CONVERSATIONAL JOKING IN THE CLASSROOM

Master's thesis

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Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää spontaanin vitsailun luonnetta luokkahuonekontekstissa. Tutkimuksen aineistona on kaksi peräkkäistä yläkoulun biologian oppituntia, joissa opetuskielenä on englanti. Tarkoituksena on vastata seuraaviin kysymyksiin: 1) Millaisia rakenteellisia ominaisuuksia vitsailusekvensseissä on havaittavissa? 2) Millaisissa keskustelun konteksteissa vitsailua tapahtuu? 3) Millaisia funktioita vitsailu näyttää saavan kyseisissä konteksteissa? Tutkimus hyödyntää keskustelunanalyyttistä lähestymistapaa. Lähtökohtana ovat aikaisemmat tulokset kiusoittelusekvenssien rakenteesta, sillä kiusoittelu voidaan nähdä eräänä vitsailun alalajina.

Tulokset osoittavat, että vitsailusekvenssit rakentuvat hyvin monenlaisin eri tavoin. Vitsailusekvenssien rakenteessa on havaittavissa samankaltaisuuksia kiusoittelusekvensseihin nähden, esimerkiksi niin sanottu leikkisä kehys, joka erottaa niin kiusoittelun kuin vitsailunkin ympärillä olevasta vakavasta keskustelusta. Eräs vitsailusekvenssien rakenteissa havaittu melko yleinen piirre on sekvenssien rakentuminen monien vitsien muodostamina ketjuina.

Vitsailua ilmenee hyvin erilaisissa konteksteissa ja se saa erilaisia funktioita kontekstista riippuen. Vitsailua käytetään itsen ja muiden viihdyttämiseen, mutta sitä esiintyy myös esimerkiksi kielenkäyttöön liittyvissä keskustelun konteksteissa, kuten sanahauissa. Erittäin yleistä vitsailu on oppilaiden esittämissä kysymyksissä ja kannanotoissa. Joissain tilanteissa vitsailu liittyy tiiviisti nonverbaalisiin toimintoihin. Vitsailun avulla voidaan myös ohjata meneillään olevaa keskustelua, esimerkiksi lopettaa korjaussekvenssi tai siirtyä vähitellen keskustelun vakavaan kehykseen.

Tutkimuksen aineisto oli suppea, mutta sen perusteella voidaan päätellä, että vitsailu saattaa saada hyvinkin merkittävän aseman oppitunnilla, jos sitä tapahtuu tarpeeksi usein. Erityisesti vieraskielisessä aineenopetuksessa vitsailulla saattaa olla merkittävä rooli kielen oppimisen kannalta, koska vitsailun avulla oppilaat ja opettaja voivat rakentaa institutionaalisia roolejaan ja tehtäviään vaihtelevin tavoin. Sen avulla oppilaat voivat esimerkiksi saada mahdollisuuksia vuoron ottamiseen silloin, kun oppitunnilla sillä hetkellä käytettävä vakava kehys antaa siihen vain vähän mahdollisuuksia. Tämän vuoksi luokkahuonekonteksteissa tapahtuvaa vitsailua olisi hyvä selvittää lisätutkimuksilla.

Asiasanat: conversation analysis. conversational joking. classroom interaction. CLIL.

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

"Humor can be dissected, as a frog can, but the thing dies in the process and the innards are discouraging to any but the pure scientific mind." (White 1999: 303)

In the above quote, a famous American writer suggests that it is best to leave humor unanalyzed, as the process of analysis violates on the fragile and mysterious nature of humor and might even reveal something unpleasant. Nevertheless, McGhee (1971: 1) suggests that for as long as humans have tried to understand their own nature, they have also been thinking of the nature of humor. Indeed, as Norrick (1993: 140) states, humor and laughter have been studied in numerous disciplines throughout time and attributes this to the "omnipresence of joking and laughter in human interaction". These disciplines include philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology and linguistics (Dynel 2009: 1284). As a result, a wide collection of theories on humor are available, as well as surveys of them (see e.g. Wilson 1979, McGhee 1979, Raskin 1985). Despite this, there is still much to uncover about humor. Raskin (1998, cited in Ritchie 2004) claims that there is still no major theory of humor, and Ritchie (2004:1) points out that the previous research on humor does not actually consist of formal theories or models, as it does not define its terms sufficiently and is not able to be used as the basis of falsifiable predictions.

The present thesis does not attempt to discover the nature of humor in general, but instead sets out to investigate a specific type of humor from a specific perspective and in a specific environment. Let us take a closer look at each of these in turn. The specific type of humor studied in the present thesis is called conversational joking. This type of humor can be defined in a number of different ways, but for the present purposes it includes spontaneous humor that takes place in ordinary or institutional interaction. The focus on spontaneous humor emphasizes the difference between what is traditionally called joke-telling, on one hand, and spontaneous or conversational joking on the other. Joke-telling refers to what we normally understand as a joke, that is, a story which begins with a build-up and ends with a punchline. Conversational joking, in contrast, is different from joke-telling in that the

humor arises in and from the interaction at hand and involves no existing story. Conversational joking includes a wide range of different methods for creating humor, such as word play, punning, teasing, sarcasm etc. The question of whether conversational joking can and should be divided into such sub-types is interesting and will be briefly discussed in chapter 3, but the present study makes no attempt to categorize the jokes in the data in terms of their traditional names.

Instead, the present study set out to investigate the ways of constructing conversational joking on the turn-by-turn micro level of interaction. The purpose is to find out how sequences of joking are built, in which types of conversational contexts they are created, and what types of functions the joking might have in those contexts. This is carried out by drawing on the method of conversation analysis, which was referred to above as the "specific perspective" on the humor studied in this thesis. Conversation analysis (CA) is a method which originates in sociology but which is today used in a variety of disciplines. It has its own assumptions regarding both social structure and the nature of human interaction, which differ from the respective assumptions in both mainstream sociology and linguistics. This is why a certain degree of attention has been given to the basic assumptions of CA in chapter 2. For instance, it is a special feature of the CA method that the data are chosen before the topic of research. This is due to the fact that CA is a strongly data-oriented method which begins from an idea of "unmotivated" observation of the data (Sacks 1984). According to Sacks (1984: 27), this idea refers to "giving some consideration to whatever can be found in any particular conversation we happen to have our hands on, subjecting it to investigation in any direction that can be produced from it". Such a procedure took place in the course of the present study as well. What emerged as a frequent phenomenon in the observed data was conversational joking, which then was chosen as the topic of the study.

The specific environment in which the conversational joking of the present data takes place is the classroom. Research on classroom interaction has been taking place for a long period of time, and the first conversation analytic studies of classroom interaction date back to the late seventies. In terms of language classrooms, there has been some debate on the relationship between the interaction in the classroom on one hand and the learning process of the individuals participating in it, on the other. A

closer look at this debate takes place in chapter 4. The present thesis aims to add yet another contribution to the research on classroom interaction that approaches the topic from a conversation analytic perspective. What is more, the classroom environment of the data in the present study is a special type of classroom, in that it involves education that takes place through using a foreign language. In other words, a non-language school subject is being instructed through using a language that is not the first language of the pupils. In this case, the data involves upper comprehensive school biology lessons that are given in English. The popularity of this type of instruction has been declining in Europe for the past years, but there are nevertheless strong grounds for its implementation. However, the interaction in these types of classrooms has only rather recently caught the interest of researchers, if we compare it to the research carried out in relation to traditional second/foreign language classrooms. Some researchers (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2005, 2007, 2008; Nikula 2005, 2007; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006) have examined the interaction in classrooms where a foreign language is the medium of instruction and have discovered a number of interesting features. Most of these studies have approached the topic from the perspective of pragmatics and/or discourse analysis (however, see Kääntä 2010, who uses a CA approach), which is why a CA-based approach might well uncover new aspects of the interaction.

In order to find out more about the nature of conversational joking in the environment described above, the present study poses the following questions: 1) What are the structural properties of sequences of conversational joking in the environment of the present data? 2) In what types of interactional contexts do these joking sequences take place? 3) What types of functions can be identified for the joking sequences in the interaction of the lesson? To answer these questions, the study approaches the task in the following order: Chapter 2 introduces the conversation analytic method on a general level. Conversation analysis is a recurring theme throughout the entire background section, which is why CA-related research is introduced in all the background chapters. However, chapter 2 concentrates on explaining the origins CA as well as those features of research which are common to all studies using CA. Chapter 3 explains the ways in which the present study relates to the study of humor in general, then defines the concept of conversational joking, and finally introduces previous research on the topic. Chapter 4 briefly explains the

institutional environment from which the data of the present study arises, which is the classroom. Classroom interaction has been studied from a number of perspectives, but in chapter 4, emphasis will be given to conversation analytic research on classroom interaction.

Chapter 5 looks more closely at the special type of classroom which characterizes the data of the present study. This special feature is the process of teaching a non-language school subject through a foreign language. Such an environment affects the nature of classroom interaction on several levels, when compared, on one hand, to monolingual classrooms of non-language subjects, or to traditional second or foreign language classrooms on the other. However, as yet, very little (if any) research on the interactional character of foreign-language subject classrooms has been carried out through the perspective of conversation analysis. For this reason, chapter 5 concentrates on first explaining the origins of this type of education and then introducing the classroom interaction research that has been done in this field in the first place. For the present, many of these studies use the approach of discourse analysis or pragmatics. Finally, chapter 6 of the thesis includes the setting of the present study, and chapter 7 presents the results.

2. CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

While talk has been used as a resource in the research of many fields of study, it was not until the emergence of conversation analysis that *talk as such* became the center of attention. In this respect, conversation analysis (CA) differs from other fields of study which it is related to, such as sociology and linguistics. The purpose of the present chapter is to review some of the basic assumptions of conversation analysis.

2.1 CA as a research method: definition and aims

The expression "conversation analysis" can be used both in a wide and in a more restrictive sense (ten Have 2007: 5). In a wide sense, it can include "any study of people talking together, 'oral communication', or 'language use'", whereas in the restrictive sense, it refers to "one particular tradition of analytic work that was started by the late Harvey Sacks and his collaborators, including Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson" (ten Have 2007: 5). In the present study, the term "conversation analysis" is only used in the latter, restricted sense.

Even as a specific analytic tradition, CA can be defined in a number of ways. According to Psathas (1995: 2), CA studies "the order/organization/orderliness of social action, particularly those social actions that are located in everyday interaction, in discursive practices, in the sayings/telling/doings of members of society". The basic position of CA is that "social actions are meaningful to those who produce them and that they have a natural organization that can be discovered and analyzed by close examination" (Psathas 1995: 2). The goal, then, is to find the machinery/structure or the rules that both produce and constitute the organization (ibid.). On the other hand, ten Have (2007: 4) states that CA is "involved in the study of the orders of talk-in-interaction, whatever its character or setting". The word *orders* in ten Have's definition refers to the machinery or structure which was mentioned in the definition given by Psathas above. Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008: 11), in turn, define CA as "the systematic analysis of the talk produced in everyday situations of human interaction: talk-in-interaction".

The term conversation analysis can be misleading, and Psathas (1995: 2) even calls it a misnomer. Since the scope of CA studies is considerably wider than everyday conversations, the object of CA study would best be described as *talk-in-interaction*, rather than conversation (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 11, Psathas 1995: 2). According to Drew and Heritage (1992), CA is concerned with "all forms of spoken interaction including not only everyday conversations between friends and acquaintances, but also interactions in medical, educational, mass media, and socio-legal contexts, 'monologic' interactions such as lecturing or speech-making, and technologically complex interactions such as web-based multiparty communication" (1992:1).

Moreover, even though CA is interested in talk, it is only marginally interested in language as such: its object of study is better described as the interactional organization of social activities (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 12). In other words, the production of utterances, and the sense these utterances obtain, "is seen not in terms of the structure of language, but first and foremost as a practical social accomplishment" (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 12). Hence, CA asks questions pertaining to the ways in which ordinary talk is organized, how people coordinate their talk in interaction, and what the role of talk is in wider social processes (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 1).

There is a specific way in which CA addresses these questions, which means that it has its own special methodological assumptions and procedures. One of the most distinctive methodological traits of CA is the fact that the research is based on transcribed recordings of naturally-occurring interactions (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 12). In other words, CA practitioners only use data that is derived from the "ordinary unfolding of people's lives", rather than prearranging or setting up interaction situations in laboratories (ibid.). Through using recorded data, it would be possible to avoid frequent problems in other naturalistic methods of studying interaction, such as participant observation (used in ethnography), which relies on the researcher's subsequent reconstruction of the actual interactional event (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 15-16).

2.2 Foundations and related fields of study

CA differs both from other methods of social scientific research as well as those of linguistics. The foundations of CA arise from the work of Harvey Sacks, who started a pioneering research program upon the assumption that ordinary conversation may be a *deeply ordered, structurally organized phenomenon* (Hutchby & Wooffit 2008: 15). As Drew and Heritage (1992) formulate it, "CA starts from the perspective that (contra both Chomsky and Parsons) the details of conduct in interaction are highly organized and orderly and, indeed, that the specificities of meaning and understanding in interaction would be impossible without this orderliness" (Drew and Heritage 1992: 2). From Sacks' early research, three key points emerged:

1) Utterances can be viewed as objects which speakers use to accomplish particular things in their interaction with others.
2) Talk can be seen as methodic, i.e. the outcome of using certain methods.
3) Talk-in-interaction can be treated as an object of analysis in its own right, rather than simply as a window through which we can view other social processes or broader sociological variables. (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 17-19)

Thus, the key questions that CA addresses are more sociological than linguistic. One of these key questions is that of *intersubjectivity*, i.e. the resources that we have for sharing a common understanding of the world and of one another's actions in it (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 4) The contribution of CA to this question has been to demonstrate that it is possible to gain analytic access to the "situated achievement of intersubjectivity by focusing on the sequential organization of talk: in other words, on the management of turn-taking" (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 4; see also section 2.3.1 of the present thesis).

Another sociological issue that CA seeks to address is talk in institutional settings, and through it, the "agency-structure" debate (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 4). The position that CA takes in this debate is the stance that structure is *not* viewed as something external that constrains the individual. Instead, structure is considered a feature of "situated social interaction that participants actively orient to as relevant for the ways they design their actions" (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 4). The task of CA, then, is to show whether and how the features of a specific social structure (such as class or power) are relevant for the participants of the interaction. However, CA refrains from asserting the relevance of any social structure in interaction unless it is

somehow displayed to be relevant by the participants themselves in the way they design their talk (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 4).

CA is also concerned with the methods traditionally used in sociology, particularly the way they approach the notion of observability. Sacks was against the view in sociology that the most important sociological phenomena to be studied were unobservable, such as attitudes, class mobility and the causes of deviance (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 22). It was believed that these "unobservable" phenomena could be analyzed by using such conventional sociological methods as in-depth interviews and survey questionnaires, which were thought to make the phenomenon under analysis observable to the researcher, usually through statistical analysis. (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 22) Sacks (1992) objected this view by stating that

> "social activities are observable; you can see them all around you, and you can write them down… If you think that you can see it, that means we can build an observational study, and we can build a natural study" (1992, Vol. 1: 28, quoted by Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 22).

Thus, instead of mainstream sociology, Sacks' view of the nature of sociology had more in common with the ethnographic school, whose main concern is to observe the everyday lives of social groups (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 22).

CA is thus deeply connected to sociology, at least through its origins. Today, it is also related to other areas of research, such as social psychology and linguistics. In the present study, space does not allow for a review of all these connections, but let us take a look at the way in which CA connects to linguistics, as it is perhaps most closely related to the study. According to Sandlund (2004: 35), there has been a "time-worn reluctance" in linguistics to analyze talk. This reluctance stems from the Chomskyan view of talk as "performance", i.e. as a flawed manifestation of linguistic "competence", which was regarded as the more valuable object of analysis (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 4). Furthermore, it has been usual in linguistics to describe language by using the categories of the researcher, rather than those of the participant(s) (Sandlund 2004: 35). Montgomery (1986) explains the difference between discourse analysis (in linguistics) and conversation analysis by stating that discourse analysis is interested in "verbal interaction as a manifestation of the

linguistic order", whereas conversation analysis "is more concerned with verbal interaction as instances of the situated social order" (Montgomery 1986: 51). Despite these differences, CA shares interests with three areas of linguistics: ethnography of communication, pragmatics, and discourse analysis. One of the main contributions that CA has made in linguistics concerns its methodology: the requirement that the analysis should be based entirely on closely transcribed, recorded, natural data, and that extracts of the data are available to the reader (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 4).

There is one more area of linguistics which is interested in the social dimension of language use. This area is *sociolinguistics*, which involves investigating the relationship of language use and social variables, such as class, gender and authority (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 5). Traditional sociolinguistics assumes that these variables are connected to language in an intrinsic and causal manner, whereas CA refrains from imposing such a relationship between the two, unless they are demonstrated to be relevant in the interaction by the interactants themselves (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 5). This view is in line with CA's position concerning the structure-agency debate in sociology: CA does not claim that structural (or sociolinguistic) variables are irrelevant, it only demands that the analyst should "pay close attention to empirical phenomena" and "begin from the assumption that participants are active, knowledgeable agents, rather than simply the bearers of extrinsic, constraining structures" (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 5).

2.3 The organization of interaction

The present section deals with the organization of interaction which CA has attempted to describe and which serves as an analytical device in conversation analytic research. Similarly, this organization of interaction is employed in the analysis of the present study to discover the functions of conversational joking. The present section concentrates on three different but interrelated topics of interactional organization: turn-taking, conversational sequencing, and the organization of repair.

2.3.1 Turn-taking

According to Sacks et al. (1974), turn-taking is a "prominent type of social organization" that is used in a variety of activities, such as in games, in traffic and in customer service (1974: 696). The goal of Sacks et al. was to build a model that would describe the turn-taking system of ordinary conversation in a way that would be independent of variations in context or in the participants of the conversation (1974: 700). This means that the turn-taking system is context-free. However, it is also context-sensitive, which means that there are some features of the system that do not vary across contexts, while others do, according to the local social reality.

The turn-taking system consists of two components and a set of rules that are related to the construction and distribution of rules. The first component, the *turn-constructional component*, describes the structure of a turn. According to Sacks et al. (1974: 702), a turn consists of one or more turn-constructional units (TCUs), which in English roughly correspond to sentences, clauses, phrases and words. However, as Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008: 50) point out, it is not the task of a CA researcher to define what a turn-construction unit is, as this matter is negotiated by the participants of the conversation in any situated instance of talk. The turn construction-units have two features: Firstly, they are projectable, which means that it is possible for the participants to project the type and length of a turn-construction unit as it is being produced (Sacks et al. 1974: 702). Secondly, the turn-construction units enable the production and recognition of transition-relevance places (TRPs), which refer to the first possible completion point of every turn-constructional unit (Sacks et al. 1974: 703). Having begun a turn, a speaker is initially entitled to one TCU (ibid.), after which comes the first TRP that enables (but does not require) the transferring of turn to another participant. The second component of the turn-taking system is called the *turn-allocation component*, which refers to the techniques of turn distribution (Sacks et al. 1974: 703). These techniques are divided into those in which the next speaker is selected by the current speaker and those in which the next speaker self-selects themselves.

A complete version of the turn-taking system is presented by Sacks et al. (1974). For reasons of space, I present here a simplified version of the original, produced by Seedhouse (2004).

- If the current speaker selects the next speaker in the current turn, then the current speaker must stop speaking and the next speaker must speak.
- If the current speaker does not select a next speaker, then any other participant may select himself or herself as the next speaker: The first person to speak at the TRP gains rights to the next turn.
- If the current speaker has not selected a next speaker, and if no other participant self-selects as in the second point, then the current speaker may (but need not) continue. The procedure then loops or recycles until the end of the conversation, for which there are of course further norms. (Seehouse 2004: 28)

More recent research on turn-taking and on the construction of TCU's has discovered the roles of prosodic and non-verbal resources (see Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996, Kääntä 2010; see also section 4.3 of the present thesis.)

2.3.2 Sequence organization and adjacency pairs

Sequences are units of conversation that are larger than single turns. According to Seedhouse (2004), it is through sequence organization that the participants of a conversation are able to make their utterances comprehensible and to interpret the utterances of others (2004: 21). Moreover, it is the mechanism which enables researchers to study interaction, as they are able to follow the reasoning process of the interactants (ibid.) Sequence organization is thus central in the construction of meaning in interaction. As Seedhouse puts it, "CA's major contribution to pragmatics is that in CA, utterances derive much of their pragmatic force from their sequential location and through their relationship to the interactional organizations uncovered by CA" (2004: 22). Let us consider adjacency pairs as an example of the sequence organization.

Adjacency pairs are "paired action sequences", which consist of two related utterances produced by different speakers. After the production of the first pair part of an adjacency pair (e.g. a question, an invitation etc.) the second pair part (an answer, an acceptance / a decline) becomes *conditionally relevant* (Schegloff 1968: 1083). Conditional relevance is defined by Schegloff (1986) in the following way:

> "By conditional relevance of one item on another we mean: given the first, the second is expectable; upon its occurrence it can be seen to be a second item to the first; upon its nonoccurrence it can be seen to be officially absent – all this provided by the occurrence of the first item" (Schegloff 1968: 1083).

Conditional relevance enables the recognition of an adjacency pair, as we can often see the robustness of the sequence structure in cases where what is expected does not happen, say, a question does not receive an answer (Hutchby & Wooffitt 208: 45). Thus, the second pair part may not always be produced immediately, but it may still remain relevant and appear later (Seedhouse 2004: 17-18), for example, after a so-called insertion sequence (see Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 45). If the next pair part is not produced and the next speaker gives no account for its absence, this absence will be treated as noticeable, accountable and sanctionable (Seedhouse 2004: 20).

2.3.3 Repair

Repair can be defined as "the treatment of trouble occurring in interactive language use" (Seedhouse 2004: 34). Trouble, on the other hand, is "anything which the participants judge is impending their communication, and a repairable item is one which constitutes trouble for the participants" (Seedhouse 2004: 34). Repair is not the same as correction: whereas correction usually refers to "the replacement of an 'error' or 'mistake' by what is 'correct'" (Schegloff et al. 1977: 363), the production of repair does not require the presence of an error or mistake. According to Schegloff et al. (1977: 363), "nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class 'repairable'". Repair is divided into different categories; on one hand, according to the person who initiates the repair sequence (self-initiated, other-initiated), and on the other, according to the person who carries out the repair (self-repair, other-repair). These categories are connected to preference in such a way that the self-initiated self-repair is the most preferred action, and other-initiated other-repair is the least preferred (Seedhouse 2004: 35) Self-repair and other-repair are structurally different in terms of the position of the repair, the initiator techniques, and the overall course of the repair from initiation to solution (see Schegloff et al. 1977).

2.4 Reliability and validity in CA

Qualitative researchers have sometimes objected the use of concepts such as reliability and validity to assess qualitative research; instead, alternative criteria have been proposed (Seedhouse 2005: 253, Bryman 2004: 30). According to Seedhouse (2004: 254), practitioners of CA have often discussed these questions in terms that are only accessible to other CA researchers. As a result, he points out, this has often lead to misunderstandings among researchers of social sciences and linguistics. Due to the fact that CA is an interdisciplinary approach and thus may attract readers that are not familiar with it, it is important to demonstrate that reliability and validity are taken into account in conversation analytic research. The present section, based mainly on the work of Seedhouse (2004) and Bryman (2004), thus briefly reviews the concepts of reliability and validity insofar as they relate to qualitative research.

"Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable" (Bryman 2004: 28). According to Bryman (ibid.) reliability is "particularly at issue in connection to quantitative research", but Peräkylä (1997, cited in Seedhouse 2004: 254) states that in CA, the three main factors affecting reliability are "the selection of what is recorded, the technical quality of recordings, and the adequacy of transcripts". According to Bryman (2004: 28), what is very close to reliability is the idea of replicability, i.e. the fact that the study can be replicated. Seedhouse (2004: 254) suggests that CA is particularly adept at making its results replicable, because of the manner in which it presents both its data and its process of analysis. In CA, according to Seedhouse (2004: 255), it is standard procedure to include transcripts of the data in the study, and increasingly also audio and video files through the web. In addition, the process of analysis is made visible for the readers, who can analyze the data themselves.

Another important criteria in assessing the quality of research is the concept of validity, which is "concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research" (Bryman 2004: 28). There are different kinds of validity. Measurement validity, also known as construct validity, is concerned with "the question of whether a measure that is devised of a concept really does reflect the concept that it is supposed to be denoting" (ibid.). "[M]easurement validity is related

to reliability: if a measure of a concept is unstable in that it fluctuates and hence is unreliable, it simply cannot be providing a valid measure of the concept in question. In other words, the assessment of measurement validity presupposes that a measure is reliable" (ibid.) According to Seedhouse, the question to be asked in terms of measurement/construct validity in the context of qualitative research is: "whose construct is it?" (Seedhouse 2004: 257). CA, with its emic perspective, aims at finding organization of interaction "to which participants orient during interaction", which is different from the predetermined categories and constructs of an etic perspective (e.g. in descriptive linguistics) (Seedhouse 2004: 257). As an example of an emic construct Seedhouse gives the concept of TCU's, which is an emic, interactant's construct and thus not "etically specifiable".

Internal validity "relates to the issue of causality" and "is concerned with the question of whether a conclusion that incorporates a causal relationship between two or more variables holds water" (Bryman 2004: 28). In other words, "[i]f we suggest that x causes y, can we be sure that it is x" that causes y and not something else (Bryman 2004: 28-29). According to Seedhouse (2004: 255), in CA this translates to a concern of ensuring that the concepts invoked are something that are oriented to by the participants themselves, so that the emic perspective remains untouched. He compares this to research methodologies in which it is legitimate to "invoke concepts such as power and gender in relation to particular extract without needing to demonstrate that the participants themselves are oriented to such concepts". However, "CA practitioners cannot make any claims beyond what is demonstrated by interactional detail without destroying the emic perspective and the whole validity of the CA enterprise". (Seedhouse 2004: 255).

