Anne Pitkänen-Huhta

Texts and Interaction

Literacy practices in the EFL classroom

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates literacy practices in the EFL classroom and subscribes to a social view of literacy (Literacy Studies). Accordingly, literacy is understood as a social practice where people talk about and around texts. Literacy in the classroom is embedded in the institutional context of education, which is characterized by specific discursive practices and by certain types of texts. As talk is central in the classroom, the present study pays special attention to the role of interaction in constructing literacy. Literacy practices are established, maintained and contested locally in particular literacy events through the interaction (including with texts) and actions of those participating in them. At the same time, however, their interaction and actions are shaped by the discursive (and social) practices of the institution. To obtain a comprehensive picture of the complexity of the interaction around and about texts, the study draws on research in classroom discourse, on instructional texts and on face-to-face interaction.

The study examines how literacy events are organized within the institutional context of the classroom, what role texts play in literacy events and how talk among the participants shapes texts. The data comprised six successive video-recorded EFL lessons from which 13 literacy events, focusing on either the textbook or workbook, were chosen for micro-analysis. In addition, the data included the textbook and workbook texts used during the 13 events. The analysis uses methods drawn from interactional sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication.

The micro-analysis showed that literacy events are structured by talk and fall into three phases, viz. the opening, text processing and closing phases, each characterized by various interactional structures. The analysis also showed that texts play a major role in constraining and creating opportunities for talk, thus shaping and being shaped by talk. Furthermore, the participants attributed different meanings to texts in their talk, indicating that several constructions of literacy may be present within a single setting.

Keywords: literacy, literacy practices, literacy events, text, interaction, classroom discourse

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Omistan tämän työn vanhemmilleni

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation

Classrooms are full of literacy. The whole environment is structured for literacy: there is a blackboard for writing, an overhead projector for displaying text, desks for books and writing accessories. More importantly, many of the activities done in the classroom are based on literacy or are done to build literacy. The language lesson consists of several different types of activities: exercises in the workbook, reading materials in the textbook, teacher-pupil discussion, tests, oral exercises and so on and so on. Many of these activities are based on written text: text in books or handouts, text on the black board or overhead transparencies, printed text, text written by the teacher, text written by the pupils or text being read aloud. In the classroom, there are, in fact, few activities that are not text-based.

Literacy is central in education: it is both the target and means of instruction. Literacy has been widely studied over the past decades and in most cases studies have approached literacy as a cognitive skill belonging to the individual reader and writer (e.g. Coady 1979, Goodman 1967, 1970, 1975, 1994, Gough 1972, Kintsch & van Dijk 1978, LaBerge & Samuels 1974, Rumelhart 1977, Smith 1971, 1978). Traditionally, the focus has been on the first language, but increasingly today it also extends to second/foreign languages (e.g. Alderson 1984, Carrell 1988, 1991, Grabe 1991). Such cognitively based studies understand literacy as a technical skill that an individual possesses and that is learned component by component until a universal skill – applicable in all contexts – is reached. In recent years, however, a growing number of studies have challenged this skills-based view of literacy and proposed that literacy be seen as practice rather than merely as a skill (e.g. Scribner and Cole 1981, Street 1984, Heath 1983, Barton 1994, Barton & Hamilton 1998, Gee 1996, 1999, Bloome 1989, 1993, Maybin & Moss 1993, Barton, Hamilton & Ivanič 2000, Martin-Jones & Jones 2000, Clark & Ivanič 1997, Ivanič 1998, Lillis 2001). This social approach has been called Literacy Studies and it is an interdisciplinary approach,

drawing on anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication, which seeks to study literacy in its contexts of occurrence. The present study subscribes to the premises of this field of study and ventures to examine literacy practices in the EFL classroom from within the social approach.

