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The social organisation of a remedial reading lesson

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Abstract

The classroom offers a domain full of potential research opportunities. This thesis examines a certain type of educational occurrence, the remedial reading lesson, within the context of the American Science Research Associates (SRA) reading program. This area has not previously been explored using the approach of Ethnomethodology and its associate research tool, Conversation Analysis (CA).

Working from transcribed data drawn from over thirty hours of remedial reading lessons, the principal outcomes of the study are as follows: Through discussion and critique of previous ethnomethodological analyses of classroom talk, it is proposed that some publicised, generalist frameworks are inadequate as they stand when applied to the talk-in-interaction that occurs within the remedial reading lesson. Also, new formats are suggested to account for the interaction that takes place between teacher and pupils. An increased understanding also arises of how remedial reading is a socially organised phenomenon that is procedurally and locally produced by the parties in their talk.

Initially, the subject of *Spelling* is highlighted as a key activity due to the significant amount of lesson time it acquired, thus producing significant quantities of data for analysis. This uncovered the methods used by both the teacher and pupils to interactionally achieve spelling within the context of these remedial reading lessons.

The *American* origin of the SRA reading series leads to interesting consequences. The analysis presented in chapter four addresses the methods used by both the teacher and pupils to counteract the consequences caused by the occurrence of alien, Americanised, language within the SRA texts. The objectives are to ensure the preservation of both the reading flow and the meaning of the story as a whole.

Another significant finding in the thesis identifies teachers' responses to pupils' talk within the context of *Recipient Design*, specifically describing those responses that have been uniquely designed to allow the best outcome to be achieved for children with differing reading capabilities. The analysis uncovers the teacher's use of

recipient designed talk when evaluating the differing ability levels pupils, applying knowledge of the pupils' previous performances to their current reading attempts.

Finally, the topic of *Evaluation* and more significantly the evaluative nature of the teacher's talk permitted publicised ethnomethodological studies to be critiqued and new claims to be made. The findings of chapters seven and eight reveal the complexity of evaluations in a remedial reading lesson and indicate that various other components such as corrections, prompts, pauses and acknowledgement tokens are commonly included in the one-turn feedback format.

Through detailed analysis of the data, the socially organised nature of the remedial reading lesson has been demonstrated and provides an extension of ethnomethodological research into locally organised accomplishments of educational practice.

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Introduction

The following study will use an ethnomethodological approach in order to analyse the local production of remedial reading lessons. Ethnomethodology's insistence on studying social life as accomplished via members' methods ensures that all social phenomena become topics worthy of ethnomethodological scrutiny. Educational phenomena consequently comprise a rich field of enquiry.

This introductory chapter is divided into three sections: the first provides a brief explanation of ethnomethodology as a research tool, citing the relevant practitioners; the second reviews the most relevant literature pertaining to the educational sphere in general and the third centres more specifically upon the research most pertinent to the themes in this thesis.

The history and development of Ethnomethodology

In the mid 1950s Harold Garfinkel coined the term 'Ethnomethodology' (Heritage, 1984). Its inception occurred whilst Garfinkel took part in a study of the deliberations of trial jurors. His task was to interview jurors about their decisions and to relate these to the proceedings within the courtroom. He became aware that it was the 'methods' used by the jurors to make such ordinary everyday decisions concerning justice, truth and

evidence that were of central importance to his study. The commonplace methodological dilemma, 'what method could be used to address tape recordings as a satisfactory record of the jurors' procedures?' led Garfinkel to develop a new type of research tool, ethnomethodology, which would allow the intricate nature of jury talk to be captured. Therefore, the methods used by the jurors in their ordinary everyday decisions consequently became of vital importance to the investigation.

This investigation was preceded by Garfinkel's Schutzian inspired critique of Parsonian theory. Thus, the emergence of ethnomethodology can be traced to two strands of influence: Parsonian theory relating to the sociological conception of social order and the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz. Garfinkel, whilst recognising Parsons' most significant contribution to sociological theory, required some kind of apparatus to analyse its fundamental phenomena. He, consequently, found it necessary to break from his 'theory of social action.' Garfinkel maintained that Parson's orthodox standpoint, focusing primarily upon *systems of action*, failed to account for the availability and recognisability of social actions as experienced by the actor.

Garfinkel consequently sought to answer the questions concerning the implications which Parsons' theories gave to the possible explanations of mundane, every-day social life. He began by rejecting Parsons' key assumption that actors must possess shared understandings. By disregarding this supposition, Garfinkel was able to move beyond Parsons' theoretical framework. He considered actors' understandings were constructed within the activity itself, believing social order to be *participant produced*. Armed with

this innovative 'sense making' conception of the social world, Garfinkel sought to establish such a 'sociology of everyday life' as an empirical programme.

Schutz certainly initiated the quest for a methodology that would make sense of social action as experienced by the actor. Yet it was Garfinkel, with his emphasis upon social acts as constituting actively produced accomplishments, who uncovered the 'seen but unnoticed' aspects that are taken for granted by actors in their everyday lives.

Garfinkel's stance consequently denies the Parsonian viewpoint that assumes actors possess shared understandings and moves outside the Parsonian framework, attaching a phenomenological position, which conceives of actors' understandings as being constructed from 'within'. Social order in its particular formation, therefore, according to Garfinkel constitutes a production of the participants themselves (Cuff *et al*, 1979). This agenda creates something of a chasm between ethnomethodology and its genitor, mainstream sociology, which envisages ordinary social life as constituting a stage in which to view the performance of such phenomena, rather than seeking to first-handedly grasp and make sense of the intelligibility of the seen but unnoticed social world. In short, the way in which ethnomethodology differentiates itself from other sociological arenas is in the way social life is conceived, namely in accordance with Garfinkel, in members' understandings. As Livingston (1987) puts it:

> Ethnomethodologists are not directly interested in sociologists' purported methods. They are interested in the actual methods people use to produce the orderlinesses of the social world.

Garfinkel had discovered a huge domain of phenomena, omnipresent, yet entirely untouched by the sociological hand. Ethnomethodology was born and consequently became the 'study of people's methods,' of practical action and practical reasoning (Livingston, 1987).

The initial paragraph of Garfinkel's study *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (1967), which served to project the approach into the public sphere, effectively addressed the frequently posed question, "What is ethnomethodology?" Garfinkel (1967) describes it as an approach that seeks:

> to treat practical activities, practical circumstances, and practical sociological reasoning as topics of empirical study, and by paying to the most commonplace activities of daily life the attention usually accorded extraordinary events, seek to learn about them as a phenomena in their own right.

In his early studies Garfinkel's thought appears to have exhibited a markedly phenomenological influence, an example of which being his doctoral dissertation *The Perception of the Other: A Study in Social Order*. In his later studies, especially his 'work programme' he becomes more concerned with describing the rich detail of particular social activities. Ethnomethodology, as it has developed, seeks to make sense of, or as Garfinkel proposes, to study the "missing whatness" in the common, everyday, naturally occurring, mundane methods that take place in the everyday activities of the social world. By this reasoning, ethnomethodology, according to Hester and Francis

(2000), may facilitate the recovery of social life to its members. As Garfinkel (1967) states:

> Ethnomethodological studies analyze everyday activities as members' methods for making those same activities visibly-rational-and-reportable-for-all-practical-purposes, i.e. "accountable," as organizations of commonplace everyday activities.

The contribution of Harvey Sacks

Apart from Garfinkel, Harvey Sacks was a further influential contributor to ethnomethodological analysis. At the core of ethnomethodology lies a methodology that recognises language as constituting a mastery which can solely make sense of and is a permeating feature of social life, order and interaction (Watson, 1992).

Sacks's concern lay initially with the tendency of sociological theory to make generalisations when depicting ordinary language descriptions. His response was to develop a method of analysis that would enable the raw data relating to human conduct to be captured. He achieved this via tape-recorded conversation which enabled the repeated and detailed examination of interaction ensuring that extensive analysis could be gained. His *Lectures on Conversation* (1992) emphasised the importance of members' use of ordinary language in everyday activities and has consequently become somewhat of a Bible for all those continuing the analytical tradition.

Continuing from the classic contributions of these founding fathers, ethnomethodology has developed into an approach, which has been divided into many diverse avenues of

inquiry. Originating from the work of Sacks, the most impressive device of investigation for many ethnomethodologists is conversation analysis (CA) and, to a lesser extent, membership categorisation analysis (MCA).

Membership Category Analysis

Membership category analysis uses 'membership categories,' (MCs) 'membership categorisation devices' (MCDs) and 'category predicates' or ' boundedness' originating from Sack's conceptual framework in order to make sense of the utterances and to provide an account of how activities are "done recognizably" (Schegloff, 1992). Membership categories are a *frame of reference* used by members to describe particular types of persons. For example, these may include, Punk, Thief, Murderer, Waitress or Policeman. Categories can be 'heard' to go together naturally to form collections called membership categorisation devices. One frequently referred to example is the device 'family,' (Hester & Eglin, 1992) in which the categories father, mother, son, daughter may be located. Sacks also developed an additional type of MCD, called the 'standardised relational pair,' referring to paired categories where one implies the other. Intimately based pairs such as husband-wife, mother-child and occupationally based ones, including teacher-pupil or doctor-patient pairings. Sacks provides two rules for the application of MCs, the 'economy rule,' enabling a single MC to be used in describing persons, and the 'consistency rule,' combining with the 'hearers maxim' to place categories together. As Sacks (1974: 219-220) asserts: "if they can be heard as categories from the same collection, then: hear them that way." The most famous of Sacks' (1974) studies centred upon the hearability of the utterances:

'The baby cried. The mommy picked it up."

He observes that the two categories 'baby' and 'mommy' may be commonsensically heard as belonging to the same MCD of 'family.' Sacks also makes use of 'category predicates' or 'category bound activities' in making sense of the utterances. Category predicates are activities that are expected to be performed by a particular social type or MC. For example, the category predicate of 'crying' is an action expectably performed and bound to the MC of 'baby.' Furthermore, the MC 'baby' can be heard as now belonging not only, to the MCD of 'family' but also to the 'stage of life' device. These hearings then enable us to decipher that the 'baby' is related not only to the 'mommy,' but is also a 'baby' of which 'crying' is a category- bound activity.

Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis or CA, focuses upon naturally occurring, mundane, ordinary conversation because it offers both an appropriate and accessible resource for ethnomethodological enquiry. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) present a methodological approach to the study of everyday, naturally occurring talk. In their analysis of conversation, Sacks *et al* account for the "grossly apparent features," most notably that one person speaks at a time and that speaker change recurs.

CA's aim is to focus on interaction as being an orderly accomplishment that is orientated to by the participants themselves (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998). Sacks *et al.* concern

themselves primarily with the turn-taking machinery that is used within ordinary conversation and the way in which it is methodically organised. They maintain that points of potential speaker change are recognisable because speakers talk in *turn construction units* (TCUs). The accomplishment of such a unit, more specifically a sentence or phrase, represents to the other members the potential for speaker transfer to occur. Upon completion of a TCU, there are then two possibilities: the current speaker may select the next or a next speaker may self-select him/herself to speak. Such a turn-taking apparatus is designed to ensure that there is a continual flow of talk and an avoidance of lapse and gap.

The identification of the 'adjacency pair,' became a significant contribution to CA. Sacks *et al.* noted that the second turn during interaction may be explained by the first (Silverman, 1998). The classic adjacency pair being the question-answer sequence, others include offer-accept, offer-refusal, accusation-denial. These pairings function both to allocate the next turn and close the current turn at talk. The production of the first adjacency pair utterance gives relevancy to the second utterance.

Adjacency pairing of utterances prompted CA to recognise the sequential nature of talk, extending the analysis far beyond a mere two-part adjacency sequence to the underlying organisation of conversation as a whole. As Heritage and Atkinson (1984:6) point out:

> no empirically occurring utterance ever occurs outside, or external to, some specific sequence. Whatever is said will be said in some sequential context.

Considering the fact that ethnomethodological studies are committed to the preservation of the naturally occurring features of social actions and their methodical organisation, then the tools used for research purposes are restricted to those which capture the exact intricacies as they occur. To quote Sacks (1992):

> What we are interested in is what it is that people seem to know and use.

Such naturalistic and reproducible data can only be extracted by replacing mainstream sociological methods of data collection, i.e. interviewing, questionnaires, surveys etc. with audio and video recording, coupled with an effective transcription technique. Only then can the finer details of interaction be dissected under the scrutiny of the ethnomethodological eye.

As a research tool, ethnomethodology is necessarily open to the circumstances that a particular setting requires. For example, there are instances where it is possible to gain audio recordings and occasions where such transcripts are inconceivable. This certainly adds to the diversity of ethnomethodology. Researchers have certainly taken advantage of this freedom and have produced a variety of studies, applying both CA and MCA to a plethora of social activities, ranging from classroom interaction to the methodical organisation of joke telling.

Ethnomethodology can never boast to have a typical method or subject of analysis. Ethnomethodological studies will invariably be diverse, since their primary commitment

must be to the investigation of the distinctive phenomenon under investigation. Ethnomethodology's refusal to acknowledge conventional sociology's notion of *context* enables the investigated activity to be treated purely as consisting of a members' phenomena without the impositions of context upon their actions. It aims to investigate the contextual features that are relevant for the members, procedurally consequential for their discourse and action, furthermore not imposing upon theoretically privileged definitions of context (Hester & Francis, 1997).

Ethnomethodology and education: A general overview

Earlier examination of educational phenomena within mainstream sociology during the 1970s consisted of studies such as *Knowledge and Control* (Young, 1971) and *Learning to Labour* (Willis, 1977). Such studies have tended to focus upon creating generalised theories for understanding members' activities. They have categorised certain types of behaviour in order to claim the recurrence of similar discoveries rather than attempting to make sense of the intricacies of each unique phenomenon as they occur, with a view to understanding its constitution as a members' phenomenon (Hester and Francis, 2000). Such generalised educational studies combining both the macro and micro occurrences are highlighted by Andy Hargreaves (1978):

> The message for sociologists of education should be clear. 'Structural' questions and 'interactionist' questions should no longer be dealt with as separate 'issues' each to be covered in their respective fields.

Having explained and located the study of ethnomethodology within the sociological sphere, it is now of significance to locate the intended phenomena of study, classroom

interaction with particular reference to reading activities, within the diverse field of ethnomethodological analysis. Considering that both ethnomethodological and conversation analyses rely upon studying any activity that involves the continuous achievement of social order by its members, in short, any locally organised activity, then such criteria serve to uncover an immense scope of research possibilities.

The first study to apply ethnomethodology to education, *The Education Decision-Makers* by Aaron Cicourel and John Kitsuse (1963) adopts a combination of both phenomenological and symbolic interactionist approaches. Since then there has been an influx of ethnomethodological studies relating to the educational arena. Hester and Francis (2000) identify six themes in the ethnomethodological study of education. The first, e*ducational decision-making,* seeks to investigate the social organisation of the methods used to assess, grade, sort and allocate students in schools.

A variety of studies have been produced within this area including those by Cicourel *et al.* (1974); Leiter, (1976); Hester (1991); Mehan, (1991). Leiter (1976), for example, investigates the sense-making methods used by teachers to discern a child's ability level. Leiter is especially concerned with the taken for granted interpretation that the teacher makes of the children's responses, leading to their eventual placement in a particular ability group.

A second interrelated theme concentrates upon educational assessment and standardised testing. Studies of central significance include Mackay (1974), Roth (1974), Leiter

(1976), Mehan (1976), Heap (1980), (1982) and Marlaire and Maynard (1990). As with the studies relating to education decision-making, these analyses indicate that assessment and testing rely upon taken for granted assumptions and knowledge, which, in turn, produce a competently accomplished phenomenon.

James Heap's investigation, for example, considers the problems of *frame* and *resource* with reference to reading assessment. He concludes that the target skill will never be tested efficiently as there may be hidden resources and frames of reference, external or internal, to the test material itself that may aid their answering techniques. An example of this would be a poorly designed comprehension where previous questions may become a resource for future answers.

The third and most popular theme is that of classroom order and management. Ranging from classroom control and the management of deviance (Hargreaves, Hester and Mellor, (1975); Payne & Hustler (1980), Payne & Cuff (1982) and Macbeth (1990), (1991)) to an analysis of the sequential organisation of teacher-pupil interaction. The studies of relevance being by Mehan (1979), McHoul (1978) and Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), whereby Mehan, for example, asserts that formalised classroom talk may be organised in terms of the three-part IRE (Initiation-response-evaluation) sequence, for example:

I - T: I called the tractor a

R – R: MMMM machine

E – T: Machine, Rachel, Good I called it a machine (Mehan, 1979, pp.56)

Some of the more notable areas of interest include pupil competency together with the broad and diverse area of classroom order which includes a commitment to sequential organisation within the classroom (Mehan, 1979, McHoul, 1978, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974).

The study of the actual events and activities that occur within a classroom is the subject of the fourth theme. Analyses that fall within this category include Payne's (1976) examination of the methods used to initiate a lesson, utilising MCA as a means of making sense of the utterances "no one's sitting down until we're all ready." He asserts that lessons do not 'just happen.' They have to be achieved by the members through certain methodical practices. Others such as Cuff and Hustler (1980) and (1982) and Hester and Francis (1995) analyse the social organisation of particular types of lessons, such as story-telling sessions.

The fifth theme relates to the practical organisation and accomplishment of academic knowledge of which the studies of significance include McHoul and Watson (1982), Livingston (1986) and Lynch and Macbeth (1998).

McHoul and Watson (1982), for example, analyse the categorial organisation of geographical knowledge in a geography lesson, uncovering the methods used by pupils to understand the connection between the two themes of the lesson: 'public buildings' and their 'geographical location.'

Finally, the sixth theme goes beyond the educational sphere yet still contains some links to educational testing. In this strand of educational ethnomethodology, children are considered as being competent practical actors in the cultural world of childhood.

Studies of relevance in this field include Speier (1970), (1976), Mackay (1974), Baker (1982) and Baker and Freebody (1987).

Baker and Freebody, for example, analyse a vast corpus of primary level reading material, showing how particular images of children as both characters in the books and as readers are constructed. They primarily concentrate upon the construction of the categories *children* and *childhood.*

Each of the six themes cited by Hester and Francis (2000) may be embodied within the wider sphere of classroom interaction, as each displays evidence of both linguistic and interactional character. The work reported in this thesis is broadly directed towards furthering our understanding of the interactions between teacher and pupils in a remedial reading lesson within the context of the Science Research Associates (SRA) program. A major emphasis is placed upon the ways in which a teacher designs his or her verbal interactions to address the differing reading abilities of each pupil. Classroom control and turn-by-turn communication are important aspects of this, and so the third theme of Hester and Francis (relating to classroom order and management and the sequential nature of classroom talk) is the most important one with respect to this thesis.

Review of Pertinent Literature

The subject matter addressed in this present study, namely the SRA remedial reading lesson, is a learning program for those pupils deemed as having a lower than average grasp on the English language, both in terms of reading and writing. The areas of

relevant literature can be divided loosely into two overlapping areas of research: *Turn-taking* and *Correction and Evaluation*.

- Turn-taking:

A consideration of turn-taking became the starting point for this thesis. Concern lay with the assertion made by some research that classroom interaction could be explained by the teacher and pupils' orientation to a specific three-part turn format which has been termed as the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) sequence, the Initiation-Response-Follow-up (IRF) or the Question-Answer-Comment format. As the terms suggest the three-part format typically consists of an initiation made by the teacher, followed by a response from the pupil with a final evaluation or follow-up comment provided by the teacher. To assert that classroom discourse is confined to such a sequence is problematic and a point of initiation for the work in this thesis has been to provide some evidence to suggest that the interactions taking place can not all be restricted to such rules and that a variety of other turn structures existed within the remedial reading lessons under scrutiny. The major contributors to this area are: McHoul (1978, 1990), Heap (1979), Mehan (1979, 1985), Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), Sinclair & Brazil (1982), Wells (1993) and Macbeth (2000).

McHoul (1978) begins his study, *The Organization of Turns at Formal Talk in the Classroom* with the question:

> Where along a linear array, which has its poles exemplars of formal and informal speech-exchange systems, can classroom talk be placed?

He proceeds to locate classroom interaction directly in the centre of the linearly arrayed model for assessing the pre-allocative features of conversation. According to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974):

> The linear array is one in which one polar type (exemplified by conversation) involves 'one-turn-at-a-time' allocation, i.e. the use of local allocational means; the other pole (exemplified by debate) involves pre-allocation of all turns; and medial types (exemplified by meetings) involves various mixes of pre-allocational and local-allocational mean.

Ordinary conversation is placed at one end of the pole, where the turn construction is deemed less formal, offering a minimal amount of pre-allocated features. The opposite pole, however, offers the speech-exchange systems with the greatest amount of pre-allocation, such as ceremonies and debates, where talk centres around and is directed by scripted discourse, such as: "Do you take this woman to be your lawful wedded wife?" McHoul asserts that classroom interaction cannot be attributed to either of these opposing camps and should be situated somewhere between the two. Classroom interaction certainly has an abundance of pre-allocational properties with the teacher having the greatest participation rights, yet it is unscripted and as such cannot be likened to the rigid turn machinery present within, for example, an interview or a courtroom situation.

McHoul attempts to uncover the underlying instances within the 'talk' where these 'feelings' of formality exist and how this relies upon turn construction. He bases much of his analysis upon a modification of Sacks *et al's* (1974) rules for turn-taking in ordinary conversation and is concerned with reshaping the rules so that they may then be applied to classroom interaction. Sacks *et al's* rules for the construction of turns in everyday

conversation appear to consist of a machinery, which allows for the minimisation of gap and overlap and serves to direct members, in becoming competent conversationalists. Turns may only be taken during silence, as long as it occurs upon the completion of the previous turn, with the exception of laughter.

McHoul offers four modifications of Sacks *et al's* rules in order to demonstrate the methods used to transform the local allocation of ordinary conversation into the relative formality of classroom 'talk', a contribution which has been both deemed as "pioneering" (Weeks, 1981) and intensely criticised (Heap, 1979). The modified rules seem both extensive and elaborate, implying that only teachers have the right to allocate turns and 'speakership' within the classroom, with no talk occurring between students.

Within the modifications, there are basically two rules at work: the teacher rule and the student rule. In accordance with the 'current speaker selects next' rule, the teacher is able to select the next speaker to take a turn. If no selection is made, then the teacher may continue her turn, until she feels it necessary to make a turn transfer. Upon completion of a selected pupil's turn, the rights of speakership are returned to the teacher. The student rule states that following a selected turn the pupil must select the teacher as next speaker. A pupil may continue his or her turn if he or she had not initially been selected, using the 'current speaker selects next' construction, but must stop when the teacher self-selects to speak.

From these modifications, McHoul extracts three technical differences between ordinary conversation and classroom interaction. Firstly, the consideration that, in terms of classroom discourse, the potential for gap and pause is maximised. McHoul maintains that classroom interaction contains 'paths', which enable Sacks *et al's* turn-allocation rules to be overturned, and bypassed, thus extending or introducing gaps and pauses. McHoul uses Sacks' (1967) concept of 'utterance pairs' in order to verify his assertion. He extends Sacks' question-answer pair to constitute a three part question-answer-comment 'utterance triad', which he believes occurs frequently within the classroom sphere. Gaps and pauses then occur as a result of the teacher and pupils' orientation to the three part turn construction Q-A-C (question-answer-comment). Once the selected pupil has accepted an initiation and a response has been embarked upon, the teacher must then allow the pupil enough time to generate and attempt an adequate response, without interruption.

In a further study *The Organization of Repair in Classroom Talk* (1990), McHoul makes some key observations concerning corrections. Central to his analysis is the distinction between self and other-correction. He asserts that other-initiations occur "en masse" in classroom interaction and are situated within the third part of the Q-A-C (question-answer-comment) triad. Such three-part sequences can be expanded by the teacher's use of requestioning and by providing clues at the requested outcome whilst withholding the actual answer, all of which enable the delay other-correction. Furthermore, both the teacher and pupils self-correct but the teacher uses this as an opportunity to show the

pupils how to remedy their talk rather than as an indication of how the correction should be made.

Heap (1979), however, criticises McHoul's earlier rules of conversational ordering within the classroom. In his study *Classroom Talk: a critique of McHoul* (1979), he finds an exception in the data relating to the generality of McHoul's rules which claim to be:

> The simplest form in which the management of turns at talk for classrooms can be accounted for.

McHoul's formulation requires that talk only takes place between teacher and pupil, a machinery which Heap likens to a spoke-wheel "with the teacher at its hub and the students at the perimeter." Heap shows that this rule overlooks one prevalent device for turn construction - the "undirected question," a teacher-initiated question directed at no member in particular. According to Heap, it is exactly this mechanism which is needed to explain the occurrence of overlaps in classroom "talk." Furthermore, it makes superfluous McHoul's claims of generality. A further challenge to the supposed generality of these claims is presented by Heap's next objection which criticises the lack of insight into task-specific repair mechanisms used by pupils in these apparent rules.

From his analysis of several types of common classroom interaction, Heap revises McHoul's view of classroom discourse as constituting 'formal' teacher dominated interaction. Instead, Heap sees it as lying somewhere between local and pre-allocative management and consequently suggests renaming McHoul's system as 'constituting regional management':

> The reader's right to speak/read after a repair sequence is regionally furnished by the teacher's turn or gesture which allocated the right to read to the reader of the trouble source turn.

Heap maintains that McHoul's rules are unable to cope with both repair sequences and student-student interaction within the domains of the classroom and hence deny their existence. He classes McHoul's 'rules' as definitional and since these rules define "turns at formal talk in the classroom", then arguments concerning the adequacy of them become arguments relating to how formal talk in the classroom is defined. McHoul, in creating these definitions has reshaped and modified Sacks *et al's* (1974) construction for turns in ordinary every-day conversation. Heap maintains that instead of adopting an existing interactional blueprint, it would instead enhance applicability to construct a unique analytical apparatus: one that could be applied directly to the speech-exchange system of classroom interaction and not one which handles a system with opposing, turn allocation features, such as ordinary conversation.

Mehan in his study *Learning Lessons* (1979) analyses the orientation of participants towards each sequential component of a lesson. Mehan similarly to McHoul describes the three component parts of a lesson which occur once it has been 'set up': the opening, instructional and closing phases, all of which serve different functions, accomplished through the use of interactional sequences. He makes a significant distinction by replacing the grammatically based expressions of "questions and answers" with the more functional terms of "initiations and replies." Naming the utterances between teacher and pupil as constituting questions and answers does not provide sufficient explanation, nor embody the interactional intricacies that occur within the four walls of the classroom.

Mehan describes the IRE format as being a pliable apparatus that can be used to complete a variety of tasks within the classroom, especially during the instructional phase of the lesson. According to Mehan, it occurs in fifty three percent of all teacher-pupil sequences. Once a sequence has been initiated, both a reply and an evaluation must then follow if the sequence is to be successful in its objective - namely, the particular response sought by the teacher's elicitation. Whilst the evaluative move is less common in ordinary conversation, it is a fundamental component of classroom discourse, as it provides information relating to the respondent's correct or intended meaning, which may then be elicited with a view to obtaining an adequate response.

Although the three-part sequence occurs frequently, pupils are often unable to produce an initial, satisfactory reply in the second allocated response turn space. They may produce only a fraction of the intended outcome, they may answer incorrectly, or they may remain answerless. According to Mehan, teachers can employ various methods to elicit an adequate outcome and hence achieve sequence closure. These include prompts, replies, repeating and simplifying elicitations. Teachers are able to extract the correct reply through a series of initiations, therefore, prolonging the sequence to achieve the 'symmetry' between initiation and reply.

Similarly in his later study, *The Structure of Classroom Discourse* (1985), Mehan reinforces his analysis concerning the IRE sequence maintaining that the two-part question-answer sequence is the fundamental base of everyday conversation, and that the three-part initiation-response-evaluation sequence is at the core of classroom discourse.

Sinclair and Coulthard in their study *Towards an Analysis of Discourse: The English used by teachers and pupils* (1975) make the key statement that, although it is possible to provide and identify specific structures of classroom talk, the structure at any one instance during classroom interaction between the teacher and pupils may only be a specific feature of that teacher and their specific teaching style.

A detailed discussion of teacher-pupil 'structure and class of exchange' is provided asserting that there are two major classes of exchange, which they term 'Boundary' and 'Teaching.' Within these it is claimed there are eleven types of teacher-pupil exchange which are then dissected in terms of their relevance to the IRF structure. The first six are termed as free-exchanges which include all informing, directing, eliciting and checking functions. Within these are the rare instances where a pupil may inform or elicit, in the form of requesting additional information from the teacher, which are often followed by a teacher response and evaluation.

A further five Boundary exchanges are identified, termed as such as they are not achieved by direct initiation. These occur when a teacher needs to re-initiate in the absence of receiving a correct answer first time, also during listing when the teacher withholds evaluating the pupil's comments until a certain number of utterances are produced. Furthermore, a teacher may reinforce or repeat an initiation to ensure all pupils have heard and understood the information.

Despite the fact that Sinclair and Coulthard highlight all these types of teacher-pupil exchanges they are also clear to assert that there is in fact no way of knowing how talk is ordered in the classroom but do still claim that whatever the sequence of talk, it will have been selected from the three part IRF sequence. In their words there is no way of:

> prescribing or labelling a lesson as the exchanges vary from lesson to lesson and from teaching style to teaching style.

In a further study *Teacher Talk* (1982), Sinclair and Brazil discuss each component of the IRF sequence. They assert the commonly held opinion that the teacher's initiations form a significant part of any lesson. The teacher is able to control the lesson and the learning which takes place by, for example, the use of asking questions or giving instructions. Similarly to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Sinclair and Brazil do accept that pupil-initiation occurs but that it is dependent upon how much the teacher allows it to take place.

When initiation has occurred, the pupil can choose between making a minimal response such as a one word answer, or can offer a whole host of unrestrained utterances. The pupil may also choose to select a specific intonation level. For example, a low key may indicate the pupil's mere acknowledgement of the initiation, a mid key could show that something is being added to the utterance to denote either agreement or disagreement and a high key may signify enthusiastic involvement in the exchange. Finally, the follow-up part of the exchange (i.e., the 'F' in IRF) is claimed in the study to be a 'powerful organization factor in conversation and lack of it can cause a problem.' The provision of

the follow-up is primarily reserved for the teacher and, as with the initiation move at the beginning of the exchange, enables the content of the lesson to be controlled.

Wells (1993), whilst acknowledging the existence of the IRF or 'triadic dialogue' within classroom discourse, takes his consideration further by critiquing previous research and by going some way to understanding the actual significance the three-part sequence has within the classroom. As discussed earlier, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) imply that the IRF format is employed by the teachers as a 'default' sequence adopted in the absence of other interactional activity. Whereas other writers, such as Mercer (1992), argue that the sequence does provide an effective vehicle for monitoring pupils learning through teaching.

Wells (1993) takes somewhat of a median stance, arguing that the sequence is neither good nor bad and its effectiveness is dependent entirely upon the purpose of its use in specific situations. This viewpoint is coupled with a profound, integrated theory of discourse and activity which forms the basis of his analysis.

Wells highlights the two differing terms given by authors to the final part of the sequence, Mehan (1979), for example, described it as an evaluation (IRE), however, other writers have termed it as a follow-up move (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975, Heap 1979). He believes each has a distinct function.

Wells provides evidence of both the IRE and IRF sequences from his own classroom data. He claims that the evaluative move takes place when the teacher wishes to check a

pupil's knowledge in relation to a specific topic and consequently produces restricted interaction. The follow-up, on the other hand, enables the teacher to extend the pupils response further, linking it to future sequences, allowing the topic under discussion to be constructed by both the teacher and pupils rather than being specifically teacher driven.

To then fully understand the IRF sequence it would seem necessary to consider the type of task in which it occurs and its relation to the lesson as a whole. To take classroom talk and simply identify it as being accomplished via the IRF sequence would not be an adequate enough description and would suggest a uniformity which does not exist. The IRF sequence's efficiency is dependent upon the topic, the task, the task's goal and the different choices available to meet these ends. Wells concludes by asserting that it is the third move of the IRF sequence which has the power, when used effectively, to generate 'new cycles of learning.'

Macbeth (*Classrooms as Installations*, 2000) takes the rules further in his analysis of the taken for granted intricacies of classroom talk. In the chapter *Questions With Known Answer,* Macbeth addresses the frequently observed classroom phenomenon of the IRE/IRF sequence and modifies the format in order to create a four-part process, consisting of a question-answer, answer-evaluation. Questions and answers become a method of installing knowledge within the classroom, enabling the known questions to be set up as a resource for pupils to discover the correct outcome from within the classroom installation. Macbeth's analysis uncovers examples of the four-part sequence within specific classroom activities such as spelling and question-answer sequences.

In summary, there appears to be a sense of uniformity concerning the restrictive nature of the three-part sequence and how occurrences such as an 'undirected question' by the teacher, pupil-pupil interaction and repair sequences push the interaction beyond the rigid three turns. In some instances a pupil may well produce a response in the correct turn space but this may be deemed inadequate by the teacher, who would then need to instigate a further response by using prompts, hints, repetition and so on.

Heap (1979) claims that the sequence must be viewed as being definitional and both Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Sinclair and Brazil (1982) and Wells (1993) agree that, although it is possible to analyse classroom discourse and proclaim that the three-part format does exist, it's operation and efficiency is based upon the specific teacher heading up the lesson and their individual teaching approach. Instances such as pupil-initiation which contradict the typical IRE sequence do happen in the classroom, but it is at the discretion of the specific teacher to how frequently it is allowed to take place.

By claiming that the sequence may be applied to any classroom discourse applies a uniformity which does not and cannot exist. With such a variety of tasks, topics and roles requested of the pupil (listener, reader, working in groups or individually) it is impossible to prescribe a turn format which can account for all these varying circumstances of teacher-pupil interaction.

- Correction and Evaluation

The subject of correction and evaluation has become the focal point of this thesis. The initial, general consideration of turn-taking in remedial reading lessons highlighted not

only the differing turn structures present but more importantly the differing function of the evaluative move used by the teacher. Chapter's seven and eight on the topic of Evaluation seeks to understand the forms which a teacher's evaluation may take and their subsequent effect upon the interaction taking place. Furthermore the new material in the chapters on *recipient design* uncover the individualised evaluative comments given by the teacher to specific pupils in line with their perceived ability level. Of the research available, those considered most relevant to the subject matters in the thesis are the contributions of Pomerantz (1984), Schegloff (1982), Drew (1981), Norrick (1991), Gardner (1998) and Langford (1981).

Pomerantz in her study, *Pursuing a Response* (1984), analyses the phenomenon whereby a speaker performs an action that requires a response, yet for one reason or another whether it be a mis-hearing, mis-understanding or choosing to ignore, for example, the recipient does not respond. Pomerantz examines some procedures used by speakers to pursue the matter further in order to extract the intended response. She goes on to discuss the three types of solutions used by the speaker to remedy the breakdown. These consist of a clarification of the original utterances, checking out the facts so as to understand whether the recipients difficulty in responding is based upon rational grounds and finally by the speaker revising the original positioning of the utterances.

Schegloff analyses the expressions 'uh huh' and 'yeah' among others in his study *Discourse as an Interactional Achievement* (1982). He concentrates on such utterances as being 'claims' of attention and interest on the part of the listener. Schegloff is

concerned with why a participant might choose to use these expressions in place of something else. It may well be that a 'yeah' or 'uh huh' is produced as a result of an extended gaze by the speaker, prompting the listener to display some kind of interest. In some instances these expressions can also be coupled with upward intonation in order to highlight the recognition.

Schegloff believes that the most common use of such utterances as 'uh huh' is a way for the passive recipient in the conversation to indicate to the speaker that they are aware that the current speaker has an extended turn at talk which has not yet completed. In this sense such types of utterance may be termed as 'continuers' (see Chapter seven on the subject of 'yeah'). Furthermore in the case of other-initiated repair, such expressions can be seen as indications of the listener's agreement with the current speaker. By uttering 'yeah' or 'uh huh' the recipient is passing up on the opportunity to repair and does not use the point of initiation as a means of conveying disagreement

Drew, in his study *Adults corrections of children's mistakes: a response to Wells and Montgomery* (1981), maintains that the generality of the model set down by Wells and Montgomery to analyse interaction between children and adults is too general and does not account for the ways in which some turns are specifically designed to achieve their intended outcome, a theme developed here in chapter's five and six on Recipient Design.

Drew specifically looks at the corrections made by adults of children's error and outlines how this can be performed in various ways by using differing methods. Drew offers

three different formats through which the teacher can initiate a correction: non-verbally by pointing to the specific word in the reading material, repeating the incorrect word or by rejecting the initial answer. Drew's work echoes some of the findings presented in chapter eight of this thesis on the subject of Evaluations. This is specifically evident in the areas of his analysis which indicate that teachers design their turns to withhold the correction in the turn immediately after the one in which the error is located, allowing the pupil the opportunity to self correct.

Wells and Montgomery's model appears to largely ignore the interactional competencies had by children and adults, as Drew writes:

> It is this understanding of turns, and components within turns, as sequential objects, the features of which are managed with a view to their sequential placement, which the model seems to miss - but which is fundamental to our ability as speakers to fit what we say into orderly discourse.

Norrick, in his analysis *On the organization of corrective exchanges in conversation* (1991), focuses on how conversationalists accomplish corrections of other participants talk in everyday conversation. He praises Sacks's work for being the most successful attempt to date on turn-taking and repair. Norrick studies a variety of correction sequences, but more significantly for this study he considers *corrective actions in the classroom.* He emphasises the teacher's powerful stance in the classroom and her institutionalised role enabling her the power to control the selection of specific pupils and the length of their turns.

Norrick's analysis uses the context of a second language lesson, which could be likened to a remedial reading lesson on the basis that both represent a context whereby the pupils are beginners and not deemed fully conversant in the language being presented to them in the lesson. Similarities exist between Norrick's findings and those addressed in chapters five and six of this thesis on the subject of *recipient design*.

The generic status of *recipient design* as a concept within CA literature can be linked to its usage in this thesis. Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) describe recipient design as being:

> The way in which all turns at talk are in some way designed to be understood in terms of what the speaker knows or assumes about the existing mutual knowledge between him or her and the recipient.

In the analysis presented in the following chapters, recipient design has been used to define the ways in which the teacher 'designs' or constructs her interaction with individual pupils in relation to their specific ability, whether it be above, below or of an average ability level.

Norrick (1991), in his study, scrutinises the types of turn-taking sequences that occur and believes that they are not only different to those in other contexts but more relevantly that the teacher's use of correction depends solely upon her perception of the skill level possessed by the pupil in question.

Norrick's study can be likened in some respects to Gardner's study *Social and Cognitive Competencies in Learning: Which is Which?* (1998). She uses the context of a speech

therapy session to show how the pre-school children present are in fact competent members of the interaction and are not merely passive respondees to the therapy process. Gardner focuses upon the repair strategies that occur and shows how, despite an initial error by the child, a self-repair may be brought about by the therapist's construction of an individualised repair request and then subsequently how this is treated by the child.

The study then focuses upon a further relevant topic for this thesis, *Collaborative Repair*, and cites the work of Langford on *The clarification request sequence in conversation between mothers and children* (1981). Langford shows how certain turn structures can lead to a collaborative correction between the adult and the child as opposed to a child self-correction. He asserts that the child has an equal role to the adult in determining the direction a repair sequence may go. The child can use certain behaviours in the next turn in order to delay the provision of the correct response and gain more clues as to the preferred outcome. This indicates the child's ongoing awareness of the adults 'all knowing' status and their ability to provide the solution.

This assertion links to the section entitled *Collaboratively Accomplished Readings* in chapter six of this study, where it can be observed that a turn structure focused simply on getting the task 'done' has replaced much of the teacher-pupil turn sequences, evident within a typical reading turn with an average or above average reader. Such turn structures, where the teacher becomes a helping hand to the lesser equipped pupil, guiding him or her through the reading extract by hinting at and even producing the

desired words, ensures that the time allocation given to this section of the lesson is met with.

This introductory chapter has provided a brief overview of the ethnomethodological approach and has cited the work of the authors and subject areas deemed of most relevance to the chapters that follow.

The Chapters in this Thesis

Chapter one, *SRA: An Introduction*, initially discusses the problems encountered whilst attempting to gain access into the educational research field, followed by a description of the secondary school. The remainder of the chapter will introduce and explain in detail the reading series used for the basis of the research.