External validity "is concerned with the question of whether the results of a study can be generalized beyond the specific research context" (Bryman 2004: 29). Qualitative research has often been criticized for being context-bound and therefore lacking in external validity (Seedhouse 2004: 256). Such a critique does not appear to be valid in the case of CA, as it does not take into consideration the fact that even though CA focuses on analyzing micro-level interactional phenomena in specific settings, the goal of such analysis is to discover the *macro-level* interactional machinery which is used by the participants in the production and interpretation of

talk (Seedhouse 2004: 256). As Seedhouse points out, "[i]t is sometimes not appreciated that CA studies may analyse on the micro and macro level simultaneously" (2004: 256). From this perspective then, the intention to establish external validity could be regarded as being included in the entire CA research procedure.

Ecological validity "is concerned with the question of whether social scientific findings are applicable to people's everyday, natural social settings" (Bryman 2004: 29). According to Bryman (2004: 29), "[t]he more the social scientist intervenes in natural settings or creates unnatural ones, such as laboratory or even a special room to carry out interviews, the more likely it is that findings will be ecologically invalid." Seedhouse (2004) explains that "CA studies tend to be exceptionally strong in comparison to other methodologies in terms of ecological validity" (2004: 257), since the data is recorded in its authentic social setting and since CA "attempts to develop an emic, holistic perspective and to portray how interactants perform their social actions through talk by reference to the same interactional organizations which the interactants are using" (Seedhouse 2004: 256-257).

2.5 CA in analyzing institutional interaction

An important topic in studies concerning institutional interaction has been the manner in which social structure should be conceptualized (Psathas 1995: 54). According to earlier sociological arguments, social structure influences all interaction, and thus institutional interaction has been regarded as both influenced and explained by its context (ibid.). In sociology and sociolinguistics, the concept of context has been considered to be a sort of "container" into which people enter and which exerts causal influences on their behavior (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 139). According to Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008: 139), such a view of context does no pay enough attention to the active knowledge that participants make use of while producing certain behavior. The view of conversation analysis states that we need to "begin from the other direction, and see participants as knowledgeable social agents who actively display for one another (and hence, also, for observers and analysts) their orientation to the relevance of contexts" (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 139).

These specific ways of interplay between the macro structure and the situational interaction are what CA tries to discover. According to Heritage (2003), "it is fundamentally through interaction that context is built, invoked, and managed, and that it is through interaction that institutional imperatives originating from outside the interaction are evidenced and made real and enforceable for the participants" (2003: 224). Thus, through investigating institutional interaction we can discover the ways in which the institutional context is created. Heritage (2003: 224) states that "the participants build the context of their talk *in and through* their talk". The CA view of context does not claim that social setting, i.e. the external constraints, had no influence on our behavior. It does, and we use it intuitively to act in appropriate ways in different situations (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 140). However, instead of staying on the level of individual awareness of the context, CA is more interested in the "public means by which participants display for one another their orientation to context and their understanding of each other's actions" (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 140).

According to Drew and Heritage (1992, cited in Heritage 2003), institutional interaction has three special features: 1) the participants have specific goals, which are connected to their institutional identities (doctor and patient, teacher and pupil etc.), 2) the interaction involves constraints on what is regarded as "allowable contributions to the business at hand", and 3) talk in institutional settings is associated with the specific frameworks and procedures of a particular institution. These features give each type of institutional interaction its own "fingerprint" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991: 95-6, cited in Heritage 2003). Together, these features are thought, on one hand, to reduce the interactional devices that exist in ordinary conversation, and on the other, to result in a specialization and respecification of the devices that remain in use (Drew and Heritage 1992). Heritage (2003) further suggests that the institutionality of interaction is to be seen in six different features of the interaction: 1) turn-taking organization, 2) overall structural organization of the interaction, 3) sequence organization, 4) turn design, 5) lexical choice, and 6) epistemological and other forms of asymmetry (2003: 225). These features thus apply to all forms of institutional interaction. In the context of language classrooms, at least the first three of these have been investigated by Seedhouse

(2004). We will return to this topic in chapter 4, which deals with features of classroom interaction.

3. CONVERSATIONAL JOKING

3.1 The study of humor

Humor is a complex phenomenon in which people have shown interest throughout time. A great deal of literature on humor exists, but cannot be reviewed here. Ritchie (2004) offers a list of the most important reviews of humor research, mentioning the works of Goldstein and McGhee (1972), Chapman and Foot (1976), Chapman and Foot (1977), Wilson (1979), McGhee and Goldstein (1983), Raskin (1985), Morreal 1987), Chiaro (1992), Attardo (1994) and Ross (1998) (see Ritchie 2004: 4). However, as Raskin (1998) points out, there is still no major theory of humor, which would "explain *what is funny, why it is funny, how it is funny, when it is funny, and to whom it is funny*" (Raskin 1998: 3, italics in original, cited in Ritchie 2004. 1). Even though there is a great deal of literature on humor, Ritchie (2004: 1) claims that these writings "are at best interesting informal discussions, but are not formal theories or models", as they do not define their terms sufficiently and are not able to be used as the basis of precise falsifiable predictions.

Today, humor is being studied in a variety of disciplines, such as philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology and linguistics (Dynel 2009: 1284). Dynel points out that even though from the philosophical, psychological, sociological or anthropological perspective the concept of humor can be regarded as "one (albeit multifarious) phenomenon", the linguistic perspective requires a narrowing down of the phenomenon to be studied as humor into its particular manifestations (Dynel 2009: 1284). Within linguistics, the phenomenon of humor is also studied from a number of different vantage points, such as cognitivism, semantics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and translation (Dynel 2009: 1296).

3.2 Play frame

Humor requires the capacity to frame the ongoing action as play. This, in turn, requires the capacity to exchange metacommunicative signals, which indicate the fact that the action at hand is play (Bateson 1972: 179). The notion of *play frame*

originates in the observations of Bateson (1972), who, in observing two young monkeys playing in a zoo, came to the conclusion that humans are not the only begins capable of exchanging metacommunicative messages. According to Bateseon, the statement "this is play" actually includes the metacommunicative message "These actions in which we now engage do not denote what those actions *for which they stand* would denote" (Bateson 1972: 180, italics in original). In other words, the metacommunicative signals in playing make it clear that what takes place is not actual combat but rather a combat framed as play.

Humor thus requires the establishment of a play frame. A *frame* is a psychological concept which is being compared by Bateson to a physical picture frame. It tells the viewer that "he is not to use the same sort of thinking in interpreting the picture that he might use in interpreting the wallpaper outside the frame" (Bateson 1972: 187-188). Thus, the frame is either "involved in the evaluation of the messages which it contains, or the frame merely assists the mind in understanding the contained messages by reminding the thinker that these messages are mutually relevant and the messages outside the frame may be ignored" (Bateson 1972: 188). Accoding go LeBlanc (1998: 4), a frame is "a perspective upon which an object or activity is viewed; the frame is bounded by the assumptions or premises which define it".

The presence of a certain kind of frame can be determined through *keys*. According to Goffman (1986), a key is "the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else" (1986: 43-44). The presence of keys results in a transformation of the situation and keys have an important role in determining what is going on in a situation (Goffman 1986: 45). Thus, when a situation involves the existence of keys that indicate the presence of a play frame, the situation is interpreted as playful.

Goffman (1986) also gives the rules and premises which are necessary to transform serious action into play: 1) the playful act is performed in such a way that the ordinary (serious) function of the act is not realized, 2) there is an exaggeration of the expansiveness of some acts, 3) the normal sequence of activities is not followed, 4) a great deal of repetitiveness occurs, 5) the participants must be willing to play, 6)

frequent role switching occurs, 7) the play often continues longer than the serious act, 8) social play is preferred over solitary play, and 9) signs are available to mark the beginning and end of play" (Goffman 1986: 41-43). On the basis of these criteria of play, Glenn and Knapp (1987) have researched the messages and behaviors through which adult conversationalists frame play in interaction. According to them, lay is signaled through overt invitations, nonverbal cues, abrupt topic changes, and outrageous or put-on utterances (Glenn & Knapp 1987: 48). These messages produce different types of play, referred to by Glenn and Knapp as play *with* a partner, play *for* a partner, and play *at* a partner (see Glenn & Knapp 1987: 48). They often found out that the signaling of play is often incomplete or "taken-for-granted" by the participants (ibid.). On the basis of their study, Glenn & Knapp suggest some modifications to the premises laid out by Goffmann (see Glenn and Knapp 1987: 63).

Although Glenn and Knapp (1987) investigate a topic that is strongly similar to that of the present study, it is not really possible to compare their results with the findings of the present study. The reason is the fact that Glenn and Knapp's study takes place within communication studies, and they are not using a conversation analytic method. Instead, in order to be able to use more suitable recording equipment, they have decided to pre-arrange the conversations in a studio. In addition, the playful episodes were partly initiated through a signal of a researcher to one of the participants to "act in a playful manner with your partner". It must be stated, on the basis of additional procedures not mentioned here, that Glenn and Knapp have gone to a great length to ensure the naturalness of play episodes in their research. Nevertheless, from the CA viewpoint, the present study offers a more naturalistic data of engaging in a play-frame interaction, since the production of playful interaction was in no way encouraged at the time of the recording of the data. As a result, it is very difficult to compare the results of Glenn and Knapp with those of the present study.

In the present study, the term *play frame* is used in order to describe the contrast between the playful talk and the interaction that takes place outside of it. The latter is referred to as the *serious frame*. A connection was found between the structure of the joking sequences and the alteration between the serious frame and the play frame. This connection will be discussed in greater detail in section 7.1. of the thesis, where

the results concerning the structure of joking sequences are explained. However, the present study makes no attempt to explore the numerous (possibly infinite) contextualization cues through which utterances can be marked as play. It seems that the beginning of the play frame is rather easily discernible for both the participants of the interaction and the analyst, and its recognition thus poses no great problems. Instead, what is more central to the present study is the discovering of the contexts in which the play frame is evoked, as well as the consequences and functions of the play-frame, once it has been established, for the ongoing interaction.

3.3 Linguistic research on humor

Even though it is easy to recognize humor in everyday life, it is considerably more difficult to give scientific criteria for recognizing humorous utterances or texts. The presence of laughter is, obviously, often connected to humor, but it is not a valid criterion for recognizing humor in interaction. Archakis and Tsakona (2005: 44-45) discuss the complex relationship between humor and laughter. By referring to Attardo (1994: 10-13) and other researchers, they point out that "[h]umor does not always result in laughter and laughter is not always an outcome of humor" (Archakis & Tsakona 2005: 44). Moreover, they continue, "the absence of laughter is actually one of several possible reactions to humor and does not necessarily mean failure to understand the humorous import of the utterance" (Archakis & Tsakona 2005: 44). On the other hand, it has been noted that laughter can have other functions besides being a response to humor (see section 3.4).

According to Archakis and Tsakona (2005: 45), another type of approach in the defining and recognizing of humor is laid out by Attardo (1994, 2001). He proposes a General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH), which defines humor on the basis of its semantic and pragmatic features. The GTVH has mostly been applied to the analysis of jokes and humorous narrative texts that are longer than jokes (Archakis & Tsakona 2005: 45). The theory is based on the idea that jokes are analyzed in terms of six different *knowledge resources*, which include script opposition (a text is interpretable as two opposing scripts), logical mechanism (the ways in which the two scripts are connected), situation (the setting of the joke), target (the object of joking),

narrative strategy (the linguistic structure/style of the joke) and language (the linguistic units used in the joke) (Ritchie 2004: 70-71).

In linguistic research of humor, a difference is often made between *verbal* and *non-verbal* humor. The former refers to humor that is produced by using language or text, whereas the latter includes humor that emerges from non-verbal means, such as pictures or body language (Dynel 2009: 1284). In the present study, non-verbal aspects of joking are included in the analysis, but all the analyzed sequences also included verbal means of creating humor. A second important distinction in the literature is often made between *jokes* or *joke-telling* on one hand and conversational *humor* or *conversational joking* on the other (Dynel 2009: 1296, Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997: 277). Jokes or joke-telling refer to a prototypical form of humor which includes a *build-up* / *set up* and a *punch* / *punch line* (Hockett 1972/1977, Sherzer 1985: 216, cited in Dynel 2009: 1285). Boxer and Cortés-Conde explain that in joke-telling, the cues are "highly formalized and socially marked", such as is the case with an introductory statement to the joke, for instance "listen to this funny one" or "I've got a good one, let me see if I can remember it" (Boxer and Cortés-Conde 1997: 277). From the perspective of the present study, the distinction between joke-telling and conversational joking is an important one, as the present study only concentrates on conversational joking. The data does include one joking sequence where a personal anecdote is used as the basis of joking, with a concluding remark that could be regarded as a kind of punch line (see section 7.2.2). Whether this anecdote could be regarded as an instance of joke-telling is questionable, as there are for instance no formalized cues for indicating the beginning of a build-up.

Let us now consider conversational joking or humor in greater detail. Dynel (2009) defines conversational humor as

> "an umbrella term for various verbal chunks created spontaneously or repeated verbatim for the sake of amusing the recipient, either directly contributing to the semantic content of the ongoing conversation or diverting its flow into a humorous mode/ frame / key, in which speakers need not genuinely mean what their humorous verbalisations convey" (Dynel 2009: 1286).

For reasons of clarity, Dynel prefers the term *conversational humor* as an umbrella term for this type of humor, whereas others (such as Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997:

277, Norrick 1994) use the term *conversational joking* for the same phenomenon. Norrick (1994: 409) includes in conversational joking "forms or strategies such as word play, teasing, and anecdotes designed to elicit laughter from listeners". According to Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997), conversational joking or situational humor "is a play frame created by the participants, with a backdrop of in-group knowledge, encompassing not only verbal features but also suprasegmentals and non-verbal communication" (1997: 277). They explain that in situations of conversational joking, the play frame is created by the participants and being in the situation is an important part of getting the joke. The act of creating the play frame is fundamental, as the humor emerges in the situation itself and from the cues that indicate the humor (Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997: 277). There is, however, "no set formulae to clearly indicate the play frame" (ibid.). Nevertheless, some characteristics of playful talk have been discovered. Coates (2007) suggests that it is characterized by close collaboration between the speakers, which results in solidarity (2007: 29). According to her, thus, "a key function of playful talk is the creation and maintenance of group solidarity, of intimacy between speakers" (Coates 2007: 29). She further suggests that the features of playful talk include 1) overlapping speech, 2) co-constructed utterances, 3) repetition, 4) laughter, and 5) the use of metaphors.

Conversational joking can be divided into a number of different categories. These types of categories are not central for the present study, which considers conversational joking as an umbrella term and is more interested in the contexts in which it emerges as opposed to the actual linguistic forms of the specific instances of conversational joking. However, a few words can be mentioned about the different types of conversational joking. Dynel (2009) outlines various different types of conversational humor, ranging from single-word utterances to multi-turn exchanges. He includes the following in conversational humor: humorous lexemes and phrasemes, witticisms (which contain stylistic figures, puns, allusions, and register clashes), retorts, teasing, banters, putdowns, self-denigrating humor, and anecdotes. Norrick (2003), on the other hand, explains the different features of anecdotes, wordplay, irony and puns (the last one including wisecracks and sarcasm based on puns). Norrick, however, points out that these divisions are made for a theoretically-oriented purpose, and a clear distinction between the different forms of jokes is "neither possible nor sensible, because the forms naturally fade into each other in

conversation (Norrick, 1993), and in literature as well (Nash, 1985)" (Norrick 2003: 1338).

In addition, as far as the different types of conversational joking are concerned, an important issue from the perspective of the present study is whether or not to include *teasing* in conversational joking or rather consider it an entirely different category. In the present study, teasing is included in conversational joking whenever the tease functions as a joke and receives a response similar to that of jokes. However, for other purposes, there are also valid reasons for not including teasing in joking. Whereas for instance Norrick (1994) does include teasing in conversational joking, Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997) claim that joking and teasing are "two very distinct activities" (1997: 278), even though they do admit that in the present literature the distinction is not clear. On the basis of the recipient and the object of the joke, they make a distinction between three humorous speech genres, which are 1) teasing, 2) joking about an absent other and 3) self-denigrating joking (1997: 279).

According to Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997), the humorous speech genres listed above are, in turn, connected to the functions of joking. They suggest that the two functions are "(1) the display of individual identity (ID); and/or (2) the negotiation of a relational identity with others and *through* others (RID)" (Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997: 282). These functions are connected to the three types of joking in such a way that they form a continuum. Teasing always implies RID (either "bonding" or "biting"), as both the teaser and the teased are present and participate in the creation of the humor. Joking, on the other hand, can be either a case of RID or ID, whereas self-denigrating joking usually includes ID (Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997: 286). Thus, when considering the (social) functions of conversational joking, it is useful and perhaps necessary to make a difference between teasing and joking.

Although an interesting topic, the relationship between joking and relational identity on one hand and individual identity on the other is not the focus of the present study, and thus there is no reason to make distinctions according to the recipient or the object of the joke. Thus, it seems more reasonable to include teasing in conversational joking in the present study. The exception to this are teases that do not receive a response that recognizes the play frame of the tease, since the present study

is more interested in joking as a general phenomenon, as opposed to teasing as a distinct form of joking.

3.4 Conversation analytic research on joking

The present section concentrates on joking research that has been carried out from the conversation analytic perspective. The following review is based on the work of Norrick (1993), who reviews previous CA work on conversational joking in great detail and also gives excellent examples.

In the conversation analytic tradition, the first notions on humor concentrated on the functions of laughter. For instance, Jefferson 1972 (cited in Norrick 1993: 159) studied sequences in which the following speaker takes an utterance from the preceding turn and repeats it with laughter. Such a repeat is often treated as a challenge by the first speaker, and the laughing repeat is also used to signal termination of talk related to the repeated item. Later, Jefferson (1979) concludes that laughter is often used at the end of an utterance to invite laughter from other participants, who often join in during the onset of the laughter (Jefferson 1979, cited in Norrick 1993: 159). Jefferson 1984a and 1984b (cited in Norrick 1993: 159), on the other hand, claims that laughter is used to reduce tension in talk about troubles and also to make a transition to a new topic. Jefferson (1985: 34) points out that laughter in conversation is not always a case of "flooding out", i.e. something that the participant cannot help taking place. Rather, it can be used as a systematic interactional resource. For this reason, Jefferson calls for a detailed transcription of laughter, which pays attention to its timing and character.

Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff (1976) have noticed that a joking move with laughter by one participant which elicits laughter from another can result in further joking and laughter with reference to the initial joke (Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff 1976, cited in Norrick 1993: 159). Such an observation is in line with the present study, where joking by one participant was often found to result in further jokes by either the same participant or by another. Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff (1976) also claim that laughing together can be used as a way to resolve interactional problems (ibid.). Indeed, the present study discovered that humor can be used at least as a way to exit

a repair sequence. In addition, joking was sometimes present in sequences where the use of a foreign language resulted in communication problems (see section 7.2.3).

Schenkein (1972) has discovered that the utterance *heheh* is used to signal the nonseriousness of one's own utterance as well as the recognition of nonseriousness in another participant's foregoing utterance (Schenkein 1972, cited in Norrick 1993: 160). In this way, withholding the heheh would be seen as lack of interest and agreement, whereas uttering heheh at an inappropriate moment would signal a perceived error or foolishness in the utterance of the original speaker (ibid.). Indeed, Norrick suggests that joking and laughter constitute an adjacency pair (1993: 23). Sacks (1974) too, has observed that in narrative jokes, laughter is expected to occur after the punch line, and its lack is perceived as either lack of understanding of the joke or lack of amusement (cited in Norrick 1993: 23). According to Norrick (1993: 23), the adjacency-pair relationship of joke and laughter also applies for spontaneous conversational humor.

The present study cannot actually take a stance on whether joking and laughter can be regarded as an adjacency pair, since the study only includes instances of joking where the response was present. To investigate the adjacency pairing, one would have to include instances of jokes that receive no laughing response, in order to be able to state the conditional relevance of laughter after a joke. (Jokes that receive no response are easily recognizable when they consist of narrative jokes; however, in the case of spontaneous conversational joking their presence is not always easy to observe.) Nevertheless, it is possible to state on the basis of the present data that laughter, or another type of recognition of the play frame, very often follows joking.

According to Norrick, Sacks was the first to investigate puns in natural conversation (Norrick 1993: 160). Sacks (1973) defines a pun as "the presence of a word, phrase or other construction of more than one meaning, one meaning being used in the understanding of the construction in the conversational locus, while the other meaning(s) are also fitted to the locus, although in different ways" (Sacks 1973: 139, cited in Norrick 1993: 160). Norrick (1993) explains the basis of punning as "role-play, in which a conversationalist pretends to have misunderstood an utterance in order to produce a skewed response to a reanalyzed version of it" (1993: 22). Norrick

(1993) also gives excellent examples of puns, one of which is a traditional punning reply to a question about time:

> A: What does your watch say?
> B: Ticktock, ticktock.
> (Norrick 1993: 162)

According to Norrick (1993: 162), in this case, the pun is created through the ambiguous meaning of the word "say". Participant A uses it in the meaning of "indicate", whereas participant B chooses to misunderstand it as meaning "to utter". The present study does not attempt to classify the sequences of conversational joking in different categories, such as puns, word play etc., but it is possible to state that no clear instances of puns, of the type described above, were present in the data. As will be seen in chapter 7, the humor in the data mostly consists of other types of jokes.

Schegloff (1987) discovered an important sequential feature of joking, called "joke-first practice". This practice refers to a situation in which one participant produces the first-pair part of an adjacency part, after which the next participants does not produce the second-pair part but instead chooses to produce a joke first (Schegloff 1987, cited in Norrick 1993: 21). In such cases, the participant producing the joke often pretends to have misunderstood the first-pair part and reanalyzes it in a way that is not consistent with the ongoing context, e.g. by playing on ambiguous or vague features of a word or phrase in the preceding utterance (Schegloff 1987, cited by Norrick 1993:21). Once the joke has been recognized, its producer usually gives an appropriate response to the original first-pair part (Schegloff 1987, cited by Norrick 1993:22). According to Norrick, since adjacency pairs are very common in conversation, and the joke-first practice can be used in any of them, the everpresent potential for joke-firsts influences the organization of conversation in a far-reaching manner (1993: 22).

The present study found only two clear instances of the joke-first practice, which is noteworthy, considering that a total of 29 joking sequences were analyzed, most of which contain more than one joke. One reason for this might be the setting of the study, as the turn-taking system of classroom interaction is fundamentally different from that of ordinary conversation (see section 4.3). Instead of the joke-first practice,

it was noticed that whatever type of utterance can be used as the basis of joking, not only the first-pair parts of an adjacency pair. In other words, even though joking sequences clearly constitute an insertion sequence in the ongoing interaction, they can be created on the basis of various types of utterances, only a small part of which are first-pair parts.

We can see, on the basis of Norrick's (1993) review, that CA has given many important insights to humor research. Firstly, it has made it clear that laughter can have many functions in conversation and that it is not only a mechanical response to something funny but may also be used as an interactional signal. Secondly, the work of Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff (1976, cited in Norrick 1993) discovered that joking often results in further joking, and that joking can also be used as a strategy to resolve interactional problems. Both of these observations were also made in the data of the present study. Thirdly, Norrick (1993: 23) has suggested that joke and laughter would constitute an adjacency pair, where the omission of the second-pair part results in certain interactional interpretations of the reception of the joke. This is something that the present study cannot either agree or disagree with, because of methodological choices, but the close connection of joking and a response that recognizes the play frame is nevertheless evident on the basis of this data as well. Finally, Schegloff 1987 (cited in Norrick 1993: 21) suggests that jokes are often produced as insertion sequences after the production of a first-pair part. The present study did find a couple of such cases, but on the basis of the data, it seems that joking can be initiated after a number of different preceding turns (see section 7.1.2).

After having reviewed CA's contribution to humor research, Norrick points out: "Perhaps more important than any specific conclusion, however, is the methodological significance of work in Conversation Analysis with its detailed analyses at the micro-level of conversational organization" (1993: 163). The present study, also, owes to this methodological tradition.

4. INTERACTION IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

This chapter approaches the topic of the study from the perspective of language learning through the interaction in the classroom. The present study is not directly related to issues of language learning, since the data does not include lessons of traditional L2 classrooms. However, L2 learning is one of the goals of education in which a non-language subject is used in the classroom. Moreover, both L2 classrooms and those which use the L2 as a medium of instruction are settings of institutional education in which a foreign language has a considerable role. Nevertheless, it seems that so far, very few CA studies have examined the type of classrooms that the present study concentrates on. Instead, many studies of classroom interaction in settings where L2 is the medium of instruction have been carried out in the framework of pragmatics (see chapter 5). It is for these reasons that the present chapter explains the ways in which CA connects to the research on L2 classroom interaction. It is true that the L2 classroom is different from the classroom setting of the present study, but there are also similarities, as mentioned above. Thus the assumptions that underlie the use of CA in SLA classroom research might also apply to the present study, at least partly. The present chapter begins by first mentioning some of the different methods of studying interaction in L2 classrooms. After that, the attention is turned towards the application of the CA method. Finally, the last section introduces some of the main features of language classroom interaction that have been discovered within CA.