Seeing literacy as a social practice opens up completely new perspectives on the uses of text in society. The skills an individual needs when dealing with texts are embedded in the contexts in which the texts are used. Literacy is something people do as opposed to something people possess, i.e. literacy is a social activity. Due to its situated social nature, literacy is inherently also plural and therefore it makes sense to talk about multiple literacies. As literacies are always embedded in their contexts of occurrence, they are also acquired in these contexts through using and, more importantly, through talking about and around them. Literacy as a practice is more than the activities of reading and writing: practices include the values, attitudes and beliefs associated with the use of particular texts in particular contexts or contextual domains. These domains include the home, work or school. Some domains, such as school, have been more dominant than others and therefore school-based definitions of literacy have been prevalent, whereas everyday uses of literacy have been overlooked.

In addition to the concept of *practice*, Literacy Studies has made use of the concept of the literacy *event* in examining the use of texts. Literacy events are the concrete occasions of use of texts, where we can identify people acting and interacting around written texts. Events are a useful concept for research purposes as they can be observed and analysed. Literacy events have been examined and described through identifying elements characteristic of such events. These include setting, participants, artefacts and activities (Hamilton 2000). The practices of a particular domain can then be inferred from the concrete and bounded events that constitute it.

Literacy in the classroom is embedded in the institutional context of education. The institutional context is characterized by specific ways of talking, i.e. by specific discursive practices and by certain types of texts typical of that domain. The participants in the classroom use texts within this institutional context and in their talk and activities they draw on the broader social practices of the institution. Thus literacy in the classroom is shaped by the institution but at the same time, through their use of texts, the participants maintain, renew and transform the practices of the institution. Consequently, the relationship between literacy and context is dialogical: literacy both shapes and is shaped by the context and its social practices.

The numerous studies within Literacy Studies have increased our understanding of literacy as a social practice. There are, however, areas that call for further studies. Literacy in institutional settings in general and in the classroom in particular is an area in which research has only just begun. As talk is central in the classroom context, where almost everything is done through talk, the present study pays special attention to the role of interaction in constructing literacy in the EFL classroom. Moreover, literacy events have been defined as occasions in which people talk and act around written texts. Thus

talk has been acknowledged as a central element in literacy events and thus merits more rigorous attention than it has hitherto received. The present study assumes that the literacy practices of the foreign language classroom are established, maintained and contested locally in particular literacy events through participants' interaction (including texts) and actions. At the same time, however, their interaction and actions are shaped by the discursive (and social) practices of the institution. Therefore, the present study seeks to contribute to knowledge concerning literacy practices by a detailed examination of the interaction between the participants and between the participants and texts in the classroom. To this end, the study draws on research in classroom discourse, on instructional texts and on face-to-face interaction.

1.2 Aims

The principal aim of the present study is to describe and interpret literacy practices in the foreign language classroom through a detailed examination of specific literacy events. More specifically, the study aims at analysing the dynamics of interaction both among the participants and between the participants and texts in a particular classroom at the micro-level, thus providing a framework within which literacy practices can be examined in classrooms. Theoretically, the study aims at explicating the role of interaction in literacy events (and practices) by incorporating research on classroom discourse and on face-to-face interaction into Literacy Studies. Empirically, the aim is to describe and interpret literacy events in a particular setting by addressing the following three research questions:

(I) How are literacy events organized within the institutional context of the classroom?
   1. How do the participants orient themselves to literacy events in their talk?
   2. What interactional structures are used to organize literacy events?

(II) What role do texts play in literacy events?
   1. How do texts structure literacy events?
   2. How do the participants make use of texts?

(III) How does talk among the participants shape texts?
   1. How do the participants talk about texts?
   2. What speaker roles do the participants adopt in relation to texts?
   3. What meanings do the participants give texts in their talk?

In addressing each of these questions, the analysis focuses on the interaction and actions of the participants among themselves and in relation to the texts that are utilized.

The principal focus of the study is thus on utilizing texts, that is, on how the participants use texts and talk about texts. Thus I do not examine the production of texts in the study. Moreover, I analyse texts in terms of their use, and therefore text analysis is not carried out. Although both Finnish and English are used in the classroom under scrutiny, the study is not concerned with code-switching. Because I assume that both languages are used to build literacy, I only make a distinction between English and Finnish when this is relevant to the overall examination of the interaction.