The Science Research Associates, (SRA) *Decoding Strategies* reading program contains highly structured reading assistance, directed at those pupils within secondary level education who still experience severe reading difficulties. Each level in the program contains sixty lessons, all of which are divided into four phases: new words; group reading/comprehension; individual reading checkouts; and the workbook phase. The chapter clearly describes the content of the program and the expectations of both the teacher and the pupils. The series also includes an effective management system, whereby the points awarded to pupils for each section can be recorded by both the teacher and individual pupils on their own personal point charts. The chapter covers

every aspect of the program, preparing the reader for the succeeding analyses that relate solely to the SRA.

The following analytical chapters do not follow slavishly the 'phase-like' format of the lesson; they address a collection of issues. My interest was not to keep within the boundaries of each lesson section, but to analyse specific phenomena that occurred within and across the 'phases.' In addition, I chose to concentrate on the areas of classroom interaction that had already been studied, therefore, enabling me to extend previous work.

The chapter on *Spelling* becomes the first analysis chapter of a series of six, as it considers the initial 'new words' phase of the lesson. It is a study which seeks to investigate the intricacies of talk that evolve solely from spelling activities, endeavouring to highlight the sequentially organised features of spelling, developing the inquiry far beyond Macbeth's (2000) spelling study. The chapter consequently begins with a synopsis of the historical development of reading and then embarks upon ethnomethodological analysis, using Macbeth's study entitled *Spelling in the air* as a resource, one of the few recent analyses in the field that examine the phenomenon of spelling. Macbeth's study, although offering welcome insights into the sphere of spelling, emphasising its closely ordered nature, does not, however, answer the many questions that must be posed upon entering a new field of enquiry.

How is spelling done? Is it done in different ways and how is it organised? How is it done both collaboratively and organisationally? These questions become the point of initiation for the investigation.

The study considers three main issues. Initially, there is the occurrence of set spelling activities which occur in the introductory phase of the lesson, the new words phase for which a stepwise format is then devised. Secondly, it discusses instances when spelling additionally occurs within the lessons but as an unintentional result of other specific activities. It derives four main instances which lead to their necessary usage, in order to comply with the task requirements. They are; correct answer extraction, memory aids, as part of a test and whilst demonstrating to the class. The third and final aspect of the chapter touches upon the vital distinction between sounding out letters phonetically and using their alphabetical names during the spelling of a word. Sounds seem most definitely to be favoured as they enable reading learners to attempt words of which they have limited knowledge. The potential confusion caused by two such differing spelling methods is also addressed.

Chapter four, entitled *The Strangeness of Words* addresses a problem caused by the foundations of the entire basal reading series, in that its country of origin is America. The programme has not been modified for the British audience and the reading learner, in that much of the lessons contain American slang words within both the reading and writing exercises. The study refers to the methods used by both the pupils and the teacher to make sense of and deal with the so-called Americanisms. Such indisputable

strange utterances appearing within the learning tasks do certainly present pupils of less than average reading competency with additional vocabulary confusion. The analysis seeks to uncover both the reactions of the teacher and pupils to the occurrence of such Americanisms, using evidence from the transcripts to support the findings. The teacher's direct responses, such as explanations of the words, substitutions with their British equivalents, appealing to the pupils' knowledge of such words, or a mere omission of the word from the lesson material, are all acknowledged and are all subjected to detailed ethnomethodological inquiry.

The analysis having disclosed the methods made use of by the teacher upon the instance of an *alien* utterance appearing within the lesson activities, then seeks to reveal the actions taken by the teacher when an apparent unrecognisable Americanism is accomplished successfully by a pupil. The teacher in her quest to aid the pupils with their reading skills ultimately would desire them to be able to attempt and read any word that they encounter. Consequently, when a competent leaner is able to read correctly an Americanism without faltering, then the teacher is faced with a dilemma. The pupil's turn at reading must be stopped while the remainder of the class and the reader be alerted to the unfamiliarity within the text.

The teacher must be aware that a word accurately attempted by a pupil may not be a word that is then automatically understood in terms of its meaning within the context of the story. The teacher must then make use of sense-making-methods, in order to counteract the consequence caused by a correct reading of an otherwise foreign utterance. This is a

task that is commonly achieved by an appeal to the pupils' knowledge of the treatment of such words. The chapter then seeks to uncover such methods of explanation and their consequent affect on the lesson's interactional structure.

Finally, the study considers those instances where a pupil tackles the occurrence of an *alien* term in the midst of a reading exercise. In these examples of classroom talk, an unfamiliar term has not been fully explained by the teacher and the pupils feel that they must self-initiate and query the Americanism in order for the exercise to be understood and resumed.

Chapters five and six, *Recipient Design: An introduction* and *Recipient Design: An analysis* are concerned with the ability profile which every competent teacher has of each pupil present in her classroom. The term *recipient design* may be used to define the actions that a teacher adopts when dealing with a pupil with whom she possesses an accurate ability profile. The implications that may be derived from such a notion that a teacher designs her utterances with an individual pupil in mind offers a multitude of ethnomethodological avenues of research both to address and analyse.

Recipient Design: An introduction specifically introduces the notion of recipient design and uses clear examples from the data to dismiss any implication that assumptions may have been made by the ethnographer, regarding the pupil's reading ability levels. Evidence of two definite contrasting pupil ability levels are provided, from which a turn

construction apparatus is developed, uncovering the key differences in performance between an average and a below average reader.

Recipient Design: An analysis presents and analyses the activities in which the notion of recipient design emerges within a typical classroom session. Initially, *collaboratively accomplished readings* refer to the instances in which a lower than average reader is accompanied by the teacher during his or her turn at reading, resulting in a joint effort, necessitating the adoption of a turn structure not evident during the turn of an average reader, deemed to be competent.

The normalization of error analyses the methods used by the teacher to lessen the effect of a failed outcome upon an individual pupil. She accomplishes this by embracing a simplistic language, using terms like "everyone" and "we," involving a community with an individual error, making one pupil's mistake one that could potentially be made by any of the class members.

The next section, similarly attending to the topic of a teacher's attempt at lessening the impact of failing at a certain task, entitled *partial praise* considers whether a negative evaluation contains positive language. It attempts to uncover the bizarre interactional sequence whereby the teacher adopts outwardly positive wordage in order to provide negative feedback, which acts to lessen the effects on a pupil with low esteem that are caused by the production of negative evaluation. Such *partial praise* is unveiled in all its instances throughout the extensive transcripts.

Finally, recipient design is considered in terms, not of individual treatment of the just-accomplished task, but in terms of generalisations made by the teacher about the pupil's total performance.

The section *teachers as opportunists* identifies how the teacher is able to use the interaction from a commonplace classroom sequence and utilise it in order to make a more universal statement concerning an individual's commendable performance. This enables her to extend far beyond the task criterion and content, commenting upon the pupil's improved progress as a whole. This extensive chapter consequently discusses in detail the teacher's use of *recipient design* as a tool for providing each pupil with the correct feedback and treatment that suits his/her particular ability profile. The study endeavours to uncover and highlight this taken for granted phenomenon, which appears to be a key factor in shaping the interactional structures that take place within every lesson and every aspect of the reading.

Chapter's seven and eight on *Evaluations*, the final theme of the thesis, analyse the organisational features of the remedial reading lesson, specifically concentrating upon the teacher's evaluative move. The first chapter makes use of the work of Mehan, McHoul and Heap and their attempts at the explanation of the sequential organisation of classroom talk as a point of initiation. The investigation briefly summarises the claims made by these practitioners, deeming them as incomplete, simplistic *rules* which do not account for the majority of classroom interactional sequences or more specifically, the interaction which occurs within the realms of the remedial reading lesson. The analysis

centres upon the two main occurrences that call for a modification of the intended three-part, IRE format. These comprise of acknowledgements, continuers and corrections.

The work of Gail Jefferson concerning the acknowledgement tokens "Yeah" and "Mmm Hmm" is utilised in order to highlight the different formats that an evaluation may adopt. Upon its application, the data reveals a variety of instances in which the tokens are used by the teacher during the reading section of the lesson. Each example offers instances in which the teacher-pupil interaction extends far beyond the oversimplified confines of the IRE sequence.

The second chapter on the theme of Evaluations, analyses the types of corrections which occur in the remedial reading lessons. The contribution made by Peter Weeks (1981) is assessed, a study which he divides into two sections: *teacher-invited corrections* and *teacher-guided corrections*. The chapter considers the extent to which the data pertaining to remedial reading lessons conforms to Weeks's correctional apparatus and whether there are any further types of reparation that become evident within the transcripts other than those mentioned by Weeks. Corrections are further investigated in accordance with the study by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977), concerning the *Preference for Self-correction*. The analysis uncovers the distinction between *self* and *other* corrections and the precedence that is given by the teacher to the self above an *other* party correction. Similarly, following an overview of Schegloff *et al,* study on corrections, the transcripts taken from remedial reading lessons are then subjected to analysis and uncover extended observations of the original self and other corrections. These chapters' discussion of both

acknowledgements/continuers and corrections certainly appears to extend the teacher's evaluative move significantly beyond its apparent minor one-move-role in the IRE sequence.

2

SRA: An introduction

Chapter one has introduced both ethnomethodology as an approach and its application to the specific field of education. In this chapter I will now address the aims and objectives of the study, describe the specific research setting and the methods of data collection. The SRA (Science Research Associates) remedial reading program utilised in the classroom will then be reviewed in detail. However, by way of introduction, the development of remedial reading will be discussed in brief.

Remedial reading - A brief history

Why is there such an increasing emphasis upon learning to read? In short, reading is a skill which is of fundamental importance to all spheres of school work, usually prized beyond all other intermediate skills and remains one of the few remaining aspects of education which can be both efficiently and easily measured in terms of assessment. A brief consideration will now be given to the development of the methods used to teach reading throughout history. There seem generally to have been four methods employed in reading and spelling instruction: the alphabetical method; phonic methods; word methods; and sentence methods (Lansdown, 1974).

The alphabetical method, a process of teaching that emphasises the names of letters, has at least the merit of simplicity. Consequently, a pupil who has been taught by such a

method will attack a new word by saying the letter names, followed by the word, for example, "e l e p h a n t - elephant." This technique of teaching pupils to read was certainly evident in the Middle Ages, and often ginger bread letters were baked for a child to eat following a successful pronunciation and as one writer exclaimed:

> It is not necessary for any child to eat the alphabet for more than three weeks.

However, there has been some controversy concerning the methods used in such alphabetical dependent reading aids (Webster, 1783, The Blue Black Speller), maintaining that such books did in fact introduce phonic instruction. This confusion arises as a result of the fact that it seldom occurs that there is a pure alphabetical method. This type of alphabetical based instruction is not dead. It is usually combined with other approaches but is never solely relied upon as a resource for learners.

The phonic method in comparison initiates with and emphasises purely the sounds of letters. New words will consequently be sounded out by the pupil, who will approach them letter-by-letter or letter-unit by letter-unit. For example, the phonic spelling of elephant would become: el-e-ph-ant. The phonetical approach first arose as a teaching aid in the early 19th century with the book called the *New Preceptor* (Kay, 1801) which suggested that consonants be divided into mutes, in definition those letters which could only be sounded in combination with a vowel (b, g, f, h etc.) The introduction of this new definition led to a succession of studies relating to word pronunciation, and by the end of the 19th century a serious alteration of the alphabet had occurred with a definite

distinction between phonic and word methods of teaching. The most marked publication entitled *On the Teaching of English Reading* in 1899 by Nellie Dale insisted that pupils listen in order to "discover spoken sounds." This study became responsible for the elimination of the named alphabet as a word attack skill. Instead, it was replaced by the more pliable usage of sounds as a key to the pronunciation of unknown words. Dale's scheme, in comparison with today's standards, may seem futile but her approach certainly became an initiation point for many of the basal reading programs used in remedial reading lessons today.

A further addition to the word attack approaches became the emergence of the whole-word method. Advocates of this method held that single letters were a meaningless resource for the young learner. As children appear to steer their learning towards activities or objects that mean something to them, rather than learn something which is meaningless such as single letters, then reading should therefore begin with entire words. The whole-word approach offers two primary strengths: that interest can be aroused by the introduction of meaningful words and that the words themselves are seen to be perceived in their totality. Although the approach appears at initial glance to constitute an effective learning strategy, a weakness does however occur when assumptions are made relating to a pupil's innate ability. Just because adults are able to perceive words that they deem familiar as wholes, then it is a fundamental error to presume that pupils, who are learning to read, will automatically do likewise.

All the above methods used exclusively do not, compared with today's standards, produce an effective tool for the instruction of remedial reading. Furthermore, it is

extremely easy to fall into the trap of attributing adult values and skills to the domain of the lower ability pupil during the formation of a reading scheme. The SRA test, however, does appear to include components from each learning approach, with emphasis lying purely upon sounds, whole-word learning with the opportunity then to place the word within the wider meaning of the text and finally to put the skills learnt to work in an individual, written workbook phase.

There is no worse robber than a bad book.

This is an Italian proverb emphasising the annoyance felt by many of us when a book proves to be less entertaining or informative than we had been lead to believe. Imagine how significantly more deprived we should feel if our reading skills were so inadequate that any book, commendable or dire, were not readily accessible to us. Below average readers are especially robbed of their ability to acquire information from the written word and nowhere is their handicap more evident than within the domain of the classroom, whereby reading becomes the primary medium for the procurement of knowledge and skill. Remarkably, schooling does not tend to reduce the differences among individuals in their reading ability. On the contrary, reading discrepancies become continually pervasive and persistent, increasingly ingrained over the years of schooling. A pupil who clearly displays evidence of such difficulty with reading is usually identified upon commencing secondary school and is, more often than not, swiftly placed in a more appropriate ability level class, broadly termed *remedial*.

The word remedial comes to us from the Latin roots *re*, meaning "again," and *medri*, meaning "to heal." Literally then the term means "to heal again." This term was introduced following the development of the first standardised assessment instruments for measuring reading proficiency (Uhl, 1916 & Smith, 1965). Within a decade the word had become popularized and was usually succeeded by a reference to reading. The classification of remedials today is commonly considered as being merely a subset of those children who have failed to acquire sufficient reading abilities in accordance with the schedule enforced by the assessment system. What seems to have evolved is a system consisting of two broad categories of pupil who are deemed to display less than average literary skills, those with remedial difficulties or those with what are classed as special needs.

Johnston et al., (1991) argue that there is no such thing as a typical program for the instruction of remedial readers, at least in the sense that there exists no single organisational plan or common approach to how the instruction should be directed. The principal method for providing remediation seems to be withdrawing small groups from the regular classroom setting and content. Furthermore, in accordance with Johnson *et al.*, rarely does remedial instruction occur on a one-to-one basis or within a group situation of more than eight students at one time. Despite this alienation of the lower ability readers from the remainder of the mainstream pupils, their separate status is merely in terms of the site of the classroom rather than the entire school enabling their instruction to take place in the same building as their peers.

Some years ago a diagnosis was merely presumed by the teacher as to whether a child was retarded or backward. Today, however, a more sophisticated approach has led to an increased concentration on the need for more detailed descriptions of the supposed symptoms. Despite this enhanced interest in the field, a full medical and psychological diagnosis of all children having remedial teaching will never occur and there is a vast shortage of qualified staff. The work will undoubtedly fall entirely upon the teacher, who will inevitably carry the greater part of the burden for every remedial lesson. The prediction of a pupil's reading ability is usually carried out at three levels. The initial and swiftest method of observation is by the use of a spelling test, noting the consistent mistakes made by the pupils. Secondly, a standardised test may be utilised by the teacher and finally, tests administered solely by qualified psychologists.

The remedial lesson is in many ways similar to that of any normal mainstream lesson carried out within a school. The classroom setting is identical to that of any other subject and the very nature of what is being taught, namely reading skills, is a universally vital topic, usually presenting itself in the course of any lesson, remedial or otherwise. Although the underlying setting, skills and teaching methods are very similar, it still happens that the very backlog of failure and the diverse areas of specific weakness carried upon the shoulders of every pupil function to ensure a radically distinct teaching situation.

Usually, the first and foremost task for every teacher is the need to instill confidence in the pupils, welcoming their attendance as a sign that they have been successfully able to

recognise their weaknesses yet aiming eventually to dismiss them as constituting a barrier to intellectual progression. A child with an average or good grasp of the English language both written and visual will be equipped with enough confidence to face alien words without humiliation or a sense of failure. The term "failure" may sound somewhat melodramatic but does in fact little to verbally depict the starkness experienced by children who have difficulty with reading. In the best possible circumstances, they are bombarded with sympathy combined with expert remedial instruction, yet in the worst, they are ridiculed. "What do you mean you can't read? You ought to be in a mental hospital, not in this school," cites a quote taken from a secondary school teacher (Lansdown, 1974).

Consequently, a child who has experienced an early childhood of confusion which has been highlighted perhaps by a younger sibling who has grasped the skill of reading words which still seem incomprehensible to the senior child, increasingly develops an inadequate concept of itself. This is the reality for the majority of pupils who find themselves in remedial lessons. The teachers are not instructed to offer exaggerated praise, permanently informing the child of its amazing progress but instead, must actively demonstrate it to him. This can be achieved through a variety of material which has been commercially produced specifically for remedial work. Some schemes centre upon a multi-sensory approach such as the *Fernald Technique* (referred to also as *kinaesthetic*), whereby finger contact with each word is important. In addition, new words are listed on the board, audibly, without being able to see the written word, and within the context of a story, also enabling the meaning to be grasped.

A program that is considered to combine the teaching methods of a variety of schemes is the SRA reading development project. The core of the project is a series of work books and story books which aim to cover a certain stage in reading; the first deals with an interest age range of six to seven years, and the most advanced with an age range of fourteen to eighteen years. Comprehension, listening and word study skills are an active component of each level of the scheme. However, from the age of nine years, activities are introduced which are designed at specifically developing the pupils' rate at reading. There are two features of the scheme which mark its uniqueness as a remedial reading program: the pupils are able to both work at their own pace and be solely responsible for much of the marking and checking of their own work and that of their peers.

The research - Gaining access

The initial, abandoned theme of the thesis concerned the management practices used by teachers and governing bodies to exclude pupils from schools, a highly controversial and closed area of education. Gaining access became a never-ending battle. Meetings would be set up with various Heads across North Wales, yet all were to no avail. In the majority of cases, I seemed to be faced by either an obviously nervous Head restricted by educational red tape or an over confident Head assuring me that "there has never been an exclusion in this school." The prospect of research into their specific school disciplinary system seemed to terrify them, especially with the ever-increasing emphasis upon the league tables to increase their Local Authority grants or admissions. My careful attempts to explain the nature of ethnomethodological analysis did little to dissuade their fears that a study might in fact exploit and expose the inadequacies of the school and its teaching

practice. Consequently, a new topic had to be created, still within the educational domain, but a topic that would welcome, rather than immediately reject, an ethnographer into their walls.

A different tack was needed and instead of launching a topic upon an unsuspecting school in the area, it was decided that it would be considerably easier to contact a school and inquire as to what access might be made available. It was then at this juncture, six months into the project, after frequent contact with the Head, that the SRA reading program was first introduced as a potential source of research material. The SRA scheme is an American reading series used to teach those pupils (aged between 11 and 14 years) who fail to attain the ability level of their fellow pupils within the mainstream English lessons. The SRA lessons are intended to work alongside the curriculum based lessons and are not substitutions; they aim to provide these lower ability pupils with a firmer basis of the intermediate reading skills. Pupils must then often forego lessons such as PE and CDT or Art in order to attend the obligatory lessons.

The School

Despite the initial green light from the school, I still encountered difficulties with the teachers of the scheme when, presented with an additional distraction to their already fraught lesson, they felt less than enthusiastic in welcoming an outsider into the class. The cramped classroom consisted usually of twelve irate pupils, many with behavioural problems. The addition of a stranger, intent on research was, understandably, not a welcome notion. The initial lessons were uncomfortable for both myself and the teacher,

resulting in little data collection. It was clearly evident that the introduction of a tape recorder at this juncture would kill off the entire project. Furthermore, the pupils certainly made up for the disinterest of the teacher by whispering and pointing, ruining my attempts to merge into the background of the classroom, as a participant observer. A month into the project, however, bridges had been crossed, and the teacher seemed more sympathetic to my project. The precise explanation of the nature of my research definitely aided the development of the relationship, as the teacher felt less as though it was her actual teaching methods that would be subject to scrutiny and perhaps criticism.

With her trust and confidence intact I then broached the subject of audio taping the lessons to which she agreed. This released me from the inconvenience of pen and paper, enabling the precise detail of the verbal interaction to be recorded and later transcribed. A small cassette recorder with an unobtrusive wide range microphone, supported by some harsh words from the teacher, ensured the class settled and after two sessions my presence went unremarked. I soon learnt that this particular teacher was in fact a supply teacher, covering for the permanent SRA teacher who was on leave. Luckily the second, permanent teacher, obviously more confident in her own teaching skills, had no objection to my continued presence (and the tape recordings) and gladly answered any queries I put to her concerning the operation of the program.

The secondary school at this particular time was divided into both a lower (11 to 14 year olds) and upper school (15 to 18 year olds), located within about a mile of each other. Since the SRA program dealt only with the initial years of the school then all my research

would take place within the lower section. I was able to observe two age group SRA sessions which met twice a week, Year 7 (11-12) and Year 8 (12-13) on a weekly or alternate weekly basis, enabling me to produce a huge amount of data for potential analysis.

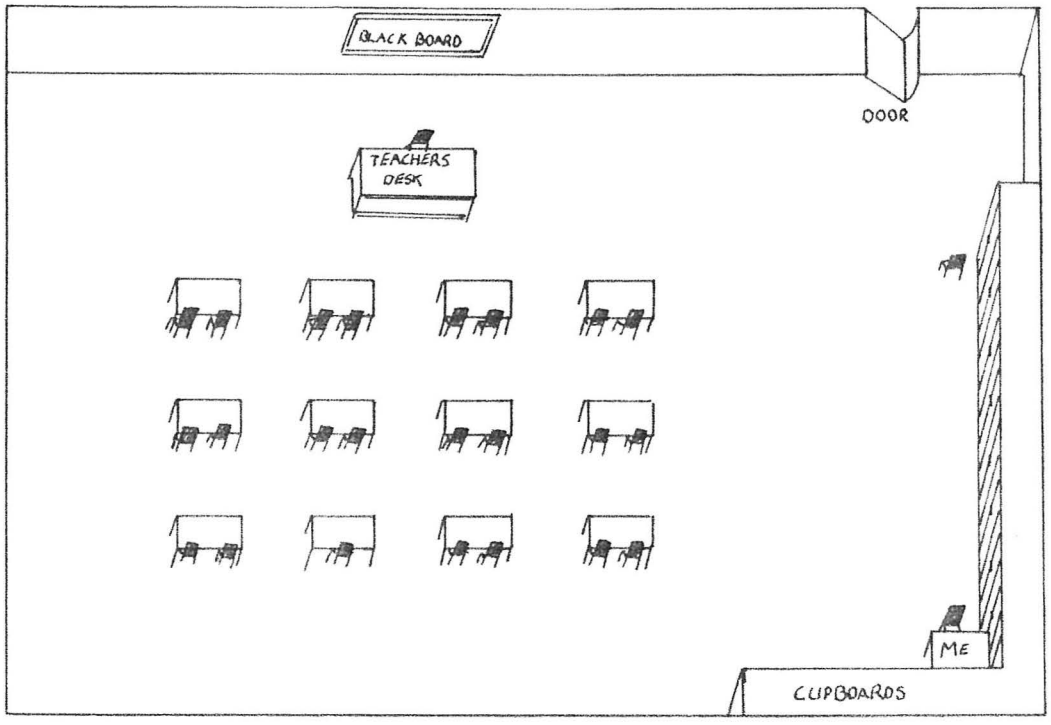
Throughout the eight months spent within the school, visiting usually once or twice a week, I was able to collect approximately thirty tape recorded lessons each sixty minutes in length. I would start recording as soon as the teacher commanded the attention of the pupils and end when the bell had sounded and the teacher had permitted the pupils to stop their current task and proceed to the next lesson. This provided me with thirty hours of classroom interaction to transcribe, a task that will not easily be forgotten. A vast amount of data with endless possibilities, requiring many hours of analysis.

Each class consisted of approximately ten children with a mix of personality, gender and ability levels. The SRA program was the only goal common to the pupils. I decided to position myself at the back of the classroom, to remain in exactly the same position every lesson and to ensure that both my equipment and I were in place before the pupils exploded through the classroom doors.

During the recordings I would take various notes on specific teacher-pupil, pupil-pupil exchanges, seating arrangements and pupil absentees. I felt it was vital that I remained in the classroom to ensure there was no equipment failure and to capture any additional occurrences on paper to accompany the taped interaction.

The following diagram *(fig. 1)* indicates my position and the general layout of the classroom. It is a typical classroom arrangement with the teacher situated at the front of the class, affording maximum observation of every pupil. The pupils were scattered between the twelve two-seater desks, yet the teacher would always insist that they filled the foremost desk space and did not invite pupils to occupy the furthermost desks, implying her intention of being in close proximity to the student body. My positioning enabled my recording device to be concealed within the confines of the bookshelf, its existence only known to myself and the teacher. I initially situated myself at a seat closer to the door but it failed to afford me complete observation of the setting since much of the pupil-pupil interaction was overpowered by the teachers loud instruction and the arrival of late comers or additional teacher's requesting information. Consequently, my new location allowed me to document the subtler intricacies of classroom talk between all participants in the lesson.

(fig. 1)



Transcription procedures

The task of transcription became extremely time-consuming and I found it challenging to display and preserve the exact nature of the talk "as it happened" on paper. In order to combat this and enable the reader to grasp the precision of the speech, I have used Gail Jefferson's notation scheme, outlined below (Wootton, 1997):

? indicates rising pitch on the last 'beat' of the preceding words.

, indicates level pitch. No marker displays falling pitch.

::: a sound stretch

What? underlining shows stress on those specific syllables.

AND capital letters display high amplitude.

- marks a sound cut off.

{ notes speech overlap or a simultaneous start by two speakers.

( ) single brackets denote untranscribed or unclear words.

(( )) notes in double brackets give extra information outside of the actual interactions.

(.) indicates short pauses under half a second, those over half a second are timed. A stopwatch will be used for accuracy.

.hh/hh audible inbreath/audible outbreath.

Each extract of interaction is accompanied by information which makes it identifiable from the overall mass of data. For example, (Year 7, May 18th, p.10) on the bottom left indicates that it was from the Year 7 class on May 18th and is taken from page 10 of the transcripted lesson master copy.

The SRA program

The primary objective of the SRA's *Corrective Reading Decoding* program is to demonstrate its success in improving pupil reading performance. Each level of the series contains all the material needed to attain such a goal, providing the students with an abundance of practice to ensure that the necessary skills are learnt and reinforced to become a permanent addition to the pupil's stock of spelling knowledge. The Americans have termed this type of reading apparatus *Direct Instruction*, a process which encompasses every aspect of the instruction of reading, together with all word attack skills and decoding strategies.

This type of 'hands on' approach is deemed the most appropriate for enabling effective communication with the pupils, the evaluation of their performance, together with the emphasis upon a moment-to-moment method of feedback. In addition, such a rigid program of instruction allows the teacher to maintain effective learning with an increased level of student control. Within this structure of learning, pupils are not simply exposed to skills but skills are actively taught. The SRA teaches only the skills and vocabulary required to complete the connected tasks; consequently, nothing is taught that is irrelevant to the task specified material.

Each lesson is bound tightly by assessment criteria and each separate activity component requires the pupils to accomplish an evaluated task satisfactorily, whether it be group or individually based. This type of assessment enables the teacher to acquire detailed data relevant to both group and individual pupil's reading performance levels, indicating

clearly how a pupil's ability may improve as he or she progresses through the scheme. In order for the accurate assessment of the pupils to take place, each SRA level in the series includes an effective management system. Points earned in each daily lesson are documented by both the individual pupils in their own personal workbooks and by the teacher in her 'Teacher's Book'. Such continuous notation allows for future marks to be awarded and for progress to be maintained in specific skill areas. Consequently, each lesson specifies both teacher and pupil behaviour, thereby the lessons are scripted. The scripts are supposed to specify the methods used by the teacher, what she must say and do, as well as preferred pupil responses. This pre-planned lesson structure is in place to ensure that the wording is uniform, that examples may be communicated effectively to the pupils and that lessons may be completed within the allotted class time scale. Topic then, is rarely expected to deviate from the subject matter of the lesson. Although such a scheme does invoke both time restrictions and a lesson blueprint, it is unrealistic to presume that the SRA program could successfully control all teacher and pupil interactions with other actions that may take place within that forty minute slot.

The SRA outlines five methods that must be used by the teacher to enable the reading scheme to be accomplished effectively. Firstly, the problem readers must learn how to approach and attack a new word. This is a two-part sequence that requires the initial understanding that the pattern in which the letters are presented is a clear clue to the pronunciation.

Secondly, they should draw upon their common sense vocabulary knowledge in order to discover whether their attempt at pronunciation has produced a recognisable utterance and a relevant meaning. A third feature essential to this type of teaching concerns the need for the pupil to have extensive reading practice, not only with simple word lists but also with connected sentences which comprise the words initially learnt in isolation. A pupil who may be proficient in reading individual words, may have little comprehension of those same words when embedded with the text. The ability to read words does not automatically imply the transfer of skill to complete sentences.

Fourthly, the teacher must continually adopt the role of *reinforcer*, offering an ongoing flow of guidance and support especially to those pupils who feel that the process of reading has become an increasingly impossible puzzle with no immediate solution in sight. The final and most important ingredient in the quest of reading is practice, and plenty of it. The pupil must be given a variety of different reading styles to attempt, ensuring that he or she will develop an automacity, enabling the transferal of word attack skills to any type of reading material.

The students are provided with the specific material required to meet the programs demands. This consists of a storybook, containing word lists and stories, and a workbook containing word attack and comprehension tests, which are to be completed during each lesson. All the words required for the students to learn appear in the new words phase of the lesson and are all listed in the in the initial word attack segment of the storybook. This enables each pupil to assess the process of recognising and attempting an understanding

of a word, noting its different component parts. The story which always precedes the word lists, is formatted in such a way that it accommodates both decoding and comprehension.

Teacher's directions

The SRA series is very specific as to how the lessons should be introduced to the pupils. Most readers seem to have already regarded of themselves as failures and are consequently not enthusiastic at the prospect of learning in a remedial classroom, and being instructed in observably basic reading skills. The teachers must introduce the series carefully, emphasising the content of the program and what kind of return the pupils can expect from their investment of energy.

The teacher is instructed to adopt the stance "I'll show you how it works" at all times during the initial lessons, not allowing the lessons to lapse into long question-answer periods. Explanations of the methods used to complete the tasks must be brief, requiring that the bulk of the criteria be learnt by practice. Seat allocation is of additional importance during the setting-up period. Pupils must ideally be assigned permanent seats, with the lower ability level pupils being placed strategically, directly in front of the teacher for specific monitoring of progress to be attained.

The teacher is advised to adopt a speedy method of information presentation, as the series requires a large amount of information to be processed by both the teacher and the pupils within the lesson time of forty-five minutes. Teachers must then utilise certain time

saving methods in order to quicken the pace of each lesson, such as not constantly referencing page numbers, quickening speech and allowing only slight overlap between tasks. The ultimate goal of the entire SRA program is to teach every pupil present. Therefore, in order for the teacher to be satisfied that such a task has been undertaken, she must utilise certain methods to ensure that clear feedback is received from each and every pupil.

The most efficient and least time consuming method is to ensure that all members of the group respond in unison. If this is accomplished with no "leading" or "straggling," then the teacher may be provided with adequate information on each student response. Errors are made increasingly evident, as are "firm" correct responses, enabling the teacher to identify the strengths and weaknesses immediately within the group. Signalling both verbally and non-verbally becomes a further useful method, vital to enable effective feedback. Audible signals such as the questioning statements "What sound, or word?" are useful when pupils are following in their books, allowing them to know exactly when they are to respond.

Non-verbal audible signals, such as clapping or tapping a ruler upon the table are also required and their timings are vital, whether the clapping coincides with a pupil's spelling-out-loud or whether it is used in conjunction with verbal signals to emphasise the need for an immediate pupil-response.

Problem readers unlike the average ability learner often experience difficulty in understanding what is expected of them and learning the roles required in each lesson. The pupils fail to remember specific information as they have had little previous experience in retaining it. The SRA program intends to combat such feelings of confusion by assuming that mistakes will be made but by affiliating the lesson with correctional procedures and point contingencies, it provides the pupils with vital information concerning their required role. In addition such criterion strategies enable the pupils to decipher which material is to be retained whilst providing them with practice, which enhances their memory skills.

Each exercise within the entire SRA series is a format, a task set up in a specific form for the teachers' instructions. The same format must be adopted at all times by the teacher during the new words phase of the lesson, specifically when the words in the box have an underlined component. Such formatted exercises are used by the program, as they appear to have a number of advantages. Firstly, the presentation of tasks in a structured, unchanging format simplifies the instruction for the teacher, as the basic steps remain the same for every exercise within the same phase. Furthermore, this simplifies and speeds the pupils' comprehension of the tasks, as the directions and wording in each particular format are constant and unchanging.

The lesson components

A typical lesson is divided into five major segments:

- The new words phase
- Group story reading
- Individual reading checkouts
- The workbook section
- The management system

- The new words phase

Every lesson begins with a word attack format, whereby pupils practise pronunciation skills involving specific sounds and sound combinations together with word reading. Pronunciation is a central requirement of each lesson as a lower ability reader's errors are usually connected to their inability to pronounce certain words with particular letter combinations; for example, blended words like "slam" or words with endings like "cooked." Furthermore, it is of paramount importance to emphasise that various letters can represent sounds which then enables the breakdown of complicated words into simplified individual sound components. Each sound can be represented by a single or a combination of letters, enabling the task of reading to become easier, once the basic sound relationships have been understood and put into practice. The task of pronunciation is threefold; the pupils are required to repeat whole words uttered by the teacher. These may be similar sounding words which frequently cause problems for the pupils (Cats and Cast). The pupils are required to add endings to words such as "ed," and

finally they must identify the sound combinations present in a word chosen by the teacher.

Within this word attack phase the teachers are instructed to use techniques to satisfy the program's intentions, attention must then be paid to pacing, signals and corrections. As mentioned previously, the teachers must present the exercises in a speedy fashion, saying the word to be pronounced loudly and clearly to avoid the need for repetition. Along with this need for clarity, the teacher must also present the words rhythmically. The more rhythmically they are produced, the easier the sequence is for the pupils to grasp. Signalling is also essential as it allows the pupils to know the timings of their response. If pupils experience difficulty with an exercise, then the teacher must direct a repetition of the exercise, providing a clear example of what the response should sound like. The correction should comprise a stepwise format, initially telling the pupils the correct sound, asking "What sound?" and then continuing with the next word.

The role of sound plays an important part in the daily lesson structure and in the pupils' basic knowledge of reading. The general message that is conveyed by the introduction of sounds is that every letter or letter combination can make a predictable, learnable sound. For example, the letter F almost always makes the sound "FF," whereas the letter combination "th" in the majority of cases makes a voiced "th" as in "that," and an unvoiced "th" sound, apparent in the word "thing." The variability caused by introducing vowels could however cause learners some confusion and with this in mind the SRA program intends to reduce this changeability by introducing the vowel sounds E and O in

the initial few lessons of the series. The pupils are instructed to learn both the sounds that E and O adopt, both the alphabetical letter name as in "he" and "me" and the short sound used in "end" and "on."

For the five introductory lessons of the program the pupils are merely required to practise identifying symbols as sounds. However, after lesson five, a different format is introduced whereby an underlined sound must be first identified and the entire word must be read. During the letter sounds tasks of the new words phase, the teacher is required to position herself amongst the pupils to gather a peripheral view of their attempts. Furthermore, they don't have to look at the teacher in order to follow her instructions. If corrections are needed then a basic correctional stepwise format must be used, firstly stating the correct response, repeating the question, then going back to an earlier step in the exercise. In addition to this oral assessment of sounds, other sound activities within the program include daily workbook tasks that involve pupils writing single sounds and their combinations from dictation, this enables them to both match sounds and copy them.

LESSON 32

1 room score coats needle
champ form cutter which
tricking really holler hep

2

A	B
her	herself
him	himself
your	yourself
can	cannot
any	anybody

3
close to dope shame poke making

4
know another where others
wool ready slapped sleeves
can't else ended from
lap I'll fantastic because

(fig. 2)

Along with the introduction of new sounds, the introductory word attack segment of the lesson also requires that all words be read aloud. Although the problem reader may be unpractised and hugely lacking in the confidence that will enable he or she to comply with the task rules, the pupil must endeavour to read orally. Only then will the teacher know whether the word has been correctly identified and what kind of mistakes the pupil is likely to make. The new words that appear in the reading series can be divided into seven categories: regularly spelt words like "that;" irregularly spelt words such as "what;" words that contain previously taught sound combinations like "goat;" complex words that contain consonant blends; (flip, drop, splash); words with endings (stopping, eaten); silent E words (late, rate, kite) and finally compound words like "himself" and "anybody." *Fig. 2* is an example of this word phase and illustrates the different word categories. Each group of words is taught in a specific way with certain rules and

guidelines to be put into place and learnt. The program is not concerned with high frequency word instruction but instead with the ratification and emphasis of those specific mistake tendencies of the lower ability reader. The words within the new words phase are dealt with in different ways. Some words are decoded by first identifying an underlined sound-letter-combination followed by the utterance of the entire word. Whereas other words are read, then spelt aloud by the single alphabetical letter name components and some words are merely read in their complete form.

The pupils are presented with two types of word lists throughout the lessons, similar lists in which every word shares a common sound or sound combination, and random lists. The similar lists enable the pupils to observe the structural elements and details of a particular word, letter, ending or sound combination, and how they in turn function to affect the pronunciation of a word. The random list, on the other hand, requires the pupils to put into practice their increasing word structure knowledge, learning to apply this to words that are independent in characteristics to the remainder of the words in the list. Consequently, both list types encourage a certain type of skill be learnt, the similar lists enable the students to learn a word's forward structure, whereas the random lists assess the students' ability whilst shaping their memory to retain such information. The word attack section involves both groups and individual work. Initially, the group as a whole, directed continually by the teacher, accomplishes the words. Once this has been adequately achieved, the teacher may then feel free to call upon individuals to read a previously group-accomplished row or column of words. During this phase, the pupils are looking at the word in their own personal copies of the storybook ensuring that

everyone can both follow and respond when called upon for an individually produced row or column.

Upon completion of the entire new words phase, a recorded assessment must then take place. The point system for this portion of the lesson is designed so that every member of the class earns five points or no points. The criterion for earning the points is to read eighty percent of the word rows and columns without error. Therefore, there is no middle ground. If the required number of rows is accomplished without error, then each pupil will receive five points. However, even if only one mistake is committed by a pupil, then no points will be awarded for the task.

During this assessment the teacher is advised to give prolific praise for producing an error free effort, yet if no points are earned, the pupils must be informed, yet reassured, that they'll have another chance to gain the points in the next lesson. In addition the teacher must prevent any denigration of a member of the group to occur, reminding the class that they are to work as a team and that individual mistakes are a part of the group's effort.

- Group story reading

The group story reading segment of the lesson follows the new words phase. As the series develops, the stories will increase in length, difficulty and interest. All the stories are composed of words which have either previously been learnt in previous lessons or words that are presumed to be already within the pupils' vocabulary knowledge. Furthermore, the new words that have been presented within the word attack phase will

be incorporated within the story and will accumulate so ensuring the reoccurrence of the words within future stories and ensuring the pupils' increased exposure to and practice of the complex new additions. The initial stories have uninteresting story lines as the poor reader must be able to concentrate upon the new learning structure, looking at and understanding every word without the distraction of an appealing story line. With an increased story content, the lower ability reader becomes preoccupied with the development of the story line and usually then reverts back to his or her inappropriate reading habits, increasing the errors dramatically.