4.1 Methods of investigating classroom interaction

At present, there is a great number of methods to study classroom interaction, not only in a language classroom but in other classroom settings as well. The most important ones are briefly mentioned here, in order to be able to position the conversation analytic method of the present study in a wider perspective. Walsh (2006) divides the methods of classroom interaction research into four groups: 1) interaction analysis approaches, 2) discourse analysis approaches, 3) conversation analysis approaches and 4) variable approaches. Interaction analysis approaches refer to various coding instruments that are employed to gather quantitative data from

classroom interaction (Walsh 2006: 39). Discourse analysis approaches, on the other hand, have been used in the majority of L2 classroom interaction research so far, either implicitly or explicitly (Seedhouse 2004: 56). These approaches are based on principles from structural-functional linguistics and thus their aim is to categorize patterns of interaction according to their structure and function (Walsh 2006: 45, 48). The most well-known of the discourse approaches is probably the study of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and their discovery of the IRF (initiation-response-feedback) structure of teacher-student interaction (Walsh 2006: 46-47). The third approach in Walsh's list, the CA approach, is presented in greater length in the following subsection (4.2). The final approach presented by Walsh (2006), the variable approach, entails different flexible, multi-layered approaches to analyzing classroom data. According to Walsh (2006: 56), the variable approaches are based on three assumptions. Firstly, all L2 classroom discourse is goal-oriented; secondly, the teacher has a prime responsibility in shaping the course of the interaction; and thirdly, language use is inextricably linked to pedagogic purpose. For a more detailed description of this approach, see Walsh (2006). What follows next is a description of how CA connects to the research of L2 classroom interaction and SLA.

4.2 CA in researching SLA

Before going into detail on how second language acquisition has benefited from the contribution of conversation analysis, it is important to point out, as Seedhouse (2004: 236) explains, that CA can only be exploited "in those areas of SLA research which use spoken interaction (both inside and outside the classroom) as data". We cannot thus forget that even though CA is very likely to be able to explain some of the questions related to SLA research, the entire field of SLA encompasses such a great variety of topics that CA alone is not able to address all of them. Nevertheless, it is exactly those areas of SLA that have been neglected until rather recently that can benefit from CA-related research.

The idea of using CA to study processes of language acquisition began through the ideas of Firth and Wagner (2007), who proposed that "SLA research requires a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use, an increased "emic" (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards

fundamental concepts, and the broadening of the traditional SLA data base" (Firth & Wagner 2007: 757). Thus, they claimed that the way in which the late-nineties SLA research viewed the role of discourse and communication was "individualistic and mechanistic" and did not pay enough attention to the interactional and sociolinguistic dimensions of language. According to Mori and Markee (2009: 1), Firth and Wagner's ideas resulted in a lively discussion within the SLA community, as some researchers were skeptical towards them, while others published studies that expanded on them. The critique against Wirth and Wagner was mainly based on the idea that CA would have little to say about language learning because SLA was believed to be a primarily psycholinguistic and cognitive process (Mori and Markee 2009: 2). As Kasper (2009) explains, the question is whether it is possible for CA to take a stance on language learning in the first place. This controversy is partly sustained by the fact that traditional or sociology-inspired, CA research has not touched on the way in which interactional competences are learned; instead, it has studied the existing interactional competencies and sense-making practices of social members (Kasper 2009: 11). Such a situation is problematic for those researchers who would like to apply CA to the research of L2 interaction and SLA (Kasper 2009: 12).

In addition to those who expressed critical views towards Firth and Wagner's ideas, there were also those that were sympathetic to them. These researchers tend to form a heterogeneous group of researchers in terms of whether CA alone can explain processes of language learning or whether it needs to be complemented by so-called exogenous theories of SLA (Mori and Markee 2009: 2). Mori and Markee call for a distinction between these two views, referring to the so-called purist or CA-native approaches to studying processes of language learning as *CA-inspired* approaches, and those that use CA rather as a tool for a priori theories of SLA as *CA-informed* approaches. The theories used by CA-informed approaches include Vygotskian sociocultural theory, theories of situated learning and communities of practice and language socialization (Kasper 2009: 12). The purpose of attaching these a priori theories is to fill the gap that is perceived to exist between traditional SLA and the assumptions of CA (ibid.). However, those researchers that take a CA-inspired (purist) approach to SLA worry that attaching an a priori theory to CA-for-SLA might endanger the "conceptual integrity and empirical strength of the CA project"

(Seedhouse 2007a, cited in Kasper 2009: 12). These researchers believe that CA's own theoretical and analytical resources are sufficient to explain processes of L2 learning as a social practice (Kasper 2009: 12). According to Kasper, "the epistemological basis for such a project comes from CA's perspective on cognition as socially shared and grounded in interaction" (2009: 12). What connects CA-inspired and CA-informed approaches, according to Mori and Markee (2009: 3), is the opinion that language learning is rooted in and shaped by participation in interaction and that it can be studied by paying attention to the empirical details of the interaction. Furthermore, both CA-inspired and CA-informed approaches differ from mainstream SLA through their opinion on the metaphors of "participation" and "acquisition" in language learning. They have traditionally been considered as mutually exclusive, whereas CA-for-SLA argues that there is a symbiotic relationship between these two (Sfard 1998, Mori and Markee 2009: 3)

According to Kasper (2009: 11), "a key question in the debate on conversation analysis as an approach to SLA concerns the role of cognition in interaction and learning". In other words, while traditional SLA research has viewed cognition as a phenomenon that is located in the brain of the individual, CA tends to conceptualize cognition as a social phenomenon. Kasper explains that there is a close connection between the interactional organizations discovered by CA and the view of cognition as a socially shared phenomenon:

> "The procedural infrastructure of interaction and intersubjectivity, and the *demonstrations* of understanding that participants provide for each other from moment to moment, are a condition for all human activities, language learning included. Cognitive, affective, and other displays and claims, versions and descriptions, are built on them." (Kasper 2009: 15)

Seedhouse (2004: 240) points out that the CA view of cognition as a socially shared phenomenon does not mean that it could portray "the whole picture" of SLA, as the methods of psychology and traditional SLA are also useful in describing other aspects of cognition. Instead, the discussion that was started by Firth and Wagner (1997) and continued by other researchers shows that interactional organizations are closely linked to cognition as a socially shared phenomenon.

Walsh (2006) lists some of the criticism concerning the use of CA in SLA research. One of them is the claim that "there is no attempt to impose any kind of 'order' on the apparent chaos of classroom interaction" (Walsh 2006: 54). This claim does not seem to be valid in the light of present research, as described in the following subsection (4.3) of the present thesis. In fact, it is precisely CA that is able to suggest an overarching organization of classroom interaction without offering a discourse-analysis type of coding scheme, since the organization offered by CA is always the context-free "machinery" which is independent of single instances of data and can thus be either oriented to by the participants or breached. The criticism of CA described by Walsh (2006) is continued with the claim that as there are no preconceived categories, "the selection of data may appear contrived or idealized in order to illustrate a particular point with little attempt to relate them to the exchange as a whole" (Walsh 2006: 54). It is true that CA research may attempt to find data that is rich in a particular phenomenon, such as is the case with the present study. However, the particular instances of talk are or at least should always be considered in their sequential context. In addition, since CA sees institutional interaction as intrinsically goal-oriented, it is actually because of the attention to sequential context that such orientation to the institutional goal can be discovered in the details of interaction.

What Walsh calls a more serious criticism of CA is the "inability to generalize findings owing to the fact that they consider classrooms in isolation and make no attempt to extend their findings to other settings" (Walsh 2006: 54). Walsh does mention, however, that this objection is countered "if we acknowledge that the aim of classroom-specific research is not so much to generalize as to promote understanding and facilitate replication to another context" (Walsh 2006: 54). It is true that the L2 contexts have unique characteristics that cannot be discovered in other settings. However, according to Drew and Heritage (1992) and Seedhouse (2004: 98), all different varieties of institutional discourse have many common characteristics, as well as their unique institutional goal, which results in a specific organization of interaction fitted to that goal. From the CA perspective, L2 classroom interaction is perceived as one type of institutional interaction which is dependent of its own institutional goal, in a similar way to other institutional contexts. The wider

question of the generalizability of CA research results was discussed in section 2.4 and is therefore no longer repeated here.

Thus, CA-for-SLA thus begins from the assumptions that spoken interaction and the context of learning should be given more attention in the research of SLA, so that the social and contextual orientations to language could be combined with the cognitive orientation, which has been dominating SLA research until from its beginning until the end of the nineties. By viewing the metaphors of "participation" and "acquisition" as not mutually exclusive but rather intertwined, CA is interested in researching situations of spoken interaction in the second/foreign language. It is still discussed whether CA alone can describe processes of learning in the interactional environment or whether it needs to be combined with other, related theories of learning. The criticism towards CA presented so far seems to be partly based on a misunderstanding on the nature of CA research, particularly the role of the institutional goal of classroom interaction and the generalizability of the findings. Let us now review some of the findings that CA has discovered about language classroom interaction.

4.3 Features of language classroom interaction

Based on the work of Seedhouse (2004), the present section introduces some of the most important features of L2 classroom interaction discovered through CA. By L2 classroom interaction, Seedhouse (2004: 204) refers to "interaction which is produced in the L2 by teachers and / or learners in a normative orientation to a pedagogical focus". According to him, the core institutional goal of L2 classroom interaction is that "the teacher will teach the learners the L2", which remains the same regardless of the place of the lesson or the pedagogical framework that the teacher is using (Seedhouse 2004: 183). From this core goal, Seedhouse derives three interactional properties that affect interaction in L2 classroom. These properties are: 1) Language is both the vehicle and object of instruction. 2) There is a reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction, and interactants constantly display their analyses of the evolving relationship between pedagogy and interaction. 3) The linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 are

potentially subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way. (Seedhouse 2004: 183-184).

Seedhouse (2004) also proposes a basic sequence organization which applies to all L2 classroom interaction. The sequence is three-part: 1) introducing of a pedagogical focus (either by the teacher or, more rarely, by the learners), 2) at least two persons speaking in the L2 "in normative orientation to the pedagogical focus", 3) participants analyzing the pedagogical focus and producing turns in the L2 which "display their analysis of and normative orientation to this focus in relation to the interaction" (Seedhouse 2004: 188). The participants thus constantly analyze each other's turns in relation to the connection between pedagogy and interaction, and display these analyses to each other (ibid.). These sequential properties of language classroom interaction apply when and if the participants talk into being the institutional context and identities (Seedhouse 2004: 200). In other words, the features of L2 classroom interaction are part of "the context-free structure to which interactants may or may not orient and which they may use normatively in context-sensitive ways to perform their social actions" (Seedhouse 2004: 200). If the participants choose to interact in ways which are not connected to the pedagogical focus, the L2 classroom is talked out of being and the resulting talk-in-interaction is called non-institutional talk.

Seedhouse (2004) also characterizes turn-taking and repair in four different L2 classroom contexts, which are called form-and-accuracy contexts, meaning-and-fluency contexts, task-oriented context and procedural contexts. As the pedagogical focus in these contexts is different, the turn-taking and repair in these contexts also varies, reflecting the reflexive relationship between interaction and pedagogical focus. So, for example, in the form-and-accuracy contexts, where the pedagogical focus is on linguistic form and accuracy, the teacher typically has tight control of the turn-taking system (Seedhouse 2004: 102). In the meaning-and-fluency context, where the focus is on maximizing interaction in the classroom and thus presenting opportunities for concentrating on meaning and fluency, the turn-taking system is usually managed locally by the learners; however, the teacher may have various degrees of control over the interaction while still maintaining a focus on meaning and fluency (Seedhouse 2004: 115). The task-oriented context refers to situations where

the learners communicate with each other in order to accomplish a task, and the pedagogical focus is on the accomplishment of the task rather than on the language used in accomplishing it (Seedhouse 2004: 120). In these contexts, the turn-taking system is characterized by reflexive relationship between the nature of the task and the turn-taking system itself, a tendency to minimalization and indexicality, and a great number of clarification requests, confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and self-repetitions (Seedhouse 2004: 120). Procedural contexts refer to situations where the teacher gives the students procedural information concerning the classroom activities (2004: 133). In the majority of cases, there is no turn-taking in these contexts, as the teacher does most of the talking. There are, however, exceptions, such as when a student wishes to take a turn (e.g to as a question), or when the teacher purposefully makes the procedural context more interactive, or when the teacher verifies understanding at the end of a procedural explanation (Seedhouse 2004: 134-135).

It must be emphasized that these features only concern the type of interaction that Seedhouse (2004) calls L2 classroom interaction, that is, the so-called institutional talk. While he acknowledges that other varieties of interaction do occur in L2 classrooms, he only concentrates on the interaction that is related to the pedagogical focus (Seedhouse 2004: 204). The perspective of the present study is different, as both institutional and non-institutional types of interaction are included in the analysis. The present study has found out that joking occurs both in an out of the institutional talk, as well as in sequences where a transition is made between these two (see chapter 7). Moreover, as the data of the present study includes a great number of joking sequences, it would be useful to reconsider the role of the so-called non-institutional type of interaction. This idea will be discussed further in chapter 8.

One of the few conversation analytic studies dealing with both EFL and CLIL classroom discourse is that of Kääntä (2010). She uses a conversation analysis approach, combined with a Goodwinian view of semiotic resources, to investigate teacher turn-allocation and repair practices in CLIL and EFL classrooms. The study shows that teachers allocate turns to students either by using the student's name and by directing their gaze toward the student, or by using nonverbal actions such as head nods and pointing gestures. The latter type can occur on its own or it can be

combined with the student's name, or with different discourse particles. In terms of repair, Kääntä (2010) states that teachers use a variety of semiotic resources in projecting the initiation or enactment of repair, which are considered dispreferred next actions. The projection can take place, for instance, through withholding the revealing of correct answers, cut-off body movements or by motionless gaze and body orientation. Some of these devices are used in overlap with the ongoing student response, which demonstrates that the teacher is orienting to the evaluation while the student response is still being produced. Kääntä found no differences between the turn-allocation and the repair practices of EFL and CLIL classrooms, and states that Finnish-speaking participants use the same kind of resources both in English interaction and when using their mother tongue.

The purpose of the present chapter has been to briefly look at conversation analytic research on language classroom interaction. At present, there seems to be very little CA research on classrooms where a foreign language is not the object but the medium of study. For this reason, we have taken a look at L2 classroom contexts. There are similarities between the two types of classrooms, such as the fact that they are both institutional educational settings and they involve the use of a foreign language. However, there are also differences in the interactional features of these two settings, and these differences are discussed in the following chapter.

5. INSTRUCTION THROUGH A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

The data of the present study comes from a classroom where a non-language subject is instructed through a foreign language. In Europe, the umbrella term that is often used of this type of education is CLIL, which stands for Content and Language Integrated Learning. Dalton-Puffer (2007: 1) defines CLIL as "educational settings where a language other than the students' mother tongue is used as medium of instruction". According to her, various other terms are used internationally to refer to similar educational settings. From a historical perspective, teaching and learning subject content through a foreign language is not a new phenomenon. The beginnings of such an activity date back to ancient Rome, as Takala (1994: 73) explains. It was also during the same period that systematic language teaching started (Takala 1994: 73). Another example of teaching and learning through the medium of a foreign language is to be found in medieval Europe, where Latin was the lingua franca of education for centuries (Takala 1994: 73). However, as general education became more widespread, it started to be increasingly monolingual (Lorenzo et al. 2009:1). Bilingual education became a privilege of the elite (de Mejía 2002). Recently, bilingual education is regaining its popularity, and there is an increasing need to develop plurilingual competence in Europe. (Lorenzo et al. 2009: 1). In Finland, the implementation of CLIL became possible in the early 1990's, after a change in the school laws (Nikula 2007: 208). Before this, the only languages that were allowed to be used in instruction were the official languages of the country, i.e. Finnish and Swedish (ibid.). Most Finnish schools offering content and language integrated learning use English as the language of instruction (Nikula and Marsh 1996: 35, Lehti et al. 2006: 311).

5.1 Goals and learning outcomes

In Europe, the motivation for implementing CLIL type of education can partly be seen to have initiated from the European Union level. For example, the White Paper on Education and Training (1995), by the European Commission, proposes the ideal that European citizens should have at least partial competencies in two foreign

languages other than their mother tongue and argues for the inclusion of this goal in national curricula. Thus, currently, currently most European states are introducing bilingual-type programs in their national education (Lorenzo et al. 2009: 1). Similarly, an action plan by the European commission for promoting language learning and linguistic diversity mentions CLIL as having a "major contribution to make to the Union's language learning goals" (European Commission 2003: 8). In addition, a Europe-level symposium, held in 2005, called for ensuring that CLIL is provided at different levels of education, as well as emphasizing the need to give teachers special training concerning the accomplishment of CLIL (European commission 2005). Thus, in recent years, CLIL has become rather widespread in Europe, extending to all parts of the continent (Eurydice 2006, cited in Lorenzo et al. 2009:2). Despite a coverage this wide, as Dalton-Puffer points out, the implementation of CLIL "has happened at two curiously distant levels of action: on the level of local grass-roots activity on the one hand and on the level of EU policy on the other, leaving the intermediate level of national education policies largely unaccounted for." (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 1).

The idea of CLIL-type education is supported by a great number of pedagogical arguments. A website dedicated to CLIL gives a list of the goals that are being aimed at, some of which are included in the following:

> Build intercultural knowledge & understanding
> Develop intercultural communication skills
> Learn about specific neighbouring countries/regions and/or minority groups
> Prepare for internationalisation, specifically EU integration
> Improve overall target language competence
> Develop oral communication skills
> Deepen awareness of both mother tongue and target language
> Develop plurilingual interests and attitudes
> Provide opportunities to study content through different perspectives
> Access subject-specific target language terminology
> Prepare for future studies and/or working life
> Complement individual learning strategies
> Diversify methods & forms of classroom practice
> Increase learner motivation
> (CLIL Compendium, *a modified list*)

As indicated by the list, it is being hoped that CLIL will yield positive pedagogical results in a wide range of areas, such as intercultural skills, language proficiency, subject mastery, and cognitive/motivational issues. Indeed, recent research seems to suggest that CLIL is definitely able to reach many of these goals. For example, CLIL

education seems to produce promising results in terms of the language proficiency of the students. Lorenzo et al. (2009: 9-19) demonstrate that CLIL students clearly outperform their mainstream counterparts in language skills, especially in lexical range, structural variety and pragmatic competence. Moreover, Lorenzo and associates (2009: 12) suggest that the same competence levels can be reached regardless of whether the CLIL program is introduced at an early, middle or late stage of the education system. As an explanation for this, they suggest the idea that even thought the early-beginning learners have a neurologically psycholinguistic advantage, older CLIL students may be able to counter this advantage because of their better cognitive and meta-cognitive abilities as well as a more advanced L1 proficiency.

Dalton-Puffer (2008) argues that the language skills most favorably affected by CLIL include receptive skills, vocabulary, morphology, creativity, risk-taking, fluency, quantity, and emotive/affective outcomes (2008: 5). The greatest gain of CLIL in terms of language skills is reached in the area of lexicon, including the learning of large vocabularies of technical and semi-technical terms as well as general academic language (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 6). On the other hand, the following areas of language seem to remain unaffected by CLIL: syntax, writing, informal/non-technical language, pronunciation, and pragmatics (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 5). It has also been observed that CLIL is especially beneficial to the developing language skills of an average-performing student. As Dalton-Puffer summarizes, “people with special linguistic gifts reach very good results, even high proficiency, also via normal EFL classes, but CLIL significantly enhances the language skills of the broad group of students whose foreign language talents or interest are average.” (2008: 5).

CLIL also seems to affect favorably the motivational aspect of learning, as compared to EFL classes. This has been studied by Lorenzo et al. (2009), who state that in CLIL-type learning, motivational processes are different from “mainstream foreign language learning” (2009: 12). The difference lies in the identification process of the students: in CLIL learning, the students form an identification link between the foreign language and the subject matter, rather than between the foreign language and an ethnic group (Lorenzo et al. 2009: 12). Such a difference is important because despite being a cornerstone of communicative language teaching, inter-ethnic contact

and the possibility to interact with native speakers seldom takes place in mainstream language learning (ibid.). In CLIL, however, the identification process takes another route. In the words of Lorenzo et al., "when French is the language of the history lessons, this supersedes the view of it as the language of the French nation" (2009: 12). Such a view of the identification process has been studied through learner opinion questionnaires and is being supported by positive results of satisfaction and engagement levels (Lorenzo et al. 2009: 12).

In terms of subject content outcomes, CLIL students are able to reach similar results to those that were taught in their L1 (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 4).This is the case despite the possible fear that learning might be reduced either because the students may not master the language sufficiently or because the teachers may try to prevent the problem by simplifying the contents (Hajer 2000, cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008: 4). If tested in their L1, CLIL students have even been able to outperform those who were both taught and tested in their L1 (Day/Shapson 1996, deCraen et al. 2007, cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008: 4). The CLIL students' better performance is explained through their higher degree of procedural competence in the subject: they may work more persistently on tasks and show higher tolerance of frustration (Vollmer et al. 2006, cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008: 4). What is more, as Vollmer et al. (2006) suggest, when facing linguistic problems, the students are propelled to use intensified mental construction activities, such as giving details and discovering contradictions, which might lead to more efficient semantic processing and a better understanding of curricular concepts (cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008: 4). There are, however, also research results which suggest CLIL students to have a disadvantage concerning the learning of subject content (see Washburn 1997 and Nyholm 2002, cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008: 4). Interestingly, according to these studies, what is not negatively affected by CLIL is mother tongue language and literature (ibid.). This is an important point, as some L1 teachers have been shown to view CLIL in a negative light, either seeing it only as a way to improve foreign language skills or as a "competitor to L1 learning" (Lorenzo et al. 2009: 18). Thus, even though CLIL obviously does bring positive results in the area of foreign language learning, the benefits of its implementation are not restricted to the level of language or cultural skills, as it also brings positive results in the area of content mastery.

5.2 Discourse in CLIL classrooms

Dalton-Puffer (2008: 7) suggests that the learning outcomes obtained in CLIL can be explained by the "structures of classroom discourse", i.e. the interaction that takes place in the classroom. This view is, according to Dalton-Puffer, based on an approach of language learning which sees learning as a socio-cognitive activity that is closely related to its context (2008: 7). Such a view is different from the one which is more often connected to language learning in CLIL environments, which presupposes that input in itself leads to acquisition and that context has a less significant part in the process (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 7). However, if one supposes that individual learning takes place through social interaction, the investigation of classroom discourse can be viewed as fundamental to understanding the learning processes that take place in the classroom. In the case of the present study, it is not even necessary to adopt a so-called exogenous theory of learning in order to claim that learning takes place through interaction, as it has been stated that CA alone might be capable for explaining processes of (language) learning (see chapter 4).

5.3.1 CLIL as representing a "real-world" language environment

The purpose of introducing CLIL is usually motivated by the aim of providing the students with opportunities to learn the language in a more "real" or "naturalistic" environment as compared to traditional language teaching. However, one of the important findings of research concerning CLIL classroom discourse is the insight that even though a great deal of expectations are connected to CLIL in terms of language learning, the actual processes of classroom discourse may not be any more "natural" or representative of the "real world" and therefore more favorable for language learning when compared to EFL classrooms. Early research on comparisons between teacher talk in EFL and CLIL classrooms, for example, has discovered that in both EFL and CLIL classrooms, teachers tend to use more direct language, in terms of pragmatic modifiers, as they do outside classrooms (Nikula 2002). This may be partly explained by the fact that the teachers in the study were non-native speakers of the instructional language, but Nalso by the asymmetrical power relations that the institutional context brings to both EFL and CLIL classrooms (Nikula 2002).

Dalton-Puffer (2005) has presented contrary results, stating that CLIL classroom discourse does include a great deal of indirect and modified requests (which can be regarded as instances of pragmatic modification), as well as evidence of linguistic variety in the realizations of the requests (Dalton-Puffer 2005: 1289-1290). Despite this, the "language environment" of the CLIL classrooms is described as not being very rich or varied, as the students' possibilities to make requests is confined by the fixed distribution of roles between the teacher and the students (ibid.). Dalton-Puffer even claims that "in general, current EFL teaching methodology affords learners more opportunities to play with interactional parameters and assume different roles than is the case in content classrooms, whether these are taught in the L1 or the L2" (2005: 1290). CLIL classrooms are thus of necessity characterized by all the features of institutional education and at least in this respect, they cannot show any more resemblance to the "real world" than any other type of classroom. However, this is not necessarily a problem, as Dalton-Puffer and Nikula (2006) explain:

> We think it is important to recognize that while being established as meaningful contexts for language use, CLIL classrooms still remain classrooms with their specific institutional constraints on discourse practices. We are not suggesting that classroom discourse *ought* to be more similar to language used in other settings in order to provide better opportunities for pragmatic learning. The problems of bringing into classrooms instances of language use typical of other settings are well understood today and might even conflict with some of the educational objectives of classroom interaction. Moreover, such an attempt would run against the very notion of seeing language as a deeply context-dependent phenomenon. (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2006: 263)

In a similar way, Dalton-Puffer (2005) challenges the view of CLIL classrooms as instances of "authentic situation of L2 use" and calls for a redefinition of the concept of "authentic situation" (2005: 1291). Thus, even though the opportunities for language learning in a CLIL classroom may be different from those encountered in a language classroom,mthey are nevertheless affected by the institutional features of CLIL classroom discourse.

5.3.2 Student participation in the CLIL classroom

In terms of students' participation and their language production, research has produced differing results. Mewald (2004, cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008) and Dalton-

Puffer (2008) suggest that students in a CLIL classroom tend to remain passive for most of the time. Mewald (2004) has also found out that firstly, students actually use much less English than expected, secondly, that they use it in very limited situations and thirdly, that there is very little creative use of language (cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008). One factor which constrains the students' possibilities to participate in interaction is the limited time frame of a lesson. As Dalton-Puffer (2008: 11) points out, CLIL learners are of necessity in the role of a listener for most of the time, as the time scope of a lesson does not give each of them possibilities for long stretches of talk, considering the fact that the teacher must also speak. However, even if the students are not producing long stretches of talk, either because of their reluctance or because of time constraints, this does not mean that they are not benefiting from the foreign language used in the class.

