2 classroom motivation develop in the moment-to-moment dynamics of classroom learning?

L2 motivation development was traced in and through the co-construction of co-operative learning behaviours. Chapter 7 demonstrated how this notion of L2 motivation could be mapped on to the Process model, characterised in terms of "a sequence of discrete actional events" (Dörnyei, 2001a: 85). It illustrated how L2 motivation develops more specifically in relation to the Actional Phase and its influences, which enhance or inhibit the execution of the specific sub-processes in the sequence. Appraisal sub-processes and their influences were shown to be the most relevant components for mapping L2 classroom motivation on to the interaction.

The discussion of the findings also revealed how L2 classroom motivational development is linked to issues of cognition and learning. This association arose through the specific focus on the 'talking into being' of institutional goals, discussed in terms of the negotiation of pedagogical functions. This showed how L2 motivation can develop in relation to the

"accountability structure" of the classroom which conveys messages about what counts as doing learning (Doyle, 1983: 181).

The research also illustrated how individual orientations to pedagogic functions made relevant different orientations to risk and ambiguity, the two central conditions of accountability (Doyle, 1983). Low levels of risk and ambiguity in the activities were attributed to different L2 motivation developmental processes more generally and to specific sub-processes of the Process model more specifically. For example, low levels of risk and ambiguity were associated with the low levels of challenge and skill leading to 'switching off' on the part of the rewarded bidders. They were also linked to the ways in which persistent bidders, such and Chris and Chloe, monopolised interactional episodes and to restricted opportunities for higher level cognitive processing and learning actions.

### 8.3 Broadening the Discussion of L2 Classroom Motivational Development

Given the link between cognition and L2 motivational development, it is worthwhile to consider the relevance of the findings to language education and MFL teaching methodology. This is not the first study to make an association between organisation of classroom interaction and low level learning. Studies such as Stodolsky *et al* (1981) specifically aimed to finding out why the "recitation format", an instructional form with similarities to the local management of KAEQ sequences, gets used by teachers and the "range" and "quality" of learning behaviours it produces (1981: 121).

Although Stodolsky *et al*'s study acknowledged "lower mental processes" (p.129) and boredom resulting from such instructional formats, they also noted that:

> Children's attention is relatively high during recitations and that a number of teacher purposes can be served [...] in a skill-oriented subject, [...] public practice, review and checking work may facilitate learning as well or better than, for example, seat work sessions in which the teacher can only interact with a limited number of children. (p.129)

A particularly relevant issue here is the notion that recitation is beneficial in skill-oriented subjects. These include subjects like mathematics, insofar as learning is seen to involve of the acquisition of procedural knowledge in the form of rules regarding "a sequence of

actions" (Hiebert & Carpenter, 1992: 78). Language learning has long been considered a process of skill-acquisition over time, and this view accounts for arguments such as Dörnyei and Ottó's that language learners shows "different motivational characteristics" to other learning processes (1998: 45). This also accounts for the underlying distinction between "choice" and "executive" motivation in the Process model, where executive motivation is seen to be most relevant to language education as it focuses on: "motivational influences that operate during task engagement, facilitating or impeding goal-directed behaviour" (p.45).

The above suggests that there is a reflexive relationship between language learning as a skill-oriented school subject, low levels of cognitive processing, the organisation of classroom talk and the development of L2 motivation. This study shows how L2 motivation develops as a characteristic of context composed of specific individual orientations to the nature and level of skill-based learning tasks. It also demonstrates how these orientations display both more and less positive participant-relevant understandings of the accountability structure, and how the latter fosters certain characteristics of L2 motivation (co-operative goal oriented ones) over others. This provides insights therefore into how classroom interaction can contribute positively to L2 learner motivation.

### 8.3.1 Contextualising L2 Motivational Development In Terms Of MFL Curriculum 'Good' Practice

Drawing on the MFL curriculum and more specifically the MFL Key Stage 3 Framework (DfES, 2003), which addresses language provision for pupils in Years 7 to 9 of schooling in England and Wales, allows for links to be made between the findings and discussion concerning L2 motivational development in this study and the objectives and components of educational policy.

The MFL Framework offers specific teaching objectives and recommendations on how these could be applied in the classroom. The objectives are structured around a series of headings where 'words' and 'sentences' form a major part. This reflects an emphasis on acquiring knowledge about the linguistic system of the TL (explicit grammar learning) in conjunction with, or prior to, its application in terms of reading, writing, speaking and listening skills for communication.

The MFL framework was a response to "design problems" in the existing MFL National Curriculum which was seen, amongst other issues, to neglect linguistic development and overemphasise accuracy and neglect risk taking and creativity (Mitchell, 2003: 16). The displays of participation revealed in the organisation of KAEQ sequences in plenary teaching episodes in this classroom offer an interpretation of the way word and sentence framework-level objectives (for example, 'est-ce que je peux + infinitive') get played out in the MFL classroom. In the episodes described here, the textbook contributed to contextualising the linguistic focus in terms of examples of communicative acts, for example, 'how to say what is wrong and ask for something'. However, learning was generally structured in such a way as to limit language use to intensive practice rather than creative communication and interaction between the participants.