Consequently, the stories only increase in interest after a lengthy period of practice at achieving accurate decoding strategies. Only when this has been accomplished do the stories introduce a topic of interest for the pupils. Despite the fact that the heightened content may still distract the reader from the immediate task at hand, the appropriate methods needed for reading have now become practiced and are strong enough to enable the reader both to read with acceptable accuracy and to follow and understand the story line. Along with an increased interest, the story length also increases from an initial two hundred words per story to approximately seven hundred words per story in the later lessons. The story reading section occupies approximately twenty minutes of the lesson, with the story being located in each pupil's copy of the storybook. There is no set seating procedure for this part in the lesson. The pupils may sit in any convenient arrangement of chairs but should always be close enough to the teacher to ensure they can be observed whilst reading and following along silently. Each story is divided into parts which is followed by a bracketed number, indicating to both the teacher and pupils how many

points can be earned if the extract is read with less than three errors. The pupils are required to take individual turns, unlike previous exercises, and must read one or two sentences for each selected turn.

Upon completion of an extract, the teacher must inform the pupils whether they have earned the allotted points. If this is not the case, then the trouble source must be re-read until it is accomplished within the three error guideline, although no points are awarded for "another try." Such a segmented point system, awarding only parts rather than for the whole story, increases the probability that the pupils will continue to try throughout the story and not give up half way. Whilst reading, a pupil is required to follow each word with his or her finger, as are those who are passively following the progress. It is confusing for a teacher actually to tell who is following efficiently, as eyes merely directed towards a page does not necessarily mean that reading is taking place. Therefore, a pupil whose finger is under the appropriate word assures the teacher that the pupil is indeed most likely to be silently reading. Furthermore, if the pupils who are reading aloud also adopt the same methods, then their reading is often more accurate, particularly the smaller words (such as it, on, at, or, he, she etc.) that are frequently misread or merely left out altogether.

It must be made clear to the pupils at every juncture that accuracy is always the first priority in any exercise. When each part of the story is satisfactorily completed within the error limit, the oral comprehension questions are presented. The questions refer to the primary events which have taken place in that specific part of the story. It is important

that questions are answered and understood as many of them appear again in the workbook phase of the lesson as written tasks. Individuals are called upon to attempt the questions but only after the initial presentation of the question. Presenting the question before the selection of a specific pupil has been made, secures the entire class's attention to the question and the required answer.

- Individual reading checkouts

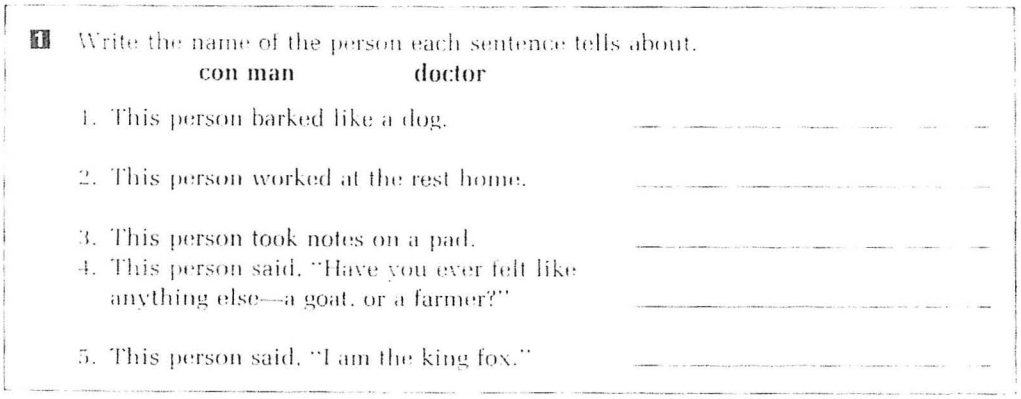
Upon completion of both the reading and oral comprehension phases of the lesson, the individual reading checkouts are then scheduled and take about ten minutes to complete. Pupils are expected to complete two checkouts in every lesson. The first assesses the initial part of the story read in that particular lesson and is not timed. The second checkout, however, uses the material of the last accomplished story of the previous lessons and is timed, thus forming an important teacher assessed segment of the lesson. The pupils must always work in pairs, which should be permanent throughout the series of lessons and should be assigned at the beginning of the program. For each pair there will be an A pupil and a B pupil. The pupils must also be informed of their letter status. Each role requires different methods at different intervals. One member of the pair reads whilst the other checks and counts errors, and vice versa, when the second pupil of the pair is called upon to begin his or her turn. These procedures are then repeated exactly for the second, timed checkout where each pupil is given a minute to read as much of the text as possible.

The minimum number of words required to be read to gain points in this section is specified for the teacher in the handbook. In addition, the pupils must be re-conditioned not to stop after each sentence or paragraph. They must read continually until the teacher provides a verbal signal such as "Stop." This segment of the lesson intends to present each pupil with an abundance of the vital, reading practice. Despite the fact that the entire reading checkout exercise is rather short in length, the pupils are provided with valuable experience of reading connected sentences with the added performance imposing pressures of time-restriction and error-counting. The non-reading pupils must adhere to the checker's behaviour guidelines set out in the program. On the first reading, checkers are to inform the readers about any errors committed as they occur. They are to show the reader the precise trouble source, then tell them the word. If any confusion occurs, then the teacher is to be summoned by way of raising a hand.

The teacher is required at all times during this phase to circulate amongst the pairs, ensuring that both the reader and checkers are following the set rules. The teacher must not become concerned with isolated mistakes that are missed by the checker but more with checkers who are generally poor at identifying errors and must be prompted as soon as an error is overlooked. During the timed checkout, checkers are also instructed to remain silent, not interrupting the reader with the production of a misread word. Instead the errors must be silently marked upon the sheet and at the end of the reading, the marks should be counted. After each checkout has been completed, the pupils must record their points in their workbooks where marks for both timed and un-timed readings are required. Once the points have been entered and the teacher remains satisfied that the

criterion has been met, the workbook phase is then initiated. Pupils are required to complete the work sheet independently of both other pupils and teacher direction.

- The workbook section



1 Write the name of the person each sentence tells about.

con man doctor

1. This person barked like a dog. _____
2. This person worked at the rest home. _____
3. This person took notes on a pad. _____
4. This person said, "Have you ever felt like anything else—a goat, or a farmer?" _____
5. This person said, "I am the king fox." _____

(fig. 3)

It is very important that the workbook activities are completed for each lesson since they consist of a summing up of the vital skills or new words learnt in any one particular lesson, emphasising their importance and enabling the pupil further practise in their use. Although each worksheet is generally half to one page in length *(fig. 3)*, it provides the pupils with practice in a variety of skills such as writing sounds, copying, answering comprehension questions, spelling and transforming words. Much of the vocabulary introduced in this workbook section is that with which pupils specifically experience difficulty and consequently tend to ignore. However, by instructing the pupil to copy, spell or transform these words, an otherwise confusing word will become cemented within the pupils' vocabulary knowledge.

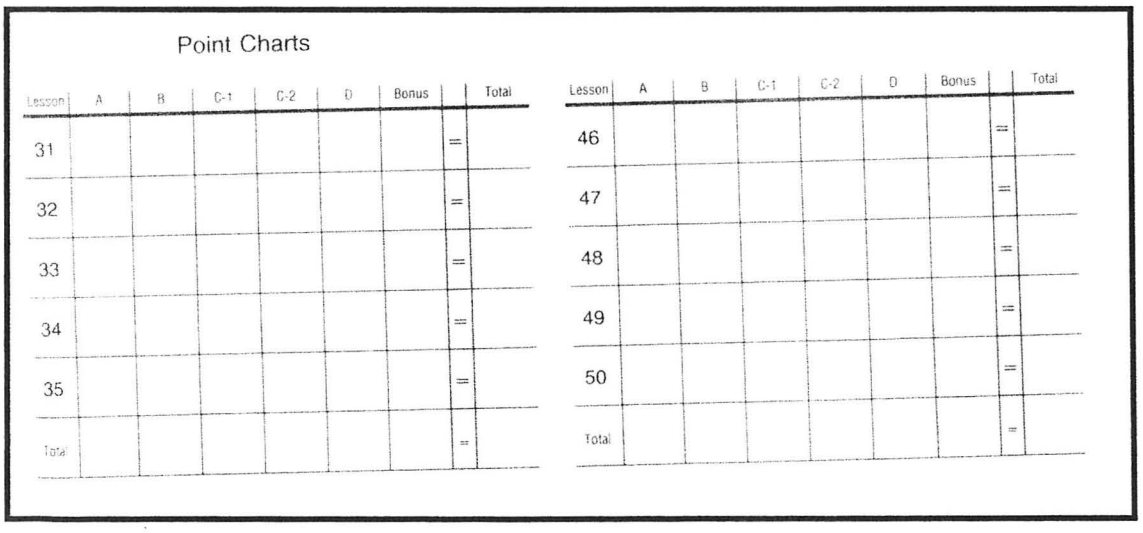
All the activities within the workbook section place a great emphasis upon the specific detail of words. The copying tasks ensure that the problem reader has continued practice and exposure to the arrangement of letters within trouble source words. Comprehension items presented are usually variations on those posed in the oral comprehension phase of the lesson to assess pupils' memory skills. The instructions preceding each workbook exercise require that the pupils read carefully in order to understand what they read and to operate in accordance with the requirements. Despite all these vital exercises, possibly the most important for the remedial reader in the workbook section are those that incorporate word attack activities.

Pupils are required to complete words, by adding or omitting letters to transform words into their root components or compound words. These activities force pupils to look at the details of words with endings and this enables them to determine whether the letter before the ending need be double or whether the word is long vowelled, therefore not requiring a double letter, for example 'stopping' and 'hoped.' The workbook activities are integrated with the word attack skills learnt within that specific lesson.

- The management system

In order for the system to work, the teacher must respond to the points, since they are a vital part of the entire program. Points must only be awarded to pupils who perform well and complete the specified criterion effectively. Points must never be taken away from the pupil, deserved points must always be the permanent property of the pupil. In addition, the teacher must also react to the point system as if they are important to the

pupils' ultimate learning progress. Expectations should always be set so that they can be exceeded, rather than merely met by the pupils. Finally, the teacher is reminded that at all times she must adopt the role of instructor and director of the lesson and never be manipulated by the pupils or side tracked from the exercise in hand. An eager group of pupils is often the by-product of a competent teacher. The point system represents the pupils' first opportunity to earn an A grade in an educational sphere that requires excellent performance. Such an exemplary grade is a strong reinforcer for the majority of pupils and will promote the desire for a continual level of performance. The diagram below (*fig.4*) displays the point charts located at the front and back of each pupil's workbook. Their individual points must be completed by the pupils following each lesson and placed in the correct lesson number boxes.



(fig. 4)

This chapter has presented the initial stages of the research process and has outlined in detail the specific resources used for the data collection as a basis for the entire study.

The SRA reading series has been explained and dissected into its separate parts to enable a greater understanding of its value as a research object. All the themes and analysis in the chapters that follow will be extracted from the interactions that take place in and around this particular remedial reading program.

3

Spelling

Spelling: An introduction

Both educational sociologists and ethnomethodologists alike have rarely touched upon the phenomenon of spelling within reading lessons, leaving it a quest for psychological inquiry. Of the many analyses produced, most have been concerned with the invention of innovative and modernised forms of spelling practice. They view English language as constituting a notoriously difficult, antiquated and unpredictable system. Upward (1996) in his paper *Introducing Cut Spelling: written English simplified by cutting redundant letters*, claims that the English language handicaps its learners. Apparently we suffer from its irregularity; it causes mispronunciation and makes even skilled professionals prone to error. In short, it depresses educational standards (Upward, 1996).

Other psychological-based research has focused upon the ways in which conventional spelling has been attacked by the so-called "Spelling Reformers." For example the substitution of the word 'Christ' with the letter X in the word 'Xmas'. This area of spelling-related inquiry commits itself to the exposure of the knowledge and methods used to enable a competent accomplishment of reading and writing. Such analysis is achieved through the detailed investigation of a variety of spelling techniques. In general, they do not solely make use of competent spellers as their subjects, but instead

prefer to make comparative studies with, for example, non-native speakers or brain impaired individuals (Rapp & Folk, 2001).

The teaching of spelling has been subject to dramatic change over the past decade, the rote letter by letter, word by word approach being replaced by a more individualistic style, centring upon the words which are more relevant and meaningful. Pupils are now taught to spell by virtually the same methods that are used to teach them to talk. They begin by using approximation techniques, whereby they progress through a process of correction until they graduate to and have grasped the use of conventional spelling. During this process, the pupils are surrounded by what is considered to be meaningful language, words which lie in direct opposition to the usual lists of irrelevant and pre-determined words. The act of reading has been proven to aid students immensely with the task of learning to spell. It transpires that good readers are usually good spellers too. Just the simple act of allowing the pupils to observe words within the context of a story enables them to have a sense of what the word looks like and how it is used. The predominantly visual nature of spelling as an activity further implies that reading is most probably the prime method of teaching children to spell.

Theories on spelling: Macbeth and *Evaporation*

As far as the ethnomethodological contributions to the field go, Macbeth's recent paper entitled *Classrooms as Installations* (Macbeth, 2000) does touch upon spelling and he constructs his own analysis of a so-called *exhibit* in a section entitled 'Spelling in the air.'

He attempts an understanding of the phenomenon of group spelling recitation and centres upon the spelling of one word in particular - EVAPORATION[1].

The transcript is as follows:

18. **T:** Okay, rea:dy?
19. **Sm:** Yeah::
20. **T:** // How'dya' spell eva:pora:tion?
21. **Sm:** Eeee:
22. // Eeeee: veee:
23. **T:** // Okay: Eee:
24. **Sm:** // veee: ((many overlapping voices))
25. // Eeee: veeee:::
26. **T:** // Va:(h)(h) =
27. **S:** = Vee:
28. **S:** Ayy:
29. **Sm:** // Ayyyyy: ((many voices))
30. **S:** // eva: (por)-
31. **T:** // Puh(h)(h)
32. **S:** // Ayyy
33. **Sm:** Peeeee:
34. **T:** // Oa:r:: (0.5)
35. **Sm:** Ohhh: ar:::
36. // ar:::: (0.2)
37. **S:** Ar:.
38. **S:** // Ar:.
39. **T:** // Eee: vapor:: ay-
40. **S:** // Arrr:
41. **S:** // tee-eye: =
42. **Sm:** Tee-eye-oh-in =
43. **S:** = Arrah. Arah : Ar:. Ar.
44. **S:** // Ayy: // Ayy:. =
45. **T:** = L-L-Let's check it out.
46. **S:** * tee (ay) *
47. **T:** // Okay I hear some good answers, but let's check it out. =
48. **S:** // (ay)
49. **T:** = Look- look- (.) Eee: =
50. **S:** = Ay. Ay.
51. **T:** // Vap: Oar: (e)-
52. **(S):** // Ay.
53. **(S):** Ay =
54. **S:** = Ay.

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[1] In these extracts: **T** marks the teacher's utterance; **S** indicates a single student; **Sm** denotes multiple synchronised voices and finally **(S)** is an indication of consecutive turns taken by the same pupil.

55. (0.7)
56. **T:** Ayyy:. =
57. **Sm:** = Tee eye oh in says shun-shun-shun. ((sing song))
58. // Tee eye oh in says shun-shun-shun.
59. // Tee eye oh in says
60. **T:** // Says
61. **Sm:** // shun-shun-shun. =
62. **T:** = Okay, evaporation. And that wuz frum our story tha other day…

Macbeth, in this detailed transcription, seeks to capture the closely ordered activity of what he terms 'spelling-in-concert,' namely, the dense recitation of, in this particular instance, the word *evaporation*. It is perhaps easier to define his analysis by referring to the transcript. Macbeth claims that such recitation exercises are built through the pupils' own knowledge of the shapes and sounds of different letters. For example, he highlights this point by directing the reader to lines 21 and 22:

21. **Sm:** Eeee:
22. // Eeeee: veee:

Here the pupils initiate with the letter Eeee: which then develops into an Eeee veee as the result of an overlap. Macbeth asserts that these two letters, E and V have a 'fit' for them, they apparently 'belong' together and are a naturally, conventional bounded part of the spelling sequence. Further evidence of this boundedness is brought to light as the discourse unfolds and the couplings 'E' and 'V' are used again in line 25:

25. // Eeee: veeee:::
26. **T:** // Va:(h)(h) =
27. **S:** = Vee:
28. **S:** Ayy:
29. **Sm:** // Ayyyyy: ((many voices))
30. **S:** // eva: (por)-
31. **T:** // Puh(h)(h)

32. **S:** // Ayyy
33. **Sm:** Peeeee:
34. **T:** // Oa:r:: (0.5)
35. **Sm:** Ohhh: ar:::
36. // ar:::: (0.2)

The pupils generally, in this recitation, are provided with a sound from the teacher at a juncture when she feels that they may need prompting in order to prevent a breakdown in the flow of the concerted spelling. This occurs in lines 26, 31, 34 *etc*.. and enables the pupils to use the teacher's single utterances as a resource for the production of the next letters in the word. Such a process enables the spelling to be pushed forward and prevents it from becoming too fragmented and indecipherable. These tactics coupled with the teacher's use of recapping upon the spelling-so-far, enable the pupils to effectively accomplish a joint production of the word in hand.

Macbeth identifies the intricate nature of group spelling activities. His primary aim is to address the mainly unheard overlaps that occur as a result of several members speaking during the same interval. Despite these overlaps, Macbeth's analysis indicates that the pupils are still able to fulfil the task requirement, namely achieving the joint production of the word "evaporation." During the recitation the pupils are able to produce a near coherent response due to their use of various methods, such as listening, uncovering and ratifying the spelling techniques of the other pupils around them. In this sense then, although the pupils may not, when scrutinised in the most intricate detail, talk in a precisely uniform manner, they have still accomplished the task of group recitation. His analysis, in short, makes the claim that the spelling requested by the curriculum requires not only the activity of spelling but also one which is closely ordered.

Macbeth's findings provide a grounding from which the analysis of other spelling related data might be initiated. The analysis will consider *some organisational features of spelling* and the differing contexts through which the teacher seeks to improve the spelling of the pupils. The following analysis will be divided into two sections, the first will consider scripted, planned spelling activities and the later part will analyse instances of spelling that occur during other non-spelling specific aspects of the lesson.

Planned spelling activity

Since this type of assessment lesson is primarily concerned with conveying the basics of the English language to its learners, then spelling is an essential ingredient, which plays a significant role during the teaching of the lessons. The lessons themselves require the completion of certain spelling related activities and further activities which do not hold spelling as the task objective but may unintentionally produce additional spelling instruction.

The lessons begin in every instance with a spelling-out-loud session, the pupils have a list of words in this first phase of the lesson which will be termed, for the purpose of the following analysis, as the new words phase. It should at this juncture be made clear what is meant by the term 'phase' as emphasised by Sharrock and Anderson (1982) in the paper *Talking and Teaching: reflective comments on in-classroom activities*. The use of the word is not used merely as a taken-for-granted, generalised, sociological term, but can be used to portray confidently, in this case, the episodic nature of these types of lessons,

which will be analysed subsequently in detail further on in the research (Payne & Cuff, 1982).

The pupils, having settled down, are asked by the teacher to turn to the relevant page in their workbooks. Each lesson the pupils are expected to complete a lesson from the book, so in every lesson there would be a new words phase, a reading section, a comprehension section and an individual exercise session. All the lessons provided in this discussion are divided between two different teachers and two different age groups. This is not to suggest that each teacher had her own class. The teachers in fact shared the teaching of both age groups, the ages being 11 to 12 in year 7 and 12 to 13 in year 8. Both classes utilised the same SRA reading assessments in the same format, the only difference being an increased difficulty in the words and the length of the readings for year 8.

The following extract (1) is from a Year 7 lesson and is conducted by the second of the two teachers. Of the four boxes of words in the new words phase, this particular exercise makes use of the words from the last box.

(Ex. 1)

01 T: G::ood (1.6) ok that's fine e::rrr box four right we're going to have to spell these now aren't we? (.) SHELLY

02 P'S: (.....)

03 T: COME ON? SHELLY

04 P'S: SHELLY, S H E Double L Y ((Teacher claps with each letter))

05 T: Yes ok, PEOPLE

06 P'S: PEOPLE, P E O P L E ((Teacher claps with each letter))

07 T: STAYED

08 P'S: STAYED, S T A Y E D ((Teacher claps with each letter))

09 T: WOOL

10 P'S: W(.....)L ((Teacher claps with each letter))

11 T: Look are you going to say OO or are you going to say double?

12 S: Double O

13 T: Yes I think you decided to say double, (1.2) ok? (.) double O come on let's have that one again, WOOL

14 P'S: WOOL, W Double O L ((Teacher claps with each letter))

15 T: BRAGGED

16 P'S: BRAGGED, B R A Double G E D ((Teacher claps with each letter))

(Year 7, May 18th, p. 3)

The above extract displays the pupils reading the words Shelly, People, Stayed, Wool and Bragged, these being only five of over twenty words in box four of the new words phase of the lesson. All the words have been lifted from the story phase of this particular lesson. This suggests that they have been regarded as constituting the more difficult words within the text and it is required that the pupils have a 'dummy run' of the words before encountering them in the story. Instead of merely reading the words out, as has been the task requirement of previous lists in this phase, in this instance the teacher reads out the word, then the pupils are instructed to echo and reproduce the word jointly and then finally to spell it back to the teacher. This section of the phase tends to be the

longest as it becomes time consuming when spellings are considered to be incorrect, perhaps due to letter order or pronunciation problems.

This spelling activity usually follows a stepwise format. The teacher initially names a word from the chosen 'box,' then the pupils repeat the word. Following this, the pupils then spell the word in unison, with the teacher merely clapping in time to each recited letter. There is, in effect, a division of labour that exists within this section of the spelling sequence with the pupils saying the word and the teacher's rhythmic accompaniment. Finally, the pupils' production of both the 'said' and the 'echoed' word are evaluated. If satisfied with the outcome, the teacher will then proceed to introduce the next word, repeating the entire format until the list has successfully been completed. The components for this specific spelling format are as follows:

1. **T:** Initiation
2. **PS:** [Response
3. **T:** [Rhythmic accompaniment (clapping)
4. **T:** Evaluation + Initiation

In line (1) of the transcript (Ex. 1) it can be observed that the instruction for the pupils to 'spell these' in fact makes reference to the words in 'box four.' The teacher's use of the word 'we' in line (1) introduces some interesting implications for its sense as an instruction:

"we're going to have to spell these now aren't **we** (.) SHELLY"

Harvey Sacks (1992) in his in-depth study of naturally occurring conversation, *Lectures in Conversation* (Vol. I & II), makes reference to the use of "we" within interaction and claims that the sole problem is posed by the question of orderability. Does, in fact, the "we" relate to a collection of persons directly or is it a category for which all these persons are incumbents? In addition "we" can refer to an infinite population such as 'The Americans.' Clearly then, there are different uses of the term "we." What issues then does the utterance "we" raise in this particular part of the lesson? It in fact projects to the class as a whole that what follows will be a collaborative exercise, which does not only include the pupils alone, but the teacher as well as a "group production." The pupils must competently recognise that they are indeed members of the collection 'we,' in this instance.

The first word in this collection is 'Shelly,' for which she receives little response from the pupils in line (2) and consequently repeats the word. This lack of response may have occurred as a result of the open invitation given by the teacher. The pronoun 'we' selects no one in particular and consequently in line (2) no one in particular answers. The 'we' can be understood to indicate that the activity be done in unison, accomplished by the students spelling as a group, coupled with the teacher clapping with each letter, transforming the entire activity into both a routine and a collaborative production.

In line (5) when the teacher utters the words 'Yes ok, PEOPLE' this may be taken to refer to the class as a whole, a kind of American slang used as a positive evaluation and as a moving on device. However, in this instance, despite the initial 'hearing' of the

utterances, the word 'people' in fact relates to the next word from the collection of 'these' in box four. How then are the pupils able to hear the utterance 'people' in the sense of it constituting the next word? They are able to use their workbooks as a guide or resource for understanding the context of the word. Furthermore, the workbook indicates specifically that the words in the boxes will be used only for the activity of spelling. The teacher can then take for granted that once the recitation sequence has begun, the pupils will be able to associate each word with the activity of 'spelling' and not embark upon making an extended sense of the word. The utterances can then be split, 'Yes OK' becomes a positive evaluation of the previous word 'Shelly' and 'PEOPLE' becomes the initiation of the next word format. The pupils consequently hear 'people' as the *next one* in the collection of new words. Finally, in line (5), the teacher accurately appraises the previous word 'Shelly' but in line (8) after a further correct response has been supplied, gives no positive feedback but instead continues with the next word from the collection. This serves to highlight that the act of continuation alone can embody an approval of the last utterances.

Following an indecipherable, jointly produced attempt at the next word in line (10), the teacher then proceeds to invoke a rule in line (13) in order to 'make clear' the instructions relating to this particular spelling activity. This introduces the question as to what follows a successful spelling in this type of spelling format? From the transcripts it becomes evident that there is not one uniform type of evaluation used by the teacher. In some cases the evaluation and subsequent moving on to the next word is accomplished through acknowledgements such as "Mmm Hmm," "Yeah," "Good," *etc.* (Jefferson,

1984). However, when these types of acknowledgements are not produced after a correct outcome and are bypassed in favour of initiating the next new word sequence, the sense of the evaluation is still present, as the continuation of the task can be heard to acknowledge the correction of the previous word. In short, when no comment is followed by the production of the next word, then that gives the pupils the "thumbs up" for their previous spelling attempt.

It is difficult to compare this group recitation exercise directly with that in Macbeth's example, as features of overlap are not as readily available and it becomes evident that these pupils do not encounter the problems of overlap as experienced in his reading lesson. The claim made by Macbeth that the word *Evaporation* is jointly produced and therefore represents a 'correct spelling as everyone's achievement' (Macbeth, 2000) is only true in the sense that every child 'pitches in' during the recitation of the word. One child may produce a letter here and a letter there, one may be able to spell the whole word or one may just abstain altogether and just mime. Such a snowballing effect does not then, imply that the class as a whole, each and every pupil, accomplished the correct spelling in unison. The spelling course could be described as producing an ongoing and developing resource for "joining in," which can be likened to the process of 'singing along' to the words of a song you know imperfectly, in that some bits you know and some you don't.

Macbeth describes this spelling procedure as 'spelling-in-concert' with the pupils dotted around the classroom, not in any particular seating group or order. The ongoing

occurrence of overlap in this recitation, when compared to the data extracts, stems from both the resources made available to the pupils and the role of the teacher. Unlike the example from my data, Macbeth's analysis does not specify whether or not the pupils had access to any spelling material during the exercise, so it can be assumed that the pupils were instructed to use their memory skills to produce the word. If this was the case, then the only resources available to them would have been the other spellers in the classroom, which may have caused some confusion and lack of clarity for those who had difficulty extracting the precise letters from their personal stocks of knowledge.

In addition, the teacher does not appear to clap or use any method to achieve a rhythmic collaboration and instead acts as a guide only in the event of a breakdown in the spelling sequence. The pacing of the spelling may indeed be jointly produced but it is not a uniform production, as without either visual or any rhythmic oral aids, the spelling can only become a recitation which is unfolding in its nature, a spelling sequence which is shaped through the joint construction of finding one letter and then the next, and so on until the word is completed. Overlap is consequently avoided in this type of spelling exercise as a result of the conductor role adopted by the teacher. In every spelling activity of this nature the teacher is observed either to clap, or tap her pen in time to each letter, ensuring continuity and hearing the pupils perform as one voice. This is not a visual conducting but a listening aid, as the pupils are instructed to read and spell the words from the book and are frequently rebuked when caught straying from the page. With such a rigid, stepwise format, the overlap during response is minimised which clarifies the pupils' answers which in turn allows an effective evaluation to take place.

'Hitches' in this phase of the lesson rarely occur as a result of overlap during recitation but instead repeatedly occur when a word may contain either an apostrophe such as *don't* or a double letter, *bottle*. In such instances, the teacher is observed to deviate from the syllabus and request the replacement of spelling out double letters by saying the word *double* before the letters in question. Similarly, she further suggests that the apostrophe in some words should also be sounded out. For example, the word *don't* would be spelt: D-O-N-Apostrophe-T. Such additional rules serve to complicate the spelling proceedings, especially when only some of the pupils adhere to the rules and some apparently forget. This confusion is also evident in the following transcript, (Ex.1):

11 T: Look are you going to say OO or are you going to say double?

12 S: Double O

13 T: Yes I think you decided to say double, (1.2) ok? (.) double O come on let's have that one again, WOOL

This issue can be likened to Sack's study on *Pauses in spelling and numbering* (Sacks, 1992) where he discusses conventional ways to spell and read numbers. Of paramount importance for Sacks during a spelling or numerical sequence is the way in which the pauses are distributed. He uses people's names in his example but does suggest that the same rules could be applied to other words as well. Sacks maintains that when a word is spelt, the word itself provides the speller with some features of how the word is pronounced when spoken. In his example, he believes that it is the pause between certain letters which creates an either correct or incorrect hearing of a word, for example the name Mauerhan when spelt:

M-A-U-E-R (pause) H-A-N

sounds correct yet when spelt:

M-A-U-E-R-H (pause) A-N

It sounds in some sense to the 'hearers' that the word is wrong, despite the fact that it has been spelt accurately. It sounds wrong because if the spelling of a name needs to incorporate clues of its pronunciation, then the pauses must signal the natural syllable breaks in the name. Therefore, to spell a name aloud competently, it appears that it must be viewed as constituting an ordered list of letters with properly positioned pauses. In order to be aware of the function of a specific pause, attention must be given to the structure within which the pause is being produced.

In relation to the spelling data, Sacks's notion could be adopted to suggest that the reason for the teacher's deviation from spelling both double letters may be due to her own personal notion of what features are present within a word to make it hearably correct.

Unplanned spelling activity

In addition to planned spelling activities, spelling can also occur in the context of various other activities within these lessons. However, such interruptions to other activities are not viewed as constituting a 'hold-up' to the activity in hand, but instead merit a

temporary 'time-out' from the exercise in hand, being viewed as being a valuable addition to the pupils' personal stocks of spelling related knowledge.

From the data, it is apparent that there are three main instances which lead to the employment of spelling techniques, apart from those exercises which necessitate the spelling out of words in order to satisfy the task requirement. They are as follows:

- Correct answer extraction
- Memory aids
- Demonstrating to the class

- Correct answer extraction

The first of these and the most commonly enforced during the process of correct-answer extraction is when the teacher employs certain methods in order to prompt a correct outcome, (Mehan, 1979) without surrendering too much information regarding the correct answer. Spelling is one such activity which provides the teacher with an effective device in order to give clues about the requested outcome, without surrendering the actual answer. In this way then, answers constitute a joint production by both the teacher and the student. It may be argued that this task is one of reading rather than spelling, yet when a word is split into its separate component parts, it is fair to conclude that it is in effect being spelt out in order to entice the recognition of the whole word. Examples of this initial use of spelling are as follows:

(Ex. 2)

01 T: Yes, you just got through that one didn't you? right Rosalind

02 (2.3)

03 R: Where are we?

04 T: Here?

05 (2.7)

06 T: Now think about that E, it's going to make that say its own name which is A isn't it? So it's SH:::

07 R: Shame

08 T: Good shame, (.) it's the same here, that's going to make it say it's own name

09 (3.2)

10 R: L

11 T: Wh What's the name of that letter? ((teacher points to the letter on the board))

12 (1.8)

13 T: What's the name of just that letter there?

14 (3.5)

15 T: Come on

16 R: I

17 T: I yes I, come on?

18 R: Like

19 T: GOO:D what's the name of that letter? (1.3) what's the name, the sound is this isn't it what's the name?

20 R: A

21 T: A:::? good come on then

22 (4.2)

23 R: Shape

24 T: yes Shape, isn't it? So you've got shame, like and shape, they've all got that magic E on the end haven't they? Or silent E as some of you like to call it. Good er:: right some of you will have a second line to read now, er STEPHANIE next line

(Year 7, May 18th, p. 7)

This extract does not follow exactly the "spelling out" theme, but it still originates from the new words phase of the lesson, and contains the spelling of a "read" word which is still of relevance to the study. In this extract, pupil R is selected by the teacher to read a line of words. Following a pause in line (2) the designated pupil replies to the selection but then fails to give the required response. The "didn't you?" question surely requests a positive or negative response in order to attain the closure of the sequence? The teacher in fact ignores this deviation and attempts to answer R's proposed question. Having answered the query, the pupil's turn is expected and consequently in line (6), after a second pause demonstrating the pupil's confusion and lack of understanding, the teacher elicits a method of answer extraction, that of using spelling. The teacher self selects and starts to provide fragments of the answer. Therefore, in line (6), the teacher instructs the pupil (R) to consider certain letters, without in fact providing the pupil with the whole word in question. She proceeds to dissect the word, offering it to the pupil in its single letter components, in order to promote a correct response.

In line (7) the pupil offers a confident answer without delay. Following a correct outcome, the teacher repeats the correct word as a way of positively evaluating the response and of highlighting the word for the benefit of the other pupils present. Once more, following a further pause in line (9) and an incorrect outcome in line (10), the

teacher prompts the pupil to sound out key letters from the words to aid with pronunciation until the designated amount of words has been satisfactorily completed. From line (11) to line (18) the teacher has to employ methods to ensure the extraction of a correct outcome. The teacher is aware that the pupil has previous knowledge of the requested letter and gives no clues but merely physically indicates the letter, repeats and then simplifies the question, until the final answer is provided in line (18). In line (19), following a positive evaluation and a further request for a letter component, the pupil provides not only the required letter, but also the correct word. An evaluation and the consequent closure of R's turn follow.

- A note on pauses

The frequency with which pauses occur in extract (2) leads to the initial consideration of the significance of the *pause* as a turn within classroom interaction and its consequences for the other interactants present.

Macbeth (1991) analyses the pauses that occur within classroom discourse in his study *Teacher Authority and Practical Action*. He attempts to consider the pause, not just as being a turn in its own right, but as an interactional object. He treads cautiously in the footsteps of other discourse analysts, such as Levinson (1983), who believed that such 'silences' within conversation had no features of their own but on the other hand stated that:

> All the different significances attributed to (silence) must have their source in the structural expectations engendered by the surrounding talk.

Macbeth tends to unite with Levinson in this respect and asserts that 'silence' may be a production of parties within a local setting, namely, it is a collaborative outcome. Macbeth's ultimate goal then, seems to be to achieve the answer to the question, "what is the work of these pauses?" Which he accomplishes by indicating in his study how his *address-pause* holds a significant location within classroom 'talk' instead of merely constituting a state of no-talking.

Macbeth's examination of the address-pause will now be applied to extract (2) in order to bring about some understanding of the pauses which arise in the teacher-pupil excerpt of interaction. The first pause occurs in line (2) following the selection or address of the pupil, Rosalind. Following such an address, a prompt response is expected so as to complete the initiation-response sequence. However, the lack of appropriate response is observed in the silence of line (2). The pause thus belongs solely to Rosalind and the teacher's lack of intervention during the silence implies that it also portrays a kind of "we are waiting" message. The initiation sequence has not resulted in the required outcome and what follows is a kind of restoration tactic in the form of an insertion sequence between the teacher and the pupil. Line (5) once again becomes Rosalind's turn which similarly consists of a further pause in which the teacher repeats her method of allowing the pupil time to consider the question. She does not want to rush the pupil but does want to keep the flow of the lesson intact. After nearly a three second silence, the teacher then provides Rosalind with a clue to the words pronunciation - "it's going to make that say it's own name which is A isn't it?" This clue enables Rosalind to produce the correct response. Following a positive evaluation from the teacher, Rosalind is then selected to

read the next word in the list. The teacher gives a similar pronunciation hint but what follows is another pause.

Similarly, the pause in line (9) again belongs to Rosalind. The teacher does not immediately intervene and after a short silence the pupil produces a response. It is not the preferred answer but it is the first letter of the word which signifies to the teacher that the pupil intends to spell the word in question. Lines (11) to (15) contain two successive pauses:

11 T: Wh What's the name of that letter? ((teacher points to the letter on the board))

12 (1.8)

13 T: What's the name of just that letter there?

14 (3.5)

15 T: Come on

16 R: I

17 T: I yes I, come on?

18 R: Like

Each occurs as a response to a prompt or clue from the teacher, until finally, in line (18), Rosalind produces the word "Like." In the initial two instances in which Rosalind is selected to spell out words from the list, the teacher's initiations are followed by pauses. The turn is not taken up and answered by Rosalind, but the reason for this is nevertheless understood. Rosalind must go through a process of discovery, whereby she is able to find the reason for her selection and the affairs that prompted it, namely her turn at

spelling. She must be aware that the pause belongs exclusively to her and that a correct outcome is required to enable the closure of that particular sequence. Rosalind must also be aware of the fact that her pause can signify not only 'thinking of the answer' time but, in addition, can indicate her need for a helping hand from the teacher and that she is 'waiting' to receive enough information to aid her response.

In both instances, the teacher made assumptions about the type of pauses and reacted accordingly, by allowing her time to answer and by utilising methods of correction such as prompts and pronunciation clues.

- Correct answer extraction - continued

The next extract (3) similarly shows the same pupil R running into difficulty with a word reading activity and yet again is guided by the teacher's use of spelling method. The extract takes a similar form to the previous; however, in this instance, the teacher takes on the role of 'speller,' building up the recognisability of a word through its separate letter components. Hence in lines (15) and (19) the teacher spells the letters, aiding the pupil's understanding of the word's eventual pronunciation.

(Ex. 3)

01 T: What's the last letter?

02 R: N

03 T: Yeah N

04 (2.2)

05 T: RAI...?

06 (0.6)

07 R: Raid?

08 T: No you're saying D, what is it what does that say?

09 R: N

10 T: N

11 (2.8)

12 R: Rin?

13 T: We::ll you've got the two at beginning bit and the end bit right, its just the middle bit you need, the A:: bit LEE JAMES BE QUIET PLEASE

14 (2.2)

15 T: R:: A:: RA::?

16 R: Raid?

17 T: Yeah you're saying, you've got for some reason you've got the D sound fixed in your head it's an N sound you want

18 (3.2)

19 T: Instead of saying D it'sN you want R:: AI::?

20 R: Rain

(Year 7, June 1st, p.6)

In the fourth extract below, the teacher, after receiving an incorrect response in line (1), attempts to show the difference between the inaccurate outcome and the desired word. The teacher again makes use of the spelling method and proceeds to split the words into their separate letter parts. The teacher in line (4) spells out the incorrect word put forward by the pupil, prompting him to produce an additional outcome other than that which was incorrect. The pupil, however, produces a response which is again incorrect.

The teacher responds in line (6) by providing the pupil with a further letter from the unknown word, which effectively produces the intended outcome.

(Ex. 4)

01 D: Patty said then stop being ashamed of yourself. Stop feeling sorry for yourself. Start worrying,

02 T: No not worrying, start::?

03 (2.2)

03 D: Walking?

04 T: No not walking not walk is it? Walk is W A L K

05 D: Worrying?

06 T: You've gone back to worrying now, it's got a K in the middle there hasn't it?

07 D: Wo::rking?

08 T: Ah ha?

(Year 8, June 1st, p. 16)

- Memory aids

A second technique which employs spelling as an effective mechanism in the task of teaching pupils to read concerns the use of spelling rhymes and sayings with a view to enhancing pupils' memory skills. Macbeth, in his analysis of "Spelling in the air" (2000), makes reference to a similar phenomenon whereby pupils are taught to spell the ending *tion* (or said shun). They do so in simultaneous recitation in which the pupils are observed to spell the word in an almost sing-song fashion - 'T-I-O-N spells shun, shun, shun.'

This provides evidence of the individualised, non-curriculum based rhymes and sayings that are used by teachers to aid pupils with the spelling of the more difficult words within the syllabus. Not unlike Macbeth's example, the following instances of such spelling techniques refer to rhymes and sayings that can be applied to many groups of words.