Thus, even if students in CLIL classrooms were in the role of listeners for most of the time, they are still exposed to a great amount of language input. Dalton-Puffer (2008: 11) gives a list of the types of spoken input that the students are being exposed to, which includes teacher questions, teacher feedback, student answers, student presentations, and reading aloud. What seems to be lacking in the interaction are long episodes of teacher presentations, a fact which might be explained by the critical attitude from the 1970's onwards toward teacher-centeredness in the classroom (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 11). Instead of giving presentations, or "lecturing", the teachers tend to introduce subject content by means of question-answer sequences that involve the students giving the answers (ibid.). One of the drawbacks of this method is the fact that the process takes place according to the teacher's internal script, which is not accessible to the students (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 11).

According to Dalton-Puffer (2008: 11), the greatest part of CLIL students' language production consists of answering teacher questions. In an earlier study, (Dalton-Puffer 2006, cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008), she has found out that in the majority of cases, student answers to teacher questions consist of minimalist responses, such as short noun phrases. In addition, Dalton-Puffer (2006) examined the kind of questions that teachers pose to the students, investigating whether certain types of questions would produce certain kind of student answers, e.g. complex or not (cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008: 12). The result was that there seems to be no correlation between any of

the "common classroom question typologies (open vs. closed questions, real vs. didactic questions)" and a specific type of student answers. What the study revealed was that whereas fact-related questions typically received a minimalist answer, questions that concentrated on reasons, opinions or beliefs produced more complex answers. The majority of teacher questions, however, did concentrate on facts. The conclusion was that teacher's decisions have a significant effect on the "language ecology" of their classrooms and on the language opportunities which arise there.

Contrary to this, there is also research which supports the view that CLIL students are active participants in the classroom interaction. In Nikula's (2007) study, for instance, the students are depicted as committed users of the foreign language (English). Compared to EFL, the students adopted active participant roles and used the foreign language also in situations which have previously been considered likely to trigger a switch to the first language, such as small group work, off-task conversations, and when facing a serious breakdown in communication (Nikula 2007). Whenever code-switching to the first language occurs, it is not so much related to language problems as to various social, interpersonal, and affective functions (Nikula 2007: 217-218). This, according to Nikula, points toward "emerging bilingualism" among the students, and seems to suggest that the students see themselves "as users rather than as learners of English" (Nikula 2007: 206).

Nikula (2007) has also examined features of the language used by students in the CLIL classroom. She suggests that the students tend to adopt a very informal style of speaking, such as using unmitigated directives to the teacher, showing emotional reactions, and asking questions in a colloquial style (Nikula 2007: 218-219). According to Nikula, it is conceivable that the reasons for the informal style are the students' incomplete pragmatic skills or a possible general tendency towards an informal style in Finnish classrooms (2007: 220). However, she also brings forth an important point concerning the pragmatic features of CLIL classroom interaction: in these contexts, English is not used with native speakers or with speakers of several languages. Instead, it is only used among Finns, which might allow the speakers to adopt "a more idiosyncratic style of using English specific for these particular speech communities" (Nikula 2007: 220). What is more, she adds, the informal style in the

CLIL classroom is not a problem, if the focus is on the interactional success rather than on adopting native speaker norms.

5.3.3. Attention to linguistic form vs. meaning

A further difference between CLIL and EFL classroom interaction is correction and the degree of attention that is given to linguistic form on one hand, and to meaning, on the other. As Dalton-Puffer (2008: 12) explains, it is often claimed that in CLIL classrooms the attention is more on the meanings than on the linguistic form, and consequently, learners feel more relaxed in using the foreign language. However, research by Dalton-Puffer (2007) and Smit (2007) has shown that repair in a CLIL classroom is not completely different from conversational repair, as there is, for example, a high degree of self-repair in both (cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008: 13). On the other hand, CLIL classroom repair has been shown to be different from EFL classroom repair, as CLIL students often actively invite repair, especially when facing lexical problems (e.g. How do you say this in English? What's X in English?) (Dalton-Puffer 2007, cited in Dalton-Puffer 2008: 13). However, it is not easy to draw a line between repair that addresses a content issue and repair that signals a language problem, since the teachers' repair is often aimed at using the right terminology (ibid.).

Indeed, according to Dalton-Puffer (2008:14), research findings support the assumption that in CLIL classrooms, linguistic form receives less attention than in EFL classrooms. Nevertheless, she points out that there is still no study that makes a direct comparison of the fact, and it is also not possible to state that EFL lessons would consist of "stereotypical grammar exercises" (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 14). What is more, different types of language problems in CLIL (lexical, pronunciational, morphosyntactic) are treated differently by the teachers (ibid.) In addition, the act of correcting is determined by the attitudes of individual teachers, who may tend to language errors with differing frequencies, depending on, for instance, whether their training background only includes subject teacher training, or both subject teacher training and EFL qualifications (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 14).

5.3.4 Pragmatic features of CLIL classroom discourse

The different role of the foreign language in CLIL an EFL classrooms also incorporates pragmatic aspects of language use, as already noted. Nikula (2005) has analyzed the discourse of Finnish EFL and CLIL classrooms from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. The results indicate that English has a very different position in the two types of classrooms, as in EFL it is mainly used for materials-dependent discourse, while in CLIL it is used for almost all official and non-official talk (Nikula 2005: 54). As a result, the EFL and CLIL classrooms differ in terms of their position on the pragmatic continuum of involvement vs. detachment, CLIL turning towards the former and EFL towards the latter (ibid.). The term involvement basically means that the interaction has more emotional engagement and features "that can be interpreted as signs of participants's personal involvement with the situation and with each other" (Nikula 2005: 51). In practice, this may include e.g. more frequent use of first and second person pronouns (p. 51), as compared to the detached discourse of EFL classrooms, in which the participants often choose a third person perspective and discuss issues of the learning materials (p. 45). The problem in this is the fact that the interaction in EFL classrooms does not take into account the personal concerns of the students but instead deals with "imaginary circumstances", which is likely to result to a feeling of impersonal detachment (Nikula 2005: 55). The study thus argues that "the role of English as an object and tool of study [i.e. EFL and CLIL] is not only institutionally determined but also discoursally constructed" (Nikula 2005: 27).

As the above discussion suggests, and as Dalton-Puffer (2008: 15) also notes, research results on the interaction in CLIL classrooms can explain the learning outcomes which take place there. Dalton-Puffer (2008: 15) explains that CLIL and EFL are definitely different in both their restrictions and possibilities. Since both of them are part of educational interaction, they are conditioned by all the factors of institutional education and thus inevitably create limited language learning environments. On the other hand, both CLIL and EFL offer "unique opportunities for students to learn and use the target language that are difficult to reproduce in the other" (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 15).

6. THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the setting of the present study, beginning from its aims and data and concluding with a short explanation of the analytic process. The goal is, on one hand, to explain how the study was motivated and planned on the basis of the framework presented in earlier chapters. On the other hand, the chapter aims at explaining the ways in which the data was chosen, processed, and analyzed.

6.1 Aims of the study

At present, there seems to be no study that would concentrate on conversational joking in CLIL classrooms. The present study aims to investigate this aspect of CLIL classroom interaction by answering the following questions: 1) What are the structural properties of sequences of conversational joking 2) What kind of contexts can be identified for the joking turns? 3) What kind of functions does joking accomplish in these contexts? In other words, why is something uttered in the play frame as opposed to the serious frame? In order to answer the questions, the study employs the method of conversation analysis, which was presented in more detail in chapter 2. In line with the conversation analytic procedure, the study was begun by first observing the data in a way that Sacks (1984: 27) calls "unmotivated examination". In other words, the focus of the study was not decided until after observing the data and localizing a phenomenon worth analyzing. Thus, the research questions were formulated after having noticed a great number of what looked like joking in the data.

6.2 Data

The data of the study consists of two consecutive, videotaped lessons of biology in a Finnish comprehensive school. The lessons are part of a larger corpus of video data on classroom interaction collected by the Department of Languages/English in the University of Jyväskylä. In addition to the video data, basic transcripts of the lessons

were available, as they had been created for the purposes of earlier studies. The lessons analyzed in the present study were recorded in 2003. They consist of biology lessons which are given in English, thus corresponding to the type of education described in chapter 5. The participants in the data can be described as follows: The pupils are at the last stage of the comprehensive school, that is, on the ninth grade in the Finnish school system. The group consists of nine pupils of which six are females and three are males. The pupils are native speakers of Finnish, except for one male pupil (marked as LM3 in the transcripts) who is a native speaker of English. The teacher is a male native speaker of Finnish. The seating arrangement of the class is included in the appendices.

The data was chosen in a way that suits the method of conversation analysis: At first, several videotaped lessons belonging to the corpus of video data were examined in order to identify a phenomenon worth attention. This was the stage of unmotivated examination that Sacks (1984: 27) refers to. While observing the biology lessons that were eventually chosen, it was noticed that they included a great deal of what could be regarded as playful interaction and laughter. These phenomena were then chosen as the object of study. Next, conversation analytic literature was reviewed in order to determine whether earlier studies had investigated conversational joking in the type of classroom environment in which the data of the present study was recorded. It seemed that so far, no one had examined conversational joking in classrooms where the instruction is given in a foreign language.

Thus, the data of the study was chosen on the basis of the fact that it includes a great number of joking sequences. This is in line with the method of conversation analysis, as the purpose of the present study is *not* to suggest that all (or even a great number of) lessons would be similar to the ones that the data is comprised of, in terms of the frequency of conversational joking. (On the generalizability of findings in CA research, see section 2.4) Instead, the focus is on describing the phenomenon of joking on its own terms, and in order to accomplish that, it was necessary to choose data which included as many instances of phenomenon as possible.

6.2.1 Selection of sequences

At the point of choosing conversational joking as the focus of the study, the choice of the phenomenon was made on the basis of common-sense knowledge of what counts as joking or somehow humorous interaction. The next step, then, was to find literature that would enable the narrowing of the phenomenon into an identifiable sequential form. This is where the works of Saharinen (2007), Putkonen (2001a, cited in Saharinen 2007) and Norrick (1994) were of great importance, as they eventually helped in defining the concept of joking. By drawing on the study of Putkonen (2001a), Saharinen (2007) proposes a four-turn structure for sequences of teasing in the classroom, consisting of a *motive turn*, a *teasing turn*, a *response turn*, and a *return* to the serious topic of the lesson (my own translations). Saharinen (2007) investigated the ways in which the teacher uses teasing to react to pupil's errors. Even though her study focuses on teasing, it was possible to detect a rather similar kind of sequence structure in the present study in relation to the wider concept of conversational joking. Thus, one of the goals of the present study became investigating whether the four-turn structure suggested by Saharinen (2007) for teasing also applies to conversational joking more generally.

At this point, it is necessary to clarify the differences between teasing and joking. Saharinen (2007: 263) explains that teasing is a form of humor where the serious and non-serious elements of talk are both present. By referring to Mulkay (1988: 74), Saharinen (2007: 264) states that teasing is being defined in different ways, but can be said to involve humorous talk which is directed to something that was said seriously and which is responded to at least partly seriously. According to Mulkay (1988: 773, cited in Saharinen 207: 265), teasing is benevolent joking that is directed to another participant's turn or action. The present study covers a wider scope of sequences than those analyzed by Saharinen, which is why the term conversational joking is chosen to describe the humor sequences in the present study. For instance, conversational joking is not always as closely connected to a previous turn of another participant as teasing seems to be. Nevertheless, in this study, teasing is considered a part of conversational joking.

Indeed, it was noticed that the sequence structure of teasing discovered by Saharinen (2007) (motive, teasing turn, response, return) roughly also applies to the wider concept of conversational joking. However, two important differences were soon noticed. Firstly, sequences of conversational joking included in the present study do not always include the motive nor the return, but they always seem to have the joke and the response. The motive and the return are often present, but they cannot be considered a part of the core structure of the sequence. Secondly, the second turn in Saharinen's suggestion was called the teasing turn, but in the present study it will be called the joking turn or the joke. In sum, the work of Saharinen (2007), even though focusing on a phenomenon narrower than the one in the present study, made it possible to identify the sequence type of the phenomenon that is called conversational joking.

Also, the work of Norrick (1994) helped to identify the phenomenon of conversational joking. According to him, conversational joking encompasses "all those forms or strategies such as word play, teasing, and anecdotes designed to elicit laughter from listeners" (1994: 409). Norrick also distinguishes a few different types of joking in terms of their "humor mechanisms, their internal structure, and their integration into discourse" (2003: 1338). However, he also claims that a clear definition of different joke types "is neither possible nor sensible, because the forms naturally fade into each other in conversation (Norrick, 1993) and in literature as well (Nash, 1985)" (Norrick 2003: 1338). As indicated above, the present study does not make a difference between different types of jokes, since it is not necessary from the perspective of the study. Instead, it is possible to recognize and include all types of conversational joking in the present study by paying attention to the sequence structure.

The terms "joke" and "joking" are used in the present study in a way that is different from their everyday meanings. This was already discussed in chapter 3. What is meant by jokes is not only the long turns produced by one participant, which tend to end in punchline. (However, these kinds of jokes would have been included in the analysis, if there had been instances of such jokes in the data.) Instead, joking includes all strategies that are employed to introduce the *play frame* (Bateson 1972; see chapter 3). The most reliable criteria for noticing these strategies are the markers

of play frame in the joking turn itself, as well as (and more importantly) the response that they invite from the other participants, such as laughter. As far as the response is concerned, it is important to notice, however, that the present study does not concentrate on the phenomenon of laughter. Instead, the present study also includes joking that is not responded to with laughter but with other means (see section 7.1.1). Moreover, laughter is not always a sign of humor (see e.g. Haakana 2001, Jefferson 1984), but can be used as a strategy to deal with other aspects of interaction. Thus, one of the ways in which the joking sequences of the present study were recognized was the presence of the markers of play frame in the joke and in the response. However, the recognition of the joking sequences became one of the most problematic issues of the study, as it was not always possible to decide whether an utterance included markers of the play frame or not.

In choosing the joking sequences to be analyzed, the following criteria were used: Firstly, it was decided that the study only concentrates on joking that takes place between the teacher and the pupils. This excludes from the analysis those joking sequences that take place between the pupils only. The reason for this choice was technical. The video recordings had been made using two cameras, one of which was directed at the teacher and the other at the pupils. As no one had personal microphones, it was not possible to hear what the pupils were saying while talking to each other. In the course of the study, it became apparent that most of the joking included the teacher anyway, in one way or another. However, even though the teacher is often a participant of the joking does not mean that he always takes turns in the joking sequence. Instead, in this study, the teacher is regarded as a participant of the joking sequence whenever he is a *ratified participant* of the interaction (see e.g. Goffman 1981: 132). Pupil-to-pupil joking sequences (in which the teacher was not a ratified participant) were noticed, but they were left un-analyzed, as some of them were partly inaudible.

Secondly, the joking sequences were chosen on the basis of the sequence structure described above. This was done because at first glance, it seemed that many of the joking sequences of the present data had a similar structure to the teasing sequences in Saharinen's (2007) study (see 6.2.1 above). Thus, the video data and the transcripts of the present study were observed again, and all joking sequences that

matched the criteria above were marked and included in the analysis. In this procedure, what came to be the beginning of a joking sequence was the motive turn, and the end of the sequence would be the return. However, it became clear at the very beginning that the joking sequences did not consist of only these four turns; instead, many of the sequences were more complicated. For example, a joking sequence often involved more than one joke. On the other hand, all of the four turns were not always present (see section 7.1.1). Thus, on the basis of the present data, it seemed that all the joking sequences had the core structure of a *joking turn* and a *response*, and the surrounding turns called *the motive* (before the joke) and *the return* (after the response) were often, but not always, present.

The study does not include in the analysis jokes that are not being responded to at all. It might have been possible to include such attempts at humor in the analysis, but it would have been analytically problematic. Speaking of teases, however, Drew (1987: 226) points out that *recognizing* a tease and *displaying recognition* of it are different activities and do not need to occur together. He continues by stating that "[a]lthough in practice the only research methodology for seeing that someone has recognized a tease is through their displaying that recognition (for example by laughing), it cannot be inferred from an absence of such a display that they did not recognize the tease." (Drew 1987: 226) The same might apply more generally to other types of joking as well, since the recipients of jokes may well recognize the play frame but choose to ignore the joke and thus not respond to it. However, in sequences of teasing, the teasing turn itself can be recognized more easily, not only because of the characteristics of the turn but also on the basis of its sequential environment (see Drew 1987). Teasing often takes place after the recipient has been "complaining, extolling, bragging, etc., in a somewhat overdone or exaggerated fashion" (ibid.) In joking sequences, the sequential environment is not as helpful in recognizing the joke, since the motive turn does not need to involve anything that is out of the ordinary. Thus, the only way to recognize a joke that receives no response would be the features of the joking turn itself. Such recognition is problematic, since jokes may not include any markers of the play frame and still be treated as jokes by the recipients. It is for this reason that the present study only includes jokes that receive a response.

According to these criteria, it was possible to find a rather limited number of joking sequences and define their beginnings and endings. As a result, 29 excerpts from the two lessons (13 from the first and 17 from the second) were chosen for a closer investigation. Most of these excerpts (but not all) include several joking sequences. Altogether, the 29 excerpts include 90 individual jokes. The 29 excerpts chosen for analysis were transcribed in a more detailed way, on the basis of the basic transcripts that were available for the entire duration of the two lessons.

6.2.2 Transcriptions

The transcripts of the present study have been elaborated by following the transcription conventions of conversation analysis. A list of the transcription symbols is provided in the appendices. When elaborating the transcripts of the present study, a program called Sound Forge Pro 10 (by Sony) was being used. At first, the verbal aspect of the 29 excerpts chosen for analysis was elaborated and refined. Next, some non-verbal actions of the participants were added to the transcripts. It was neither possible nor useful to cover all non-verbal actions, but in choosing which ones to include, attention was given to the relevance that the non-verbal action had in the production of the joking sequence. A similar choice, based on relevance, was made when noting the timing of the non-verbal actions in relation to verbal utterances or other non-verbal actions: Whenever the exact timing of the non-verbal action did not seem crucial to the joking sequence, the non-verbal action was placed after (or below) the verbal action in the transcript (marked by double round brackets). This position of the non-verbal action means that it takes place either simultaneously or after the verbal one (however, always during the same turn). An example of this is in the following extract on line 3.

1	T	$uhuh$ okay YEAH (.) THEN
2		(3.0)
3	T	lasse or pekka (0.5) ((pointing his finger towards both of these pupils))
4		which you prefer

However, when the timing of the non-verbal action was assessed important, the non-verbal actions were included in square brackets, in order to indicate their timing in relation to other actions. It is a common convention in CA transcripts to use square

brackets to indicate simultaneous utterances; thus, in this study they were also used to indicate the simultaneity of non-verbal actions. An example of this is given in the extract below (lines 1-3).

1	LM3	[why not a handus.] [why a foetus.]
2	LF5	[((stops walking))] [((continues walking))]
3	LM2	[((opens his mouth and slaps his hand on his lap twice))]
4	LF5	haahaa ((continues walking))

6.3 Method and the process of analysis

Once the data had been processed into an analyzable form, the 29 excerpts were analyzed one by one. Even though all the excerpts were analyzed carefully, the analytic process was not a strictly sequential, step-by-step procedure. Instead, it was a layered and cyclic process in which every round of investigation revealed new aspects of the data. In broad terms, the analytic process included paying close attention to the sequence organization, turn-taking and repair organization of the joking sequences. The purpose was to arrive at an understanding of how the joking sequences are structured and in what kind of contexts do they occur. At the same time, attention was given to the functions that joking may have in the specific contexts in which they occur.

The analytic process was influenced (but not determined) by guidelines from several researchers of conversation analysis. What came to be a very useful general principle in analyzing the data was a three-stage model of analysis suggested by Hutchby & Wooffitt (2008), which goes as follows:

- First, identify a potential object of analytic interest - a conversational device or a sequence-type.
- Second, produce a formal description of an empirical example, concentrating in particular on the sequential environment, in order to try and define what the device or sequence-type is doing.
- Third, return to the data to refine the description until it becomes a generalized account. (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 104)

The first of these stages, identifying an object of analysis, was accomplished after conversational joking was chosen as the topic of the study. The second and the third stages constitute the actual analysis, the results of which are presented in the next

chapter (chapter 7). The next chapter includes a suggestion of the sequence structure of joking sequences, based on the analysis of the data. Chapter 7 also concentrates on the sequential environment of conversational joking, describing the contexts in which joking tends to occur. In addition to the sequential environment, the study attempts to identify some of the functions of joking ("try and define what the device or sequence-type is doing").

In addition to the model of Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) described above, the analytic process of the present study was influenced by the preparatory analytic routine of Schegloff (1989, cited in ten Have 2007:122).

1. Check the episode carefully in terms of turn-taking: the construction of turns, pauses, overlaps, etc.; make notes of any remarkable phenomena, especially on any 'disturbances' in the fluent working of the turn-taking system.
2. Then look for sequences in the episode under review, especially adjacency pairs and their sequels.
3. And finally, note any phenomena of repair, such as repair initiators, actual repairs, etc. (Schegloff 1989, cited in ten Have 2007: 122)

Even though ten Have (2007: 122) suggests that the above guidelines by Schegloff should be used in a systematic way *before* the actual analysis (emphasis added), the present study applied the guidelines during the actual analysis, that is, at the same time that the guidelines of Hutchby and Wooffitt (above) were employed.

One further guideline was adopted from Pomerantz and Fehr (1997: 71-4, cited in ten Have 2007: 123), who suggest a five-stage model for CA analysis. From this model, attention was paid to its second stage. The first stage involves selecting a sequence, which in the present study had already been done. The second stage concentrates on the actions of the sequence, so that the goal is to answer the question "What is this participant doing in this turn" for each of the turns in the sequence. This should produce a description which explains the actions of the sequence. (Pomerantz and Fehr 1997: 71-4, cited in ten Have 2007: 123) In the present study, one of the goals was to see whether the four-turn structure suggested by Saharinen (2007) for teasing in the classroom also applies to conversational joking more generally. It was already mentioned that on the basis of a preliminary round, this seemed to be the case. However, the guideline from Pomerantz and Fehr helped to pay attention to the role of the joking moves in the sequences.

By drawing from the guidelines described above, the analysis aimed at describing two features of conversational joking in greater detail. The first one is the sequential *structure* of conversational joking. This included observing whether the sequence structure of joking in the data resembled that of the four-stage model proposed for teasing in the classroom by Saharinen (2007). It was also investigated whether the joking sequences had other kinds of structures. At this phase of the analysis, it was necessary to observe the turns of the sequences in terms of the actions that they accomplished. In addition, features of turn-taking were paid attention to.

The second aim of the analysis was to investigate the contexts in which joking sequences tend to occur. Several different sequential contexts were discovered, which seems to suggest that joking is a phenomenon which occurs throughout the lessons and is not tied to particular situations. In terms of participants, it was noticed that joking was produced by both the teacher and the pupils, but that there was some variation in the contexts of joking depending on whether it was produced by the teacher or the pupils. This variation, however, was not definitive, and in some contexts both the teacher and the students produce jokes.

In addition to these two features, the study attempts to discover, whenever possible, the functions that joking may have in the contexts in which it occurs. It is not always possible to say why a participant chooses to say something jokingly as opposed to saying it seriously, but sometimes it was possible to infer these functions in the data. The functions do not pertain to the individual cognitive states of the participants in the sequences; rather, what is meant by functions are the interactive actions that can be observed to result from joking. The results of the analysis are presented in the following chapter.

7. FEATURES OF CONVERSATIONAL JOKING

The present summarizes the results of the study. The chapter is divided into two parts, of which the first one (7.1) outlines the *structural features* of joking sequences that were discerned on the basis of the data. The second part (7.2) concentrates on explaining the interactional *contexts* of the joking sequences, as well as their functions.

In the present chapter, a great number of excerpts from the transcripts are being used to illustrate the arguments. This is not the best possible solution, as the ideal would be to make available (electronically) the entire video data and the transcripts for everyone who reads the results (see Seedhouse 2005: 254). However, in the present context such a solution is possible neither technically nor because of reasons of anonymity of the participants on the video recordings. For this reason, the present study resorts to incorporating short examples from the transcripts. These examples are not always equally extensive as the excerpts that were selected for the analysis (see section 6.2.1), as many of these excerpts are extremely long. (The longest excerpt analyzed measures over five pages.) However, the purpose of including the examples is to provide the reader with a possibility to re-analyze the data and "test the analytical procedures which the author has followed and the validity of his/her analysis and claims", as Seedhouse (2005: 254) puts it.

A further point worth mentioning is the lack of numerical analysis of the data. The present study aims at a purely descriptive analysis. As Seedhouse (2005: 259) points out, the attitude of CA towards quantification is that "CA is a qualitative methodology that tries to develop an emic perspective, so quantification is generally of peripheral interest to CA practitioners". However, as Seedhouse continues, quantification is not prohibited in CA, even though such claims have sometimes been made. Quantification has indeed been used in some instances of conversation analytic research (see Seedhouse 2005: 259). Nevertheless, the main goal of CA is not to quantify the phenomena it analyzes, but to offer a detailed, turn-by-turn analysis of each instance of the phenomena that is being investigated. In the present study, it has been decided to opt out of quantitative analysis altogether. This decision

is due to the fact that the purpose of the study is to offer preliminary observations on conversational joking in CLIL classrooms. Claims made on the basis of quantification in CA studies would require a more extensive data than what is being used in the present study.