So what implications does this have for development of L2 motivation? In terms of the MFL Framework, L2 motivation is seen to be promoted through the assumption that 'success breeds success' (Mitchell, 2003). This assumption can be related to the benchmark for what constitutes knowledge and its successful acquisition in the classroom under study. It was found that knowledge and understanding demonstration formed a major part of the normative institutional expectations. Success then was determined by the extent to which learners displayed a collective orientation to the intensive practising of the linguistic focus. As a result of this co-operative orientation, learners were rewarded with turns. There is therefore evidence to support this assumption in the persistence, willingness and co-operative approach orientations of some of the participants in their pursuit of pedagogic goals.

However, the study also shows that for those participants less actively involved in the maintenance and protection of co-operative classroom norms, success may not necessarily breed success. Participants such as Liam, who displayed an orientation to forms of higher-level cognitive processing and was not the focus of the teacher's attention unlike Chloe, James1 and Chris, was in some ways an "invisible child", generally seen to:

> not demand or attract special attention or consideration from the teacher, apparently working conscientiously [... ] yet they are perhaps representative of many.
> (Lee *et al*, 1998: 6)

Successful learning was constituted in terms of specific knowledge and understanding demonstrations and the ability to produce the 'known-answer' required by the teacher in a particular task rather than in terms of the step by step acquisition of a larger body of conceptual knowledge. The rewards for language learning were thus short-term; benefiting the few but maybe not the many, which in turn had an influence over the nature of L2 motivational development in the moment-to-moment dynamics of learning.

To summarise, the aim here is not to be critical of teaching method but try to characterise what can be associated with the philosophy of the institutional goals and language learning knowledge negotiated in the classroom in terms of accountability structures. The argument is not that interactional practices are automatically determined by the objectives of educational policy. The intention is to engage with the kinds of professional knowledge teachers and learners bring to the classroom door as a "membership requirement" (Ten Have, 1999:59).

The co-construction of language learning knowledge and its consequences for L2 motivational development should not be considered as the sole result of the localised management of institutional requirements by the participants in this language classroom. This is particularly the case for the teacher. Perhaps one of the reasons why a co-operative classroom goal structure becomes so central to the organisation of learning there is due to the professional expectations on the teacher herself to co-operate with the requirements of educational policy and its focus on deductive grammar teaching.

### 8.4 L2 Classroom Motivation versus Classroom Motivation

Another concern made relevant through this study is the distinction between L2 learning motivational issues and those in generic classroom learning such as English or History. There are number of factors relevant this in the findings of this study. A first factor concerns use of the target language.

There is a general assumption that one difference between L2 classroom motivation and generic classroom motivation can be attributed to the use of the target language. Seedhouse (2004), from a CA perspective, states that one of the universal properties of language classrooms as opposed to Geography or History for example is that the target language is "both the vehicle and object of instruction" (p.183). Chambers (1999) summarising Reisner (1992: 18) claims that this can affect motivation given "the problem of

discrepancy between what a pupil wishes to say and is able to say and the implications of this for the maintaining of interest".

In relation to this study, it is clear that use of target language is not oriented to in the same way as in the classrooms studied by Seedhouse. The classroom under study has arguably more in common with forms of generic classroom motivation than L2 motivation as studied in other language learning contexts. This can be attributed to the treatment of TL as a system of codes to be learned, similarly to mathematics education, where features of the language are treated solely as objects made up of rules.
The fact also remains however that MFL's, as Chambers states, are "cyclical or spiral rather than linear" in progression (p.6). This means that the elements of the language that are introduced, or even the objectives covered in Year 7 are developed in successive years where as they are re-presented, the complexity of use is increased and evolves. This has important implications for issues of progression in language learning but also represents a clear difference between the learning processes found in MFL compared to other subject classrooms. The following section considers this in more detail in terms of long-term motivational development issues.

### 8.5 Long-Term L2 Motivational Development

The cyclical nature of language learning contributes to a further assumption in L2 motivation research that its rewards are long-term (Chambers, 1999). This assumption raises issues concerning the maintenance of L2 motivation to learn over a long period (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998).

Although this discussion has suggested ways in which short-term rewards for learning were associated with the development of L2 motivation and in some cases to positive effect, the contribution of these *in situ* processes to the development of L2 motivation over time is also a central question.

Examining this in relation to the implications of this study involves returning to the accountability structure of the classroom and the levels of risk and ambiguity associated with it. The short-term reward structure emphasised through the accountability structure was seen to foster certain positive L2 motivational behaviours in terms of persistence and a willingness to demonstrate knowledge. However, it was also associated with the co-

construction of a "comfort level", made relevant by low levels of risk and ambiguity maintained through a collective orientation to the pedagogic tasks (Turner & Meyer *et al*, 1998: 743).

Doyle argues that activities where the levels of risk and ambiguity are high, and are promoted in higher level cognitive processing, have the longest-term benefits for academic development (1984). The difficulties resulting from such tasks however are "delays and slowdowns" in their organisation and that not all learners will be able to achieve the task requirements (p.186). This description suggests alternative possibilities for the organisation of classroom talk from that reported in this study, i.e. the characteristics of a co-operative goal structure where collectivity and interdependence of actions is emphasised.