The rules governing spelling instruction often refer to the spellings of sounds, which are more commonly represented by only one letter. Pupils can often fail to learn to read or spell, due to their unawareness of these very commonly used alternative-spelling patterns. The following shows letter combinations taken from the *70 "Orton" Phonograms for Correct Spelling*, compiled by The Riggs Institute (1999), which are apparently the cause of much of the pupils' reading and spelling difficulties:

ck (neck) 2-letter "k"

dge (badge) 3-letter "j"

tch (Catch) 3-letter "ch" (all used after a single vowel which says a, e, i, o, u)

kn (knee) 2-letter "n" (used to begin a word)

gn (reign, gnaw) (used to begin and end a word)

ee (feel) e – double e says "e"

igh (high) 3-letter "I"

eigh (eight) 4-letter "a"

wr (write) 2-letter "r"

ph (phone) 2-letter "f"

gh (ghost) 2-letter "g" **(McCulloch, 1994)**

Coincidentally, both teachers appear to use consistently two memory enhancement rhymes. For the first teacher, when it came to spelling practice, primary concern seemed to be with the letters DGE and the word "catch". The letters DGE, or when said aloud, the "J" sound is a common spelling difficulty for learners. When faced with words such as badge, dodge or ledge, pupils are observed to hear the "DGE" as constituting the letter J, which consequently leads to incorrect spellings such as baj, doj, lej etc. In order to combat such mistakes, the teacher has devised a process of enabling the pupils to remember that the "J" sound consists of the letters DGE, in that order, shown in the following extract:

(Ex. 5)

01 T: Yes it does change the vowel into a capital letter the only thing is this is the one that you can never remember to do:::. If I say HOLE I get H O L and if I say MOLE I get M O L You don't get an OW sound unless you put the E on the end, you only get an O sound don't you? Right the next one I did with you was a J sound what letters make a J sound?

02 T&P: D G E

03 T: And how do you remember which comes first?

04 B: Dodgy big

05 T: HOW DO YOU REMEMBER WHICH LETTER COMES FIRST?

06 L: Dodgy giant elephants

07 T: [DODGY?
[
08 S: [That's what I say

09 L: Giant elephant

10 T: All right dodgy giant elephants another way of remembering is that the D comes before the G in the alphabet doesn't it?

(Year 7, February 9th, p. 9)

The pupils are able to remember the DGE spelling by creating their own variations based upon the teacher's sayings, as on line (6) 'Dodgy giant elephants.'

The "catch" rhyme has a similar function. It does not refer just to the word "catch," but to any word ending in the letters 'tch'. As with the "J" sound, when pupils say any word with a 'tch' ending, they merely hear the 'ch', the 't' becomes silent and consequently the spelling of, for example, "batch" becomes bach, catch, cach and so on. This "catch" rhyme is initiated by teacher one on numerous occasions throughout the research period and appears to have proved an effective spelling aid as extract (6) indicates.

(Ex. 6)

01 T: Good, this test covers all the sounds I'm doing in your spelling book. And I'm sure Mrs Richards does similar spellings with you as well. Now, what have we done so far? What's the catch in catch?

02 PS: T (overlapped)

03 T: AGAIN WHAT'S THE CATCH IN CATCH?

04 PS: T

05 T: T, And why is it a catch?

06 PS: It catches you, catch (overlapped)

07 T: Because it, CATCHES YOU…?

08 PS: OUT

(Year 7, February 9th, p. 8)

Both the pupils and the teacher jointly produce the rhyme. It is initiated in line (1) whereby the teacher asks, "What's the catch in catch?" The pupils, having had experience with this particular memory aid on many other occasions, are able to hear the question as constituting an initiation of the oncoming rhyme. Consequently, in lines (2) and repeatedly in line (4) the pupils take the turn and reply with "T", the teacher then, having received an appropriate reply, proceeds with the rhyme sequence and asks "Why is it a catch?" The rhyme-flow would usually cease at this point but due to an incorrect or merely unenthusiastic outcome in line (6) the teacher adds to the chain and gives a prompt in the form of an unfinished phrase to which the pupils reply correctly, thus completing the rhyme sequence.

The second teacher on the other hand is concerned with the use of the letter "e" at the end of words, a phenomenon which she calls the 'Magic e' or the 'Silent e' and with the order of letters within words and their consequent sounding out. Her first saying is put into play when a pupil is unable to grasp the sounding out or spelling of any word ending with an "e" and accordingly named due to its perplexing nature *the silent or magic "e"*. In order to plant the notion of this magic "e" in the mind of the pupils, the second teacher creates a saying which, affords joint production by both herself and the pupils.

(Ex. 7)

01 T: What sort of E?

02 S: Magic

03 T: Yes magic E, or silent E (2.2) silent but it does a good job, doesn't it? What does it do? Do you remember, Steven?

04 L: Changes the vowel.

05 T: There's a lot of Steven's here all of a SUDDEN (1.4) Sarah?

06 S: It changes the, the name, the.....

07 T: It changes?

08 S: The name

09 T: No, you're nearly there, Lee?

10 L: It changes the vowel to say its own name

11 S: Ahhhh

12 T: Yes, it changes the vowel to say its OWN name, the name that you'd use when you're saying the alphabet, (0.8) A, B, C, D, E

(Year 7, March 27th, p. 4)

Having just previously read a list of words from the workbook, the teacher in line (1) asks the question "What sort of E?" occurred in the words. The pupils have to distinguish between a normal "e" which is a predominant feature of a great many of words in the English language, and the magic "e." Not every letter "e" within a word has such *silent* and *magic* properties, for example in the words 'week' and 'speak,' the letter "e" is distinctly and hearably present, in comparison with words such as 'state' and 'late' in which the "e" sound is indistinguishable to the ear. Pupils have then to study the words and letter order to decipher the type of "e" they have come up against. In line (3), the

teacher asks the question, "What does it do?" This developing flow can be likened to the spelling sequence of the word 'Evaporation' in Macbeth's study (2000).

Following the initiation in line (3), the saying is produced by the pupils L and S and accompanied by the teacher. They provide each other with clues as to the correct or incorrect response desired. In short, their attempts at the correct outcome become each other's resource for gaining the complete rhyme. Their accurate and inaccurate 'tries' at the rhyme eventually led them to the correct rendition. The sequence unfolds between the pupils and the teacher until the saying has been produced in line (10) – *What does the magic "e" do? It changes the vowel to say its own name.*

The next saying/rhyme used predominantly in the observed reading lessons by the second teacher again involves the joint production of the rhyme – *When two vowels go walking, the first one does the talking*. Many pupils at this stage of their reading spell words correctly, apart from those which include two vowels consecutively in the middle of a word, which they frequently confuse with each other. For example, 'nail' would become 'nial' and 'drain,' 'drian'. Therefore, the rhyme intended to serve as a constant reminder to the pupils refers to those two vowels and highlights the fact that, of the two, it must be the first which is sounded out, whilst the other remains silent. Another common mistake in this instance concerns the letters A and I which are frequently placed in opposite places within the word. Consequently, to remedy this further dilemma, the teacher adds a further set of utterances to the original rhyme, "A and I says A". The following two extracts show the teacher utilising this rhyme within the classroom:

(Ex. 8a)

01 T: WHAT'S THE LITTLE VERSE WE REMEMBER? WHEN TWO VOWELS GO WALKING

02 T&P: THE FIRST ONE DOES THE…

03 PS: TALKING

(Year 7, June 8th, p.4)

(b)

01 T: Right hmm, I think some of you are relying on Lee A and I always says A, OK most of the time it will say the A sound when two vowels go walking the first one does the:…

02 PS: Talking

03 T: Talking and what is the first letter in that underlined bit?

04 P: A ((quietly)) **(Year 7, June 5th, p.6)**

The two extracts likewise contain the rhyme sequence, whereby the teacher in line (1) extract (8a) begins with a question, "What's the little verse we remember?" She does not then wait for a response and proceeds to initiate the rhyme sequence, whereby she says five words of the rhyme. Then, both teacher and pupils jointly recite another five words. Finally, the teacher withdraws and pauses, signifying to the pupils that they must finish the rhyme as they do in line (3) by mutually reciting the last word, "talking." As in (Ex. 8b), the teacher in line (1) again leaves the phrase unfinished, requiring the pupils alone to produce the last utterance. The teacher in line (3) then repeats the last word, in order to highlight the pupils' response as constituting an adequate outcome, serving to bring the rhyme sequence to a close.

- Demonstrating to the class

Spelling as a technique is also apparent during exercises where a teacher finds it necessary to demonstrate a certain point or correction to the class as a whole. An incorrect outcome principally constitutes the pre-requisite for such a technique to be put into play by the teacher. In the following extract, the pupils are reading words from their workbooks in the new words phase of the lesson. In the first line, the pupils jointly appear to have difficulty with the eighth word on the list, 'Pressed,' which they ignore and continue with the remainder of the words. This act of continuity triggers the intervention of the teacher in line (9) of the following extract.

(Ex. 9)

01 PS: Love quick right who check peeked cakes p(…)ed while button

02 T: What's that one that's P R E S S E D? What is that?

03 PS: [Present?

04 M: [[Passed?

05 T: No NO [PRESSED

06 M: [[Pressed

07 T: Take the E D off and what does it say without the E D?

08 PS: Press ((overlapped))

09 T: Say it PRESS::

10 PS: PRESS

11 T: Right now add the E D

12 T&P: PRESSED

(Year 8, February 11th, p.4)

In line (2) the teacher spells the word in question, "P-R-E-S-S-E-D" and instructs the pupils to say the word back to her. Having then received incorrect answers from both individual and collective responses, the teacher in line (5) emphasises the word again. Despite the fact that pupil (M) had indeed echoed the correct answer in conjunction with the teacher, the teacher ignores this, obviously preferring that the class as a whole produce the word. It becomes apparent that in this instance, a single incorrect mutually produced response initiates a process by which the word 'Pressed' is dissected, firstly into single letter components and then into the natural division between the root word and the ending (Press and ed). Only when this whole process is enacted are the pupils able to recite the word precisely. The following extract shows a similar phenomenon.

(Ex. 10)
(a)

01 T: Right if you say hole you'll spell it like that and if you say HOAL you'll put an A in it aren't you? Next one RODE what sound do I need in the middle?

02 PS: O

03 T: Right, O what's the first letter?

04 PS: R

05 T: R O

06 P: D

07 T: And what do I need on the end?

08 PS: E

(Year 7, January 15th, p. 4)

In this instance, the teacher is attempting to add to the pupils' knowledge of words containing the Magic "e," the word 'Rode' is provided by the teacher as an example of an utterance with the infamous silent "e" which is frequently responsible for causing

spelling errors. The teacher does not order a conventional spelling of the word from the first letter to the last, but instead asks initially for the middle letter, then the first and finally the last letter. In line (5) the teacher repeats the first two accurately answered letters to which in line (6) a pupil adds the next letter, unprompted. The teacher ignores this act of self-selection, but is observed to include the answer in the spelling-flow and consequently proceeds to ask for the last letter, refraining from requesting the class as a whole to provide again the answer submitted, out of turn, by the lone pupil. Similarly, in a further example from the same lesson, the teacher again highlights the silent nature of the letter "e" that occurs at the end of certain words.

(b)

01 T: Yeah they rhyme date hate late mate rate NOW Gale, how many people had the word gale wrong?

02 ((Pupils raise their hands))

03 T: Right how did you spell it?

04 P: G A L E

05 T: Right Daniel?

06 D: G A I L L

07 T: Right I know what you're trying to do the other A sound it's not that,

08 P: GALE

09 T: Right what sound do we want in the middle for a start?

10 P: A

11 T: A OK so there's A GA, what do we put next?

12 PS: L

13 T: L right what do we need on the end to change an A into an a?

14 PS: E E

(Year 7, January 15th, p. 6)

'Gale' seems to be another word that causes inaccurate spellings. In line (3), the teacher selects pupils singularly, or jointly, to spell the word. Following a correct outcome in line (4), the teacher proceeds specifically to select the pupil Daniel to repeat the spelling procedure. An incorrect response from Daniel then initiates a corrective spelling sequence, whereby, as in the previous extract (10a), the teacher requests that the pupils spell specific letters from the word until the word has been satisfactorily completed and understood by the class.

Letters and sounds

It seems then that there are two types of sounding out procedures which occur within these instances of classroom interaction, the first being single letter sounding out and the second, sound combinations of letters. These pauses between letters can be solely attributed to the specific sound components within the word in question, and whether or not these components have been taught to the pupils in previous lessons. The new words phase of the lesson in earlier sessions attempts to install such sound segments within the pupils' stores of spelling knowledge. Spelling is consequently more difficult than reading because the letters must be called up from a memory base, namely the sound relationships previously learned. Instead of the boxes containing words from the story, in the initial lessons the phase centres upon the sounds which most commonly occur within the story and stories to come.

The letter combinations used in this phase are usually those which the pupils will come across most frequently, for example, the components AR, OR, ST, ED, ING. Consequently, it can be argued that it is not only the natural segmentation between the letters that leads to the teachers' utilisation of pauses, but it could instead relate back to the pre-conceived sounds dictated by the lessons themselves.

Many recent spelling strategies have centred upon the notion that teaching pupils to recognise common letter combinations will serve to improve both their reading and spelling capabilities considerably. For example, take the word "Gloophination." How did you know how to pronounce a non-existent word? You most probably drew on your knowledge of common letter combinations to help you make sense of it. You recognised that when certain letters are put together they make certain sounds. These common letter combinations are just groups of letters that frequently appear together in our language. Our personal stocks of language experience enable us both to pronounce and spell unfamiliar words in our reading and writing (Clements, 1990). You subconsciously recognised:

GL-OO-PH-IN-ATION

Macbeth also refers to this technique of grouping certain letters during a spelling-out-loud exercise (Macbeth, 2000). He joins Sacks in the notion that the interpretation of a word depends largely upon the division of the syllable segments within the word in question. These components of the word become bonded activities, to which the teacher

is primarily orientated when embarking upon the spelling out of a new or/and long complex word. In Macbeth's study, the word 'Evaporation' is used as an example when studying the group's spelling procedures. During the transcribed recitation, it is apparent that such segmentation is taking place. The pupils are observed initially to pair the sounds Eeee and Veee together, which Macbeth claims 'fit' together and therefore constitute a naturally bounded piece of the spelling sequence.

This raises the issue of the need, if any, to distinguish the action of alphabetical spelling from phonetical spelling out. Are they one and the same procedure, or are they used at different stages within the lesson to produce different ends? Past psychological research articles have examined the worth of phonetical instruction versus a "whole language" approach to teaching spelling and language skills to pupils. This debate concluded that two such opposing theories should remain mutually exclusive. It is only recently, however, that it has been suggested that two such diverse approaches to reading and spelling instruction may in all probability be combined to the ultimate advantage of the pupil (McCulloch, 1994).

In order to bring to a close this piece of the function of spelling, there will follow a brief analysis of the data pertaining to the phenomenon of 'sounding out'. It is hoped that this will result in an increased understanding and maybe some conclusions relating to its function within the spelling techniques employed by the teacher. Examples of 'sounding out' will be considered from the data, coupled with instances whereby spelling has actually been discarded in favour of the use of sounds.

It is commonsensical to presume that merely hearing the names of the letters spelt out loud will not enable a learner reader to read the intended word with limited knowledge of the written form of the English language. However, if the names of the letters were replaced momentarily by their corresponding sounds, then the task automatically becomes simplified, making any word accessible even if the meaning is unknown. The next extract verifies this point exactly, whereby during a test a teacher gives both the name and the sound of the letter that pupils must write in their spelling books.

(Ex. 11)

01 T: Right next line JAY, J

02 PS: JAY J

03 T: DE:: D

04 PS: DE:: D

05 T: OW O

06 PS: OW O

07 T: ELL L

08 PS: ELL L

09 T: HU H

10 PS: HU H **(Year 7, June 7th, p.16)**

The pupils have previously been instructed to echo the teacher, reciting both the sound and the letter before entering them into their books.

Sounds are most definitely favoured over spelling the letters using their alphabetical names. Pupils are taught from a young age, usually during the initial years of primary school about the function of sounding out letters. According to McCulloch (1994), as strange as it may seem, pupils who begin schooling without having learned the names of the letters appear able to learn sound relationships with greater ease. In short, they have nothing to unlearn since letter names are not heard in English speech, apart from the occasional exception of some vowels. An early mastery of this type of spelling pattern enables pupils to write with precision and develop creativity whilst avoiding programming their minds with misinformation, such as invented "spellings" (McCulloch, 1994). It is not surprising that if a pupil were to lapse into the spelling-by-letter name procedure they would be corrected by the teacher. Such a correction sequence occurs in the next extract.

(Ex. 13)

01 T: Now everybody say CHE

02 P'S: CHE CHE CHE ((overlapped))

03 T: Yeah it's important, because if you're trying to work out ((loud bang on the desk)) DANIEL (2.3) .hh if you're trying to work out the word by building up the sounds, if you're going to say CH it's going to put you off there's no U sound there. You just need the sound of the actual C and the H, said together OK? (2.4) Right let's read those words through now without saying the sounds

(Year 7, June 12th, p. 2)

The teacher's aim is to get the pupils to sound out the letter combination CH correctly. In past lessons, the pupils have slipped into pronouncing the phonetically correct Che as Chu, which causes immediate problems when it comes to spelling words containing these components. For example if one teaches that the letter "B" says "buh" and then tries to

connect it to "read", the result inevitably becomes "buh-read". For many pupils this combination will never yield the intended word "bread" with the presence of the additional "uh" sound. Some other sounds are frequently taught incorrectly, such as "R", saying either "ruh" or "er" which both produce incorrect words. We do not say "er ich" or "er ace" and "ruh ich" or "ruh ace." The correct sound for the letter "R" is called a sub-vocal and comes primarily from the throat, a partial obstruction of the vocal chords.

Summary

This chapter has endeavoured to uncover some interactional organisations that appear to be at work within the classroom task of *spelling*. The investigation initiated with a brief analysis by Macbeth which offered valuable insights into the closely ordered activity of *spelling-in-concert*. Although discovering instances of Macbeth's data in the material used for the purpose of this analysis, the study was able to progress beyond Macbeth's brief contribution, offering an understanding of the various contexts in which an orientation to spelling may be recognised in this type of remedial reading lesson.

Many questions were addressed seeking to identify how spelling is interactionally achieved within the classroom setting, uncovering not only those methods used in actual spelling intended tasks, but those also which arise in other unplanned spelling related tasks. The instances of correctional sequences, memory aids and general demonstration to the class become additional facets in which spelling methods can be employed by the teacher in order to achieve task completion. The chapter has consequently highlighted the collaborative nature of spelling activities and their correction in a remedial reading

lesson, requiring the input of both the pupils and the teacher to achieve an agreeable closing to the activity in hand.

4

The Strangeness of Words

One feature of the SRA reading lesson which accentuates its originality as a reading series is its country of origin, the United States of America. The content of the entire lesson, from the new words phase to the reading of the text, is devised, using American terminology, having undergone no process of modification to substitute the Americanised version with a British equivalent. In many respects, this represents little or no dilemma to the teacher or pupils. However, some of the vocabulary used, usually American slang words or so-called Americanisms, create various problems for both teachers and pupils within the classroom environment. This seems particularly ironic when considering the primary objective of the lessons, namely, the instruction of spelling, reading and writing skills for remedial learners. Surely then, such material, aimed specifically at less than average competency levels, should contain simplistic and recognisable everyday language, both discernible in appearance and meaning. Pupils at this basic stage require the knowledge of vocabulary which will enable them to integrate more fully within their local community, not Americanised jargon which may handicap their learning proficiency further.

The following chapter will attempt to analyse the occurrence of such slang and will, using the CA strain of ethnomethodological analysis, map the methods used by both

pupils and the teacher alike to cope with such strangeness. It will essentially explain the socially organised nature of the teacher's utterances.

The initial task will be to investigate solely the teacher's reaction to such alien utterances, which will be reinforced by examples, extracted from the transcripts. The teacher's response to the occurrence of the Americanisms will be split into two sections, the first concentrating upon the three main methods used by the teacher to counteract the effects caused by the Americanisms and clarify their meanings. These reactions consist of an explanation of the word, a substitution of the alien utterance with one that is more recognisable for the pupils and finally, the teacher's need to utilise talk which will exclude the Americanism, disregarding its relevance as useful vocabulary.

The second part will focus specifically upon the separate methods used by the teacher when faced with either an incorrect or correct rendition of the alien utterance. The study will then conclude with an investigation of pupil-initiated queries, instances when pupils are unsatisfied with the information provided by the teacher concerning an Americanism, requesting an extended explanation of the word.

Methods of word clarification

The teacher seems primarily to act in two ways when faced with an unrecognisable utterance:

- A substitution of the word
- A disregard of the word

- A substitution of the word

The most common method used by the teacher when confronted with an alien utterance in this data, seems to be the substitution of the Americanised utterance with a British equivalent or a more understandable, generalised utterance. Examples of this are illustrated in the following extracts:

(Ex. 1)

01 T: Nearly a year yes er (.) What kind of plant did she come to after leaving the slate plant, Rosalind?

02 R: Um (.) sleeve.

03 T: Yes a sleeve plant, sleeve you know factory wasn't it? (1.6) OK, (1.3) Um Ben? you start the second part for us, DO YOU WANT TO KEEP STILL JAMES? (2.5) You're rocking about there, CONCENTRATE off you go, Ben.

(Year 7, June 1st, p.10-11)

The teacher asks the pupil, Rosalind, a question relating to the just-read text. The pupil replies, following a slight hesitation and the correct type of plant, "Sleeve." The teacher, however, repeats the pupil's response with the addition of a quizzical emphasis upon the words sleeve and factory, ensuring that Rosalind has grasped it's meaning in a British sense.

(Ex.2)

01 T: Yes saying odd things again, getting all the words mixed up UM what did Rop want to do to show he was better than she (0.9) Rosalind?

02 R: Have a meet

03 T: Have a meet yes they were going to meet up, have a sort of competition, RIGHT OK ERR (.) well we did that all right you're reading quite err well, lots of you are concentrating so BOX A will be four points (3.4) BOX A FOUR

(Year 7, June 1st, p. 14)

In the above extract, the teacher asks Rosalind a comprehension question which she answers correctly using the same American terminology present within the text. Despite the pupil's accurate response, the teacher is not convinced of R's entire knowledge of the utterance "meet" within the context of this specific story line. Consequently, in her evaluative turn, the teacher provides a brief explanation of the term, making reference to its British equivalent "a sort of competition." This becomes a sense making exercise, enabling the pupils to gain an understanding of the whole story and not just those extracts in which familiar language is used.

The next two extracts are concerned with the subject of money, more specifically the differentiation between dollars and pounds and the teacher's subsequent treatment of the pupils' confusion between their own native currency and that used within the context of the story.

(Ex. 3)

01 T: Ten dollars, yes OK ER HOW MUCH OF THAT TEN DOLLARS WAS A TIP, SION?

02 S: Er four pound.

03 T: Yeah four dollars.

04 S: Four dollars

05 T: Yeah OK YOU'VE ALL READ A CHUNK NOW, so (.) follow carefully and you can read one or two sentences each (2.3) you start us off Martin

(Year 8, June 5th, p.11)

S is asked a question relating to an amount of money, in dollars, during the story. The pupil replies in line (2) with the correct number but with an incorrect currency type. Speculatively speaking, the teacher, constantly aware of the potential confusion induced by such incognizance, responds positively in line (3) but repeats the amount with the addition of the relevant currency "four dollars," which is then repeated by Sion following the teacher's evaluative turn. This 'familiarity' sequence is then brought to a close in line (4) with the teacher's initiation of a further reading turn. Although the teacher does not actually substitute the alien term with one which is more comprehensible, she does allow the pupil's use of the British equivalent "pounds" to be used without any negative feedback, enabling the remainder of the class to also benefit from the more recognisable term.

(Ex. 4)

01 K: I'm stuck on five, Miss.

02 T: Five (3.2) how was the woman trying to bribe the president? Yeah?

03 K: Yeah.

04 T: What was she offering to give him?

05 K: Twenty dollars.

06 T: Yes, so she was offering to give him (0.7) money or put twenty dollars down if you want, (3.4) Is every body else all right?

(Year 8, June 5th, p.14)

The following discourse again revolves around the subject of money, in its Americanised, unfamiliar form. The sequence is begun by the pupil Katherine's concern at her misunderstanding of one of the questions in the final stage of the lesson, the workbook phase. The teacher repeats the question and rewords it in a more simplified form for the

benefit of the entire class. In line (5) Katherine accurately answers the adjusted question, effectively produced in the infused American terms, "twenty dollars." The teacher, however, in this instance is dissatisfied with the pupil's explicit response and suggests that a less specific and more generalised utterance may be a more appropriate substitute, such as the generalisation "money," implying no actual type of currency. Such a fleeting treatment of the ever-present foreign utterances appears to satisfy the pupil's curiosity, bringing a close to the questioning and effectively enabling the lesson proper flow to resume, unscathed.

Each extract has illustrated the teacher's desire to tackle the occurrence of an Americanism in the text with it's British equivalent. Although the underlying purpose of each example is uniform - to identify the use of substitution - it must be recognised that the turn formats are not. Substitutions in these lessons seem to be achieved in a variety of ways. These occur when a teacher is prompted to provide a replacement as a result of a correctly read Americanism as in (Ex. 1), line (3) and (Ex. 2), line (3) or when, as shown by (Ex. 4) in line (6), a pupil-initiated query prompts clarification and finally in (Ex 3), when a substitution is initiated by a pupil response which uses the British equivalent in place of the U.S term.

However, the focus of this analysis has been to highlight one way in which the teacher is able to counteract a potential loss of meaning and a preservation of the reading so-far, by using the method of substitution.

- A disregard of the word

Along with a greater need for the clarification of these words, the teacher is also observed, at an opposite extreme, to disregard the word altogether, as shown in the following extract:

(Ex. 5)

01 T: I'm sure you do, Lee, I'm sure you do RIGHT now then, ahh let me see Daniel read the first bit of the first sentence please,

02 D: B (.) ad

03 T: No BUD it's an American name. We don't have names like that in this country but it is a typical American name Shh::

(Year 7, January 26th, p.14)

This extract shows the initial selection of the pupil, Daniel, to read a directed part of the text. He begins, however, incorrectly uttering the word "bad" instead of the preferred typical American name "Bud." The pupil's error of pronunciation and of meaning are immediately excused by the teacher's responding remarks. She initially emphasises the correct word, providing the specified pronunciation, signifying that the pupil is not, in this instance, required to self-correct as a preferable closure to the sequence.

Furthermore, the teacher explains its meaning as constituting an "American name." She highlights the word's relevance within America, yet totally disregards its use within this country, thus vindicating Daniel's error, yet rendering it unworthy of negative evaluation and of gaining a position within the pupil's stocks of vocabulary deemed necessary for the public sphere. Consequently, for the context of the story, the name "Bud" is relevant if any meaning concerning the characters is to be grasped and is equally essential for the final phase of the lesson, the workbook phase and the comprehension phase if questions

are to be understood and answered correctly. However, for the progressive instruction of the basic skills of reading and writing to be accomplished, despite the actual American origin of the basal reading series, such alien words must be deemed non-essential by the teacher, inappropriate additions to the pupils' knowledge of the English language. The following extract provides a similar occurrence:

(Ex. 6)

01 T: OK Sir Robert Frederick, OK SION start off the story

02 S: The president and the con man were at the docks, the president had one hundred and ten dollars he had (2.0) gotten one hundred and fifty dollars from the hotel by telling the clerk in the hotel that there were bugs in the bridal room

03 T: Yes OK it says there He had GOTTEN one hundred dollars.' We don't use that word It used to be used in this country a few hundred years ago and you know people from this country went over to America and have sort of taken the word and kept it, but we don't usually use it but it's here in the book because do you remember I told you it's American, isn't it? Right, er Nicholas, carry on please,

(Year 8, June 8th, p. 7)

Following S's correct attempt at reading an extract from the story, the teacher highlights the word "gotten," an Americanism that had emerged within the text but in fact presented little difficulty in pronunciation to S, merely causing a slight lapse, preceding its utterance. The pause alone may signify the word's apparent unfamiliar status within the classroom, although in usual circumstances, with the occurrence of a foreign yet frequently employed expression, a pause foregoing its pronunciation would promote only positive feedback and encouraging remarks from the teacher. However, a signal of hesitation and confusion in advance of an unfamiliar word deemed irrelevant, incites an opposing response. The teacher, despite her obvious approval of the pupil's ability to read an alien word, is eager to indicate the word's redundancy, its lack of usage and its

foreign origin. Furthermore, her remarks "But it's here in the book" and "It's American isn't it?" function to disregard and render superfluous the role of any word considered to be of American foundation within the lesson. In addition, it excuses any error or uncertainty caused as a result of such Americanisms being present within the text.

To summarise, in her treatment of unfamiliar American utterances, the teacher makes use of two primary methods: substituting it with a readily understandable utterance and totally disregarding it. Emphasising its unimportance as a word-to-be-learnt and striking it from the pupils' personal stocks of vocabulary are deemed necessary to undertake competently the task of reading. Such methods enable the teacher to make familiar and understandable the occurrence of Americanised story words in the midst of recognisable, relevant language.

Having identified these key methods, it will now be of significance to investigate the ways in which they are used by the teacher, how their use differs when confronted with a pupil's correct rendition of an Americanism, as opposed to an incorrectly attempted utterance. The analysis that follows will present examples of data containing both instances of correctly and incorrectly attempted *alien* words, enabling the contrasted teacher methods to be adequately displayed and analysed. In addition, it may then be possible to uncover some concrete organisational features of the teacher's treatment of such Americanisms.

Correctly and incorrectly accomplished Americanisms

Having analysed the methods typically used by the teacher in the remedial reading lessons to minimise the impact of the occurrence of American vocabulary within the text, her reactions to more specific incidents of correctly and incorrectly read Americanisms will now be investigated.

- Correctly read Americanisms

The analysis, having uncovered and discussed the teacher's treatment of pupil misunderstandings relating to the existence of such strange utterances, will now seek to reveal the methods utilised by the teacher to emphasise those unfamiliarities, following a pupil's correct rendition of the word. Often an accomplished reader within the stream of remedial reading lessons may possess a fragment of those skills inherent to an average successful reader. One such skill that is taken for granted by most competent readers is that of being able to pronounce a word effectively purely by recognising certain sounds and letter combinations, but not actually possessing the knowledge of the meaning or familiarity of the word in question. This creates certain implications for the teacher. Although the pupil has competently produced an alien word, having effectively put into play the many methods taught daily by the teacher, the meaning has been lost for both the selected pupil and the remainder of the class who follow silently. The teacher must then, to counteract the consequences created by the Americanised slang, utilise some method to enforce the meaning of the utterance, a sense-making exercise enabling the pupils to maintain their understanding of the story so far. This is most commonly achieved by the

teacher appealing to the pupils' previous stocks of knowledge concerning the treatment of the occurrence of such unclear vocabulary.

(Ex. 7)

01 PS: ROOM, SCORE, COATS, NEEDLE, CHAMP, FORM, CUTTER, WHICH, TRICKING, REALLY, HOLLER, HEP

02 T: Holler holler what does HOLLER mean?

03 PS: Hollow?

04 L: Holl?

05 T: No not hollo::w holle::r it's got ER at the end holler

06 L: It makes a hole?

07 T: Does anybody watch er American films now and again?

08 PS: Yeah

09 T: Yeah there's a lot of American err things on the television, holler? (2.3) no?

10 L: It's an American slang word for making a hole?

11 T: No ((laughs)) It's well is a slang word for to SHOUT so

12 (Rosalind knocks and enters)

13 T: Right Rosalind how's your foot feeling now

14 R: Still hurts

15 T: We're on lesson thirty two Rosalind

16 (Pupil knock on door)

17 T: COME IN

18 P: Can Mrs Davies have the reading books

19 T: Yes I'll do it at the end of the lessson (3.3) right thirty two Rosalind, OK?

20 J: Miss, what is holler?

21 T: ER holler, to shout, to holler at somebody, to shout at somebody

22 J: Ahh

23 T: Ok I'm sure you've heard it before, you try and listen, the next er you know American film or something you see OK don't holler at me, to holler OK and this HEP, Hep it's later on in the story when Chee says "Ho he hep hep" you know it's not a sort of proper word, OK right so holler is to shout OK read those through again UM be careful of that second word, DANIEL can you read me that second word in box one?

(Year 7, June 5th, p.3)

In this example, the pupils are engaging in the joint production of the word list, a phase conducted during the introductory part of the lesson. The pupils competently read the entire list without error or hesitation, including the Americanised slang word "Holler." The teacher, under normal conditions, would probably have been satisfied with the pupils' knowledge of a word, merely by the evidence of the collaboratively produced pronunciation of the word. However, in line (2) the teacher displays her discontent with the pupils' understanding and repeats the Americanism with heightened intonation, requesting the pupils to provide her with information concerning the words meaning within the up and coming text.

To begin with, some pupils reply uniformly with the word "Hollow," with a completely incorrect word and meaning, reinforcing the teacher's belief that although the pronunciation was attempted correctly, the pupils' capability extended no further, displaying their complete lack of comprehension of the word's actual definition in British terms. An additional pupil Lee self-selects, endeavouring a lone attempt at the word, and merely produces the sound "Holl." The teacher emphasises the spelling of the word, verbalising specifically the ER letter combination, which embodies its ending. Lee again elects to self-select and similarly offers an irrelevant response in line (6) which is

subsequently ignored completely by the teacher, regarding the utterances as merely displaying increasing evidence of the pupils' lack of understanding concerning the alien expression.

The teacher then uses the method of appealing to the pupils' previous knowledge of the treatment of unfamiliar utterances by introducing the term *American* in line (7), immediately cementing the strangeness of the word within the minds of the pupils. Having failed to be evaluated negatively for his efforts, Lee then modifies his initial offering to conform to the teacher's preceding utterances in line (10). The teacher, despite its inaccurate translation, does recognise the validity of the slang word and replaces the meaning with the correct substitution "to shout," positively assessing his attempt. Finally, in line (23) to close the sequence, the teacher insists that it is a word previously known to the pupils and had been perhaps subconsciously absorbed in the process of watching an American film. The following extract similarly displays an Americanism causing the temporary termination of the pupil's turn.

(Ex. 8)

01 S: Whispered, there is dust under this bed, and dust makes me sneeze the con man whispered don't sneeze, shut (1.9) up (1.8) private, whispered the Prime Minister

02 T: No it's not PRIME MINISTER, is it?

03 (2.8)

04 T: What are they in America?

05 S: President?

06 T: Right

07 S: The door opened. The con man peeked out and saw two legs wobbling...

(Year 7, February 11th, p.6)

The pupil Sarah, in the midst of a correctly progressing reading turn, uses the substitution "Prime Minister" in place of an American term which although preventing the story from losing its meaning, does prompt the teacher to insist upon the pupil's self-correction of the error. Despite the fact that Sarah's rendition of the word did in fact constitute a British equivalent, increasing its understanding for the class as a whole, the teacher remains adamant that in terms of word recognisability, the utterance President should not be confused with Prime Minister. Although it is interesting to note that, in this instance, unlike the previous example, the pupil is sufficiently aware of the meaning of the "strange" utterance to have been able to use a recognisable substitution in its place, but is unable to attempt its pronunciation.

In order to clarify the pupil's error and commence a correction, the teacher makes use of a twofold approach. Initially, in line (2), to draw the pupil's attention to the error, she negatively regards the word's presence within the text and then uses a questioning format to consider its validity, thus requiring the pupil to respond. The pupil, however, fails to do so, which is indicated by the pause in line (3). The teacher then applies a further method: the introduction of the category "America" of which a common trait is the use of American slang, perceived to be unfamiliar to the pupils present within the classroom. Immediately, the addition of the word America to the correctional sequence enables the pupils to regard her error as being beyond her control and not an indication of their poor reading competency levels. Following the teacher's implementation of the category collection "America" to the interaction, Sarah is able to delve into her personal stocks of knowledge relating to the treatment of American slang within the SRA context and is,

consequently, able to produce the required Americanised substitution. This is positively evaluated in line (6) and the pupil continues the reading with the addition of the alien term, "President," which is now understood, both in recognisability and meaning.

(Ex. 9)

01 T: OK ER:: (1.0) WHERE WERE THE CON MAN AND THE PRESIDENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY DAVID?

02 (5.9)

03 T: Where were they exactly?

04 M: Cab

05 D: In a cab

06 T: IN A CAB YES, IN A CAB. WHAT DO WE SAY? WE DON'T SAY CAB, what do we say usually?

07 K: TAXI

08 T: TAXI yes,\\ we usually say taxi, TAXI CAB is the full name isn't it? But in this country we tend to say Taxi and in America they tend to say cab .hh ERR WHAT DID THE CON MAN THINK OF THE PRESIDENT, NICHOLAS?

(Year 8, June 5th, p.8-9)

In this instance, a selected pupil, David, is being asked a question in which the answer consists solely of the Americanised word "Cab." Following the ignored pupil interruption of Martin, David produces the answer "In a cab". The teacher displays an uncertainty of the pupil's actual understanding of the word in her talk. She does positively assess the word in line (6), yet she disregards its meaning and responds to the answer with "what do we say usually?" implying that there is a "we" and "they" scenario. In the following turn opportunity space, the pupil Katherine provides the correct replacement utterance "Taxi," which is praised by the teacher who provides an

explanation of its origin, emphasising its redundant nature within this country and its subsequent unimportance as a word within the pupil's vocabulary. There is a constant need, however, to recognise their meanings in order to understand fully the context of the story for assessment purposes. Consequently, the teacher's implementation of the category America, similar to previous examples, functions to render the word "Cab" as merely constituting a defunct word that should be struck from the pupils' personal stocks of reading vocabulary.

(Ex. 10)

01 PS: TACKS, SHELF, TAX

02 T: TACKS, TAX, what's the difference?

03 B: THE X AND THE..

04 T: Yeah I know that, but what's the difference in meaning? (0.9) Nicola?

05 N: The one with the X is a car

06 T: No not TA<u>XI</u> (1.5) Go on then Lee

07 L: CKS is the same as X

08 T: No, what do they mean? <u>Danny</u>?

09 D: Tax on a car [and (3.8)

10 T: [Yeah

11 S: I tacks somebody.

12 L: No, it's a nail.

13 T: Yeah, tacks are the same as nails but a bit shorter usually put tacks round lino or carpet but we don't use that anymore, we use sticking stuff instead. OK? TACKS and TAX right next one,

(Year 7, February 9th, p. 2)

This extract begins with the pupils mid way in a uniform recitation exercise in which the three words "TACKS, SHELF, TAX" have just been completed satisfactorily. The correct collective utterance of the alien term "Tacks" prompts the teacher to query the pupils' understanding of the word's meaning. In line (2) the teacher begins the familiarisation sequence of the Americanism by requesting information relating to the distinction between two such similarly pronounced utterances *tacks* and *tax*. The self-selected pupil, Ben, offers an answer which appears to be derived from his own commonsense understanding of the teacher's question. He attempts to provide the actual difference in letter combinations, rather than the unspecified difference in meaning of the two utterances. It may be that Ben's response relates to his expectation of teacher requests, being used to letter and pronunciation based queries as being the key difference between words that sound exactly the same but differ in their letter component parts.

In line (4), the teacher redefines her question, asking specifically for the definitions and selects the pupil, Nicola, to complete the task. Nicola makes an incorrect attempt using the different letters as an indication to each word. The teacher negatively evaluates Nicola's response, guessing that the pupil had wrongly associated the familiarity of the letters TAX to produce the word TAXI. Lee is then selected in line (6) who produces a response again, referring to the letter differences, which fails to satisfy the initial question relating to the meaning. In the following utterances the teacher again re-emphasises the question asking "what do they mean," selecting a further pupil David who eventually produces a correct attempt at the differentiating meaning. The pupil accurately accomplishes the meaning of the second of the words "tax" which is instantly praised by

the teacher, indicating the teacher's preference towards the understanding of this British used word in comparison to the following word "tacks". The pupil then attempts an incorrect explanation of "tacks" to which an unselected pupil, Lee, offers a correct meaning in line (12). The teacher finally provides an explanation of the word, yet disregards its usage, proclaiming that "we don't use that anymore" indicating to the pupils its unimportance, not only within the classroom, but also as an error.