7.1 The structure of joking sequences

In the previous chapter, it was explained that the joking sequences of the study were identified on the basis of a four-turn sequence structure (motive-joke-response-return), based on the study of Saharinen (2007) on teasing. Even though the study concentrated on the phenomenon of teasing, the present study has come to the conclusion that sequences of conversational joking (defined as a wider phenomenon than teasing) also usually include all those four types of turns. However, it is rare that a joking sequence would consist of *only* those four turns. Instead, many of the four phases of the joking sequence (motive-joke-response-return) often consisted of more than one turn. Alternatively, some of these different phases of the sequence were present several times within one joking sequence, such as when the response of the first joke leads to the production of another joke. For this reason, the present study prefers the term *phase* for the four different parts of a joking sequence (motive, joke, response, and return). Even though this four-phase structure was frequent in the data, all of the four moves were not always present. In some sequences, no motive turn was present, whereas in others, the return was missing. What came to be the minimal requirements of a joking sequence was the presence of a joke and a response.

Despite such variations, the four-phase sequence structure was a very important analytical tool in investigating the data. Let us now consider the ways in which the notion of the play frame (Bateson 1972; see chapter 3) is connected to the four different phases of a joking sequence. On the basis of the data, it is possible to state that the first and the last phase of the joking sequence are produced within the serious frame (i.e. outside the play frame). An exception to this are chained jokes (see section 7.1.2), where the motive can belong to the play frame. In contrast, the second phase of the sequence (the joke) is always produced within the play frame. The third move (response) may be either seriously or playfully framed, even though play-framed responses constitute the vast majority of responses to jokes. The return is

seriously framed, except for the rare cases in which it is treated as the motive for a further joke (see section 7.1.2.3). We thus get the following sketch on the relationship between the play frame and the four phases of the joking sequence:

1.	motive	serious frame (except for some chained jokes)
2.	joke	play frame
3.	response	play frame (in rare cases: the serious frame)
4.	return	serious frame (except for some chained jokes)

The concept of the play frame turned out to be very useful in the description of the joking sequence, since it might explain some of the recurring phenomena in the data. For instance, one of the first general observations on the joking sequences was the fact that much of the joking seemed to appear in sequences that involved more than one joke. It might, then, be possible to state that once the shift to the play frame has been made, the participants might be more prone to also treat subsequent utterances as belonging to the play frame, and the re-establishing of the serious frame (i.e. producing the return) requires more interactional effort.

7.1.1 The four-phase structure

The purpose of this section is to describe the general features of the four-phase structure of joking sequences as well as the characteristics of each of the four phases. The general features are illustrated by taking an example from the data, after which the four phases are described in more detail. In the following example (example 1), which takes place a few minutes into the second lesson, the class is discussing the early stages in the development of a human embryo. (In all the transcripts of the present chapter: MOT = motive, RESP = response, RET = return, Q = question, comm = comment. For transcription symbols, see appendix 1.)

Example 1: Excerpt 14 [Gills]

1	T	but u:h,	
2		(1.5)	
3	T	u:h anyway u:h, (0.6)	MOT /
4		the gills it [it has sort of gills.]	statement
5		[((wrinkles his face))]	
6		(1.0)	
7	T	this even human embryo but they um (0.3) disappear.	
8	LM3	how can they (tell x °xxxx°)	MOT / Q1

9	T	u:h	
10	LM3	was it [(x)]	
11	T	[it] disappears becaus:e um it's (.) sort of a (0.7)	MOT /
12		[programmed] (.) into human genes.=	answer 1
13		[((makes circles with his finger))]	
14	LM3	=what's the point in growing (x) then	JOKE / Q2
15		if you're gonna (x) ungrow them	
16	T	[((silent laughter, shaking))]	RESP
17	LL	[((quiet laughter))]	RESP
18	T	**that's a good question**. (0.8) ((puts the book away))	RET /
19		that's a good question (.)	comment on Q2
20		uh (0.6) ((stands up))	
21		uh the gills (.) ((puts his fingers on both sides of his throat))	answer 2
22		which: (.) which are or or what's left in gills (.)	
23		((moving his hands on his throat))	
24		they are here in your throat. .hhhh	
25		((moving his hands on his throat))	
26		and in in some cases they cut them away ↓when ↓you're ↓a ↓kid.	
27		(1.1)	

The *motive* of the above sequence consists of three separate turns at the beginning of the excerpt, which form an exchange between the teacher and LM3 (all three turns are marked as MOT). Firstly, the motive consists of the teacher's explanation starting from line 3 and culminating on the statement on line 7, according to which the gills of an embryo will disappear at a later stage of development. Secondly, LM3's question (question 1) on line 8 can be regarded as part of the motive. Finally, the teacher's answer (answer 1) on lines 11-12 to LM3's question counts as the final turn of the motive.

The *joke* is then produced by LM3 on lines 14 and 15. The joke takes the form of a question (marked as "question 2"). The joke counts as the first phase produced within the play frame. What follows is a *response* from both the teacher and the pupils (lines 16 and 17), which takes the form of silent laughter (by the teacher) and quiet laughter (by the pupils). Applying the first-turn proof procedure, we might claim that by their response, the teacher and the pupils display their recognition of the play frame in LM3's previous turn. In this case, and as usual, the responses are also produced in the play frame.

The shift back to the serious frame takes place as the teacher produces the *return* move, starting from line 18. The return takes the form of an assessment (see

Goodwin & Goodwin 1987) of question 2, which was the joke phase. After the assessment, the teacher provides an answer (answer 2) for the question that LM3 asked in his joke. Thus, even though the joking sequence is closely intertwined with the adjacency pairs of question 1 and answer 1 on one hand, and question 2 and answer 2 on the other, it is still possible to detect the underlying four-phase structure of the joking sequence, which consists of a motive, a joke, a response and a return to the serious frame.

Let us now consider the characteristics of each of these phases in more detail. The *motive* is often present, and it is usually possible to detect it. However, the motive phase cannot be considered a fixed part of the joking sequence, since there are instances of jokes in which it is not possible to detect a motive. For instance, the data includes pupils' questions (jokes) which are not directly related to the ongoing conversation, but which are connected to the more general topic of the lesson. Thus, even though it is usually possible to detect the motive of a joke, it is not always present. Whenever the motive is present, it always precedes the joke. It is the basis on which a joke is being constructed, and is thus usually topically related to the joke, as was the case in example 1, for instance. In fact, it is usually the similarity of topic between the motive and the joke that helps to identify the motive. The motive phase can consist of either one or several turns and it can be produced by either one or more participants. In example 1, for instance, it consists of several turns produced by several participants. There are also instances of motives which are the basis of several subsequent jokes.

The first motive of a joking sequence consisting of several jokes usually has no markers of play frame, which means that it has no features that would suggest a playful interpretation of it. It is not until a joke is produced that the play frame is activated and the motive can be seen in a humorous light. In other words, the motive phase of a joking sequence can only be defined retrospectively, after the following joke has been produced. However, the motive itself still belongs to the serious frame, as the joke is the first play-framed phase of the sequence. This is the case in the first jokes of a sequence. In chained jokes, the situation is slightly different, as the motive can be seen, for instance, as both the response to a previous joke and the motive for

the next joke. Thus, in chained sequences the motive can have a double function and can be regarded as playfully framed.

The joking phase (or *joke*) is an essential part of the joking sequence. Together with the response phase, the joke forms the core of a joking sequence, as there cannot be a response without a joke which precedes it. The joke is often, but not always, produced in a way that marks it as belonging to the play frame. There are several paralinguistic and non-verbal ways to mark the play frame within a joking turn, such as smiling, laughter, facial expressions, and changes of voice. Sometimes the joke has no paralinguistic features of play frame, but the content of the utterance reveals that it is not produced in the serious frame. In these cases the producer of the joke might for instance exaggerate, violate social norms or act ignorant of known facts, which enables other participants to recognize the play frame. However, sometimes the joke simply has no overt markers of play frame. In these cases, it is not before the response is produced that the presence of a preceding joke is confirmed by the participants. It is actually questionable whether these instances count as joking, as the producer of a joke that has no markers of play frame clearly orients to the situation differently from the participants who produce a play-frame response.

The next phase, *response*, is another essential part of the joking sequence. It is by their response that the participants confirm their orientation to the play frame evoked by the joke. Without a response, the candidate joke remains an attempt to evoke the play frame. Such attempts are not included in the analysis of the present study, though there seems to be evidence of such occurrences in the data (see section 6.2.1). It is, however, difficult to define such attempts according to the criteria of conversation analysis. Thus, whenever a joke is responded to, the response is usually characterized by markers of the play frame. These markers can be smiling, laughing, or producing an utterance in a laughing tone of voice. Even though smiling is a rather subtle non-verbal gesture, its implications are important. Kraut and Johnston (1979, cited in Glenn & Knapp 1987: 60) claim that the primary function of smiles is not emotional but social reaction. In other words, the main purpose of smiling is not so much the display of emotions but rather the indication of recognition of the play frame to other participants. On the basis of the data of the present study, an important sequential feature of all types of play-frame response is the fact that they can have a

double function. A double-function phase might include, for instance, both the *response* of a first joke and the *motiv*e for a second joke (see section 7.1.2.2). When such a phase of double function is produced, what directly follows the response of the first joke is the second joke.

As was the case with joking turns, there are also instances of responses (though not very many) where no overt markers of play frame are present. Despite this, the sequence can still be characterized as a joking sequence. Drew (1987: 226) refers to a rather similar situation when discussing entirely po-faced receipts of teases. According to him, the absence of an "overt display of recognition of humor" does not mean that the recipient has not recognized a tease. In example 6 below, which can also be characterized as a tease, we have a response that does not have such overt display of humor. However, what Drew meant by po-faced receipts of teases were instances in which the tease was rejected (1987: 226). In the example below, in contrast, the recipient of the humor (LM2) does not reject the proposition in joke 10, but instead agrees with it. Because of this, the example below can better be explained by what Hopper (1981, cited in Glenn & Knapp 1987: 60) describes as the "taken-for-granted" of a communicative situation. According to him, participants do not need explicit metacommunicative signals to recognize the play frame, because they can do so with the help of "taken-for-granted" assumptions in the behavior of other participants or in the environment of the communicative situation.

In example 2, before the part that is included below, the teacher has announced that the class does not have a quiz today. He has done it jokingly (joke 8, not included below) by saying that he believes that the pupils "won't be very unhappy" about it. The other pupils agree (not included below), whereas LM2 jokingly disagrees with the teacher (line 1)

Example 2: Part of excerpt 1 [Russian rock club]

1	LM2	and <u>this</u> time I ↓studied.	JOKE 9 / MOT 10
2	LF4	[((laughter))]	RESP 9
3	T	[((opens the door))]	
4	LF5	[(xxx)]	
5	T	[and <u>so</u> you're <u>des</u>perate if (2.1) [if we don't have so um your]	JOKE 10

6	LF5	[(xxx)	]	
7	LM1		[((walking towards his place))]	
8	T	[world is going to collapse]		JOKE 10
9	LF5	[(xxx)]		
10→	LM2	[((nods)) yeah]		RESP 10
11	LF5	[(xx)]		
12	T	[if we don't have quiz.]		JOKE 10
13→	LM2	[((nods lightly))]		RESP 10
14	LF5	[(xxx)] (xx)		
15	LM3	[do we get the (x) back today]		RET 9
16	LF5	[(xxx)]		

In joke 10 (lines 5, 8 and 12), the teacher continues the play frame by exaggerating the claim made by LM2 in joke 9. The response to joke 10 (lines 10 and 13) is produced without overt markers of the play frame; instead, LM2 nods and says "yeah". However, the play frame in this response can be recognized through teacher's false claim joke 10, in which he uses irony as the source of the joke. Thus, even though LM2 produces his return without markers of the play frame, he agrees with the ironic stance of in the teacher's joke.

The last phase, *return*, is the final part of a joking sequence. It is usually, but not always, present and can thus be regarded as a non-essential part of the sequence. It can be recognized on the basis of the fact that it is usually the first turn that is produced outside the play frame and it usually reclaims the topic that was being discussed before the joking sequence. This is in line with the observations of Glenn and Knapp (1987), who state that the closing of the play frame "is achieved simply by resumption of the primary frame activity" (1987: 62). In addition, the return takes place after the last response of the sequence. As such, it was rather unproblematic to recognize the returns in the data of the present study. On the basis of the data, it seems that the majority of returns are produced by the teacher, regardless of whether he is the primary recipient of the joke or not. This can be understood in relation to his role as the regulator of classroom discourse. It was explained in chapter 1 that institutional discourse is goal-oriented (Drew & Heritage 1992), which might explain the teacher's prominent role in returning from the play frame and re-establishing the serious topic of the lesson. Similar results have been found by Rantala (2008), who suggests that "in many cases the teacher is the one who puts an end to a moment of

laughter and presence of light environment, and this is clearly due to her position in the classroom, as the leader of the group" (2008: 52).

However, the return is not always present. Indeed, it seems that of all the four phases, return is the one that is most often omitted. There are two main reasons for this. The first reason is a structural one, as chained joking sequences inevitably have fewer returns than single-joke sequences. This is due to the fact that as long as new jokes are produced within a sequence, there is no return to the serious mode. Thus, chained sequences usually have only one return, which marks the end of the joking sequence. An exception to this is the instance of return-motive chaining (see section 7.1.2.3), where the return of a previous joke functions as the motive for the next joke. In this case, there can be several returns within one chained joking sequence. The second reason for the absence of a return is related to the institutional role of the teacher as a regulator of speaker rights, that is, the same reason for which it is the teacher who often produces the return. It seems that in joking sequences where the teacher never enters the play frame, there is no return. This means that both before and after the joke-response pair, the teacher continues to produce serious-frame turns, while it is the pupils who produce the joke and the response. Since the teacher usually directs the talk in a classroom, he has the right to speak after the response. This reclaiming of the speaker right after a response, cannot, however, be regarded as a return, since the teacher never takes part of the play frame. It is simply a continuation of the same serious-frame topic that went on before the joking sequence. Note that in these cases the teacher is still a ratified participant of the joking sequence, which is the reason for including these sequences in the analysis (Sequences of pupil-to-pupil joking in which the teacher is not a ratified participant are not included in the analysis, as explained in section 6.2.1.)

7.1.2 Sequences of chained jokes

Example 1 above illustrated the basic four-phase structure of a joking sequence. However, the present study found that even though the four phases were present in almost all joking sequences, it was more common for a joking sequence to consist of more than one joke. In the present study, these kinds of sequences are called *chained*

jokes. In chained jokes, the basic four-phase structure can be observed at the background, but the number of the phases is greater than four. In addition, some turns complete multiple phases (such as when a turn is both a response of a previous joke and a motive for a next joke), which enables the sequence to include several jokes before the return is reached. Several different variations of chained jokes were present in the data, each differing form the others according to the place of the sequence in which the previous joke connects to the next one. Some of the different variations are described below. It is important to remember that the four phases (motive, joke, response, return) do not refer to single turns, even though each of them might be accomplished in one turn only. As a result, the order of the phases in the descriptions below does *not* refer to the order of *turns*. Instead, it is the position of the *phases* in the sequence which is being illustrated. For instance, a joke need not take place in the next turn after a motive, but it does take place in the second position after it.

7.1.2.1 Joke-motive chaining

In the first variation of chained joking sequences, the first joke of the sequence also functions as the motive for the second joke. I have decided to call this variation *joke-motive chaining*. A sketch of this type of chaining is described in figure 1.

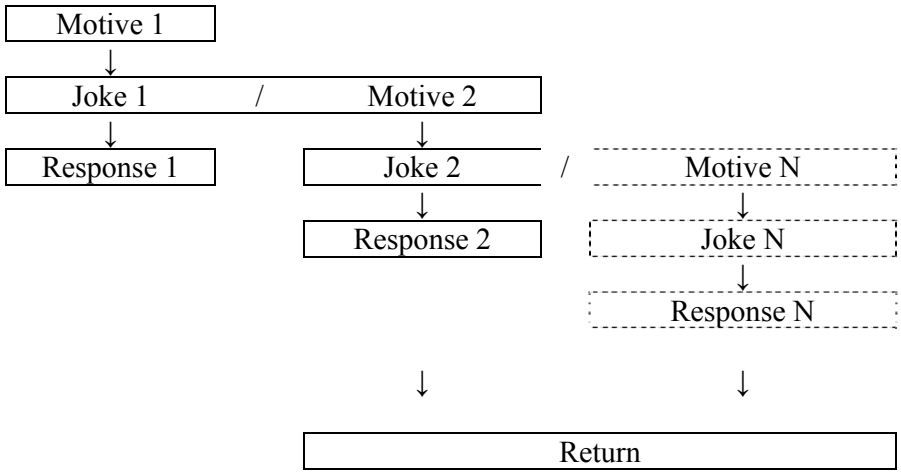

Figure 1: Joke-motive chaining (Return from joke 2 only takes place if joke N is not produced.)

This type of chaining occurs for as long as the previous joke functions as the motive for the next one. An example of joke-motive chaining is to be seen in excerpt 22, part of which is included in example 3 below. In this example, joke 5 also serves as the motive for joke 6. Joke 5 receives a response (line 8, which corresponds to "Response 1" in Figure 1), but there is no return from joke 5. Instead, joke 5 (more specifically, line 4 of it) functions as the motive for joke 6. The return is produced after joke 6.

Example 3: Part of excerpt 22 [Delivery]

1		((6.6 seconds of light unidentified talking))	
2	T	I can't [answer that] (.) ((turns toward the class))	JOKE 5
3	LM3	[(xxx)] ((to LM2))	
4 →	T	[becaus:e I have never been] pregnant ((goes back to the computer))	JOKE 5 / RESP 2 / MOT 6
5	LM2?	[(xxx)] ((to LM3?))	
6		(1.3)	
7	T	[((laughs))]	JOKE 5
8	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 5
9	LM	[(x)][(xx)]	
10	LM3	[arnold schwartze[negger] has]	JOKE 6
11	LF4	[((smiles))]	
12	LF5	[(xx)]	
13	LF6	((laughs)) ((in response to LF5's turn?))	
14	LM3	[in that] [mo[vie] (xx)] pregnant	JOKE 6 cont.

15	LM	[((laughs))]	RESP 6
16	LF	[(x)]	
17	LF4	[((smiles))]	RESP 6
18	LM2	[ye:ah]	
19		(0.6)	
20	T	((light laughter)) °ye:ah°	RESP 6
21		(0.6)	
22	T	((light laughter)) °ye:ah°	
23	LM1	arnold schwarzenegger's pregnant	
24		[(in the movie)]	
25	T	[now I [would] like to get]	RET 6
26	LM3	[>(and they need to be)<]	
27	LM	u:[h.]	
28	T	[the] this one <picture>.	RET 6
29		(1.8)	
30	T	and I don't [rememm- >↑was it this<] child↑ birth. ((gaze at the screen))	
31	L	[(xx)]	
32		(4.6)	

In addition to the order described in figure 1, there are also jokes that function as a motive for *several* subsequent jokes within the same sequence. An illustration of such a sequence is given in example 19 (section 7.2.3.2) on line 610, where the second joke of the excerpt functions as the motive for jokes 3, 4, and 5.

7.1.2.2 Response-motive chaining

Another type of chained joking sequence is formed when the response of a first joke functions as the motive for the next joke. This is, in the present study, called *response-motive chaining*. Figure 2 illustrates the phenomenon:

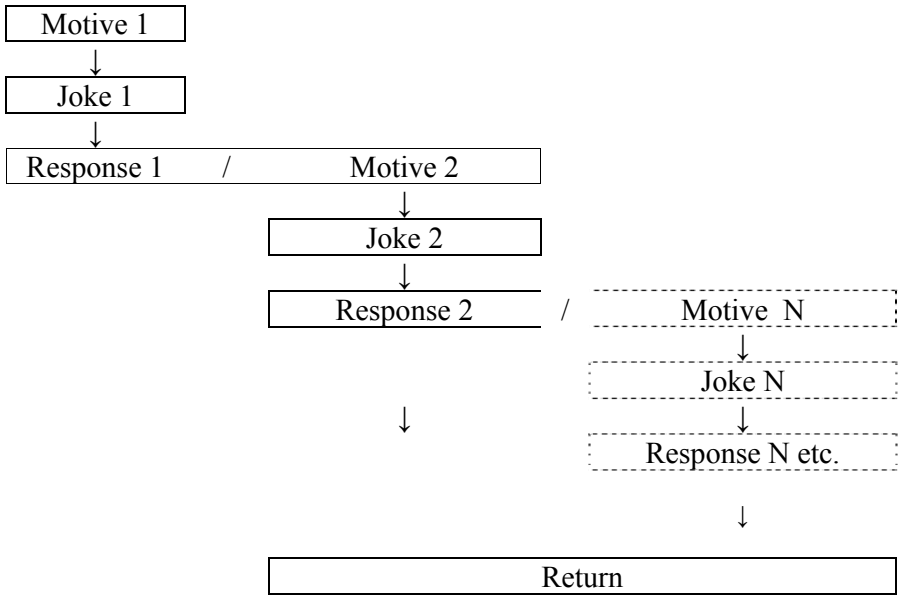

Figure 2: Response-motive chaining (Return from joke 2 only takes place if joke N is not produced.)

In this type of chaining, the response to the first joke (Response 1) also functions as the motive for the second joke (Motive 2). The difference to the previous type of chaining is thus the place of connection between the previous and the next joke: in the joke-motive chaining it was the joke that had a double function, whereas in response-motive chaining it is the response that also functions as a motive for the next joke.

Once the next joke is produced, it gets its own response (Response 2 in Figure 2), which may or may not function as the motive for a further joke (Motive N). If there is no further joke, a return is produced and the chain ends. If there is a further joke, it gets a response, which may function as a further motive, and so on, for a number of times. However, there comes a turn when the response to a joke is no longer treated as a motive for a further joke. Thus, eventually a return is produced. An example of this type of chaining is in example 4 below. In this extract, responses 1, 2 and 3 also function as the motives for jokes 2, 3 and 4, in a manner illustrated in figure 2 above. (For reasons of space, extract 1 is not included here in its entirety.)

Example 4: The beginning of extract 1 [Russian rock club]

1	LM2	matti from i b says hi.	
2		(1.1) ((a pupil who was late starts walking towards her place))	
3	T	↑**what**	
4	LM2	matti from i b says hi.=	
5	T	=well THANK you how was he. ((the late-comer sits down))	
6	LM2	>I don't know he's fine<	
7	T	okay I hope (.) I hope so. (0.9) he's very good friend of °mine°	
8		(7.7)	
9	T	have I told you that (0.8) me and him (0.7) I think august we	
10		were in (0.8) riga latvia.	
11	LF	no=	
12	T	=and we visited this: russian rock club (0.6) ↑that was cool	MOT 1
13		(2.6) ((LF4 and LM2 smiling, LF4 leaning her face on her hand))	
14	LM3	did you get ↑drunk	JOKE 1 / Q1
15		[(1.6)]	
16		[((smiling and light laughing by some of the pupils))]	RESP 1
17→	T	[um no comments]	RESP 1 / answer 1/ MOT 2
18	LL	[((some pupils smiling))]	RESP 1
19	LM3	[did you get ↑stoned]	JOKE 2 / Q2
20	LF4	[((laughs and clasps her hand on the table))]	RESP 2
21	LL	[((some pupils smiling))]	RESP 2
22→	T	[((laughs)) no comments either.]	RESP 2 / answer 2/ MOT 3
23	LL	[((some pupils smiling))]	RESP 2
24	LM3	[↓oh did you get ↑laid]	JOKE 3 / Q3
25	LL	[((some pupils smiling))]	RESP 2 or 3
26→	T	[((laughs)) still no comments]	RESP 3 / answer 3/ MOT 4
27	LL	[((some pupils smiling))]	RESP 3
28	LM3	[°damn°]	JOKE 4 / MOT 5
29	LL	[((some pupils smiling))]	RESP 3
30	T	[((light laughter))]	RESP 4
31	LL	[((some pupils smiling))]	RESP 3 or 4
32		(2.0)	
33	T	**u:m**	RESP 4 / JOKE 5
34		(1.3)	
35	T	I don't want to talk about my personal life too much	RESP 4 / JOKE 5
36	LF4	[((laughs))]	RESP 5
37		[((some pupils smiling))]	RESP 5

7.1.2.3 Return-motive chaining

A further variation of the basic four-phase structure is one in which the jokes are chained at the return phase, so that the return of the previous joke is treated as the motive for the next joke. I have decided to call this *return-motive chaining*. The return is actually the last point at which a subsequent joke can be chained to a previous one. This is due to the fact that unless no one treats the return as a motive for a next joke (and thus produce a joke after it), the joking sequence is finished and the serious frame has been re-established. However, if someone does treat is as the motive for the next joke, the re-establishment of the serious frame is interrupted and the following turns are produced in the play frame. Let us take a look at a figure of the return-motive chaining:

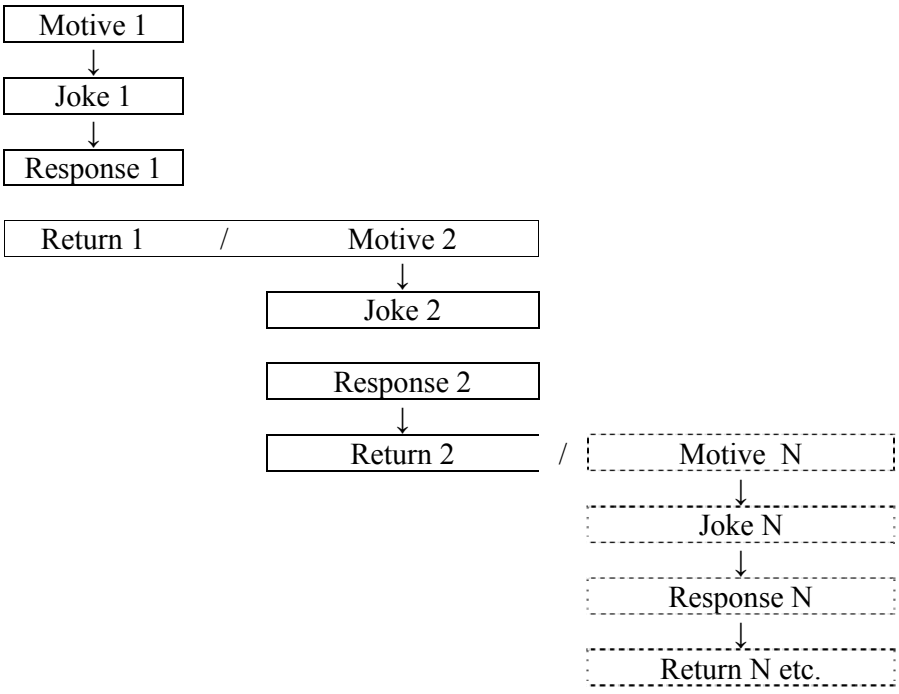

Figure 3: Return-motive chaining

This type of chaining is not very common in the data; in fact, it seems that there are only two clearly recognizable sequences where a return functions as the motive for the next joke. In the following example, return-motive chaining takes place on

several lines, beginning from line 21, where the teacher begins to produce a long turn that functions as the return from joke 9. At the same time, part of this turn functions as the motive for the next joke. It seems that the teacher's utterance "the placenta must also be delivere" (line 25) is what LF1 uses as the motive for her joke on lines 42 and 43. The joke also seems to be a genuine question for information, but the wording "yank the cord" suggests a play-frame orientation. In sum, while the teacher is attempting to return to the serious frame through return 9, LF1 uses the return phase as a motive for yet another joke.