This point is relevant to the trouble described in episodes involving Kate and Ryan in Section 6.2.2, Chapter 6. Here, the procedural problems made relevant by these participants, and their inability to produce a 'known' answer, illustrate the kinds of delays characterised above. For these participants then, it could be argued that the activity types demanded higher levels of risk and ambiguity. Additionally, the fact that exposed repair opportunities were limited illustrates how the co-operative goal structure of the classroom may restrict long-term learning opportunities.

This raises the question therefore of the place of differentiation in a co-operative classroom environment. The individual nomination turn allocation techniques used in relation to Ryan and Kate and attributed to the occurrence of trouble also went unresolved in terms of opportunities for self-repair. However, the suggestion is made that it is precisely the use of individual nomination turn allocation with completed self-repair actions that may provide for opportunities for differentiation in KAEQ practices and lead to the kinds of rewards demanded by learners who do not orient to the short-term reward system.

The limitation of long-term learning opportunities can be mapped on to the development of L2 motivation through the kinds of processes described in the Process model. Influences on appraisal sub-processes such as "selective sensitivity to aspects of the environment" involving the different weightings that L2 learners assign to certain aspects of learning activities based on previous experiences and "idiosyncratic features" are relevant here (p.57). In addition, general appraisal processes may have broader implications for language learning, as Dörnyei and Otto explain:

> [...] a person's appraisal of one level can be easily transferred to a broader or narrower level; for example, negative attitudes evoked by failure in doing a particular task can easily be generalised to the whole language course or to the whole of language learning. (p.50)

While this explains the potential influence of the limited opportunities for self-repair on Ryan and Kate's 'MFL motivational disposition', it can also explain how longer investment in the so-called 'delays and slow downs' could be beneficial to both their learning and long- term L2 motivational development.
These sub-processes, particularly those related to selective sensitivity, can also be used to describe positive contributions to long-term L2 motivational development in terms of the orientations of the rewarded and perisistent/willing bidders. They also help to conceptualise the notion of success breeding success in the long-term for those reaping shorter-term rewards in this classroom.

### 8.6 CA for L2 motivation?

To what extent has a CA approach contributed to a better understanding of the dynamic and temporal nature of L2 classroom motivation? The ability to produce findings and map these on to a discussion of L2 motivation shows it is possible to align CA and L2 motivation in a systematic and principled way. Further, the adoption of a specifically institutional CA perspective meant that the analysis of the interaction remained close the goal-oriented nature of classroom learning which in turn revealed issues of learning and cognition and provided some insights into the distinction between motivation in the language classroom and other subjects.

The interactional organisation of turn-taking and repair provided the tools or rather, the "templates", to work with and subsequently the non-verbal action of hand-raising became the specific focus of the study (Seedhouse, 2004: 17). The description of the normative ways in which the participants organised their interactions to carry out the institutional goal, to learn French, provided the empirical foundation on which to build an understanding of L2 motivation. This understanding came about more specifically by aligning the notion of participation in an Institutional CA perspective as social and interactional achievement with empirically-grounded theoretical understandings of L2

motivation. Using CA called for a specific approach to data collection, management, analysis and discussion but it resulted in findings that could be considered in terms of a broader framework of education and psychology. Drawing on CA did not limit the scope of the study but broadened it in interesting and novel ways. This is nicely reflected in Griffin and Mehan's comments that:

> [...] the bottom up approach to an investigation often turns out to reveal an interestingly concealed set of data and productive outcome, since the researcher's work points to issues of significance in the discipline from which the research comes. (1980: 362)

### 8.6.1 Limitations

The advantages offered through CA do not mean that the study is without limitations. The most important of these however were less related to the use of CA as a methodological orientation and more to the decisions made at the point of managing the data for detailed analysis. The concentration on Wholeclass/Tight floors meant that the analysis progressed with less consideration of the remainder of the activity types. Other activity types such as those labelled as Open floors consisted of different turn-taking organisational practices where other pedagogical functions were made relevant. This all has implications for the definition of L2 motivation offered here and for accounts of its development. It also has implications for the different kinds of interpretations made about the individual orientations of the participants under closer study and those who, as result of decisions made in the early stages, were excluded to some extent from closer analysis.

Further, drawing on CA meant ultimately that only certain areas of L2 motivational theory could be mapped onto to findings from the interaction analysis. The study shows how motivation theories such as achievement goal theory are extremely relevant for CA institutional perspectives, but of course, this represents only a small sub-area. Having said this, the Process model presents a comprehensive framework , which is specially designed for L2 motivation and takes into consideration its dynamic nature. The ability to map aspects of the model onto interactional processes illustrates both its validity and the scope for further research.

More generally, it is important to mention that the aim of focussing on one particular activity type, and the organisation of KAEQ's, was not to present a view of the language learning classroom as talked into being by "one generic type of discourse" but instead as an example of one of many "constellation of complex interactionally intricate practices" (Hall, 2004: 608).

### 8.7 Future research

The outline of limitations illustrates the scope for future research, more specifically concerned with a further exploration of the data and different activity types. Tracing the interactional orientations of the individuals under analytical focus here across different activity types holds particular interest for the researcher, and has implications for the definition of L2 motivation as revealed here. As well as this, having shown that hand-raising can be investigated as a relevant component in L2 motivation in the language classroom, further work could involve a more detailed focus on its specific role as a tool for L2 motivation.

