Teacher Attitudes and the Conditions for Authentic Dialogue in Communicative EFL Classroom

Timo Nevalainen
University of Tampere
The School of Modern Languages and Translation Studies
English Philology
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NEVALAINEN, TIMO: Teacher Attitudes and the Conditions for Authentic Dialogue in
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Opinnäytetyössäni tarkastelen vieraiden kielten (erityisesti englannin kieli) puheviestinnän taitojen opetusta ja opettajan kielellistä vuorovaikutusta oppijoiden kanssa siitä näkökulmasta millaiset mahdollisuudet luokkahuoneessa voidaan luoda osallistujien välisen autenttisen dialogin syntymiselle ja miten opettajan asenne oppijoita kohtaan vaikuttaa näiden edellytysten syntymiseen. Tutkimuskysymys perustuu voimakkaasti käsitykselle jonka mukaan dialogin syntyminen edistää oppijan mahdollisuuksia omaksua vieras kieli välineeksi omista kokemuksistaan, tunteistaan ja tuntemuksistaan keskustelemiseen ja vieraan kielen mielekkääseen käyttämiseen yhteisen ymmärryksen luomiseen toisten kanssa.

Dialogisuutta käsittelevä kirjallisuus listaa edellytyksenä dialogisen suhteen muodostumiseksi ihmisten välille mm. pidättäytymisen arvioinnista ('evaluation'), luottamuksen osallistujien välillä, toisen huomioonottamisen, vuorovaikutuksen ja osallistumisen molemminpuolisuuden ('mutuality') ja demokraattisen auktoriteetin. Näiden edellytysten olemassaoloa englanninkielen kommunikatiivisen taidon kurssilla olen tarkastellut luokkahuonediskurssin analyysin (kriittinen diskurssianalyysi), etnografisen luokkahuonetilanteen havainnoinnin ja opettajan teemahaastattelun kautta. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi antaa menetelmänä tietoa erityisesti molemminpuolisen osallistumisen mahdollisuuksista ('dialogicality') liittyen valtasuhteisiin sosiaalisessa tilanteessa kun taas havainnoinnin ja erityisesti haastattelun kautta saadaan tietoa opettajan dialogisuuteen, oppijoihin ja oppiaineen luonteeseen liittyvistä käsityksistä ja siitä miten ne vaikuttavat hänen käytäntöihinsä ja suhtautumiseen oppijoihin opetustilanteessa.

Teoreettis-filosofinen perusta tutkimukselleni rakentuu eksistentialismiin pohjaavasta dialogisuuden filosofiasta (Martin Buber ja David Bohm), Carl R. Rogersin humanistisen kasvatuspsykologian alaan kuuluvista tutkimuksista ja Paulo Freiren ja Ira Shorin kriittisen pedagogiikan ja oppijalähtöisen opetuksen käytännöistä ja teoriasta.

Tutkielmaani varten olen tarkkaillut ja nauhoittanut englannin kielen kommunikatiivisen taidon (puheviestintä) kurssin tunteja yliopiston kielikeskuksella yhden syyslukukauden ajan. Keräämästäni materiaalista olen litteroinut ja analysoinut tutkimuksen tavoitteiden kannalta relevantteja otteita käyttäen menetelmänä Norman Fairclough:n kriittisen diskurssianalyysin metodologiaa kiinnittäen analyysissani erityishuomiota yleisten dialogin syntymisen perusedellytysten toteutumiseen luokkahuonediskurssissa.

Avainsanat: Pro gradu –tutkielma, opetus, kasvatus, dialogi, dialogisuus, englannin kieli, kielet, kielellinen vuorovaikutus, oppijalähtöisyys, diskurssianalyysi

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1. Introduction

First, I would like to make explicit some of the assumptions that have guided the research and analysis that has been done for this study. I believe that we study and are taught foreign languages at school and later on for the purposes of being able to communicate with our fellow human beings and to be able to together build common understanding of the world we all live in and how we each experience this world in a way that is unique to each of us. This experience of the world (social, physical and psychological) assumes a whole human being as a social, physical and psychological entity as the one who experiences, but also as the one who shares this experience with others through communication. If we are not wholly present in the communicative situation, something is inevitably left missing. In practice, we may appear as acting a rehearsed role, appearing suspicious in what we say, not listening to others, disregarding their feelings, or being too authoritative or assertive towards them. But these are only symptoms of something deeper – a lack of presence and the lack of authenticity of our own experience in the situation.

What has all this to do with EFL (English as a foreign language[1]) teaching then? It might be true that the communicative language classes advocated at the moment address many issues that may have been problematic with earlier approaches to teaching that were centred on text and grammar, or those focused on memorisation of specific forms. But there is at least one aspect that may still remain overlooked even in the very best well-planned communicative curricula, and that is the learner as the one whose goal is to learn how to communicate his or her own experience as a human being and to be able to build a shared understanding of the surrounding world and that experience with others. If this is our goal as

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[1] A curious wording, when considering some of the themes presented in this study. We only need to watch television or surf in the Internet for a couple of minutes to realise just how "foreign" English language is to us.

EFL teachers, why then do we continuously rely on abstractions of that human experience that reduce it to predetermined roles, "teaching content" and agendas, and the students as "tabula rasa" devoid of previous or current experience and particular identities outside those defined in the social context of education.

In this thesis, I am suggesting, following the American psychologist Carl R. Rogers (1902–1987), South American educational philosopher and educator Paulo Freire (1921–1997) and English professor Ira Shor, a pioneer in the field of critical pedagogy teaching in the College of Staten Island, that this problem of incoherence between the perceived goals and the actual practice of EFL education could be solved by introducing more dialogical ways of authentic participation for the teachers and the learners in EFL classes, ways for them to interact and communicate with each other, and to make their classes environments where they can both participate in the process of authentic learning.

What do we mean then by this authentic dialogue[2] between the participants in the EFL classroom? David Bohm defines the meaning of the word "dialogue" using the original Greek word *dialogos* consisting of two words: *logos* – "the word" and *dia* – "through" (Bohm 2004, 7):

> The picture or image that this derivation suggests is of a stream of meaning flowing among and through us and between us. This will make possible a flow of meaning in the whole group, out of which may emerge some new understanding.

Bohm also contrasts dialogue with *discussion*, which he sees as possibly disruptive and ultimately competitive form of communication, where everyone acts in defence of their own arguments and points, advocating them instead of striving to listen to each other and to arrive in shared understanding: "Dialogue is something more of a common participation, in which we

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[2] In this study, I will occasionally use the modifier "authentic" to remind that the word 'dialogue' here has a meaning other than being a synonym for 'conversation' or 'discussion'.

are not playing a game against each other, but *with* each other. In a dialogue, everybody wins." (Bohm 2004, 7). It must be noted here that my use of the term dialogue, although sharing a good part of the meaning of the term as used by Bohm, is not directly related to the specific ways of holding *dialogue sessions* presented by Bohm.

Freire bases his definition of dialogue on the horizontal relation between the participants in communication that communicate and interact *with* each other instead of one party issuing "communiqués" *over* another (Freire 2005, 40-1).

> Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. Hence, dialogue cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming—between those who deny others the right to speak their word and those whose right to speak has been denied them. [..] (Freire 1996, 69).

Shor, whose views of empowering, critical and dialogic education feature prominently in the methodology and analysis parts of this thesis, defines dialogue as "a capacity and inclination of human beings to reflect together on the meaning of their experience and their knowledge" (Shor 1992, 86):

> Dialogue, then, can be thought of as the threads of communication that bind people together and prepare them for reflective action. Dialogue links people together through discourse and links their moments of reflection to their political action.

Here, Shor makes explicit the close ties between the authentic dialogue and discourse. This linking together of people and their moments of reflection will be the focus of much of the methodology and analysis of research data in this study. Shor's definition of empowering education as both "a critical-democratic pedagogy for self and social change" and "a student-centered program for multicultural democracy in school and society" (Shor 1992, 15) emphasises the need for learner participation and their involvement in the dialogue over the curriculum (Shor 1992, 17). He specifically emphasises that learner empowerment does not mean

giving total freedom for the learners to behave as they like or to seek individualistic benefit for themselves in the classroom. It requires the learners to take responsibility of their own learning together with others, setting high expectations for themselves, and being able to negotiate the process with mutual authority guided by the leadership by the teacher (Shor 1992, 16).

Fairclough defines "dialogicality" (Fairclough 2003, 214) as the "extent to which there are dialogical relations [in a text] between the author and the other voices, the extent to which these voices are represented and responded to, or conversely excluded or suppressed." By dialogical relations Fairclough means the ways in which the text sets "in one way or other relations between different 'voices'." Even though I will continue to use the term "dialogue" in the sense that is closer to the one defined by Bohm (a sense later refined with definitions by Buber, Freire and Shor), Fairclough's definitions for dialogue and dialogicality give a clear indication that there is enough grounds for doing a critical analysis of discourse identities and practices in a communicative EFL classroom in order to find out what kind of conditions exist there for authentic dialogue to take place.

In this study I will explore the relationship between the attitudes of the teacher towards the students, the discourse practices of verbal interaction between the teacher and the learners, and the teacher's role in constructing the discursive space in an EFL classroom, and how these affect the possibilities for authentic dialogue in classroom.

The major part of the theoretical background and the philosophical justification for studying this particular theme comes from the work of psychologist Carl R. Rogers on psychotherapy, counselling, communication, teaching and education, the work of Martin Buber and David Bohm on dialogue, and the work of Paulo Freire and Ira Shor on critical pedagogy and dialogue in empowering education. While reading their works, it occurred to me that there were many points of convergence in the results of the studies of teacher attitudes, abili-

ties and characteristics and their relation to learning outcomes, the theories and research showing the importance of authentic dialogue in many different fields such as education, psychotherapy, counselling and conflict management, and the basic requirements or conditions that need to be fulfilled before such dialogue can take place between the participants.

The methodological background for the study of discourse practices in the classroom and the verbal interactions between the teacher and the students in this study comes predominantly from Norman Fairclough's seminal work, *Discourse and Social Change* (Fairclough 1993), in which he presents, through examples, his methodology for critical discourse analysis, or CDA. For the purpose of this particular study, I attempt connecting Fairclough's aspects of discourse practices with the view of social practices in what can be viewed as essentially non-dialogic education described by South American educator and educational philosopher, Paulo Freire in his work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1996).

One of the aims of this study will be to develop a socially conscious methodology for the specific purpose of studying classroom discourse which will be able, in anticipation of transformative educational practices aimed at providing the learners tools and critical skills suitable for their own social reality, to make more explicit the connection between the teacher's personal attitudes and characteristics with the social and discourse practices of the EFL classroom, and to explore the possibilities for authentic dialogue in the EFL education.

Although explicitly critical towards traditional classroom practice and even ironic at times, this study may seem biased towards finding positive, active features in teacher communication. This is due to my conviction that there will be more value in trying to develop an understanding of self-conscious and reflective teaching practices that encourage active learner participation rather than accusing teachers of their uncritical and passivising practices. Needless to say that that kind of a negative attitude towards educational research would even-

tually shut all the classroom doors from academic researchers. Or, as Breen et al. put it (Breen 2001, 500):

> Research with busy practitioners entails the making explicit of one's ultimate purposes and the gradual establishment of trust. A key component of the kind of research we have here described is the ethical relationship between the 'insider' practitioner and 'outsider' researcher.

This trust between the participants (the researcher, the teacher, and the learners) cannot be built if the aims and methods of the study do not account for the whole complexity of the social situation in the classroom, as Edwards and Furlong explain in the beginning of their book on the research of classroom discourse (Edwards and Furlong 1978, 1):

> Classrooms are extraordinarily busy places, and with so much to observe it was undoubtedly tempting for researchers to use a fine sieve in which to catch only those events they felt to be really significant. But teachers looking for practical guidance were likely to find such studies too arid and too coolly rational. Even if researchers could cope with the complexities of classroom interaction by concentrating on 'essentials', teachers clearly cannot do so.

While I am specifically and emphatically not trying to say anything that is based on conclusions that are drawn from statistical data, or to say anything conclusive about the learning outcomes of the whole teaching process, I am, through this study of teacher attitudes and communication, trying to gain a better understanding of the way how the teacher's interaction with the learners affects the communicative environment of the EFL classroom, and, hopefully, offer some little insight for the teachers (including myself as a beginner teacher) on how to develop ourselves as teachers. In this respect, the relatively limited scope of my research data and the qualitative, and at times even speculative nature of my analysis will not, hopefully, constitute a critical problem for the usefulness of this study for others.

2. Teacher attitudes and authentic dialogue in education

In the context of EFL education, dialogical relationship can also be seen in terms of Hebrew existential philosopher Martin Buber's (1878–1965) notion of the relationships between the concepts of "I", "It" and "Thou" (in the translation below, "You" is substituted for "Thou") (Buber 1996, 59):

> When I confront a human being as my You and speak the basic word I-You to him, then he is no thing among things nor does he consist of things.
>
> He is no longer He or She, limited by other Hes and Shes, a dot in the world grid of space and time, nor a condition that can be experienced and described, a loose bundle of named qualities. Neighborless and seamless, he is You and fills the firmament. Not as if there were nothing but he; but everything else lives in *his* light.
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> Even as a melody is not composed of tones, nor a verse of words, nor a statue of lines—one must pull and tear to turn a unity into a multiplicity—so it is with the human being to whom I say You. I can abstract from him the color of his hair or the color of his speech or the color of his graciousness; I have to do this again and again; but immediately he is no longer You.
>
> [..]

If the reader is unfamiliar with the writings of Martin Buber, a few things may need some clarification; Buber wrote most of his works in German, and in a poetic language that has been notoriously difficult to translate, and his notion of communication, or "speaking" or "saying" as in the passage above, was closely connected to his view of being a human being whose essence this communication with others is. He wrote of relationships (of communication, or being) between "I" (a self), "It" (something that is in subject-object relationship to the self as the subject), and "Thou" (prime example of which, in Buber's thought, would be the God). According to Buber, only the God can be related by the "I" as the pure "Thou", but the relationships between humans should not end up as being relationships between the "I" and

the objectified "It" either. However cryptic all this may sound, I believe that in order to establish a dialogical relationship with the learners, the teachers need to refrain from seeing their pupils or students as objects to be taught, and begin to see them more (in the sense of Buber's "I-Thou relationship") as human beings who, like the teacher as "I", are the subjects of their own experience and learning.

The term "experiential learning", as used by Rogers, seems to be closely related to the definition of authentic dialogue in education (Rogers 1986, 5):

> *It has a quality of personal involvement*—the whole person in both his feeling and cognitive aspects being *in* the learning event. *It is self-initiated*. Even when the impetus or stimulus comes from the outside, the sense of discovery, of reaching out, of grasping and comprehending, comes from within. *It is pervasive*. It makes a difference in the behavior, the attitudes, perhaps even the personality of the learner. *It is evaluated by the learner*. He knows whether it is meeting his need, whether it leads toward what he *wants* to know, whether it illuminates the dark area of ignorance he is experiencing. The locus of evaluation, we might say, resides definitely in the learner. *Its essence is meaning*. [..]

It is easy to see the points of connection between these views, and it should become even easier to see this correlation once we get to a more detailed account of what are the requirements for dialogue in EFL classroom setting.

2.1   Need for dialogue in EFL teaching and learning

> Hopefully, students will experience education as something they do rather than as something done to them. Further, students who make their education with the teacher have a chance to develop the critical thinking and democratic habits needed for active citizenship in society. (Shor 1992, 85)

The above quote from Ira Shor sums up one of the points made for dialogue and democratising education. In the context of EFL education, it would mean that if the learners are to successfully participate as citizens in an increasingly global (or at least, inter- and multicultural)

society, the teachers will need to pay attention to development of that kind of habits, especially in those classes that are responsible for developing their intercultural communication skills (prominently including the EFL classes).

Looking at the world around us that is growing increasingly global at least in terms of economy and communication, the global citizenship becomes, indeed, an important goal of EFL education, and thus a good reason for thinking of what kind of democratic participation and communication habits are developed in the EFL classes. However, there are also other good reasons for making the social practice of EFL education more empowering, democratic and dialogic. If we view our being as human beings as being with others, we should also be very much concerned about the authenticity of our own voice. If the language that we use in EFL classroom remains something outside ourselves, something that is explicitly not ours because it is not used to express our own thoughts and feelings, but that we still need to learn through memorisation of a set of rules and a multitude of lexical items, the learning process will inevitably become tedious and troublesome. Moreover, if we are learning foreign languages in order to be able to use them outside the classroom to express our thoughts and feelings and to build understanding with others in contexts whose variety and multiplicity can only be guessed at (very often with less than satisfactory results), why should not we be encouraging just that in the EFL classes as well, instead of insisting on externally motivated communication (or non-communication) and teacher or curriculum-centred approaches?

I am not arguing for abandoning the teaching of grammatical forms or vocabulary, but instead advocating an approach to language teaching where these are subordinated to serve the purposes of authentic expression of thoughts and feelings, and building shared understanding with others and where both grammar and vocabulary become something more than what they are in the classroom setting, aspects of a language that the learners can successfully employ outside the necessarily restricted and inauthentic context of the classroom.

However, as this emphasis on the learners' authentic participation in the foreign language will inevitably require a profound change of their language identity caused by adopting a foreign language as their own, at least some (if not all) of the learners may also experience it as threatening to their self image. This is another reason for concentrating on the teachers' attitudes and especially his or her ability to show empathy towards the learners.

2.2 *Nondialogic tradition in education*

This section of the thesis is intended to serve mainly as a short introduction to the tradition of nondialogic[3] education, it's roots, and some of the implications that the nondialogic education has concerning the effects and the learners' experience of education, especially in the context of foreign language teaching.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the concept of nondialogic education is to examine some of the related terms and their meanings. Some of the possible close synonyms would be "digestive" or "nutritive" education used by Jean-Paul Sartre to describe education consisting of "controlled readings, lectures, memorization, predigested notes, and evaluation" (Elias 1994, 36) and "in which knowledge is 'fed' by the teacher to the students to 'fill them out'"(Freire 1996, 57). Christopher Brumfit uses the term "transmission model of learning" to describe language teaching where, he gives two examples, the pupils in English classes are 'told' about the "English writing system", or where the "objectives for teaching English" are being listed. (Brumfit 2001, 8)

The term is also closely related to "indoctrination", which Barrow and Woods define as contributing to the formation of belief in a doctrine, or a "set of unprovable propositions"

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[3] The term "nondialogic education" was used by Elias (1994, 10) as a synonym for Freire's "banking" concept of education, which he contrasts with "problem-posing" or "dialogic" education. I adopted the term as the main heading for the section since it draws the attention to the one-way nature of communication of information, or, in other words, lack of dialogue in the classroom.

(Barrow 1988, 71-73) in a way that would "cause someone to have unshakable belief" in it by using non-rational methods (Barrow 1988, 74) with an intention to do so (Barrow 1988, 75). In the context of education, it would most often seem doubtful that the teachers are intentionally trying to indoctrinate their students, since most of the content that is given (for example, in lectures) is, indeed, provable and rational methods of scientific argumentation are often used in handing out the information. The above defence, however, is only effective against objective claims of indoctrination. If we consider the possibility of indoctrination in education from the subjective point of view of the students, it would not be so difficult to imagine a lesson where the teacher's methods of handing out information fall short of being entirely rational from the point of view of the students. This subjective non-rationality might arise because not enough care is taken to ensure that the information that is offered connects with, and is rationally legitimated by the previous knowledge of the students. The preconditions for the formation of an "unshakeable belief" would be the students' view of the teacher as the authoritative source of knowledge and that no opportunities for critical thinking are offered during the lesson. If the teacher is aware of the inconsistencies between the students' previous knowledge and the information he or she is offering, and is not willing to offer opportunities for critical review of the information offered, then the final necessary condition of intentionality is fulfilled. However, any system of education that would only deal with content that the students by themselves could receive from the teacher and then easily incorporate in their individual systems of knowledge through processes of individual rational argumentation would inevitably fall short of the demands for the amount and complexity of knowledge posed by our current post-industrial information society.

Thus, I would like to argue that the problem of indoctrination is essentially unsolvable as long as education is perceived as a one-way transmission of information by the teacher to be then acquired and processed by the students, and that nondialogic education is no longer a

viable option in the midst of the complexity of our society and our everyday lives. Instead, it would be more effective to concentrate on providing opportunities for constructing meaningful knowledge through active dialogue inside the existing educational institutions, and, by doing so, transform those institutions into places of dialogue instead of indoctrination.
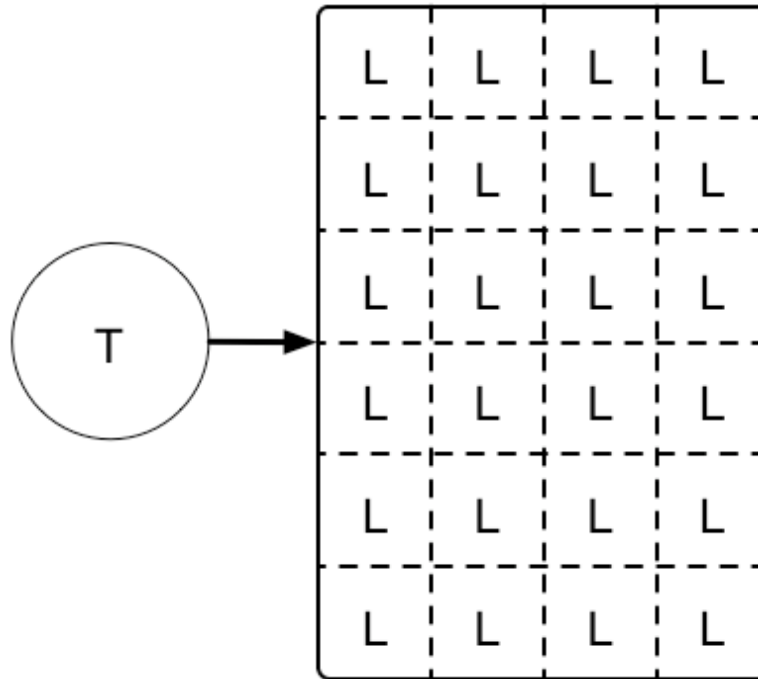
Figure 1. Sharing of information and meaning making in prototypical nondialogic classroom practice

Figure 1. shows the basic schema of the distribution of information and meaning making (combined in creation of knowledge) in a prototypical nondialogic classroom[4]. Teacher (T) acts as the source of information and the learners (L) as a mass act as non-individual recipients, as their individual previous knowledge does not come into consideration. There is little or no dialogue between the teacher and the learners, and dialogue between the learners themselves has been limited through disciplinary code and physical boundaries such as, for example spaces between the desks combined with prohibition of speaking with others in the class.

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[4] The schema presented here is 'prototypical' in the sense that it does not attempt to describe the distribution of information in any actual classroom, but is useful as an illustration of some of the features of a nondialogic classroom.

It must be noted that this prototype is only useful as a model of communication of information, including the agenda of the classroom, and that, for example, the seating arrangements or the number of students, although they may be important variables, do not determine the quality of dialogue in the classroom. It is equally important to note that by information I mean the relevant content of education. In the context of EFL classroom, this concept of information would not, for example, include learners' answers to closed questions posed by the teacher or utterances related to "communicative" tasks in which the interaction is predetermined by the textbook or the teacher. Naturally, other forms of information sharing and meaning making are still available for the students, even in a non-dialogic classroom structured in this way. These forms, however, are specifically excluded from what is considered purposeful behaviour in classroom, and may be treated as deviations from the "proper" classroom conduct, like, for example, learners whispering correct answers to the closed questions asked by the teacher[5], or discussing matters outside (or even inside) the topic of the class during it.

If we compare the prototypical model of the information flow in the nondialogic classroom to an example model of a more dialogic approach[6] presented in the Figure 2., it is easy to see how the role of the teacher has changed from being the sole source of information into that of a facilitator of the interaction and participation in smaller, relatively independent groups.

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[5] Whispering answers to open questions would be somewhat more challenging and would not probably make much sense, anyway.

[6] Inspired by an introductory session to classroom socio-dynamics that the author participated held by emeritus professor Liisa Lautamatti in 2005.
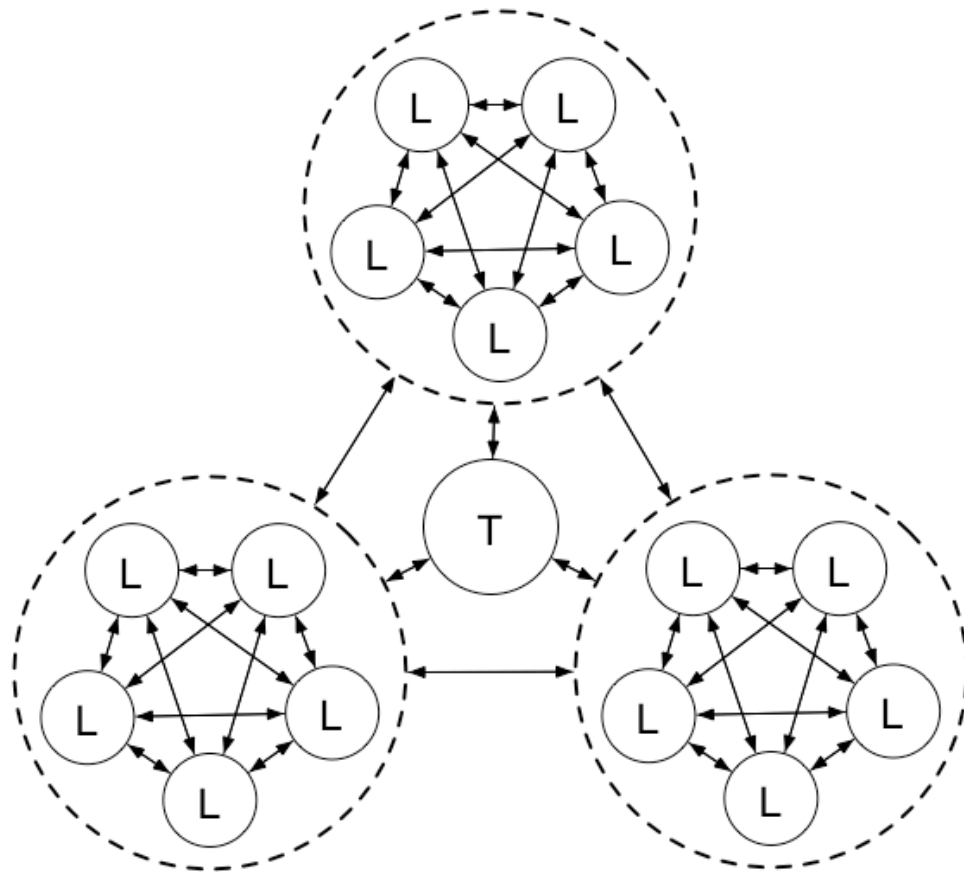
Figure 2. Sharing of information and meaning making in a basic model of a collaborative classroom

This model takes into account the knowledge that the learners have, and their need to participate in the process of information sharing and meaning making. Contrary to the model of a non-dialogic classroom, interactions between the participants are seen as vital to learning and construction of knowledge, and the teacher also actively facilitates these interactions. In a collaborative dialogic classroom, learner participation and interactions between the participants are not just accounted for and tolerated, but actively encouraged and facilitated, which sets great demands on the teachers' abilities as both a facilitator of communication and dialogue, and a democratic leader responsible for the well-being of each participant in a group and the learning outcomes of the interactions.