Example 5: Part of extract 27 [The mother's expression & other jokes]

1	LF1	=isn't it [dangerous]	JOKE 8 / Q3
2	T	[ºalsoº]	
3	LF1	if the baby like falls [head $first$]	JOKE 8 / MOT 9 / Q3
4	LF5	[((silent laughter))]	
5	LL+T	((laughter))	RESP 8
6	LM3	no they have [this (cool) thing they] have the (cool) thing	JOKE 9 / candidate answer 3
7	LF	[$**I don't think they**$]	RESP 8
8	LM3	and before they hit the [floor they [(xxx)] ((gesturing with hands,	JOKE 9 / candidate
9		mimicking something that looks like the movement of an elastic band))	answer 3
10	LL+T	[((laughter))]	RESP 8/9
11	LM	[(x)]	
12	LL+T	((heavy laughter))	RESP 9
13	T?	[$o:h ºyeahº$]	RESP 9
14	LL	[((laughter))]	RESP 9
15	LM	[(xx)]	
16	LF6	[(xx)] ((to LF5))	
17	T	[oh yeah]	RESP 9
18	LL	[((laughter))]	RESP 9
19	T?	co↑uld b↑e	RESP 9
20	LF1	but it comes out [the same °(xx)°] ((to LM3))	
21→	T	[**and after** (.) after]	RET 9
22	LM3	[that isn't (xxx)] (x) ((to LF1))	
23→	T	[delivering the baby]	RET 9
24		(.)	
25→	T	then the (ssh) u:h placenta must also be delivered.	RET 9 / MOT 10
26	LF1?	°eew°	
27	LM2	ooh °I [never knew [that°]	
28	LF	[º (xxx)º]	
29	LM3	[nice]	
30	T	ºyeahº	
31	LF	°(x)° [°(x)°]	
32	LM2?	[°(x)°] [°(x)°]	
33→	T	[**so if**] if u:h [some part] of the placenta	MOT 10

34		remains in the: uterus.	
35	LF5	[(xx)]	
36	LM3	[(it can) poi] [son]	
37→	T	[.hhh] [um it's] it's very dangerous (.) because u:h (0.8)	MOT 10
38		uh then it's so that º.hhhº there are this sort of a wound (0.8)	
39		in- inside the (.) uterus an: ºit c- itº may cause ↓the blood ↓stream	
40		out ou- out of mother (0.5) an that's (.)	
41		that's very dangerous to (.) to [her ºhealthº]	
42	LF1	[do they like] (.)	JOKE 10
43		yank the cord ↑to get it out or ºsomethingº?	/ Q4
44	LF5	(($**hh**$))= ((starts smiling))	RESP 10
45	T	=>yeah if it doesn't come out properly	answer 4
46		they have to [take it °away (there)°<]	
47	LF5	[((smiling; makes a pulling gesture))] ((gaze at LF6))	
48	LF5?	[ºhhº]	
49	LF6	[((smiling))]	
50	LF1	ºlikeº (0.6) º(xx)º ((makes a pulling gesture))	Q5
51	T	I I don't [know] the pro[cess]	answer 5
52	LM2	[this] ((smiling, gesturing with his hand))	
53	LM3	[°(xx)°]	
54	T	[ºbut [anywayº that's that's what] I've] heard.	answer 5
55	LM3	[°(xxx)°]	
56	LL	[((light laughter]	RESP 10
57	LF1	(**xx**)=	
58	T	=okay	RET 10
59	LF	°°he's cute°°	
60	LM3	°(xx)° [°(xxx)°] ((to LM2))	
61	T	[then breast feeding] ((shows a picture to the students))	RET 10

The types of chained joking sequences presented above are based on observations on the data and are meant to be taken as preliminary sketches on the structure of joking sequences. It is acknowledged that it is somewhat artificial to say that a certain phase in the sequence (such as response) has a double function, in that it also serves as a motive for the next joke, for instance. Nevertheless, it seems that it is the role of the motive phase which is essential in chained jokes: when one of the participants decides to treat a previous joke, its response, or its return as the motive for another joke, it is possible to maintain or re-establish the play frame and thus create a multi-joke sequence.

7.2 Contexts of conversational joking

The previous section concentrated on the structural features of the joking sequences in the data. The present section, on the other hand, aims at describing the interactional contexts of joking sequences, as well as the functions that joking seems

to have in those contexts. More specifically, the goal is to describe the sequential environment in which the shift into the play frame is carried out, as well as the interactional functions that joking may have in those environments. The functions refer to the possible reason(s) that a participant may have in producing a certain utterance in the play frame, as opposed to the serious frame. On a more general level, it refers to the social action that the joke completes in the ongoing interaction. In order to describe the sequential environment and the functions, it was necessary to take into consideration the conversation that took place before and after the actual joke under focus. In fact, this is the only way to explain these features from a conversation analytic perspective, as we have no access to the inner motivations or psychological state of the participants. Thus, the study cannot take a stance as to why a certain individual chooses to joke in a certain interactional environment; instead, it is only possible to use the next-turn proof procedure, which indicates the ways in which the participants orient to the joking.

The section is organized around five overarching sequential environments of joking that were found in the data. The first type of context is described as "maintaining the play frame" (7.2.1), as it was found that a great deal of joking appears in an environment where the play frame has already been evoked by some other participant. The second category of contexts is a group of sequences in which joking is initiated through questions, assessments or anecdotes. What is common to these contexts is the fact that the joking present in them seems to be more or less disruptive to the ongoing interaction. Thus, a situation emerges in which the function of joking overrides its disruptive effect on the interaction. The third type of context involves sequences in which a language-related issue is dealt with through joking, whereas in the fourth type of context the joking takes place in a close relationship with non-verbal actions. Finally, as described in the fifth category, joking is used to manage the organization of the ongoing talk, either as a means to exit an unresolved repair sequence or to shift the topic of interaction. Even though the section is organized around these five contexts, it is important to notice that many of the joking sequences had features of more than one context.

7.2.1 Maintaining the play frame

In several joking sequences of the data, the jokes take place in a chain, which means that the presence of a joke leads to the production of another or several other jokes. The joke then appears in the context of a previous joke or jokes and maintains the play frame created in an earlier joke. It is not possible to claim, on the basis of the present study, that exiting the play frame (which means producing the return) would be a non-preferred action and that remaining in the play frame would be a preferred action. However, many joking sequences seem to point to this direction. As an illustration of this, excerpt 22 is given below. The entire excerpt is rather lengthy (6 jokes and 113 lines), but including it here almost entirely is necessary in order to give evidence to the argument presented here.

Example 6: Part of excerpt 22 [Delivery]

1	T	ye↑ah; that can be ↑true (0.4) an also (.)	MOT 1
2	T	<**it must feel** quite bad.> (0.7) this delivery.	
3		(2.6)	
4	T	if you think [about life] [before birth.]	MOT 1
5	LF5	[°(xx)°] ((to LF6))	
6	LF5	[((smiling))] ((gaze at LF6))	
7	LF6	[((smiling))] ((gaze at LF5))	
8		(1.2)	
9	T	that was (.) that that has been (.) very nice an easy.	JOKE 1
10	LF5	[((laughs))] [°easy°] ((smiles, gaze at LF6))	RESP 1
11	LF6	[((smiles))] ((gaze at LF5))	RESP 1
12	T	[**NO**] **prob**lems] for] (0.5)	JOKE 1 cont.
13	LF5	[((smiles))] ((gaze at T))	RESP 1
14	LF6	[((smiles))] ((gaze at T))	RESP 1
15	T	[for example to get] get oxygen (0.7) or food.	RET 1
16	LF6	[((smiling, gaze at T))]	RESP 1
17		(1.2)	
18	T	because it **all** comes (.) comes from the (.) placenta	RET 1
19		an an this umbilical (([’□mba□l□kl])) cord.	RET 1
20	LM3	some [↑one (0.3) someone said like giving] birth is like	JOKE 2 / MOT 3,4, 5 / comm 2
21	LF5	[(xxx)] ((to LF6))	
22	LM3	[going to the toilet]	JOKE 2
23	LF5	[(xxx)] ((to LF6))	
24	LM3	an trying to get out a melon. or something	JOKE 2
25	T	[((laughs loudly))]	
26	LL	[((smiling))]	
27	LF6	[(what)] ((turns to LM3))	
28	LL	[((smiling))]	
29	LM3	[>and for] (a)< ma:n]	JOKE 2 cont.

30	T	[((laughs))]	
31	LM3	it's <u>try</u>ing to get out a <u>mar</u>ble ºor somethin:gº]	JOKE 2 cont.
32	LL	[((smiling))]	
33	LM3	(xx English)	
34	LM2	oooohhh	
35	LM3	I know=	
36	T	<y:**eah**>=	
37	LM2	=marble?	repair init.
38	LM3	a marble (.) try to go to <u>toi</u>let	repair
39		and <u>piss</u> out a marble ºor something.º	
40	T?	((laughter))	RESP 2?
41	LL	[((laughter and smiling))] [((smiling))]	RESP 2
42	LM3	[and for a woman] [<u>piss</u> <u>out</u> a <u>me</u>lon]	JOKE 2 cont.
43	LF	[((quiet laughter))]	RESP 2
44	LF	(($.hhh$))	RESP 2
45	LM3	<u>like</u> a <u>big</u> <u>wa</u>termelons [and (x)]	JOKE 2 cont.
46	LM2	[yeah]	
47	LM3	[someone said that]	RET 2 / MOT 3
48	LF1	[((laughs))] ((at first gaze at LF2, then at LM3))	RESP 2
49	LF2	[((smiles))] ((at first gaze at LF1, then at LL))	RESP 2
50	LF5	(xxx)= ((to LF6))	
51	LM3	=it's like ouch=	RET 2
52	T	=yeah=	
53	LM	=waterme[lons]	
54	T	[um]=	
55	LF	=yeah	
56	LF1	[have they <u>tried</u>?]	JOKE 3 / Q1
57	LM3	[((laughs))] $**<u>I</u> don't** [**know**$ [((laughs))]	RESP 3
58	LF	[((laughs))]	RESP 3
59	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 3 ?
60	T	**wa- was that a man** who said that.=	RET 3 / MOT 4 / Q2
61	LM3	=<u>I</u> don't <u>know</u> (.) ((shrugs))	answer 2
62		I can't re<u>mem</u>ber where I heard it.	answer 2
63		(1.8)	
64	T	[<u>ye:ah</u>]	
65	LF1	[<u>if</u> it was] a <u>man</u> how can <u>they</u> ºknowº	JOKE 4 / Q3
66	LF4	[((silent laughter))]	RESP ?
67		(0.5)	
68	LF1	[<u>what</u> it's <u>like</u>]	Q3 cont. / no longer a joke
69	LF4	[((laughs))] ((gaze at LF1))	RESP. 4
70	LM3	[↑I don't kn↑ow I >didn't ↑<u>say</u> it was a man<]	answer 3
71	T	[((walks to the computer))]	
72	LF1?	ºokº	
73	LM3	°(I said I don't <u>know</u>)°	answer 3
74	LF	ºumº	
75	LF5	((laughs)) (xxx) ((probably to LF6; however, face not visible on video))	
76	LF6	((laughs)) ((probably to LF5; however, face not visible on video))	
77	LL	((6.6 seconds of quiet unidentified talking))	

78	T	I can't [answer that] (.) ((turns toward the class))	JOKE 5
79	LM3	[(xxx)] ((to LM2))	
80	T	[because:e I have never been] pregnant ((goes back to the computer))	JOKE 5 / RESP 2 / MOT 6
81	LM2?	[(xxx)] ((to LM3?))	
82		(1.3)	
83	T	[((laughs))]	RESP 5
84	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 5
85	LM	[(x)][(xx)]	
86	LM3	[arnold schwartze[negger] has]	JOKE 6
87	LF4	[((smiles))]	
88	LF5	[(xx)]	
89	LF6	((laughs)) ((in response to LF5's turn?))	
90	LM3	[in that] [mo[vie] (xx)] pregnant	JOKE 6 cont.
91r	LM	[((laughs))]	RESP 6
92	LF	[(x)]	
93r	LF4	[((smiles))]	RESP 6
94	LM2	[ye:ah]	
95		(0.6)	
96r	T	((light laughter)) °ye:ah°	RESP 6
97	LM1	arnold schwarzenegger's pregnant	RET 6
98		[(in the movie)]	
99	T	[now I [would] like to get]	RET 6
100	LM3	[>(and they need to be)<]	
101	LM	u:[h.]	
102	T	[the] this one <picture>.	RET 6
103		(1.8)	
104	T	and I don't [remem- >↑was it this<] child↑ birth. ((gaze at the screen))	RET 6
105	L	[(xx)]	
106		(4.6)	
107	T	oh [yeah] (0.5) ((takes a few steps back from the computer))	RET 6
108	LM	[°(x)°]	
109	T	here you can see this (0.3)	RET 6
110		uh situation an (.) when	
111		(1.4)	
112	T	[the pregnancy is hh on its] last month.	RET 6
113	LF6	[°(xxx)°] ((to LF5))	

Before the part that is included here, LF6 makes a comment about the reasons why babies cry during the delivery. She has heard that they do so because "it hurts so much to breathe". The teacher reacts to this comment on line 1 and expands the topic on lines 2 and 4. This expansion is the motive for the first joke, which takes place on lines 9 and 12. Joke 1 is part of a long turn, during which the teacher at first speaks within the play frame and gradually shifts towards the serious frame. On line 9, the amusement seems to be created by the wording "nice and easy", used to describe the life of the fetus. The word "easy" even seems to be repeated by LF5 on the next line. A similar kind of humorous wording to describe the life of the fetus continues on line

12, uttered in an emphasized manner (**NO prob**lems). In addition to this, the play frame is created through the teacher's reaction to LF6's comment, as he suggests that babies cry during the birth because they need to leave behind the easy life within the uterus. The response to joke 1 comes from LF5 and LF6 (lines marked with RESP 1). The teacher continues his turn on line 15, which no longer seems to have any markers of the play frame. Thus, it is here that the teacher seems to be shifting back to the serious frame, which is why this line constitutes the beginning of return 1. One might speculate whether the teacher's utterance on line 18 again includes a marker of the play frame, since the word "all" is uttered with a greater emphasis than the rest of the turn. However, in terms of the criteria of the present study, it constitutes a return, since it is part of the serious topic that was going on before the joke, and it gets no response.

In joke 2, LM continues the discussion on what birth feels like, this time from the mother's perspective. The play frame is created through comparing birth to an impossible process of pushing a very large object (a melon) through the body. On lines 29 and 31, the joke continues and the comparison is made to include men, by changing the large object into a marble. In terms of linguistic form, joke 1 and joke 2 are rather similar, as both of them are spontaneous (self-selected) pupil comments, to which the teacher is supposed to react in some way. Joke 2 receives a response (RESP 2), but the teacher produces no immediate reaction to the comment in it, which is why LM3 continues explaining his point (lines marked with "JOKE 2 cont."). Joke 2 functions as a motive for jokes 3, 4 and 5. I have decided to treat line 45 as the final line of joke 2, since this is the last part of LM3's turn that gets a play-frame response (lines 48 and 49). The remainder of LF3's turn (lines 47 and 51) constitutes a return.

Part of return 2 (line 47) functions as the motive for the third joke, which is produced by LF1. In this joke (line 56), LF1 continues the topic of joke 2 by asking LM3 whether the description of birth explained by him in joke 2 had been made on the basis of experience: "have they tried?" The play frame is created through the absurd nature of this question, as it is not possible to try any of the things described by LM3 in joke 2. In his response, LM3 continues the play frame by laughing and by stating "$**I don't know**$" (line 57), even though it is evident for everyone that they cannot

have tried those things. In a sense, then, the question-answer pair by LF1 and LM3 only serves to amuse the participants, since everyone already knows the answer to the question. The return from this joke (return 3) is made by the teacher on line 60. Return 3 also functions as the motive for joke 4. Joke 4, which is a question to LM3, is again produced by LF1. After joke 4 has received a response and LM3 has answered the question, there is a considerable time span of 6.6 seconds, during which the pupils talk with each other and the teacher uses the computer. Then, he turns toward the class and produces joke 5, which addresses the comment made by LM3 in joke 2. However, as mentioned earlier in section 7.1.2.1, joke 5 is empty in terms of its information: the teacher simply states that he cannot answer the question in joke 2, and gives as a reason for this the fact that he has never been pregnant, which is obvious to everyone. Thus, joke 5 is a play-framed turn and can be regarded as a response to joke 2 (which begins on line 20). Joke 5, in turn, also functions as the motive for the last joke of the sequence (joke 6; lines 86 and 90), which is LM3's counterargument for the teacher's refusal to address the comment in joke 2. Joke 6 is responded to by a few pupils and by the teacher (lines 91, 93 and 96). The return is produced at first by LM1 on lines 97 and 98 by addressing the topic of the joke from the serious frame, and then by the teacher from line 99 onwards by changing the topic.

From the example above, it is possible to notice that many of the jokes are motivated by earlier jokes in the sequence. Joke 2, for example, functions as the motive for a total of three jokes (3, 4 and 5). In addition, joke 3 is also partly motivated by return 2 and joke 4 by return 3. Thus, joke 3 and joke 4 are both joke-motive chained and return-motive chained. The fifth joke serves a triple function of joke 6, response 2 and motive 6. Thus, many of the jokes in the sequence (except joke 1) are intricately chained, and there are reasons to speculate that one of the reasons for this long sequence of joking could be the maintenance of the play frame. A similar kind of conclusion could be made, for example, on the basis of example 3 (in section 7.1.2.2), where a lengthy sequence of chained jokes takes place before returning to the serious frame. Thus, the function of these types of jokes could be described as maintaining the play frame.

7.2.2 Joking through questions, assessments, and anecdotes

The following types of jokes are characterized as questions, comments and anecdotes that are, in one way or another, disruptive to the ongoing topic. A very common example of this type of joke is a spontaneous question, assessment, or comment by a pupil. Usually, they are not directly related to the previous turn but nevertheless in line with the current topic of talk. Sometimes they are clearly framed playfully, whereas sometimes they become jokes only after someone else responds to them and thus treats them as jokes. Anecdotes, on the other hand, seem to be present only in the teacher's turns.

Example 11 below illustrates a spontaneous pupil question which is produced in the play frame, at least at the end of the turn. The example is taken from excerpt 27, which takes place towards the end of the second lesson. Only part of the excerpt is included below, as the entire excerpt includes 10 jokes and measures over several pages. The part that is included below includes jokes 8 and 9 of the excerpt, produced by different pupils. Before joke 8, the teacher has been explaining to the pupils that in hospitals, a mother can decide the position in which she wants to make a delivery. He has also asked from one of the researchers whether such a possibility of choice is also available in the local town and has received a positive answer. What follows next is the beginning of example 7.

Example 7: Part of excerpt 27 [The mother's expression & other jokes]

1	T	so	
2	LF4	hhh ((smiling))	
3	T	it's the mother who (.) who who **does the JOB** .hh	
4		an it's it's (.) very wise that the decision is ºhers I thinkº.=	
5→	LF1	=isn't it [dangerous]	JOKE 8 / Q3
6	T	[ºalsoº]	
7→	LF1	if the baby like falls [head $first$]	JOKE 8 / MOT 9 / Q3
8	LF5	[((silent laughter))]	
9	LL+T	((laughter))	RESP 8
10	LM3	no they have [this (cool) thing they] have the (cool) thing	JOKE 9 / candidate answer 3
11	LF	[$**I don't think they**$]	RESP 8 / candidate answer 3

12	LM3	and before they hit the [floor they [(xxx)]	JOKE 9 /
13		((gesturing with hands, mimicking something that looks like the movement of an elastic band))	candidate answer 3
14	LL+T	[((laughter))]	RESP. 8/9
15	LM	[(x)]	
16	LL+T	((heavy laughter))	RESP 9

In the above example, LF1 poses a question (lines 5 and 7; joke 8), which has at least one indicator of the play frame, that is, the last word which is produced with laughter. In addition, the content of the question is rather exaggerated, which also suggests that it is produced in the play frame. It seems that LF5 is anticipating a joke, as she begins to laugh (line 8) while LF1 is still producing the question. After LF1's joke, both the pupils and the teacher respond by laughter. What is also interesting in this example is the candidate answers to LF1's questions, produced by an unidentified female pupil on line 11 (because of the laughing tone of voice, this turn also counts as response 8) and by LM3 on lines 12-13 (which also functions as joke 9). The pupils thus begin to answer a question which was probably addressed to the teacher. The pupils who produce the candidate answers seem to make a difference between questions that the teacher should address, on the other hand, and questions that they feel free to offer answers to, on the other. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the teacher never actually answers LF'1 question (in joke 8), not even after joke 9 or later during the lesson. Thus, joke 8 above is a question addressed to the teacher, but none of the participants treats it as a genuine question for information. In this respect, it might be regarded as belonging outside the institutional goal of the lesson and meant as a way to introduce fun and playfulness to the matter at hand.

The following example is taken from the beginning of excerpt 24, which takes place roughly a half an hour into the second lesson. In the example given below, LM3 and LF1 produce questions which are responded to as jokes by the teacher or by pupils. LM1 smiles after her question, which seems to indicate a play-frame orientation. LM3's question, however, has no overt markers of the play frame, which raises the question of whether or not it can be considered a joke. However, others do react to it as if though it was a joke.

Example 8: Part of excerpt 24 [Water delivery]

1		(2.5)	
2	T	but u:h (1.5) then (1.4) ((clears throat)) in in (0.9)	
3	T	in the last month (0.8) °o- of° the pregnancy if (0.3)	
4	T	the <contractions start,> (0.9) uhm (0.4) coming (.)	
5	T	like (.) for example after after (.) three or four minutes	
6	T	and it lasts about an hour or so .hhh	
7	T	so (.) then we can say that the (0.4)	
8	T	delivery is about to begin (.) and an then (0.6)	
9	T	it will be, (1.0) <wise> (0.5) to go to the hospital to this.	
10		(1.0)	
11	T	°uh° (0.6) shection or,	
12		(1.1)	
13	LM3	aren't some babies born in water? (0.8)	Q 1 /
14	LM3	like you go to a hospital and (xx) born in a (.)	MOT 1
15	LM3	like baby (.) an like a (.) small bath or something	
16	T	**ye:ah** it [(it)-]	answer 1
17	LM3	[why]	Q 2 / MOT 2
18		[(0.6)]	
19	LM3	[((shakes his head slightly))]	
20	T	((laughs)) [so why there are different methods]	repair init. 1
21	LF5	[°(xxx)° ((smiling slightly))] ((to LF6))	
22	T	[for]	
23	LM3	[yeah]	repair 1
24→	LF1	(what if) they breathe in (the) water.	JOKE 1 /
25	LF1	[((smiling))]	Q 3
26	T	[((laughs quietly for about 1.5 sec.)) .hhh]	RESP 1
27	LF6	[((smiling, gaze at LF1))]	RESP 1
28	LF5	[((smiling, gaze at LF1))]	RESP 1
29	T	[um they [are very (1.4) the- they] can]	RET 1 / answer 1
30	LF5	[°(xxx)°] ((to LF6))	
31	LF2	[°°(xxx)°°] ((to LF1))	
32	T	can born in a water yes.	RET 1 / answer 1
33		(0.8)	
34	T	but they must be taken away °from [the] water then°=	RET 1 / answer 3
35	LM3	[but]	JOKE 2
36→	LM3	=why: does it help [or something?]	/Q 4
37	LF4	[((quiet laughter))]	RESP 2
38		[(1.2)]	
39	LF4	[((smiling))]	RESP 2
40	T	[u:h being] in water.]	repair init. 2 / RET 2
42	LF5	[((smiling))]	RESP 2
43	LF4	[((smiling))]	RESP 2
44		(1.6)	
45	LM3	°(ye[ah)°]	repair 2
46	T	[well] (.) it ↑may help (0.4) or it,]	answer 2/4
47	LF5	[((smiling))]	
48	LM3	°oh°=	
49	T	=it may [take those (.)]	answer 2/4

50	LF5	[°(xx)°] ((smiling; to LF6))	
51	T	[pains ↓a↓way ↓because .hhh (.) becaus:e]	answer 2/4
52	LF5	[°(xxx)° ((smiling; to LF6))]	
53		[(1.1)]	
54	LF5	[°(xxx)°] ((smiling; to LF6))	
55	T	[what I have understood.]	MOT 3 / answer 2/4
56	LF6	[((smiling, gaze at LF5))]	

The excerpt begins with an explanation by the teacher concerning the beginning phases of delivery. After a transition-relevance place, LM3 poses a question (question 1, line 13), which is also the motive for joke 1 (later in the transcript). On line 16 the teacher begins answering question 1, but is interrupted by LM3 who poses another question (question 2). The teacher reacts to this question with laughter. The explanation for this might be the fact that LM3 typically asks disruptive questions during the lessons, and the teacher might be considering this as funny. After the laughter, the teacher produces a repair initiator (line 20) which reformulates and summarizes LM3's two questions, in order to check that he has understood them correctly.