Another planned area for future research is to expand the study to include the complementary data, collected as part of the case study. There was a particular reason for incorporating ethnographic methods such as the post-lesson interviews into the original research design. In a previously conducted pilot study (Preston, 2005), it was found that the participants expressed enthusiasm to discuss their classroom experiences with the researcher. The particular focus on the contribution of interaction, a wish to engage with the potential for the integration of interaction and L2 motivation as the main aim of the thesis work and the constraints of time and space meant that these were not incorporated into the study. However, collecting this self-report data not only meant that it was recorded for its use at a later date but also that those participants wishing to do so in this particular study got the opportunity to talk about their classroom experiences. From an action research philosophical perspective, it was found that this was indeed beneficial to those involved. For future research purposes, the planned usage of this complementary data would be for sequential triangulation with the interaction analysis. The interviews (n=9) involved self-reports from a selection of participants collected immediately after the video-recorded lessons or as soon as possible on the same day. This data was collected using semi-structured interview techniques and questions were based on gaining insights into the participants experiences of the just-completed lessons. As such, they could be considered as based on semi-stimulated recall.

## 8.8 Generalising From the Case

Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2 outlined issues of generalisability and introduced the notion that in CA it is possible to argue for the generalisation of local institutional interactional practices through "possibilities of language use" (Peräkylä, 2004: 297); they represent the practices that any member (Western) "can do" (p.297). Hand-raising and lowering work can be viewed as an example of one such 'possibility', utilized in normative and specific ways in many classrooms. Whilst this work has been shown to be part of the special turn-taking system of the classroom under study, there is no reason to think that it is not used in similar ways for turn allocation practices in other classrooms. The specialized ways in which it is used in this classroom however, shows its role in displays of participation and later on as a basis for participation concepts relevant for the discussion of L2 motivational development.

In the broader field of education, hand-raising and lowering work is a commonly recognized feature of classroom life and in terms of motivational issues, folk understandings portray it as a particularly "teacher-desired behavior" (Crookes and Schmidt, 1991: 480). This study has worked towards the discovery of the machinery of hand-raising and lowering work in the service of L2 motivation and constitutes the first of its kind. The trade off between the generalisable and the unique is perhaps less important that the ability to build an understanding of hand-raising and lowering work in one classroom, which, it is hoped, if shared with teacher and learners, might be able to recognize and build an awareness of their own related practices. In the world of the everyday practicing teacher, this is a much a more accessible and teacher-friendly approach to professional development issues than being given a list of hand-raising strategies to incorporate into what is an already bustling lesson.

The contribution of the unique and documenting normative classroom practices as a way of engaging with education issues is becoming more and more a matter of media attention, reflecting the breadth of interest in this method for educational research both within research communities and beyond. Documentary-style films like the Oscar nominated "The class" (Entre les Murs, trans. Between the Walls) released in the UK in March 2009, is shot almost exclusively in one classroom with one class of French students and is seen as bringing "teaching to life" (TES, 2009:19). Its issues have provoked much debate in France among both teaching professionals and students (p.19).

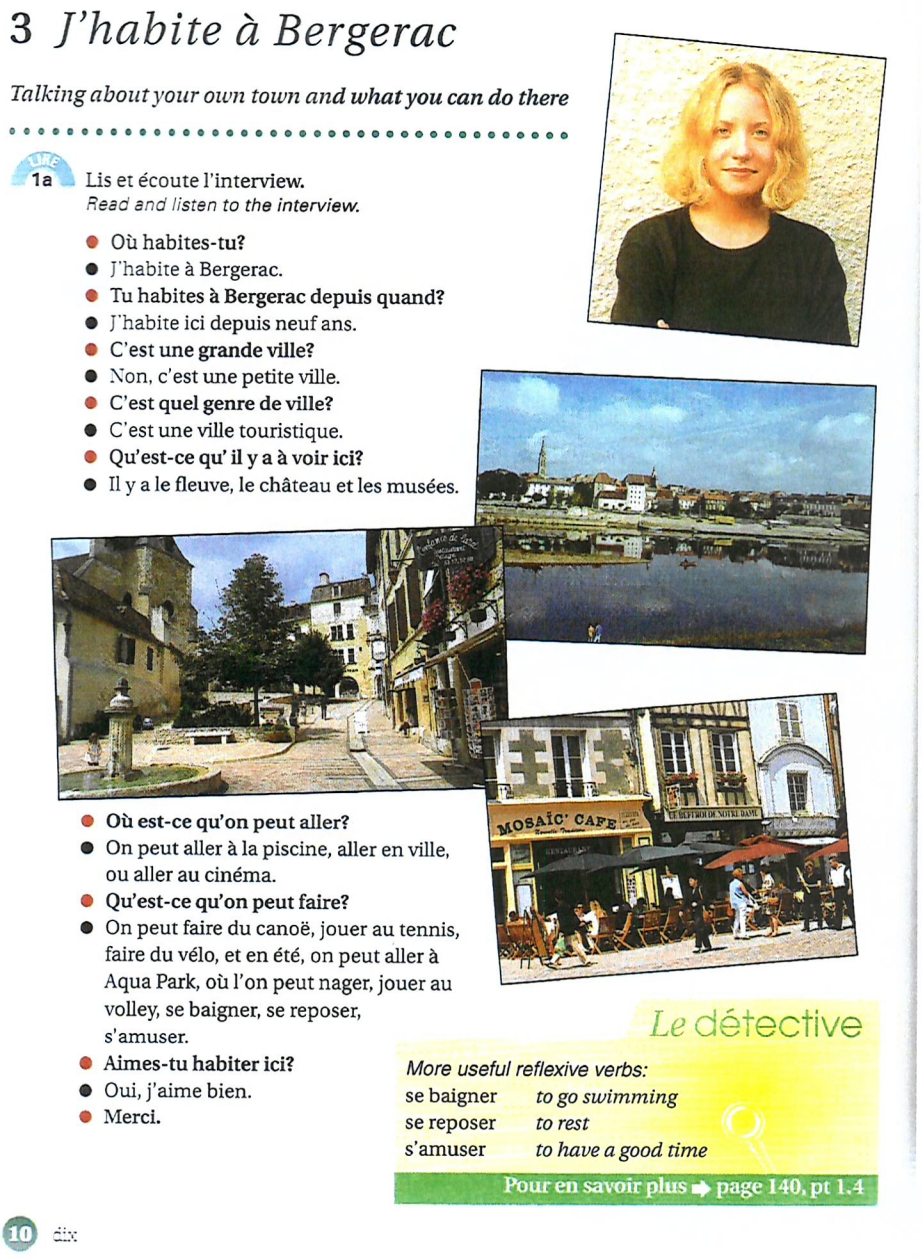
Here, it is appropriate to draw on the words of a well-known motivational theorist Weiner, who claimed that:

> For most of us at most times, a royal road to the unconscious is less valuable to the motivation researchers than the dirt road to consciousness. (1986:285)

In response, I am inclined to reply that my journey down the royal road was indeed privileged and very valuable, not because I formulated some abstract way to get at the unconscious but because I was provided with the opportunity, thanks to the participants in my study, to formulate a theory of the development of L2 motivation based on the complexity and art of their practice.

## APPENDIX ONE

Extracts from Metro Vert, the class textbook used in the Episodes described Chapters 5 & 6.



# 3 *J'habite à Bergerac*

*Talking about your own town and* ***what you can do there***

LIRE 1a Lis et écoute l'interview.
*Read and listen to the interview.*

- **Où habites-tu?**
- J'habite à Bergerac.
- **Tu habites à Bergerac depuis quand?**
- J'habite ici depuis neuf ans.
- **C'est une grande ville?**
- Non, c'est une petite ville.
- **C'est quel genre de ville?**
- C'est une ville touristique.
- **Qu'est-ce qu' il y a à voir ici?**
- Il y a le fleuve, le château et les musées.



- **Où est-ce qu'on peut aller?**
- On peut aller à la piscine, aller en ville, ou aller au cinéma.
- **Qu'est-ce qu'on peut faire?**
- On peut faire du canoë, jouer au tennis, faire du vélo, et en été, on peut aller à Aqua Park, où l'on peut nager, jouer au volley, se baigner, se reposer, s'amuser.
- **Aimes-tu habiter ici?**
- Oui, j'aime bien.
- **Merci.**

## *Le détective*

*More useful reflexive verbs:*

| | |
|---|---|
| se baigner | *to go swimming* |
| se reposer | *to rest* |
| s'amuser | *to have a good time* |

Pour en savoir plus ➡ page 140, pt 1.4

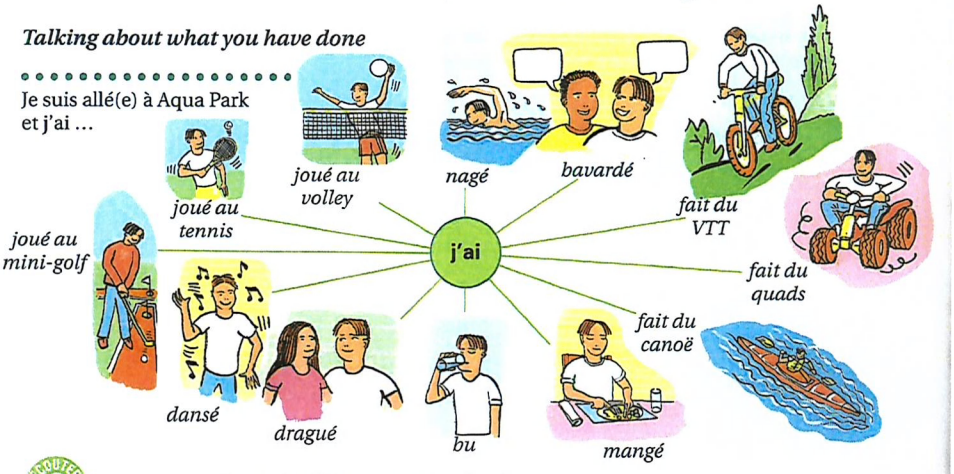


**Figure 10.** 'Talking about your own town and what you can do there'

# 5 *Je suis allé(e) à Aqua Park et j'ai ...*

***Talking about what you have done***

Je suis allé(e) à Aqua Park et j'ai ...