Based on my own experience of participating in the process of schooling and more limited experience of teaching, it would seem that the dialogic and collaborative approaches

could be at least as effective in teaching of various educational content as the nondialogic ones, and that they will certainly make the learners' experiences of that content more personal, and offer more opportunities for giving rational legitimisations for the new information and constructing new knowledge through means of active dialogue between the participants.

The main difficulties for the teachers arise if they are trying to follow both of the paradigms of teaching practice, the dialogic and the nondialogic, since dialogic education requires a complete rethinking of their role and responsibilities, which is not, in my view, even possible if the teacher is trying to hang on to his role as the sole source of relevant information in the classroom and base his personal authority on that role. However, if the teacher assumes a role as the facilitator of authentic dialogue[7] and a tutor/aid whenever needed, he will almost always have enough time at his disposal for dealing with individual questions or difficulties of the groups or the individual learners, and for maintaining good atmosphere that fosters effective construction of knowledge in groups, even through disciplinary action when necessary.

Where the dialogic approach will most certainly fail is in handing the learners lists of given facts and predefined categories to be memorised as the main content of education. As the testing of efficiency in education has traditionally concentrated on measuring the amount of factual information memorised, there will be great challenge in developing empirical research methods that would go deeper in the processes of construction of knowledge by the individual learners and groups in their determining of the outcome of teaching.

South American educational philosopher and educator Paulo Freire uses the notion of "banking" concept of education in many of his writings on practices related to the kinds of schooling where the teachers see themselves as the source of knowledge in the classroom,

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[7] It should be noted here that acting as a facilitator of dialogue includes all means necessary to start the dialogue between participants, to help the participants to maintain the dialogue, and, finally, to ensure it has a conclusion that is meaningful to participants.

and base their personal authority over the learners on that notion. By using the metaphor of "banking" Freire refers to the concept of teaching where the teacher is making a deposit of knowledge (as a collection of facts) into the minds of the learners:

> It follows logically from the banking notion of consciousness that the educator's role is to regulate the way the world "enters into" the students. The teacher's task is to organize a process which already occurs spontaneously, to "fill" the students by making deposits of information which he or she considers to constitute true knowledge (Freire 1996, 57).

In banking concept of education, the teacher will not offer the students tools for critically reviewing those facts or ensure that the given facts have relevance from their point of view:

> Verbalistic lessons, reading requirements, the methods of evaluating "knowledge," the distance between the teacher and the taught, the criteria of promotion: everything in this ready-to-wear approach serves to obviate thinking. (Freire 1996, 57)

It is reasonably easy to see how this type of nondialogic education should go against the contemporary constructivist views of learning, that emphasise the construction of knowledge through building on the previous knowledge of the learner.

Later on, in the section on methodology, I will attempt to formulate a methodology with which some of the features of nondialogic education can be spotted in the social practices of EFL classroom, and, on a further level, in specific representations of discourse practices in the EFL classroom.

Freire lists the following attitudes and practices as aspects of banking education (Freire 1996, 54):

a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;

b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;

c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;

d) the teacher talks and the students listen -- meekly;

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e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;

f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;

g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;

h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;

i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own personal authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;

j) the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

These social practices and attitudes that reside in the very heart of traditional idea of education itself can be seen in almost all forms of formal education, and institutions connected with it. In the next section on methodology used in the research for this thesis I will try to show how critical discourse analysis (to which I will, from now on, refer to as CDA, or just analysis of discourse) can be used to make explicit the specific oppressive and passivising features in the discourse practices in the context of EFL teaching that function as the re-enactment of these social practices.

"Banking" or transmission concept of education carries within itself a certain view of world and human beings:

> Implicit in the banking concept of education is the assumption of a dichotomy between human beings and the world: a person is merely *in* the world, not *with* the world or with others; the individual is spectator, not re-creator. (Freire 1996, 56)

Obviously, this kind of concept of education will not emphasise learners' active participation in the world and the quality of social interactions between the participants, but concentrates instead on cataloguing the information that the learners as spectators gather of their own existence into predefined categories handed to them in the process of schooling.

In everyday practice of teaching, this view can easily become obscured through the naturalisation of various practices related to "banking" concept of education as parts of the teachers' "craft". One of my main intentions in this study is to make visible some of the practices that even the students themselves view as part of the professional "craft" of teaching.

In nondialogic education, the school is often viewed as being outside the everyday world of the participants in the process of schooling. This is perhaps the reason why the students will not expect the same principles of social life (such as equality, respect for others, politeness, or rights of participation) to be valid in the environment of the school that they expect to be valid elsewhere in their everyday social life. This may lead some marginalised students to think of school as being outside the fields of life where they could attain their personal or social goals, and thus irrelevant to them.

Even sadder case would be the students who see the relevance of the school and education for their lives, but whom their reaction to the hostile environment of the school would convince to think of themselves as poor learners.

What does this all have to do with EFL teaching then? As it seems, people can learn foreign languages quite well while being taught in a teacher-led fashion, while being handed lists of lexical items taken out of their context for memorising, or while being lectured on grammar terminology and categories derived from ancient languages.

Based on my own experience of foreign language schooling it seems that, once motivated, we are quite clever in receiving this kind of information that is handed us without any context or any relevant points of contact in our lives or previous knowledge, and applying it in practice the next second when asked by the teacher to please him by combining the abstract entities in vocabulary and grammar in a way that makes some sense to him, the maker of the textbook, or the planner of the curriculum. Somewhere at some point in our lives that

combination of abstract entities, or something else that we can cleverly derive from it might actually come to mean something for ourselves as well – who knows.

However, there are some learners who implicitly, or, to great pain of the educators, explicitly question the relevance of abstract entities without any points of connection for their lives, and thus, disappoint their teachers by being unwilling or unable (because of not having paid due attention) to recite the wonderful sequences of vocabulary and grammar intertwined, and who, are thus branded as failures in our educational system.

In the context of foreign language teaching, it would be tempting to see nondialogic teaching as connected to some specific language teaching methodologies, such as grammar-translation, or audiolingual method, which do not, in their basic principles, imply authentic communication between the participants. And, on the other hand, it would seem as if recent cognitive and constructivist methodologies would be an automatic step away from nondialogic teaching. However, even though the older methodologies of teaching rely on the teacher as the nexus of learning and even if the constructivist view of learning and teaching make it considerably easier to depart from nondialogic into genuinely dialogic and participatory education, the adopted teaching methodology or educational paradigm itself will not be enough to determine the social relations or the quality of authentic dialogue in the classroom.

It is easy to conceive of a grammar-translation or audiolingual class, where the agenda and content are constructed in dialogue between the teacher/tutor/facilitator and the students, and where the learning content is employed in authentic participation after basic introduction via means of the specific method. On the other hand, it is as easy to hypothesise a social-constructivist class where the learners build a superficial knowledge of (or a collection of facts about) a language in groups - not for authentic participation through that language, but because of some outside motivation like pressure from the teacher, a forthcoming exam, or just for the sake of completing a course and getting a grade. Even in teaching that

employs constructivist methods, there is the implicit danger of building a new "collection of facts" on top of the old one, if the teaching remains nondialogic and there is no genuine interest from the teacher to build an environment that fosters authentic collaboration and dialogue.

A very interesting phenomenon in its relation to the expressed views of language is 'commodification' of discourses, which, according to Fairclough, is manifest in educational context through the vocabulary of 'language skills' and 'competences', which, has both "active and individualistic" (even "democratic"), but also normative, passive and objectifying implications" (Fairclough 1993, 209):

> (..) all individuals acquire elements from a common social repertoire of skills, via normalized training procedures, and skills are assumed to be transferable across contexts, occasions, and users, in a way which leaves little space for individuality.

This view of language is also visible in the *Common European Framework for Language Education* as it "defines levels of proficiency which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis." (Council of Europe 2001, 1):

> By providing a common basis for the explicit description of objectives, content and methods, the Framework will enhance the transparency of courses, syllabuses and qualifications, thus promoting international co-operation in the field of modern languages. The provision of objective criteria for describing language proficiency will facilitate the mutual recognition of qualifications gained in different learning contexts, and accordingly will aid European mobility.

On the same page with the above paragraph, there is an account of the problem involved in providing a taxonomy of human language and the human process of learning languages. The inevitable problems involved in construction of such a taxonomic framework for language education, however, have not affected national curricula, which base their view of 'language skills and competence' on the assessment grid offered for evaluation purposes in the Common European Framework, and give the teachers guidelines for teaching based on 'goals' or

'aims' listed under such categories as 'language skills', 'culture skills' and 'learning strategies', and 'focal content' under which are listed the subject matters and structures, and communicative strategies that are thought of as the essential learning content for each age group. (Opetushallitus 2004). The problems involved in the construction of such a taxonomy never enter the curricula and the notion of learners as individual language users in their local social surroundings has been overrun by an idealised prototype of a young person as a foreign language learner. In effect, it would be an important research question, whether that the quest for "mutual recognition of qualifications" is leading to homogenisation and commodification of the actual experience of learning foreign languages throughout Europe.

The aim of this study is in no way to question the authority of the teacher in the classroom but to explore, or at least encourage the exploration of the options for the basis of that authority that would be less problematic in its relation to the meaning of EFL teaching and the ethical questions of freedom and the ownership of learning than the traditional 'didactic' paradigm.

If the authority of the teacher cannot be based on him or her being the sole source of knowledge (or the information content to be learned) in the classroom, it calls for re-examination of the "social contract" on which the system of education is based. According to Willis (Willis 1978, 64) the dominant educational paradigm asserts the exchange of the students' (and their parents') respect for the knowledge of the teacher, and the control over the students' behaviour for the guidance by the teacher. Willis also states that as the knowledge is considered the most valuable (rare) commodity in the exchange, it grants the teacher his or her moral superiority.

If the teacher cannot be seen as the sole possessor and distributor of knowledge[8] in the classroom, and, thus, not automatically regarded as morally superior or worth the students' respect, other bases besides the subject knowledge must be established for his or her authority in the classroom. Some idea for the new bases of teacher authority might be gained from studies of effective leadership behaviour in other types of organisations[9].

2.3 Requirements for dialogue

Researchers and philosophers from various, and even seemingly very different, academic disciplines have established strikingly similar categories of preconditions that need to be fulfilled before individuals can engage in authentic dialogue between each other. If these requirements for dialogue are not fulfilled, the individuals may still continue to communicate *to* each other but they will not be communicating *with* each other. In this sense, communication itself does not always require dialogue, which entails more than just transfer (or even exchange) of information.

According to Paulo Freire, authentic dialogue is nourished by love, humility, hope and mutual trust between the participants (Freire 2005, 40). These necessary aspects of dialogue may at first sound too vague to be used in forming a basis for analysis of dialogic communicative practices taking place in classroom. It is very true that it may difficult to show or evaluate the true quality of a bond of empathy or love between the participants through empirical analysis of discourse but there are some certain attitudes that can, through

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[8] Some part of the teacher's authority must always be based on his or her high level of knowledge, but as there must also be other sources of knowledge in a classroom that is truly dialogic, his or her position is unlikely to remain unchallenged if it is only based on the level of subject knowledge.

[9] I do recognise the special role of education and its demands for educators as leaders that are very distinct from some of the demands in, for example, commercial organisations. However, there have been many studies of general leadership behaviour with results that might offer some insight for developing meaningful leadership practices in educational context.

observation and analysis of discourse, be shown to exist between the participants. These requirements for authentic dialogue can roughly be listed as:

    i)   Suspension of assumptions and the tendency to evaluate

    ii)   Relationship of trust between the participants

    iii)   Acknowledgement of the other

    iv)   Mutuality of interaction

    v)   Democratic authority, including:

        - Participation

        - Space for dialogue

        - Structures that support dialogue

        - Sharing

        - Openness

Although having been taken for granted as a cornerstone of western education for centuries, evaluation or, more specifically, our tendency to evaluate is, according to Rogers, the main obstacle to our communicating with each other (Rogers 1991, 106). This has also been noted by Bohm, who says that in order to engage in dialogue, we need to suspend our assumptions and evaluations of each other, and instead, reflect on them critically (Bohm 2004, 22-3). A similar view is expressed by Freire who, alongside with being critical, continuously stresses humility towards one another as one of the requirements of authentic dialogue (Freire 2005, 40; Freire 1996, 71). As I will discuss later in the methodology section, evaluation is in the context of education often associated with specific exchange structures (such as stereotypical *Question => Answer => Feedback/Evaluation* pattern) and formulation of the learners' utterances by the teacher.

Most theorists of communication and dialogue hold that forming of trust between the participants is a necessary requirement for dialogue to take place (Rule 2004, 330). The

theme of trust between the participants also came up in the interview of the teacher of the group I was observing for this study:

```
357 I:    What kind of relationship are you trying to build
358       with the students?
359
360 T:    Well. That they can trust me, in that they can take
361       risks with me, and I take risks with them (..)
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Interview of the teacher (357-361)

According to Martin Buber, *acknowledgement of the other* as a *particular*, *concrete* and *existing* person and *attentiveness* to him or her is a necessary precondition for dialogue (Buber 2002, 22; Rule 2004, 321). Buber obviously realised this acknowledgment and awareness of the other to be crucial to dialogue as he stated: "The limits of the possibility of dialogue are the limits of awareness" (Buber 2002, 12). This notion is also backed up by psychologist Carl Rogers who refers to studies done by Aspy and Roebuck in the United States (1976) and later verified by similar results attained by Tausch in Germany (1978) that showed a significant correlation between the "teacher's ability to understand the meaning that the classroom experience is having for the student, and the ability to express that understanding", "the respect which the teacher has for the student as a separate person", and "the genuineness, the realness, of the teacher in relationship to the students" (Rogers 1982, 5), and the learning outcomes of the students. These abilities and attitudes also featured strongly in the lessons observed and analysed for this study and they also came up in the final interview with the teacher. As I will discuss later in the sections on methodology and analysis, acknowledgement of the others as particular persons is also closely connected to the types of identities allowed for the participants in the classroom discourse and the forms of politeness shown towards the others.

In order for authentic dialogue to flourish, the relationship between the participants has to be *mutual* in the sense that there must be an attitude of openness towards learning from

one another (Rule 2004, 330) and the intention of establishing a living, mutual relation (Buber 2002, 22):

> There is genuine dialogue—no matter whether spoken or silent—where each of the participants really has in mind the other or others in their present and particular being and turns to them with the intention of establishing a living mutual relation between himself and them.

The communication between the participants has to be mutual (Shor 1992, 85-86) also in the senses that the participants talk *with* each other instead of *at* each other (Shor 1992, 85; Freire 1996, 30, 52-3; Freire 2005, 40-3) and that, even when initiated and directed by the teacher, it has to be democratically open to student intervention (Shor 1992, 85).

> Mutual discussion is the heart of the method. Dialogue is simultaneously structured and creative. It is initiated and directed by a critical teacher but is democratically open to student intervention. Codeveloped by the teacher and the students, dialogue is neither a freewheeling conversation nor a teacher-dominated exchange. Balancing the teacher's authority and the students' input is the key to making the process both critical and democratic. Dialogic teachers offer students an open structure in which to develop. This openness includes their right to question the content and the process of dialogue, and even to reject them.

Freire emphasises the nature of dialogue as a horizontal relationship between persons that is nourished by love, humility and trust as opposed to self-sufficient and arrogant vertical relationships lacking in love. According to Freire, this anti-dialogue does not communicate, but rather issues "communiqués" or unilateral announcements to the students (Freire 2005, 40-41). In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1996) he gives an account that clarifies what is really meant by the mutuality of communication and the commitment to engage with and learn from one another (Rule 2004, 324) in the context of education (Freire 1996, 61):

> Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with student-teachers. The teacher is

no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow.

Critics would be right to say that the teacher's personal commitment to mutuality or the necessary encouraging of mutual reflection of meaning (Shor 1992, 85) by itself will not be enough to ensure the shared meaning of the discussions, nor the safety and openness of the social space, or the bond of trust between the participants that are also required before authentic dialogue can take place. There has to be shared responsibility and the mutual acceptance of the need for accountability for the value of what is presented as knowledge by the participants (Rule 2004, 320). Mutual accountability and basis of trust are required in building an agenda for education through dialogue, whereas mutual interaction is a requirement for democratic control of topics and open exchange structures and turn-taking in the discourse environment of the classroom.

Most of the theorists of dialogue in education refer to various aspects of what could generally be called 'democratic authority'. To be sure, a teacher needs to be a figure of authority in the classroom for many reasons that are still valid even when the classroom practice is based on the principles of critical pedagogy and student participation. Probably the most obvious reason for this need for teacher authority is the remaining fact that the teacher will still be responsible for the general, collective outcome of the learning activities (even if this responsibility is, in part, shared with individual learners and the class as a learning community) and the wellbeing of every participant in the learning situation (which should, again, be, at least in part, a shared responsibility). If the teacher is the one with main responsibility of the learning outcomes and the wellbeing of the participants, he or she needs to have the authority required to exercise at least some level of control over the activities and the general behaviour in the classroom. If the teacher is not the one in control, there is a great risk that the activities and behaviour will be directed by some or one of the participants for their own

ends, which may not be beneficial to other participants' wellbeing or their attainment of the learning goals.

However, this need for leadership should not be confused with the teacher's need for a total control of the learning situation. Instead of "running the whole show" him- or herself, the teacher has the option of sharing the responsibility of the learning outcomes and the wellbeing of the participants with the group. This shared responsibility, however, needs to be complimented by shared empowerment and authority of the learners, as only those individuals with the power to make responsible choices can be expected to take on real responsibility. Thus, also the authority must arise from responsibility and commitment to common goals of the group, and if the teacher embodies these in his or her actions, he or she will become a natural source of democratic leadership in the classroom. This may be problematic in situations where the learning goals do not correspond with the personal goals of the learners, and these are the kind of situations where there may arise a need to renegotiate the curriculum and the learning goals within the group (Shor 1992, 16).

> Empowerment here does not mean students can do whatever they like in the classroom. Neither can the teacher do whatever she or he likes. The learning process is negotiated, requiring leadership by the teacher and mutual teacher-student authority. In addition, empowerment as I describe it here is not individualistic. The empowering class does not teach students to seek self-centered gain while ignoring public welfare.

In the above passage Shor sees the teacher's role not as the sole authority figure but a leader and a facilitator of learning that is meaningful to all the participants.

Like democracy, dialogue on which it should be based requires *participation* of everyone involved. It is a misconception to think that the refusal or inability of an individual to participate in a discussion means that there is no communication. Indeed there is always communication whenever two or more people are present, but whether it can be called dialogue is another matter. By non-participation I do not mean silence exclusively (as it can, in-

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deed, be a form of participation) but inability or unwillingness of those involved to think and act together for a common goal.

> There is genuine dialogue—no matter whether spoken or silent—where each of the participants really has in mind the other or others in their present and particular beings and turns to them with the intention of establishing a living mutual relation between him and them. (Buber 2002, 22)

Participation in this sense requires the participants to co-develop a relationship between each other (Shor 1992, 85), be sensitive and responsible/responsive (Rule 2004, 321) to each other, and to invest their whole self in the ensuing dialogue (Rule 2004, 322) in this relationship. These are not, by any means, easy demands for any participant in any classroom and they obviously require a certain kind of space where all the participants will feel safe enough to invest themselves fully in dialogue.

This space for dialogue needs to be physically, socially, and psychologically safe enough for the participants to be able to engage in dialogue with each other and a general classroom ethos that supports self-expression has to be accepted by all participants (Rule 2004, 330).

According to Shor, dialogue needs to be structured and oriented towards a shared understanding as the common goal, but at the same time it needs to leave room for creativity and to "offer open structures in which to develop" (Shor 1992, 85). This shared understanding can be achieved only if all the participants are committed to achieving it through meeting, discussion, reflection and building a consensus, rather than coercion (Rule 2004, 330).

 In a sense, this means that the teacher still needs to be able to control the agenda, exchange structure, and turn-taking in a dialogic classroom, all the while the goals of the individual classes, or even the whole curriculum of the course or module need to remain open for negotiation with the participants. This poses a whole new kind of challenge for the teacher: How to remain in control, when the authority is delegated to the participants? Naturally, rely-

ing on old teacher-oriented exchange structures and ways of controlling the agenda is not an option in an environment where the teacher cannot act as if he or she were the sole source of knowledge in the classroom, and thus cannot base his or her authority on that role alone. In the section on methodology and in the analysis of the research data I will discuss the relation between shared, democratic authority and the agenda of the classroom, control of topics, exchange structures and turn-taking patterns.

As was discussed earlier, participants in a dialogue need to remain open and attentive towards and ready to learn from each other. This *"responsibility"* as used by a term by Martin Buber that includes both real responsiveness to what happens to one and acknowledgment of and attentiveness to other as a particular, concrete and existing person (Rule 2004, 321) correlates closely with what Carl Rogers had in his studies found out to be the one of the most effective attitudes of a therapist and what he reports Aspy and Roebuck in the United States (1976), and Tausch in Germany (1978) had found out to be the most significant variable in relation to learning outcomes: "the teacher's realness, respect for the student, and understanding of the meaning of the classroom experience to the student" (Rogers 1982, 6-10). Among other benefits, Aspy and Roebuck reported, according to Rogers, the students of teachers exhibiting high levels of these attitudes showed significantly better capability of higher cognitive processes such as problem solving than the students of teachers who did not exhibit these attitudes. In fact, the students of the low-level teachers even showed a degree of retardation in this sense (Rogers 1982, 6-7), which may be related to the possible identities available to the students in a classroom situation, and the social and cognitive demands posed and possibilities offered by those identities. This question of possible learner identities in a classroom will be examined in more detail in the methodology section of this thesis.

3. Methodology

3.1   Authentic dialogue and discourse

As most of the requirements for authentic dialogue are related to the relationship between the participants, it would seem logical to start looking for connections between the language as used by the participants in the classroom setting and how those requirements may be actualised in it. More specifically, if we expect the analysis of classroom discourse to give indications of whether some of those requirements are fulfilled or not, the analysis should concentrate on analysing the interpersonal aspect of the language as introduced in Michael Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics (Thompson 2004, 45-80)

It must be noted here that even if some of the attitudes of the teacher towards the learners will show in the classroom discourse, it is those attitudes, and not the discourse practices, that can be shown to have positive effect on the learning outcomes, and that should be encouraged in teacher training. In this thesis, I am in no way suggesting that certain discourse practices should be emphasised in teacher training, and I will insist on the importance of those teacher abilities, attitudes and characteristics that may (or may not) give rise to specific features in classroom discourse over those singular discourse features.

In struggling for understanding of the relation between dialogue and teaching, I arrived at a strong belief that it would even be very near (if not) impossible for a teacher to fake a set of facilitative attitudes through altering his or her classroom conduct in a way that would not appear entirely false and artificial to the learners and thus be disastrous to whatever dialogic or collaborative aspirations the teacher had in mind. Total participation (Rule 2004; Bohm 2004; Bohm 2004) of the teacher and 'realness' of his or her person (Rogers 1982, 6; 1986, 106-108) have been listed among the requirements for authentic dialogue and features that facilitate positive learning outcomes.

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3.2 Possible identities and teacher attitudes in the classroom

As argued before, the social identities available to participants in the classroom play a very important part in realisation of the learning outcomes and the development of the learners. In this study, I will base my analysis of the identities displayed by the learners and the teacher in the sample data and the attitudes displayed by the teacher towards the learners in the teacher interview concentrating on the three aspects of identity proposed by Zimmerman (1998) (use in analysis demonstrated by Richards 2006, 60):

- *Discourse identity*: the identity that relates directly and is inbuilt in the organisation of the interaction at hand. Richards lists 'current speaker', 'listener', and 'questioner' among typical discourse identities (Richards 2006, 60).

- *Situated identity*: the identity that is relevant in the situation and according to Richards and Zimmerman refers to "the contribution of participants 'engaging in activities and respecting agendas that display an orientation to, and an alignment of, particular identity sets'" (Zimmerman 1998, 90; Richards 2006, 60). According to Richards, the relevant situated identities in a classroom would be 'teacher' and 'student'.

- *Transportable identity*: the identity that is external to both discourse and situated identities, in other words, not inbuilt in the organisation of the interaction or directly related to the activity or agenda at hand. An example of a transportable identity could be "white, young, Finnish male".

The needs stated earlier for the participants in a dialogue to encourage mutual reflection of meaning (Shor 1992, 85-86), to be open towards learning from each other (Rule 2004, 330), to trust each other (Rule 2004, 330), and to acknowledge each other as particular and existing persons (Rule 2004, 321; Buber 2002, 22) pose significant demands to the kinds of identities that have to be encouraged and accepted in a dialogic classroom. The traditional situated identity of a pupil/student will not suffice if these are the requirements, and neither will the

traditional situated identity of the teacher (as the sole source of knowledge in the classroom), as all the participants must be perceived as ultimately capable and trustworthy human beings and their particularity and previous experiences need to be taken into account.

Thus, it becomes obvious that both traditional 'teacher' and 'student' identities need to be thought anew, especially in the view of the need to create the new 'teacher/learner' and 'learner/teacher' identities proposed by (Freire 1996, 61). As these identities need to be renegotiated, they will both need to be able to incorporate new discourse identities. The 'teacher' identity cannot act as the sole source of information, or retain its monopoly for questioning and formulation, among others. Even more so, in view of the need to acknowledge each participant, there is a greater need for tolerance of individual transportable identities and learner experiences and abilities contained in them.

In the analysis of the sample data, I will concentrate on the discourse identities available for the participants besides their situated identities as 'students' and as 'a teacher' and the possibilities of the participants for voicing their transportable identities and the teacher attitudes towards doing so.

3.3 Model for critical analysis of discourse

In this thesis, I will argue that both explicit and implicit relations can be found between the classroom practices related to nondialogic education and specific features and practices of educational discourse as analysed by Fairclough (Fairclough 1993, 137-168). But before going into the adaptation of Fairclough's methodology employed for the purposes of this study, I feel that there is a need to address some issues related to the uses of the term 'discourse'. The term can be used as a rather all-encompassing one, that would include such diverse sets of meanings as "extended samples of spoken (or spoken or written) dialogue" (Fairclough 1993, 3), and "ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice" (Fairclough 1993,

3). Indeed, these definitions of 'discourse' can be seen in as related to each other[10], as Fairclough does in his three-dimensional approach that combines the textual, discursive, and social dimensions into his method of analysis. Even though the methodology employed in the research for this thesis follows the same general guidelines, I would like, for the specific purposes of this study, to make a clearer distinction between the concepts used, and also to reserve the term "dialogue" for the more specific purpose explained in detail in the previous chapter[11]. Thus, I would like to use the term 'discourse practices' as a top-level category for all the variable aspects of a specific spoken text-in-interaction connected to the 'social praxis' of a specific field. These 'discourse practices' would include all aspects of interaction between the participants via the medium of language in the specific social context (of EFL classroom).

Examining the relations between the teacher's view of education and the possibilities for genuine dialogue in the classroom calls for utilizing in analysis the 'interpersonal' functions of language that Fairclough divides in two categories of those having to do with interpersonal relations and those that deal with the identity of the subject (Fairclough 1993, 137). However, where Fairclough concentrates in his analysis on the construction of 'self', the aim of this study is to explore in some detail how the processes of social construction of space for genuine dialogue work in the context of the social practice of EFL teaching.

Thus, the social practice of education functions as a framework for the discourse practices connected, or contained within it on a more detailed level. Needless to say, that the so-

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[10] As it would intuitively seem that any human activity could be seen as a "way of structuring an area of knowledge and social practice", *anything* could be seen in relation with or, more precisely, included in the latter definition.

[11] This is due to the conviction that even though dialogue between human beings can take place through verbal discourse, not all discourse constitutes authentic dialogue between human beings.

cial practice(s) of education always manifest themselves within the macro-level social context of the surrounding society.

Fairclough's model (Fairclough 1993, 138) for CDA offers some starting points for basic analysis of educational discourse, such as the focus on 1) interactional control by the teacher, or the limits and guidelines that a curriculum or the textbook sets for the interactional control by the teacher, 2) modality of teacher and learner speech, or that of the language in a textbook, 3) politeness that is expressed by the teacher towards the learners, or vice versa - it could even be hypothesized that the image of a learner reflected by a textbook in certain cases serves as an aspect of politeness as dealt with by Fairclough - , and 4) ethos that should become visible in the analysis of wider range of discourse practices employed by the teacher.

As Fairclough shows through various examples, all these categories, except for, perhaps, that of ethos, can be approached through linguistic means, and what I am suggesting is that they could be used to pinpoint specific discourse representations of the 'banking' concept of education, and further, to map the changes in this 'passive' concept of education that could possibly occur due to the changes in the macro-levels of social practices of EFL teaching and the context of the practices of the society as a whole. Even more interestingly, analysis of discourse practices related to 'passive' banking concept of education could allow elaboration on possible ways to change the discourse practices, and thus, also the social practices of teaching towards more dialogic and learner-centred orientation.

The methods for data gathering and initial analysis on the location during the classes that were used in this study were mostly taken from the more general level ethnomethodologies of discourse analysis as done by many researchers (Sinclair 1975; Coulthard 1985; Fair-

clough 1993; 2003[12]), ethnography (Willis 1978; Duff 2002[13]), which, although distinct as methodologies, share many of their focus points (Duff 2002, 294), and may be combined to form an effective methodological tool for socially conscious analysis of classroom discourse.

In the analysis, however, I will use a mix of specific methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as described by Norman Fairclough and attempt to combine this type of analysis of discourse with the theories of dialogue by Buber, Bohm, Freire and Shor, which should result in a new, both linguistically and, perhaps more importantly, socially conscious methodology for inspecting discourse practices in their relation with social reality and all the practices that reconstitute that reality.

One thing that I need to point out here, however, is that this methodology itself pre-sumes, in my opinion, a researcher that already sees some feature(s) in the social practices of teaching as potentially oppressive or empowering, and is thus willing to explore the discur-sive practices in connection to those practices on a level of social interaction. The following short sections will give an idea of what are the specific speech features that are taken in this study to be indicators of specific discourse practices that either undermine the dialogicality of the classroom or encourage it.

3.3.1   Agenda of classroom interaction

As with the topic of each exchange, the teacher in a classroom that reproduces the unequal power distribution has to explicitly set the agenda for the whole course, each lesson, and all parts of each lesson, and more importantly, establish his role as the one that has the authority

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[12] Fairclough himself calls his methodology *Critical Discourse Analysis*, or *CDA*. His methodology can be distinguished as a branch of discourse analysis by it's emphasis on "(..) showing connections and causes which are hidden" and "(..) providing resources [for intervention] for those who may be disadvantaged through change" (Fairclough 1993, 9).

[13] Duff calls her specific methodology *microethnography of communication*.

to set and police agendas. According to Fairclough, the teachers usually spell out the agendas in the beginning of each lesson, or in the beginning of teaching transactions within the lessons (Fairclough 1993, 156). According to Fairclough:

> Setting agendas is one aspect of the general control by P [the powerful participant] over the initiation and termination of an interaction, and its structuring into transactions or episodes.

Even though there seems to be some overlap between the use of the terms *topic* and *agenda* as used by Fairclough (Ibid.), in classroom context the distinction is relatively clear. From the point of view of control of an agenda, there can be many levels:

i)   The curriculum level agenda

ii) The agenda of the course/module

iii) The agenda of a single lesson

iv) The agenda of a part of a lesson

v)   The agenda of a single educational exchange

The educational institution usually exercises control over the curriculum level agenda, which is composed of the agendas of individual courses or modules (traditionally defined in the curriculum) which, in turn, is composed of the agenda of a single lesson (traditionally defined in the lesson plan that could be included in the curriculum), and so on. The limits of control exercised over the agenda by the educational institution and the teacher can sometimes be vague, even more so as the teacher inevitably is a representative of the educational institution. However, the idea of empowering or critical education always includes a demand for greater democratic control over the overall agenda of education, even on the level of the curriculum. This emphasis on democratic control over the agenda also poses a need for greater learner control over the lower level agendas of exchanges and parts of the lesson, and the realisation of these can be studied via the methods of critical discourse analysis.

One particular way to analyse the teacher's ways of controlling the various levels of agenda in the classroom, would be to focus on *'framing moves'* signalling the beginning or the end of an activity, and the *focusing moves* that prepare the students for the next activity by focusing their attention to a certain direction (Edwards and Furlong 1978, 19).

3.3.2   Topic control in classroom interaction

While in everyday conversation between equals, the topic can, at least in theory, be introduced and changed by any of the participants and then either be accepted or rejected by the others, in traditional institutionalised educational setting it is almost invariably the teacher who first introduces (or sets) the topic, controls it during the exchange, and then changes it according to his or her agenda for the class. In a setting of unequal participatory power, the students are forced to accept the topics set by the teacher unquestioned.

> In a problem-posing class, the teacher chooses a topical theme for critical study with great care. The teacher's choice of an outside theme is delicate because it must fit into a mutual curriculum. He or she has to use it in ways consistent with the student-centered discourse and the democratic process. (Shor 1992, 55)

According to Shor, a topical theme can be used in a problem-posing class when it is relevant to the work in progress, introduced by the teacher as an object or a problem for cooperative study (instead of a given piece of subject information), and when it is formulated through an idiom that the students can understand. If these conditions are not fulfilled, there is, according to Shor, a risk of turning a learner-centred, empowering class into a teacher-centred one. (Shor 1992, 57)

In the analysis section of this thesis I will concentrate, among other aspects of classroom discourse, on how the new topics are introduced in the classroom, whether they are introduced by the students or the teacher, where they originate from, how the topics are initially formulated, and how they are subsequently worked on in the class.

3.3.3 Exchange structures in classroom interaction

The next level of turn-taking system is the exchange structure, which, according to Fair-clough, is also relevant to policing what people can say in classroom (Fairclough 1993, 154). Drawing on various types of exchange structures and adjacency pairs presented by Fairclough, I will attempt to formulate a hypothesis that the most common features in exchange structure in a classroom with unequal distribution of power includes:

i)   The teacher opening and closing all transactions

ii)   The teacher giving new information

iii) The teacher policing the agenda of the exchange

iv)   The teacher controlling physical and verbal behaviour in the classroom

v)   The teacher asking questions from students (**Q** => A)

vi)   The students answering questions asked by the teacher (Q => **A**)

vii) The teacher giving feedback based on student actions (performance)

The first point in the list is necessary for the teacher's control over the classroom – by opening all transactions the teacher can set their initial agenda, and by closing all transactions he or she can settle their final meaning (this point will be discussed in more detail later on in this thesis). The second point establishes the role of the teacher as the only source of knowledge (information) in the classroom, and emphasises his or her authority, which is perceived by the students as being based on the superior knowledge of the teacher.

In order to control the relevance criteria that have been set in the initial opening of the transactions, the teacher needs to exert control over the agenda of the transaction (the specific methods of policing will be discussed later). The institutionalised setting of the classroom would also require the teacher to maintain explicit control over both the physical and verbal behaviour of the students and to repress any forms of insubordination over his or her total control over the participants. It has to be noted that adult students have usually internalised

this control to such degree that the teacher will not need to exert explicit control over their behaviour in the classroom.

Probably one of the greatest paradoxes in the activity of teaching is made visible in the fifth and the sixth point of the list above. If the teacher is the source of all knowledge (information) in the classroom, and his or her authority over the students is supposedly based on this higher level of knowledge, why is it almost invariably the teacher who asks all the questions? And why is it the students that need to attempt answering them? It could be said that Question-Answer (Q=>A) adjacency pair (Fairclough 1993, 154) is the most stereotypical of institutionalised educational setting. This interesting phenomenon could be traced back to the dialogical or "Socratic" method as presented by Plato, where the teacher (although, in this context, I would prefer to call him "tutor") is asking the students questions that reveal the contradictions in their logical reasoning. This, however, has very little to do, except, perhaps as its misunderstood and misused origin, with the Question-Answer-Feedback structure of modern education, where, hypothetically, the most common type of questions are those examining whether the students have internalised a piece of information handed to them by the teacher. This hypothesis is supported by the evaluative forms of feedback (point vii) common in modern systems of education.

In my view, the structure of exchanges in the data in combination with the teachers choices of modality and some of the reactions of the students, suggest that examining the data through *Question => Answer => Feedback* -exchange structure that is generally taken as the stereotypical exchange structure in the context of education, would not be very fruitful. Instead, I have opted for reconsidering some of the communicative functions of teacher speech through means of concentrating on the functions signalled through modality and outcomes of the interaction instead of the lexical and grammatical surface of clauses. When defining the interpersonal functions of the communication in the terms of Halliday's functional grammar,

which sees giving and demanding as the fundamental purposes of any exchange and further classifies these purposes into functions according to whether what is given or demanded is goods-and-services or information, the interpersonal functions of speech can be classified roughly as (Thompson 2004, 47):

   i)   *Offer*: giving goods-and-services

   ii) *Command*: demanding goods-and-services

   iii) *Statement*: giving information

   iv) *Question*: demanding information

The ambiguity of speech functions is also demonstrated, with an emphasis that is almost contrary to the example above, in the beginning of an example provided by Edwards and Furlong:

```
T:    Can you tell us what fossils are, do you think?

P:    Sir,sir, a long time ago animals -- and there was
      animals, and when they died, er, the rain and wind
      came over them and then the bodies disappeared and
      left the shells and that.

T:    Good. Why do you think the bodies disappeared and
      the shells stayed?

P:    Sir, sir, they rotted.

T:    And what about the shells?

P:    Sir, they got harder -- er, when the clay dried,
      they made marks in the clay.

T:    Right.
```

(Edwards and Furlong 1978, 17)

I would argue that, in the example above, the pupil's reaction to the interrogative forms used by the teacher is that they tend to be interpreted as commands for the pupil to perform the act of answering the question and then reviewing his answers rather than questions (demanding

information). This interpretation is visible in the overt forms of addressing the teacher ("Sir, sir,") and the pupil's heavy use of hedges. Based on their study of classroom discourse, Edwards and Furlong also express the traditional view of "pupil participation"[14] as a mechanistic tool for "mobilizing the pupil's attention" (Edwards and Furlong 1978, 16) and elaborate on the problems that the need for (even this kind of) student participation causes for the teacher's total control of the exchange structure:

> The predominant 'teaching technology' is still that of exposition interspersed with bursts of question-and-answer. But if pupil participation is therefore indispensable, it also presents formidable managerial problems because of the number of potential participants. Once the teacher stops lecturing, how are turns taken? How is the rule of one speaker at a time maintained? When a question is asked, who is to 'do the answer'?

These concerns seem valid when speaking of nondialogic education, where the main emphasis of the "pupil participation" lies in signalling their attention and performance of the predetermined answers (or the performance of the inability to answer "correctly"), but would be largely irrelevant when speaking of dialogue between participants with equal communicative rights. In a dialogic classroom a mutually negotiated social contract should be drawn to guarantee that anyone in the class may have their say on any topic, and to be able to do that without being interrupted if there is no explicitly stated reason for that interruption.

3.3.4   Turn-taking in classroom interaction

As the example from Edwards and Furlong in the section on exchange structure showed, turn-taking in nondialogic education is controlled almost exclusively by the teacher, with some borderline options for deviant behaviour by the students. In fact they argue that asking

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[14] Written in quotes because of my view that mechanical answering of questions with predetermined answers does not fill the basic requirements for describing it as real participation.

closed questions with predetermined criteria for judging the correctness of the short answers is one of the ways through which the teacher can maintain the control over turn-taking and thus the structure of the whole exchanges (Edwards and Furlong 1978, 17).

According to Fairclough (Fairclough 1993, 158) the most common turn-taking patterns in a classroom situation with unequal power relations are the following:

i) The teacher selecting the next speaker

ii) The teacher keeping the floor him-/herself (with the possibility of extending his/her turn "across any number of points of possible completion") (Fairclough 1993, 153)

Thus, the hypothetical options that would be available in a classroom exchange between equals, but which would be ruled out or treated, as deviant unacceptable behaviour in a classroom environment with explicitly uneven power relations are:

i) A student selecting the next speaker

ii) Any student participant taking the turn without the teacher explicitly giving the floor

iii) The current student speaker continuing after a point of possible completion

In a classroom with unequal distribution of power, the first option in the list would challenge the authority of the teacher over the structure of the discussion, the second would appear on the surface as insubordination, and the third could be taken by the teacher as a challenge for him or her to take the floor in the next possible point of completion, or even in the middle of the student's turn. According to Fairclough, the teacher can also police the relevance criteria by interrupting students whenever the students' contributions miss the criteria set by the

teacher, or hold the floor by remaining silent to reassert his or her control over the classroom, or to explicitly criticise the students. (Fairclough 1993, 153)[15]

3.3.5 Formulation in classroom interaction

By referring to earlier work by Sacks, Fairclough gives a basis for the following list of possibilities for the teacher to formulate the students' speech (Fairclough 1993, 157):

    i)   T describing the S's transaction

    ii)   T explaining the meaning of S's transaction

    iii)   T characterising or setting S's transaction into *proper* context

    iv)   T explicating or clarifying S's transaction

    v)   T translating (to the *preferred* language, or *register*) S's transaction

    vi)   T summarising S's transaction

    vii) T furnishing S's transaction

    viii) T evaluating S's transaction against a set criteria

In classroom practices aimed at reproducing unequal distribution of power, the teacher has the sole authority over formulating students' speech. Indeed, the opposite (a student formulating by, for example, furnishing or evaluating, what the teacher has said) would appear on the surface as insolence and disrespect to the authority of the teacher. This right of the teacher to 'say the final word' is clearly connected with his authority to ultimately set the final meaning for each transaction that takes place in the classroom, thus being able to accommodate even those transactions that would otherwise threaten his or her authority. Indeed, with its power to transform even explicit challenges into contributions for reproduction of the teacher's

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[15] It has to be noted here that Fairclough uses the terms *powerful (P) and non-powerful (N-P) participant* instead of referring to participants by their specific roles as a teacher and students as I have done in order to connect his general theory to the agenda of this specific study.

authority (through, for example, negative evaluation), formulation is probably one of the most effective types of inexplicit policing of relevance criteria in the classroom.

Some forms of formulation of the students' contributions by the teacher are probably necessary in an EFL classroom, as there is often need to clarify what a student has said, or to point out erroneous language use by making an explicit evaluation. However, even this kind of seemingly neutral forms of formulation can be problematic in cases where the teacher makes the clarification when the student would be capable, with little or no external help, of making it him- or herself, or when the teacher evaluates the students' speech on the basis of norms irrelevant for the students' communicative and cultural needs. Indeed, the term *communicative competence* seems to be a problematic one (Loveday 1982, 2), and the evaluation of this competence should be relative to the socio-cultural framework of the speakers.

One specific type of formulation widely employed by the teachers in foreign language education is the *repair* of the learners' utterances that the teacher considers linguistically faulty or deviant. Uninvited repair (where the student does not explicitly or implicitly signal his or her need for assistance by the teacher) may hypothetically be perceived by the students as undermining their linguistic competence and thus threatening their positive face (see section on politeness) so it should be done, if necessary for the benefit of the learner, without drawing too much attention to the deficiencies in the learner's general linguistic competence and with respect to the his or her use of foreign language (Shor 1992, 96).

3.3.6 *Use of modality in classroom interaction*

According to Fairclough, modality is "the dimension of the grammar that corresponds to the 'interpersonal' function of language" (Fairclough 1993, 158). Thus he sees, according to 'systemic' approach that he adopts from Hodge & Kress and Halliday, modality as involving use of much wider array of linguistic devices than just 'modal auxiliary verbs' with which it

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has traditionally been associated (Fairclough 1993, 158-9). He lists the following as examples of devices commonly used to signify modality: modal auxiliaries, tense, modal adverbs and their equivalent adjectives, hedges, intonation patterns and hesitation in speech (Fairclough 1993, 158-9).

Assuming 'banking' concept of education in its simplistic form would entail that the teacher has to show high degree of personal affinity to the truth-value of the knowledge he or she is the sole distributor of. Thus, he/she would be likely to:

i) Use simple present tense in statements, realizing "categorical modality" (Halliday 1978, 159)

"Turku is the capital of Finland."

ii) Not use modal devices to show low affinity to the truth-value of his or her statements about the world, or the students.

"If I remember right, the capital of Finland is called Helsinki."

This high affinity to the truth-value of statements is probably connected to the notion of knowledge (of true facts) as the basis of the authority of the teacher over the students. However, it is not consistent with the view of the teacher as a tutor or facilitator of participatory learning process, where his or her position in the classroom is based on his explicit role as a facilitator and knowledge of both the subject matter (as a system or structure, rather than a collection of categories of facts) and human behaviour and learning as a process.

3.3.7 Politeness in classroom interaction

Most theories of politeness in human interaction think of human beings as having a set of 'face-wants' (Fairclough 1993, 162). This set consists of 'positive face' – the desire for positive recognition and evaluation among others, and 'negative face' – the desire not to be troubled or impeded by others.

Fairclough gives a summary of Brown and Levinson's (1987, 60) differentiation of "five general strategies for doing 'face-threatening acts'" (Fairclough 1993, 163). From the strategies presented, only some are potentially available for conformist students in oppressive forms of education, while the teacher will not (necessarily) need to show either form of politeness in his or her strategic choices.

In my view, politeness and how potentially 'face-threatening' situations are mitigated is an essential factor in how the participants perceive the relative safety of the communicative environment and their own position in it, either as respected and recognised members of a community that is prepared to mitigate threat to his or her 'face', or subordinate objects whose 'face' can be threatened through evaluation without the community feeling the need of mitigate that threat.

According to Watts, this mitigation on the teacher's part may include strategies such as the use of formulaic utterances to express politeness (which Watts calls expressive politeness) (Watts 2003, 4), display of consideration for others (Watts 2003, 14), avoidance of imposing constraints on the actions of others (Watts 2003, 60), and leaving open options for others to act on (Watts 2003, 60). Even when lacking in consideration for the experience and freedom of the learners, the use of formulaic, expressive politeness may be frequent in nondialogic teacher-talk, as highly dialogic education may be almost totally devoid of formulaic utterances expressing linguistic politeness, while giving the learners more freedom and consideration they need in an environment that is highly facilitative of authentic learning. Indeed, it is my experience that *political correctness* can have very little to do with consideration to one another's experience or feelings in the classroom.

3.3.8 Ethos of classroom discourse

In this study, the ethos of classroom discourse is analysed in connection with other aspects of the discourse practices employed by the teacher. As Fairclough defines ethos as the way how the total being of a participant (his or her social identity and subjectivity) is manifest, in part, through verbal discourse practices (like the tone of voice and/or style) in a specific social context (Fairclough 1993, 143). He uses scientific (medical) ethos, the ethos of scholarly communication (Fairclough 1993, 160), and the ethos of counselling (in alternative medicine) (Fairclough 1993, 166) as examples of specific situated types of ethos.

According to Fairclough, counselling 'ethos' is a recent transformation in discourse practices of various fields, which, originating from psychological therapy, is now used widely in what used to be remarkably different institutions, such as education, health care and corporate management. Even though counselling, on the surface level, appears as a way of giving space to the learners, it can, according to Fairclough (Fairclough 1993, 99) and others such as Foucault (cited in Fairclough 1993, 54, 59) be used as a "hegemonic technique for subtly drawing aspects of people's private lives into the domain of power" (Fairclough 1993, 99). But as Fairclough also notes (Fairclough 1993, 59):

> Counselling is highly ambivalent and the manifest complexity of its relationship to power must rule out any claim that its liberating dimensions are just illusory.

And thus, he suggests that counselling should be viewed through how it works "as a discourse technique in practice".

Quite naturally, it is tempting to see therapeutic mode of counselling as the logical pedagogic answer to language anxiety experienced by the non-native speakers of a language who may feel that they cannot fully express their thoughts and may appear somehow defi-

cient (in comparison with the teacher) because of this. The teacher, however, must pay attention to the social implications of his or her using counselling discourse in his or her teaching.

4. The data and the analysis

4.1 Methods of gathering data

The data for this study was recorded during 5 lessons of a English communicative (speaking) skills course held by the same native English speaker teacher in the Language Centre of University of Tampere. The students in all of the classes were mostly the same group of 12-20 university students of education.

The lessons were recorded using a Minidisc recorder with a comparatively low-end miniature conference microphone. Some initial difficulties arose because of my inexperience with using this kind of equipment for recording purposes. The end of at least one lesson was lost due to running out of space on recording media. Other two endings were lost due to running out of batteries in the middle of recording. The microphone that was a relatively cheap low-end model delivered a sufficient voice quality when one individual was speaking at a time, but during the group discussions, the voices were too blurred for transcription.

I soon realized that transcribing the whole material (over 5 hours of recordings) would be impractical because it would take a very long time and that most of the resulting transcripts would be irrelevant for the aims of this study[16], so I decided to transcribe only those parts of the recordings where the teacher was speaking and clearly attempting to control the interaction in the classroom. The total length of transcribed material ended up being ca. 30 minutes.

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[16] Most of the talk during the lessons observed and recorded was either students giving presentations or having a conversation on a predefined topic without teacher intervention. Arguably, those parts would make good material for a study with slightly different aims.

4.2 Classroom observation

Before beginning with the more detailed analysis, I feel that I need to address some issues that I noticed while observing the lessons and recording them.

The atmosphere in the classroom felt distinctively open for discussion and debate. Although the teacher herself was a native English speaker, there was no sense of language anxiety on behalf of the students that could, hypothetically, result from the teacher's being a recognised authority in the foreign language and its use. This general openness in the atmosphere might be due to following features of teacher communication:

General use of informal tone: the teacher's tone of voice, choice of words, and use of very 'relaxed' spoken language grammar and syntax suggested an informal, yet distinctly academic tone, which could, in my view make student participation easier, especially when they feel to be unable to fully participate in formal, authoritative, academic discourse in English.

Learner-centred teaching methods: The agenda of the course had obviously been built on learner-centeredness as the central tenet. For example, the topic control had been given to the students in the form of free choice of discussion and presentation topics.

Counselling, or therapy mode of communication employed by the teacher: This could be one of the features in teacher's speech that could have had the effect of reducing the language anxiety. I will concentrate on this specific theme later on in this thesis under the topic of counselling ethos.

Subtlety of interactional control: Even when the examples below were chosen from those points where teacher is obviously intentionally controlling the interaction, there are no obvious explicit signs of uneven power relations, or disciplinary discourse practices (in, for example turn-taking, exchange structure, topic control, formulation, or politeness (Fairclough 1993, 138) that usually manifest themselves in formal language education.

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The use of space in the classroom varied according to the agenda of individual lessons and parts of lessons. There was relatively little teacher-led lecturing, which made the physical arrangements in the classroom more flexible and during the group work (in predefined groups that the students had themselves selected) the students sat in free formations wherever there was space in the room. During the student presentations and debates that involved "role-play" elements, however, those giving a presentation and those taking part in various roles would sit (the participants in a debate) or stand (the presenters) in front of the class, while the others would sit behind rows of desks in a traditional classroom arrangement.

Most of the topical themes that were discussed in the classes were chosen by the students, such as, for example, topics for presentations or role-play debates. This learners' choice over topics and the teacher's bringing in themes that were closely related to social issues that would affect the students later on in their lives (as kindergarten teachers, for example) (Shor 1992, 96) may have also contributed to the highly communicative atmosphere in the classes.

4.3   Recordings at the university language centre

The recorded data analysed for the purposes of this study consists of four separate recordings that have been transcribed using a simplified conversation analysis marking system suited for the purposes of this study. All four transcribed samples (Appendix A) were recorded in the same English communicative skills classes for Education students.

All the participants in the classes were, before recording, asked to sign in a permission to record their speech in the classroom environment. They were told that the recordings would be used only for the purposes of this study (on interaction inside the EFL classroom)

and that I would not concentrate on whatever difficulties they might have with their English language skills[17]. Luckily nobody refused to sign in the permission.

Sample 1. was recorded during a "role-play" type discussion session on the theme of plagiarism in the context of higher education. The roles in this role-play include the teacher as a "chairperson" and participants that have been assigned pre-defined roles and "attitudes" towards the topic at hand by a group of other students that were responsible of preparing a loose "script" for the discussion. I chose this discussion session for transcribing and analysis because the teacher's role in it is in stark contrast with her role in the other analysed samples of classroom exchanges that could be described as more open and conversational.

Sample 2. was recorded during a discussion that followed the "role-play" in sample 1. Probably the most interesting feature in this sample is the types of discourse devices employed by the teacher when guiding the conversation that are markedly different from her normal classroom discourse.

Sample 3. was recorded during the same lesson as the previous samples, but from a later discussion after a staged "role-play" debate on the theme of fur farming in Finland. In the sample, the teacher is eliciting the real points of view of the participants that in the role-play were voicing opinions of the roles that had been assigned for them by another group of students.

Sample 4. was recorded during a discussion that followed a student presentation on a self-chosen topic of children's songs (the student in question was at the time writing her thesis on the topic).

Sample 5. was recorded during a discussion following a student presentation on web-based learning (again, a theme chosen by the student herself). This sample is of interest for

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[17] I believed making this explicit to be very important as the students had to give presentations and to participate in staged debates, and some of them were not very confident in using English.

this study because of the ways the teacher addresses the topic from the point of view of her own experience with it.

Sample 6. was recorded during a conversation that followed a student presentation on the theme of values expressed by the teachers and how they affect the children.

The marking in the transcripts is a simplified version based on the conventions used by Fairclough in his transcribed spoken examples of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1993). As the aim of this study is to provide a sample analysis of multiple social aspects of classroom discourse and, as it seemed to me that those aspects can be analysed and the results demonstrated using a relatively simple marking, I did not think it necessary to use more complex mark up system like those used in conversation analysis proper. Below is a short list of the most common marking conventions that are used throughout the transcripts:

The speakers:

T: The teacher

S#:   A student. The numbering of the students is related to the specific exchange because no individual students, with the exception of one male student, remain distinguishable throughout the data.

Markup conventions:

[]   The brackets function as tags around some of the markups, but they are also used to signal breaks or attempted breaks (by another speaker) in individual turns.

[XXX]   Words undistinguishable or incomprehensible due to background noise, low volume, pronunciation, or too many speakers speaking at the same time.

(.)   A pause. The number of dots indicates the approximate length of the pause (in seconds). It has to be noted here that the estimates of pause lengths are based on intuition rather than accurate measurements.

–   The hyphens are used to indicate the changes in the tempo of the speech and intonation. Like with pauses, their use is based on intuitive estimates rather than accurate measurements.

,/.   The normal punctuation marks are used when the intonation patterns suggest their use.

Most of the transcriptions were first done using a low-end transcription software package *Transcriva* (on a Mac computer) and later reformatted using a word processor.

Despite some obvious shortcomings in my methods of gathering data, and the relaxed transcription scheme, I think that I have managed to capture at least some of the relevant aspects of classroom discourse in the transcripts and in the analysis. As the aim of this study is, first of all, to develop a valid research methodology for critical study of dialogic (or non-dialogic) aspects of classroom discourse and to provide a solid basis for making hypotheses about some of the interpersonal functions of teacher communication, there is no apparent need for amounts of empirical data that would be required to justify statistical conclusions.

I acknowledge that I have used many of the parts of samples a couple of times to give examples of different types of discourse practices in the communicative EFL classroom. This is partially due to the limited amount of data gathered but mostly to the interrelated nature of some of the discourse features, most notably those of *politeness* and the *control over the agenda* and the *topic*, and those of *topic control*, *exchange structure*, *turn-taking* and *formulation* in the classroom context. Giving completely separate examples of each of these features would have been difficult (not to mention artificial) and would have also undermined the relations between them and made reading this section more troublesome.

4.3.1 Analysis of the identities and attitudes

In the analysis of the identities and the participants' attitudes towards them, I will concentrate

on the kinds of identities available to the participants in the discourse environment of the EFL

classroom. My main interest in this respect lies with the transportable and discourse identi-

ties, as described earlier in the section on methodology, that are available for the participants

outside their situated identities as 'students' and as 'a teacher' in EFL classroom.