This sequence implies a number of things about the Americanisms present within the text. Initially, in line (5), Nicola presumes that an unfamiliar utterance must indeed belong to the collection of Americanised slang, rather than be merely a non-explained English word. Furthermore, the teacher's conjecture that the pupil's utterances "in a car" do in fact refer to "taxi" reinforces the connection of unfamiliarity with the Americanised, often discarded, slang. The pupil may have in fact been referring to car tax, realising that there was some connection between tax and car but not possessing the complete knowledge to make a positive identification. In addition, the teacher's primary objective of defining both words, emphasising their different meanings and then her apparent dismissal of the word "tacks", illustrates that the entire exercise had centred around her preference for the recognisability of the familiar, *tax*, as opposed to the unfamiliar Americanised term, *tacks*. The Americanism was deemed as a non-requirement of this type of remedial reading lesson and an irrelevant component of the pupils' reading knowledge.

The following example presents the last documented proof of such teacher initiated methods:

(Ex. 11)

01 PS: HORN WAS GLAD PANTS DESK DO SAID JELLY GRIPS

02 T: WHAT?

03 PS: GRINS

04 T: Again

05 PS: GRINS NEXT HELP CUTS TOPS FENDING

06 T: NO

07 PS: SENDING

10 T: AGAIN

11 PS: SENDING GRAB LETTER MUCH CHIPS

((Teacher then points to alternate words))

12 PS: GRAB SENDING CUTS DESK MUCH CHIPS GRAB SENDING CUTS NEXT SENDING TOPS LETTER GRINS CHIPS DO DO DESK HELP WAS HORN

13 T: Right, Anwen, what are pants?

14 A: A kind of trousers that you wear

15 T: Trousers yes why have we got the word pants?

16 B: BECAUSE [THEY'RE MADE IN AMERICA

17 R: [TO DO WITH AMERICA

18 T: YES, right You remembered Americans call them pants RIGHT LEE FIRST LINE FOR ME PLEASE,

(Year7, January 26th, p.7)

The initial line of speech displays the pupils, jointly producing a list of words from the Word Attack segment of the lesson, which are in this instance written on the blackboard

rather than in the pupils' work books. The teacher, at this point, gives no indication that she is dissatisfied with the perfectly pronounced occurrence of the word "pants", a clear Americanism, certainly unknown to most of the class. Lines (2-10) consist of correctional sequences relating to the just-read words:

02 T: WHAT?

03 PS: GRINS

04 T: Again

05 PS: GRINS NEXT HELP CUTS TOPS FENDING

06 T: NO

07 PS: SENDING

10 T: AGAIN

The teacher wishes to deal with the immediate reading difficulties, prioritising them above the emergence and treatment of Americanised slang. However, following the teacher's satisfaction that the words have been correctly uttered and understood by the collective group, the issue of foreign words is addressed. It is only then, in line (13) with the teacher's satisfaction at the pupils' complete knowledge of the words, having made them repeat trouble sources frequently, that they cease to cause difficulty. Only at that point of completion and closure does the teacher then appeal to the pupils for an explanation of the word "pants".

The pupil, A, is specifically selected to provide a British, familiar translation of the word, which she competently accomplishes without hesitation in line (14). The teacher poses a further question open to pupil self-selection, regarding the origin of the term, and asks

why such a seemingly unfamiliar utterance should be included within their lesson material. Two pupils jointly respond to the teacher's request and shout their utterances in a kind of singsong, parrot-like fashion: "They're made in America" and "to do with America," highlighting the rehearsed nature of the question-answer sequence and its apparent frequency within the classroom. The teacher responds positively to the response, commending their skills of recollection and closes the sequence with the remark "Americans call them pants", indicating the redundant nature of the word. Such an oversight functions to implant the term firmly within the collection of American words, which are to be recognised and understood yet, disregarded and omitted, from any assessment criteria.

The above findings display the methods used by the teacher when confronted with a pupil's correct attempt at a presumed, unknown Americanism. The teacher must always presume that any American utterance used within the lesson material is potentially unknown to all the pupils present within the classroom. Consequently, any Americanism which is accomplished correctly and fluently must still be regarded as being unfamiliar to the pupil. The teacher must then halt the pupil's turn mid flow, despite its accuracy, and use certain methods to highlight the nature of the foreign utterance. The teacher appears to use a stepwise format in her treatment of the words. In instances where the word is read correctly from a wordlist or story text, the teacher initially halts the reading flow with a question relating to the meaning of the just accomplished Americanism. When she receives a correct meaning from the pupils, or has to provide her own, she then appeals to the pupils' knowledge of such words and asks why they occur within the text. The

category *America* is then introduced, enabling the word to be understood as constituting a term that must be understood to preserve the story flow, yet not to be retained as a beneficial new part of the pupils' word-stock.

In dealing with accurately uttered American vocabulary, the teacher must clearly define the word in question for the class as a whole and place it within the category *America*, highlighting its redundant nature and withdrawing it from the pupils' personal stocks of word knowledge.

- Incorrectly read Americanisms

The previous examples taken from the remedial reading lesson transcriptions clearly display the types of methods used by the teacher upon the pupil's correct reading of an apparently unfamiliar alien utterance. The study will now focus upon the methods used when a similar utterance is incorrectly attempted. Does the teacher use the same format as is apparent following a correct outcome or does she employ different methods in her response? Extract (12) is the first of three that will endeavour to uncover how such instances are socially organised.

(Ex. 12)

01 D: The president said, "before we leave (2.0) on our trip, we must get some (.) fin……

02 T: Some? Look at that one, some?

03 (3.1)

04 D: Some fine…..

05 T: Mmm Hmm ((said hurriedly))

06 D: Fine duds

07 T: Yes Nicholas, finish it off

(Year 8, June 5th, p.12)

In this example, the student David is experiencing some difficulty with the word "duds" within his reading turn, which the teacher interrupts, not waiting for any attempts of self-correction to be made by the pupil. The teacher foresees that the Americanised term may cause some difficulty for the pupil and disrupt the previously competent reading flow. She then interrupts the turn before an attempt is undertaken, emphasising that the pupil must treat the word with extra care and scrutiny. Following a lengthy pause in line (3), the pupil attempts the sentence of which the initial two utterances "some fine" are produced correctly. The teacher then provides the positive acknowledgement token "Mmm Hmm" with which the pupil follows with the sought after word "duds."

This extract consequently suggests that the teacher possesses some preconceived knowledge concerning such unfamiliar utterances, whereby she can intercept their occurrence within the activities, both offering guidance and emphasising the pupils' increased necessity to proceed with caution and consider the words in their entirety, before attempting their pronunciation. In addition, in contrast to the extracts that display a pupil's correct, first attempt at an Americanism, the teacher gives no explanation of the utterance, concerned merely with the preservation of the turn flow. The teacher insists that the word be completed successfully but gives no indication as to its meaning, selecting the pupil Nicholas in line (7), closing David's turn and the foreign word treatment sequence.

(Ex. 13)

01 T: Right Martin?

02 M: Moment, office [er

03 T: [

03 T: [Eh yeah, right go on,

04 M: blinked dug

05 T: What

06 M: Bug dug duds

07 T: DUDS

08 M: Duds

09 T: And it was OFFICER not OFFICE, OFFICER it's got the ER at the end. OK Nicholas another line

(Year 8, June 5th, p.6)

In this example the words *duds* and *officer* are the only two that cause the pupil Martin confusion during the exercise, and both happen to fall within the collection of Americanisms. In line (2) Martin experiences slight difficulty with the word *officer*, expecting it to consist maybe of the recognisable everyday word "office" and consequently, temporarily forgets the addition of the letters ER, clearly highlighting his lack of understanding of the word. In line (3), complying with the teacher's preference for continuation, indicated by the utterances "go on," the pupil attempts the next words in the list, but similarly is initially bewildered by the Americanism *duds* which he refers to as *dug*. The teacher immediately responds with a questioning expression, inviting the pupil to reproduce the corrected version which is eventually achieved following two incorrect attempts.

The teacher repeats the word in line (7) with heightened intonation, emphasising its correct pronunciation. The sequence is completed by the teacher's brief reference to Martin's initial error concerning the word *officer*, outlining the addition of the ER, yet providing no explanation of the variance in meaning caused by such a modification. Such a correctional sequence during the initial stages of the lesson highlights the definite confusion caused by the appearance of such unexplained utterances. It is no wonder that confusion becomes a by-product of their existence within the text. Furthermore, the teacher, despite her emphasis upon getting the word read, offers, as with the previous extract, no explanation of the alien utterances, selecting a further pupil to commence a turn at reading. Her reaction to the pupil's turn displays no signs of positive or negative evaluation, merely utterances which function to end the sequence without any lengthy delay. An additional example with similar implications follows:

(Ex. 14)

01 T: Go on, Martin

02 M: Then the President turned to the con man and said (.) "private, do you plan to sit and that cab

03 T: In that cab…..

04 M: In that cab all day?" There is not…..

05 T: Not not, there is…?

(Year 8, June 5th, p. 12)

In this extract, the pupil Martin is selected to commence reading the story. Although he competently pronounces the Americanism *cab* without hesitation, his prior utterances do indicate his lack of comprehension of the word's meaning. The teacher intervenes in line (3) and offers the correct utterance, locating it within the complete expression but without

any further explanation of the word. Martin repeats the corrected extract and follows on error free with the next words in the story, closing the unfamiliarity sequence. Consequently, the pattern of the teacher response appears to consist of a methodical pattern: initiation, followed by a correction which is coupled with little or no explanation, with emphasis being placed upon the continuation and completion of the exercise at hand.

These findings certainly indicate a contrast in the teacher's treatment of correct as opposed to incorrectly uttered Americanisms.

In the instance of an incorrectly attempted foreign word, or lapse preceding the utterance indicating confusion, the teacher's primary objective appears to be extracting solely the word itself from the pupil. At no juncture does the teacher request a definition of the utterance and the category *America* also fails to be introduced.

The teacher only appears to do one thing with Americanisms in any one instance. She either explains them in full, in the case of those which are accomplished accurately, or she corrects those which fail to be produced satisfactorily. It is clear that a pupil's correct attempt should merit explanation, in order to preserve the story flow and the remainder of the class's understanding of the story so far. However, a non-clarification of an incorrectly pronounced Americanism seems inexplicable. Surely a pupil who is displaying clear signs of confusion and misunderstanding with an Americanism should be provided with some kind of definition of the utterance. One reason for the teacher's lack of explanatory technique could be attributed to her desire to "get the task done."

The methods involved in both correcting and explaining the Americanism may utilise a great deal of lesson time and could distract the pupil from the task flow. The task requirement is to merely read the words aloud correctly, not to explain their meaning. Consequently, the teacher is very brief with her treatment of the word, purely ensuring that the pupil possesses the skills to pronounce the Americanism effectively and nothing further.

- Pupil-initiated queries

The previous section in this study analysed the methods used by the teacher to deal with incorrectly and correctly accomplished Americanisms. This final brief discussion follows on from that topic and concentrates on those occurrences in the lesson where the teacher has failed to explain a term adequately. As was noted, in the case of incorrectly read Americanisms, the teacher did not seem to display a preference for word explanation as was clearly the case when she was confronted with correctly read Americanisms.

The following analysis will concentrate upon those instances where a term has failed to be explained to its fullest by the teacher and the pupils, still feeling confused with the meaning, use certain methods to extract further information concerning the new word. The first example is as follows:

(Ex. 15)

01 B: The rancher sat on a shearing meet

02 T: Read it once more (.) I don't think everybody was listening

03 B: The rancher sets up a shearing meet

04 T: Yes, <u>sets</u>, sets up yeah? S E T S right JAMES start us off with the story

05 J: Miss? why do they always say meet?

06 T: Ummm yeah it's these books. These books originated you know from America and I think you know when they have a shearing meet [we'd say a meeting wouldn't we?

07 B: [Oh yeah a shearing meet

08 T: Sshhh all right Ben. We know you can do an American accent OK James off you go with the story

(Year 7, May 18th, p.8-9)

The pupil Ben in the above extract has competently completed a designated amount of text which is rewarded by a positive assessment and subsequently closed by the teacher's selection of the next reader James. James, however, instead of resuming the turn, uses the selection opportunity to pose a question relating to the just-read-text. His inquiry in line (5), "Why do they always say meet?" implies that the source of America is known to the pupil, yet the meaning is not. Furthermore, his reference to the pronoun "they" suggests that there is some kind of collection or device present which is continually responsible for churning out such unrecognisable contextual utterances. The teacher responds by both explaining the program's American origin and by providing a British equivalent of the word "for us." There seems to be a definite divide then, between what "they" do and what is relevant to "us." Ben self selects and provides his Americanised version in line (7), prompting the closure of this particular familiarisation sequence. Continuing with the theme of pupil-initiated queries relating to alien slang words, as opposed to the usual teacher unprompted definitions, the following extract will similarly provide further evidence of the pupil's need to make clear the unfamiliarity and meanings of the utterances.

(Ex. 16)

01 T: Yeah OK YOU'VE ALL READ A CHUNK NOW, so (.) follow carefully and you can read one or two sentences each, (2.3) you start us off Martin

02 ((Chatter))

03 T: Go on, Martin

04 M: Then the President turned to the con man and said (.) private, do you plan to sit and that cab

05 T: In that cab……

06 M: In that cab all day? There is not…..

07 T: Not not, there is….?

08 M: No

09 T: Mmm Hmm,

10 M: Point in……

11 T: No there's no (0.8) look at it ca::refully,

12 M: Spot in [my …..

13 T: [Mmm Hmm,

14 M: In my // army? (3.5) Why is there an army in it?

15 T: Just finish off the sentence, there's no spot in my army…?

16 M: For those who sit around

17 T: OK stop there so he's pretending to President isn't he? So he's calling the con man a private as if he's one of his soldiers Yeah? So you know he's saying there's no spot in my army, as though he's got an army now he sounds as if he's a pork pie short of a picnic.

(Year 8, June 5th, p.12)

The interaction which takes place between Martin and the teacher clearly illustrates the confusion caused by the Americanised slang words "Cab," "Private" and "Con man" during his reading turn. In line (1) Martin is selected to commence a reading turn.

However, in line (4), Martin, having without error pronounced all three of the trouble sources without error, displays that he plainly has little grasp of their meanings, especially as a result of his utterances "sit and that cab" which have no meaning within the context of the story. The teacher immediately responds to the error by adding and emphasising the replacement word in line (5).

The succeeding interaction (lines 6 to 14) indicates the confusion in definition caused by the occurrence of the words "Private" and "Con man." Although Martin does appear to make frequent minor errors during the course of pronouncing the words deemed relevant and essential to the British classroom, in line (12) his error is not based upon a lack of reading or word attack skills, but upon his misunderstanding of the sentence's innate meaning, reinforced by the ongoing presence of such unfamiliar Americanisms. Line (14) provides adequate evidence of this. The pupil's complete astonishment that the category "army" can be connected to the story in any way whatsoever. Such a self-initiated query relating to this occurrence is swiftly condemned by the teacher whose primary objective at this juncture is the successful completion of Martin's reading turn.

She insists that the sentence is accomplished and prompts the initial section, requesting that Martin attempt the closing utterances. Only at this point does the teacher then relinquish information relating to the text, injecting its meaning back into the story, enabling the definition to be cemented and the story to be resumed.

Summary

This chapter has endeavoured to highlight the occurrence of Americanisms and display the methods used by both the teacher and pupils to make sense of them. The teacher appears to do certain *things* with Americanisms. She explains, substitutes and/or disregards them in her attempt to minimise their impact upon the pupils' reading flow. The study examines in detail both correctly and incorrectly uttered Americanisms and their consequent differing treatment by the teacher.

Correctly read *alien* utterances introduce the problem of meaning. A teacher must ensure that, despite its correct pronunciation, the pupil also understands the meaning. Both the teacher's request for explanation and the introduction of the category *America*, reinforce the word's *strange* status.

In contrast, the teacher's treatment of incorrectly read Americanism does not induce the same format. In these instances, the teacher is solely concerned with task accomplishment and not a lengthy explanation sequence, offering guidance and the resource of the category *America*. Furthermore, the study also uncovers the instances whereby pupils feel compelled to seek further assistance concerning a just-read Americanism.

5

Recipient Design: An Introduction

Identifying the remedial reader

The remedial reading lesson is similar to any lesson with small pupil numbers in that the teacher is able to develop an ability profile of each child before his or her initial entry into the classroom. The construction of such a profile has been achieved through a combination of past performance, including assessment results and other teachers' or school's recorded observations. In this sense then, the teacher possesses valid knowledge concerning the majority of the pupils' ability levels, even those who have just recently joined the class. Both the pupils' competencies and weaknesses are evident, enabling the correct course of instruction to be chosen to ensure the nurture of and emphasis on strengths whilst functioning to limit yet improve weaknesses. This is where the widely used concept of *recipient design* may effectively be applied. As introduced in the first chapter of this thesis, *recipient design* has generic status within CA literature and has in this study been applied to remedial reading lessons. Specifically, in this thesis the term is adopted to define the teacher's actions and utterances, which are shaped to treat a specific pupil's responses within a known ability range.

This type of remedial lesson can be differentiated from the average mainstream reading lesson by the fact that the pupils in attendance are, in short, in need of "remedy." The very fact that the pupils are in these lessons displays their category membership as *remedial readers* and hence positioned in the lower end of the reading spectrum. Both

their reading and writing skills are considered to be below the average reading level and are in need of additional support in order to allow the pupil re-entry into the mainstream schooling system. No matter how much the remedial lesson is "dressed up" as merely consisting of a normal lesson with just a little extra help, the pupil will almost certainly enter every lesson with the awareness that he or she is at the lower end of the educational scale.

The teachers in this context are well aware of this degradation and are equipped with numerous teaching methods both to intercept and counteract such diminished senses of self-esteem experienced by the majority of the pupils assigned to the lessons. Of these methods, the one which seems to offer the most significant implications for this analysis is the type of appraisal device utilised by the teacher, in order to preserve the pupil's sense of ability and confidence. Therefore, if it may be presumed that the initial and most outstandingly important task of the remedial teacher is to instill confidence in the pupil, then what methods does the teacher use to accomplish this, given that many of the responses will inevitably require some kind of negative evaluation? Teachers consequently follow the principle: "teach, using strengths, try to remedy weaknesses" (Lansdown, 1974). Or similarly by the belief "success breeds success," a phrase which was quoted continually by the teacher in these lessons. An underlying theme then, seems to be the constant desire to minimise confidence damaging evaluation.

In order to accomplish a more extensive understanding of the teacher's use of recipient design both as an evaluative move and an ongoing acknowledgement within the specific

context of the remedial reading lesson, the following two chapters will attempt to outline and discuss, with the continual reinforcement of relevant extracts from the data, the diverse number of areas in which the phenomena of recipient design may be observed to take place. Data extracts taken from a collection of classroom transcripts will be presented from the two extremes of the ability range; the pupil deemed least able (R) and the pupil labeled the above average reader (M). Typical examples of their performance within individual reading tasks will be supplied, which will then be translated into their simple turn component parts. This will additionally enable a turn construction apparatus to emerge, uncovering the underlying differences that appear to exist between the accomplished and the incompetent reader. Finally the chapter will focus upon some ways through which the teacher's methods for dealing with error treat one pupil as being more competent than another.

It is empirically unsound to claim that the teacher is drawing upon a pupil's previous achievement when assessing reading performance. Neal Norrick, in his analysis *On the organization of corrective exchanges in conversation (1991),* does seem to make a similar claim in his study on teacher-pupil interaction. Norrick emphasises the teacher's powerful stance and her ability to control the selection of specific pupils and the length of their turns. Norrick analyses a second language lesson, which does have some comparable features to a remedial reading lesson, being that the pupils are to some extent learning a new language. He believes that this type of lesson determines it's own systems of turn-taking and correction, and more significantly asserts that the teacher's use of

correction depends on 'the degree of mastery' she feels has been reached by the class. Norrick concludes by claiming:

> the investigation of classroom interaction provides solid evidence that the organization of corrective sequences depends on the relationship of the interactants, particularly their assessment of one another's relative abilities and their interactional goals.

His references to the teacher's perceived 'degree of mastery' attained by the pupils and their abilities does suggest that some additional resources are being drawn upon, other than the pupil's current performance. However, this does not provide enough evidence to enable an analysis to be addressed in this way. Instead, a teacher's designed response will be viewed as being a function of the error with which she has been immediately confronted with as opposed to being derived from any additional source, namely past performance.

Evidence relating to both the pupil's ability levels which are being used in this analysis will now be presented (Pupil R and M), in order to provide indications of their differing levels of competency during the specific exercise of reading out loud.

Pupil R

The ability of pupil R, the student with the most severe reading difficulties, will firstly be considered.

(Ex. 1)

01 T: Yes the tramp, they're making bets now over SHEARING OK? U::m Rosalind can you start off the next bit for us

02 R: When Emma got back to the ranch (.) she told the tramp, "You

03 T: Your,

04 R: Your (7.3) your

05 T: Se

06 R: Sets

07 T: SEVEN,

08 R: Seven (.) w::

09 T: You can do this one, what do two E's make?

10 R: E

11 T: E good

12 R: Wee

13 T: Yeah go on,

14 R: Weeks

15 T: Weeks yes good

16 R: Weeks are up (.)

17 T: Yes If

18 R: If you set,

19 T: No look at that carefully ST

20 R: St

21 T: Have you seen those two letters in other words? (AY)

22 R: Yeah,

23 T: Day, ray, pay and that's?

24 (9.6)

25 R: St, st, sta

26 T: Like day, ST?

27 R: Stay

28 T: Right?

29 R: You will have to (3.0) work."

30 T: Good that's fine, who hasn't read yet Daniel?

(Year 7, May 18th, p.10-11)

In line (1) R is selected by the teacher for her turn at reading. The teacher's request is understood and complied with by R who begins to read the allotted text. However, in line (3) the teacher interrupts the turn with the emphasised utterance "Your," which implies that R's last-read-word must have been incorrect and must be then substituted with the new word provided by the teacher's last turn. R takes up the new word but following just over a seven second pause, she repeats the word, indicating her inability to produce the next new word in the sentence. The teacher must again make use of certain methods to extract a correct response from R. She hints at the required utterance by providing R with its initial two letters "Se." R makes use of these letters and attempts to recite the word, she fails however to produce the correct word, despite the guidance given, and the teacher then provides the entire word with emphasis. This sequence has a definite pattern of attempt-guidance-attempt-guidance as lines (2) to (7) suggest, with an eventual positive evaluation and is repeated only with minor modifications throughout R's reading turn.

This, consequently, can be observed as consisting of an extensive example of R's current reading ability, providing the ethnographer with sufficient evidence to enable assumptions to be made regarding her reading competence. The teacher comments throughout this interaction may be termed as *recipient designed evaluations*, namely

appraising comments made by the teacher based on her previous knowledge of the pupils level of performance.

The following translation of the interaction into its simple turn components further indicates pupil R's difficulty with the reading exercise. The number of words refers to the amount of correct words completed by the pupil before teacher interruption or inaccuracy occurred:

(Ex. 2)

01 T: Initiation of R's turn

02 R: Attempt with error (11 words)

03 T: Provision of correct word

04 R: Repetition of correction, pause, repetition (1 word)

05 T: Provision of initial letters of correct word

06 R: Incorrect attempt (0 words)

07 T: Provision of correct word

08 R: Repetition of correction, attempt at next word (1 word)

09 T: Encouragement, question in the form of guidance

10 R: Correct answer (0 words)

11 T: Positive evaluation

12 R: Attempt at first few letter of new word (0 words)

13 T: Positive continuer and re-selection

14 R: Correct attempt (1 word)

15 T: Repetition of correct word and positive evaluation

16 R: Repetition of correct word and correct attempt at next words (3 words)

17 T: Positive evaluation and provision of next word

18 R: Repetition of correct word and incorrect attempt at next words (2 words)

19 T: Negative evaluation and instruction with provision of the first two letters of the word

20 R: Repetition of the letters (0 words)

21 T: Question relating to remaining letters

22 R: Answer (0 words)

23 T: Continuation of question, with prompt

24 Pause

25 R: Repetition of first letters (0 words)

26 T: Hint, and repetition of first two letters

27 R: Correct attempt (1 word)

28 T: Positive evaluation

29 R: Correct completion of sentence (5 words)

30 T: Positive evaluation and closure of R's turn.

Translating the transcript into these crude turn sequences reveals the actual performance level of that specific pupil. R, for example, is able to complete approximately two correct words per turn on average, before producing an incorrect utterance. In addition, R frequently required in-depth guidance, several turns and attempts at the utterance, before arriving at the requested outcome, or failing that, the mere provision of the exact correction by the teacher.

Pupil M

Similarly, evidence of performance during reading will now be shown in relation to the higher ability level student, M.

(Ex. 3)

01 T: These are your favourite words at the moment, "BUT," the con man started to say, you had the other word in the boxes earlier on eh? I'm not going to say what that other word is

02 M: "Private (.) if you ever want to become anything but a private, you must remember to take (2.4) orders

03 T: Hmmm,

04 M: Just go

05 T: Just? (3.0) What's the word after just?

06 M: Just do what I tell you to do."

07 T: Goo::d?

08 M: The president and the con man went up to a (.) shack

09 T: Hmmm,

10 M: Over the door (.) of the shack (.) were (.) the

11 T: THESE words

12 M: Japan (.) steamship lines

13 T: Good well done, do you want to finish that story, go on,

14 M: The private

15 T: No it's the other one

16 M: The president

17 T: Yeah,

18 M: Stormed into the shack and dashed up to the woman at the (.) desk and said, "Just wait

19 T: "Just?

20 M: what kid

21 T: Kind

22 M: Kind (.) of a line are you running? (3.0) They tell me that my bags (.) are not here (.) yet and your man picked them up yesterday."

23 T: Good well done you've read a WHOLE piece there, (2.6) he's good he's improving isn't he? You're doing very well arnt you? Are you still reading at home?

24 M: Yep

25 T: Well done, **(Year 8, June 8th, p. 9)**

Pupil M initiates the story competently and following the completion of the initial sentence, the teacher produces an acknowledgement token to display her approval of his reading-so-far. After the "Hmm" in line (3) M produces an incorrect utterance which is immediately alluded to by the teacher who then repeats the word preceding the error. She provides a clue in the form of a question "What's the word after just?" This merely indicates to the pupil the positioning of the word within the sentence and discloses nothing concerning the properties of the required word. In line (6) M repairs the reading effectively and continues past the initial point of correction, confident that his substitution needs little appraisal from the teacher. In addition, the error made by M was, in fact, very minor, merely a substitution of the letter "d" for the letter "g." Consequently, it took little rectification on both the part of the teacher and the pupil. Following the self-correction, the teacher produces a positive evaluation in line (7) and, similarly, in line (9) following the continuation of the error-free reading. As with the previous pupil R, this pupil's interactions will also be translated in order to provide further insight to his performance level.

(Ex. 4)

01 T: Initiation

02 M: Correct reading attempt (17 words)

03 T: Positive continuer

04 M: Minor incorrection (1 word)

05 T: Repetition of word before inaccuracy, and instruction

06 M: Correct substitution and correct further continuation of text (8 words)

07 T: Positive evaluation

08 M: Correct reading attempt (11 words)

09 T: Positive continuer

10 M: Minor incorrection (7 words)

11 T: Provision of correct word

12 M: Non repetition of corrected words, continuation of text (3 words)

13 T: Positive evaluation, extension of turn to finish the story

14 M: Mix up character name in text (1 word)

15 T: Negative comment, instruction to try again (not regarded as a reading mistake, merely a mix up)

16 M: Correct name provided (2 words)

17 T: Positive continuer

18 M: Correct sentence, except last word (16 words)

19 T: Repetition of word before incorrection occurred

20 M: Repetition of word before incorrect word and continuation till last utterance (2 words)

21 T: Provision of correct word

22 M: Correct reading of remainder of text (24 words)

23 T: Exaggerated appraisal of his general ability, querying M's excellent performance

24 M: Answer

25 T: Further positive evaluation and closure of turn

The above description of turn sequences within the transcript seems to suggest that there are certain differences in the interaction profiles of high and low ability readers.

Although pupil M, in this instance does still make reading errors, this is understandable, as he is still a remedial reader. He simply happens to be in the higher competence band of this particular lesson. M's capability is certainly easily identifiable, especially in comparison to R's performance, as he requires only the slightest direction from the teacher and is able to accomplish the correctional insertion sequences relating to his minor reading errors within three turns. In most instances this takes the form of a teacher initiation followed by a correct response from M, and then summarised by the teacher with an evaluative comment. Furthermore, his heightened confidence at his reading ability is apparent following a self-correction as, unlike the pupil R (line 13 of Ex. 1), he does not require a re-selection from the teacher and continues his reading turn, confident that his substitution was the sought after correction.

The teacher must correct and prompt R following most turns. Therefore, the turn sequence is quite different to the interaction of the teacher and pupil M. The succinct three part sequence is replaced by an extended prompting and correcting approach.

Following on from this theme, the final part of this chapter will present some instances which highlight the teacher's methods of evaluation which appear to treat one pupil as being more competent than another. Specific evaluatory comments, teacher anticipations and possible implications to Mehan's IRE format will be addressed.

Evaluatory comments

The teacher's extended appraisals at the end of a pupil's turn appear to have been "designed" for the pupil in question as the following examples illustrate:

23 T: Good well done you've read a WHOLE piece there, (2.6) he's good he's improving isn't he? You're doing very well arnt you? Are you still reading at home?

24 M: Yep

25 T: Well done,

(Taken from Ex.3, p.155)

This extract indicates that it is known by both the teacher and the other pupils present that M, before this particular reading, is a good reader who is improving at a steady rate. The evaluatory utterances in line (23) can be divided into three items. The first: "Well done you've read a WHOLE piece there" positively evaluates M's attempt, making reference to the significant amount of text he has managed to complete without extensive assistance. The question: "he's improving isn't he?" includes the cohort in the evaluation, yet does not seek an answer, implying that the remainder of the class is also aware of M's improvement. Finally, in the conclusive evaluatory utterances: "And are you still reading at home?" the teacher makes reference to M's "reading at home," indicating this is another "self-improvement" tactic attained by M, known of by the whole class. This statement does not relate to his just-read endeavour but to previous instances of reading efforts in which he may have displayed evidence of having "read at home." The activity of "reading at home" in this context can consequently be related to a pupil's level of reading as it refers to the preparation and extra work carried out by a

pupil to improve his or her reading skills independently of the teacher and of the school. Similar appraisal is given to the lower ability pupil, R in the following extract:

30 T: Now be careful with that one, it's OR again isn't it? FORM

31 R: slevver,

32 T: Now look at that again, the first two letters SL:: What are they making? Sleeves yes. Good Rosalind you're IMPROVING A LOT and you've missed a couple of lessons this week because you were absent on (.)Tuesday wasn't it? Yes so you know if you really concentrate and when other pupils are reading, you follow carefully because that's the way you learn new words as well, but you're really doing a lot better. UM RIGHT what did Rop do as he laughed about Chee stabbing himself, Lee?

(Year 7, June 5th, p.10-11)

The teacher, similarly, praises R, saying she's "improving a lot". However, her comments that follow are advisory almost like "tips" for improving her future performance. She recommends that R "really concentrate" and "follow carefully" before closing with a final evaluatory comment "but you're really doing a lot better." Although both examples do show the teacher positively evaluating both pupils, there is a significant difference in the type of comments used. In M's case, the teacher not only appeals to the class to further emphasise his success but also refers to an outside school self-improvement activity, namely reading at home. In R's instance, however, the initial and closing positive remarks are infiltrated with guidelines offering R advice on how her ability may be enhanced.

Teacher's anticipations

One method used by the teacher when confronted with a deteriorating reading performance is the use of anticipatory utterances in order to preserve the turn-flow.

An extract from each ability level (R and M) will be analysed in order to highlight the teacher's differing use of anticipation. The initial example focuses upon, R, the lower ability level pupil.

(Ex. 5)

01 T: Right, Rosalind?

02 R: The woman looked at Chee. Then woman said

03 T: The

04 R: The woman said, "Ho, ho, ho. I

05 T: Can?

06 R: I cannot help (4.0) going Ho, ho, ho,

07 T: Well done, good girl that's all right Rosalind, that's all we need. RIGHT WHERE DID CHEE GO FOR A JOB STEVEN HEALEY?

(Year 7, March 27th, p. 11)

R produces a few correct words before reading one inaccurately; "Then" instead of "The." In line (3) the teacher provides no guidance or invitation to speak; she merely states the correct word with emphasis. This becomes an initial indication of designed feedback, introducing the correction immediately succeeding the inaccuracy, rather than allowing the pupil the opportunity to self-correct. It may be assumed that in this instance, the teacher has resolved that the flow of oral reading may be preserved by the provision of answers, rather than time-consuming self-corrective sequences. In line (4) R repeats the corrected phrase and continues her turn at reading. In line (5), however, the teacher interrupts the pupil, following an error-free reading, absent of inaccuracy or pause, indicating forthcoming difficulties and offers the prompt "Can?" for the following word in the text "cannot."

This indicates rare evidence of the teacher's in-built assumptions of this particular pupil's word knowledge. She seems to have used her previous knowledge of R's reading out loud ability as a resource for calculating which words may or may not cause her difficulty and prevent the satisfactory closure of her reading turn. In this instance, the word "cannot" is anticipated by the teacher as constituting one such complicated utterance and "can" is consequently offered to the pupil, in order to intercept any mistakes and breakdown which may have occurred in the reading-so-far. In line (6) R does indeed complete the recitation of her allotted text competently, but it is difficult to say whether the teacher prompt was in fact desired by R or whether she did, already, possess the word in her vocabulary. This, maybe, constitutes an additional example of how the teacher's talk is directed in order to produce the best possible outcomes for that particular child. The reading turn of the higher ability pupil, M, will now be presented:

14 M: The private

15 T: No it's the other <u>one</u>

16 M: The president

17 T: Yeah

18 M: Stormed into the shack and dashed up to the woman at the (.) desk and said, "Just wait

19 T: "Just?

20 M: what kid

21 T: Kind

22 M: Kind (.) of a line are you running? (3.0) They tell me that my bags (.) are not here (.) yet and your man picked them up yesterday."

(Taken from Ex. 3, p155)

From this example taken from M's turn at reading there seems to be no such evidence of anticipatory interventions by the teacher. The teacher merely offers tips, prompts and corrects mis-read words. Therefore, it may be observed that the teacher anticipations produced in Extract (5) are confined to the turns of lower ability readers.

Recipient Design and the IRE format

This analysis has indicated how the teacher's responses to pupils are shaped by her perceived ability profile of the pupil in question. This also implies that there may be a modified I R E sequence at play which extends beyond that of Mehan's simplified three-part apparatus. The teacher, in this type of remedial lesson, seems to adopt a sense of viewing the lesson, not as a whole, but as being made up of different ability components with contrasting ability ranges. She, in turn, seems to adapt her implementation of the IRE sequence to correspond to this situation. This is not surprising when a leading feature of the majority of educational literature relating to the teacher role suggests that a teacher's opening voiced appreciation of, and an attendance to, individual's differing abilities communicates positive expectation concerning the development of the reading to the other pupils present.

The IRE format will now be applied to extracts of transcript from a lesser ability level pupil.

01 T: Yes the tramp, they're making bets now over SHEARING OK? U::m Rosalind can you start off the next bit for us

02 R: When Emma got back to the ranch (.) she told the tramp, "You

03 T: Your,

04 R: Your (7.3) your

05 T: Se

06 R: Sets

07 T: SEVEN,

08 R: Seven (.) w::

09 T: You can do this one, what do two E's make?

10 R: E

11 T: E good

(Taken from Ex.1, p149)

In line (1) the teacher initiates R to take a turn at reading. R responds to the teacher's instruction and begins to read the story but falls into some difficulty which is then corrected by the teacher in the next turn. The interaction follows the pattern of R's attempts followed by the teacher's provision or hints of the correct words until the allotted amount of reading has been completed and the teacher finally evaluates R's turn with the word "good."

Can the IRE sequence be applied to this extract of classroom interaction? There is evidence of an initiation in line (1) and the pupil makes responses throughout the interaction with a final evaluation given by the teacher in line (11). However, a key observation of this sequence is that an evaluation is recognisably withheld by the teacher in line (5) which complicates the application of the IRE format. This is due to the teachers orientation to one of the primary objectives of the lesson, namely to help the pupil to arrive at his or her own correct reading. Therefore in this instance, an evaluation

is replaced by a hint at the word in order to assist the pupil to the end of the reading turn. A clear evaluation is then provided in line (7), with a further prompt in line (9) and a final evaluation in line (11).

Although the sequence may not represent a clear three turn example of the IRE format, there is evidence to suggest that both the teacher and pupils are orientated to it's usage and any deviation from it may be attributed to the type of context, namely a remedial reading lesson, and the features and constraints which are part of it. In this example, in the turn of a less capable reader, the number of turns required to bring R's reading turn to a close does not deny the relevance of the IRE structure. The teacher's constant desire for correct reading will shape the interaction to a certain extent but the IRE structure will still be embedded within the sequence.

A reading turn of the higher ability pupil, L, will now be used as a comparison.

01 T: SShh starting off with Lee

02 L: The woman said, "stacking is easy you just pick up a slab of slate and set it on top of your pile" Chee picked up a slab and set in on the pile.

03 T: Right yes, that's (1.9) good Lee, that's fine thank you Sarah?

(Year 7, March 27th, p.13)

This extract represents a clear example of the IRE sequence, with the teacher initiating L to begin in line (1), his correct response in line (2) and the teacher's evaluation in line (3).

This example suggests that the IRE format, in its three part format, may only be evident in the turns of capable pupils where less teacher intervention is required.

The examples in this section imply that to some extent the IRE rules, which seem to apply to mainstream, 'normal' lessons are not completely applicable to this remedial context. The teacher has knowledge of each pupil's reading ability which is put into play during the lesson and consequently shapes the I R E sequences that occur. Such a finding suggests that there exists within this classroom a locally cultured form of the IRE sequence.

This chapter has introduced the notion of recipient design, displaying the clear difference in ability level evident within the classroom. In addition it has highlighted some of the methods used by the teacher which indicate her differing reactions to pupil's with contrasting levels of competency. The next chapter, *Recipient Design: An analysis* ,will attempt to uncover additional observations and highlight some specific themes relating to recipient design in a remedial reading lesson.

6

Recipient Design: An analysis

The introductory observations of *recipient design*, initially introduced in the previous chapter, will now be analysed further, in order to highlight specific themes which seem to arise within the remedial reading lesson. These are presented under the following headings:

- Collaboratively accomplished readings
- The normalisation of error
- Partial praise - can a negative evaluation contain positive language
- Teacher's helper
- Teachers as opportunists

In the initial section, *collaboratively accomplished readings*, the teacher's use of recipient design within this context takes place generally within the turn of the less than average reader, whereby the recipient-designed-evaluation assumes the form of the joint teacher-pupil production of the pupil's requested response. In this circumstance it can be observed that much of the teacher-pupil turn sequences, evident within a typical reading turn with an average or above average reader, have been discarded and replaced by modified turn structures enabling the task to 'get done'.

Progressing from exclusively lower ability reader examples of recipient design application, the analysis then extends further into the realm of *the normalisation of error*, in which certain teacher endorsed practices are unveiled in the treatment of individual error. Initially, the teacher's use of such collective utterances as 'everyone' and 'everybody' will be centred upon, indicating the teacher's need to invoke a community upon an individual mistake. This action enables the encouragement of a specific pupil to accept the error as constituting a normal, common mistake made by 'everyone' and not an incompetence, reflecting his or her lower ability status. In addition, the teacher's use of words such as 'we,' and other word usage, appear to make the pupil's lack of knowledge and understanding excusable, or merely an error that has been modified and therefore reconstructs one pupil's inaccuracy as constituting everyone's error.

From utterances and remarks which aim to extend one mistake into a collective mistake comes the investigation of those phrase-like utterances which are utilised by the teacher seemingly to provide a positive evaluation, succeeding an incorrect response. This is a confusing sequence whereby positive language is adopted in order to mask the negative feedback, enabling the intrusive and inoffensive correction of a pupil's error. Consequently, this segment *partial praise - can a negative evaluation contain positive language?* aims to highlight these utterances within the data, analysing their interactional components to uncover the range of their presence within classroom discourse, from formalised non-evaluative and evaluative corrections to positive methods of guidance and collaboratively built corrections.

The section entitled *teacher's helper* reveals how pupil interruptions of the present turn-flow are managed by the teacher. More specifically, it addresses, what could be recognisable as differing treatment by the teacher to those competent interruptions made by higher ability pupils in comparison with those, usually incorrect, made by the less capable within the classroom.