ÉCOUTER **1a** **Qu'est-ce qu'ils ont fait? Écoute et note. (1–5)**
*What did they do? Listen and make notes.*

## *Le détective*

*To talk about what you have done you use the perfect tense (**le passé composé**).*
*The perfect tense is usually made up of **j'ai** + the past participle, as follows:*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| J'ai regardé. | *I watched.* | J'ai acheté. | *I bought.* |
| J'ai fait. | *I did.* | J'ai bu. | *I drank.* |

*The past participle of regular **-er** verbs follow this pattern:*
jouer – joué; danser – dansé; manger – mangé, *but,* ***Je suis allé(e).*** *– I went.*

Pour en savoir plus ➡ page 141, pt 1.7

PARLER **1b** **À deux. Pose les questions à ton/ta partenaire.**
*In pairs, ask your partner these questions.*

- Qu'est-ce que tu as fait?
- Qu'est-ce que tu as mangé?
- Qu'est-ce que tu as regardé?
- Qu'est-ce que tu as bu?
- Qu'est-ce que tu as joué?

| | Partenaire A | Partenaire B |
|---|---|---|
| *j'ai fait* |  |  |
| *j'ai mangé* |  |  |
| *j'ai regardé* |  |  |
| *j'ai bu* |  |  |
| *j'ai joué* |  |  |



**Figure 11.** 'Talking about what you have done'

MODULE 2 J'ARRIVE

# 1 *Je te présente ma famille*

***Talking about your family and what they do***


LIRE 1a **Lis et trouve.**

*Regarde, sur la photo il y a mon père, Justin, à droite, qui cuit les saucisses. À gauche, c'est ma mère, Julie, qui coupe le pain. Ma tante, Émilie, verse du coca dans des verres et mon oncle, Jules, arrive avec de la bière pour les adultes. Puis, à côté de Jules ce sont mes grands-parents, Pierre et Monique. Ils sont assis à table et ma sœur, Sophie, distribue les assiettes. Mon grand-frère, Denis, n'est pas là. Il est allé en ville avec sa petite copine.*

***Ludo***

PARLER 1b **Vérifie à deux.**

- A, c'est son père.
- Non, c'est son oncle.
- B, c'est ...

LIRE 1c **Vrai ou faux?**

1 Julie distribue les assiettes.
2 À gauche, sa mère coupe le pain.
3 Pierre et Sophie sont assis à table.
4 Son grand-père cuit les saucisses.
5 Sa tante verse du coca dans des verres.
6 Justin est à gauche sur la photo.

**Rappel**

Remember the words for **my**, **your** and **his/her** agree with the noun.

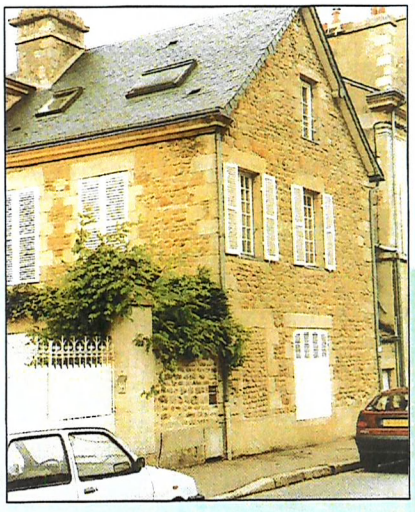
| Masc. | Fem. | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| mon père | ma mère | mes frères |
| ton frère | ta sœur | tes parents |
| son oncle | sa tante | ses cousins |



**Figure 12.** 'Talking about your family and what they do'

# 2 *À la maison*

***Talking about your own home***



Cher corres,
Voici une photo de notre maison.

C'est une grande maison. Elle est dans un quartier calme. Mes grands-parents habitent au rez-de-chaussée et nous habitons au premier étage.

En bas, au sous-sol, il y a la cave.

Au rez-de-chaussée, il y a l'appartement de Mamie et Papi. Ils ont une chambre, une salle de bain, une cuisine et un grand salon qui donne sur le jardin. Ce n'est pas grand mais c'est joli.

Au premier étage, nous avons la chambre de mes parents, une salle de bain, une grande cuisine avec coin-repas où nous mangeons, et un salon où nous regardons la télévision et un balcon où il y a des plantes.

Ma chambre est au deuxième étage. Je partage ma chambre avec mon frère. Nous avons une salle d'eau avec douche, une petite salle de jeux où nous faisons nos devoirs, écoutons de la musique ou jouons sur l'ordinateur.

Ludo

**qui donne sur** *which overlooks*

LIRE **1a** **Lis et écoute.**

LIRE **1b** **Lis et trouve. Trouve les mots et les phrases dans le texte.**
*Listen and find these words and phrases in the text.*

1 in the basement
2 on the ground floor
3 on the first floor
4 on the second floor
5 a quiet area
6 a shower
7 a games room
8 I share my room

PARLER **1c** **À tour de rôle. Pose les questions et donne les réponses.**
*Take it in turns to ask and answer the questions.*

1 Qu'est-ce qu'il y a au sous-sol?
2 Il y a quelles pièces au rez-de-chaussée?
3 Il y a quelles pièces au premier étage?
4 Il y a quelles pièces au deuxième étage?
5 Ludo partage sa chambre avec qui?