```
 30  T:    Thank you. Could we have the first speaker on the
           side?

     S2:   Mkay. I'm James twentyfive, I'm young student and
           I'm very eager to start my research. I think some
 35        day I'm going be famous and rich and I'm- I'm for
           the plagiarism, of course. I think every information
           is open and (.) for everyone. I don't see any reason
           why anyone should keep it to him- or herself and we
           should find the names who did and said what. I think
 40        that's stupid.

     T:    Thank you. And our second speaker?

     S3:   mm-hello I'm Marc I'm twentyfive years old ah -and a
 45        student. I study education and I'm definitely
           against (..) piracy of educational content.

     T:    Could you tell us why?
```

Sample 1. (30-48)

The above example from the first recording shows how role-play discussions and debates can

be used in simulating transportable identities in classroom. Here, the teacher (lines 30-31 and

48) assumes the situated role identity of a chairperson, which shows in her formal use of

'framing moves' in managing the agenda and speech turns. The students (S2 and S3) assume

transportable role identities of very different types, together with the opinions that go with

them, along with the situated identities of participants in a debate.

Role-play elements like this debate are commonly used in communicative EFL classes, but it could still be argued that, while the role-play scenarios are indeed very useful in practicing communication in a foreign language and voicing different identities and their opinions in that language, they should not be employed as the sole form of conversational dialogue in classroom, as the students may not get used to voicing their own views, thoughts and opinions in a foreign language, and the language and its culture may remain in a role-play stage, as something to be "acted out", in relation to their own identities.

```
91 S7:   Hello. krhm- my voice. mm- my name is Liisa. I'm
92        forty years old and I'm university teacher and I'm
93        against (.) this copying. I think that if students
94        are copying it doesn't develop their own thinking
95        and I think it's illegal and very unprofessional.
```

Sample 1. (91-95)

The above example is interesting as it shows the possibility of what might be called "meta discourse" in role-play scenarios. Here a student is assigned a role of a university teacher and she has the opportunity to voice the identities built into that role.

It could be hypothesized that the variety of different identities available for the students in a role-play scenario allows them to explore the boundaries of their own communicative identities through gaining insight of the possibilities built into various kinds of situated and transportable identities. For example, this kind of acting of the role of a teacher may increase the learners' awareness of their own situation bound role as students in an EFL classroom.

```
      T:   And- what's your opinion?

      S4:  I'm against but I think that's good thing that you
30         can find on the internet electronic books and it's
           easy. You don't have to go to library so [

      T:   [ Mmh- [
```

```
35 S4:   [ there's both good and bad things [

   T:    [ mm-hm (..)
```

Sample 2. (27-37)

In the above example where the teacher is eliciting the students' real opinions on pla-
giarism the teacher's unobtrusive signs of acknowledging what the student has said is proba-
bly what helps the students to further elaborate on their views, while at the same time feeling
comfortable using English in voicing them. In general, this kind of unobtrusive mode seemed
to be one of the features in teacher's speech that made it easier for students to take part in
conversation on personal topics in the classroom.

```
    T:   I just wonder-other thing. In your education as a
         kindergarten teacher ah-what role has music
         education- Obviously you get some sort of education
         in this. About music?
  5
    S1:  In Finland it has a very big role. We use music
         very-very much and in different kinds of situation.
         We don't have only once a week -"Now we sing or
         play." We have it --at least I-I have it --every day
 10      in some kind of situation when we are going out we
         can sing when we are dressing (.) and (..) I think
         it's quite important with little children I dont
         know about older.

 15 T:   I just-when you mentioned the kind of things you
         have listened when you were young-I just remember
         when-when I hadn't been very long in Finland when my
         children went to kindergarten and I was somehow -
         this is the seventies- quite surprised sometimes
 20      that [XX] the songs that there was this message
         which you emphasized and then the importance of work
         and was very stressed perhaps because of the
         political atmosphere and the idea that -I remember
         one "Isillä työ, äidillä työ" and emphasizing that
 25      everyone had their societal role that mother went to
         work, father went to work and the child went to
         kindergarten like kindergarten -the play was the
         child's work or something -this concept of work- to
         me was quite - in a -linking children's play with
 30      work was bit bizarre. And I suppose there are some
         values now which -through this kind of research
```

```
              you're doing -are there any kinds of value that you
              can say here and now that you look back and you
              reflect that that was a real 2004 value-we were
         35   really doing that sort of thing in a kindergarten
              and.. thinking that [XXX] do you think there's
              something emphasized -or-?

         S1:  I don't know...do you know? [...
```

Sample 4. (1-38)

Here, the teacher elicits the students experiences of their own education as kindergarten teachers (a transportable identity) and leaves the floor for them to answer as experts on education, which they, of course, are, rather than just non-native speaker students in a communicative EFL class (lines 1-4). This conscious strategy of employing the students experience and various types of transportable, individual identities was present in all discussions between the teacher and the students that took place outside or after the role-play or presentation assignments. Shor lists this kind of integrating of the students' experience in the learning process as one of the prominent features of dialogic teaching practice (Shor 1992, 96).

The teacher also very often brings into classroom her own experiences and transportable identities located outside her classroom, such as, in the example above, as having been a non-Finnish mother in the 1970's and experiencing the values presented in Finnish children's songs in a certain way (lines 16-30). This kind of exposing of different identities by the teacher can be seen as one of the factors that contribute to a classroom environment where it is easier for the students to relate their own experiences and voice their identities, also outside the situated identity of a student in an EFL class.

```
         T:   [Some of you had been in a kindergarten in seventies
              -or a daycare-yeah-do you remember? How was it like
              that in your? (..)

         45 T: I got this idea that this one song "Isillä työ,
              äidillä työ" is almost like it's "työväenlaulu" .. a
              worker's song. Anyone else go back to that time?
              Those values were very important to that society.
```

```
                This was a kindergaten where a lot of students sent
      50        their children.

        S2:     (..) one song "Työtä työtä työtä tehdään jotta jotta
                leipää syödään"
```

Sample 4. (41-53)

Here the teacher makes an attempt to draw on the experience of those students that have been in the kindergarten in the 1970's and gives an example of her own experience of the values implicit in songs sung in the kindergarten at that time, as experienced by a mother with a non-Finnish cultural background. Again, this is an example of how the teacher makes use of allowing transportable identities and inviting the students to share and analyse their own experiences in the classroom in creating a communicative situation that is both highly authentic and favourable to student participation. (Shor 1992, 95)

```
    35 S3:    I think she has the right mind. The basic definition
    36        of eLearning is that education in the right time and
    37        in the right place and with the right content. Then
    38        you can start the eLearning - otherwise it's
    39        useless.
```

Sample 5. (35-39)

The above example shows a statement made by a non-Finnish male student of computer sciences whose cultural and educational background were somewhat different from the rest of the participants who were Finnish natives studying education. His identification of himself as an expert on the topic (a transportable identity) shows clearly in his use of assertive statements and in the lack of hedges and modal forms.

```
      T:    you know have to go get these courses huh it's a I
            mean I'm very keen to use new methods and new
 65         technologies and my colleagues in the language
            center- we are very keen but I'm telling this that
            it's very it's very demanding- it's also very
            rewarding this but think you've hit on a very good
            point here. For me to transfer my ideas so
 70         onedimensional is very very difficult and for you to
```

```
              understand me through that dimension because we're
              talking about communication here.

       S2:    Yes. that's- I think that these machines and
   75         everything is reading and how does it work when
              you're moving there and  [XXX] also reading you
              know- you don't have a contact - you don't have the
              opportunity to understand if you make your questions
              so public you - I don't know
```

Sample 5. (63-79)

In the above example, the teacher first relates her own experience of using e-learning methods in teaching as a teaching professional. Here the teacher seems to voice an identity of a teaching professional among others in the class, which also encourages the students to take part and voice their own experiences and opinions. This is consistent with the teacher's emphasis (expressed in the interview) on bringing her own and the students' experiences into classroom.

```
       S3(M):      Any more questions please?

       S4:    I was wondering if teacher was teaching some kind of
              bad (.) things as you said. Something ro related
   30         with racism (.) that sort of values what should be
              done then and who should make the next step

       S1:    I think teacher have really strong professional
              ethics like they -they have the rules that they know
   35         what they can teach or not, but I think if we find
              out that -that some teacher's teaching some things
              concerned with racism then the parents they could
              contact school the principal or something then they
              could do something about it.
   40
       S2:    I think teachers are like an institute and they have
              ahm -give the sort of values and -and only parents
              can give their own values and respects and I think
              that hmm how can I say it teachers can -don't give
   45         her own opinion and values (.) and she [

       S3(M):     [or he[

       S2:   [-he only ahm [
   50
```

```
   T:    [the values of the status quo?

   S2:   Yes.

55 T:    Ok. yeah -yea

   S4:   I think it was great that you pointed out that
         everybody so as well as school and home must be in
         same line you know that the values should be same
60       they shouldn't be very different [.

   T:    But doesn't it depend on what values you're talking
         about -my values are distinctly different than a lot
         of values my -my children -my values and the
65       teacher's values are quite different on a lot of
         issues [

   S4:   Yes -yes but that I think that the rules abou
         behaviour and things like this. I also -everytime
70       I'm so much amazed when we get this Christian school
         -I -I'm so much amazed how secretly we are
         brainwashing children to certain religion -you know
         -books are about these values and very Christian you
         know -music teaching and a
75
   T:    You mean the Finnish textbooks in a lower[
         comprehensive school

   S4:   [Yes yes! because -because I'm so -I'm qualified
80       teacher I don't teach every week maybe a couple of
         times in a month -you know I get different view -I'm
         always amazed -you know -about this Christian thing
         (.) about music teaching language teaching it comes
         up very strong
85
   T:    Yeah -interesting

   S2:   I was in the parent evening in kindergarten and they
         told that one of their values is that Christian
90       values

   S4:   I also think it's good but I also -I'm wondering
         about it[

95 T:    [mm-hm[
```

Sample 6. (26-95)

The above example is very interesting in terms of different identities presented in it. First, there is a male student whose discursive and situational identity seems to represent that of his assigned role as a chairperson of the discussion (line 26) but his transportable identity as a male student in (at the time) mostly female group (except for himself and the myself as a researcher) also surfaces in the short correction on the line 48. Then there is a student (S4) who brings to front a number of transportable identities, such as that of a teacher (lines 79-84) and a parent (lines 88-90).

As became evident during the observation done for this study and in the analysis of data, there seems to be a connection between the identities that are allowed for the participants and the opportunities for them to share their experiences, and the teacher's attitudes towards the participants and her ability to understand their situation in the EFL class as adult learners with transportable identities related to their lives and experiences outside the classroom context.

4.3.2 *Control over the agenda*

In the analysis of how the agenda is controlled in the classroom, I have concentrated on the management of different levels of agenda (curriculum, course/module, lesson, part of a lesson, single exchange) and the *framing* and *focusing moves* used by the teacher to exercise control over the agenda and to focus the attention of the students, as described in more detail in the section on methodology.

The overall agenda of each lesson and the structure of the whole course seemed to be planned and controlled by the teacher, but there was considerable freedom for students to choose over topics that they were interested in presenting, discussing and debating. In their roles as "opponents" or "chairpersons" during presentation sessions, the students selected for

those roles could plan and control the agenda for limited periods of time (usually approx. 20-30 minutes at a time).

The teacher's control over agenda could best be described as subtle. After each part of a lesson (presentation, discussion, debate), there was usually a more general discussion on the execution and outcome of a part of lesson, and after the discussion was exhausted (it seemed that everybody had said the comments that they wanted to say), the teacher usually signalled moving on to the next part of the lesson. This kind of control over agenda never appeared mechanical and the teacher seemed to respect students' choice to continue on a part of lesson as long as they wanted, or move on to next part of the lesson if they wanted.

```
     T:    Good morning everyone -ahm -I'm just to ask you to
           [XXX] (sound of moving tables)] make sure you can
           all see there. It's important that you see them and
           clearly- so move your chair. Do you see everyone? -
  5        where you're sitting? ok. Ok, good morning everyone.
           This morning we are going to debate a very serious
           topic within the academic community and outside of
           it as well and that is the idea of plagiarising (.)
           of people taking other people's intellectual
 10        property. And with me this morning I have seven
           distinguished guests who have some serious
           experience with that phenomena. So I'll begin with
           our first speaker. On this side, please. If you'd
           introduce yourself and tell us your opinion?
```

Sample 1. (1-15)

The above example shows the teacher controlling the agenda of the classroom in a way could be described as both polite and emphatic. The teacher first asks the students to rearrange the classroom so that they all can see, and confirms this immediately afterwards. Then she goes on to announce the debate whose topic and agenda have been planned by a group of students sitting in the class. While introducing the debate and asking the participants to introduce themselves, she has herself assumed the role of a participant ('the chairperson') in the role-play and acts according to that role. In the above example the teacher, while acting the role of

63

a chairperson in a role-play debate, makes heavy use of formal utterances of expressive "politic" language (lines 1, 5, 10-12, 13-14). This is, of course, in line with the role she is acting and is part of her manner of controlling the agenda of the debate. This connection between politic language and control over the agenda will be discussed in the analysis of politeness in the classroom

```
97 T:    Thank you. Now I would like to open the floor for
98       discussion and here we have some issues you liked to
99       raise ahm- please use this opportunity to do so [
```

Sample 1. (97-99)

The example above again shows the teacher controlling the agenda in the role of a chairperson in a debate. Here the teacher makes heavy use of rather formal 'framing moves' and intentionally makes her utterance sound very official, which is unlike the subtle and emphatic moves she uses to control the agenda of the lessons and discussion outside the predefined role-play sequences. However, as the above example does not immediately appear as contrasting with the traditional 'teacher' mode of speech in EFL classes, it would seem that the teachers who are not as fluent in a foreign language and have less experience in using it outside the classroom context, may be in danger of lapsing into this kind of 'official' mode even at times when its use is not required by the role they are acting. The teacher also uses expressions of formal politeness to signal her wish for the students to take the stage and begin debating the theme.

```
1 T:    Yea- I want to thank you for a stimulating debate
2       and a- (.) and I think you ought to have a hand and
3       applause to show our appreciation [APPLAUSE] and
4       maybe before we go on to talk about the debate maybe
5       it would be an interesting to hear your real opin-
6       ions about this issue. Do you stand behind your po-
7       sition?
```

Sample 2. (1-7)

In the example above, the teacher signals the end of the role-play by raising applause, hints on forthcoming discussion on the debate, and then asks the participants for their real opinions on the topic of the role-play (plagiarism in academic context).

This is very typical of the teacher's subtle and very transparent way of controlling the agenda. There were very few moves from one part of the lesson to another that seemed abrupt, as the teacher often hinted on forthcoming discussions and topics beforehand through careful focusing moves, allowing the participants to prepare for them mentally.

The issue of control over the agenda is closely linked to those of who controls the topics handled, the structure of exchanges and the turn-taking (the communicative 'floor') in the classroom, and how this control is exercised. All these features of classroom discourse contribute to the nature of the relation between the participants and the possibilities for authentic, mutual participation and dialogue in the social environment of the classroom.

It would seem that there is a close connection between the teacher's control over the agenda of the class and the topics brought to the discussion, and the forms of politeness shown by her towards the students. I will further explore this connection in the following section (on topic control) and in analysis of the forms of politeness shown in the classroom.

4.3.3   Control over the topic

As mentioned earlier in the section on methodology, I analysed the control over the topics introduced in the classroom through concentrating on how new topics were introduced and by whom, where they originated from and how they were formulated, and how they were controlled (limited or restricted) and, finally, changed.

The students had almost total general control over topics that were handled in each session through their choice of topics for presentations (often taken from their own previous academic work or personal interests), debates and discussions. The teacher, however, seemed

to be the one who introduced most of the more specific themes inside the more general top-

ics. These themes introduced by the teacher were usually closely related to what was suppos-

edly the expertise area of the students (education) and they were not elaborated on for very

long if the students themselves did not engage in the conversation:

```
     T:    I just wonder-other thing. In your education as a
           kindergarten teacher ah-what role has music
           education- Obviously you get some sort of education
           in this. About music?
  5
     S1:   In Finland it has a very big role. We use music
           very-very much and in different kinds of situation.
           We don't have only once a week -"Now we sing or
           play." We have it --at least I-I have it --every day
 10        in some kind of situation when we are going out we
           can sing when we are dressing (.) and (..) I think
           it's quite important with little children I dont
           know about older.

 15  T:    I just-when you mentioned the kind of things you
           have listened when you were young-I just remember
           when-when I hadn't been very long in Finland when my
           children went to kindergarten and I was somehow -
           this is the seventies- quite surprised sometimes
 20        that [XX] the songs that there was this message
           which you emphasized and then the importance of work
           and was very stressed perhaps because of the
           political atmosphere and the idea that -I remember
           one "Isillä työ, äidillä työ" and emphasizing that
 25        everyone had their societal role that mother went to
           work, father went to work and the child went to
           kindergarten like kindergarten -the play was the
           child's work or something -this concept of work- to
           me was quite - in a -linking children's play with
 30        work was bit bizarre. And I suppose there are some
           values now which -through this kind of research
           you're doing -are there any kinds of value that you
           can say here and now that you look back and you
           reflect that that was a  real 2004 value-we were
 35        really doing that sort of thing in a kindergarten
           and.. thinking that [XXX] do you think there's
           something emphasized -or-?

     S1:   I don't know...do you know? [...
 40
```

```
      T:    [Some of you had been in a kindergarten in seventies
            -or a daycare-yeah-do you remember? How was it like
            that in your? (..)

   45 T:    I got this idea that this one song "Isillä työ,
            äidillä työ" is almost like it's "työväenlaulu" .. a
            worker's song. Anyone else go back to that time?
            Those values were very important to that society.
            This was a kindergaten where a lot of students sent
   50       their children.
      S2:   (..) one song "Työtä työtä työtä tehdään jotta jotta
            leipää syödään"

      S1:   I think children's songs nowadays In this day they
   55       are dealing with aa life that children live today in
            today in this world. Sometimes it sounds funny when-
            when a man is singing [singing] "Hiekkalapio lyöö"
            but[-

   60 T:    [Say that again?

      S1:   [singing] "Hiekkalapio lyöö".

      T:    Which means what? -Hiekkala[-
   65
      S1:   Hiekkalapio [

      T:    [Maybe this-

   70 S1:   The cake.

      T:    Oh yeah "Tule tule hyvä kakku"? Yea-yea ok. One
            thing about Finnish  kindregarten I heard a Canadian
            news yesterday-a-we have very pathetic daycare in
   75       [name of a country]. and In this discussion
            yeasterday we're looking very much to Europe and
            Europian daycare center and I think-certainly
            Finland has got then one of the best daycare centers
            wouldn't you say? Something to be very proud
```

Sample 4. (1-80)

In the example above, the teacher first takes on the topic of music education in Finnish primary teacher education and then goes on to the topic of different ideologies presented in children's songs and takes it further through answering her own question and narrating her personal experiences of those ideologies.

Here the teacher is the one who, despite the fact that the topic of the whole lesson was chosen by the students in their choosing the topics of their presentations, controls the topic throughout the whole exchange. In the lengthy passage on lines 15-36 the teacher sets the topic into specific ideological, even political meanings in children's songs, and on the lines 67-74 she again changes it into discussing the level of day care in Finland. This explicit control of the topic by the teacher could, in less learner-centred lessons, be an indication of the social practice or attitude of regarding the students as objects of teaching, rather than active agents that would have the knowledge and agency to be active in choosing the topic of discussion themselves (Fairclough 1993, 155; Freire 1996, 54). Here, however, I would attribute this feature more to the altered consciousness of the students (Freire 1996, 55) or, in other words, the students taking on the situated identity of *'a student'* who has to comply with the choices made by the teacher in the classroom situation, which makes them see themselves as incapable of changing the topic whenever conversation would otherwise end. In Shor's words (Shor 1992, 93):

> Even when students trust the good intentions of a dialogic teacher who listens to them, many have already learned in traditional classes that a good student keeps quiet and agrees with the teacher.

In connection to the length of the teacher's turn (lines 15-37) it should be noted that the teacher is here relating her own experiences for the purpose of later inviting the students to participate in the analysis (lines 36-37). This kind of invitation to participate in the analysis is noted by Shor as one of the features of dialogic teaching practice (Shor 1992, 95).

```
     T:   mm-hm (..) quite interest because now in Finland in
          a paper last week there was a debate about a-hunting
          swans (.) [XXX] so -y-know- this is quite close to
  65      us yea-I guess they're hunting it for meat n-so-on
          it'ss something of a same thing -of course every
          country has it -in England it's the fox hunting and-
          and -where I come from it's-it's [name of an animal]
```

```
        -an.. Anyway here you -very interesting -What about
70      the people who designed the debate (.) what we're
        your reactions when you saw your roles come alive?

   S7:  I think you were great all of you I didn't know
        before that this subject would be so funny
75      [LAUGHTER][

   T:   [Yes[

   S7:  But you [XXX] ahm-passioned [..
80
   T:   [mmh very.. The roles were well designed  because we
        had some good-good you know -you know  characters
        through which you drew the argument out tha- anyone
        else want .. comment on? (..) I think there was a
85      fantastic interaction in this -Timo's here studying
        interaction  and I think you'd like to agree with me
        that there was really great interaction -that people
        were picking up things and you-you were listening to
        one another and picking that up an-and-and disputing
90      it if one person would want to say one thing ahm
        then the other would say another -and sometimes even
        with-a with humor or sarcasm in it as for example
        human nature and-and so-on and-a it's human nature
        to [XXX] of course everybody laughed here because
95      there was kind of thing that ahh a- a bit of irony
        and [XXX] a bit of irony and then ah- mmh- this-
        well (.) lots of notes here - but picking mh -I
        think the big thing was that picking up the argument
        and redefining it -sharpening the argument is very
100     important in debate. A -that if somebody says
        something to -to take it -it's like a ballgame that
        somebody has the ball and then you steal it from
        them the-the argument and then you run with it -so
        it's a -it's kind of -we talk about war  with words
105     as war but it's also like a ballgame you have to try
        to get the ball n then have to run with it and I
        felt that way in this way it was lot like a lot
        like-like kind of a sport or ballgame here and what
        you did this did this linguistically ahm (.) I wish
110     I had some debates to show you  to see how debates
        take place and in practice too because  where I'm
        going to Helsinki now with my students is to if any
        of you saw A-studio last night? -did-did you see A-
        talk? Where they talked-where they talked about two
115     arab newspapers and I'm taking my journalism
        students to that event an-an so we're going to a- as
        journalists go to see this an we've been invited
        and-and three students come with me so it was a very
```

```
          good debate if you saw that last night between the
  120     two the two arab newsagents [XXX] Al-Za-Al-Za-[

    S8:  Al-Jazeera
```

Sample 3. (62-122)

Teacher also introduces all the new topics for discussion (hunting animals on lines 57-65, debating on lines 74-108). Indeed, the lengthy passage by the teacher on lines 74-108 seems to combine examples of many of the features of classroom discourse and practices that I am studying in this thesis. In turn-taking terms, the passage displays the way the teacher can actually hold the floor through many possible points where the students could interrupt her. This would suggest a passive atmosphere, which certainly was not the case in these sessions, or self-imposed restrictions by the students, which would in turn suggest a changed "oppressed" consciousness (Freire 1996, 55), which would mean that the students do not allow themselves the right to participate.

```
  20 T:  We're talking about this next week I know. Any more
  21     (..) we're going to talk more about this gender
  22     issues so we better not take that -that fire out of
  23     your presentation but I think it was quite -you know
  24     something to keep in mind.
```

Sample 6. (20-24)

Here the teacher explicitly controls the topic of discussion, but also gives a clear explanation why it should be left for later. This seems to be an example of the kind of control over the topic that is still required of the teacher, even when her relationship with the students is mainly based on democratic authority. The teacher acts to leave space in the agenda of the next lesson for a topical theme selected for the next session by one of the students.

It would seem that the teacher used mainly what could be called 'conversational' means to control and negotiate the topic together with the students, instead of enforcing her own choice of topic. This shows in many invitations she makes to students to join the conver-

sation and elaborate on the topics in a relatively unrestricted manner, and in the number and length of pauses she keeps in the middle of her own speech turns. This conversational tone of voice and non-enforcement of topics is one of the features of teacher speech that contributes to the dialogicality of the environment and is also consistent with the teacher's views of teaching and language as analysed later in this thesis.

4.3.4 *Analysis of the exchange structures*

In the analysis of the exchange structures in classroom discourse, I have concentrated, as described in more detail in the section on methodology, on the occurrence of the following discourse features (after Fairclough 1993, 154), or their absence:

i)   Opening and closing transactions

ii)   Giving new information

iii) Policing the agenda of the exchange

iv)   Control over physical and verbal behaviour in the classroom

v)   Question- (vi) Answer- (vii) Feedback/Evaluation patterns

I have briefly analysed these discourse features and their relation with Thompson's (2004, 47) classification of interpersonal functions of speech (into *Offers, Commands, Statements, and Questions*) in the section on methodology.

If we take a closer look at the example below, we can see that what the teacher is actually attempting is, regardless of the surface structure of an interrogative (and the rising intonation), to offer communicative floor to the students, but the students interpret this as questioning and, thus, replying with short answers:

```
      T:   That was a very don't you agree- that it was a very-
           very interesting and important debate to carry on I
 105       think for- for people in university like ourselves.
           Ahm- and then maybe we have some quick comments from
```

```
          the audience. I've obviously marked some things
          down- do you want a comment? (..) Yes?