Finally, the method of recipient design is assessed in terms of the general classification, *teachers as opportunists*, namely, how it appears that the teacher is able to use a prevalent classroom interaction or correctional series to make a more universal statement regarding a pupil's success. Such utterances are observed to create evaluations that extend beyond the turn most recently completed by the pupil, commenting upon past accomplishments and the pupil's ability level in general.

Consequently, this chapter is devoted to highlighting the introductory observations of recipient design and the certain themes which appear to arise within the setting of a remedial reading lesson.

Collaboratively accomplished readings

A collaboratively accomplished reading may be recognised in these lessons as being a method used by the teacher that would be less evident during the reading turns of higher ability readers. It is commonsensical to assert that a teacher, in the case of a particularly poor reader would usually provide maximum guidance and support. The result can be a reading extract that has been visibly, jointly produced, with the teacher and the pupil having an equal say in the outcome of the reading, but primarily containing the extensive instruction and direction of the teacher.

The reasoning behind such an exaggerated form of assistance may be explained in terms of it again constituting a type of confidence nurturing approach. It seems to be evident that for a reader so lacking in ability, assessment would be meaningless and the main objective seems to have been replaced with the need to prevent disruption during the turn and the consequent safeguarding of the pupil's self-esteem. Although it is vital that emotion be removed from such an ethnomethodological analysis, we cannot deny the lack of confidence and sense of inadequacy associated with a below average pupil.

In the following extracts there is evidence of such collaborative reading between the teacher and a pupil with poor reading skills:

(Ex. 1)

01 T: OK Nicola fine, Rosalind CARRY on

02 R: Chee went sc

03 T: Chee was yeah, Chee was

04 R: Was sc..

05 T: What does that say the O and the R

06 R: OR

07 (2.2)

08 T: Remember you read that one as sco::re but you don't need the C this time so it's SO:::?

09 R: Sore where the needle (.) went (.) to he

10 T: Into, yeah?

11 R: He

12 T: HER

13 R: Her, but she was (3.2) glad

14 T: Goo::d

15 R: That Rop had ss

16 T: That's the word that everybody was getting mixed up with

17 R: Stamped

18 T: Sta B..?

19 R: Stabbed

20 T: Yes

21 (5.5)

22 T: Make the sounds, him…, look it's here look ((teacher points to box two of the new words phase))

23 R: self

24 T: Yeah good,

25 R: too. Rop (2.0) [s said

26 T: [what's that one, yes said

27 R: "Let's go to the room where(.) where

28 T: Yeah go on,

29 R: We (2.0) from

30 T: Now be careful with that one, it's OR again isn't it? FORM

31 R: slevver,

32 T: Now look at that again, the first two letters SL:: What are they making? Sleeves yes. Good Rosalind you're IMPROVING ALOT and you've missed a couple of lessons this week because you were absent on (.)Tuesday wasn't it? Yes so you know if you really concentrate and when other pupils are reading, you follow carefully because that's the way you learn new words as well, but you're really doing a lot better. UM RIGHT what did Rop do as he laughed about Chee stabbing himself, Lee?

(Year 7, June 5th, p.10-11)

The teacher selects the pupil R to commence her reading turn in line (1), which she understands and responds to in the desired fashion, initiating with the correct starting word of her designated extract of text. She, however, produces the first word

correctly but then proceeds from that point incorrectly. The teacher in line (3) reacts with a swift repair, repeating the initially correct word after which she utters the positive continuer "Yeah," by way of encouragement to R signifying that it's acceptable for her to continue making attempts at words, even if the exact word is unknown to her. The pupil in line (4), repeats the teacher's correction and endeavours a continuation of the text encountering, however, difficulty with the subsequent word. Similarly, the teacher immediately acts upon this breakdown, providing R with a clue to the word's pronunciation, which progresses, in line (8) following a brief pause, to a virtual relinquishment of the word in question.

The following four lines of dialogue highlight specifically the theme of collaboratively produced utterances. In line (9) R manages to generate the greatest succession of correctly read words so far in her turn. However, the last two utterances are incorrect and, instead of providing detailed clues or even allowing R a minimal amount of time in order to promote the chance of self-correction, the teacher merely provides the correct word "into" in an emphasised and exaggerated fashion. R then continues reading but does not repeat the corrected word, a definite feature of talk that has been jointly produced [1] that would almost certainly not be permissible in other contexts of reading activities.

R's next utterance, however, is also incorrect and as with the previous attempt, the teacher similarly in line (12) simply provides the sought after word, offering no other instruction or explanation. In this instance, in contrast to the previous occurrence, the pupil does, in fact, repeat the teacher-correction and continues competently with the

[1] See *Macbeth and Evaporation* in the Chapter on Spelling

story, which is interrupted, only briefly by the teacher in line (14) to offer a positive continuer but not indicating a closure of R's turn.

To recap briefly on the last 'bout' of turns initiating from line (8), it appears that the teacher's use of certain methods, that allow both a teacher-correction to be unrepeated and the provision of the word without previous guidance, are prompted and fuelled by the pupil's most competent reading effort so-far in line (9). The teacher, not wanting to break R's confident reading flow, provides maximum guidance through only minimal speech, which does indeed seem to produce the sought after outcome in line (13) with a further display, on R's part, of error-free reading.

Following on from the teacher's positive continuer in line (14), the pupil R continues to read the text and encounters difficulty with her last utterance "stabbed" which she displays by sounding out the initial letter "S" in an emphasised and prolonged manner. The teacher interrupts R's attempt, maybe presupposing that R would probably undergo difficulty when endeavouring to progress beyond the first letter of the word. She proceeds to make a general statement in line (16) concerning the utterance, in order to jog R's memory and for her to reach into her stock of knowledge concerning the words that "everybody gets mixed up with." R attempts the word again and manages to get the first three letters correct. The teacher responds by repeating R's three accurate placed letters and makes the addition of a further letter, illustrating a further incidence of the collaborative approach in place during this reading sequence.

The pupil, in line (19), completes the whole word successfully which the teacher rewards with the positive acknowledgement "Yes." A lengthy, over five second pause follows, indicating, not perhaps R's confusion with the oncoming set of utterances but maybe her expectation of having only small turns and her anticipation of the teacher's utterance constituting a closure or correction rather than a continuer. The teacher, however, seems to regard the delay as a display of R's misunderstanding of the following utterances and proceeds to produce a variety of guidance tactics whereby she instructs the pupil with reference to the word's correct pronunciation and she provides the initial part of the word as a prompt "him." Furthermore, the teacher draws upon the pupil's prior knowledge of an activity completed previously in the lesson, namely the new words phase, instructing her to look in box two for the word in question.

In line (23), the pupil R completes the second part of the word "himself," failing to repeat the word in full and in line (24) the teacher positively confirms R's attempt, condoning the pupil's only half response of the utterance. This action again may demonstrate both the teacher and pupil's collaborative attempts at producing the extract with as little disruption and inaccuracy as possible. R continues the story and following a short pause in line (25), makes a correct attempt at the subsequent word but is interrupted by the teacher's immediate compulsion to assist. This indicates that had R been granted an extended amount of time to attempt self-correction, that she may indeed have accomplished more readings independently of the teacher. This is further illustrated by R's next turn in which she does actually read six error-free words, without pause or hesitation.

Following a repetition of R's last read word, the teacher similarly intervenes but in this instance fails to offer any clues or guidance and instead presents positive encouragement in line (28). The teacher's decision to provide R with an opportunity to self-correct can be observed to stem from R's previous excerpt of error-free reading. The teacher, seemingly confident about R's just proven reading ability, provides her with sufficient evidence for the temporary relinquishment of her role as collaborator and replaces it instead with the promotion of an independently produced reading.

The teacher's decision is proven to be the ideal approach in line (29) as R completes the next word in the series successfully. R's achievement is short lived as she encounters difficulty with the next word and produces it incorrectly. The teacher, in response to this inaccuracy, states a rule indicating that this particular word is often confused with others containing similar letters. In addition, she sounds out the middle two letters of the word "OR," suggesting the substitution of R's letters with this new combination. The pupil, however, is not permitted the opportunity to self-correct, as the teacher, despite her utilisation of various methods of answer-extraction, merely provides R with the complete form of the desired word. Following this provision of the word, R, in line with the previous signs of collaboration, fails to reproduce the correction and makes an attempt at the next and final word in her extract of text.

Her effort in line (31) is, unfortunately, inaccurate and the teacher consequently instructs the pupil to take a closer look at the word. The teacher sounds out the first two letters of the word, by way of a prompt, asking R to repeat the sound that they produce. The teacher, however, answers her own question once again providing the

word for R, indicating her underlying preference during R's turn for the joint production of the reading. At this juncture R's turn is closed by a series of complimentary remarks concerning her reading performance and another pupil is selected to read. A further instance is provided by the following example:

(Ex. 2)

01 T: Sink that ship, so what's going to happen now I wonder (.) OK make sure you're following properly, Rosalind will you start the story off for us, please,

02 (3.5)

03 R: Katey made a boat

04 T: Yes Kit, it is Kit isn't it? Kit

05 R: Kit made a boat. She made (.) the boat on

06 T: of yeah

07 R: of tan

08 T: Look what does that say TI::?

09 R: Ten?

10 T: If it was ten it would have an E in it wouldn't it? TIN

(Year 7, June 8th, p.11)

In example (2), following a lengthy pause, R attempts a reading of the text. From the four words accomplished, however, the first is incorrect and is highlighted by the teacher in line (4), again coupling a positive comment with the question "isn't it?" Such utterances signify that the teacher in both extracts is attributing shared knowledge to the pupil, indicating that this is a word that is already known to the pupil. This type of positive evaluation which occurs as a direct result of an incomplete response, may be observed as forming a teacher correction that has been collaboratively built by both the teacher and the pupil.

Both parties can be detected to be working in alignment with the construction of the required utterances "Slower" and "Kit." Furthermore, the teacher's utterances "wouldn't it" and "isn't it?", used in all instances, seem to imply a number of functions. They indicate to both the pupil and the remainder of the class, that this is a word that is already contained within R's personal stocks of vocabulary knowledge. However, when the utterances are examined in terms of their membership to the concept of recipient design, then their function can be extended beyond their initial common sense meaning. Although the "isn't it" implies that the material causing difficulty to R should already be known to her, it does not intend to do so at the pupil's expense. It seems clear to the teacher that the pupil, at this point, has little knowledge concerning the word in question. Thus she utilises various methods both to prevent a breakdown in the turn-flow and to shield R from as little negative feed back as possible. The "isn't it?" functions to place R in a collection of those who already know the word, thus it is of little consequence if the word cannot be recalled at this particular juncture as it is present in the pupil's knowledge.

The teacher could be displaying to both R and the "audience" that R does in fact possess the wisdom and competence to read the word but, in this particular instance, it has momentarily slipped her mind. Such an inaccuracy does not merit a lengthy correction. The teacher merely deals with the minor reading error by repeating the corrected word, emphasising the letter which had caused R the most difficulty.

In summary, the above extracts and their explanation have further introduced recipient design and the specific themes which are apparent in these remedial reading lessons. By collaboratively producing text and corrections, the length of the turn is kept to a

minimum, enabling other pupils to have their go and it is likely that the individual reader involved is able to feel a sense of achievement having completed the same amount of reading as his or her classmates.

The normalisation of error

The subject of recipient design may be extended by considering a further theme, that the teacher's use of utterances during a less competent pupil's turn often consists of the use of certain normalisation approaches. It may be the case that the language aims to prevent the individual pupil from taking the brunt of the criticism relating to his or her just-displayed performance. The following extracts illustrate evidence of such methods of normalisation used by the teacher during the reading turn of a lower grade ability pupil.

(Ex. 3)
(a)

01 T: Goo::d

02 R: That Rop has ss

03 T: That's the word that everybody was getting mixed up with

04 R: Stamped

05 T: Sta B..?

06 R: Stabbed

07 T: Yes

(Year 7, June 5th, p.11)

(b)

01 N: Robert (3.6) expected (5.8) shake

02 T: Look at it CAREFULLY, that's what everyone was getting stuck on again, just say the sounds.

03 N: Shack, dashed

04 T: Yes OK, there you are David next line

(Year 8, June 8th, p. 7)

Example (3a), extracted from a lengthy reading turn of pupil R, highlights what is meant by this theme of normalisation. Pupil R clearly demonstrates her lack of vocabulary knowledge in line (2) as she hesitates with the word "Stabbed." The teacher immediately picks up upon this obvious confusion and, instead of providing R with guidance, she makes the statement:

"That's the word that everybody was getting mixed up with."

Such utterances may be used to inform the specific pupil that they are only one of a larger group who have experienced difficulty with this particular word. The reference to "everybody" consequently implies that the teacher has purposely invoked a community consisting of those pupils who have experienced some confusion pronouncing the word "Stabbed" of which this pupil, R has now been made a member.

Extract (b), is taken from the new words phase of the lesson, where the pupils are individually required to read a designated number of words from the boxes. In this instance, the pupil N, has been selected to read a line consisting of four consecutive new words. The pupil completes the initial two words correctly but then produces an inaccurate version of the third, "Shake" instead of "Shack." To rectify this error, the teacher discloses no clues to the word's spelling, pronunciation or meaning, instead after instructing the pupil to "Look again," she makes the statement:

"That's what everyone was getting stuck on again."

These utterances, especially the emphasised "everyone," could potentially provide two functions. They could initially extend N's individual weakness, standardising it, maintaining that it is a weakness that can be attributed to the class as a whole, again invoking a community upon personal error. Furthermore, the teacher's utterances may provide a resource for the pupil N to detect the location of the correct word, namely within the collection "what everyone was stuck on last time." The pupil presumably could then interpret the remark's "last time" as referring to the subject matter of the previous lesson and consequently, arrive at a clearer understanding of the word. N does indeed produce a corrected version of the word without any further prompting or hesitation in line (3) and proceeds with the next word in the box, confident of the accuracy of his response.

Despite the fact that this type of normalisation occurs with frequency during these types of remedial lessons, there are further approaches which appear to be variants of the same collection of those utterances which are intended to make one pupil's error, everybody's error. For example:

(Ex.4)

01 M: Officer can't I pay you for a pass? If I were to give you some money, couldn't you take care (.) of the matter for me?" The president asked, "are you trying (.) to (.) bribe a (6.2) secret officer?"

02 T: No what did we call him, (1.5) he's a secur:::

03 M: Security officer?" "No, no," the woman said. "I wouldn't ever

(Year 8, June 5th, p. 10)

In the above example the pupil M is unable to make the distinction between a "secret officer" and a "security officer." The teacher intervenes following M's incorrectly termed character and responds in line (2) with the utterances:

"No what did we call him, (1.5) he's a secur::"

In employing the term "we," the teacher is implying that the class as a whole possess a common understanding of the word in question and that M must then draw upon his shared classroom knowledge in order to attempt a competent guess at the correct term. Although these utterances do not intend to preserve the reading confidence of the pupil, they do in fact, similarly as in the initial example, function to situate his error within the wider context of the entire class's collective personal stocks of knowledge, relating to the characters within the text. The teacher's reluctance to completely normalise M's inaccuracy may stem from his higher-reading ability which may not need to be bolstered or categorised in a community for support. Therefore, in this instance, the teacher merely utilises an explanatory approach, making use of the taken for granted knowledge possessed by every pupil in the classroom. A further variant occurs in this example:

(Ex 5)

01 P'S: Flies, FLIES

02 T: Yes UM (2.0) Martin how would you spell fly?

03 (1.2)

04 T: Just fly?

05 M: F I L

06 (2.0)

07 T: No not quite, Katherine?

08 K: F L Y

09 T: F L Y OK Fly, here we've got flies because you've pulled the Y out and added IES OK, that's another rule, has Mrs Cuthbertson told you about that yet?

(Year 8, June 1st, p. 6)

This extract occurs within the new words phase of the lesson. In line (1) the pupils have engaged in the sequence of repetition. The teacher shouts out the word and the pupils are required to reproduce the utterance, then spelling it back in unison letter by letter to the teacher. After the correct production of the word "Flies" in this format, the teacher halts the spelling or reading activity temporarily and initiates an enquiry, as she appears to be dissatisfied with the pupil's specific knowledge of the word's characteristics. In line (2), the teacher asks M how he would personally spell the word "Fly," the singular or root word of the word in the box.

Following a pause, the teacher emphasises the fact that it is solely the base word she requires, instructing the pupil that the answer may not be located within the text, which draws M completely away from the boxes as a resource for answering the inquiry. In line (5) M attempts a spelling of the word which is incorrect and the opportunity to produce a correctly spelt version is passed to another pupil, K, who accomplishes the task accurately. The teacher then repeats both the spelling of the word, its pronunciation for the benefit of the class as a whole, and then explains the process which enables the singular to be transformed into the plural form. The teacher's final statement reveals her use of a type of normalisation as she implies that the competent manoeuvre of the Fly-Flies shift depends upon the use of a rule which the pupils may have not yet encountered within their mainstream English lessons.

The remedial teacher is instructed to teach only the SRA text and base any additional material upon these guidelines. Consequently, this teacher-initiated break from the lesson proper has introduced potentially new concepts to the pupils which they may have yet to learn. M's misunderstanding and lack of knowledge, in this context, becomes excusable by the teachers' utterances, a further variant of the normalisation tactic.

The final example of this theme, again derives itself from the teacher's observed attempts to normalise error, but is used specifically in an explanation format.

(Ex. 6)

01 T: Stephanie?

02 S: Better, bets no best, sh: shearing

03 T: What was that middle one? Look at it carefully

04 S: Bet (2.0) bets, bets?

05 T: Remember that was the one that somebody (.) was confused with earlier on, BETS <u>one</u> bet, I put a bet on a horse yeah? And if I put MORE than one it's bets, OK? The <u>root</u> word, the main word is bet, BEN?

(Year 7, May 18th, p.6)

Similarly, within the new word section of the lesson, the pupil S is experiencing difficulty with the second word of her allotted list of three. In line (2) S does indeed say the word correctly but hesitates slightly, displaying a lack of confidence with her rendition of the word. Following the correct completion of the final word in the group, the teacher instructs S to return to the second word "bets" and repeat it. In line (4) S utters the noun, root form of the word, she then pauses, which fails to entice intervention from the teacher and then repeats the correct, sought after word twice coupled, however, with a questioning tone, continuing to signal S's misunderstanding

of the word. The teacher in line (5), proceeds to normalise S's difficulty by invoking a community upon her personal confusion, making S a member of the collection to which "somebody who had been confused earlier on" belonged. She additionally produces some utterances which explain the complete sense of the word.

The above analysis has further introduced the notion of recipient design and more specifically the theme of normalisation. One way of understanding this may be that such approaches are often used to counteract and minimise the sense of failure and lack of confidence resulting from the errors produced by the pupils. The teacher seems to use a combination of excuse and explanation type responses in her attempt to normalise and make standard the pupil's utterances. All these introduce a type of "you are not alone" phenomenon, relocating the individual pupil's inaccuracy within the wider context of a whole community, namely the remainder of the class. Consequently, the teacher's utterances "everyone's," "everybody's," "somebody" and the interpretation of both "we" and "you" as pronouns, appear to imply this sense of collectivity which now includes the hesitant pupil as a member.

Partial praise: Can a negative evaluation contain positive language?

In order to uncover the notion of recipient design, a further evaluative theme will be explored. Teachers often use both negative and positive evaluations regularly during any type of classroom activity in any competency level classroom. However, such "black and white" evaluations can be observed to receive a certain amount of modification in the instance of a lower level reader. A possible version of events, signified by the data, may be that the teacher, wishing to keep in line with her methods of self-esteem preservation, utilises what can only be described as a

combined negative/positive evaluative device. In order to illustrate this linked feedback move in greater detail, examples of both negative and positive evaluations in their direct application will be examined in brief, followed by a brief analysis of the united form, usually occurring after an incorrect or non-response. These initial extracts from the transcripts display uncomplicated, direct, negative evaluations.

(Ex. 7)
(a)

01 T: Right Sion

02 S: Ea ou (3.7) ar (1.8) wh ar (2.2) o

03 T: No?

04 (6.3)

05 S: Ou

06 T: Right. **(Year 8, February 11th, p. 2)**

(b)

01 T: Right A FOXY ESCAPE, PART 1 Nicholas could you start us off please?

02 N: The con man was in a room with a man who said he was President Washington. President Washington said that he was in charge of their escape. The con man was just a private in his army .hh The next day, the president said soon they will come around to feed us. When we hear them at the doo::r, we will zip under the bed. And we will work and

03 (2.5)

04 T: NO

05 N: Wait (1.8) without making a sound. Remember to do everything I say, because I don't want anything to make..

(Year 8, February 11th, p.6)

Both examples indicate the teacher's dissatisfaction with the pupils' responses with a negative evaluation in its most brief form "No," offering no guidance other than the utterance in itself symbolising that their most recent utterances are somehow

incorrect. Following the teacher's use of such a disapproving expression, the pupils appear to interpret the "no" competently, resulting in the continuation of the activity in their following turns.

Similarly, there is evidence to suggest that commonly occurring, straight forward, positive evaluations in these lessons seem to consist of either one word remarks, an extended appraisal or a mere continuation of the task in hand, signifying the previous turn acceptability through the selection of the next speaker. Both these instances of positive evaluation are depicted in the following examples:

(Ex. 8)
(a)

01 T: Right er Sarah another one please

02 S: Ready, ramp, slow, any

03 T: Steven Williams another one

(Year 7, June 8th, p.10)

(b)

01 T: SShh starting off with Lee

02 L: The woman said, "stacking is easy you just pick up a slab of slate and set it on top of your pile" Chee picked up a slab and set in on the pile.

03 T: Right yes, that's (1.9) good Lee, that's fine thank you Sarah?

(Year 7, March 27th, p.13)

These examples display the progressive stages of positive evaluation, advancing from a mere continuation of the activity as an indication of the previous turn's satisfactory completion, to a more detailed appraisal, emphasising more extensively the pupil's

performance. In example (8a), the pupil S's error-free turn is deemed not to require a signal of its accuracy and a selection of the next pupil to commence a turn is considered to be an adequate indication of S's competence. The teacher's treatment of S's turn may be a further indication of the existence of recipient designed evaluations. Some pupils require slight or no feedback, in comparison to others whose correct responses depend and thrive upon it.

Example (b) provides evidence of the ultimate evaluation utilised by the teacher to highlight her satisfaction with a pupil's ability. The mere single utterance evaluations "right" and "yes" are succeeded by a further positive remark "That's good Lee," marking L out as having produced an exceptional reading on this occasion.

Praise which combines both negative and positive utterances may be likened to Anita Pomerantz's study *Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes* (1984) in which she examines the alternative uses of both preferred and dispreferred activities. In my data, the subject of agreement dispreferred is of the most relevance as it investigates the use of certain utterances in the prevention of distress during the course of critical assessment. The critique of one's coparticipants, in this instance the pupil's within the classroom, is often part of a collection of actions that are achieved in dispreferred-action turn sequence shapes. Such criticisms within ordinary conversation may be performed through a variety of methods, which generally consist of the delaying or withholding of the early use of the negative remarks within the turns and sequences.

Classroom interaction, as previously examined in the initial chapters in this thesis, contains a more formalised, institutionalised type of discourse to which the application of many of the features of mundane, every-day interaction become defunct. Pomerantz does, however, uncover certain aspects of this dispreferred assessment that may be applied to classroom discourse and more specifically to the theme of *partial praise*. In some instances of coparticipant criticism, the negative evaluation often seems to consist of weak-type criticism components, the delivery of which is often coupled with contrastive prefaces in the form of positive language.

This *contrasive-preface* termed turn shape, namely a positive assessment coupled with a critical evaluation, is, according to Pomerantz, similar structurally to the turn format for disagreement (agreement plus disagreement). In each case, the initial positive remark is usually an obscure example of the preferred action, namely the critical assessment of the participant's turn or in the context of classroom interaction, a pupil's response. Pomerantz provides the following example of this format, which occurs within ordinary conversation:

(51 p.80)

A: D'yuh li::ke it?

D: hhh Yes I do like it =

D: = although I really : : =

The moderately positive initial utterances "Yes" and "like," are followed by the light-weight fault finding utterances "although I really…" which suggest that some type of criticism will ensue. This type of dispreferred criticism can be applied directly to classroom interaction as the following example's illustrate:

(Ex. 9)
(a)

01 R: Near

02 T: Yeah you've got the near, but what's the ending? Near…

03 R: Nearly

04 T: Yes

(Year 7, March 27th, p.9)

(b)

01 T: What sound does it make?

02 R: Double U

03 T: Yes, that's the name of the letter but what sound does it make?

04 R: Well

05 T: Good

(Year 7, June 1st, p.12)

(c)

01 D: In a cab

02 T: IN A CAB YES, IN A CAB. WHAT DO WE SAY? WE DON'T SAY CAB, what do we say usually?

03 K: TAXI

04 T: TAXI yes,\\ we usually say taxi, TAXI CAB is the full name isn't it?

(Year 8, June 5th, p.8)

In extract (a), the pupil's incomplete response is met with the appraising initial assessment "Yeah." However this is connected to a weak-type exception formed criticism component "but what's the ending?" Such a linkage between positive and negative utterances enables the turn flow to continue and the correct answer to be extracted without extensive criticism of the pupil's turn, allowing the teacher's closing response in line (4) to be a positive closure of the turn 'bout'.

Examples (b) and (c) also provide evidence of Pomerantz's dispreffered criticism in this type of remedial reading lesson. In both instances unsatifactory responses are provided by the pupils and the teacher responds positively but requests further information. Example (c) is slightly different as the answer provided by the pupil is in fact correct, but the teacher's apparent preference for British versus American vocabulary impels her to seek an additional response.

Teacher's helper

Recipient design appears to manifest itself not only within the treatment of poor or exceptional ability pupil's reading or spelling activities, but also within the management of their interruptions of other pupil's turns. During a pupil's selected turn at any activity within the classroom, whether it be reading, spelling or merely an informal inquiry relating to his or her weekend activities, it is only that particular pupil who is both required and obligated to respond. A common recurrent feature of these types of remedial lesson seems to be frequent pupil interruptions of the present turn-flow, which appear to be treated with disciplinary action by the teacher. The interruptions being referred to are those which tend to follow a previously selected pupil's incorrect response which is then interrupted by a further, unselected pupil's correct oral insertion of the sought outcome.

The following examples will aim to provide an understanding of the teacher's differing treatments of the disruption, displaying both her management of an average level pupil's intervention and the interceptive utterances of a pupil considered to possess a greater reading knowledge. There will then follow a brief, contrasting,

analysis which will consider the implications of an incorrect intervention to the notion of recipient design.

- Rejection of the teacher's helper role

Initially then, those instances in which a pupil is disciplined for "shouting out" in the midst of another pupil's turn will be presented and discussed:

(Ex. 10)

01 T: STEVEN? (2.0) Go on Daniel

02 D: Goat, drain, tools, shut, store

03 T: Is it STORE?

04 S: Sho:::re

05 T: DON'T tell him, let him work it out for himself

06 D: Shore,

07 T: Shore, what does it start with DANIEL? **(Year 7, June 12th, p. 7)**

The pupil D, is specifically selected to read a line of words of which he correctly completes four of the five requested. In line (3), the teacher questions the validity of his last attempted word "Store" which should in fact have resembled "Shore." In line (4) a new, unselected speaker, pupil S, interrupts the correctional sequence occurring between the teacher and D, with her own interpretation of the utterance, which is indeed correct. This response is immediately acted upon by the teacher who in line (5), directs a two-part instruction at the informant "Don't tell him" and "let him work it out for himself."

A further function of these teacher prescribed instructive utterances, is to inform both D and the remaining pupils present that S's response, although correct, has been deleted and ignored as constituting any contribution to the turn. Consequently, D in line (6) repeats the correct outcome, accurately accomplishing the closure of his particular turn sequence. Furthermore, the teacher's utterances in line (7), suggest that although the focus has moved beyond the initial production of the whole word, she now seeks complete satisfaction of D's knowledge of the word following S's out of turn provision of the answer. The next extract offers some similar findings:

(Ex. 11)

01 B: The rancher said, "We will have the meet at the end of this week. So get in shape." "Yes, yes," the fat tramp said. "I mean it", the rancher said. "You seem to be in bed

02 T: In WHAT?

03 S: Bad [shape

04 B: [[bad shape

05 T: Let him work it out HIMSELF, don't be telling him, that's the easy way for him

06 B: You are fat and you don't look like you can do things very well."

07 T: Very:::?

(Year 7, May 18th, p. 12)

In the above extract, the pupil B is attempting a turn at reading. The teacher then interrupts the reading-flow in line (2), querying B's just-read utterances, indicating that they are in some way incorrect, intending that B reviews his past reading and substitutes accurate responses where necessary. The pupil S, however, volunteers the correct substitution out of turn, which is then overlapped by the selected pupil B's identical response. The teacher in line (5) does not ignore S's interruption, despite B's most recent attempt at the response and admonishes the informant, instructing her to allow the selected pupil the time to work the required answer out for himself. The

selected pupil B resumes his turn in line (6), but does not repeat the corrected utterances "bad shape." The teacher does not appear to disallow this, as her following utterance in line (7) appears to seek correction from B's just read additional text. This seems to imply that B's overlapped attempt in line (4) is deemed to signify a satisfactory unprompted substitution of the required response.

A further example illustrates an additional instance of an unselected pupil being denied the role of *the teacher's helper*:

(Ex. 12)

01 B: QUITE

02 T: NO NO look at that one carefully?

03 S: It's quit

04 B: [QUIT, YELLOW, BUTTON AND ELSE

[

05 T: [Don't tell him Stephanie?

(Year 7, June 1st, p.8)

In line (1), the pupil B is attempting to recite the first word in a list of four. His response is regarded as being incorrect and the teacher instructs him to try again. Pupil S however intercepts B's thought process with the utterance of the sought after word "quit." In B's next turn, line (4), following S's interruption, he competently produces the four words, which are initially overlapped by the teacher's disciplinary remarks directed solely at S: "Don't tell him Stephanie."

- Acceptance of the teacher's helper role

The previous examples display the common treatment of unselected disruptions by the teacher, the following extracts, however, will provide evidence of an opposing phenomenon, whereby in certain circumstances, a non-selected pupil is permitted to interject his or her own solution.

(Ex. 13)

01 T: OK ER:: (1.0) WHERE WERE THE CON MAN AND THE PRESIDENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY DAVID?

02 (5.9)

03 T: Where were they exactly?

04 M: Cab

05 D: In a cab

06 T: IN A CAB YES, IN A CAB. WHAT DO WE SAY, WE DON'T SAY CAB, what do we say usually?

07 K: TAXI

08 T: TAXI yes,\\ we usually say taxi, TAXI CAB is the full name isn't it? But in this country we tend to say Taxi and in America they tend to say cab .hh ERR WHAT DID THE CON MAN THINK OF THE PRESIDENT, NICHOLAS?

09 N: What?

10 T: What did the con man think of the president?

11 (2.3)

12 T: That he wad O...?

13 N: Old

14 T: OLD?

15 M: Odd

16 T: ODD, you were confusing it with <u>odd,</u> OK? he might have been old as well but I'm not sure about that. ERR WHAT WAS THE CON MAN PLANNING TO DO MARTIN?

(Year 8, June 5th, p.8)

The pupil D is selected to answer a question pertaining to the just-read text. Following a short pause, the teacher, regarding the lapse as being an indication of D's confusion with the query, repeats the question in more simple terms. At this juncture, line (4), the pupil M volunteers his own response, which is in fact correct. D then utilises this pupil-furnished clue, including it and extending it as being a response worthy of the teacher's inquiry. The teacher then, in line (6), repeats D's response in an emphasised fashion, marking the closure of the question-answer sequence with no disciplinary action or even reference to M's out of turn utterances.

A further instance of this type of *teacher's helper* role, accepted by both the teacher and pupils alike, is shown in line (8) whereby the pupil N is called upon to answer a further comprehension question, relating to the just-read text. In line (9), N's failure to produce a correct attempt compels the introduction of a further, simplified modification of the initial question by the teacher.

This adjustment of the initial wording into simplistic phrases however, fails to yield the required outcome and following a further non-response, the teacher provides a prompt consisting of the first sound of the word. In line (13), N finally ventures at an utterance. Despite a near guess, however, he fails to produce the exact word. This is highlighted by the teacher's emphasised, skeptical repetition of N's response. The teacher's duplication of N's response, indicates that she requires N to make a further attempt. However, in line (15), M intervenes with the sought after answer "odd." This interposed utterance is immediately fastened upon by the teacher, who both repeats it for the benefit of the rest of the class and briefly acknowledges the confusion experienced between the two words "old" and "odd." Similarly, M suffers no disciplinary procedures from either the teacher or the selected pupil, whose turn

has been ransacked in favour of a "shouter out" with little apparent knowledge of the turn apparatus at play within the classroom.

In this instance, differentiating itself from the following example (*Ex. 14*, line 6), M's correct offering is not repeated by the selected pupil. Yet still the teacher displays a lack of disapproval or accusation and permits M's response to be granted and acknowledged as constituting N's satisfactorily completed turn in place of his original error:

(Ex. 14)

01 T: Right then, thank you DAVID?

02 D: A woman said, "We had better (6.2)

03 T: What does O and U say?

04 M: Sound

05 T: Right,

06 D: Sound (.) the alarm It looks as if they escaped." The first man said, "But how did they get (8.3) loose? (6.3) there is no way out of the room."

(Year 8, February 11th, p. 7)

The sequence above is initiated by the selection of D to read a section of text from the story. He readily accomplished the first few utterances, but a lapse of two seconds incites the teacher to offer an answer-extraction strategy, more specifically a hint which highlights the letters O and U of the word which pronounced together create the phonetical basis of the word "sound." In line (4), the pupil M self-selects in an apparently restricted turn space belonging solely to D, and utters the sought-after word. The teacher responds, in line (5), with a positive evaluation of M's response and in line (6), D then proceeds to continue his reading turn, repeating M's correction

as his point of initiation. The following extract provides a final example of M's 'helping' role.

(Ex. 15)

01 T: NOW do it again

02 PS: Don't, wants, foot, because, talking, take, tried

03 T: NO::::!

04 PS: Tired

05 M: Tried, tired

06 T: Yeah tired again,

07 PS: Tired

(Year 8, February 11th, p.5)

Contrary to the previous extracts, this particular instance of *teacher's helper* arises during a collective activity whereby the students are required to produce words from the new words phase, in unison. Previous examples (*Ex. 13 & 14*) have presented the interruption of a specifically selected pupil. In this instance, the intervention occurs after an error produced collectively by the class as a whole. In line (1) the pupils are selected, as a community, to reproduce orally a list of seven words, of which the first six are accomplished correctly and the seventh is the point at which the error presents itself. The teacher blatantly halts the pupils' reading flow with a single evaluatory negative utterance, indicating their need of return to the last-recited word for modification. The pupils collectively repeat their last-said uncorrected utterance by way of a response, following which, the pupil M initially utters the collectively incorrect term and arrives independently at an accurate rendition of the sought after

word "tired" in line (5). The teacher responds with a positive evaluation of M's attempt and instructs the continuation of the reading activity.

- Incorrect intervention

The emphasis in this *Teacher's helper* section has been on the correct intervention of other pupil's on current, selected pupil's turns. The study will now make a brief consideration of incorrrect interventions and the implications these may have for recipient design.

(Ex. 16)
(a)

01 T: Seven weeks, yes he was there for seven weeks. Err what kind of things did he eat ROSALIND? Can you remember?

02 R: Beans

03 T: Yeah one, beans

04 S: Beef and ham

05 T: Um did I ask you Sarah? (.) It's Rosalind's turn now

06 R: Beef and err (.) corn

07 T: Yes corn, well done you found that in the story part, good girl. Did Emma know that the tramp had slowed down, err Steven? **(Year 7, May 18th, p.9)**

(b)

01 ST: Shut up Kit said. We will get back to shore if we just keep your

02 T: Not <u>your</u>, keep..?

03 D: Going?

04 T: SShhh, keep OUR heads

05 ST: keep our heads and think of a way to make a big hole that will drain water very fast. An old woman said my pet goat likes to eat tin. Maybe he can eat a hole in the bottom of this tin boat. Yes Kit said let's see what that goat can do. Then she ordered everybody to make room for the goat to eat, eat Kit said.

06 T: OK, Daniel I don't think you were following that part very well

(Year 7, June 12th, p.10)

In extract (16a) the teacher has asked R a comprehension question about the lesson's story. She provides one correct answer and the teacher prompts for more. In line (4) S incorrectly interrupts with the responses "Beef and ham." The teacher responds by reprimanding Sarah and reaffirming R's turn. In R's next response she gives S's initial incorrect answer coupled with the correct outcome. The teacher positively evaluates the word 'corn,' commending her skills of comprehension yet totally disregarding R's use of S's invalid attempt.

In extract (b), the pupil ST has been requested to read a section of the story. The teacher stops ST following an error and offers him a prompt. In line (3), D self selects with an incorrect answer. The teacher, in response, directs a 'SShhh' at the class in general then provides the sought after word. ST continues his reading turn which the teacher only briefly evaluates. She then reprimands D, but not specifically for 'butting in,' more for indicating by his incorrect outburst that he had clearly not been following the text.

The rate of occurrence of such incorrect interruptions was limited throughout the transcripts in comparison to those which were correct. There is some evidence to suggest, however, that the teacher appears to design her reactions in accordance with the ability level of the reader. In example (16a), during the turn of the lesser ability pupil R, S is rebuked immediately. Furthermore R's use of S's incorrect attempt is also ignored and R is positively evaluated for her answer. In extract (b), however, the teacher waits until ST, a competent reader, has finished his turn before commenting upon D's interruption and more specifically his lack of concentration, not his outburst. It seems then that incorrect interventions during a lower ability

pupil's turn prompts the teacher to act in the next turn space yet during a higher ability turn is deemed unthreatening to the reading flow and is left until the completion of the turn. Although the data seems to indicate that a type of recipient designed response may be at work, there is a lack of overall evidence to have any real implications for its use within this context.

The extracts on correct interventions show a version of events which appears to present M as having an additional role within this particular remedial lesson, other than his purely 'higher-ability-range' pupil status. This extra role enables a diversified pattern of interaction to occur in this question-answer section between M, the teacher and the other pupils present; the phrase "one rule for him and another for the rest of us" springs immediately to mind. He seems to have rights of self-selection during one-to-one turn sequences, when other pupils attempting similar selection techniques are rapidly admonished for their out of turn behaviour (Ex. 10, 11 & 12). In addition, his utterances are shown in extract (15) to aid collective activities which may go as far to highlight M's role as a kind of spokesperson or as the pupils' collective subconscious.

Teachers as opportunists - Categorising the reader?

Teachers are often characterised as being opportunists, especially in relation to a pupil's ability within the classroom or in relation to an entire class. It becomes of interest then, how in certain situations, usually following the closure of an individual pupil's turn at reading or any activity, the teacher takes the opportunity to comment, not merely upon the pupil's most recent attempts but uses this juncture to comment upon the pupil's performance in general. This may be an inherent feature of any

reading lesson within the school, a remedial classroom or otherwise, but it certainly plays an increasingly significant role within the SRA remedial reading lesson. It enables the teacher to highlight and emphasise a pupil's reading progress, charting his or her success, for the benefit of the pupil in question and for the remainder of the class, indicating that success can prevail in such "failure" typecast lessons and that reading practice can inevitably improve. The following brief analysis will provide examples taken from the transcripts in order to illustrate this notion of opportunism further:

(Ex. 17)

01 K: "And you made it (3.6) how do you expect my assistant and me to go on this trip without our bags? How do you expect us to do our work in Japan if we don't have our paper?" (.) "I will look into the matter right now," the woman said. "Before you do," the president said, "Let me ch:: check another thing. Where is your list of those who are going on this trip?" The woman handed a list to the president,

02 T: Yes well done Katherine you've improved as well, you're a lot more confident now aren't you? UM:: David the president asked for a list, what was on the list?