**Figure 13.** 'Talking about your own home

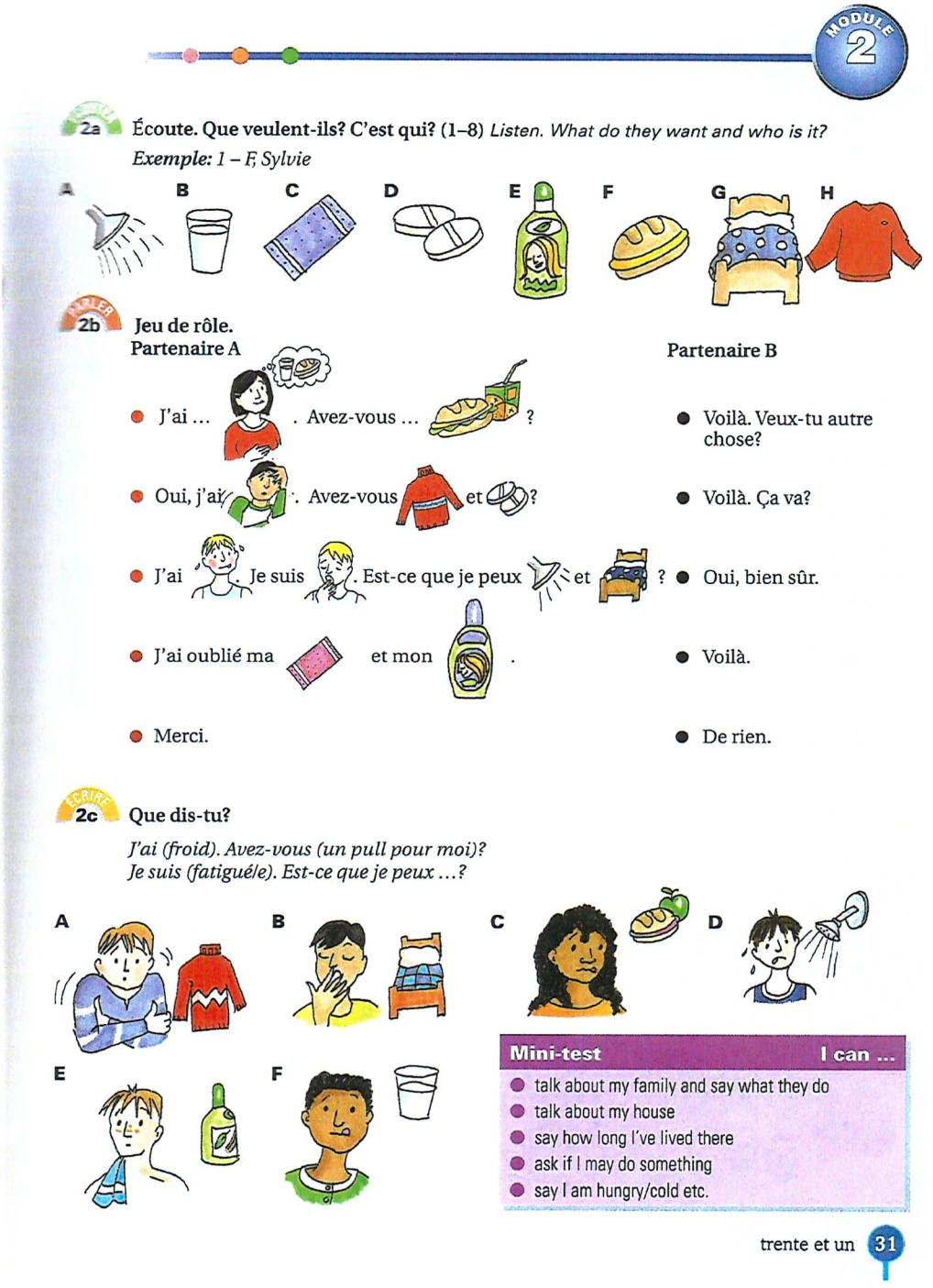



**Figure 14.** 'How to say what is wrong and ask for something'

MODULE 5

LIRE 1c **C'est quel mot? Trouve les paires.**

| | |
|---|---|
| bavard(e) | stupid/silly |
| égoïste | shy |
| farfelu(e) | reliable |
| gentil(le) | fun |
| intelligent(e ) | nice |
| marrant(e) | lazy |
| paresseux(se) | self-centred |
| sérieux(se) | sporty |
| sportif(ve) | clever |
| stupide | nice |
| sympa | talkative |
| têtu(e) | scatty |
| timide | obstinate |

ECOUTER 1d **Qui est-ce? (1–5)**

PARLER 1e **Tu es quelle sorte de personne? Interviewe ton/ta partenaire.**
***Exemple:*** *Es-tu bavard(e)? Oui, je suis bavard(e)./Non, je ne suis pas bavard(e).*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| bavard(e) | intelligent(e) | sérieux(se) | sympa |
| égoïste | marrant(e) | sportif(ve) | têtu(e) |
| gentil(le) | paresseux(se) | stupide | timide |

ECRIRE 2a **Choisis cinq personnes et décris-les.**

*Mon copain est ...*
*Ma copine est ...*
*Mon frère est ...*
*Ma sœur est ...*
*Mon père est ...*