1.3 Data and methodology

In order to carry out a detailed study of literacy practices as constructed through interaction and activities in the classroom, it is necessary to obtain data that has been video-recorded in a naturally occurring setting. The data of the present study come from one classroom in a secondary school in Finland. Six successive lessons in an EFL classroom were video-recorded and transcribed. From those lessons, I identified literacy events, i.e. events that had a written text as the centre of talk and activities. The textbook or the workbook seemed to be the basis of most of the literacy events in this classroom and, moreover, these events occupied a substantial proportion of the lesson time. Therefore, I picked out 13 literacy events, which focused on texts either in the textbook or in the workbook used in the class, for close analysis.

As far as research paradigms are concerned, the present study subscribes to the constructivist paradigm as defined by Guba and Lincoln (1994). Accordingly, the purpose is not to find the absolute and objective truth but the findings of the study are the result of a process of investigation and they are based on interpretation. The present study can be characterized as an ethnographic study in that it focuses on a single setting and the aim is to reach an in-depth understanding of the object of study by a descriptive and interpretive analysis of the data. In addition, the data is naturally occurring, it comes from more than one source and it is based on recordings (and in that way on observation).

In analysing the data, the study draws on earlier research on classroom discourse (Sinclair & Coulthart 1975, Mehan 1979, Cazden 1988) and face-to-face interaction (Drew & Heritage 1992, Goffman 1981, Levinson 1988) as well as on notions concerning the nature of textbooks (e.g. De Castell & Luke 1989, Luke 1988, 1991, Karvonen 1995). The principal focus of the analysis is on interaction and language is seen as constitutive of social reality. To obtain a comprehensive picture of the complexity of interaction around and about texts, I use methods eclectically from interactional sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication in analysing the data. In describing and interpreting the micro-level dynamics of interaction between participants and between participants and texts, the analysis has three descriptive dimensions: 1) the structure of interaction, 2) the use of texts and 3) the integration of talk and texts.

In examining the first of these, I pay attention to two aspects of interaction. Firstly, I examine the overall structural organization of talk and see how the literacy event is organized in the participants' talk. Secondly, I investigate the participants' orientation to each other. It is assumed that the participants shift their alignment to each other so as to allow them to take part in several conversations at the same time, which in turn may lead to overlapping conversations. Accordingly, texts might be talked about differently in different simultaneous conversations.

Secondly, the texts used in the events are analysed only in relation to their use. The analysis assumes that instructional texts are meant to be used by a group of people and thus they offer something for the participants to work on. To this end, I pay attention to the general layout of the texts and elements into which the text page is divided. The emphasis is on how these elements of texts reflect the overall purpose that the text conveys and imposes on its users. These properties of texts are investigated in terms of how the participants turn texts into classroom activities.

Finally, in examining the participants' orientation to texts, I apply the basic idea of complex and changing speaker-hearer roles employed both by Goffman (1981) and Levinson (1988). The special emphasis here is on those roles in which the speakers do not utter words of their own but, instead, bring the text in question into their talk in various ways, thus assigning various meanings to texts. In addition, I also focus on the lexical choices made by the speakers when they are talking about texts, as these have been found out to be relevant in institutional talk (Drew and Heritage 1992, Peräkylä 1997).

1.4   An overview of the study

After this introductory section, chapters 2 and 3 present the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 2 focuses on literacy as it is understood within the social approach. Thus, I first discuss the definitions of literacy and then describe the development of Literacy Studies in the light of three pioneering studies. In the next two sections, I discuss the nature of literacy as social practice and the central concepts of practices and events used in Literacy Studies with a special emphasis on the relationship between the two concepts. Finally, I review four studies on literacy, which have been conducted in classrooms and which are relevant to the present study. Chapter 3 focuses on the classroom and its special nature as an institutional context. First I discuss the concepts of context and institutionality and then I focus on interaction as constitutive of institutional contexts. Then I discuss the nature of classroom discourse and the instructional texts. Finally, the relevance of speaker roles in the relationship between talk and texts is examined.