(Year 8, June 8th, p. 10)

The pupil K successfully completes a considerable amount of error free text in line (1). The teacher, following on from this promising performance, provides the pupil with a positive evaluation. The teacher produces what can be observed to consist of three types of positive feedback. Firstly, the initial evaluation "well done," relating to the just-read-text. Then the subsequent complimentary utterances "you've improved as well" referring both to the pupil's past and present day reading capability, namely the previously completed readings. Finally, the third assessment produced, "you're a lot more confident now," seems to extend beyond the pupil's most recently accomplished reading activity and applies to the pupil's reading performance as a whole. K has increased in confidence generally when embarking upon any turn at

oral reading and the teacher's observation of K's confidence is not attributed solely to this specific example of her reading capability.

The next example displays the teacher's use of a certain topic within the story, in order to make a general reference to the pupils' reading abilities:

(Ex. 18)

01 T: Before yes, remember he was often thinking these negative thoughts before wasn't he? When he was in the base ball game, all he was thinking was that I can't do it as well as I could do it before (2.2) right UM:: (.) WHAT DID PATTY THINK WOULD HAPPEN IF ART PRACTICED EVERY DAY?

02 D: Get better

03 T: Ye:::s he'd get better because if you practise at something you always get better don't you? If you practiced ERRR as they say practice makes perfect. You've improved haven't you with practice on your reading, do you remember in year seven (2.0) when you first came and first started school on the RED books? You couldn't read very well at ALL,

04 M: We spoke like Robots

05 PS: ((Laughter))

06 T: Like ROBOTS well yes when you did read you did, yes and you were very slow and there were lots of letters that you didn't know (2.0) and you've improved now you're all reading really well (2.5) you see practice (1.6) OK you can concentrate in the lesson, you're getting better, by year nine you'll be doing a lot lot better but you mustn't forget to read in the holidays as well (1.2) yeah

07 M: I read

08 D: I don't,

09 M: I do

10 T: I know some of you read at home [all the time

11 M: [[I do

12 T: Yes MARTIN does a lot at home yeah? do you read in half term?

13 M: (----)

14 T: OK NOW you've all read now haven't you? Sion start us off on the next bit

(Year 8, June 1st, pages 14-15)

Following the completion of the pupil D's turn at reading and the subsequent summary of D's just-read-utterances by the teacher, she then asks the pupils a question relating to the characters, Patty and Art, in particular Art's performance at skipping (or skimming) stones: "What did Patty think would happen if Art practiced every day?" Pupil D's production of a satisfactory answer to the question in line (2) however, does not result in the closure of the question-answer sequence of D's reading turn or of the topic of Art's improvement due to practice which the teacher continues to emphasise.

The teacher introduces the proverb "practice makes perfect" to which she now makes reference in general and directs at the class as a whole, making a complete break from the text and the initial context for the understanding of the term "practice." The teacher, during her gradual departure from the text, makes use of the flexible utterance "you" in her initial remark: "if **you** practise at something **you** always get better." The "you" in this instance, following shortly after the text related question, may in fact be taken as representing a general usage of the term, in that it applies to the whole population (including, of course, the characters in the story and the pupils in the class).

In the following utterances however, "You've improved, haven't you, with practice on your reading etc.." the teacher utilises the collective sense of the word "you," making it apply to every pupil in the lesson, completely discarding the rest of the population and characters from the story. In short then, the teacher has made a symbol of what happens within the text: the pupils should behave like the characters who have now become representative of the learning style within the classroom.

Usually teachers progress from the general to the particular, narrowing from the wide focus to the individual. In this instance, however, the text becomes the close focus which is developed by the teacher into a wider focus to apply to the class as a whole.

This chapter had endeavoured to uncover some introductory observations of recipient design within the SRA remedial reading lesson. It presents certain themes in which recipient design appears to be used by the teacher to induce pupils' accurate responses or to soften the blow when an inaccuracy occurs.

Although this analysis on recipient design may show evidence of 'psychologising' especially when considering the emotions and motives that have been assumed by myself and ascribed to the teacher when dealing with a perceived higher or lower ability pupil, the chapters still, provide a valid contribution to the field of ethnomethodology.

7

Evaluations

Analysis has revealed that the SRA remedial reading lesson has many organisational features and the lesson itself consists of a series of small "packages" of formats. The intention of this chapter is to discuss one of these formats, namely teacher evaluations.

This chapter will be split into two sections. The first will review previous literature relating to research into evaluative talk. The claims made by McHoul (1978) and Mehan (1979) will be discussed in terms of their contribution to the understanding of the sequentially organised lesson and more specifically the evaluative move.

The later part of the chapter will endeavour to display in the data how the authors' findings may be taken one step further, more specifically those of Jefferson, allowing an extended insight into the intricate unseen workings of evaluative utterances and sequences within a remedial reading lesson.

McHoul's contribution

McHoul, in his study *The Organization of Turns at Formal Talk in the Classroom*, (1978) begins his analysis of classroom interaction by differentiating it from other types of interaction. He then locates it within Sacks' *et al.* (1974) linear array of speech exchange systems in terms of its pre-allocative turn-taking features. In this sense then,

conversation with its lack of pre-allocation features, becomes the prime example of one extreme of the scale. The interaction that occurs in a more formal setting such as interviews or meetings is situated towards the opposite end of the scale, the opposing extreme marked by an excess of pre-allocative turn sequences.

McHoul attempts a re-working of Sacks' *et al.* rules for ordinary conversation (outlined in Chapter 1) in order to identify those for classroom discourse. He notes specifically the key differences, as he sees them, between mundane everyday conversation and classroom talk. The potential for gap and pause is maximized, whilst overlap is minimized due to a lack of self-selection rights, as is the permutability of turn taking.

Armed with these distinctions, McHoul attempts a modification of the rules to effectively apply to most classroom settings. Such a generalisation however has led to much criticism, the most persuasive being that of James Heap (1979), whose primary objective has been to disprove such a simplistic device for the explanation of classroom talk. Heap asserts that McHouls' rules especially do not account for both repair-sequences and student-student interaction.

Mehan's contribution

Following McHoul's need to constrain the social organization of classroom talk within the boundaries of certain restrictive rules, Mehan in his study *Learning Lessons* (1979) similarly claims that his Initition-Response-Evaualtion (IRE) framework is used by teachers and pupils alike to complete a variety of classroom activities. Again, although

many instances of classroom talk may be accomplished through such a three-part turn sequence, there is much interaction for which such a rule is far too simplistic. In such instances, the three-part turn may be extended into ten or more parts until an evaluation has been reached, marking the eventual closure of the sequence. The following example illustrates an extended instance of a three-part turn sequence within a remedial reading lesson:

(Ex. 1)

01 T: Sarah?

02 S: Shaving

03 T: Huhhh!

04 S: Shave?

05 T: Huhhh! (0.2) What's at the beginning?

06 S: Shaving,

07 PS: Huuuh,

08 T: What does it start with, what's that letter?

09 S: S

10 T: S SS SS, Sa

11 S: Saaving

12 T: Yeah, **(Year 7, May 22nd p. 7)**

The teacher uses the initiation move in line (1), which the pupil S responds to in line (2). The teacher's next turn does not, however, consist of an evaluation and closure of the supposed three-part sequence. The teacher displays her misunderstanding of S's response with a "Huhhh!", which is re-attempted, again incorrectly, in line (4). The teacher, clearly indicating to the pupil that a correct answer is still sought, repeats the "Huhhh"

sequence. The pupil finally produces the awaited response in line (11), demonstrating his understanding of the teacher's non-evaluative utterances. This is followed by a positive evaluation by the teacher and the closure of the corrective sequence. This extract unquestionably displays the extended nature of the IRE sequence within a remedial reading lesson.

McHoul and Mehan's rules for classroom interaction have indeed provided a greater insight into the socially organised features of classroom discourse. However, their investigations alone fail to explain some evaluation types that occur within a remedial reading lesson. This analysis will primarily aim to extend the analysis of evaluations beyond the findings of McHoul and Mehan. It will demonstrate that the move constitutes a far wider concept consisting of many types of evaluations used by the teacher in accordance with the type of context in which it arises. The findings in Jefferson's study *Notes on a Systematic Deployment of the Acknowledgement Tokens "Yeah"* and *"Mm Hmm,"* (1974) will be applied to the data in order to identify and explain the diversity of the evaluative move.

Jefferson indicates that the use of acknowledgement tokens in ordinary conversation can be linked to turn closure and next turn initiations, in essence, types of evaluation. It would consequently be of interest to examine the occurrence of the acknowledgement token within the context of a remedial reading lesson to uncover its differing usage.

Acknowledgement tokens: The contribution of Jefferson

Jefferson attempts an analysis of a common phenomena which she deems from the outset as being "terribly mundane" and trivial. However, her analysis proves that such phenomena display a 'fine grained' orderliness. Acknowledgement tokens can occur in any type of interaction and commonly take the form of "Yeah," "Yes," "Uh Huh," "Mmm Hmm" etc. They are typically put forward by the minor contributors in the interactional group, by someone who has perhaps partially 'dropped out' of the conversation and wishes to produce minimal or transitory recipientship. By producing such an utterance, the talk is neither halted nor taken up, it is simply acknowledged.

Jefferson goes further than purely suggesting that such utterances consist of acknowledgement devices, but maintains that each token possesses a different function. "Yeah" can inform the current speaker that the recipient may wish to embark upon speakership, whilst "Mm Hmm" continually seems to exhibit, according to Jefferson, "passive recipiency," a presumption made by the recipient that the speaker's turn must in fact prevail. Jefferson asserts that this use of "Mm Hmm" encourages the telling of more and constitutes that act of "doing recognisable yielding."

Jefferson concludes by asserting that her study must in some way be likened to Harvey Sacks' study on *Interruption invitations* since it is defined as being talk that has been initiated or continued during a range of sequentially interactional obligations that will, however, cease upon a turn at speakership. In basic terms both Sacks and Jefferson highlight instances where members display, through their talk, appropriate opportunities for speakership change or *next-speaker-startings*. Jefferson claims that the use of

acknowledgement tokens is one such way to invite the initiation of a new turn. Jefferson uses line (5) of the following extract to indicate how acknowledgement tokens, in this instance, provide evidence of Sacks' interruption invitations, with speaker G attempting to relinquish tellership to B.

1 G: I uh you know she's o:lder now than she was it gets harder
2 all the t [ime.
3 B: [Ye:ah. Mm-hm,
4 (6.0)
5 G: A:nd uh:.hh that's uh: that's tha:t. That's all [I kno] :w
6 B: [Ye:ah.] hh
7 B: Well I'm awfully glad to hear from you…..

Jefferson further maintains that acknowledgement tokens can serve as both an indication of a member's current speakership status and may constitute a device which function to mold the interaction taking place.

From Jefferson's study it is evident that an acknowledgement token can potentially be used as an evaluation. It may even be argued that a positive evaluation is in fact a type of acknowledgement. However, for the purpose of this study, Jefferson's work will be applied to the context of a remedial lesson in an attempt to uncover any additional methods of evaluation that may exist.

Evaluations and the remedial reading lesson: Acknowledgement tokens as evaluations: Jefferson reviewed

There are five types of occurrences in which the acknowledgement tokens, as described by Jefferson, are utilised by the teacher during the reading section of the remedial lesson under scrutiny. All five of the tokens both recognisably and hearably accomplish encouragement and/or evaluation. They are as follows:

- An encouragement during an error-free reading
- An encouragement during an error-ridden reading
- The "Yeah" token as a bid for speakership
- The multiple functions of "Yeah"
- A "success marker"

Each of the above contexts will be analysed in order to establish their relevance as evaluative speech in these types of lessons.

- An encouragement during an error-free reading

The use of the "Mmm" token will now be analysed in order to learn more about its function in an error-free reading. The following extract from the transcript provides the basis for some initial findings:

(Ex. 2)

01 T: Yes lock her up, yeah so:::: let's see what happens next Martin?

02 M: "But I don't have any pass, have a pass"

03 T: Mmm Hmm,

04 M: The woman said. "Nobody told me about a pass." "You had better come along with me, then" the President said, and he grabbed the woman by the arm. He began to lead the woman to the cab. The woman said, (2.0) "Wait a moment, wait a moment

05 T: Mmm Hmm,

06 M: Officer can't I pay you for a pass? If I were to give you some money, couldn't you take care (.) of the matter for me?" The president asked, "are you trying (.) to (.) bribe a (6.2) secret officer?"

07 T: No what did we call him, (1.5) he's a secur:::

08 M: Security officer?" "No, no," the woman said. "I wouldn't ever

(June 5th, Year 8, p.10)

In line (1), the teacher initiates the sequence by selecting the pupil M to read an extract of the story. The designated pupil responds to the initiation in line (2) by beginning a reading of the text, thus, so far conforming to Mehan's IRE format, in that the initiation and response have been produced accordingly. M reads the first sentence and appears to experience a slight breakdown in his reading which he then quickly resolves with a self-correction from "have any pass" to "have a pass". The teacher follows his self-repair by producing a type of acknowledgement "Mmm Hmm". By this she exhibits recognition of the reading 'hitch' yet accepts the self-repair and allows M to continue his reading turn. The teacher's use of such a token seems to consist of a type of positive evaluation, which does not in fact aim to halt the reading sequence, but instead intends to serve as a continuer, an indication to the pupil that up to this point, despite a small acknowledged retrievable lapse in reading, "all is well".

This occurrence may be linked to Sacks' (1992) work on the use of "Uh huh" in ordinary conversation whereby he makes the claim that such an utterance is used by the 'listener' to fill an anticipated pause and indicate to the current speaker that they expect their turn to continue. A further similarity exists in the work of Schegloff (1982), whereby he claims that such an utterance represents one recipients pass on an initiation to repair the others turn at talk.

Similarly in line (5) this process is repeated, and again on the production of more correct utterances from M, the teacher utilises "Mmm Hmm" as what could be described as a further continuer, signifying both an approval and permission for the pupil to continue. Following this treatment of correct extracts, the pupil then does make a reading error, saying "secret officer" instead of the preferred "security officer". This confusion is immediately taken up by the teacher in line (7), indicating that once an incorrect response has occurred, that is deemed worthy of teacher intervention, then a different evaluation sequence is brought into play, one which does not, in this case, involve the use of these acknowledgement tokens.

The utterance "Mmm" in these types of lesson could be viewed as being made up of an acknowledgement type evaluation that is initiated by the teacher following a correct or self corrected reading. It appears to do two things; it firstly acknowledges, then serves as an indication to the pupil that their turn may continue. Said with a continuing level of pitch, the Mmms do not raise alarm and enable the task to flow.

A key question for this analysis into error-free readings should be, why do Mmm's even have to occur? Why doesn't the teacher take on a more passive role when confronted with the turn of a competent reader and allow the turn to continue uninterrupted when in the midst of a seemingly proficient turn? In example (2) the teacher, by using the token, appears to be using the Mmm to evaluate the turn 'so far' but also seems to display an orientation to the potential presence of reading error, evident in line (2) with the replacement of "have any pass" with "have a pass".

- An encouragement during an error-ridden reading

Following on from the teacher's use of an acknowledgement token during an error-free reading comes the opposite function of the tokens used within an error-ridden reading. The term 'error-ridden reading' is generalistic, in that there are varying degrees of error that may occur within a single turn dependent upon the ability of the pupil in question. The usage of the token's "Mmm" and "Yeah" will now be observed in both extremes of the reading ability scale for this particular group of pupils. The first extract displays the pupil with more apparent reading difficulties:

(Ex.3)

01 T: Forty-six yes, Rosalind can you start us off on the next bit please?

02 R: The tramp made(3.0)

03 T: E and A makes the E sound, doesn't it?

04 (5.7)

05 T: Put the book down because you're reading to the side, aren't you? E and A say the E sound

06 R: Heaps.....

07 T: Yeah? (2.4), go on.....

08 R: Of wool so fast that his helpers yelled "Help!"

09 T: Mmm Hmmm?

10 R: So the seven papers

11 T: Peop..?

12 R: People (3.1)

13 T: Who.

14 R: Who had said, "We will help," (4.6)

15 T: That's be, be..?

16 R: Began to big,

17 T: No what sound is that then?

18 R: Bag

19 T: Yeah?

20 R: Heaps of wool

21 T: Good well-done Rosalind. Daniel? But the tramp…

(May 22nd, Year 7, p. 11)

In line (1), the teacher selects pupil R to read the next few sentences of the story. After the production of only three words, the pupil appears to run into some difficulty and subsequently pauses. The teacher interprets the pause as constituting a breakdown in the pupil's reading turn and consequently, in line (3), offers clues to the pronunciation of the unknown word. After a succession of clues, relating to the sound that the letters E and A make when combined, R provides the sought for outcome, "heaps" in line (6), to which the teacher responds with a highly emphasised "Yeah." Similarly, in line (9), following nine correct words, the teacher responds by uttering "Mmm Hmmm" said with heightened a pitch ending.

The interaction continues to develop in this way, with the pupil only managing to recognise a minimal amount of the text and the teacher providing her with prompts and clues to the troublesome words. Furthermore, lines (3), (13) and (15) all display teacher prompts which are situated after pauses in R's reading flow, signifying further continuer methods. Finally in line (19), an exaggerated form of the token "Yeah" is used yet again by the teacher after the pupil R remembers a previously confusing word. There are two questions which arise from this transcript. What are the acknowledgement tokens *doing* in these particular places in the text? and Why are they exaggerated in both pitch and volume?

One possible reason may be derived from the notion that the teacher may in fact be designing her talk and use of acknowledgement tokens in terms of the reading capability of the pupil in question. With an ever increasing emphasis being placed upon the importance of the teacher-pupil relationship and the continual need to preserve and nurture a pupil's self-esteem, it does not come as a great surprise that teachers design their evaluations with the recipient in mind. Such acknowledgements in this context can be understood as constituting a *recipient designed evaluation* (as discussed in chapters five and six on Recipient Design), whereby the teacher takes into account not only the just-read story but, additionally makes use of previous examples of reading by the pupil in question in order to gain some clues of his or her reading ability as a whole.

The tokens "Yeah" and "Mmm Hmm" when utilised in this context takes on a slightly different function when compared to their occurrence within an error-free reading. For

example, in the midst of an error-ridden reading, they become something like "success markers," and in this instance, it is primarily the "Yeah" token that is used with over emphasis and heightened intonation, highlighting solely the correct outcomes. However, during the opposite extreme, error-free readings, the intonation appears to remain consistent and the positive "Yeah" token is replaced with a downgraded "Mmm Hmm" indicating less need for intervention. Such a move serves to display the teacher's approval of the reading, without wishing to disrupt the flow of an obviously competent reader who is capable of self-correction. It is consequently a fleeting evaluation of the reading so far.

A further example that relates to Jefferson's acknowledgement tokens during an incorrect performance occurs similarly when the tokens are implemented following teacher guidance and a correct outcome from the pupil. To clarify this phenomenon, examples from the transcripts will be analysed:

(Ex.4)

01 T: Go on, Martin

02 M: Then the President turned to the con man and said (.) private, do you plan to sit and that cab

03 T: In that cab……

04 M: In that cab all day? There is not…..

05 T: Not not, there is….?

06 M: No

07 T: Mmm Hmm,

08 M: Point in……

09 T: No there's no (0.8) look at it ca::refully,

10 M: Spot in [my.....

11 T: [Mmm Hmm,

(June 5th, Year 8, p.12)

The teacher selects Martin to read in line (1), in line (4) Martin reads the word "not" incorrectly from the text. The teacher stops the reading, introducing a sequence which informs the pupil of his error and then initiates a method of correct answer extraction by offering the pupil a prompt. In line (6) Martin gives a correct response which the teacher evaluates briefly using the "Mmm Hmm" acknowledgement token. Following the teacher's evaluation of the corrected response, Martin again makes a further reading error which the teacher again brings to his attention by instructing him to "look at it carefully." Finally, in lines (10) and (11), the teacher again, following a correct answer produces an acknowledgement to provide the pupil with an approval.

- The "Yeah" token as a bid for speakership

The following examples attempt to indicate how there may be some similarity between acknowledgement tokens used in this type of remedial reading setting and Jefferson's model whereby the "Yeah" expression is used as a bid for speakership. Jefferson claims that the token "Yeah" has a distinctive use within ordinary conversation. In her examples it becomes a signal that the recipient is ready to move into speakership and take a longer turn at talk.

(Ex. 5)

01 T: A bit louder Nicola because we can't hear you

02 N: you speak well

03 T: Good,

04 N: for more of people bet

05 T: No it's not bet it's…

06 N: beat,

07 T: Yep? go carefully

08 N: I bet you yellow shabby

09 T: Yeah? (3.2) she's getting all confused again, remember how she used to speak in a funny way? So she says SLOB, SLAB, YOU SPEAK WELL, FOR MORE OF PEOPLE BEAT I BET, that's where you've got to be careful, if you see the EA you know it's beat even though it sounds all confusing. OK, yellow shabby she calls the dog OK?

(June 1st, Year 7, p.13)

In this extract, the pupil Nicola has been selected to read part of the story. In line (3) the teacher interrupts the reading-flow in order to provide an approval of Nicola's reading turn so far. Following a short correctional sequence from lines (4) to (7), the teacher again provides an evaluation in line (7) "Yep" which, in this instance, is coupled with an instruction "go carefully." After only a few correct words of text, the teacher halts the reading by interjecting a heightened "Yeah" token with rising pitch, which is then directly succeeded by a pause.

The "Yeah" does not signal the closure of Nicola's turn at reading, neither does it constitute an evaluation of the whole turn, but seems to act in accordance with its use in Jefferson's study, as a pre-speakership token. The pause following the "Yeah" signifies

that the pupil in question, Nicola, has understood the use of the token in this particular instance. She gives the floor momentarily to the teacher and consequently, does not attempt to restart her turn until she has been re-selected to do so. The teacher does indeed comply with the "Yeah" function and following on from the pause, takes a lengthy turn which becomes a kind of briefing of Nicola's turn so far, outlining the difficulties she had faced up to this point for the benefit of the whole class. The teacher selects Nicola to resume her turn by repeating the last few utterances of her previous turn, signifying to Nicola that she may now proceed with her turn initiating from the cue provided by the teacher: "OK, yellow shabby she calls the dog OK?"

The following indicates a further example of how the "Yeah" token is used within these lessons as a device for the teacher to gain a longer speakership opportunity in the midst of a pupil's selected turn at reading.

(Ex. 6)

01 T: Goo::d, Stephanie?

02 S: Emma went to town and bragged. She said, "There is a tramp on my ranch that can shear sheep faster than anyone you have seen." When

03 T: Yeah?

04 (2.9)

05 T: OK but don't go on because we stop after that bit don't we? "There is a tramp on my ranch that can shear sheep faster than anyone you have seen." OK? Err Ben what does bragging mean? She bragged?

(May 18th, Year 7, p.9)

The pupil, Stephanie, is selected to commence a reading turn in line (1). The teacher, as in the previous extract (Ex. 5), halts the pupil mid sentence as she had gone beyond her

allocated amount of text and then uses the "Yeah" token to initiate a longer turn. During her turn in line (5), the teacher emphasizes that the pupil S has read a sufficient amount and then selects a further pupil to answer a comprehension question relating to the just-read-text.

These two examples suggest that Jefferson's rules concerning the use of the token "Yeah" may indeed be applicable to classroom interaction, and more specifically, during a remedial reading lesson. Furthermore, it is important to note how these instances of the token "Yeah" differ from previous instances when "Mmm" is used. Both extracts (Ex. 5 & 6) in which the "Yeah" is used by the teacher to change her category from monitor to speaker are coupled with a pause. These pauses may be recognisable as speakership shift spaces, whereby the teacher and pupils are aware that a turn transition is occurring, namely a preparedness for the teacher to move from *passive recipiency* to the role of active speaker. The "Yeah's" are also uttered with rising pitch, emphasizing further the teacher's need for the closure of one sequence and the beginning of another.

- The multiple functions of "Yeah"

The previous analysis has in some ways contradicted itself by asserting that a "Yeah" token may be used by the teacher as both a continuer and a bid for speakership. No clear differentiation could be found in the extracts provided in order to distinguish between these two phenomena and the only possible conclusion would be to claim that the "Yeah" appears to confusingly have a type of multiple function within these lessons with quite opposing contexts.

The following extracts (7) and (8) highlight this confusion whereby the "Yeah" is analysed in terms of its misinterpretation by the pupils, as not being an intended positive continuer but instead as signaling a teacher bid for extended rights of speakership. The pupil in the following extract, consequently, understands the "Yeah" token to consist of a pre-speakership token and reacts accordingly, pausing during her turn to allow the presumed turn of the teacher to take place. The teacher must then repair this breakdown of the pupil's reading flow by providing a prompt in the next turn space. The following examples illustrate these findings within the data:

(Ex. 7)

01 T: Yes Rosalind could you finish that bit for us

02 R: Kit (3.1) learn

03 T: Turned Yeah?

04 R: Turned the whale

05 T: What do two E's make?

06 R: EE

07 T: EE Good,

08 R: the wheel,

09 T: Good

10 R: for her

11 T: It's not for it's of?

12 R: of her boat

13 T: Good

14 R: But the boat did not,

15 T: Yeah?

(4.6)

16 T: go on?

17 R: turn fast,

18 T: That's it good girl MY GOODNESS YOU'RE IMPROVING ROSALIND (.) Hmm that's really good I'm really pleased. Right OK now questions um (5.8) What did Kit think she heard in the thick fog, Anwen?

(June 8th, Year 7, p.15)

In the extracts (7), a pupil, R, with more obvious reading difficulties has been allocated the floor to read the next part of the text. The teacher must correct practically every reading attempt given by the pupil. In line (3), the "Yeah" token is used by the teacher as part of a correction, correcting the word "learn" to "turned," intending to causing as little disruption as possible to R's turn. Both words, although sounding similar in their pronunciation, are spelt quite differently and would require a lengthy repair by the teacher explaining the differing sound components. The teacher, however, avoids this error confrontation, instead of being orientated to 'get the reading done,' with as little time consuming repair as possible.

The "Yeah" used by the teacher in line (15), is not used as a correctional evaluation but rather as an approval, signifying that the pupil R, who usually experiences difficulty with the majority of words, is in this instance, observed to produce error-free utterances. The pupil, however, does not treat the "Yeah" as representing this type of appraisal and consequently pauses mid reading-flow, indicating her understanding of the token as constituting, as Jefferson describes, an *incipient-speakership-token*. The teacher must then remedy this breakdown in the reading sequence and provides the instruction "go on," to re-initiate Rosalind's turn. The pupil's understanding of the instruction as

signifying that the teacher did not in fact require a longer turn at talk, enables her to complete her allocated extract correctly. This highlights the fact that R's pause could be recognisable as not indicating a misunderstanding of the text. It is interesting to note that the teacher's recurrent use of the evaluation "Good" (lines 7, 9 and 13) is not treated as a bid for speakership but as an ongoing continuer that does not, unlike the "Yeah" token, impinge upon R's reading turn.

(Ex. 8)

01 T: Right, Rosalind?

02 R: Chee said, I think (1.3)

03 T: Yeah, (4.4) go on

04 R: so." The woman sh::

05 T: Showed?

06 R: Showed Chee how to st

07 T: How to?

08 (4.7)

09 T: Read the sounds,

09 R: ST stack slate

10 T: Ye:::s good, (2.5) yes so the woman showed Chee how to stack slate. WHEN SHE'D CALMED DOWN, HOW DID SHE TALK? ERR LEE?

(March 27th, Year 7, p.13)

In extract (8) the same pupil R, having just initiated her turn, is suspended mid sentence by the teacher's use of a "Yeah" token in the third line of the transcript. Again the pupil views such an immediate use of the acknowledgement so soon into the turn as consisting of a bid by the teacher to gain a longer turn at talk, an *incipient-speakership-token* that

may in fact be utilised as some sort of correctional insertion sequence. Following a marked silence occurring after the "Yeah" expression, the teacher must again "bump-start" the turn, which she accomplishes, in this instance, by the use of a prompt sequence. R re-initiates her turn and continues with the next word in the text. Lines (4) and (6) display two further attempts by R which are deemed necessary of teacher intervention. The first, in line (5), is corrected with the required word yet in the second, in line (7), the teacher gives the instructions "how to?" and "read the sounds" which do in fact enable R to produce the last words successfully.

- A 'success marker'

The final instance of an acknowledgement token is as a *success marker*, a method used by the teacher to hurry the current reader to completion. In this case the "Yeah" and "Mmm Hmm" are said in a brisk and direct manner with no emphasised intonation. The following example provides evidence of this method.

(Ex. 9)

01 D: The president said "before we leave (2.0) on our trip, we must get some (.) fin…

02 T: Some? Look at that one, some?

03 (3.1)

04 D: Some fine……

05 T: Mmm Hmm, ((said hurriedly))

06 D: Fine duds

07 T: Yes Nicholas, finish it off

(June 5th, Year 8, p.13)

Pupil D is in the process of his turn at reading, he runs into difficulty in line (1) to which the teacher responds by offering him both prompts and instruction. Following a lengthy pause in line (3), a meaningful silence of which the pupil is aware must be used to produce the instructed response, he then competently produces two further utterances. The teacher, instead of waiting for the whole sentence, interrupts the accurate reading-flow with a "Mmm Hmm". The token in this instance is very short and non-evaluative. The pupil is not discouraged by this type of acknowledgement and carries on with his turn.

The teacher then cuts in to the turn again in line (7), by giving a brief positive evaluation and proceeds to select another pupil, Nicholas, to begin his turn at reading. The non emphasised "Mmm Hmm" expression and its lack of impact upon the current-reader, indicates that not only does the "Mmm Hmm" function to inform the pupil of an advancing teacher speakership, but that it may, in addition, be heard as a method of acceleration, ensuring that every pupil has a turn at reading within the allotted period of time. This brief section has again highlighted the multiple use of Jefferson's tokens within a remedial reading lesson.

A speculation on acknowledgement tokens

This chapter has provided a searching overview of the application of Jefferson's acknowledgement tokens to the context of a remedial reading lesson.

There are certain elements of this study that also (Ex. 7 and 8 are particularly relevant) have implications for the previously encountered recipient designed evaluations. To re-

cap, recipient designed evaluations, as indicated by previous examples from the data are utilised by the teacher when assessing reading abilities. The teacher is able to use her previous teaching experience of the pupil as a resource to draw upon during his or her reading turn. In that sense then, during a reading in which a pupil continually experiences word difficulty, as in R's case, the teacher is able to design her evaluations to facilitate and achieve the best reading turn possible from that pupil and similarly for a competent reader.

These extracts containing the "Yeah" expression appear to suggest that they are said with a heightened pitch ending during the reading turn of a lesser than average reader. The teacher uses the up-graded pitch to emphasise the correct aspects of the pupil's performance and to motivate the reader further. During the reading turn of a more capable reader such expressions appear to be downplayed, uttered in a hurried fashion with consistent or downward pitch. Their "success marker" status is replaced by a continuer status, merely signaling to the pupil that their turn so far is correct and that it is not yet complete. Therefore the "Yeah" token is used frequently and expressed in an emphasised fashion with a focus upon intonation during an error-ridden reading, whilst during a reading produced by a capable pupil, the tokens are fewer and less overstated, allowing the pupil to finish the turn without interruption.

From the standpoint of the pupils' themselves. Rosalind, the pupil with the most severe reading difficulties, is observed in Extracts 7 and 8 to stop her turn following the teacher's use of the acknowledgment token "Yeah." Having a previous knowledge of her

own level of reading, along with the teacher, the pupil has little confidence in her own reading skills and consequently does not expect to read a great deal before the intervention of the teacher and the subsequent initiation of a correction insertion sequence. It is therefore likely that Rosalind viewed the "Yeah" on both occasions as constituting the starting point for a correction sequence which then explains both the pauses. Could it be that whilst the teacher designs her evaluations with the recipient in mind, it may be that pupils also design their talk in terms of their skill at that particular activity and the response they then expect from the teacher? A question which could provide the basis for an extension of the findings so far.

The tokens "Yeah" and "Mmm" appear to have multiple functions within these lessons. They are used by the teacher in both error-free and error-ridden reading as continuers with an orientation to the occurrence of error. "Yeah" is also used, in accordance with Jefferson's study of ordinary conversation, as a bid for speakership and finally as type of 'success marker' used to speed up the turn of a clearly competent reader.

This analysis provides an initiation point for further research. These tokens clearly have an un-distinguished multiple role when used by the teacher in these lessons. Questions such as why does the teacher use the tokens in the face of such openly evident confusion could be used to extend the research beyond these initial findings.

8

Evaluations: Corrections

Moving on from Jefferson's acknowledgement tokens, an additional type of evaluation frequently used by the teacher in the remedial reading lessons, is the correction.

The following chapter will firstly consider existing research on corrections, in this instance, the work of Weeks (1981) in his study *Interactive Competence and Error-correction Sequences in Oral Reading* and Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) in *The Preference for Self-Correction in the Organization of Repair in Conversation.*

Corrections - the contribution of Weeks

Weeks's concern lies primarily with " the interactional competences," as he calls them, which are required by pupils to interpret the often vague, indirect hints and prompts that teachers employ as ways of extracting correct outcomes during correctional sequences. Weeks's examples are taken from reading lessons, when the reading out-loud is performed in a round robin fashion. He defines correction sequences as being an oral turn at reading which has broken down sufficiently enough for the teacher to intervene and initiate a guidance strategy. The teacher gives hints in order to enable the pupil to have ample opportunity to attempt a correction of his or hers own performance without ever disclosing the actual word. Weeks's main objective is to argue that the competencies needed by the recipients within reading

correction sequences are the same which are required during the production of repair sequences in naturally occurring conversation.

An important consideration raised by both Weeks's examples taken from reading lessons and by the transcripts used solely for this study, are presented by the question: What is it that enables pupils to identify that an expression produced by the teacher signifies the occurrence of an incorrect utterance that prompts the subsequent initiation to self-select? An investigation is certainly required of the process in which a mere repetition of a word or use of other indexical expressions by the teacher are heard as comprising a critique rather than as an acceptance of the performance.

Weeks highlights the fact that his analysis consists of correction sequences that refer to the interaction between the teacher and pupils only. Furthermore in his aim to differentiate his study from those concerning repair sequences during mundane, everyday conversation, he stresses the fact that during reading lessons, the pupils are orientated solely to the text. Such a text bound activity, serves not only as providing the primary focal point of the lesson but also as the key resource as to what actually counts as an error worthy of teacher-correction. Basically Weeks asserts that during his analysis we must:

> attend to the sequential organisation of both the turn-taking system of correction-sequences and that of rendering a text.

His analysis is divided into two types of teacher initiation techniques: teacher-invited corrections and teacher-guided corrections.

He claims that both kinds present clear instances of the sought after pupil competencies. He initiates his study with the 'teacher invited-corrections,' these are the corrections provided by the teacher during the course of a pupil's turn at oral reading. The corrections in this format are very unspecific, merely hints and clues, giving no real indication of the exact answer required. These types of teacher-corrections usually fall into two categories: firstly, when the teacher repeats the problem utterance or phrase in which it occurs and secondly, when the teacher offers an indexical expression such as "Hmm Mmm" or "No" as a verbal gesture. Weeks offers the following examples to illustrate his findings, concerning the repetition of a word:

(Nick's Dream, lines 17-19)

S: "THERE....ARE NO.....FISH IN THE LAKE. I'M.....[GOING
T: [in thuh lake in/
S: /IN THIS LAKE.

And subsequently regarding the use of the expression "Hm:"

(Second Surprise, lines 12-16)

S: ALL THE CHILDREN LAUGHED. I WOULD BE/
T: /Hm
S: IT WOULD [BE FUN TO GO
T: [Hm

The first example adheres precisely to Weeks's format for the teacher-invited-corrections and provides much fuel for his ultimate objective, the discovery of a pupil's interactional competency within oral reading. From the teacher's repetition of

four words from the previously read text, the pupil is, by using the utterances as a resource, able to identify that the teachers' utterances manifest an evaluative dissatisfaction with some unascertained aspect of the reading. Furthermore, the pupil is able to successfully locate the inaccurate word and substitute it with the favoured outcome. Upon completion of the sequence, the pupil has displayed multiple competencies and has used various methods (understanding, locating, interpreting etc.) in order to gain a positive evaluation from the teacher and the consequent closure of the correctional turn.

The next example, ***Second Surprise***, shows the teacher-correction taking the form of the single indexical expression "Hmm." The pupil is similarly not provided with an exact indication of the wrong utterance or the text in order to indicate at least the word's location within the just-read extract of story. From the mere utterance of "Hmm," the pupil must resort to the use of various methods of competency, which will enable him or her to hear the teacher's expression as constituting an instruction to go over the words again. This enables the pupil to attempt a turn-at-correction whilst being able to recognise the exact location of the fault. During this sequence of what could, at first glance, be described as "divine inspiration," the pupil has to back track a few utterances, in order to take a fresh look at the text. The pupil must then proceed to consult both the text and his or her personal stocks of common sense reading knowledge in order to arrive at an approved response.

In addition, the evaluative use of the term "Hmm" which follows the pupil's response has to then be interpreted, in this instance, merely one turn later, as embodying a positive evaluation and a consequent termination of the correctional sequence. It

would seem that the teacher, the supposed all-knowing director, with the prime objective of being a constant aid and figure of guidance to the pupils under her charge, offers minimal evaluation. Yet miraculously, the pupils are still able to arrive competently at correct answers on the basis of being given very sparse hints and prompts. It is quite remarkable that these acts of competence are treated as being merely common occurrences by the other recipients present, and are usually rewarded by a fleeting positive evaluation by the teacher.

Similarly, Week's second type of correction device, "teacher-guided-corrections," as with the former, does not demand that the teacher, in any way or form, provide the pupil with the precise, sought after correction. In such cases, the teacher's corrections first emulate clues on how to arrive at the correct word and then the use of rules and the employment of an elimination strategy whereby the pupil's specifically incorrect utterances are criticised. Weeks then produces a number of examples, by way of illustrating the instances, in which such teacher-guided-corrections arise during his study of classroom 'talk.' In the majority of the extracts, the teacher, following an inaccurate offering, initiates her turn with some kind of generalised expression ("Alright," "No," "Right," "OK" etc.). This serves to secure both the current reader's attention for the on-coming instructions and guidance, and further creates the possibility of a "boundary marker" signifying that this activity, namely an oral-turn-at-reading, has been momentarily frozen until the correctional sequence has been completed satisfactorily.

Teacher-guided corrections may take many forms but all have to be interpreted by the pupil as performing a multitude of modifying tasks.

(Nick's Dream, lines 63-66)

S "I DO NOT/

T /Alright, it means do not/

S /"I DON'T HAVE A COAT.

In the above example provided by Weeks, a pupil's production of the utterances "I do not", when, in fact, the word "don't" was the preferred response, is answered by the teacher with the expressions: "Alright, it means do not." Following on from the initial attention seeker, "Alright," the teacher's utterances indicate that the correct version must not only be other than "do not," but must also possess the same meaning. The pupil consequently produces the correct answer with little difficulty and continues with the remainder of the text unaffected.

Weeks concludes his analysis of teacher corrections by briefly commenting upon a third type of correction observed within the classroom setting, "teacher-completed corrections," which introduce an alternative type of correctional device commonly made use of by teachers. Similarly, as with the previous reparation techniques, "guided" and "invited," the pupil is, by the same token, halted by the teacher upon the production of an inaccurate reading. However, unlike the previous correctional forms, no clues or prompts are offered as an enticement of the accurate outcome, instead the teacher merely provides the pupil with the correct answer in its entirety.

It may appear then, that such a simple presentation of the solution would require no skills of interpretation or competency from the recipient, however according to Weeks the same interpretive practices are indeed required. Not only must the pupil be able to decipher the type of evaluation that has been supplied (positive or negative) but he or

she must additionally make reference to the just-read-text and be able to effectively substitute the teachers offering with the incorrectly read utterance.

In summary, Weeks again gives emphasis to the question - "What allows the student-reader to hear the expression that way?" The term "expression" refers to the utterances used by the teacher to interrupt a reader's turn and suspend it at an improper turn juncture. How do students then, hear expressions such as "Hmm," "No," Right," "OK," as constituting negative evaluations and the consequent initiation of a correctional sequence, whilst additionally comprising of an invitation, prompting the pupil to attempt a self-correction of an unspecified word? Weeks notes that in his extracts of classroom discourse, teacher-corrections of this type are repetitively used, which in turn reproduce a type of speech-exchange machinery which could be likened to that of Sacks *et al.* (1974) for ordinary conversation when considering especially, the locally administered nature of the turn order.