**Et toi? Tu es comment?**
*Je suis ...*

ECRIRE 2b **Ils sont comment?**



**Figure 15.** 'Talking about what someone is like'

# APPENDIX TWO

Transcription Conventions

| SYMBOL | CA | DESCRIPTION | CHAT FORM |
|---|---|---|---|
| Underscored Text | text | Stress on a word, syllable or sound | text |
| Number in brackets | (2) | Pauses timed in seconds | #2 |
| Point in brackets | (.) | Short untimed pause | # |
| Double Parentheses | (( )) | For Comments, descriptions and asides. Non-verbal actions. | %com: |
| Question mark | ? | Rising intonation but not always a question | ? also functions as utterance terminator in CHAT-CA |
| Words in brackets | (text) | Indicates transcriber's doubt about a word or phrase | (text) |
| Left Top Brackets | ⌈ | Indicates the beginning of a 'top begin' temporal overlap | Special brackets markers for use with CHAT-CA |
| Right Top Bracket | ⌉ | Indicates the end of a 'top end' temporal overlap | As above |
| Left Bottom Bracket | ⌊ | Indicates the beginning of a 'bottom begin' temporal overlap | As above |
| Right Bottom Bracket | ⌋ | Indicates the end of a ' bottom begin' temporal overlap | As above |
| The word 'hand' with up facing arrow | n/a | Indicates hand-raising gesture | hand↑ (This symbol was especially formulated by the researcher and added to the CLAN transcription program file) |
| The word 'hand' with down facing arrow | n/a | Indicates hand-lowering gesture | hand↓ (This symbol was especially formulated by the researcher and added to the CLAN transcription program file) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| comma | , | Low-rising intonation, also indicating continuation as in a list | , |
| Point | . | Utterance terminator but normally used for falling intonation in CA | . |
| Colon | Wo::rd | Lengthening sound | Wo::d |
| Small circles | °word° | Quieter than the surrounding talk | °word° |
| Equal signs | = | TCU continuation | ≋ |
| Outward facing arrow heads | < word > | Slower than the surrounding talk | ▽ word ▽ |
| Text in capitals | WORD | Louder than the surrounding talk | ◉word◉ |
| Equals sign | = | Talk or gestures following swiftly after one another | ≈ |

# APPENDIX THREE

## Viewing the Transcripts and Film Footage

The transcriptions of the episodes described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 may be viewed through the CLAN files on the CR-ROM attached to this thesis in the plastic pocket.

The list below shows the name of the specific CLAN file created for each episode.

Each episode is labelled from 1 to 25 which correspond to the numbering of the episodes as shown in the grey boxes in Chapter 4, 5 and 6. Using Epsiode1 as an example, the codes for the files are explained as follows:

L1- The corresponding lesson
1- Activity type
1-Sequence in activity
13-40 – Beginning marker for the location on the video footage

**Please note**: For reasons of confidentiality, the video footage is not included with this thesis copy. Should the reader wish to have access to the video footage, the researcher would be happy to assist them. Email: prestonanne@hotmail.com for further information.

**CLAN FILE**

Episode1-L1-1-1-13-40
Episode2-L1-1-3-18-22
Episode3-L2-3-2-24-41
Episode4-L1-7-4-53-52
Episode5-L11-5-3-44-48
Episode6-L7-5-1-45-10
Episode7-L4-2-3-10-48
Episode8-L3-6-3-32-48
Episode9-L4-4-1-24-20
Episode10-L4-5-2-29-30
Episode11-L4-6-2-37-47
Episode12-L1-4-4-35-34
Episode13-L4-6-1-36-25
Episode14-L1-2-2-23-39
Episode15-L5-1-6-17-07
Episode16-L11-3-2-17-37
Episode17-L1-4-1-27-34
Episode18-L3-1-3-5-37
Episode19-L2-2-6-16-14
Episode20-L4-4-2-24-40
Episode21-L1-6-1-39-41
Episode22-L1-5-3-37-30
Episode23-L1-2-4-22-43
Episode24-L1-7-3-51-03
Episode25-L1-7-5-52-40

## Advice for accessing and using CLAN

**1.** Once the CD-ROM been inserted and found by your computer, the CLAN transcription files should be displayed in appropriate CD/DVD drive location. They will look like this and have a turquoise and black icon:


If this is not the case, the CLAN program will need to be installed on your computer. The software is available free of charge online at: http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/

Alternatively, on the CD-ROM, in the folder labelled CLAN, there is a copy of the CLAN setup Launcher:


Click on this file and when asked, save this file to your own computer. You may then download the software by following the instructions given by the program.

**2.** When this is completed and when the green and black icons will accompany the file names on the CD ROM, the files may be opened by double clicking on the file name.

**3**. The transcripts are designed to be read using a special CAfont which is particularly helpful for marking overlapping speech. If, when opening the CLAN transcription files, the text is not set to font this automatically (the font has been downloaded onto the USB flash drive so it should work), please set the font. This is can be done by highlighting the whole text, clicking on View in the menu bar, then Set font, then selecting Arial Unicode MS and clicking on Select.

**4.** Another important point when playing the transcription files is the viewing of the line numbers. If the line numbers do not automatically show on the transcriptions, this will need to be activated manually. This can be done by selecting Mode in the menu bar, then selecting Show Line Numbers. A small tick icon will then appear next to this function and the line numbers will show on the transcripts.

**5.** Further information about CLAN or the CHATCA transcription system may be found in the PDF files in the CLAN folder labelled Clan.pdf and Chat.pdf.

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