After the theoretical background, chapter 4 presents the framework for the present study. This includes a discussion of the implications of previous studies for the present study and a presentation of the research questions. I then present the methodological approach employed in the present study. Next the

type of data and the data collection procedures, including transcription conventions, are discussed. Finally, the chapter describes the analytical tools employed as well as the central concepts used in the analysis.

The analysis is divided into three chapters each addressing one of the three research questions. Chapter 5 examines the internal organization of literacy events and how this is accomplished through talk among the participants. Chapter 6 focuses on two aspects in the role of texts in literacy events. It investigates, on one hand, how texts frame the event and what they provide for the event and, on the other hand, how the participants make use of texts. Chapter 7 explores the ways the participants talk about texts and the meanings they consequently assign texts. In the final chapter, chapter 8, I attempt to describe the literacy practices of the foreign language classroom in the light of the classroom examined in this study. I also discuss possible implications for foreign language instruction, assess the present study and suggest possible directions for future studies.

2 THE SOCIAL VIEW OF LITERACY

Our society functions to a great extent through written texts. Texts are present both in people's everyday lives as well as in various institutions, such as those relating to education. One of the primary aims of education has for a long time been to make people literate, first and foremost in their first language but increasingly also in second/foreign languages. Therefore, literacy has also been studied extensively and from various perspectives. The most widely adopted perspective has been a cognitively based view of literacy as a psychological process. The present study subscribes to view of a different kind: literacy is considered a social activity. In this chapter, I will present the premises of the social view of literacy and discuss its central concepts as well as studies conducted in educational settings within this field of study.

2.1 Defining literacy

Literacy is a complex term, which can have various meanings depending on who uses it and for what purpose. Its meaning has varied both in research on literacy as well as in public debate concerning literacy. As Barton (1994: 19) notes, literacy is a fairly recent word in English. Traditionally it has been more common to talk about reading and writing. Even these two terms can have several meanings from decoding to interpreting and from mechanical copying to creative poetry writing. Currently, literacy is increasingly used to refer to broader notions of using texts, which cover the activities of both reading and writing (Barton 1994: 19).

   Traditionally, in dictionary definitions, literacy has been defined as the *ability to read and write*. As Gee (1996: 22, see also Auerbach 1992) notes, this seems innocent in appearance, but is, in fact, as loaded as any other term. Gee (1996: 22) further points out that "Literacy as 'the ability to write and read' situates the literacy in the individual person, rather than in society." Literacy becomes the possession of an individual and, further, defined as an ability, the technicalities of the skill get emphasized. Thus, literacy has traditionally been

considered a technical skill which belongs to an individual reader or writer. This has been the dominant way of understanding literacy both in theory and in practice. In addition, different languages differ in their terminology concerning literacy. In Finnish there is, in fact, no word comparable to the English *literacy*; instead, the Finnish term *luku- ja kirjoitustaito* means literally the ability to read and write. Thus no other definition is even possible in Finnish and therefore expanding views on literacy may be hard. A broader understanding of literacy in terms of the use of written texts is hindered by the term, which limits literacy to an ability and a skill.

What does it mean then to be able to read and write? Traditionally, the ability has meant decoding script in the case of reading and using the written code to transfer ideas from the mind to paper in the case of writing. Nevertheless, despite the ability to decode the written code, not all people understand every text in the same way. Gee (1996: 39-41) starts from the traditional definition of literacy and moves gradually towards a socially based definition of literacy. When we read and write, we encounter different types of texts such as stories, news, advertisements or official documents. These texts can be read differently by different people, that is, people understand the texts differently or get different meanings out of them. Somehow people acquire this ability to read different texts in different ways. Gee (1996: 39-41) argues that this ability is acquired only through being a part of a social group, that is, using these texts. In these social groups "people not only read texts of this type in this way, but also talk about such texts in certain ways, hold certain attitudes and values about them, and socially interact over them in certain ways." (p. 41). Thus literacy is acquired rather than learned through an apprentice-like relationship to other members of a particular group.