110 S9:   It's very- entertainment.

    T:    Yes it is. It is very entertaining. Now- you're-
          that's right. And- it's a- interesting to see how
          people develop -develop their -their ideas for the
115       roles. I think the people who designed it- -who are
          the people who designed this debate? I think this-
          How do you feel about it? I think you designed a
          very clever -a scenario here.

120 S10:  A good team- [
```

Sample 2. (103-120)

It would seem that in educational context this kind of offering of communicative space combined with eliciting elaboration on personal opinions or feelings is likely to be misunderstood as demand for information (Question) or the public performance of making an attempt to answer (Command). Indeed, if the teacher is making a question (even using an interrogative form with rising intonation) to which he or she knows the answer, it would not, according to the functional definition, be a Question at all (i.e. not demanding information), but more like a Command demanding the (public) performance of the answer (or the public confession of not knowing the answer). This is also evident in the various types of student reactions to such questions that would appear illogical as responses to questions asking them to provide new information.

```
    T:    Ok! (.) And what's your position?

    S3:   Ahm-I'm partly for and (.) partly against [.
 20
    T:    [mm-hm[

    S3:   [partly m-because of the (..) living- farmer's liv-
          ing [..and
 25
    T:    [mh[
```

```
     S3:   [and it's why-why big- big amount invest in Finland,
           for example this (.) fur-farming, so that's why I'm
30         (.) for but (..) thinking about animal rights (.)
           then I'm against.


     T:    mmh [


35 S3:     ..[so it's a little complicated.


     T:    Yes and [XXX] that you present a good argument an-
           [XXX]


40 S4:     [I could use it [


     T:    [You could use furs? Really? [mh] So you were on the
           opposite side? [QUIET LAUGHTER] And what's your po-
           sition?
45
   S5:     I'm also for and against- I wouldn't buy a fur and I
           don't like (.) thinking that if these animals don't
           have good conditions to live but also I think that
           (.) these people have right to earn their livings
50         (..) and we should then stop also doing leather and
           (.) food of animals [Q] if we would stop this.


     S6 (M):   I think- again you who decide which animals to
           use (.) partially I'm in favor of furs because for
55         example killing [?] fox just for the sake of furs
           (.) is not fair. But whereas for example cow of
           though you eat- beef from -we kill them -we slaugh-
           ter them then their skin is useless you can use it
           [xx] or throw it away in that case it could be used.
60
     T:    mm-hm (..) quite interest because now in Finland in
           a paper last week there was a debate about a-hunting
           swans (.) [XXX] so -y-know- this is quite close to
           us yea-I guess they're hunting it for meat n-so-on
65         it'ss something of a same thing -of course every
           country has it -in England it's the fox hunting and-
           and -where I come from it's-it's [name of an animal]
           -an.. Anyway here you -very interesting -What about
           the people who designed the debate (.) what we're
70         your reactions when you saw your roles come alive?


     S7:   I think you were great all of you I didn't know be-
           fore that this subject would be so funny [LAUGHTER][


75 T:      [Yes[


     S7:   But you [XXX] ahm-passioned [..
```

```
     T:   [mmh very.. The roles were well designed  because we
80        had some good-good you know -you know  characters
          through which you drew the argument out tha- anyone
          else want .. comment on?
```

Sample 3. (17-82)

In the example above, the teacher shows that she is actively listening to what the students say by using what Langford calls minimal responses (lines 21, 26, 33, 61, 79) that signal acknowledgement of what has been said without interrupting the students' turns (Langford 1994, 109). According to Shor, it is important for a teacher of a dialogic class to listen patiently for the students and give them enough time to think (Shor 1992, 96).

This practice of active listening appears to be closely connected with teacher's frequent use of what Fairclough would probably call 'counselling' (Fairclough 1993, 98, 166) discourse.

```
     S1:   What do you think [name of a student]?

15   S2:   I'm wondering (.) If we are expecting that web
           studying is (.) about how to make learning easier
           and didn't you say it takes much more time?

     S1:   Yes! Yes! Because you have to [XXX] (...)
20
     S2:   I didn't understand that because I didn't- I thought
           (.) I really thought it should be easier to learn
           because I've been wondering whole time why is it so
           difficult to me that every course has this web area
25         and I find it very hard to find things eh - I find
           it very hard to read what I'm supposed to do (.) am
           I being right place in this web site (.) Do you
           understand?

30 T:      Yes I do. hm
```

Sample 5. (13-30)

There is one very interesting example in the above sample of a student changing the traditional exchange structure by asking the teacher a question of her understanding of what the student has just said (lines 27-28). This suggests a very different attitude and social setting

from that of the more formal educational institutions, where the students or pupils usually are not the ones that question the teacher's understanding of what they say (even though there might be good reasons for doing just that), but the right to question is reserved exclusively for the teacher. It would be tempting to say that this kind of setting is typical of university courses, but based on my own experience in the Finnish context, it would seem that most lecturers still fall short of having real conversation with the students although they may explicitly state that they want to discuss topics and invite questions. What may come up are questions on the topic itself (usually after invitation and extended pause in speech by the lecturer) but questions or checks on the lecturer's understanding of the topic still seem to be relatively rare.

```
      T:    Yes Yes. I can speak from a teacher because I have a
            web-based cour-course for journalists and (.) hell I
            mean it's really complex issue n I'm really happy
            that people like you are researching it and I think
  45        we're jumping into something very very quickly for-
            I'm not quite sure what reasons but one reason is
            that technology is very important in finnish society
            and another thing is (.) that sort of contact
            teaching in finnish universities compared to other
  50        countries is very very very limited here

      S1:   Yes

      T:    and this was - I think - and economical issue - I
  55        honestly think it's economically driven and and of
            course tech- because your fascintation with
            technology and this society's fascination but-ahm
            (.) but you mention all this-this infra- structure
            and you make it sound so easy
  60
      S1:   Yes.

      T:    you know have to go get these courses huh it's a I
            mean I'm very keen to use new methods and new
  65        technologies and my colleagues in the language
            center- we are very keen but I'm telling this that
            it's very it's very demanding- it's also very
            rewarding this but  think you've hit on a very good
            point here. for me to transfer my ideas so
  70        onedimensional is very very difficult and for you to
```

```
              understand me through that dimension because we're
              talking about communication here.
     S2:      Yes. that's- I think that these machines and
  75          everything is reading and how does it work when
              you're moving there and  [XXX] also reading you
              know- you don't have a contact - you don't have the
              opportunity to understand if you make your questions
              so public you - I don't know
```

Sample 5. (41-79)

Here the student who gave a presentation on the topic earlier during the lesson (S1) seems to

almost take the role of the teacher as she shows approval of the teacher's turns (lines 52, 61)

in what could be called framing moves, and another student who also participated in the pres-

entation (S2) goes on to give her own opinion of the topic. The availability of these discourse

choices for the students and the teacher's use of modality in expressing that her opinions and

thoughts are open for discussion seem to support the teacher's focus on conversation and are

also consistent with the teacher attitudes explored in the interview part of this study.

In the data gathered for this study the teacher continuously used various kinds of

hedges to signal modality (underlined in the example below) making her own point of view

more easily approachable through debate and kept in her speech short pauses where the stu-

dents could have easily taken the turn:

```
     T:       Has anyone read a research on this I remember years
              ago (.) ahm -one student giving presentation on -on
  100         this looking at textbooks, actually it was [name of
              a student] perhaps some of you know? Who did
              research on this -did a presentation on this class -
              she's now an education (.) person and about the
              moral (.) -the -the -a -how do you call it -the
  105         ethical values text in Finnish textbooks and how to
              analyse the discourse of the textbooks and here's
              this worldview the Christian worldview. (..) I -I
              think that maybe it's self-evident for Finnish
              people they're not interested to hear you say this
  110         because lot depends I think it goes very much side
              by side then you have a -with a- Lutheran values
```

```
      S2:    [Yes

  115 T:     [and if you're not a Lutheran then you can see that
             there's something (..) different than your values
             but if you're Lutheran, Finnish then they -they -the
             textbooks reinforce that world view

  120 S2:    [yeah (...) and still we have the freedom to choose
             your religion
```

Sample 6. (98-121)

It would seem that in the example above the teacher is using questions, hedges and pauses (underlined) to signal modality and to "play down" the assertive tone of voice that is usually associated with teacher-talk. This way the teacher is making it easier for the students to question the truth-value of her statements (related to the Christian world view represented in Finnish school books) and so to join the conversation.

4.3.5 Analysis of the turn-taking patterns

In the analysis of turn-taking patterns I have concentrated on the turn-taking and –giving rights and possibilities of the participants. As detailed in the methodology, these serve as important cues of the distribution of discursive power and possibilities of participation in the classroom. For example, I have concentrated on the selection of the next speaker and interruptions of the participants' speech turns.

The actual examples of classroom discourse recorded for this study show a situation that is very different from turn-taking patterns that would be available for the participants in a nondialogic classroom. One prominent feature of teacher-talk that does occasionally occur is the relative length of the teacher's uninterrupted speech turns. However, the teacher does seem to invite interruptions by keeping her tone of voice informal rather than giving narrative lecture, and keeping pauses where it would be relatively easy for the students to interrupt or ask for a turn. The learners' situated identities as students in an EFL classroom may also, in

these cases, be one of the reasons for their reluctance to take a speech turn right after the

teacher.

```
15 T:    I just-when you mentioned the kind of things you
         have listened when you were young-I just remember
         when-when I hadn't been very long in Finland when my
         children went to kindergarten and I was somehow –
         this is the seventies- quite surprised sometimes
20       that [XX] the songs that there was this message
         which you emphasized and then the importance of work
         and was very stressed perhaps because of the
         political atmosphere and the idea that -I remember
         one "Isillä työ, äidillä työ" and emphasizing that
25       everyone had their societal role that mother went to
         work, father went to work and the child went to
         kindergarten like kindergarten -the play was the
         child's work or something -this concept of work- to
         me was quite - in a -linking children's play with
30       work was bit bizarre. And I suppose there are some
         values now which -through this kind of research
         you're doing -are there any kinds of value that you
         can say here and now that you look back and you
         reflect that that was a real 2004 value-we were
35       really doing that sort of thing in a kindergarten
         and.. thinking that [XXX] do you think there's
         something emphasized -or-?

   S1:   I don't know...do you know? [...
40
   T:    [Some of you had been in a kindergarten in seventies
         -or a daycare-yeah-do you remember? How was it like
         that in your? (..)

45 T:    I got this idea that this one song "Isillä työ,
         äidillä työ" is almost like it's "työväenlaulu" .. a
         worker's song. Anyone else go back to that time?
         Those values were very important to that society.
         This was a kindergaten where a lot of students sent
50       their children.

   S2:   (..) one song "Työtä työtä työtä tehdään jotta jotta
         leipää syödään"

55 S1:   I think children's songs nowadays In this day they
         are dealing with aa life that children live today in
         today in this world. Sometimes it sounds funny when-
         when a man is singing [singing] "Hiekkalapio lyöö"
         but[-
60
```

```
    T:     [Say that again?

    S1:    [singing] "Hiekkalapio lyöö".

65  T:     Which means what? -Hiekkala[-

    S1:    Hiekkalapio [

    T:     [Maybe this-
70
    S1:    The cake.

    T:     Oh yeah "Tule tule hyvä kakku"? Yea-yea ok. One
           thing about Finnish  kindregarten I heard a Canadian
75         news yesterday-a-we have very pathetic daycare in
           [name of a country]. and In this discussion
           yeasterday we're looking very much to Europe and
           Europian daycare center and I think-certainly
           Finland has got then one of the best daycare centers
80         wouldn't you say? Something to be very proud of. I
           don't know what you're saying about that?
```

Sample 4. (15-80)

The turn-taking pattern of the example is, in my view, relatively close to that of ordinary conversation, although there are some features in it that hint at least of remainders of (or perceptions of) uneven power-relations between the participants. On her first move the teacher first takes the floor (after changing the topic, which was elaborated on in the analysis of topic control) from a student to give the floor to others for answering her own question, but when no participant would reply, continues herself. This kind of pattern suggests the classic classroom case of the teacher being the sole distributor of turns, and the only one who can remain on the floor after offering it to others (Fairclough 1993, 153). The pattern would imply that whenever the teacher would have anything to say, the students would have to listen in silence and answer only when asked to do so by the teacher (Fairclough 1993, 153; Freire 1996, 54). This could, in turn, be seen as a reflection of social practice of teacher keeping the discipline in the classroom. Here, however, there are enough contrary examples later to demonstrate that this is not the case.

Although there are some indications of the classic question-answer pattern (Fairclough 1993, 154) of what Sacks & Schlegoff, according to Fairclough (Fairclough 1993, 153) call 'adjacency pairs' (two exchange items where the first assumes the latter) emerging in the example, they are, in this case, more like examples of negotiation of meaning in co-operative discussion than classic examples of question-answer-feedback structure which in classroom environment could be used for example, in ensuring that the student has internalized the specific answers to closed questions on a specific, pre-determined topic. This kind of teacher's use of open questions and invitations for the learners to join the analysis are noted by Shor among the characteristics of dialogic classroom practice (Shor 1992, 95-6)

```
37 T:    Yes and [XXX] that you present a good argument an-
38       [XXX]
39
40 S4:   [I could use it [
41
42 T:    [You could use furs? Really? [mh] So you were on the
43       opposite side? [QUIET LAUGHTER] And what's your po-
44       sition?
```

Sample 3. (37-44)

From the turn-taking point of view, there is one very curious example of a student taking the turn from the teacher (lines 37-40), where the student takes the floor in the middle of a sentence. The teacher does not police against this in any other way than taking the floor back in her following utterance (line 40), though still acknowledging the students contribution as would probably happen in a normal conversation outside classroom. After this the teacher goes on to give the turn to another student in the group that is being interviewed (line 44).

As there is a group that is being interviewed in turns, the teacher needs to exercise heavy control on exchange structure, so she, for example, does not give turns to people outside the predefined group but only after everyone in the group has had their short, obligatory turn.

```
      S1:   But I also-also like to say that it takes much more
            time when you're studying via web (.) much much more
            time
10
      T:    mm-hm

      S1:   What do you think [name of a student]?

15 S2:      I'm wondering (.) If we are expecting that web
            studying is (.) about how to make learning easier
            and didn't you say it takes much more time?

      S1:   Yes! Yes! Because you have to [XXX] (...)
20
      S2:   I didn't understand that because I didn't- I thought
            (.) I really thought it should be easier to learn
            because I've been wondering whole time why is it so
            difficult to me that every course has this web area
25          and I find it very hard to find things eh - I find
            it very hard to read what I'm supposed to do (.) am
            I being right place in this web site (.) Do you un-
            derstand?

30 T:       Yes I do. hm

      S2:    And I really thought it should be easy for me ..
            obviously it isn't.
```

Sample 5. (7-33)

In the above example, the student who gave a presentation first adds on the comments made by the teacher on the topic of the presentation and then goes on to ask for thoughts of another student in the group. This shows some flexibility in the turn-taking patterns in this classroom, at least in situations where they have taken on the situated identity of an expert on a specific theme, as in this example. Hypothetically, this kind of situated identity should be available to any university student almost in any class, at least if we think of the goal of higher education to train expert professionals and researchers.

4.3.6 Analysis of the formulation utterances

In the analysis of formulation in the classroom discourse, I have concentrated on who has the right to formulate other participants' speech and what kinds of methods are used in doing it. I will base my analysis of formulation on the following list of questions (based on the list by Fairclough (1993, 157) presented earlier in the section on methodology) designed to uncover how the discursive power and right to evaluate are distributed in the classroom:

    i)   Who has the right to describe the others' transactions?

    ii)   Who has the right to explain the others' transactions?

    iii)   Who has the right to give context to the others' transactions?

    iv)   Who has the right to explicate or clarify the others' transactions?

    v)   Who has the right to translate the others' transactions?

    vi)   Who has the right to summarise the others' transactions?

    vii) Who has the right to furnish the others' transactions?

    viii) Who has the right to evaluate the others' transactions?

```
62 S5:   [ Well I have this example my friend t- teached- [
63
64 T:    [ Taught.
65
66 S5:   [ Taught. -ahm wooden things you know- with -with a
67        saw and some other teacher lent it (.) and they
68        broke it. And he was very angry [
```

Sample 2. (62-68)

The example above shows what is thought to be a very traditional type of formulation done by a teacher in a language classroom, 'repair' of deviant syntax, grammar, or pronunciation or use of a lexical item by the student.

However, in this case the teacher is listening to the student and hears from her hesitation with the word that help little help with providing the correct form might be in order. As

82

this kind of repair formulations were relatively rare in the research data, it would seem that

the teacher does have a high level of respect towards the language used by the students,

which has been noted by Shor as a characteristic of dialogical classroom practice (Shor 1992,

96). This does not by any means imply that the teacher did not provide the students enough

feedback on their language use (which she certainly did but usually not in front of the whole

group) but that she did not want to pinpoint the language as used by the students as "deviant"

in relation to the any other type of language usage that would have been portrayed as "cor-

rect".

```
     T:    [mmh very.. The roles were well designed  because we
           had some good-good you know -you know  characters
           through which you drew the argument out tha- anyone
           else want .. comment on? (..) I think there was a
 85        fantastic interaction in this -Timo's here studying
           interaction  and I think you'd like to agree with me
           that there was really great interaction -that people
           were picking up things and you-you were listening to
           one another and picking that up an-and-and disputing
 90        it if one person would want to say one thing ahm
           then the other would say another -and sometimes even
           with-a with humor or sarcasm in it as for example
           human nature and-and so-on and-a it's human nature
           to [XXX] of course everybody laughed here because
 95        there was kind of thing that ahh a- a bit of irony
           and [XXX] a bit of irony and then ah- mmh- this-
           well (.) lots of notes here - but picking mh -I
           think the big thing was that picking up the argument
           and redefining it -sharpening the argument is very
100        important in debate. A -that if somebody says
           something to -to take it -it's like a ballgame that
           somebody has the ball and then you steal it from
           them the-the argument and then you run with it -so
           it's a -it's kind of -we talk about war  with words
105        as war but it's also like a ballgame you have to try
           to get the ball n then have to run with it and I
           felt that way in this way it was lot like a lot
           like-like kind of a sport or ballgame here and what
           you did this did this linguistically ahm (.) ..
```

Sample 3. (81-109)

The main function of the whole long passage is for the teacher to give an evaluation (which Fairclough sees as a type of formulation (Fairclough 1993, 157) of the students' performance during the earlier debate, while being very positive on the whole, it invites a question of who has the right to evaluate the others' performance and against which criteria in the classroom? Obviously, it is always the teacher who is thought to hold the authority of knowledge to evaluate others' performance against the set (usually by him- or herself) criteria in the class-room. As is the case here, the teacher should always keep in mind that the criteria against which the performance (not the students themselves) should be evaluated against should be commonly recognized and transparent to the students themselves. Done against this advice, evaluative formulation of student performance, would be a re-enactment of the attitude of the teacher being the sole, all-knowing, thinking subject of the education, while those educated would be seen as objects void of any knowledge or ability to think (Freire 1996, 54).

```
      T:    And the question that you asked was the earning with
            teaching using web so if you and how the effect on
            teaching (..) and what students and lots of people
            experience is certainly common your experiences ..
   5        on this web-based learning

      S1:   But I also-also like to say that it takes much more
            time when you're studying via web (.) much much more
            time
  10
      T:    mm-hm
```

Sample 5. (1-11)

In its beginning, the last example has a good example of classroom discourse where the teacher formulates what the student has said in her presentation earlier (lines 1-5). Formulation can be used, according to Fairclough, in policing the set agenda and setting the topic - thus displaying the attitude on the teacher's part of seeing the student's contribution as some-how deficient or giving new criteria for relevance (Fairclough 1993, 157). Here, however, the

student goes on to give new information and adding to what the teacher said (lines 7-8), which gives an impression of more even power relations.

4.3.7 Analysis of modality

In the analysis of modality I have examined how the participants display affinity towards the perceived truth-value of their statements through use of modal forms and other linguistic signifiers of modality.

```
     T:    Yes Yes. I can speak from a teacher because I have a
           web-based cour-course for journalists and (.) hell I
           mean it's really complex issue n I'm really happy
           that people like you are researching it and I think
  45       we're jumping into something very very quickly for-
           I'm not quite sure what reasons but one reason is
           that technology is very important in finnish society
           and another thing is (.) that sort of contact
           teaching in finnish universities compared to other
  50       countries is very very very limited here

     S1:   Yes

     T:    and this was – I think – and economical issue – I
  55       honestly think it's economically driven and and of
           course tech- because your fascination with
           technology and this society's fascination but-ahm
           (.) but you mention all this-this infra- structure
           and you make it sound so easy
  60
     S1:   Yes.

     T:    you know have to go get these courses huh it's a I
           mean I'm very keen to use new methods and new
  65       technologies and my colleagues in the language
           center- we are very keen but I'm telling this that
           it's very it's very demanding- it's also very
           rewarding this but- think you've hit on a very good
           point here. for me to transfer my ideas so
  70       onedimensional is very very difficult and for you to
           understand me through that dimension because we're
           talking about communication here.

     S2:   Yes. that's- I think that these machines and
  75       everything is reading and how does it work when
           you're moving there and  [XXX] also reading you
```

```
know- you don't have a contact - you don't have the
opportunity to understand if you make your questions
so public you - I don't know
```

Sample 5. (41-79)

In the above example, which I also used as an example in the analysis of exchange structures, the teacher seems to keep up the conversational tone through her use of discourse devices that signal hesitation and uncertainty on her part, such as hedges, pauses, and modal forms. It is my hypothesis here that these kinds of expressions contribute to the students' perception that the information given by the teacher remains negotiable through conversation and is not something that they must accept as knowledge and that does not require their participation. In this respect, it would seem that native speaker teachers with better competence in using this kind of discursive devices could succeed better with communicative classes whose aim is to teach conversation skills, as long as their attitudes towards the students remain consistent with the principles of dialogic education. Native English speaking EFL teachers should also has to take into account the risk that their own fluency as English speakers may become a cause of language anxiety for some of their students, especially if risk-taking is not actively encouraged in the classroom.

4.3.8   Analysis of politeness

In the analysis of politeness in classroom discourse I have concentrated on how the participants mitigate potentially face-threatening nature of some of their discursive acts (such as, for example, exercising control over the agenda or changing the topic of discussion) through use of discourse strategies associated with politeness (as described in more detail in the section on methodology). I will also consider the relationship between politeness and "politic" behaviour (such as *political correctness*) in the classroom context.

The atmosphere in the classroom appeared generally very polite and all the participants (perhaps partially because of their academic background was mainly in education) seemed to respect and show consideration towards each other. So there were no apparent situations where the participants (including the teacher) would have explicitly failed to mitigate the threat to one another's positive or negative 'face'.

```
 1 T:   Good morning everyone -ahm -I'm just to ask you to
 2      [XXX] (sound of moving tables)] make sure you can
 3      all see there. It's important that you see them and
 4      clearly- so move your chair. Do you see everyone?
 5      ..
```

Sample 1. (1-5)

While acting in her role as the chairperson in the role-play debate recorded in the sample 2., the teacher made frequent use of "politic" utterances (a form of expressive politeness), as discussed before in the analysis of her control over the classroom agenda, but there are also signs of politeness of another kind. On lines 2-3, the teacher is mitigating the possible threat of her asking the students to move their chairs (negative face) by making explicit the benefit of their complying with her request (the students will be able to see the debate better) (Watts 2003, 67).

```
225 T:   (..) at one point I- maybe the powerpoints there was
         a- some things said that the other person didn't
         understand so- a- good you say "I don't understand."
         but also you can say "Do you mean that-?" or you can
         put the implications of what someone would mean. ah-
230      because that gives that you don't want to give the
         opponent the opportunity to make themselves look any
         better than they do, so you may want to draw
         conclusions from what they say. That would be that
         we have no copyright on our intellectual property.
235      "No-no-no-no-no." she would say, "That's not what I
         mean." "But that's what you said." -you know that
         kind of attack am- suppose -oh you that sort of (.)
         thing -throw your eyes to the ceiling an- [QUIET
         LAUGHTER] "Can anybody be more stupid?" am- or
240      whatever. So gestures is on but good defence -and
```

```
         then good use of language too as- as you were saying
         and good this so-called ordinary people and things
         like that -define meaning. Did you pick up on
         anything? I would have loved to have recorded this
   245   and I think our camera's still away because this is
         where we see that (.) all those nice ah- things that
         I have to [XXX] (.) Ok, any comments? (.) Thank you,
         very good. (..)
```

Sample 2. (225-248)

The above example is taken from the middle of the teacher giving feedback to a debating group. What is noteworthy in this example is how the teacher gives options for the students in how they could perform in a specific situation. In Lakoff's terms, by giving multiple options on how to act in the situation, the teacher avoids imposing a certain way of behaving on the students (Watts 2003, 60). After this, the teacher gives personal praise on the groups performance and invites others to comment.

There are also occasional glimpses of a very informal and sometimes downright "blunt" wording (as on the line 239). This kind of directness should not, in my opinion, be confused with being impolite, as Watts also differentiates between what he calls politic behaviour (considered proper in a given situation) and polite behaviour (being polite towards others) (Watts 2003, 21).