After LM3 has produced the repair (repair 1) and confirmed the teacher's reformulation, the teacher would actually have the right to speak and answer question 1, since the repair sequence has been completed. However, this right is ignored by LF1, who produces question 3 (line 24). This question is the first joke of the sequence, and the play frame seems to emerge both through the timing and the content of the question. It is produced after the completed repair sequence in which the teacher reformulated LM3's question and LM3 accepted the reformulation. The teacher would now have the right to speak and it is conditionally relevant to answer LM3's question 1, but he cannot do so because LF1 produces joke 1 (question 3). In a short period of time, then, the teacher has received three questions, none of which he has yet had the opportunity to answer. This might be one of the reasons why the teacher (and LF5 and LF6) find the situation amusing. In, LF1 is smiling while she poses the question, which indicates a play-frame orientation.

Joke 1 is being responded to by the teacher, LF5, and LF6 (lines 26-28). After response 1, the teacher begins to produce return 1, the first part of which constitutes the answer for question 1 (lines 29 and 32), and the second part for question 3 (line 34). However, question 2 still remains unanswered, which is why LM3 poses question 4 (line 36). This question continues the topic of question 2 (line 17) from a different perspective. The end of question 4 is overlapped by LF4's quiet laughter, which might indicate that she anticipates a joke. During the 1.2-second pause that follows question 4, LF4 produces a response (response 2) that involves smiling. This is why LM3's question can be regarded as a joke (joke 2). LF4's response to joke 2 is followed by a repair initiation from the teacher and a repair by LM3 (lines 40 and 45 respectively). From line 46 onwards, the teacher begins to answer questions 2 and 4.

Thus, in the example above, jokes 1 and 2 seem to be questions for information, but they are treated as jokes by either the teacher or another pupil. In joke 1, the play frame is marked through smiling, but joke 2 has no overt marks of a joke. It is possible that since many of the questions posed by the pupils during the ongoing lesson are play-framed, some of the participants begin to anticipate the presence of a joke in a pupil question while it is still underway, such as was the case in joke 2 above. The same could be true about the teacher, as he seems to orient to some of the pupil questions as jokes, even in cases where they could actually be genuine questions for information, such as question 2 (by LM3). This question seems to be seriously framed, as it has no markers of the play frame and also because LM3 seems to expect a seriously-framed answer to the question. This expectation is visible in the fact that he returns to the topic of question 2 as late as on line 36, after joke 1, response 1 and return 1 have been produced and he has still received no satisfactory answer to his question. On the basis of the entire data, it was noticed that it is very often LM3 who produces sudden, disruptive questions or comments about the topic at hand, some of which are clearly framed as jokes. The teacher may then be predisposed to treat a greater amount of LM3's turns as jokes than what is actually intended by LM3.

In addition to questions, assessments are another type of joke which is rather frequent in the data. Pomerantz (1984: 57) explains that with an assessment, a

speaker claims knowledge of something that they claim to have experienced. What is meant by assessments in this context are utterances in which pupils self-select themselves to express their opinion about a previous utterance or action. In the example, below, for instance, a pupil expresses her emotion toward a picture that the teacher is showing to the class.

Example 9: Excerpt 10 [A yucky picture]

1	T	and (.) this is what happens. ((shows the book to the pupils))	MOT 1
2		(1.1)	
3→	LF1	↓hy:i toi nyt on viel ällöm↑pää	JOKE 1 / MOT 2
4		*ew: well that's even more disgusting*	
5		[(0.8)]	
6	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 1
7	LF4	[((smiling, gazing either LF5 or LF6))] ((LF5 is not gazing LF4; LF6's gaze not visible))	RESP 1?
8	LF5	[((smiling more broadly))]	RESP 1
9	T	[you don't like this picture.]	JOKE 2 / Q1 / MOT 3
10	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP ?
11	LF1	[↑no: hhh]	RESP 2 / answer 1
12	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP ?
13	T	[oh yeah]	
14	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP ?
15	LF 1	[it's yucky] (.)	expl. of
16	LF1	yuck like like little white worms and º(ew)º] ((makes circles with his finger in the air, and at the end of the turn smiles and turns to LF3, who sits behind LF1))	joke 1 and resp 2 / MOT 3
17	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP ?
18	T	[wait until we get to the delivery.] ((T's gaze is at LF1))	JOKE 3
19	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP ?
20		(0.9) ((during the pause: LL smiling, T gazing at LL))	
21	LL	[((laughter))]	RESP. 3
22	T	[((laughing silently, shaking on his chair, browsing the book, gaze at the book))]	RESP. 3
23	LM1	um [(xx)] turn to page fifty eight=	
24	T	[okay]	RET 3
25	T	=so [one sperm is going] in. ((showing the book to the pupils))	RET 3

The first joke is motivated by the teacher's act of showing a specific picture to the pupils. Joke 1 is produced in Finnish, which is the first language of LF1. Other pupils respond to the joke by smiling (line 6). LF5 seems to respond to the joke on line 8, but it is not clear whether LF4's smile on line 7 is a response to the joke or to something else. Joke 1 is also the motive for joke 2; in other words, they are joke-

motive chained. The teacher produces joke 2, which is a play-frame question (question 1) that seeks a confirmation to LF1's assessment. LF 1 responds to joke 2 by answering question 1 and laughing lightly (line 11). On lines 15-16, LF1 explains her negative stance toward the picture, and this explanation functions as the motive for joke 3.

The teacher then produces joke 3 (line 18), which can be regarded as a second assessment; in other words, it is a response to an initial assessment (see Pomerantz 1984). According to Pomerantz (1984: 62), the recipient of an initial assessment often (but not always) chooses to agree with the assessment. In this case too, the teacher implicitly agrees to the initial assessment by uttering "wait until we get to the delivery." What makes this funny is the fact that the teacher not only agrees with LF1's assessment but also suggests that she will later experience something that will cause an even stronger negative reaction in her. It is unlikely that LF1 made her initial assessment in order to signal a willingness to experience more of these "yucky" pictures. Joke 3 receives laughter as its response, at first from the students and then from the teacher himself. During almost the entire sequence, the pupils are smiling. It is difficult to localize the exact jokes to which this smiling is a response (marked with "RESP ?", lines 10, 12, 14, 17 and 19). What this continuous smiling does prove is the fact that the pupils recognize that a play-framed exchange is underway. Jokes 1, 2, and 3 thus form a closely tied chain of jokes, which begins by LF1's comment on a picture shown by the teacher.

Yet another type of joking which disrupts the ongoing topic is humorous personal narratives. The teacher of the present data often seems to tell small personal narratives which are related to the matter that is being discussed during the lesson. Some of these personal narratives (but not all) involve joking. Example 9 below of such narratives is taken from a long excerpt at around 30 minutes after the beginning of the second lesson. The excerpt includes six jokes altogether, two of which are chained. The joke that is related to the teacher's personal narrative is the last joke of the excerpt. In the following, only the sixth joking sequence of the excerpt is included for closer inspection.

Example 10: Part of excerpt 25 [Delivery pains]

1	T	laughing gas or ilokaasu (0.4)	
2		*laughing gas*	
3	T	en (.) oh (.) two. (.) ((writing on the board))	
4	T	[nitrogen an oxyºgenº.]	
5	LF1	[((laughs)) $°(xx)°$] ((to LF2))	
6	LF1	[$°(xxx)°$] ((to LF2))	
7	LF2	[((smiling))]	
8	LL	[((smiling))]	
9	T	[((begins to walk back to his seat))]	
10→	T	[my wife tried that but it just made] **hhh** her (.)]	JOKE 6
11	LF1	[((laughs)) (xxx)] ((to LF2))	
12	LL	[((smiling))]	
13→	T	[being like ↑drunk an feeling very bad.]	JOKE 6
14	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 6?
15→	T	[(0.6)] and] she said that well hh get this gas]	JOKE 6
16	L	[(x)]	
17	T	[((sits down))]	
18	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 6
19→	T	[ºhell out of my .hh my delivery room° (.)]	JOKE 6
20	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 6
21→	T	[°there's no help really.º]	JOKE 6
22	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 6
23		[(0.6)]	
24	LL	[((smiling))]	RESP 6
25	LL	((light laughter, waning gradually))	RESP 6
26	T	yeah	RET 6
27		[(2.1)]	
28	T	[((showing the book to the pupils))]	RET 6
29	T	uh yeah [ºitº] it starts hhh ((turns around on the chair))	
30	LM3	[o:h]	
31	T	delivery delivery starts ((stands up))	RET 6
32	T	[for this [contracting;] ((walks toward the blackboard))	
33	LF5	[(xxx)] ((smiling; to LF6))	
34	LM3	[(xx)] ((to LF2))	
35	LF	[((laughs))]	

At the beginning of the example above, the teacher summarizes the results of a word search, at the end of which the class has concluded that the word which was missing was "laughing gas". The teacher then writes the chemical formula of the substance on the blackboard (line 3). (It is unclear why the pupils smile on line 8; however, it might be the remainder of the response to the previous joke.) On line 10, the teacher begins to tell an anecdote which is related to the topic of laughing gas. More specifically, he begins to tell his wife's experience in using it. At the end of line 10, the teacher breathes out rather heavily, which might signal a prospective shift into the play frame. What are certainly produced within the play frame are lines 13, 15, 19 and 21, which constitute joke 6. The last three lines involve reported speech of the

wife. One might argue that the reported part of the wife's speech is what marks the joke as a play-frame turn, as the emotional content of the reported speech is out of the register of classroom discourse, such as "get this gas hell out of my delivery room", lines 15 and 19. These two lines also function as a type of punchline to the anecdote, and joke 6 might thus be characterized as being closest to what are called canned jokes. The pupils produce a response of smiling (response 6), which takes place during and after the joke. The return begins on line 26 with the teacher's utterance "yeah", and continues with a pause, during which the teacher shows the book to the pupils. Joke 6 thus is a funny story which is clearly designed to invite laughter from the pupils. The topic of laughing gas during the lesson provides the teacher a possibility to tell a personal anecdote related to the topic. It is clear that the anecdote is disruptive to the official business in that it shifts the focus of the lesson away from its normal course. Nevertheless, the teacher chooses to make this shift into the play frame. It seems that he values the adding of a personal and playful tone to the lesson over remaining strictly in the serious business.

7.2.3 Language-based joking

Some jokes of the data occur in contexts where a participant is having trouble with the language that they are using. As mentioned in chapter 6, for most of the participants (except for LM3) English is a foreign language, which is likely to cause at least some degree of trouble. In the two examples below, joking occurs as a result of a word search. The first example (example 11) includes two jokes in which the participants seem to have trouble finishing their turn. In the first joke, the turn is completed by the speaker himself, whereas in the second joke, it is done by another participant. In the second example (example 12), the teacher indicates a word search.

The first joke of example 11 below involves a word search by a non-native pupil, who chooses to use a kind of "ad hoc" term as a substitute for the word he is searching for. In terms of successful communication, there is absolutely no problem in such a choice. However, whether it is intended or not, the turn makes a shift into the play frame and receives a play-frame response from two other pupils. The second joke of the excerpt, on the other hand, is a collaborative completion (see Bolden

2003) of a teacher turn by a pupil. The example below is the fifth excerpt of the data, and it takes place a little more than 20 minutes after the beginning of the first lesson. At that point of the lesson, the pupils are coming to the blackboard one by one, in order to attach a sheet of paper on it. There is a timeline of pregnancy on the blackboard, and the sheets that the pupils attach to it include different stages of development of the fetus. Before beginning his first turn, LM2 attaches his sheet on the board.

Example 11: Excerpt 5 [Gender & It's an it?]

1	LM2	((standing in front of the blackboard, having just attached his sheet on it))	
2	LM2	somewhere between those two, (0.8)	MOT 1
3	LM2	it starts developing genderal,	
4	LM2	(1.6)	
5→	LM2	things	JOKE 1
6	LF3	[((light laughter))]	RESP 1
7	LF1	[((smiling))]	RESP 1
8	LM2	>so it turns into a boy or a girl< ((smiling)) ((starts to walk away from the blackboard))	RESP 1
9		(1.0)	
10	T	oh yeah	RET 1 / MOT 2
11		(1.2)	
12	T	um be**cause** um	RET 1 / MOT 2
13		(2.2)	
14	T	**before this**.	RET 1 / MOT 2
15		(1.6)	
16→	LM3	it's an it	JOKE 2
17		(0.9)	
18	T	yeah ((laughs lightly))	RESP 2
19	LM2	((reaches his place and sits down))	
20	T	[it can be called] [an it becaus::e] um the geni↓tals	RET 2
21	T	[((smiling))]	RESP 2
22	LF6	[((smiling slightly))]	RESP 2
23	T	hasn't starte- haven't start [developed]	RET 2 / answer 2
24	LM	[(x) who's] she	
25	T	um but if we (now) think about the sex (0.4) which is- it is going to	
26	T	be (0.5) what do you think um (0.5) when does it happen (1.3) I mean	
27	T	on which stage (0.6) of °this thing° (1.0) um	
28		(1.9)	

Let us take a look at joke 1 first. On lines 2-5 and 8 LM2 is describing a particular point in the development of a fetus. It seems clear that the 1.6-second pause on line 4 indicates a word search, since it takes place in the middle of a turn. LM2 seems to be searching for a word which is related to the physical differences of the sexes during the fetal stage. However, after producing the adjective "genderal", he does not find a fitting noun to complement it, and chooses to use a very general word "things" (line 5). LM3 and LF1 then produce a light response. The accelerated speed and the smiling in LM2's next turn (line 8) indicate that he also acknowledges the play frame he evoked in the joking turn. One might claim that the smiling on line 8 is LM2's own response to the joke that he produced earlier. However, the explanation at the beginning of this turn ("so it turns into a boy or a girl") confirms that he was, indeed, searching for a word. Joke 1 thus seems to be motivated by the language difficulty that a non-native speaker encounters while speaking in the foreign language.

The second joke of the sequence can be included in the category of language-related jokes, since it involves a pupil who chooses to complete an unfinished teacher turn that is produced with long pauses which might indicate trouble. The joke is motivated by the teacher's turn on lines 10, 12, and 14, which constitute the return from the first joke. Jokes 1 and 2 are thus connected through return-motive chaining (see section 7.1.2.3). The motive phase consists of a teacher turn that includes long pauses (1.0, 2.2, and 1.6 seconds). These pauses seem to be interpreted by LM3 as indication of trouble, as on line 16 he chooses to finish the teacher's turn. This can be regarded as an instance of a collaboratory (or anticipatory) completion of the teacher turn (see Bolden 2003: 188), in which the pupil is anticipating what the teacher might say next, and produces a candidate version of the completion of the TCU (see Lerner 2004: 229). The pupil's completion demonstrates sensitivity to the format of the TCU in progress and makes his turn fit the format of that TCU (see Lerner 2004: 229). What is also used as a resource in the completion by LM3 is the previous speech by LM2 (line 8), in which he refers to the fetus by using the words *girl*, *boy*, and *it*. LM3 thus transforms the serious teacher turn (return 1) into a joke by completing it with a funny remark. The play frame emerges through the nature of LM3's remark, which changes the focus of the teacher's turn. It seems that the teacher was about to explain that the before the stage of pregnancy under discussion, the genitals of the fetus have not begun to develop. This is something that the teacher

actually explains later in the example. LM3, however, shifts the focus of the unfinished teacher turn into the use of the pronoun *it* to indicate the non-visibility of the sex of the fetus.

Joke 3 is followed by the teacher's response to LM3's completion (line 18). In this turn, the teacher accepts the turn completion offered by LM3. According to Lerner (2004: 225), a collaboratory completion usually receives a confirmation from the previous speaker (the one who's TCU is being completed), unless the two participants share authority in the co-construction of an action, such as when they co-construct an explanation or co-tell a story. The completion in joke 3 does not involve such share authority over the production of the turn, as the teacher confirms the completion produced by LM3. Since LM3's turn completion functions as a joke, the teacher also produces a laughing response immediately after his confirmation (line 18), and later, on line 21, in the form of smiling. Joke 2 is thus at first responded to by the teacher then by LF6, whose smile on line 22 is very likely a response to joke 2 (even though it seems to be invited by the teacher's laughter). On line 20 the teacher gradually shifts back to the serious frame by expanding on the topic introduced by LM3 in his turn completion (explaining why the fetus can be called an "it"). Through the return, the teacher is coming back to the point where he was before LM3's joke, as it is very likely that before joke 3, the teacher was about to explain that the genitals of the fetus have not yet begun to develop.

The following example involves a language-based joking sequence in which it is the teacher who is having trouble in finding a word. He is explaining the use of a suction cup in the delivery process, but cannot remember the exact word for it. Instead, he begins to explain the word he is searching for (lines 7-9 and 12).

Example 12: Part of excerpt 26 [Suction cup]

1	T	.hh so then they must: u:h very qlui- quickly (.)	
2		take the baby away from the (°.hhh°)	
3		by by uh (0.5) pulling it from from head.	
4		(0.5)	
5	LF1	<kau[°hee [ta°>]]	
6		*(that's) awful*	
7	T	[for example] they they ((puts his hand on his head))	MOT 1
8	LF5	[°(x)°] ((makes a pulling gesture with both hands))	

9	T	put this: um (0.3) thing ((puts his hand on his head))	
10		[(0.7)]	
11	LF4	[((starts to laugh))]	
12	T	on [its head;]	MOT 1
13	LM3	[(the) **s:uc**tion] cup	MOT 1
14	LL	[((laughter))]	
15	T	[whi- which sucks [inºtoº]	
16	LM3	[plunger]	
17→	LM3	[((makes sucking sounds for 0.6 sec.))] ((gesturing with his hands))	JOKE 1
18	LL	[((laughter/smiling))]	
19	T	[yeah [**it it's] kind of like that**] ((smiling))	RESP 1 / RET 1
20	T	[((points to LM3))]	
21	LL	[((laughter))]	RESP 1
22	LL	((laughter))	RESP 1
23	T	[**i- in Finnish**] [(.) in Finnish] [imukuppi.]	RET 1
24		*suction cup*	
25	LL	[((laughter))] [((waning laughter))] [((smiling))]	RESP 1
26		(0.7)	
27	LF5	(x) [(xxx)] ((to LF6))	
28	LF6	[((nods)) (xx)] ((to LF5))	
29	T	[it it i- it is equipment]	RET 1
30	LF6	[(xx)] ((to LF5))	
31	T	[it's put] on on [its head (.) and then [it's]	RET 1
32	LM3	[(xx) ((laughs))]	
33	LM2	[((makes a quick	
34	LM2	pulling gesture; smiling))]	
35	T	pu- pulled away [ver-] of course not very roughly.	RET 1
36	LF5	[$hh]	
37	T	[but [very care[fully]	RET 1
38	LF5	[((laughs))]	
39	LM3	[((laughs))]	
995	LF6	[(xx)] ((to LF5))	
996	T	[º.hhhº bu-] but quick. (0.4)	
997	LF6	[((makes a pulling gesture))]	

While the teacher is in the process of explaining the word, LF4 begins to laugh even before a joke has been produced (line 11), as it seems that the teacher's difficulty in finding the correct word is making her amused. Also, during the teacher's explanation LM3 self-selects and suggests the word "suction cup" (line 13). At this point, the situation has become favorable for joking, and LM3 produces the first joke (line 17), during which he imitates the sound of a suction cup while also making gestures with his hands. Both the teacher's explanation and LM3's word suggestion can be considered as the motive of the joke. The joke receives a different response from the teacher than from the students. The students produce outright laughter which wanes into smiling (lines 22 and 25), whereas the teacher at first agrees with the proposition in LM3's joke by stating "yeah it's kind of like that". Only after this

does the teacher smile, which indicates that he recognizes LM3's turn as a joke, but chooses to first react to the content of LM3's joke. Thus, the teacher's turn on line 19 can be regarded as both a response and a return, since it does acknowledge the play frame but at the same time comments from the serious frame on the content of LM3's joke, i.e. the characteristics of a suction cup. On line 23, the teacher no longer displays signs of responding to the joke, which is why it can be considered the return to the serious frame.

What is noticeable in this joke is the different way in which the teacher and the students respond to the joke. Whereas the students' response is strong and rather long, the teacher acknowledges the play frame only through quick smiling, and produces the return to the serious frame very soon after that. Such a choice may indicate that he orients more to the seriously-framed discussion about the word "suction cup" than to the play frame introduced by LM3. This would be consistent with the institutional goal of the lesson. Another explanation for this is the fact that LF4 and LM3 may be silently teasing the teacher about his language problems. If this is the case, producing a delayed and short response to the joke provides a way of resisting the teasing that the students engage in. By orienting more to the propositional content in LM3's joke enables the teacher to focus on the seriously-framed topic, even though by his smiling he is able to display his recognition of the play frame introduced by the pupils.

7.2.4 Joking related to non-verbal actions

The present category of jokes is characterized by the prominent role of a non-verbal action in the joking sequence. The idea is not to suggest that non-verbal actions would not be important in other kinds of joking sequences, as indeed they most often are, either during the joking turn or the response. For instance, many assessments produced by pupils (of the type described in example 9) involve the activity of looking at the picture book that the teacher is showing to the class and reacting to the pictures seen. What is significant in the following sequences, however, is the degree of significance that the nonverbal action receives in the course of the joke.

7.4.2.1 Accounting for deviant behavior

In the first example below, the joking seems to take place between pupils, so that the teacher does not participate in it. However, the joke has been included in the analysis, since the teacher is a ratified participant of the situation. The humor in this situation seems to arise from the fact that the producer of the joking turn needs to take some extra steps when making her way from her desk to the blackboard, and the explanation that she provides for the extra steps takes the form of a joke.

The joking takes place during a phase of the lesson in which the pupils are coming to the blackboard one by one to attach a sheet of paper on it. The motive for the joke is created from the physical setting of the classroom, as the pupil coming to the blackboard (LF6) walks towards it from the opposite direction as most other pupils. She needs to pick a magnet to attach the sheet, but the magnets are on the other side of the teacher's table. For this reason, the pupil needs to make some extra steps and walk in front of the classroom from left to right to pick a magnet and then return to the board. As she is walking, she produces a turn which might be considered a joke.

Example 13: Excerpt 6 [I need a magnet]

1	T	okay (.) and it happens there .hhh in fertilisation.	
2		(1.7)	
3	T	[but uh (.) from here]	
4	LF5	[°(xxx)°] ((to LF6, smiling))	
5		(0.8)	
6	LF6	((smiling)) [°(xxx)°] ((to LF5))	
7	T	the [cells: which are on the genital area.]	
8	T	they (.) start to (.) specialise. (0.8)	
9		to to the boy or [to the girl.]	
10	LF5	[°(xx)°] ((to LF6))	
11	T	[(0.8) okay]	
12	LF5	[°(xx)°] ((to LF6))	
13		(1.1)	
14	T	↑next ↓one please	
15		[(4.7)]	
16	LF6	[((stands up and walks towards the blackboard))]	
17	LF5	[((smiling))]	
18→	LF6	I need a ↑magnet ((walking in front of the classroom from left to right, where the magnets are; facial expression not visible))	JOKE 1
19	LF5	((light laughter))	RESP 1
20		[(6.6)]	
21	LF1	[((smiling))]	RESP 1
22	LF4	[((smiling, holding a loose fist in front of her mouth))]	RESP 1
23	LF6	[((picks up the magnet and walks to the blackboard]	
24	LF6	[at two weeks]	RET 1

25	LF1	[°(xxx)°] ((to LF2))	
26		[(0.8)]	
27	LF6	[((attaches the sheet to the board))]	
28	LF1	[°(xx)°] ((to LF2))	
29	LF6	or <u>two</u> <u>months</u> it's about	RET 1
30	LF6	[<u>four</u> centimeters]	
31	LF2	[((smiling, in response to what LF1 said]	
32		[(1.1)]	
33	LF6	[((starts walking back towards her place))]	
34	LF6	°long°	RET 1
35	T	<u>two</u> months (.) <u>rough</u>ly	

The marked rise in the intonation pattern of joke 1 (line 18) might suggest that LF6 is signaling a play-frame turn. Unfortunately, her face is not visible on the video recording. The first person to respond to the joke is LF5, who is the only one that laughs (line 19). The responses from LF1 and LF4 involve smiling, which take place while LF6 picks up the magnet and attaches her sheet on the board (lines 20-23). It is possible that the stronger response of LF5 in relation to LF1 and LF4 is due to the fact that LF6 and LF5 sit next to each other and have the possibility for frequent off-topic interaction during the lessons. (An example of this kind of interaction is on lines 4 and 6 of the transcript above.)) In any case, the physical setting of the classroom and the non-verbal action of the joking person are crucial to the introduction of the play frame in the previous example. It seems that the joke produced by LF6 is a kind of explanation for the extra steps that she has to take in the classroom. After all, many of the pupils do not need to take the longer route that LF6 needs to take because of her place in the classroom. Framing her explanation as a joke sets it apart from the seriously-framed explanation that begins in the return on line 24.