Given this contextual nature of literacy and the thinking, valuing, believing and interacting related to literacy, defining it as the ability of a single reader or writer is inadequate. Consequently, involvement with texts might more usefully be seen as a *practice* than a *skill* or *ability*. Such practices include, in addition to actual textual practices, particular ways of talking, thinking, valuing and believing. Thus literacy practices are always embedded in the wider practices of certain social groups, be it a family, a group of doctors or a classroom. In Gee's (1996: 41) words, "Literacy practices are almost always fully integrated with, interwoven into, constituted part of, the very texture of wider practices that involve talk, interaction, values and beliefs." Consequently, in recent years, there has been a growing number of studies that emphasize the inherently social nature of literacy. Literacy is seen as something (a group of) people do as opposed to something an individual possesses.

As literacy is situated in specific contexts, it is also inherently plural. There are many literacies and not just one literacy to be learned and mastered. Different groups have different literacy practices. Literacy may also be associated with different spheres of life. We can talk about computer literacy or political literacy. As Barton (1994: 13) notes, these are also metaphorical uses of literacy and in these cases literacy means "access to knowledge and information". There is, however, the danger of assuming a one-to-one relationship between, say, computers and literacy so as to acknowledge only

one kind of computer literacy. The plurality and situatedness of literacy applies here as well: computers are used in many ways and thus the literacies related to computers also vary.

In studies examining second/foreign language literacy, a distinction has often been made between reading and writing and these have been studies separately. This line of research has drawn on studies in first language literacy. Grabe (1990: 145) notes that in the examination of literacy in a second (/foreign) language, issues of first language literacy apply as well. Psychologically based foreign/second language research has a long tradition and there have been numerous studies in the field (see e.g. Alderson 1984, Carrell 1988, 1991, Grabe 1991, see also Pitkänen-Huhta 1999 for an overview of the area). This research has contributed to our understanding of learners, the learning process, teachers, classrooms and task (for a review of research, see Barton & Pitt 2002). Research in foreign language learning has traditionally divided language learning into separate skills, which in turn are divided into subskills or components. The most common division is reading, writing, listening and speaking. Sometimes grammar and vocabulary are treated as discrete skills. The components of these skills can then be learned in isolation and then added to each other to finally comprise the skill of reading or writing. This skill is essentially possessed by the individual and is a mental or cognitive process. Moreover, reading and writing have been considered universal skills in the sense that once the various subskills of reading and writing have been mastered they can be applied to almost any situation. This component approach to language also entails that reading and writing can be treated separately from other components of language use.

When talking about proficiency in a language, we should not ask 'Can you speak, read and write English?' but 'What can you speak, read and write in English?' (van Leeuwen & Humprey 1996: 29). This applies equally to foreign language learning as the aim of foreign language instruction is apparently to learn to use the foreign language. Although learning predominantly takes place in the classroom, the aim is to be able to use the language in contexts other than the classroom as well. Therefore, the component view of learning to read and write is unsatisfactory. Literacy is involved in foreign language instruction in two ways: students learn both *about* literacy and *through* literacy. In other words, literacy – or reading and writing – is, on the one hand, the explicit target of instruction and, on the other hand, written language is the basis of a great many activities in the classroom. The learning of grammar, for example, is almost exclusively based on written language.

To be literate in a foreign language means to be able to function in situations involving texts written in that language. Kern (1995) points out that, on the basis of the social approach to literacy, there is a clear need in foreign language instruction to see literacy in broader terms than just the skills of reading and writing. The practitioners need to be aware that literacy is acquired, not only through reading, but in all instances in which learners are faced with written language. As Wells (1990: 369) points out, "…, through talk about texts of various kinds, children are inducted into ways of engaging with texts that are appropriate to the occasion." In foreign language learning, the

language is mainly learned through formal instruction, although today learners are increasingly facing foreign language in their everyday lives. As literacy is embedded in the context in which it is used – the classroom in this case – and is thus shaped by the institution, more research is needed to examine precisely what kind of literacy pupils learn in the classroom context. It is not enough, however, to examine or measure learning outcomes. To understand literacy, we need to examine the context in which literacy is acquired and learned and how this context shapes literacy.