```
   15 S2:  [and maybe if (.) don't have a dad and then the main
           teachers have a great opportunity to be a role model
           for boys so it's they have more responsibility
           because of that

   20 T:   We're talking about this next week I know. Any more
           (..) we're going to talk more about this gender
           issues so we better not take that -that fire out of
           your presentation but I think it was quite -you know
           something to keep in mind.
```

Sample 6. (15-24)

In the example above, a student is trying to introduce a new topic, which is subsequently rejected by the teacher with what could be called a *'framing move'* (Edwards and Furlong

1978, 19). Here the teacher mitigates the threat that this rejection of topic would otherwise cause for the students 'face' by making explicit the reason for moving to another topical theme and how this is due to consideration for another student who is going to give a presentation on the theme in the following week (as discussed in the analysis of the control over the topics in classroom).

Indeed, it would seem that the teacher mainly used both, forms of expressive, formal politeness, and more subtle forms of politeness, intended to mitigate the threat to others' face, when she exercised control over the agenda of the class or a part of the class, or the topic of discussion. This may be one of the reasons why, based on my observations in the classroom, there were no instances where the change of agenda or topic by the teacher would have disrupted the participation by the students.

4.3.9   Counselling ethos

From the point of view of the discourse practice features analysed for this study, it would seem that a number of them point towards the teacher's heavy employment of what could be called *counselling ethos* (an ethos originated in practices of psychotherapy and medical counselling) in her classroom practice. It shows in the subtlety and unobtrusiveness of the teacher's control over the agenda of the classes and topical themes, in her turn-taking and – giving practices, in her use of modal forms and hedges to signal hesitation and thinking, and in her great care when formulating the students' utterances and giving evaluative feedback (in a form of careful analysis accompanied with constructive suggestions for development) of their assignments.

Currently this type of ethos is permeating discourse practices everywhere from reality television to employer development discussions held in commercial organisations. However, as the widespread use of counselling ethos cannot always be seen as an entirely positive but

potentially artificial and false, or even destructive phenomenon (especially when employed without genuine care about the psychological well-being of the participants, as may often be the case), I would draw the attention, in this specific case, to the attitudes of the teacher and their importance in making this ethos more authentic for her particular classroom practice. It would seem that the teacher's apparently genuine concern for the students and her highly reflective and analytical way of teaching support and bring a sense of authenticity and genuineness for her use of discourse practices related to counselling. Without this caring and reflectivity they would probably appear quite inauthentic or out of place at the very least.

4.4   Interview of the teacher

In addition to the analysis of classroom discourse and interactions between the teacher and the learners, the empirical research done for this thesis includes an analysis of an interview of the teacher whose classes were recorded and analysed above. This was done in order to gain an insight into some of her personal attitudes and views behind her classroom practice.

For the reasons of clarity and the complexity of the concepts involved and the relationships between them, I have presented the analysis of the teacher's views and attitudes (related to herself as a teacher, teaching as an activity, language as the subject being taught, and the students in her classes) through a set of simplified concept maps that visualise the connections between the concepts that came up in the interview.

The transcription of the interview has been included in the Appendix B.
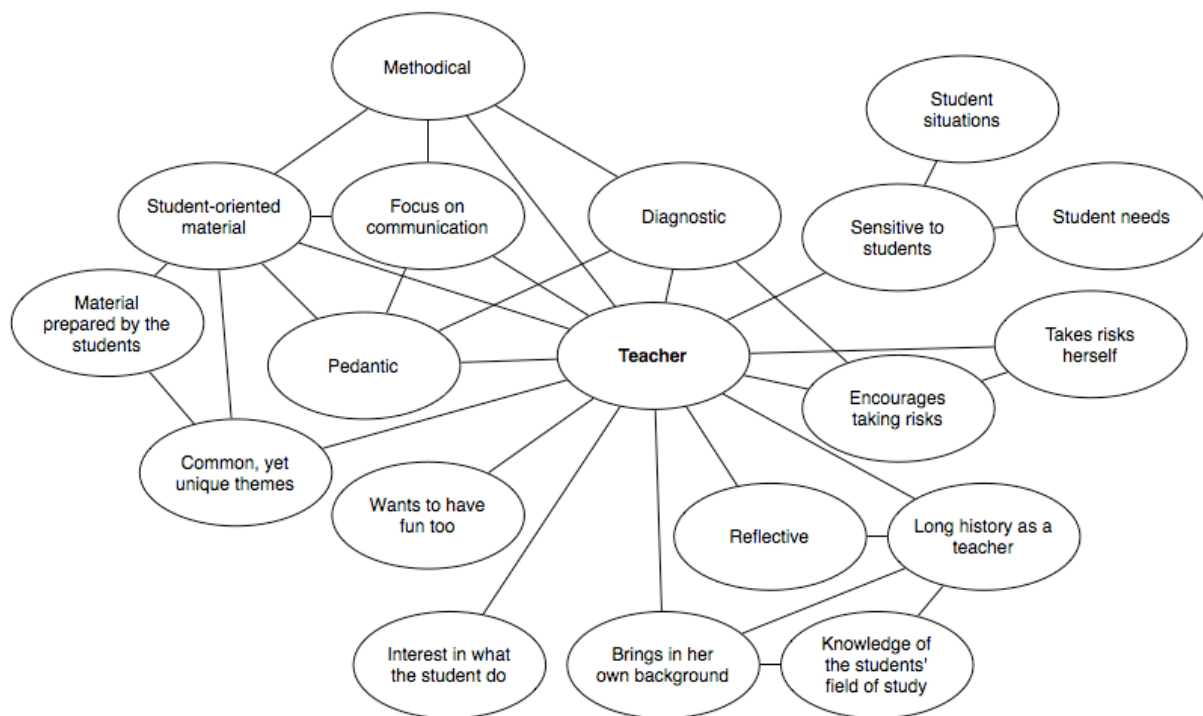
Figure 3. Teacher's view of herself (based on the interview)

Figure 3. is based on my attempt to analyse the teacher's self-conception based on her narrative during the short interview. She clearly tends to see herself as very pedantic and methodical in her teaching practice, which in the light of this study, does not seem to be in conflict with the goal of empowering the students and making the lessons more learner-centred, as long as this "pedantry" is combined with a high level of sensitivity towards the students in their subjective situations, interest in the students and the profession of teaching, and empowering learners as the overall goal.

In the light of the analysis of discourse practices, the teacher seems to be well aware of her own teaching practice and attitudes towards the students.

In the interview the teacher emphasised that she uses a lot of material that comes from the students themselves. This was evident in the lessons that were largely based on either presentations held by the students or role-play situations designed by them. This seems to go well together with the teacher's diagnostic and highly analytical teaching style.

```
    T:     [..] I think that it's always important that the
           material is sort of made for them and it's made for
           me and I have to start with me first because I don't
10         know them and but I think that I sort of start with
           what I think they are on the basis of students I've
           had in the past because I've had such a long history
           as a teacher. What I can presume by the course
           theme, that the people coming there, what they're
15         going to have, and then I have to test the
           hypothesis in the first few lessons. And because
           it's important I think in learning to take risks I
           put them in certain risk situations where they have
           to take risks. And then I'm in some ways being
20         somewhat diagnostic about what they're doing in
           those situations, like how well they're able to
           cope, and- and they're fairly spontaneous
           situations, and, then, what I think is the most
           important thing, is where are the gaps in their
25         knowledge that I can somehow go to work on or
           instruct them to work on. [..]
```

Teacher interview (7-26)

Reflecting on her teaching methods was also integral part of the teacher's practice. She made

frequent use of classroom activities recorded on a video tape and had also, during her educa-

tion and long career as a teacher, gone through a couple of thorough analyses of her teaching

methods and practices.

```
    T:     [..] I don't have any problem with that, you know
130        like if somebody came in and said "Ok, what are your
           pedagogic principles and how do you act on this" we
           went all through that a couple of years ago here.
           And it was quite rigorous. So it was almost like
           putting the cart before the horse. You did it, and
135        then after you had been doing it for years and years
           you had to tell somebody what you were doing and why
           you were doing it. [LAUGHTER] I've done it before,
           I've done it before because after I had been working
           here for about five years I went to study education.
140        Part of my- in [name of a country]- part of my
           studies in education was doing, and you don't get
           accepted to study education unless you have been
           teaching there. So because we were all experienced
           teachers, we took our practice and analysed it, and
145        discovered in our practice what actually, in we
           believe teaching is, and teaching is pretty good a
```

```
                  subject because it doesn't- it comes a lot from your
                  personality and your personal experience. Not so
                  much with somebody else's put in your head. So, the
     150          idea of both- for both of my education degrees was
                  just that. What do you do in classroom? and try to
                  (..) and why you do what you do in classroom? and
                  where have your influences come from? And I think
                  it's kind of interesting because it puts you in the
     155          historical perspective, as to where you come from
                  and where you're going, and it's not just- you know-
                  somebody drilled a hole in my head and poured some
                  education theory in and said "go work". That kind of
                  model, you know those (..) the empty vessel
     160          [LAUGHTER] maybe it is, I don't know [..]
```

Teacher interview (129-161)

During her courses, she occasionally took groups for excursions outside the classroom and

regarded those kind of situations as more authentic for the students and better for practicing

informal communication in English language.

```
     I:    Can you tell me little about your feelings about the
           classroom as a social space? Is it the best place to
           learn languages?

 335 T:    Gee-whizz- I would love to be able, you know- to
           take people out of the classroom occasionally, and I
           do, I've done that a lot with- with students, I
           mean- it's quite interesting what happens with the
           group, like for example last year we went to the
     340   "vastaanottokeskus" which is a reception centre and
           one of the students was working there and it was
           relly wonderful- you know going there and having her
           giving her presentation there as opposed to doing it
           in the classroom, per her sub- she was in a
     345   surronding that she felt comfortable with to talk
           about her subject, and I think for her that- and for
           the other students that was very important.
```

Teacher interview (331-347)

In relation to the requirements of authentic dialogue in an EFL classroom, probably one of

the most important aspects of the teacher's view of herself was the emphasis on building a

relationship of trust between herself and the students. As discussed before in this thesis, the

importance of this attitude has also been noted by theorists of dialogue (Rule 2004, 330).

From the point of view of the theme of this study, it was very interesting to notice that the

teacher connects her emphasis on building mutual trust with the students with her authority

and the fairness of that authority in the classroom.

```
        I:    What kind of relationship are you trying to build
              with the students?

  360 T:    Well. That they can trust me, in that they can take
              risks with me, and I take risks with them, I mean- I
              do some pretty- pretty off the wall like reading
              poetry and stuff like that, I mean- it's a little
              bit (..) -yea, I just like poetry myself and I like
  365        literary- I like plays, and I have all this
              fantastic material collected over the years that I
              like to use, and I take risks to do my thing and I
              would hope that they would you know- we would meet
              but I want them to feel that they can, if they can
  370        trust me, that they do their bit, you know- they
              don't have any problem with it but- but I want them
              at the same time to realise that there's a deal,
              there's a contract here, you know- there are certain
              expectations, and I am the authority in the end of
  375        the day, I mean- I don't like to play it up but I
              have to tell them the rules of the game and I feel
              that I have to be fair to every student there, [..]
```

Teacher interview (357-377)

4.4.1 Teacher's view of teaching
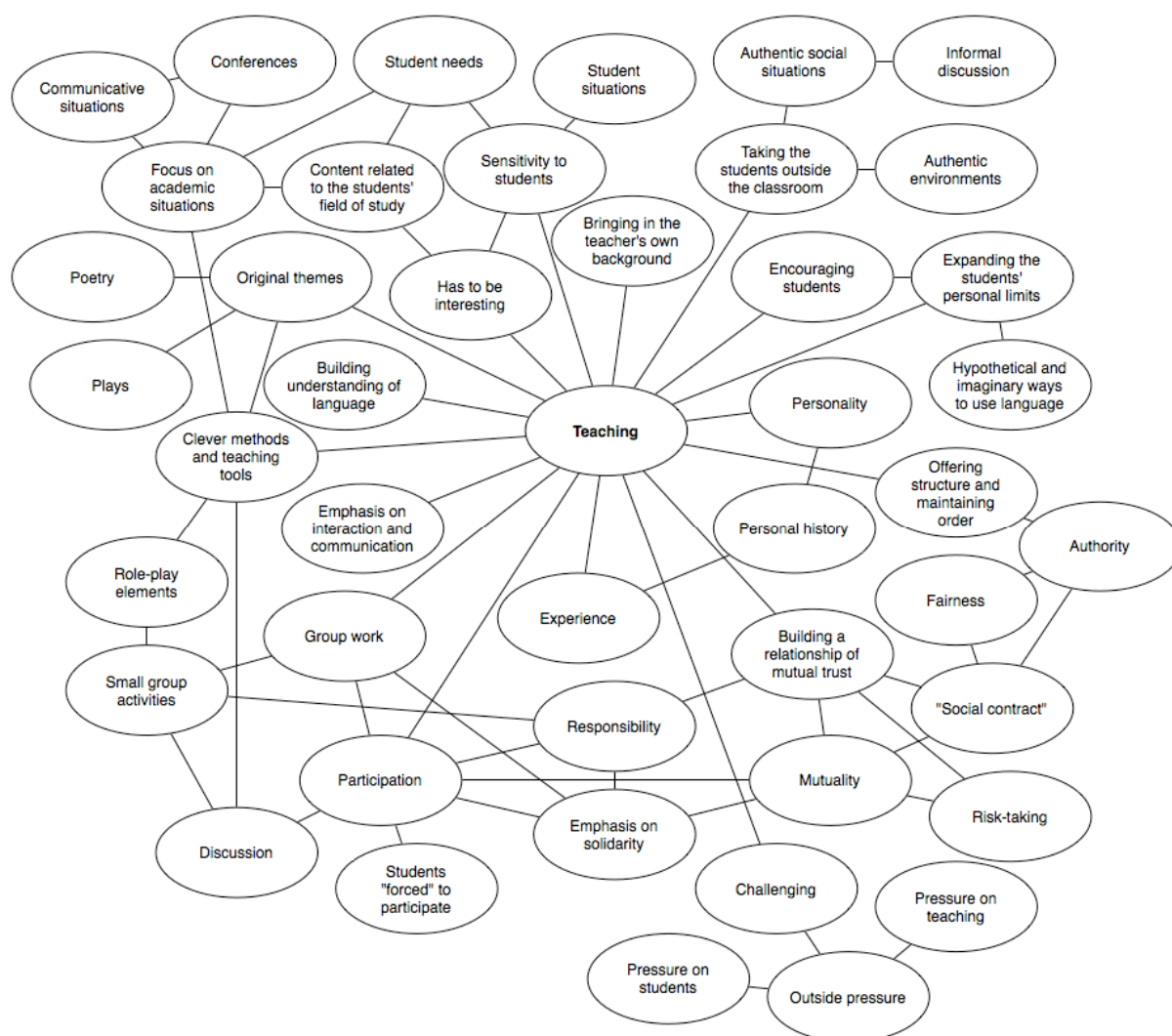
Figure 4. Teacher's view of teaching (based on the interview)

The above map clearly shows the level of complexity of the teaching as an activity as understood by an experienced EFL teacher. This view of teaching indicated by her narrative during the interview is consistent with the teacher's view of herself as a teacher and also with her view of the students and their specific needs that I will attempt to analyse later on in this section.

The teacher often seems to try to incorporate in her teaching new teaching methods, topical themes, and materials, and she also keeps an eye on how what the students think and feel about them.

```
      T:    Well, in the diaries eventually I think sometimes
            they feel "this is weird" I don't know maybe not-
            but in the diaries they say "this was fun" for
            example, the poetry reading we had- we had it's like
 75         in Finnish you say "runoraati" we had- I took out
            all my poetry books and they put the book first and
            picked the poem and they read it and then tey all
            gave points to the poem and the reading of it. And
            so- you know- it's a pretty bizarre activity but
 80         it's very interesting to hear somebody take up a
            text and put some- some life into it, and not just
            an academic text, and oftentimes these texts have
            something to say to people who are studying social
            issues. A lot of them (..) issues that I think we
 85         should be talking about in the university.
```

Teacher interview (71-85)

She also emphasises the importance of being able to take risks in the classroom, both for the students in their interaction in foreign language and for herself in the choice of teaching methods she uses and the subjects and topics she introduces in the class. It seems that she holds mutual risk-taking to be crucial for enabling learners to explore the uses of foreign language for themselves and widen their scope of communicative competence.

```
      T:    [..], like I had a whole collection of these objects
            I got from different people (..) and they each had
            one, so I mean- here we were with these people who
 200        were absolutely petrified coming into foreign
            language and they had something a little bit
            bizarre, a little bit crazy, but in actual fact the
            exercise was having to use language in this way, in
            hypothetical- using your imagination and having fun,
 205        because we did laugh a lot. It was- it demanded very
            complex management, like kind of language that they
            likely didn't have- so they were able to use what
            they could use and then I used the situation to give
            them some more language to use in that kind of
 210        situation, so teasing up what they have and then
            throwing some more language [..]
```

Teacher interview (197-212)

Although, while observing her classes, it seemed that the student participation was mostly voluntary and initiated by the students themselves, the teacher said that she has a habit of going around the classroom and asking the students to participate. It would seem that the potential threat this might pose to those students that are afraid to participate in the classroom using English is lessened by the teacher's facilitative attitude towards the students and her informal and colloquial teaching style.

```
      I:    You mentioned that some of your students were afraid
            of speaking English and afraid to participate. What
            can you do in that kind of situations?
 280
      T:    Well, they get into the group and everybody has to
            do something in the group. They have- and pull their
            weight, and they can decide in the groups as to what
            everyone does, for example, of the journalists.
 285        They'll do a radio program and they all have to be
            on the air. Some will be interviewing, some will be-
            they- will be more or less running the show or- but
            they all have to- so they all have to perform in
            some capacity, everybody has to get up in front of
 290        the class in- with a group or individually to do
            something, read the poetry, read the lines of a
            play, and that's another thing to realize that-
            that- you know- everybody can do it, some better,
            some not so good, and then I can introduce some
 295        things that- and it's up to them after they get
            through the course as to how they could, if they're
            really serious about their English- could improve
            upon it.
```

Teacher interview (277-298)

As the teacher expressed her concern for the students' well-being in the middle of all the demands posed by trying to fit together their work families and studies, she also regretted that when the teacher has to arrange alternative ways for the students to complete the courses when they cannot attend the classes, it is taking so much time out of their teaching.

```
      T:    [..] I mean- being a person empathetic to these- to
            my students you take all this on board and realize
            that they- they're under great stress, how do you
```

```
485        keep this thing together? you know with these
           people.  So you have to have sort of- you got to
           have backdoor for some of these people like for this
           girl that missed three lessons and now she's (.)
           she's got a job here (..) all this stuff, and the
490        other thing you know- to give her, ok, so I have to
           sort of- make an option for her.  And this is
           becoming so- this is becoming such- such a time
           consuming part of it, because they have the busy
           lives- it reflects in how I'm having to schedule- I
495        suppose one could just be- you know- authoritarian
           say "well, toough. You know- you made your bed, lie
           [LAUGHTER] sort of thing. Sometimes you feel like
           saying that but I haven't the heart, you know, I
           realize that it's- you know- they've got so much,
500        [..]
```

Teacher interview (482-500)

4.4.2   Teacher's view of language
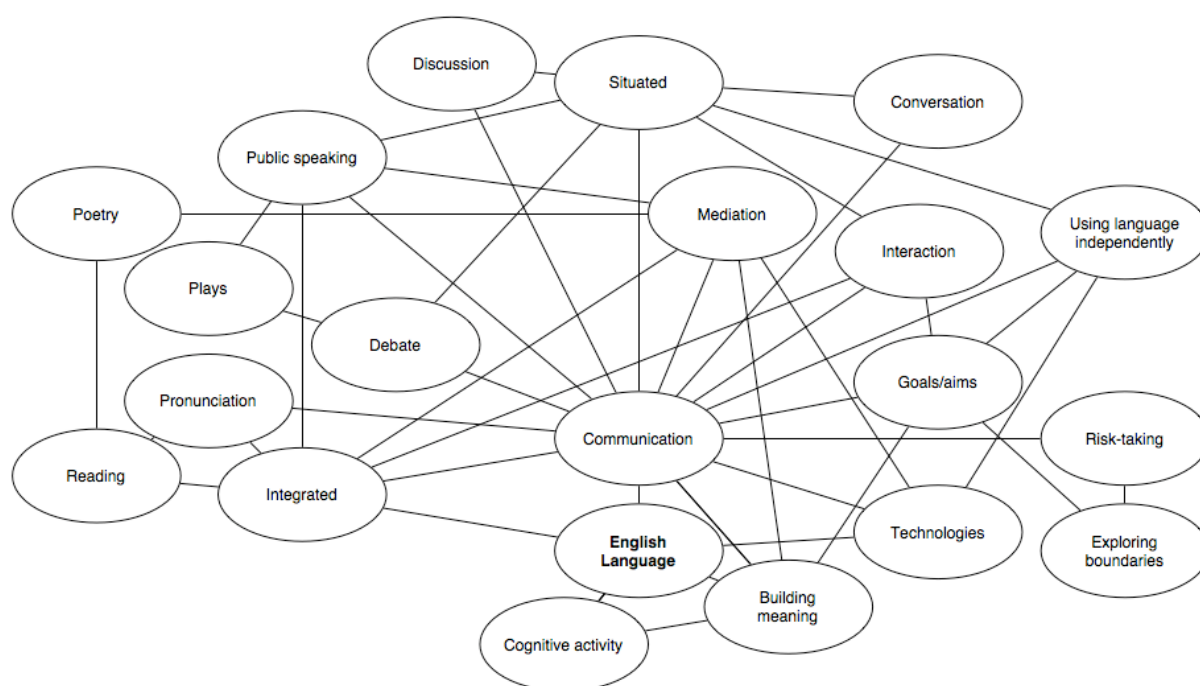
Figure 5. Teacher's view of English language (based on the interview)

The above map of related concepts in the teacher's view of language indicated by her narrative in the interview shows her emphasis on communication, which, although a very natural emphasis for a teacher of English speaking skills courses, is still worth closer inspection.

The teacher clearly has a view of language as an integrated cognitive activity rather than something that, along the lines of the more traditional curriculum, could be divided into separate skills of writing, reading and speaking.

```
 90 T:   Well. If I think am- what we've printed in the book-
          the big book they use, or on site, the aims are in
          this type of course is to more or less, to put in
          the practice that sort of concept I have of
          language, that it's not one thing, you don't read to
 95       read, you don't speak to speak, but they're
          integrated and oftentimes you have to read and speak
          something. You have to read at silent and speak
          aloud. And the idea that language is not just am-
          you put it in one end and take it off another kind
100       of a thing, like a production model, it's much more
          cognitive activity that involves all sorts of
          sophisticated cognitive processes, and, I mean- one
          can itemize them if there were a lot of them in the
          situation, that these people are reading academic
105       articles silently to themselves are having to come
          in term with the meaning (..) not only are they
          having to communicate that meaning orally to an
          audience, stand publicly, and tell what is popular
          culture according to contemporary theory.
```

Teacher interview (90-109)

At the same time she felt that languages should be taught in the university in a way that would better employ the students' analytical faculties in a way that is supposedly expected of them in their studies in other departments.

```
552 T:   [..] have them become analytic- they are- they're
553      supposed to be analytic  about all sorts of
554      phenomena. Why not language? They've been spending
555      ten years studying, wouldn't you be able to respond
556      critically to- analytically to language [..]
```

Teacher interview (552-556)

The teacher perceives communication mainly as a situated cognitive activity that requires active participation and sees learners' risk-taking and exploration of their own boundaries as essential in developing their communicative language skills. She also stresses the need for the students to learn to use their communication skills and related technologies independently.

This view of language is consistent with the teacher's classroom practice, where situated communication was emphasised and the teacher actively encouraged the students to take risks and explore the boundaries of their language skills by actively listening to them, giving them objective analyses of their language use and suggestions for development rather than evaluative feedback, and by showing example by relating her own experiences in a manner that invited participation from the students.

It was apparent in her highly communicative classroom practice that the teacher resisted to teaching language as a set or rules to be followed by the learners but instead viewed language as a tool for communication.

4.4.3   Teacher's view of the students
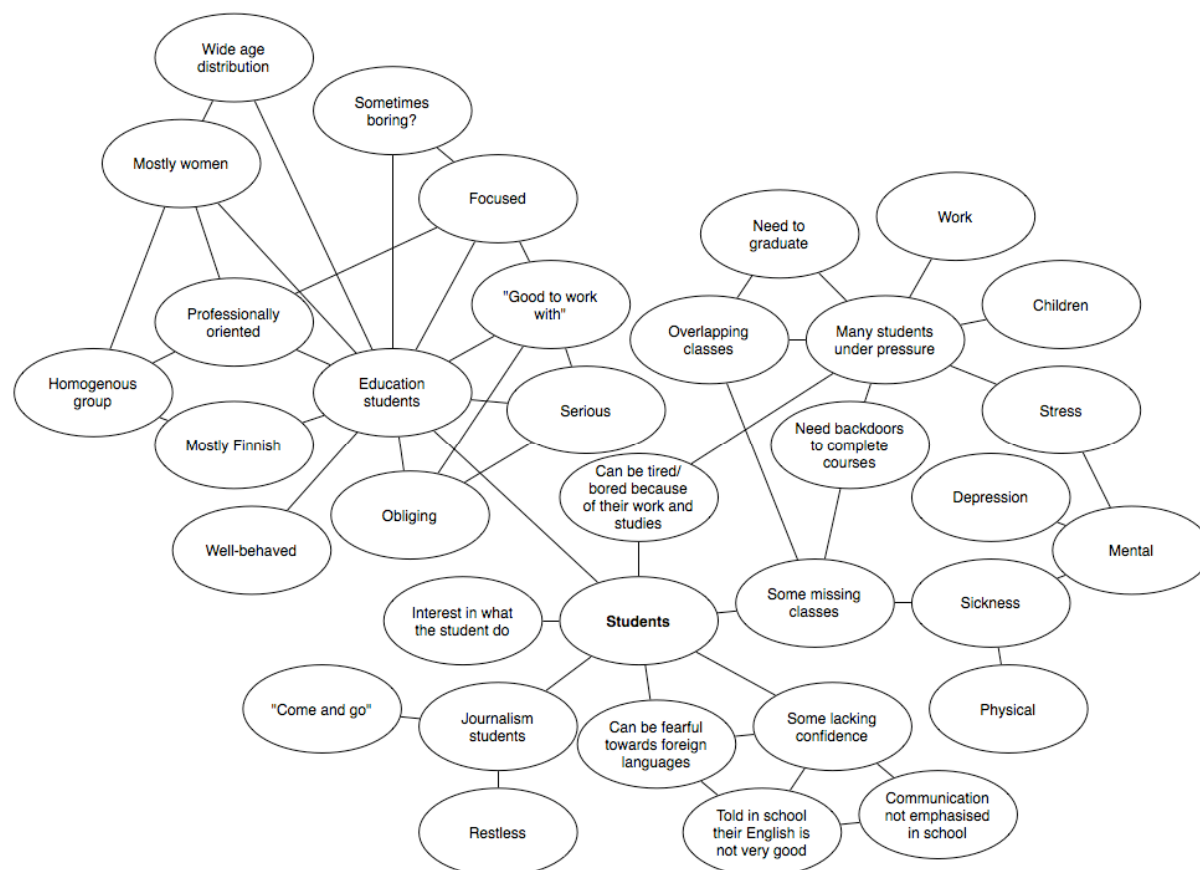
Figure 6. Teacher's view of the students (based on the interview)

The above map of teacher's views of the students that were indicated by her narrative in the interview show an overall high level of interest and sensitivity towards the students and the realities they have to cope with while attending the classes. Her empathy with the students in their particular situations showed most clearly in passages showing her general concern for their well-being in the face of growing demands for graduating quickly and the diminishing possibilities for coping with those demands because of stress caused by the need to fit together the studies, working life and the family.

```
      I:    What do you think, what is the role of the teacher?
            What should the teacher be doing in the classroom
 165        normally?
```

```
      T:    Ahh, well, yea- big question. Well, yea- I mean- I
            do-, depends on the group that I'm doing, like for
            example, I'd say it's much different in summer
170         universities when I go to teach people who come in
            after hard days at work, four o'clock in the
            afternoon, and are with me for four- and maybe
            longer hours, and they're extremely exhausted. So,
            you have to teach them in a way with the energy that
175         they have left at the time of the day. Most of them
            are not terribly young either. So you have to sort
            of be quite sensitive to the situation that these
            people are in. In that you don't- I mean you don't
            put them to sleep, so you have to sort of really get
180         them excited about learning English because for most
            of them- let's take a bad example which is pretty
            challenging- they have left their English and
            Swedish till the very last because they're terrified
            of foreign languages, and they come there with all
185         sorts of fears, and then they also come extremely
            worn out. So you have to work with- (..) and you've
            got to teach them something. [..]
```

Teacher interview (163-187)

The teacher seems genuinely concerned about the learners' situations, and considering my own little experience of teaching evening classes at the university, her understanding of those situations seems to be very accurate and in line with what I have myself experienced. According to Rogers (Rogers 1986, 111-2; Rogers 1982, 5-6) and Aspy and Roebuck (Aspy 1975, 221) this kind of empathetic understanding of the learners situations, and the teacher's ability to show that understanding is one of the most crucial aspects of teacher attitudes that affect the learning outcomes. This seems also intuitively true, as a teacher that would, for example, fail to understand that his or her students are tired after long day of work, or afraid of using a foreign language, would probably try using teaching methods that would be incompatible with the learners' situations and only cause them frustration and de-motivate them further against learning.