There is, however, a marked difference between these forms of classroom correctional devices and the repairs which occur within naturally occurring conversation. Namely the reader is entitled, in some instances, to an extended turn as the teacher can suspend a pupils turn-at-reading at any point and commence a correctional sequence for any length of time until a satisfactory closure has been achieved. Such reparations display a collaborative orientation by the members involved, to the sequential organisation of the common text. Weeks has examined a relatively uninvestigated resource, which seeks to examine initially the readers' skills but more significantly the interactional competence utilised by the pupils.

Corrections - the contribution of Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks

The basis for the following analysis concerning self-correction is derived from the study by Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks (1977) *The Preference for Self-correction in the Organisation of Repair in Conversation*, which focuses on a common feature of everyday interaction.

The distinction between self-correction and other-correction becomes the point of initiation for the study, the self and other are termed as being two classes of participants in interactive social organisations, more specifically conversation and its apparatus of turn-taking. It is not intended that these classes be treated as consisting of two separate entities, but that they are related through the organisation of talk, with the preference naturally for self-correction over the intervention of other members. The clarification of this distinction between the repair devices inadvertently then becomes the focus of the study, with the introduction of data to support its findings.

Self-initiated repairs seem to be positioned in three different types of turn structure. Initially, they may occur within the same turn as the initial error, secondly they may be placed in that turn's transition space and their final positioning may be in the speaker's subsequent turn, following the trouble source turn.

Repair initiations however, performed by other members of the conversation occupy one main position, that of the subsequent turn to the error. Upon in-depth analysis, such self and other initiations are commonly accomplished through the use of certain 'initiator techniques,' which include a variety of non-verbal expressions, for example word cut offs, stretching of certain sounds, namely hesitations which signify the

occurrence of an ensuing repair initiation sequence. In direct comparison to this haphazard use of language, other repair initiation is contrastingly direct with the use of questioning statements, such as *Who? When?* and *Where?*, coupled with, in some instances a partial repetition of the error.

This study concentrates on the types of error that may have a repair initiated from the self or the other. The following three types of trouble source serve to illustrate this notion further: word replacement; repairs on person-reference and repairs on next speaker selection. All three can be initiated from the following four positions: same turn; same transition space; next turn and second turn following the trouble source turn. Schegloff *et al.* further the analysis by making reference to the placements of self and other initiation as being organisationally ordered relative to each other. They use the example of other-initiations to highlight their findings as a result of their frequent occurrence following the trouble source turn. The following extract provides the evidence for this claim:

((58) p.45)

Steven: ((Three children playing water tag; Steven has been tagged, and is not "It")

Steven: One, two, three, ((pause)) four five
Six, ((pause)) eleven eight nine ten.

Susan: Eleven? Eight, nine ten?

Steven: Eleven, eight, nine, ten.

Nancy: Eleven?

Steven: Seven, eight, nine, ten.

Susan: That's better.

((Game continues))

In line (1) Steven performs a clearly visible counting error but is permitted by the other participants of the game to continue counting until its natural closure. The discourse which then occurs displays a correctional insertion sequence, whereby the other members are initiating repair and Steven is substituting the propositions, eventually enabling him to produce a corrected version for the others' approval. This allowance of the completion of the turn despite an apparent correctable utterance, and the consequent withholding of other correction, enables both the initial speaker a chance to recognise the error and self-correct and enables the other member to secure the next turn positioning for the production of a repair initiation.

These features certainly provide the evidence needed to suggest that such other repair initiations are organisationally positioned and that both self and other initiation are related to one another, a relatedness which is organised specifically in terms of repair itself.

The discussion is then referred to its initial distinction between the self and the other correction with the continual preference for self-correction. The fact that opportunities for self-initiation take precedence over other-initiation and that during same turn and transition space repair opportunities, the self-initiation is commonly taken by the producer of the trouble source, means that this combination of facts alone reinforces the distribution of corrections towards those done by the self. Furthermore it is not solely self-initiation that prompts self-correction, but also the occurrence of other-initiation in the next turn space which overwhelmingly produces self-corrections.

Despite the relationship between the self and other, it is important to note that the techniques applied for their initiation forms are distinct from one another. Schegloff *et al.* maintain that self-corrections and initiations occurring within the same turn and transition space commonly consist of a joint operation which both locates the inaccuracy and accomplishes a candidate repair which can be separated to display their independent component parts. For example:

((61) p. 48)

Louise: Isn't it next week we're outta school?

Roger: Yeah next week. No // not next week, // the week after.

In the majority of instances, the error retrieval is often coupled with part of the repair candidate, both being accomplished in the same turn as the initial error. The modified form for self-correction consequently becomes a self-initiation, accomplished through some non-verbal expression followed by a candidate repair. Contrary to self-initiated repair, corrections that are initiated by other members can only occur within the next turn, functioning to separate the location of the repairable and statement of the candidate repair. This turn merely enables the other an opportunity to initiate a repair, providing the speaker with a further chance in her subsequent turn to rectify her error. This format continues even when the other has a clear knowledge of the repairable and could have stated it in his turn. Consequently, an other-initiated repair, unlike the self's reparation is not confined to a single turn opportunity and extends over a number of turns, two being the minimum, as the following example suggests:

((63, p. 49)

A: It's just about three o'clock, so she's probably free, I'll call her now

B: What time is it?

A: Three, isn't it?

B: I thought it was earlier.

A: Oh, two. Sorry.

The investigation of Schegloff *et al.* reveals the definite features of organisation that exist within the repair of conversation. Although there is a marked difference between self-correction, the analysis verifies that the organisation of correctional sequences within interaction is focused upon self-correction, a repair that can be accomplished through both self and other initiations which are in turn organised so as to prefer self-correction.

Following this analysis which has been strongly geared towards the preference for self-correction and its equally frequent distribution within conversation, Schegloff *et al.* then briefly touch upon the infrequent occurrence of other-correction. When other-corrections are in fact accomplished, their format is often modified, in that it may be downgraded through the utilisation of various types of questioning formats, (.... I think? & You mean .....?), where the gap represents a possible other-correction in substitution for the original error. In these instances the use of other's language enables the statement to be heard as merely an offer of a replacement remark, proffered for acceptance or rejection, rather than directly stating the preferred outcome. Other-corrections, despite their occurrence within conversation, unlike other-initiations, are highly constrained. Schegloff *et al.* however, do recognise that

in other environments, other-correction may occur with the same frequency as self-correction.

One such example is evident within a story-telling sequence within ordinary conversation. A member may be involved in the process of telling a story, when the interruption of a further listener in the form of an other-correction may be used to gain the floor as a co-teller, collaborating with the original teller to produce a joint rendition of the happening. In addition, to this type of repair within this specific story-telling context, Schegloff *et al.* emphasise a further exception to the highly restricted occurrence of other-correction: that which takes place within the boundaries of adult-child interaction. Within the sphere of this distinctly structured discourse pattern, other-corrections are commonplace, with much of their use being derived from the need to socialise the child. It seems to consist of a means of conveyance to those who are involved in the learning process, a by-product of which is the continual provision of guidance and correction. It represents a stage of transience, its ultimate goal being the competent replacement of other, adult-correction with self, child-correction.

In summary, the previous studies by Weeks and Schegloff *et al.* have provided an additional means of understanding the corrective move and will now become a starting point for an analysis relating specifically to teacher corrections within the setting of a remedial reading lesson. The investigation will primarily focus upon the findings of these two analysts and will attempt to apply them to the corrections that occur within this context.

Corrections as Evaluations

The analysis that follows will consider both the repair sequences cited by Weeks and those by Schegloff *et al.* in particular relation to the remedial reading lesson. More specifically to this section of the study, corrections will be considered in terms of their occurrence constituting a further type of evaluative move used by the teacher.

Weeks analyses the ways in which pupils use evaluations made by the teacher as a resource to understand what may have been at fault with their just accomplished reading performance. As corrections may be viewed as a type of evaluation, Weeks's examples will be applied to the data on remedial reading. Similarly the Schegloff *et al.* study of the structure of the repair initiation shows how corrections/evaluations are achieved within ordinary conversation and again have relevance for this chapter.

To initiate this examination of corrections, a section of a typical remedial reading lesson (Ex. 1) will be analysed in order to gain a greater understanding of the types of repair which occur and are perhaps, unique to this type of classroom context.

(Ex. 1)

01 T: OK Sion start off the story

02 S: The con man and the president (.) had escaped from the hotel. They were in a cab. The con man had (2.7) gotten ride

03 T: No not ride

04 S: Rid of his cab

05 T: WHAT?

06 S: Cab?

07 T: Yeah but that's on the line above you've already read that line

08 S: Oh yeah, wig and his (2.4) bridal dress,

09 T: Yeah,

10 S: He has

11 T: He?

12 M: Was

13 S: Was thinking, the president is very odd. I must leave him and go hide somewhere the president said to the cab driver talk,

14 T: NO

15 S: take

16 T: Yeah?

17 S: us to the docks we are going to take a trip on a ship because we went,

18 T: No

19 S: want,

20 T: [Hmm

[

21 S: [want to leave this town, so the cab went to the docks then the driver turned around and said, that will be six dollars the president turned to the con man, private he said pay the driver.

22 T: OK ER:: (1.0) WHERE WERE THE CON MAN AND THE PRESIDENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY DAVID?

(Year 8, June 5th p.8)

In line (1), Sion is selected to begin a turn at individual reading. During his third sentence he is interrupted by the teacher's utterances "No not ride," which marks the start of a correctional sequence and a temporary suspension of Sion's turn at reading. This represents an example of Weeks's teacher-guided correction, as the teacher, first provides the negative evaluative expression "No" and then, proceeds to give the instruction "not ride." This provides the pupil with the clue that the sought after correction must be a word other than "ride" but the raised intonation also suggests that the correct word may indeed share some similarity to the initial incorrect response in either its spelling or pronunciation. The pupil makes a successful interpretation of the

teachers' methods of guidance and continues his reading turn. Again in line (5) the turn is abruptly terminated with the use of the emphasised questioning expression – "WHAT?" The pupil interprets such an inquiry as constituting a negative evaluation and not merely a sign that the teacher has genuinely not heard the pupil's preceding utterances. Furthermore, the pupil competently presumes that this negative performance expression must relate to the last-read utterance, to which the pupil then repeats in order to clarify this notion and to seek more information about the response required.

In the subsequent turn, the pupil's request is granted and the teacher provides the pupil with two further clues, that he has already read that specific word and that it was located within the previous sentence. In line (8) the pupil acknowledges his mistakes and resumes his reading turn from the last corrected word. The teacher's use of an acknowledgement becomes an indication that although the pupil had already produced a number of errors, at this point the reading is correct and is interpreted as such by the pupil (S) who continues reading without hesitation. In line (11), the teacher repeats a just-read word with heightened intonation, "He?" The pupil must use a variety of interpretive practices and competencies to arrive at the correct understanding of the utterance. Sion must locate the "He?" within the most recent utterances and must then uncover the significance of the expression. Does it require that the "He" be substituted or does it in fact consist of a prompt using the word before the incorrect words by way of guidance as to the location of the inaccurate response?

In this instance it appears to be a prompt which is interpreted competently by Sion who proceeds to provide the next word and produce an extended stint of correct

reading. The final two corrective devices used during this specific pupil's turn at reading are both instances of the use of the negative evaluation "No" following an incorrect word in the reading. In both cases the pupil has interpreted the negative expression as referring to the last-read-word and has made an appropriate rectification in each case. This signifies that the teacher's use of "No," without any further instruction or information given about the type of correction sought, does, in fact, frequently refer to the last word of the reading up to the point of teacher intervention. This will be considered in more detail as it proposes interesting implications for correction sequences - Does the amount of guidance supplied by the teacher following an error refer to its location within the text?

Sacks (1992) makes a similar finding relating to ordinary conversation in his lecture concerning "laughter." Although this has little connection with the use of "No" as a corrective device during classroom interaction, it does in fact give some understanding of the correct placement of words in order to make a successful completion of the sequence. Sacks consequently maintains that there are some utterances for which a definite feature of them is their placing. Laughter is one such utterance containing these properties; when it is performed, it can be observed to be bound to the last-said expression. Laughing, therefore, has an exact location within interaction, it cannot be postponed and then implemented following another non-comical utterance.

To produce an effectively placed laugh, it must occur directly after the utterance to which the humour is aimed. Laughing will always be heard as operating in this way, in that, if the laughter occurs following the next utterance, which was not intended to

produce the laughter as the next turn, then the other recipients present would then question the laugh's status. The positioning of the teacher's use of the expression "No," in accordance with Sacks, is vital if the sense of its referral is to be fully recognised by the pupil. In this case then, the expression "no" when used during a pupil's turn at reading seemingly refers to the last-read word, a repair which is successfully achieved by both the teacher and pupil.

Examples of this use of "No" are observable in lines (14) and (18) of the above extract. In both instances the teacher interjects the abrupt evaluation "No" directly following the pupil's last-read word. The pupil understands this as referring to the last word and the last word only, exhibiting definite interpretive competency as uncovered by Weeks. The pupil, for example, in the first instance (lines 13 - 15) must decipher the "No" as referring only to the word "Talk," and not to one of the preceding twenty two words. How does such a simplistic indexical expression heard by the pupil constitute a reference to the last word?

It appears that the immediate positioning of the "no" is of significance, if the "no" were placed following the next correct utterance rather than the previous inaccurate one then it would be ineffective and confusion would result. During the implementation of this correction seeking utterance, the pupil 'S' in line (15) and (19), is able to locate the inaccuracy and substitute it with the sought outcome. It can only be assumed that both the location of the "No" and its conciseness, providing no further information or clues to the answer required, indicate that it can only refer to the most effortlessly located word, namely that which was last read by the pupil.

The above fragment of analysis has uncovered some features of the teacher's methods of evaluation. The analysis will now take a more in-depth look at correction in line with Schegloff's *et al.* findings and Weeks's in relation to repair within the context of classroom interaction and more specifically, the remedial reading lesson.

Correction's revealed

From the outset it does not require a detailed investigation to be aware that direct teacher correction is, not surprisingly, by-far the most common form of correction that occurs within a remedial lesson, or in any classroom for that matter. The members present, teacher and pupils, and their incumbent behavioural traits of being a teacher and pupils mean that, 'correcting' and 'being corrected' are assumed roles. However, it is still pertinent to this analysis to uncover the types of corrections that do take place in these lessons and if there is no apparent preference for self-correction, then, what role does it take within these lessons?

Four types of correctional sequences seem to emerge from the teacher-pupil interaction, they are as follows:

- Direct teacher correction
- Teacher-guided correction
- Direct pupil self-correction
- Teacher-error followed by self-correction

- Direct teacher correction

The above four instances are ordered by their apparent frequency of occurrence, beginning with clearly the most common, direct teacher correction of a pupil's

reading error or the whole classes' error during a particular class exercise. The following extracts of data will illustrate this mundane repair sequence in detail.

(Ex. 2)

01 P'S: Sh flash ch chin al also r::

02 T: It's I, right R I G H T I?

03 P'S: Right ea reached all wall

(Year 8, June 5th p.2)

In this instance the activity in which the pupils are engaged in is the new words phase in which lists of words taken from the word boxes in the booklet are to be recited both in unison and individually for both the benefit of the teacher and the class as a whole. In line (1), the pupils are sounding out both the underlined part of the word indicated in their workbooks and then the entire word. Following three correctly pronounced sounds and their adjoining words, the group briefly suspend their collaborative reading sequence at the fourth word, "Right." In the second line of speech the teacher intervenes, immediately stating both the underlined sound and the succeeding word, which is then repeated by the class jointly and the activity proceeds to the next words on the list. The next example shows a similar occurrence:

(Ex. 3)

01 T: I didn't think you had, <u>David</u> off you go,

02 D: t (6.4) the president rubbed his chin. (1.0) Then he said, all right give me twenty dollars, and I'll give you a pass. But you must remember that the pass is just good for today. If I ever see you in this spot again with a pass

03 T: Without,

04 D: without a pass, I will throw you in jail the woman said I'll er:: never be here without a pass. I (.) was here to meet (.) a friend how.....

05 T: <u>Who was</u> yeah, I was here to meet a friend who was and he <u>interrupts</u> her

06 D: just give me the twenty bucks (1.9) the president said yes, right..

07 T: yes sir

08 D: yes, sir the woman said you…

(Year 8, June 5th p.11)

In this example the pupil D has been individually selected to complete a designated amount of text from the day's story. Following D's initial reading attempt, the teacher in line (3), interrupts the flow with the one word response "without" aimed at the substitution of the pupil's last two incorrect utterances. D then continues with the story, modifying the text accordingly. However, in line (5), the teacher similarly intervenes with a repair of D's last-read utterances, and again in line (7), which are substituted accurately by D combined with the continuation of the story. In all the instances of repair during this sequence, the teacher has both initiated and corrected the pupil's reading errors with no objection from the pupil and a lack of preference towards self-correction displayed during the teacher's turn. The teacher during these activities of reading and word recital assumes the role of instructor, a point of reference for the exercise at hand. Both the pupils and teacher are constantly aware of the roles that permanently exist during the lesson phase. The teacher is expected to possess a complete knowledge of every activity which is set within the classroom.

Consequently upon the event of the pupils or pupil being selected to accomplish a specific task, the pupils are focused solely upon the teacher, using her knowledge and guidance to eventually arrive at a satisfactory outcome.

- Teacher-guided correction

The following types of correctional sequences adhere to Weeks' examples of teacher-guided corrections. The teacher uses questioning language, indicating the preference in these instances for the pupils to self-correct.

(Ex. 4)

01 P'S: OA goat, AI drain, OO tools, SH shut, OR shore, U yum, SH rushed, CH cheered, EA reach

02 T: Yes OK but try not to say CH, some of you are saying CH, remember what is the sound?

03 (4.0)

04 T: Remember what do we say? We don't say CH, Steven?

05 ST: CHE,

06 T: Yes CHE you don't need the U sound, just the CHE sound come on let's do that again because some of you were half asleep there OA,

(Year 7, June 12th p. 2)

This example occurs during the new words phase, the pupils as a whole are required to state both an underlined sound and the entire word from the list. In line (1) the pupils incorrectly pronounce the sound "Che" from the word "Cheered". The teacher, however, waits until the end of the list before she comments upon the error, not unlike the treatment of error within everyday conversation in accordance with Schegloff *et al.*, whereby the *other* often allows the completion of the turn prior to the introduction of a repair-initiation. In line (2), the teacher repeats the inaccurate sound and instructs the pupils to draw upon their past knowledge of what the required sounds may consist of. A pause during the preferred position for self-correction prompts the teacher to reiterate her methods of extraction, in which she repeats the incorrect sound within the

format "We don't say CH." Finally in line (5) a single pupil produces the sound, which is then evaluated positively by the teacher.

(Ex. 5)

01 T: Right Sion?

02 S: Threw

03 T: Is it threw?

04 S: Throw couldn't once wig,

05 T: Right Nicholas,

(Year 8, June 5th p.7)

As with the previous example, the activity is taking place within the new words phase whereby a single pupil, Sion, has been selected to read a list consisting of four new words. He starts his turn in line (2) with an inaccurate tense of the required word, "Threw," in place of "Throw." The teacher responds simply with a question in line (3), repeating "Threw" emphasising its inaccuracy and the need for Sion to substitute it with another utterance, which he readily accomplishes in his subsequent turn, completing the entire list successfully. The final teacher-guided example within this collection is as follows:

(Ex. 6)

01 P'S: Planted, worked, faster, people, yelled, town, didn't, grabbed, seventeen, all wool, slow, begged, planned, let's, you're, planted, hand

02 T: No it's not planted, it's..?

03 P'S: Panted, handed, speed, ready

(Year 7, May 22nd p.6)

The pupils are again reading in unison from word lists for the teacher's approval. The jointly produced error occurs during the recital and the teacher stops the pupils almost

instantaneously. She once again uses the questioning technique, restating the incorrect word in a question format, and requesting the pupils to reconsider their response. The pupils, with this vague clue, provide the correct answer in line (3) and continue with the remainder of the words. It therefore, seems usual for the teacher to interrupt the reading flow immediately upon the production of an error in comparison to its occurrence in ordinary conversation whereby the turn containing the trouble source is permitted to close before the introduction of an *other* repair-initiation. This indicates the teacher's immediate need for correction and self-correction, wishing to remedy the error without delaying the task at hand.

- Direct pupil self-correction

As with ordinary conversation, pupils do produce self-corrections directly after their initial error. In such instances, despite the error, the teacher permits the turn to continue. The following extracts show this type of self-correction:

(Ex. 7)
(a)

01 S: That's the way to do it the woman said then she added, see how fast you can stack the faster you stack the more money you'll make (1.0) so Chee began her jog as the um as a slate stacker.

02 T: Good Steven Williams finish off for us,

(Year 7, March 27th p.14)

(b)

01 T: What was the deal? Can anyone remember? (2.0) Stephanie?

02 S: If Shelly won he'd have to work on the ranch everyday like a horse and if Shelly, if he won I mean he wouldn't have to work on the ranch.

03 T: That's right yes, so he wouldn't have to work so I'm sure he wants to win. Doesn't he? um (2.0) OK Ben you haven't read yet have you?

(Year 7, May 18th p.12)

(c)

01 T: On a ship yes, they went to the docks didn't they? ERR WHO HAD TO PAY THE CAB DRIVER NICHOLAS?

02 (1.3)

03 N: The president, I mean the con man,

04 T: Right, David any more noise and I'll have to separate you, you'll be on your own (1.5) OK KATHERINE (3.2) now

(Year 8, June 5th p. 9)

In (Ex. 7a) the pupil S is taking her turn at reading. In her final sentence she confuses the words "the" and "a ," clearly a simple oversight rather than a serious reading or pronunciation error. The teacher responds to this same turn self-correction positively with the acknowledgement "Good," signifying the satisfactory closure of her turn and the initiation of a further pupil to resume reading. Example (b), similarly displays a pupil's self-correction directly succeeding an error. This occurs during the comprehension phase of the lesson when questions are posed to selected pupils about certain instances in the just-read text. Pupil S is specifically selected to answer a question which she accomplishes with a slight confusion relating to the gender of the other character in the story, she then self-corrects successfully with the utterances, "If Shelly, if he won I mean."

This instance can be differentiated from the previous example (a), as the pupil is not required to recite specific words from the text, but must instead create a self composed summary in her own words pertaining to the character's actions. Nevertheless, her error is quite obvious, making her self-correction warrantable and a

vital implication of the teacher's following response. The teacher responds by displaying her approval of S's attempt but also repeats clearly the section of the answer in which S experienced the most difficulty, enabling the teacher to clarify the self-correction for the benefit of S and the remainder of the class.

The final example, (c), again shows a simplistic self-correction during a response to a comprehension question. Pupil N is experiencing difficulty with the character titles. The pupil's imminently produced self-correction functions to discount his initial error and he is subsequently provided with an approved closure by the teacher.

- Teacher-error followed by self-correction

The emphasis of the study will now move to teacher-error. Error is not something that would immediately be connected to the characteristics and behaviour presumed by the role of 'teacher'. The initial three extracts illustrate instances where a teacher-error has been followed by both a teacher self-correction within the same turn and a continuation of the activity.

(Ex. 8)
(a)

01 A: Turn, steered, (2.0) ordered, sleeve

02 T: Yes OK nine out of ten, out of eleven wasn't it?

03 S: Miss can I read first?

(Year 7, June 12th p.8)

(b)

01 T: Yeah but he gave us the answer before and he wasn't supposed to. Right Phillip (2.6) YOU'RE JUST WHAT I TOLD YOU NOT TO DO. How much had the con man eaten when they had to go? Sion How many wheat cakes, no sorry how many had the con man eaten Phillip?

02 P: One **(Year 7, February 11th p.11)**

(c)

01 T: Lesson thirty three in your work in your story books now

(pupils find appropriate material (8.0))

(Year 7, June 8th p. 3)

In extract (8a), upon completion of an individual word list read by pupil A, the teacher now wishes to commence the assessed component of the reading phase. In this section, a certain number lines of text must be completed with a minimum of two errors to enable the class to receive maximum points for that section of the lesson. The teacher however, in line (2), initially instructs the pupils to read nine from the apparent ten lines but then substitutes ten for eleven as a self-correction, requesting pupil affirmation. Her request is completely disregarded by the pupils who take it for granted that the teacher must be correct and in the following turn, the pupil S's utterance enable the activity of reading to commence with no further mention of the teacher's confusion.

Extract (b) consists of the teacher's compilation of an appropriate comprehension question directed at the pupil P in order to assess his memory skills concerning the content of the story. The question is initially directed at S, however, the rephrased question is aimed solely at P and contains the error. The teacher clearly confuses certain aspects of the story but soon replaces her inaccurate wording with a comprehendible relevant question. Despite the teacher's constant change of meaning, P is still able to understand his role as "answerer" and competently gives the correct response, which can only be as a result of the teacher's rapid self-correction.

Example (c) further displays a teacher error combined with an immediate self-correction which is necessary especially within the realms of instruction, as the pupils take for granted the teacher's ability to provide specific and precise guidance relating to an impending activity. These brief examples of classroom interaction have shown the occurrence of teacher-error followed by teacher, self-correction and the successful continuance of the lesson proper. The following examples, however, again make reference to teacher-error with self-correction but with the addition of the breakdown of the turn flow, evident as a result of the error.

(d)

01 T: Natalie? Not Natalie, Natalie's your sister (laughs) come on,

02 S: Gates, shape, waved, here's,

(Year 7, May 22nd p. 7)

(e)

01 T: Goo::d, Stephanie I mean Steven sorry (laughter)

02 (laughter)

03 T: Go on,

04 ST: Neatly, broken,

(Year 7, May 18th p.6-7)

In extract (d), the teacher has been selecting individual pupils to read a line of words in the new word's phase. Upon completion of a pupil's turn, the teacher selects an unknown pupil N to commence a turn. N does not attend this particular class and is the sister of the pupil S, the teacher's originally intended selection. The teacher when realising her error, un-selects N, stating that she is the selected pupil's sister and urges the initiation of her turn. Although the teacher acknowledges and self-initiates her

error, she does not in fact, at any juncture, make direct reference to the actual required pupil S or self-correct her initial name confusion.

The selected pupil must use interpretative methods to make sense of the teacher's inaccurate referral. This confusion has occurred in previous lessons, so functions to normalise the teacher's lack of re-selection and self-correction stating the correct name. Both the class and the pupil S will realise to whom the name "Natalie" refers to and S competently produces an accurate reading attempt in the subsequent turn position. However the minimal prompt "come on" had to be offered by the teacher in order to emphasise and verify S's access to the subsequent turn opportunity.

Extract (e) shows a similar occurrence following the completion of a pupil's turn at reading, when the teacher attempts the selection of the next reader. She initially selects S, a pupil who has only just completed a turn. The teacher's error is then immediately self-corrected with the replacement of a more appropriate next-pupil turn, ST. The newly selected pupil, however, appears to be momentarily confused by the teacher-error and consequently requires a further prompt in order to fulfill his turn effectively.

The majority of the extracts relating to teacher-error and self-rectification display the teacher's expression of regret usually with the remark "sorry," indicating her uncharacteristic behaviour. Pupils experiencing similar problems with activities are not required to and do not appear to apologise following an error. The role of 'pupil' permits that incorrect responses be a continual and incessant feature of their category. Furthermore, additional hints are required following an incomplete or misunderstood

correction as opposed to the immediate distinct teacher self-corrections which present little threat to the lesson flow.

Summary

The application of Schegloff *et al's.* notion of self and other correction to the remedial classroom has uncovered additional insights into the complexity of the evaluative move. The study relating to other-initiation and repair demonstrated the most marked findings. Contrary to its occurrence in ordinary conversation, the teacher in most instances did not wait until the natural closure of the pupil's turn before implementing an other-initiation whether it be a direct correction or a prompt (Ex 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). The examples of direct teacher correction seem to indicate little desire for self-correction. During these instances of repair, the teacher is able to locate the error and produce a *candidate repair* during a single turn (Ex.2, line 2), an occurrence which can only be extended over a number of turns during naturally occurring conversation.

Self-initiation and correction occur in much the same way as in ordinary conversation. A pupil self-correction can occur within the same turn as the initial error or may be accomplished following a teacher-initiation. Similarly a teacher-error may be rectified through a self-correction within the same turn space or following a pupil-initiation. However upon the event of a teacher-error, a non-category bound trait, the teacher must make use of various methods to maintain the lesson flow. In some instances (Ex. 8e, line 3), the pupils must be re-selected or prompted and in the majority of instances the teacher expresses an apology, a remark which is rarely produced or required following a pupil-error.

The underlying basis of Schegloff's *et al.* rules for self and other repair when applied to classroom interaction uncover both similarities and differences. Both the actual placement of self and other-initiated repairs, being located within the same turn, same transition space or in the next turn and in the case of other-initiations in the next turn only, do appear to take place within the data. However the unequal share of power and authority ever present in any classroom where there exists the divide between the teacher as "all knowing" and the pupil as "ever learning" inevitably produces a contrasting use of correction in relation to its implementation by self and other members. All Schegloff's *et al.* findings can be located within the classroom data but each party whether it be teacher or pupil utilise some aspects only.

Certainly there appears to be an underlying preference for self-corrections within the domain of the classroom, they are after all, the ultimate aim of any teacher's intentions. However, a pupil must firstly posses enough knowledge to know how to self-correct, a process which can only be learnt through continual study with the teacher whose prime objective is to rectify errors to ensure that ultimately the pupil will be able to self-correct competently.

Chapters seven and eight have uncovered some interesting insights into the types of evaluation evident within a remedial reading lesson and how their use may be differentiated somewhat from the rules for correction that exist within ordinary conversation.

9

Conclusion

The following summation of the thesis will provide an overview of the key analytical findings provided in the preceding chapters and will then move to a discussion on 'recognising remediality.'

A summation

As has been discussed and illustrated in the findings of this thesis, ethnomethodology is concerned with discovering and describing the methods used to accomplish social activities and in this specific case, activities relating to educational phenomena. Such methods are used to produce social activities in a way that allows them to be recognisable as being only those activities. This study has focused upon certain methods used by the teacher and pupils in the production of remedial reading lessons that enable the lesson to be recognisable as such.

The analysis chapters on spelling, americanisms, recipient design and evaluations have uncovered some hidden and taken for granted aspects contained within the interactions of remedial reading lessons and have consequently made a unique contribution to the EM/CA body of existing research.

The first analytical chapter, dedicated to spelling practices within the lessons, provides a detailed, ethnographic body of work. An initial overview of existing research by Macbeth then progresses to a consideration of the specific spelling activities that occur within the remedial reading lessons themselves. Spelling extracts

are divided into those which are deemed to be planned, for example, those derived from a scripted lesson and unplanned, those which are prompted by a pupil's reading error or confusion with a certain word's pronunciation. It is the analysis of unplanned spelling, however, which provides a greater understanding of the types of activities which incur the use of spelling in these types of lessons. The data has indicated that these are most evident during correct answer extraction where the teacher utilises spelling as a device, enabling her to provide hints of the sought answer without sacrificing the answer in its entirety.

The extract on memory aids provides an understanding of the distinctive techniques used by the teacher to commit a certain spelling pattern to the pupils' personal stocks of knowledge. These rhymes are unique to this specific teacher's style and instruction and are based upon the collections of letters that, when put together in a word format, produce the most confusion and difficulty for the pupils. The final section in this chapter describes the process whereby the teacher uses spelling as a way in which to explain a prevalent error to the class as a whole, usually by encouraging the pupils to dissect a word letter-by-letter in order to have a greater understanding of its spelling pronunciation. Each of the phenomena studied is presented in an ethnographic format enabling the function of spelling in the context of a remedial reading lesson to be explained and understood.

The next analytical chapter concentrates on the americanised language used in the reading series and how this impacts upon the remedial readers' ability to learn and retain the information. The study focuses primarily upon the teacher's use of specific activities such as explanantions, substitutions and even in some instances, methods of avoidance in order to preserve the pupils understanding of the words in the context of

the story. The study then highlights the teachers contrasting treatment of correctly and incorrectly read americanisms.

The study suggests that the teacher uses quite a sweeping approach with such words, in that she only does one thing with them at any one instance. When read accurately the americanism will be explained in full to the class, however, when accomplished incorrectly, the teacher's concerns lie with achieving the word without delay with no further explanation attached in order to progress to the next task successfully. This chapter certainly provides a distinctive and detailed analysis into a seemingly ironic aspect of the remedial reading lessons under scrutiny and may provide an argument to suggest that the country of origin of any preliminary reading series' should be taken into consideration before the material is exposed to the pupils.

The chapters on recipient design are the most significant and unique contribution this body of research has made to the EM/CA tradition. The concept of recipient design originates from the assertion that the remedial teacher, aware of the differing levels of remediality present in the classroom, constructs an ability profile of each child in order to facilitate successful interaction with each individual. Consequently, recipient design becomes a concept that defines the teachers actions and utterances which are shaped to treat the actions and utterances of specific pupil's.

The initial chapter on recipient design introduces the concept by examining pupils with apposing ability levels, R being the weakest and M the strongest. When reducing the extracts of classroom interaction to their simplest component parts, it is possible to observe the different methods used by the teacher when faced with such opposing sequences of talk. In essence she individualises her comments and reacts to

the pupil in question, based upon her experience of the child's ability level. Having outlined the fundamental uses of recipient design, a wider analysis in chapter six then makes a consideration of recipient design's relationship to themes that have formed a strong presence within the data. All serve to highlight recipient design's ever present nature within remedial reading lessons and its distinctiveness as a research object in this context.

Finally, the subject of evaluations centres upon two main themes. Chapter seven analyses the teacher's use of the evaluative acknowledgement tokens "Yeah" and "Mmm" as responses to pupil's reading attempts. The analysis reveals that these tokens seem to have a variety of functions. They are used by the teacher as continuers in error-free and error-ridden reading. There is also evidence to suggest that "Yeah" is used by the teacher as a bid for speakership as asserted by Jefferson for ordinary conversation. This chapter successfully reveals the different types of contexts in which the acknowledgement tokens are used as evaluations and has highlighted the confusion that an apparent multiple function of the "Yeah" token has brought to play on the lessons. It appears that there is no clear distinction for the rules of the "Yeah" token within the classroom and its function in ordinary conversation as a bid for speakership prevails, causing in some instances, confusion and a breakdown in the lesson flow.

The second chapter dedicated to the subject of evaluations focuses upon the correction as representing a further type of evaluation used by the teacher within the remedial reading lesson, taking the basics for the research from the work of Weeks and Schegloff *et al.* The analysis of raw data uncovered the types of correctional

sequences that occur between the teacher and pupils in this context and the differences and similarities to those which occur in ordinary conversation. However, the differing roles of the two members present 'teacher' and 'pupils' will inevitably produce a contrasting use of correction. All Schegloff's *et al.* findings can be located within the remedial reading data but each member is observed to use some aspects only. Self-corrections must be, commonsensically, the preferred outcome in any classroom, remedial or otherwise, however, a pupil must firstly posses enough knowledge to know how to self-correct, a method that can only be learnt from the teacher.

Recognising remediality

How, then, are the lessons visibly remedial? In what sense does the teacher's talk take into account that the pupils are remedial readers? In other words, how does the data analysed in the body of the thesis display an orientation to the remediality of the readers and the remedial character of the lessons?

A great quantity of extracts throughout the analysis chapters have highlighted features which seem to identify these lessons as remedial. The chapters on spelling, evaluations and recipient design, for example, all display teacher-pupil interaction including frequent instances of elongated pausing, repetition and the implementation of step-wise formats as aids for the reader. In other words, the category 'remedial reader' or more specifically 'remedial speller' has certain predicates tied to it, and these are displayed in the talk. The pauses, repetitions and stepwise formats are all things which we as members of the social world would expect to occur in a remedial teaching environment.

The recognisabilitiy, however, of a remedial reading lesson cannot be reduced only to such sequential components. Yes, visible features of 'remedialness' are being produced but how is it being produced and how do we see it as such? In order to effectively answer this question, George F Payne's analysis "Making a Lesson happen: an ethnomethodological analysis," (1976) will be used as a model.

According to Payne, in order to achieve recognisability of a social activity it is important to discover what the members deem relevant at that particular time. For example, the identity they adopt, their relationship with other members, the activity in hand and the situation in which it all takes place.

Remedial reading lessons do not 'just happen,' they must be achieved by the methodic practices of the members present (Payne, 1976). How does this lesson constitute a members accomplishment? Payne uses an extract from the beginning of a lesson to support his analysis, therefore, extracts from remedial lessons will also be drawn upon.

For the utterances in the extracts used in this thesis to constitute a remedial reading lesson, they must display features which make them recognisable as such to all the members present. All classroom lessons display certain features which are easily identifiable and are taken for granted. For example, every lesson must have a teacher figure and pupils and in the case of a remedial lesson these two membership categories must produce talk and actions which make them recognisable as being in this type of classroom as opposed to any other type of lesson.

Teachers are membership categories with which we associate particular behaviourisms or category-bound-activities. For example, we would expect a teacher to instruct the pupils, to give orders and generally command the lesson situation from start to finish. Similarly there are certain activities that we link with pupils, such as to obey the teacher's instructions. As Payne states, the categories of Teacher and Pupil function to imply one another. Each member orientates themselves to category bound activities in order to make sense of the utterances they are hearing.

In everyday society we associate certain 'things' with individuals deemed as being remedial. The descriptions 'slow,' 'simpleton' and 'below average intelligence' come to mind. In the sense of children in a remedial reading lesson, we regard them as lagging behind the other students and in need of a segregated teaching environment which will hopefully enable them to 'catch up' and eventually re-join mainstream lessons. We also tie certain behaviour traits to remedial teachers. They must be patient, sympathetic but authoritative and have a great understanding of human nature.

Various features of these remedial reading lessons display their recognisablity as such. As mentioned earlier there are certain patterns that occur within the interactions that indicate the remedial nature. Extensive pausing and the production of error must be category bound activities of a remedial reader. However, all pupils in all types of lessons, History, Geography, French etc. frequently get answers 'wrong' so it must be assumed there is an acceptable level of error permissible before a child is deemed in need of special treatment.

Throughout the transcripts, the teacher similarly displays recognisable features of remedial teaching practices through her talk. She excessively uses praise, prompts, repetition and invokes certain stepwise formats in order to encourage correct reading attempts. Again, however, these category bound activities are not unique to this type of setting. Over exaggerated praise would certainly be expected to occur in a nursery or pre-school environment or perhaps where children have other types of disability and require particular encouragement. Likewise, prompting and repetition are part of any lesson, especially when new or difficult topics are introduced. For example, whilst learning a new language, a child may be a high achiever in Science or Maths but may struggle with the unfamiliarity of having to interact in German.

It could be suggested that in the remedial reading lesson such features of remedial reading practice are built into the routine organisation of the lessons themselves. Are these features a basic taken-for-granted component of the lessons? Furthermore, if these features are not unique to the remedial reading context, then how can recognisability be achieved of the remedial reading lessons as displaying an orientation to the recipients of readers talk as remedial readers? The answer is that it is a complicated task due to the common components present in both 'normal' and remedial lessons.

However, one significant factor which clearly stands out as making this lesson recognisably remedial is the type of teaching material used. The teaching content is not of a level that you would associate with the age group present. This can be explained further by modifying Sacks' (1992) 'stage of life device' to account for the intra-stages that occur within the educational setting. In the sense that certain stages

of life are attached to specific expectations, knowledge and beliefs from birth to death, so are the stages of a child's education. For example, we expect a child of four years old to have poor reading, writing and oral capabilities but a child of twelve to have grasped a vast range of the English language along with adequate reading and writing skills.

In the remedial reading lessons in this thesis the pupils do not conform to the expectations of their 'stage of education' category. The material provided is that which would routinely be given to a competent eight year old, certainly considered far too elementary for a twelve to thirteen year old. At some point in the pupils schooling they have failed to reach a specific standard and now exist outside the typical 'stage of education' device.

This thesis has identified the social organisation of certain aspects of remedial reading lessons and has enabled their production to be made identifiable as members' accomplishments. Through the various organisational aspects the lessons examined are constituted as remedial reading lessons and the participants as 'remedial readers' and 'remedial teacher' respectively. More specifically, the thrust of the research has highlighted how some pupils in a remedial reading lesson can be recognised as being treated differently to others and how the teacher is able to display this through the design of her talk.

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