7.4.2.2 Co-constructed turns

The data includes one sequence in which two pupils complete a turn which the teacher is producing while he performs a non-verbal action. In the example below, the co-construction of an utterance is accomplished through suggesting words in a situation where the teacher is turning the page of a book and is about to name the picture on the page. The timing of the pupils' turns is connected to the nonverbal activity of the teacher.

Example 14: Part of excerpt 9 [Egg cell]

1	LF	[se näyttää ihan (x)]	
2	LF6	[(xxx)]	
3	LF	[(xxx)]	
4	LF5	[((laughs))]	
5	LF6	(xx)	
6	LF1	[(xx) siltä yheltä jolla oli kamala kalapää (°xx°)] ((to LF4?))	
7	T	[((stops browsing the book))]	
8	T	this (.) here is [the]= ((showing the book to the pupils))	MOT 4 and 5
9→	LF1	[eye] [balls]	JOKE 4
10→	LM3	[=moon]	JOKE 5
11	LF5	hhh	RESP 4/5
12	T	u:hh ((laughs))	RESP 4/5
13	LL	((laughter))	RESP 4/5
14	T	**[moon** not a moon] ((smiling))	RESP 5
15	LL	[((light laughter))]	
16	T	.hhh but an egg cell (0.3) ova	RET 5
17	LM3	cool	
18	LM2	(there's) [(x)]	
19	T	[and] (0.6) they are sperm cells °here°. ((pointing to the picture))	MOT 6

The motives of the jokes are thus the teacher's non-verbal action of showing the book, as well as the statement that accompanies it (line 8). The jokes are produced by LF1 (line 9) and LM3 (line 10), who both suggest a word in order to finish the teacher's turn. In the example above, the jokes are marked as two separate jokes, since each offers a different interpretation of the image. However, it would also be possible to treat them as two different turns of the same joke. This is due to the fact that the jokes are produced almost simultaneously and as a reaction to the same motive, so that in a way, they constitute a single, co-constructed phase in the joking sequence.

The timing of these suggestions fits the teacher's non-verbal act of showing the page to the students. The responses come from LF5, the teacher, and the students (lines 11-14). In addition to smiling, the teacher also produces a verbal response (line 14), in which he rejects the playful word suggestion of LM3. The teacher's verbal response on line 14 does not address the word suggestion of LF1, but only that of LM3. On the basis of the data, it is not possible to provide a reason for this. (It is possible that since LM3's word suggestion overlaps with the ending of LF1's suggestion, it was not possible for the teacher to hear LF1's turn entirely. However,

this is only speculation.) The other responses do not indicate whether the participants are responding to joke 4 or joke 5, or both of them. In the return (line 16), the teacher provides the correct word for the object in the picture.

To summarize, the play frame created in example 15 seems to be created on the basis of two things. Firstly, it is the timing of the joke as a response to seeing the picture which makes it a skillful completion of the teacher's turn. (A rather similar type of co-constructed turn was described in example 11 above.) The second factor which creates the play frame is the discrepancy between the object in the picture (egg cell) and the words suggested by the pupils in the joke. It is very likely that LF1 and LM3 do know what the picture actually represents; thus, their absurd suggestions indicate an attempt to establish the play frame. Thus, the play frame emerges as a combination of the timing of the joke as well as the absurd content of the joke. The participants' recognition of the play frame is evidenced by their laughter and smiling. It seems that the purpose of the joke might be to use the opportunity provided by the turn-taking system to create amusement in the middle of a serious pedagogic activity.

7.2.5 Managing the ongoing talk

On the basis of the data, joking is sometimes used in order to manage the interaction, even though these types of joking sequences are not very common. Below are two examples of such sequences. In the first one, joking seems to be strongly related to the presence of a repair sequence. More specifically, the joking might be seen as a way to exit a repair sequence that has been going on for a rather long time without a resolution. In the second example, the teacher is attending to the play frame created by the pupils, but at the same time he signals an effort to shift the topic of the conversation towards the pedagogical focus of the lesson.

7.2.5.1 Exiting a repair sequence

Example 20 below illustrates how joking can be used as a device to exit a lengthy repair sequence. More specifically, the joking sequence is embedded within a lengthy repair sequence in which the participants have not arrived at a shared understanding.

The joking sequence takes place toward the end of the repair sequence, and it seems to have two functions. On one hand, the joke move signals that its producer marks the ongoing repair sequence as troublesome. On the other hand, the joke breaks the seriousness of the troublesome repair sequence and offers a possibility to end it, even though no resolution has been found. Before taking a look at the transcript, it might be useful to consider a sketch of the sequence structure of the excerpt, which could be summarized in the following way:

Statement
    Repair sequence
    Joking sequence
    Side sequence
Comment

In other words, the exchange begins with a pupil's statement "but they get oxygen when they're in the the the womb." (not included in the transcript below). The teacher responds to this by uttering ">pardon?<". This leads to a long repair sequence in which the teacher is trying to find out what LF1 meant in her statement. The teacher is not able to comment on the statement before making sure that he understands what LF1 meant in her statement. The repair is brought to a conclusion through the joking sequence. After the joking, and before commenting on the pupil's statement, the teacher makes a short side sequence, which involves an activity not related to the ongoing interaction. Finally, the sequence is closed as the teacher comments on the pupil's initial statement. The part that is included in the example below begins at the end of the repair sequence.

Example 15: Part of excerpt 21 [Legs first]

1	T	**hhh** so ↑why can't they, ºhhhº keep on breathing (0.3)	
2		during placenta	
3		(1.1)	
4	T	if they come,	
5		(1.2)	
6	T	so that they are (.) first come first. (0.6)	
7		>uh **feet**< come first (0.6) that's what you're thinºkingº.	MOT 1
8		(2.6)	
9	LF5	°°yeah°°= ((nodding, gaze at LF1))	MOT 1
10	LF6	=°°**yeah**°° ((nodding, gaze at LF1))	MOT 1
11→	LF	I $think$	JOKE 1
12	L1+T	[((laughter))]	RESP 1
13	LL	[((smiling))] ((smiling))	RESP 1
14	T	uhm	RET 1 beg.
15	T	(5.6) ((moves back to the computer and uses it))	side

16		this doesn't (0.5) <accept my ↑password.> ((tipping the keyboard))	sequence
17		[(2.8)]	
18	T	[((taking a few steps backward))]	RET 1
19	T	because the **struc**ture (.) structure which is uh (1.9)	cont.
20		what i- what it is.	
21		(1.6)	
22	T	it's the ((moves next to LF6))	
23		[(2.3)]	
24	T	[((takes a look at LF6's book))]	
25	T	umbilical (([‘□mba□l□kl])) cord.	
26		[(1.3)]	
27	L	[(°xx°)]	
28	T	the baby is: connected to the placenta	
29		by this umbilical (([‘□mba□l□kl])) cord.	
30		(1.0)	

The repair sequences continues until line 7, where the teacher once more attempts a reformulation of what he believes LF1 is stating. LF1 is about to produce a dispreferred, negative answer, which is signaled by the delay of 2.6 seconds before her turn (line 8). At this point, LF5 and LF6 choose to answer the teacher's question, even though they are not the recipients of it (lines 9 and 10). Apparently, they have been listening to the interaction between LF1 and the teacher, and having done their own conclusions about it, they assist in bringing the repair into conclusion. The question-answer pair between the teacher and LF5 and LF6 is the motive for the joke. In the joke, LF1 responds to the teacher's repair initiation with "I think" in a laughing tone of voice.

The response comes from the teacher and from LF1 herself in the form of laughter, and from the other pupils in the form of smiling. On line 14 the teacher begins the return, which is interrupted by a pause of 5.6 seconds, produced while he moves to the computer. This movement marks the beginning of a side sequence during which the teacher operates on the computer and produces the turn on line 16, stating that the computer does not accept his password. The side sequence is completed as he takes a few steps away from the computer in order to return to the exchange with LF1. Next, on line 19, he begins to comment on the statement made by LF1 before the beginning of the repair sequence.

The example above demonstrates the function of the joking sequence in relation to the repair sequence. The joke gives the participants a possibility to end the repair

sequence even when it has not been successful. At the same time, it signals LF1's stance toward the repair sequence. By answering "I $think$" instead of a more direct agreement or disagreement to the teacher's repair initiation ("that's what you're thinºkingº"), LF1 actually complicates the repair sequence even more. An agreement would have allowed the teacher to proceed answering the initial question, whereas a disagreement would have lead to further repair initiations from the teacher. However, the uncertainty in LF1's turn does not allow the teacher to make either of these two choices, and thus LF1's turn is interpreted and responded to as a play-frame utterance. In addition, LF1 seems to be using mild self-irony in her answer, since her answer "I $think$" suggests that she herself does not know what she wanted to ask. This also contributes to the creation of the play frame.

7.2.5.2 Shifting toward the serious frame

Joking can also be used to manage the ongoing talk in such a way that it creates a transition between the play frame and the serious frame. The example below is a unique instance of this type of context for joking, but it illustrates the point clearly. The following example of such joking is taken from excerpt 23, which, again, is not included here in its entirety. The excerpt takes place immediately after excerpt 22 and consists of 5 jokes, all of which are chained to each other in one way or another. The focus of attention is joke 1, which is produced by the teacher at the end of a turn which involves an explanation.

Before looking at the transcript, it is important to notice that the present example is linked to the previous one (excerpt 22, chapter 7.2.1). More specifically, the present example begins by a return, produced by the teacher, to joke 2 of excerpt 22 (see chapter 7.2.1, p. 77). The connection between the present excerpt and the previous one further confirms the point made above (in section 7.2.5.1) about the strong adjacency pairing between a pupil comment and the teacher's reaction to it. In section 7.2.5.1, the teacher responded to a student comment after a long repair sequence, a short joking sequence and a short side sequence had been produced. (In the following, the phases that are related to the previous excerpt are marked with italics.)

Example 16: Part of excerpt 23 [The size of a baby's head]

1	T	**but** um (0.5)	*RESP 2*
2	T	when you said that [it's h going to]	
3	LF5	[(xx)]	
4	T	toilet [ºandº (0.5)] trying to get the melon out .hhh so **hhh**	*RESP 2*
5	LF6	[okay #good#]	
6	LF5?	[º(xxx)º]	
7	T	[.hhh] ((walking to the front of the class; smiling))	*RESP 2*
8	LF5	[º(xxx)º]	
9	T	[(.) ºifº you think about] the (0.8)	*RET 2* /
10	T	[size >of the baby's< ↓he↑ad]	MOT 1
11	T	[((pointing to the screen, making a circle around the baby's head))]	
12		(1.2)	
13	T	an if you compare it (.) to the size ov these organs here.	
14	T	((pointing to the lower part of the reproduction organs in the picture))	
15		(1.0)	
16→	T	so: (0.4) [there is a quite] difference.	JOKE 1
17	LF6	[((laughs))] ((gaze first at T, then LF5))	RESP 1
18	LL	((light laughter and smiling))	RESP 1
19	LF	(xx?)=	
20	T	=so these parts must (.) stretch very very much.	RET 1 /
21	T	((pointing to the picture))	MOT 2
22		(2.0) ((during the pause, LF6 is smiling and turns gaze to LF5))	
23	LM3	>why are they< so small then if	JOKE 2 /
24		(1.0)	question 1
25	LM3	[the baby's head so big]	

Before the beginning of the above example, the teacher has shown to the pupils a cross-section picture of a pregnant woman's body. On line 1, when he comes back to the topic of joke 2 of excerpt 22, he needs to make an explicit reference to it because of the distance between these two moves. According to Sacks et al. (1974), "a turn's talk will be heard as directed to a prior turn's talk, unless special techniques are used to locate some other talk to which it is directed" (1974: 728). In the example above, the teacher is clearly using such a technique when referring to what LM3 has said, and thus the response 2 he produces on lines 1, 2, and 7 can be seen to refer to the joke in excerpt 2. Return 2, which is produced after response 2, functions as the motive for joke 1 of the present sequence.

Let us now turn attention to joke 1 (line 16), which is a conclusion drawn from the claims in return 2 (lines 9-14). The joke does not have clear markers of the play frame, but it is treated as a joke by the pupils. Response 1 is being produced by LF6 already during the joke, and later by other pupils through light laughter and smiling.

However, immediately after the response the teacher produces return 1 (line 20), which makes the transition back to the serious frame. This, again, is reinforced by pointing to the picture. There seems to be some misalignment between the frames of the teacher and the students, as the teacher is using the previously evoked play frame to create a gradual shift from playful to serious talk, whereas the students still produce a play frame response. In this example, we can note how the teacher is able to use joking as a way to direct the conversation towards a more serious frame, while at the same time attending to and responding to the play frame evoked earlier.

8. CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary of results

The study has made an attempt to discover the sequential structure of joking sequences of two lessons during which a significant amount of joking took place. The starting point of this discovery was the result of Saharinen (2007) concerning the structure of teasing sequences, which consist of a motive turn, a tease, a response turn, and a return to the topic that was discussed prior to the tease. In the context of the present study, it was noticed that a very similar type of structure was to be found in joking sequences; however, there were four important differences.

Firstly, as the scope of the present study included conversational joking, which encompasses a wider array of situations than just teasing, the teasing turn was in the present study called a joking turn or a joke. Secondly, it was noticed that while all the four turns (motive, joke, response, return) were often present, there were also instances in which either the motive or the return (in a clear form) was missing. Thus, what can be regarded as the core turns of a joking sequence are the joke and the response, whereas the motive and the return are often (but not always) present. There can be several reasons for this, and a definitive answer would require further researching. However, on the basis of the present data it is possible to speculate that the presence of a motive turn is not essential in a joking sequence, compared to a teasing sequence, since a joking turn is not as intensely connected to the talk that precedes it. In Saharinen's (2007) study of teasing, the teasing turn would always take up a topic in the preceding talk, which is why the motive turn was an essential part of the sequence. In joking, however, the joke can sometimes abruptly change the topic of the ongoing interaction, and thus no intense connection to the previous talk is required (even though it often exists).

Thirdly, what also distinguishes joking sequences from the teasing sequence structure proposed by Saharinen (2007) is the fact that joking often occurs in a repetitive manner. I have decided to call this phenomenon "chained jokes", since the jokes connect with each other one after the other. In this case, the four-phase

structure of motive, joke, response, and return is breached in various ways, depending on the turn that connects the previous joke with the following. On the basis of the data, it was found that the jokes can be chained in three different ways. The first one is being called “joke-motive chaining”, and it refers to cases in which a joke is used as the motive for a further joke. The second one is called “response-motive chaining”, and it encompasses sequences in which the response to a previous joke is used as the motive for a subsequent joke. Finally, the third type of chaining received the name “return-motive chaining”, in which the return from a previous joke functions as the motive for the next joke. This type of classification is necessarily slightly artificial, since the turns that connect the jokes together are given double functions. There might have been other ways to name the specific turns that connect the jokes together. However, the current terms were used in order to demonstrate that the joking sequences tend to proceed in a logical chain of a cause (motive), event (joke), and impact (response), which is followed by a regaining of the ongoing activity. When several jokes are produced in a sequence, it seems that any of the three last parts of this process can be exploited to lengthen the play frame.

Finally, the fourth difference to the sequence structure discovered by Saharinen (2007) was the observation that in sequences of conversational joking, the four parts (motive, joke, response, return) do not always consist of single turns, but can extend over a series of turns, even by different participants. For this reason, the decision was made to call these four parts *phases* rather than turns. For instance, two different participants might produce two distinct turns that function as the motive for a joke, which in turn is produced by a third participant.

The study also made an attempt to explore the contexts in which joking tends to take place, as well as the functions that joking might have in those contexts. On the basis of observing the data, a rough classification into five different contexts was made, with a few sub-classes. The first category includes joking which takes place in the contexts of previous joking. It was noted that very often, once the play frame was established, it was being maintained by either the original joker or by someone else. This seems to imply, firstly, that joking does take place in a frame that is different from the surrounding interaction, and secondly, that once the frame has been evoked, the participants seem to prefer staying within it. Whether this is caused by a general

enjoyment of staying within the play frame or by dispreference of exiting the play frame cannot be explained on the basis of the data. It is only safe to state that the participants seem to enjoy joking, and once the ice is broken, further joking often follows.

The second category of joking includes joking that takes the form of questions, assessments, comments, and anecdotes. It would have been possible to divide this category further. However, what is common to these types of jokes is the fact that they are self-initiated turns and they are often somewhat disruptive to the ongoing interaction. It seems, thus, that the positive effect of introducing the play frame is considered to downplay the disruptiveness of the joke. It is not possible to state certainly whether the questions, comments and anecdotes are produced in the play frame especially in order to mitigate their disruptiveness to the ongoing interaction, since this would require a comparison between play-frame questions, assessments, comments, and anecdotes on one hand and their serious-frame counterparts on the other. However, it can be stated that whenever assessments, comments, questions, and anecdotes are produced as jokes, they are likely to receive an acknowledgment of the play frame and are at least considered amusing, even though they may direct the interaction away from the institutional goal.

The third group of contexts refers to joking which takes place in relation to language-based issues. In the examples given above, the joking resulted as a reaction to a problem in the use of a foreign language. Other types of language-based joking were also present in the data, but could not be given space in the results section. (One example of this is the short excerpt of transcript in section 6.2.2 about transcriptions, in which a pupil plays with the word “fetus” by making up the word “handus” out of it.) What is common to language-based joking is the fact that attention is drawn to the use of language, either through the joke itself or through a problem in language use which is managed through joking. The jokes that are produced as a reaction to language problems seem to be the closest to the phenomenon to teasing in the data.

The fourth category of contexts refers to jokes in which a non-verbal aspect is strongly present in the joking sequence. In the first example, the joking seemed to be a way to account for behavior that was assessed necessary to account for, i.e. making

a few extra steps in front of the class. Thus, the extra steps became part of the joke and were combined with a verbal element. In the other example of this category, the teacher's nonverbal act of turning a page revealed a picture which caused amusement among the pupils. The joke was produced as a reaction to this nonverbal act, and it is difficult to find other function for this type of joking except that it is an opportunity for the pupils to entertain themselves in the middle of a serious activity. As mentioned earlier, the purpose of suggesting this category for the contexts of joking is not to imply that nonverbal acts were not present in other types of jokes. Instead, the goal was to demonstrate that joking does not always need to be only verbal or result only from verbal motives. It can also incorporate nonverbal actions by the producer of the joke or by someone else.

The fifth category includes jokes that have a significant effect on the direction of the ongoing interaction. For instance, in the first example of this category, joking was used in order to exit a long repair sequence, which was clearly causing trouble in the interaction. The joke provided an acceptable way of ending the repair even though no satisfactory repair was produced. In the other example of this category, joking was used by the teacher to make a gradual shift towards the serious frame and the institutional goal of the interaction. This paradoxical joke accomplished two functions at the same time, as it acknowledged the amusement created by the previous joke while at the same time signaled that it was time to exit the play frame. On the basis of the institutional role of the teacher, he had the right (and perhaps the responsibility) to do this.

As mentioned in the introduction to section 7.2, many of the joking sequences had features of more than one context, and it would be possible to include them in several of the categories described above. It is thus not possible to put each of the 90 jokes into only one category. Instead, we can look at the frequency of the contexts by asking how many sequences had features of a certain context. The first context, maintaining the play frame, for example, seemed to involve 31 jokes. Joking through questions, assessments, and anecdotes was present in 51 jokes. The most frequent instance of this group was pupil questions, which constituted 26 jokes. Interestingly, there were only three teacher questions functioning as jokes in the data. Assessments produced by pupils were another rather frequent joke type (14 jokes), whereas only 3

jokes involved an assessment by the teacher. The high number of pupil assessment is partly explainable by a certain activity of the lesson, during which the teacher showed a picture book to the students. The presence of the visual source of amazement resulted in a great number of self-initiated comments and assessments by the students.

Joking through anecdotes was only carried out by the teacher (5 times). On the basis of the present data, it is not possible to say whether this is caused by the turn-taking system of classroom or whether it is just a personal preference of the teacher to joke through anecdotes and of the pupils to not do so. Language-based issues, on the other hand, seemed to be at the root of 7 different jokes. The frequency of joking related to non-verbal actions depends on whether the classroom's action of looking at the picture book counts as a prominent nonverbal aspect of the jokes related to it. In section 7.2.4, I included the instances of non-verbal joking in which the nonverbal component was the strongest, and these two examples (accounting for deviant behavior and co-constructed turns) were unique in their categories. However, if one decides to treat the action of looking at the picture book as an important nonverbal action to the jokes that are produced during it, the number of joking related to non-verbal actions would increase dramatically. This is due to the fact that many pupil assessments were produced as a result of seeing a picture in the book, in a way that was described in section 7.2.2 (Joking through questions, assessments, and anecdotes), in example 9. The last category of joking contexts, the managing of ongoing talk, includes only 3 jokes, two of which were described above. In addition, the data included one other example of shifting towards the serious frame.

8.2 Discussion

The study attempts to shed light on the phenomenon of conversational joking. It was not possible to find a study that would have described the structure of joking sequences in as detailed a manner as in the present study. It is possible to state, on the basis of the results, that joking is indeed highly organized on the sequential level, and that it manifests in many different sequential variations. It was possible to see the underlying structure of a joking sequence as consisting of a motive, a joke, a

response, and a return; but some of the realizations of different sequence types turned out to be more complicated than this. For instance, chains of jokes are born when the play frame is sustained for a lengthened period of time during the interaction. In addition, the results underline the cooperative nature of conversational joking. From a conversation analytic perspective, the entire concept of joking must be defined from a cooperative perspective, since joking only takes place successfully when someone produces a response to it. This came to present one of the problems of the study, as defining the phenomenon of conversational joking was not unproblematic: In this study, only jokes that received a clear response were included in the analysis. However, everyone understands that jokes do not always receive a response, even though they fulfill other criteria of a joking turn. For this reason, more precise criteria are needed to define the features of a turn that make it a joke. Also, more research is needed to compare those jokes that receive a response and those that do not.

The results also suggest that conversational joking can have a significant role in classroom interaction, both in terms of its overall duration during the lesson and in terms of the ways it shapes the interaction. Even though joking often seems to take place within the off-task speech exchange system of the classroom, it can also affect the on-task activities, if the joking is frequent enough. It is true that the data surely has more instances of joking than "regular" lessons. Nevertheless, there might be a need for further investigation of conversational joking in classroom contexts. It is also hoped that the study succeeds in explaining the interaction of CLIL-type classrooms in more detail. Previous research has discovered a great amount of features of CLIL classroom discourse, but most of it has taken the approach of pragmatics or discourse analysis. Some recent research (e.g. Kääntä 2010) has approached CLIL classrooms from a CA perspective, and the present study attempts to contribute to this line of research. After all, previous (pragmatics-based) research has indicated that there might be differences in classroom interaction between CLIL and EFL classroom. Thus, the research results from either of these environments cannot be taken to apply in the other, at least not before further comparisons between them are made.

From the point of view of language learning, the results indicate that joking in CLIL classroom can, at least, provide opportunities for the pupils to momentarily play down or suspend the institutional roles of a teacher and a pupil. In this respect, the results are in line with Nikula (2007), who suggests that CLIL learners adopt the roles of active participants and committed users of the foreign language. The great amount of joking discovered by the present study is also in line with the results of Nikula (2005), who suggests that during CLIL lessons, the foreign language is used for almost all official and non-official talk, which is not the case in ELF classrooms. This, according to Nikula, increases the personal involvement of the pupils with the situation. If we take it that personal involvement is more favorable for language learning than detachment, as suggested by the CLIL agenda, it is clear that the ways in which involvement is created needs to be investigated. It may not be possible to create humor on purpose, but humor is certainly one of the characteristics of talk that increases personal involvement.

It is important to remember that the research results of the present study are produced on the basis of a very small data, and investigations of other types of data would surely suggest different contexts and functions for the phenomenon of joking. Every individual seems to have their own way of joking, which certainly impacts the way in which joking is shaped in the data of the present study. Also, the environment in which the data was recorded is not the most typical classroom in Finland; instead, the data involves a small group of lower secondary pupils who are given instruction in a foreign language. Nevertheless, the study was able to discover the characteristics of conversational joking in this specific institutional environment.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Transcription symbols

(.)	very short pause, less than 0.3 seconds
(1.2)	timed pause, length in brackets
((words))	nonverbal actions; transcriber's comments
word	translation of the previous line
(x)	unidentified syllable
(xxx)	unidentified word or words
(word)	speech not identified with certainty
>word<	quicker than surrounding speech
<word>	slower than surrounding speech
°word°	quiet speech
word	stressed syllable
word	emphasis
WORD	loud speech
:	extended sound or syllable
=	latched speech
[	beginning of overlapping utterances
]	end of overlapping utterances
hhh	audible outbreath
.hhh	audible inbreath
wo-	cut-off word
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation at the end of a unit
↑	rising intonation in the following syllable

↓	falling intonation in the following syllable
$	laughing voice
#	breathy voice

Symbols used to mark the participants

T	teacher
LL	several pupils or whole class
LF1	identified female pupil
LM1	identified male pupil
T? / LF1? / LM1?	tentatively identified speaker
LF	unidentified female pupil
LM	unidentified male pupil

Appendix 2: Seating arrangement

LM3 LM2 LM1

LF3 LF4

LF1 LF2 LF5 LF6

TEACHER