```
      T:    [..] I suppose, you know, people have had English
            courses to the ying-yang by the time they come to
215         see us here in the University and they've been very
```

text-related, very structured and at the same time
                    we must maintain certain kind of order, but at the
                    same time I think got to realize it, it can be- the
                    university can be a really boring place, and not too
    220   much interaction, we want to get interaction and
                    communication and we want to have, you know- I
                    always wanna have fun and I certainly want to have a
                    little fun too. You know, to be amused and turned
                    on. I don't know, how to put that in on (..)
    225   answers? It's hard to say (..) exactly (..) really.
                    I suppose be sensitive to your students, their
                    needs, whether they're younger students here, older
                    ones in some of the extension courses and try to br-
                    and of course I try to bring in my own background as
    230   well. [..]

Teacher interview (213-230)

The above excerpt shows the teacher's views of the students' previous experiences with English language in Finnish school system and also of their experiences of studying in a university in Finland. These are clearly related to the ways she conducts her own communicative classes, which focus clearly on interaction and communication, and include humour and thematic elements that are relevant to the students and mostly chosen by themselves. She also stresses her willingness to bring her own experience into the classroom, as she clearly did with all the groups I was observing for this study. This bringing in of her own experience contributes directly to her "realness" as a person in the classroom, which according to Rogers (Rogers 1986, 106-8; Rogers 1982, 5-6) and is another important aspect among the teacher attitudes that facilitate positive learning outcomes.

    420 T: [..] And you got- I mean it's a fact these people
                    are physically and mentally sick in my classes all
                    the time. And it's compulsory to be there, you have
                    to sympathetic. You have to believe them. But then
                    there are people that, at the end of their studies
    425   they forgot their English they come here- you don't
                    know how many people claim to be unaware that they
                    have to take foreign languages or- Swedish for that
                    matter, and they come crying to you, literally
                    crying, pleading and begging, phone calls, door,
    430   emails, you know, to- you know get through this so

```
they can graduate- it's a fact in the Language
Centre with English and Swedish this that- that the
pressure -you know really comes on the students,
[..]
```

Teacher interview (420-433)

As can be seen in the example above, being empathetic and trying to understand the situations where the students may find themselves in the university can sometimes be very demanding for a teacher. When dealing with the students as people, a teacher needs to take into account that real people (who are not considered just as students in one's own EFL classes) do also have negative situations that affect their participation in the courses. The teacher whose teaching practice I was studying appeared very empathetic towards her students, but also at times distressed by her concern for her students' well-being.

Teacher's interest towards the students' realities was also apparent in the discourse and social practises in her classroom. Most of the "content" employed in the teaching came (or had previously come) from students, and the themes and topics were generally chosen by, and even the agenda of most classes was up to a point designed by the students themselves, and the teacher also genuinely listened to the students and to what they had to say.

5. Discussion

Even though the case is often made for raising the students' own awareness of specific discourse features as a part of their language education, (for an example, see (Coulthard 1985, 147-159)) I would like to suggest that the students (as everyone else alike) are already sensitised to those practices and can, sometimes without direct awareness of it, sense when their active participation is not desired, or when they are being forced to participate in a certain, specific manner. The evidence of this study shows that the teacher's attitudes towards herself, the learning context, and the students show in the discourse practices of the classroom, and that these can either encourage the students to participate, as was the case in this study, or hinder their participation, as would be the case in a non-dialogic classroom. It would also seem that, especially in a communicative EFL classroom, the teacher will need, besides of having facilitative attitudes and characteristics discussed earlier in this study, to be competent in using all the relevant discourse devices in order to manage and facilitate the flow of dialogue in the classroom without disrupting it. In other words, the teacher will need to have high awareness of the discourse environment of the classroom (as noted by Rogers 1982, 1986) and competence in acting consistently according to his or her attitudes.

In my view, this is one of the reasons why it is necessary for any teacher to consider his or her whole paradigm of teaching, including his or her attitudes towards the learners, according to the criteria set by the requirements of more authentic and empowering education, or persist in maintaining the total oppressive control over the discursive space. Although, while maintaining only some of the oppressive discursive control features would soon result in a kind of chaos when the students would find space to maneuvre outside teacher control and use strategies of resistance whenever they encounter oppressive practices, maintaining the total control will inevitably lead into indoctrination and the students learning (or being able to recite the teacher's thoughts) not for themselves but for their teacher. The underlying

attitudes and social practices are certain to manifest themselves in the discursive practices of the classroom, and these discursive practices in their turn will re-enact the social practices and the attitudes. The all-pervasiveness of this cycle may make it seem impossible to avoid oppressive social and discourse practices in the classroom, but this is, in the light of this study, a dangerous and passivising fallacy for a teacher of any subject. In other words, teaching should be seen as a social practice, but as one concerned with giving the learners opportunities to build identities which are, not just in a consistent, critical relationship with the surrounding reality, but have the ability to be fully human and beings for themselves - not for the school, or the teacher.

The analysis of the classroom recordings in this study showed that many of the discourse practices in classroom are both interrelated, like the methods of controlling the agenda and topic of discussion and the forms of politeness that the teacher shows towards the students, or topic control, exchange structures, turn-taking and formulation, and also deeply related to the attitude of the teacher towards the students and their identities, both as students in her classroom and as human beings whose relevant experience cannot be limited to the classroom context.

The evidence in this particular study also points to there being a close relationship between the conditions for dialogue in the EFL classroom and the facilitative attitudes and characteristics of the teacher as discussed in detail by Rogers (1982; 1986). These attitudes and characteristics also manifest themselves through the discourse practices employed by the teacher. This is not to say that the teacher is fully conscious of her discourse practices, or that by consciously changing those practices, the conditions for dialogue would improve. Indeed, it would seem that the underlying attitudes are more crucial for the conditions of authentic dialogue than the outward discourse practices. Some of the features of classroom discourse, as discussed and analysed in this thesis, affect the students' possibilities for voicing their

identities and participating in the classroom but they seem, based on the evidence from the short interview, mostly to be outward manifestations of the teacher's underlying attitudes towards the learners, herself, her teaching practices, and the subject of teaching.

It would also seem that the consistency between the teacher's view of herself as a teacher and her actual teaching practice is a crucial factor in how the students perceive her realness or authenticity in dialogic situations, and that continuous reflective thinking and renewing of her own practices has been one of the reasons for this consistent insight.

5.1 Ideas for further research

As the analysis of the ethos of EFL classroom discourse in this study suggests, there is a profound change going on in the discourse practices inside educational institutions. As, for example, the discourse ethos of counselling is spreading in education as it is in the fields of mass media and in business, the participant attitudes related to it should be paid more attention.

In the light of the results of this sample study, a comparative study of the relationship between the teacher attitudes, their classroom practice, and the learners' intuitions of the social space and possibilities offered by the teacher for their authentic participation in foreign language in an EFL classroom could provide very interesting results. In connection to this theme, the research should probably include a thorough exploration of how authentic participation would enhance the acquisition and motivate the authentic and personal learning and use of a foreign language. In studying these aspects of language learning, a combined study of both teacher and learner narratives, in connection with classroom observation and "reality checks" through discourse analysis methods would probably be the research methodology that would provide the most valuable and reliable results and offer some insight for developing both education of EFL teachers and help in improving their educational practice by al-

lowing the teachers opportunities to reflect on the authenticity and dialogical nature of their

classroom practice.

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Appendix A

Sample 1.

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   T:    Good morning everyone -ahm -I'm just to ask you to
         [XXX] (sound of moving tables)] make sure you can
         all see there. It's important that you see them and
         clearly- so move your chair. Do you see everyone? -
 5       where you're sitting? ok. Ok, good morning everyone.
         This morning we are going to debate a very serious
         topic within the academic community and outside of
         it as well and that is the idea of plagiarising (.)
         of people taking other people's intellectual prop-
10       erty. And with me this morning I have seven distin-
         guished guests who have some serious experience with
         that phenomena. So I'll begin with our first
         speaker. On this side, please. If you'd introduce
         yourself and tell us your opinion?
15
   S1:   Hello, my name is Saara Virtanen and I'm fortyfive
         year old author I written eleven books and I also
         give lectures and I teach these thing that I have
         been written about (..) ahh- I'm definitely against
20       any sort of copying or plagiarising -rism I don't
         know how to say. But- it has happened to me (.) be-
         fore -about five years ago I had a lecture and with
         no my permission the lecture was videotaped and, I
         have heard after that, that it has been videotape
25       has been sold in eighteen euros price. I haven't got
         any of that money and it's my eging [?] material. I
         think it's wrong to (..) nn -copy or sell something
         some material that is not one's own.

30 T:    Thank you. Could we have the first speaker on the
         side?

   S2:   Mkay. I'm James twentyfive, I'm young student and
         I'm very eager to start my research. I think some
35       day I'm going be famous and rich and I'm- I'm for
         the plagiarism, of course. I think every information
         is open and (.) for everyone. I don't see any reason
         why anyone should keep it to him- or herself and we
         should find the names who did and said what. I think
40       that's stupid.

   T:    Thank you. And our second speaker?

   S3:   mm-hello I'm Marc I'm twentyfive years old ah -and a
45       student. I study education and I'm definitely
         against (..) piracy of educational content.
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```
     T:      Could you tell us why?

50 S3:  Ah- yes a- I think it's a- mm- first of all it's
        morally very wrong and a- I think (.) when people
        work hard, for example (.) as I do. It's a- it's not
        fair for us (.) ah- that other people mmh- don't
        work as hard as we do a- to (.) to study and pass
55      our tests and (.) when we do research we really do
        (.) a- a- write our own texts instead of copying
        someone else's material.

   T:      Thank you James (.) sorry Marc[
60
   S3:     [Marc[

   T:      [and next speaker?

65 S4:  Hello everybody. My name is Mary. I'm twenty years
        old and I'm a mathematics student and I'm for piracy
        of educational content because it's very time-saving
        and- as a student we are very busy doing everything
        we have to do in so many courses that I just some-
70      times have to do it because I don't have enough
        time. So that's my main reason why I do it and I'm
        for it.

   T:      Thank you. And next speaker.
75
   S6 (M):    Hello. My name is George I'm twentyeight years
        old, I own a book company and I also (..) am book
        publisher. I really am against because I'm worried
        about the future of the literacy
80
   T:      Ok. Thank you. And our final speaker on this side?

   S5:     Hello. I'm general public. And I don't care about
        this issue. I think everybody can use material if
85      they want. And a- I think it's equal. Equal a- (...)
        it's equal to- well really I don't care (.) so much
        about this.

   T:      Thank you. And our final speaker?
90
   S7:     Hello. krhm- my voice. mm- my name is Liisa. I'm
        forty years old and I'm university teacher and I'm
        against (.) this copying. I think that if students
        are copying it doesn't develop their own thinking
95      and I think it's illegal and very unprofessional.
```

T: Thank you. Now I would like to open the floor for
      discussion and here we have some issues you liked to
      raise ahm- please use this opportunity to do so [

Sample 2.

```
    T:    Yea- I want to thank you for a stimulating debate
          and a- (.) and I think you ought to have a hand and
          applause to show our appreciation [APPLAUSE] and
          maybe before we go on to talk about the debate maybe
  5       it would be an interesting to hear your real opin-
          ions about this issue. Do you stand behind your po-
          sition?

    S1:   Yes I do- [
 10
    T:    [ mm-hm Good.

    S2:   Me too.

 15 T:    Yeah?

    S3:   Sometimes not- [LAUGHTER (initiated by S3)] [

    T:    [ When don't you?[
 20
    S3:   [ Yea- [

    T:    [ When you're writing an essay?

 25 S3:   [ Mm-yea- probably- I use some information-

    T:    And- what's your opinion?

    S4:   I'm against but I think that's good thing that you
 30       can find on the internet electronic books and it's
          easy. You don't have to go to library so [

    T:    [ Mmh- [

 35 S4:   [ there's both good and bad things [

    T:    [ mm-hm (..)

    S5:   Well I don't know. There is a fine line there. I
 40       really mean it. If there -if there is harm done and
          if the work isn't finished, you shouldn't use it.
          But, for example, if you have good teaching mate-
          rial- why- why don't you give it to some of your
          colleagues? -I don't know. [
 45
    T:    [ Mm-hm (.)

    S5:   Would be but (.) no harm done. You know you
          shouldn't do any harm. And you should tell- tell
```

```
50      that you're -this is pre-deve -developed idea or I'm
        using his or hers material [

   T:   [ Mmhm-hm [

55 S5:  [ and but you shouldn't break anybody's you know (.)
        material or (.) whatever.

   T:   [ Mm-right, yes, like the analogy of [XXX] do you
        have when you say "to break" you mean to- to- am-
60      manipulate it in some way or? [

   S5:  [ Well I have this example my friend t- teached- [

   T:   [ Taught.
65
   S5:  [ Taught. -ahm wooden things you know- with -with a
        saw and some other teacher lent it (.) and they
        broke it. And he was very angry [

70 T:   [[OVERLAP] Of course mm-hm mm-hm [

   S5:  [ about that because he had done so much work [

   T:   [[OVERLAP] Exactly- [
75
   S5:  [ I meant this about [

   T:   [[OVERLAP] Yes- yes- [

80 S5:  [[OVERLAP] breaking it.

   T:   [ on an abstract level- yea- (...)

   S7:  I'm against it of course. It was real difficult to
85      think why it would be right to do it (.) so I think
        at least you should put somone's name who has done
        the work [

   T:   [ mmh- [
90
   S7:  [ in the paper -I can't see why you wouldn't [

   T:   [mmh- [

95 S7:  [ so- I'm pretty much against it [

   T:   [ right -yea.

   S8:  I'm also very against it- [LAUGHTER initiated by T]
100
```

S6 (M):   Well you did a good job here. [LAUGHTER]

T: That was a very don't you agree- that it was a very-
      very interesting and important debate to carry on I
105   think for- for people in university like ourselves.
      Ahm- and then maybe we have some quick comments from
      the audience. I've obviously marked some things
      down- do you want a comment? (..) Yes?

110 S9:   It's very- entertainment.

T: Yes it is. It is very entertaining. Now- you're-
      that's right. And- it's a- interesting to see how
      people develop -develop their -their ideas for the
115   roles. I think the people who designed it- -who are
      the people who designed this debate? I think this-
      How do you feel about it? I think you designed a
      very clever -a scenario here.

120 S10: A good team- [

T: [What did you think when you saw them acting the
      roles you designed? (..)

125 S6 (M):   A- [

S11: [Yes I think maybe you- you take it much further [

T: [mm-hm [
130
S11: [than we originally that's what we think. [

T: [Great -yea- [

135 S11: [I heard something at least [

T: [mm-hm [

S6 (M):   I think [XXX] something should be done for both
140   sides it's not a one-way bias a- (.) there should be
      some limits where example the author should have the
      rights whether to- am- make it publicised or not- [

S6 (M):   [and the user should give proper references
145   what he or she is using [

T: [mmhm [

T: [mmhm [
150

117

```
     S6 (M):    [ from where and- he should quote the material
                [

     T:     [[OVERLAP] Right- [
155
     S6 (M):    [ If it is [XXX] the it should be punishable. [

     T:     [ mmh- [

160 S6 (M):    [ Otherwise it shouldn't be. [

     T:     [ Right -yea- and I think it's important to debate
            this- this issue -just this issue about what er- are
            the limits where are the fine line- who else to
165         join? What did you think of the roles? [XXX] I think
            you gave us sufficiently clear material on the parts
            in order for them to play with the roles and to in-
            terpret the idea. And I think that was quite [XXX]
            decision that you were not a person but you repre-
170         sented the [Yes] general public as such and think
            about the good in society and- [

     S5:    [ Yea- it was bit -bit difficult because the first
            (.) it says first that "I don't care" [
175
     T:     [ mm-m yes[

     S5:    [ How do you make an opinion if you don't care?

180 T:     Ri-ght -yea, maybe you have to- I think as you did
            that was quite clever (.) in that you- you're think-
            ing not that much about the author as that the per-
            son as -as the -the society which maybe subsidizes
            that author's education- subsidizes [XXX] What about
185         the debating strategies as such? If you just have a
            few words about that, because I think there was a
            very clever techniques here- used here and now- and
            I'm going to go over- as you know as I'm taking
            notes and I'm going to go over this next week- at
190         least some of the -some of the language (.) problems
            but- but also some of the good things. Do you want
            to comment any of the strategies that you saw people
            using here? (.) I at least want to- to say that I- I
            appreciate this for the kind of ahm- (.) a- (.) how
195         can I describe it- the kind of emotion that was be-
            hind -for example at some time I experienced that
            your eye-contact with your opponents and that you
            were getting very- very am- involved in your discus-
            sion and sometimes even aggressive which is very im-
200         portant in debate that you feel passioned about your
            position and you express -express that passion and I
```

thought that was very good and I think other people
I described there as well. Ah- also when I a- heard
one person here speaking that the other person was
nodding in agreement and that's very important as
well. To show your agreement with your -your col-
leagues in your position- that you agree with them.
That was another thing that I- I ah- noticed. Mm-
did you notice any other things (.) there? (..) Then
a- the eye-contact I noticed ah- there was good ex-
change -there was a grab at speed when you two were
having this exchange you were covering rather
rabidly with the defence and that is exactly what a
debate is about -that you attack your opponent and
your opponent rises up to defend his or her position
-and I thought that maybe that your team could have
come in at certain points and supported you but you
were doing quite a good job on your own -you -but
it's always good to support your colleagues even
with a nod or even "I agree." or mumble some things
[QUIET LAUGHTER] "You said that right.", you know
and that sort of [XXX] that encourages that- that
went on ahm- ahh-hm yea!- a very concrete -I think
the thing is that there were very many good concrete
examples am- (..) at one point I- maybe the power-
points there was a- some things said that the other
person didn't understand so- a- good you say "I
don't understand." but also you can say "Do you mean
that-?" or you can put the implications of what
someone would mean. ah- because that gives that you
don't want to give the opponent the opportunity to
make themselves look any better than they do, so you
may want to draw conclusions from what they say.
That would be that we have no copyright on our in-
tellectual property. "No-no-no-no-no." she would
say, "That's not what I mean." "But that's what you
said." -you know that kind of attack am- suppose -oh
you that sort of (.) thing -throw your eyes to the
ceiling an- [QUIET LAUGHTER] "Can anybody be more
stupid?" am- or whatever. So gestures is on but good
defence -and then good use of language too as- as
you were saying and good this so-called ordinary
people and things like that -define meaning. Did you
pick up on anything? I would have loved to have re-
corded this and I think our camera's still away be-
cause this is where we see that (.) all those nice
ah- things that I have to [XXX] (.) Ok, any com-
ments? (.) Thank you, very good. So get back there
and [XXX] papers down for this and I'll [XXX] class
reorganising while the teacher is instructing on
practical arrangments]

Sample 3.

```
     T:    Well maybe on that note we finish this discussion
           and thank these people for [APPLAUSE] so let's go on
           and hear from [XXX] what have you- are you- do you
           really support this position?
  5
     S1:   No-oo [LAUGHTER] [

     T:    [Well you did a good job. On behalf of your [xx] -
           and-wha- what's your position?
 10
     S2:   I'm so against [

     T:    [Oh no! [LAUGHTER]

 15  S2:   Yeah! ...

     T:    Ok! (.) And what's your position?

     S3:   Ahm-I'm partly for and (.) partly against [.
 20
     T:    [mm-hm[

     S3:   [partly m-because of the (..) living- farmer's liv-
           ing [..and
 25
     T:    [mh[

     S3:   [and it's why-why big- big amount invest in Finland,
           for example this (.) fur-farming, so that's why I'm
 30        (.) for but (..) thinking about animal rights (.)
           then I'm against.

     T:    mmh [

 35  S3:   ..[so it's a little complicated.

     T:    Yes and [XXX] that you present a good argument an-
           [XXX]

 40  S4:   [I could use it [

     T:    [You could use furs? Really? [mh] So you were on the
           opposite side? [QUIET LAUGHTER] And what's your po-
           sition?
 45
     S5:   I'm also for and against- I wouldn't buy a fur and I
           don't like (.) thinking that if these animals don't
           have good conditions to live but also I think that
           (.) these people have right to earn their livings
```

```
50        (..) and we should then stop also doing leather and
          (.) food of animals [Q] if we would stop this.

    S6 (M):   I think- again you who decide which animals to
          use (.) partially I'm in favor of furs because for
55        example killing [?] fox just for the sake of furs
          (.) is not fair. But whereas for example cow of
          though you eat- beef from -we kill them -we slaugh-
          ter them then their skin is useless you can use it
          [xx] or throw it away in that case it could be used.
60
    T:    mm-hm (..) quite interest because now in Finland in
          a paper last week there was a debate about a-hunting
          swans (.) [XXX] so -y-know- this is quite close to
          us yea-I guess they're hunting it for meat n-so-on
65        it'ss something of a same thing -of course every
          country has it -in England it's the fox hunting and-
          and -where I come from it's-it's [name of an animal]
          -an.. Anyway here you -very interesting -What about
          the people who designed the debate (.) what we're
70        your reactions when you saw your roles come alive?

    S7:   I think you were great all of you I didn't know be-
          fore that this subject would be so funny [LAUGHTER][

75 T:     [Yes[

    S7:   But you [XXX] ahm-passioned [..

    T:    [mmh very.. The roles were well designed  because we
80        had some good-good you know -you know  characters
          through which you drew the argument out tha- anyone
          else want .. comment on? (..) I think there was a
          fantastic interaction in this -Timo's here studying
          interaction  and I think you'd like to agree with me
85        that there was really great interaction -that people
          were picking up things and you-you were listening to
          one another and picking that up an-and-and disputing
          it if one person would want to say one thing ahm
          then the other would say another -and sometimes even
90        with-a with humor or sarcasm in it as for example
          human nature and-and so-on and-a it's human nature
          to [XXX] of course everybody laughed here because
          there was kind of thing that ahh a- a bit of irony
          and [XXX] a bit of irony and then ah- mmh- this-
95        well (.) lots of notes here - but picking mh -I
          think the big thing was that picking up the argument
          and redefining it -sharpening the argument is very
          important in debate. A -that if somebody says some-
          thing to -to take it -it's like a ballgame that
100       somebody has the ball and then you steal it from
```

them the-the argument and then you run with it -so
it's a -it's kind of -we talk about war with words
as war but it's also like a ballgame you have to try
to get the ball n then have to run with it and I
105   felt that way in this way it was lot like a lot
like-like kind of a sport or ballgame here and what
you did this did this linguistically ahm (.) I wish
I had some debates to show you to see how debates
take place and in practice too because where I'm
110   going to Helsinki now with my students is to if any
of you saw A-studio last night? -did-did you see A-
talk? Where they talked-where they talked about two
arab newspapers and I'm taking my journalism stu-
dents to that event an-an so we're going to a- as
115   journalists go to see this an we've been invited
and-and three students come with me so it was a very
good debate if you saw that last night between the
two the two arab newsagents [XXX] Al-Za-Al-Za-[

120 S8:   Al-Jazeera

    T: Al-Jazeera. What was the other one? [XXX] But any-
way- they represented two distinct positions in
there and there was lively debate between two indi-
125   viduals (.) and-and-ahm but this I thought was good
I'll go over the finer details of this that-that
next week that- notes that I take and the kind of
things that are difficult to do in addition to de-
bating which is hard in itself but also it in for-
130   eign language. There are certain phrases that one
needs to have at her fingertips to use these ....

Sample 4.

```
    T:   I just wonder-other thing. In your education as a
         kindergarten teacher ah-what role has music educa-
         tion- Obviously you get some sort of education in
         this. About music?
 5
    S1:  In Finland it has a very big role. We use music
         very-very much and in different kinds of situation.
         We don't have only once a week -"Now we sing or
         play." We have it --at least I-I have it --every day
10       in some kind of situation when we are going out we
         can sing when we are dressing (.) and (..) I think
         it's quite important with little children I dont
         know about older.

15 T:    I just-when you mentioned the kind of things you
         have listened when you were young-I just remember
         when-when I hadn't been very long in Finland when my
         children went to kindergarten and I was somehow -
         this is the seventies- quite surprised sometimes
20       that [XX] the songs that there was this message
         which you emphasized and then the importance of work
         and was very stressed perhaps because of the politi-
         cal atmosphere and the idea that -I remember one
         "Isillä työ, äidillä työ" and emphasizing that eve-
25       ryone had their societal role that mother went to
         work, father went to work and the child went to kin-
         dergarten like kindergarten -the play was the
         child's work or something -this concept of work- to
         me was quite - in a -linking children's play with
30       work was bit bizarre. And I suppose there are some
         values now which -through this kind of research
         you're doing -are there any kinds of value that you
         can say here and now that you look back and you re-
         flect that that was a real 2004 value-we were really
35       doing that sort of thing in a kindergarten and..
         thinking that [XXX] do you think there's something
         emphasized -or-?

    S1:  I don't know...do you know? [...
40
    T:   [Some of you had been in a kindergarten in seventies
         -or a daycare-yeah-do you remember? How was it like
         that in your? (..)

45 T:    I got this idea that this one song "Isillä työ,
         äidillä työ" is almost like it's "työväenlaulu" .. a
         worker's song. Anyone else go back to that time?
         Those values were very important to that society.
```

```
            This was a kindergaten where a lot of students sent
50          their children.

     S2:    (..) one song "Työtä työtä työtä tehdään jotta jotta
            leipää syödään"

55 S1:      I think children's songs nowadays In this day they
            are dealing with aa life that children live today in
            today in this world. Sometimes it sounds funny when-
            when a man is singing [singing] "Hiekkalapio lyöö"
            but[-
60
     T:     [Say that again?

     S1:    [singing] "Hiekkalapio lyöö".

65 T:       Which means what? -Hiekkala[-

     S1:    Hiekkalapio [

     T:     [Maybe this-
70
     S1:    The cake.

     T:     Oh yeah "Tule tule hyvä kakku"? Yea-yea ok. One
            thing about Finnish  kindregarten I heard a Canadian
75          news yesterday-a-we have very pathetic daycare in
            [name of a country]. and In this discussion
            yeasterday we're looking very much to Europe and
            Europian daycare center and I think-certainly
            Finland has got then one of the best daycare centers
80          wouldn't you say? Something to be very proud of. I
            don't know what you're saying about that?

     S1:    Yes we have. I think so too. And I'm proud. But we
            have some serious difficulties in kindergarten. We
85          don't have enough money and-and-we have too many
            children in a group -I think. It would be better if
            we would have less children in a group.

     T:     It's also been a political issue as well  It's good
90          to see that it's on a political agenda. Anyone else
            wanna comment? Could you repeat that again -some of
            the issues you want to...
```

Sample 5.

```
    T:    And the question that you asked was the earning with
          teaching using web so if you and how the effect on
          teaching (..) and what students and lots of people
          experience is certainly common your experiences ..
  5       on this web-based learning

    S1:   But I also-also like to say that it takes much more
          time when you're studying via web (.) much much more
          time
 10
    T:    mm-hm

    S1:   What do you think [name of a student]?

 15 S2:   I'm wondering (.) If we are expecting that web
          studying is (.) about how to make learning easier
          and didn't you say it takes much more time?

    S1:   Yes! Yes! Because you have to [XXX] (...)
 20
    S2:   I didn't understand that because I didn't- I thought
          (.) I really thought it should be easier to learn
          because I've been wondering whole time why is it so
          difficult to me that every course has this web area
 25       and I find it very hard to find things eh - I find
          it very hard to read what I'm supposed to do (.) am
          I being right place in this web site (.) Do you
          understand?

 30 T:    Yes I do. hm

    S2:    And I really thought it should be easy for me ..
          obviously it isn't.

 35 S3:   I think she has the right mind. The basic definition
          of eLearning is that education in the right time and
          in the right place and with the right content. Then
          you can start the eLearning - otherwise it's
          useless.
 40
    T:    Yes Yes. I can speak from a teacher because I have a
          web-based cour-course for journalists and (.) hell I
          mean it's really complex issue n I'm really happy
          that people like you are researching it and I think
 45       we're jumping into something very very quickly for-
          I'm not quite sure what reasons but one reason is
          that technology is very important in finnish society
          and another thing is (.) that sort of contact
```

```
            teaching in finnish universities compared to other
50          countries is very very very limited here

    S1:     Yes

    T:      and this was - I think - and economical issue - I
55          honestly think it's economically driven and and of
            course tech- because your fascintation with
            technology and this society's fascination but-ahm
            (.) but you mention all this-this infra- structure
            and you make it sound so easy
60
    S1:     Yes.

    T:      you know have to go get these courses huh it's a I
            mean I'm very keen to use new methods and new
65          technologies and my colleagues in the language
            center- we are very keen but I'm telling this that
            it's very it's very demanding- it's also very
            rewarding this but think you've hit on a very good
            point here. For me to transfer my ideas so
70          onedimensional is very very difficult and for you to
            understand me through that dimension because we're
            talking about communication here.

    S2:     Yes. that's- I think that these machines and
75          everything is reading and how does it work when
            you're moving there and  [XXX] also reading you
            know- you don't have a contact - you don't have the
            opportunity to understand if you make your questions
            so public you - I don't know
80
    S4:     She said something about the co-operative learning,
            or the methods which are co-operative ahm

    S1:     [XXX] for example problem-based learning
85
    S4:     Is it common?

    S1:     I think.

90 S4:      We are - with [name of a student] we are at the same
            course -I think and they are trying to make some co-
            operative attacks with us

    S2:     I have to say it's very difficult if you don't know
95          the other students
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Sample 6.

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     T:    Of course I (..) questions. You -you in your
           presentation you seem to be referring to very
           traditional couples where there is a mother and -and
           father (.) parents. How do you take account of this
  5        fact that perhaps not even the majority of children
           are coming from this type of (.) ahm traditional
           family  there's also single parents an- children who
           live with parents of same sex [..

 10  S1:   Yeah. I think it's in point that there is an some
           adult it doesn't have to be a mother or father there
           are also for example grandmothers and grandfathers
           and they all can show a good example£

 15  S2:   [and maybe if (.) don't have a dad and then the main
           teachers have a great opportunity to be a role model
           for boys so it's they have more responsibility
           because of that

 20  T:    We're talking about this next week I know. Any more
           (..) we're going to talk more about this gender
           issues so we better not take that -that fire out of
           your presentation but I think it was quite -you know
           something to keep in mind.
 25
     S3 (male):      Any more questions please?

     S4:   I was wondering if teacher was teaching some kind of
           bad (.) things as you said. Something ro related
 30        with racism (.) that sort of values what should be
           done then and who should make the next step

     S1:   I think teacher have really strong professional
           ethics like they -they have the rules that they know
 35        what they can teach or not, but I think if we find
           out that -that some teacher's teaching some things
           concerned with racism then the parents they could
           contact school the principal or something then they
           could do something about it.
 40
     S2:   I think teachers are like an institute and they have
           ahm -give the sort of values and -and only parents
           can give their own values and respects and I think
           that hmm how can I say it teachers can -don't give
 45        her own opinion and values (.) and she [

     S3(M):     [or he[

     S2:   [-he only ahm [
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50
   T:    [the values of the status quo?

   S2:   Yes.

55 T:    Ok. yeah -yea

   S4:   I think it was great that you pointed out that
         everybody so as well as school and home must be in
         same line you know that the values should be same
60       they shouldn't be very different [.

   T:    But doesn't it depend on what values you're talking
         about -my values are distinctly different than a lot
         of values my -my children -my values and the
65       teacher's values are quite different on a lot of
         issues [

   S4:   Yes -yes but that I think that the rules abou
         behaviour and things like this. I also -everytime
70       I'm so much amazed when we get this Christian school
         -I -I'm so much amazed how secretly we are
         brainwashing children to certain religion -you know
         -books are about these values and very Christian you
         know -music teaching and a
75
   T:    You mean the Finnish textbooks in a lower[
         comprehensive school

   S4:   [Yes yes! because -because I'm so -I'm qualified
80       teacher I don't teach every week maybe a couple of
         times in a month -you know I get different view -I'm
         always amazed -you know -about this Christian thing
         (.) about music teaching language teaching it comes
         up very strong
85
   T:    Yeah -interesting

   S2:   I was in the parent evening in kindergarten and they
         told that one of their values is that Christian
90       values

   S4:   I also think it's good but I also -I'm wondering
         about it[

95 T:    [mm-hm[

   S4:   [and I really recognise it

   T:    Has anyone read a research on this I remember years
100      ago (.) ahm -one student giving presentation on -on
```

this looking at textbooks, actually it was [name of
a student] perhaps some of you know? Who did
research on this -did a presentation on this class -
she's now an education (.) person and about the
105   moral (.) -the -the -a -how do you call it -the
ethical values text in Finnish textbooks and how to
analyse the discourse of the textbooks and here's
this worldview the Christian worldview. (..) I -I
think that maybe it's self-evident for Finnish
110   people they're not interested to hear you say this
because lot depends I think it goes very much side
by side then you have a -with a- Lutheran values

S2:   [Yes
115
T: [and if you're not a Lutheran then you can see that
there's something (..) different than your values
but if you're Lutheran, Finnish then they -they -the
textbooks reinforce that world view
120
S2:   [yeah (...) and still we have the freedom to choose
your religion

Appendix B

I: Could you tell me a little about yourself as a
       teacher?

T: Well, what should I say? Well maybe if I sort of
5   illustrate with an example of what I did yesterday
       and you will perhaps figure out what kind of a
       teacher I am on the basis of that but I think that
       it's always important that the material is sort of
       made for them and it's made for me and I have to
10   start with me first because I don't know them and
       but I think that I sort of start with what I think
       they are on the basis of students I've had in the
       past because I've had such a long history as a
       teacher. What I can presume by the course theme,
15   that the people coming there, what they're going to
       have, and then I have to test the hypothesis in the
       first few lessons. And because it's important I
       think in learning to take risks I put them in
       certain risk situations where they have to take
20   risks. And then I'm in some ways being somewhat
       diagnostic about what they're doing in those
       situations, like how well they're able to cope, and-
       and they're fairly spontaneous situations, and,
       then, what I think is the most important thing, is
25   where are the gaps in their knowledge that I can
       somehow go to work on or instruct them to work on.
       And so, I think I'm very pedantic in this respect,
       very methodical, and I get most of my teaching
       material from the students themselves on the basis
30   of, you know, where I'm going with some certain
       activities, for example the course I'm thinking of
       is social issues and popular culture where I got
       them to read an article and then to present it to
       the class whereby they had to read and they had to
35   summarize and pronounce and articulate to the class,
       so in this way I was able to understand what
       pronunciation problems they had and then I got them
       play-reading and reading poetry and so on, and then,
       I could get a pretty good idea because they were
40   where the problems areas were aligned with,
       pronunciation of certain sounds, linking, stress,
       and so on. So today was somehow the culmination of
       that, those sections of risk taking, in feedback, so
       I gave them feedback from those risk taking sessions
45   and told them what I thought they could do, ahm, you
       know, during this course and, after the course
       independently to improve these problems because I
       don't think my understanding is that I don't think

that too much time has been spent on communication
50 in schools and teachers actually focusing on
pronunciation problems. It's been rather haphazard.
That's my-. And most of them have not had too much
experience in speaking English, but yea-, I think
what it's saying to me, is that I'm near what I
55 already said, sort of, methodical, in this way, and
pedantic. And at the same time I want to throw the
theme, they're social science students, I want to-,
and they're coming from all different disciplines, I
want there to be a common meeting point for people
60 who study psychology, social work, am-, political
science, and so on, that is somehow common yet is
somewhat unique, the idea that reading poetry has
something to say to people who study politics or
social work, or so on, that I'm introducing a
65 thematic element in this as well. I tend to make
things complicated but i try to sort out (..) the
complicated things.

I: How do you think the students feel about that?
70
T: Well, in the diaries eventually I think sometimes
they feel "this is weird" I don't know maybe not-
but in the diaries they say "this was fun" for
example, the poetry reading we had- we had it's like
75 in Finnish you say "runoraati" we had- I took out
all my poetry books and they put the book first and
picked the poem and they read it and then tey all
gave points to the poem and the reading of it. And
so- you know- it's a pretty bizarre activity but
80 it's very interesting to hear somebody take up a
text and put some- some life into it, and not just
an academic text, and oftentimes these texts have
something to say to people who are studying social
issues. A lot of them (..) issues that I think we
85 should be talking about in the university.

I: What do you think are the major aims for that kind
of a communicative course?

90 T: Well. If I think am- what we've printed in the book-
the big book they use, or on site, the aims are in
this type of course is to more or less, to put in
the practice that sort of concept I have of
language, that it's not one thing, you don't read to
95 read, you don't speak to speak, but they're
integrated and oftentimes you have to read and speak
something. You have to read at silent and speak
aloud. And the idea that language is not just am-
you put it in one end and take it off another kind

100	of a thing, like a production model, it's much more
	cognitive activity that involves all sorts of
	sophisticated cognitive processes, and, I mean- one
	can itemize them if there were a lot of them in the
	situation, that these people are reading academic
105	articles silently to themselves are having to come
	in term with the meaning (..) not only are they
	having to communicate that meaning orally to an
	audience, stand publicly, and tell what is popular
	culture according to contemporary theory. So, I
110	mean that would be one aim, another aim would be to
	more or less take a text printed on a page and
	articulate it so that your audience receives that
	meaning, so you're more or less a mediator of a text
	in another way, mediating it word for word as it is,
115	I mean knowing how to read a text. So, I mean those
	are two that come right off and then I think now at
	this point I'm trying to make people conscientious
	of the problems that they encounter when they're
	doing that, and how to get in there using present
120	day technology like sites, grammar sites and
	dictionaries and so on, to integrate technology to
	help them especially because this is the last course
	that most of them will take in English, to be sure,
	and how to work independently if they have to give a
125	conference paper to go to get to dictionaries to
	find it how to pronounce words, how to deconstruct
	phonetic symbols and how to read them and how to
	practice them, that sort of thing. It's- I guess- I
	mean- I can break all this down in to- I don't have
130	any problem with that, you know like if somebody
	came in and said "Ok, what are your pedagogic
	principles and how do you act on this" we went all
	through that a couple of years ago here. And it was
	quite rigorous. So it was almost like putting the
135	cart before the horse. You did it, and then after
	you had been doing it for years and years you had to
	tell somebody what you were doing and why you were
	doing it. [LAUGHTER] I've done it before, I've done
	it before because after I had been working here for
140	about five years I went to study education. Part of
	my- in [name of a country]- part of my studies in
	education was doing, and you don't get accepted to
	study education unless you have been teaching there.
	So because we were all experienced teachers, we took
145	our practice and analysed it, and discovered in our
	practice what actually, in we believe teaching is,
	and teaching is pretty good a subject because it
	doesn't- it comes a lot from your personality and
	your personal experience. Not so much with somebody
150	else's put in your head. So, the idea of both- for

both of my education degrees was just that. What do
you do in classroom? and try to (..) and why you do
what you do in classroom? and where have your
influences come from? And I think it's kind of
interesting because it puts you in the historical
perspective, as to where you come from and where
you're going, and it's not just- you know- somebody
drilled a hole in my head and poured some education
theory in and said "go work". That kind of model,
you know those (..) the empty vessel [LAUGHTER]
maybe it is, I don't know..

I: What do you think, what is the role of the teacher?
       What should the teacher be doing in the classroom
       normally?

T: Ahh, well, yea- big question. Well, yea- I mean- I
       do-, depends on the group that I'm doing, like for
       example, I'd say it's much different in summer
       universities when I go to teach people who come in
       after hard days at work, four o'clock in the
       afternoon, and are with me for four- and maybe
       longer hours, and they're extremely exhausted. So,
       you have to teach them in a way with the energy that
       they have left at the time of the day. Most of them
       are not terribly young either. So you have to sort
       of be quite sensitive to the situation that these
       people are in. In that you don't- I mean you don't
       put them to sleep, so you have to sort of really get
       them excited about learning English because for most
       of them- let's take a bad example which is pretty
       challenging- they have left their English and
       Swedish till the very last because they're terrified
       of foreign languages, and they come there with all
       sorts of fears, and then they also come extremely
       worn out. So you have to work with- (..) and you've
       got to teach them something. But most of all what
       you do is you have- I mean- you have to be sort of a
       bit sneaky, and you have to sort of turn them on,
       you know, to what it is and like to get them a
       little bit excited, like for example (..) a few
       years ago a teacher gave me this and I saw her
       standing in the hall with this (..) what an earth is
       this? I bring a collection of objects in the
       classroom and they have to imagine what this is and
       try to promote this. And so what I did like with
       these people is I had to, like I had a whole
       collection of these objects I got from different
       people (..) and they each had one, so I mean- here
       we were with these people who were absolutely
       petrified coming into foreign language and they had

something a little bit bizarre, a little bit crazy,
but in actual fact the exercise was having to use
language in this way, in hypothetical- using your
205   imagination and having fun, because we did laugh a
lot. It was- it demanded very complex management,
like kind of language that they likely didn't have-
so they were able to use what they could use and
then I used the situation to give them some more
210   language to use in that kind of situation, so
teasing up what they have and then throwing some
more language (..) I don't know how to summarize
that in a nice neat answer. I suppose, you know,
people have had English courses to the ying-yang by
215   the time they come to see us here in the University
and they've been very text-related, very structured
and at the same time we must maintain certain kind
of order, but at the same time I think got to
realize it, it can be- the university can be a
220   really boring place, and not too much interaction,
we want to get interaction and communication and we
want to have, you know- I always wanna have fun and
I certainly want to have a little fun too. You know,
to be amused and turned on. I don't know, how to put
225   that in on (..) answers? It's hard to say (..)
exactly (..) really. I suppose be sensitive to your
students, their needs, whether they're younger
students here, older ones in some of the extension
courses and try to br- and of course I try to bring
230   in my own background as well. Like in these courses
the fact that I'm teaching a lot of journalism
students. I have a fairly long history in teching
those students so I know the situations that they
will have to use English in. And I bring in
235   newspaper articles and activities that I've
developed over the years that I know they haven't
likely done and could perhaps benefit from for these
(..) groups like journalists. Education, I think
that they need- are going to need to be in very
240   communicative and perhaps academic situations,
conferences and so on, so I focus on that.

I: What do you think in general about this education
group I was observing? What do you think about them?
245
T: They were really- the education students are always
very very interesting because they are generally
women who are very professionally oriented , and
there's usually a mixture of younger and not so
250   young women, various ages as young university women
are from maybe nineteen and can be up to forty or
older, and they're generally all Finnish and they're

very well behaved but they still like- they come in there as very- you know- appearing to be very good,
255 well behaved people, they're not like the journalists that they're- you know- you know- they come and they go, it's a whole different scenario there because they used the newsroom and working as journalist (..) so they are very very obliging and
260 very good students to work with and very serious and very much focused in the same direction. But the thing is that there is a danger that it can be boring or whatever, so you've got to- you know- you've got to capitalize in some other- bring in
265 some other- some other things, and this year we're doing a different thing, we're doing a project. And we're working in smaller groups in addition to presentation so- so I've got a project where they work in smaller groups and- but as far as I would
270 say that they are perhaps from the more traditional- that they get more traditional teaching in my- teaching that I have (.) and perhaps because they're rather homogenous in a lot of respects. Women in the education and (..) the others are more- more
275 restless, to put it politely.

I: You mentioned that some of your students were afraid of speaking English and afraid to participate. What can you do in that kind of situations?
280
T: Well, they get into the group and everybody has to do something in the group. They have- and pull their weight, and they can decide in the groups as to what everyone does, for example, of the journalists.
285 They'll do a radio program and they all have to be on the air. Some will be interviewing, some will be- they- will be more or less running the show or- but they all have to- so they all have to perform in some capacity, everybody has to get up in front of
290 the class in- with a group or individually to do something, read the poetry, read the lines of a play, and that's another thing to realize that- that- you know- everybody can do it, some better, some not so good, and then I can introduce some
295 things that- and it's up to them after they get through the course as to how they could, if they're really serious about their English- could improve upon it.

300 I: Are there any ways for the teacher to make it easier to participate for them if they're afraid to use their language?

T: Well, yea- well I think simply by direct knowing
305   that everybody at some point has to take their turn
      like for example when we were interviewing, we were
      doing reviewing interviews today. They would all
      give a mark, and I would serendipitously go across-
      around the room and everyone at some point had to
310   say something because I'd literally just you know-
      point my finger at them and say that- and they had
      to (.) There are s- yea- and they work in teams a
      lot and within the group I don't think it's so- so
      horrible for them within the group to have to give
315   their two cents worth and then occasionally (..)
      smaller and bigger groups, and then with me, you
      know- all the time- me asking them things. So, I
      think it's not all in the big group, I think it's
      too intimidating, but in the very beginning we go
320   around. They do an activity in one of my groups
      which is really good, they conduct a gallup poll, so
      that they all have a question they have to ask five
      other people, and that's a great ice-breaker because
      just go (..) they go (..) to five other people with
325   their question, and I think they're just been
      drilled into them that their English isn't
      particularily good and they (..) but then when they
      have to do this they'll say "oh, yea- ok, I can do
      it."
330
I: Can you tell me little about your feelings about the
      classroom as a social space? Is it the best place to
      learn languages?

335 T: Gee-whizz- I would love to be able, you know- to
      take people out of the classroom occasionally, and I
      do, I've done that a lot with- with students, I
      mean- it's quite interesting what happens with the
      group, like for example last year we went to the
340   "vastaanottokeskus" which is a reception centre and
      one of the students was working there and it was
      relly wonderful- you know going there and having her
      giving her presentation there as opposed to doing it
      in the classroom, per her sub- she was in a
345   surrounding that she felt comfortable with to talk
      about her subject, and I think for her that- and for
      the other students that was very important. And then
      when we go on excursions as we did with the
      education students and we went to different places-
350   and being on a train, discussing, and then going for
      lunch discussing. I think it was really- really
      lovely we- we managed the social situations on a
      train and eating and it's like that- not just the

136

strict teacher-student kind of- that these
355   classrooms.

    I: What kind of relationship are you trying to build
        with the students?

360 T: Well. That they can trust me, in that they can take
        risks with me, and I take risks with them, I mean- I
        do some pretty- pretty off the wall like reading
        poetry and stuff like that, I mean- it's a little
        bit (..) -yea, I just like poetry myself and I like
365   literary- I like plays, and I have all this
        fantastic material collected over the years that I
        like to use, and I take risks to do my thing and I
        would hope that they would you know- we would meet
        but I want them to feel that they can, if they can
370   trust me, that they do their bit, you know- they
        don't have any problem with it but- but I want them
        at the same time to realise that there's a deal,
        there's a contract here, you know- there are certain
        expectations, and I am the authority in the end of
375   the day, I mean- I don't like to play it up but I
        have to tell them the rules of the game and I feel
        that I have to be fair to every student there, that
        if some start, you know, skipping class -you know- I
        make it quite clear to that person and to the rest
380   of the class that person's going to do something to
        compensate for that, you know- they're likely gonna
        do it in fron of the class, like I'm negotiating
        with one student here that she has to introduce
        these crazy "törkeä torstai" have you seen this? on
385   thursday nights. Trailer park boys, so anyway, she's
        going to have to see these videos and she's going to
        have to introduce them to the class, but I do think
        that sort of thing- that- I feel like a - but it's
        not- I get it in the feedback if I am not fair like
390   if some students miss a lot and they go, I just
        know- the students go look "Ha, she got that. And
        she was away, or she was in a-", so, I mean-
        fairness as well, you have to be fair with this,
        and being strict, you have to be strict as well in
395   the fairness game because- and keep that balance in
        that the people are working and great still I
        realize (..) and they met, they go and see those
        results, and I'm sure my name is (..) sometimes when
        some students look (..) "How did she get that?" or
400   "How did he get that?", you know- but gosh (..) you
        know it's going to be hard. It's sometimes hard to
        get that (.) and then to put it on these scales,
        these bloody scales we have, you know and those
        European Frame of (..)

405
   I: Do you use that a lot?

   T: No, it's in the book. It's in the back of my head.
           But I mean I drive myself nuts if I did this. I know
410   we should. But let's face it, it's being- the
           teaching now here is being constantly reduced, the
           groups are expanding, the contact hours are less and
           less. So, you know- what are we going to do with
           this, how we're going to teach and it seems to me
415   they're squeezing it into a tighter ball, and then
           the students start missing- you would just have to
           be- you have to be a real juggler, like a real
           circus artist to keep all these balls in the air,
           and then you have somebody, like sickness,
420   incredible amount of sickness. And you got- I mean
           it's a fact these people are physically and mentally
           sick in my classes all the time. And it's compulsory
           to be there, you have to sympathetic. You have to
           believe them. But then there are people that, at the
425   end of their studies they forgot their English they
           come here- you don't know how many people claim to
           be unaware that they have to take foreign languages
           or- Swedish for that matter, and they come crying to
           you, literally crying, pleading and begging, phone
430   calls, door, emails, you know, to- you know get
           through this so they can graduate- it's a fact in
           the Language Centre with English and Swedish this
           that- that the pressure -you know really comes on
           the students, so (..) but it's maintaining, I think-
435   for teachers like to be cre- like somehow to be
           creative within all these demands sometimes (.) why
           don't I just get bloody exercise that was just- you
           know- like multiple choice or something. And just-
           that would be so much easier but it's maybe that's
440   the challenge (..) keeps being thrown at you how do
           you- one more ball and [LAUGHTER] keep the ball
           going in the air.

   I: You did have fairly big groups in your communicative
445   classes. How do you manage that?

   T: Well, yea- I feel sorry- first of all, the oxygen,
           the air when you (..) physical state. I- I just feel
           that classrooms- the oxygen, you know- you have to
450   stop and say "Open the window and get out for a
           while (..) get some oxygen." It's bad when you get
           twenty people in small room with- there's not good
           circulation of air, but yea- I well you get them as
           well the idea of having certain kind of solidarity
455   with one another like when they're performing like

two students were interviewing today in class and the others presenting- that to be a good audience- try to be a good audience because you're going to be up there sometime, it's sort of solidarity.
460   That's one thing and everybody knows I'm going to be up there sometime, but there are- that's one way. I mean to realise that we're all in it together you know we got to get through this somehow. Let's make the best of it- and how can we make the best of it?
465   But they're just- with the students it's getting- it's so so complicated, now they have so many conflicts in addition to the sickness. Classes and courses coming- the traffic- in my courses is like- just unbelievable. And I don't know what to do with
470   that, I don't think any of us know what to do with that. It's- there's so many- like this woman that was sick today, she works in Helsinki, she lives in Riihimäki, she studies in Tampere, now she's sick. She's likely got some kids or something, so she's
475   got this- she's got this- ok, she's one of twenty, I've got another woman that came in here (..) crying because she was suffering, fr- she was suffering from- she was depressed, and, you know- my fear when I saw her was that she could do something, you
480   know- to herself. And- so- there are all these people who as well, there's not- you know- they're under great stress, and so it's- I mean- being a person emphatetic to these- to my students you take all this on board and realize that they- they're
485   under great stress, how do you keep this thing together? you know with these people. So you have to have sort of- you got to have backdoor for some of these people like for this girl that missed three lessons and now she's (.) she's got a job here (..)
490   all this stuff, and the other thing you know- to give her, ok, so I have to sort of- make an option for her. And this is becoming so- this is becoming such- such a time consuming part of it, because they have the busy lives- it reflects in how I'm having
495   to schedule- I suppose one could just be- you know- authoritarian say "well, toough. You know- you made your bed, lie [LAUGHTER] sort of thing. Sometimes you feel like saying that but I haven't the heart, you know, I realize that it's- you know- they've
500   got so much, you would likely see it in some of the Education students- those women have (..) sick children, they'll be sick- they got a job- (..) -you know. Somebody's got to take it up- somebody's got to talk about it because I think, I think it's a big
505   challenge.

I: I am interested in communicative classes that you
      have. How do you divide your time for each student?
      Or do you even try to?
510
T: Well, yea-. This morning, ok, maybe I was bit better
      then, I gave them a task where they gathered all the
      problems that had accumulated over the readings and
      stuff- and then I gave them the exercise and then I
515   took up- I said you know- like I said- what's the
      word that you would try to avoid saying in any case
      in English. So I got one from everyone. You know-
      it was their personal word that they would avoid,
      because it's yea- and it was kind of fun because I
520   had several examples- you know- from real life
      people I know who for various reasons don't say
      certain words because they cause them- maybe in
      their mother tongue- maybe they have this "ärrävika"
      so they don't say words with "r" in them. And so
525   anyway, it was kind of fun, everybody can give their
      word. You know- words like "exaggerate", you know-
      "Pearl Harbour" [LAUGHTER] I said "What?". Maybe
      they've tried to say it in some situation and nobody
      understood what they said, so we tried to find a
530   solution for that word but we try to analyse as well
      why is that word difficult- you know- why is it
      difficult? And I can see it from the Finns'
      perspective, I can do this contrastive aspect (..)
      sounds that aren't in Finnish, the stress patterns,
535   the vowels, and that sort of thing. And explain,
      bring a little bit of linguistics into- which I
      think- I think they appreciate undertanding
      language, you know- that sort of thing it seemed to
      me- at least I liked going there with students. And
540   explaining some things, and I think- I think we
      could do more of that sometimes- I mean students are
      not just learning language, they're also learning
      something about how language works because a
      language is- this is- and I don't think we do that
545   enough here, I think we could- I think there were-,
      you know- some teachers try to go there (..) but it
      is fun with the students to do that occasionally-
      with language.

550 I: ..the students even like it...

T: I think so, if you're a linguist, you can easily go
      there. But I don't think you can do it too much- but
      have them become analytic- they are- they're
555   supposed to be analytic about all sorts of
      phenomena. Why not language? They've been spending

ten years studying, wouldn't you be able to respond
critically to- analytically to language (..)

560 I: Thank you very much!