2.2 Premises and development of Literacy Studies

The socially oriented research on literacy that has emerged during the past two decades has sometimes been called the new literacy studies (Street 1993, 1995, Gee 1996). With the word *new* a distinction is made between the social view and the cognitively based mainstream research on literacy. Gee (1996: 122) also uses the term *socioliteracy* studies. More recently, Barton (2001a, b) has referred to the field as *Literacy Studies*[1]. Whatever the term, the focus of these interdisciplinary studies has been literacy as a social practice embedded in the social practices of a particular group.

Literacy Studies is an interdisciplinary approach which aims at studying literacy in its contexts of occurrence. The roots of the field of study lie in anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication. Therefore, methods such as ethnography, participant observation, (critical) discourse analysis and text analysis have been used in the numerous studies conducted in recent years. These studies seek to give credit to forms and ways of reading and writing that have not been properly recognized because of the dominant ways of conceptualising literacy. Scholars have extended the field of Literacy Studies in ethnography (e.g. Barton & Hamilton 1998), in discourse analysis (e.g. Gee 1996, 1999) and in education (e.g. Bloome 1989, 1993, Bloome & Green 1992, Maybin & Moss 1993). Collections of studies have concerned, for example, education and other matters in various cultures (Prinsloo & Breier 1996, Street 2001), the situated nature of literacy (Barton, Hamilton & Ivanič 2000) and literacy in multilingual settings (Martin-Jones & Jones 2000).[2] Most studies have concentrated on the use of texts but some research on writing has also been done (Clark & Ivanič 1997, Ivanič 1998, Lillis 2001, Luttrell & Parker 2001, Lea & Street 1999).

This social approach to literacy started when a number of scholars from very different disciplines began to question the prevailing notions of literacy as a universal, objective and monolithic technical skill. The notion of literacy as a social practice is based on the pioneering work by Scribner and Cole (1981) coming out of psychology, Street (1984) who carried out anthropological

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[1]   Henceforth this term will be used in the present study.

[2]   For an extensive review of the field, see Barton (2001b).

fieldwork and Heath (1983) with her ethnography of two communities. Each of these has contributed to the field by showing through empirical studies the social nature of literacy and in providing some of the central concepts used in later studies. In the following, I will briefly discuss each of these studies and their contribution to Literacy Studies.

One of the pioneering empirical studies that led to the use of the concept literacy practice was that of Scribner and Cole (1981). This originally psychological study was conducted in the years 1973-78 in West Africa among the Vai and it involved extensive field work with surveys, interviews and a number of cognitive tests. The aim of the study was to examine the cognitive effects of literacy and schooling. In the course of the study, however, the researchers moved from the idea of literacy as a skill with clear cognitive consequences towards what they call a practice account of literacy. They found three different literacies in the community all of which had their unique functions in the society. By approaching literacy in terms of practices they aimed at combining the cognitive skills of the individual and the cultural and historical conventions of the society. According to Scribner and Cole, practices are socially developed activities that comprise three components: knowledge, skill and the use of appropriate technologies. Thus, more than skills are involved in literacy. Moreover, their study showed that the cognitive consequences that have often been attributed to literacy are, in fact, constructed in the institutional practices of schools (Carrington & Luke 1997: 97).

In contrast to the purely psychological views, Scribner and Cole attempted the put the activities of the individual into a larger framework of cultural and historical development. They aimed at explaining how past and present social factors have shaped the various cognitive skills that are necessary in order to take part in literacy practices. As an attempt to link the cognitive and the social, Scribner and Cole's work must be seen as the first serious step towards understanding literacy as practice involving more than a mere set of skills.

Street (1984), as an anthropologist, also took empirical fieldwork as a starting point. In the 1970s he conducted extensive anthropological research in Iran where he examined how the growing modern educational system affected the lives of people in rural areas. He identified three different literacies: '*maktab*' literacy, commercial literacy and state school literacy. What Street called *maktab* literacy was taught in the local Islamic school. Commercial literacy was used in buying and selling fruit, and modern state school literacy was taught in the cities and it differed radically from the other two. Each of these involved different practices and, as Street (2000: 22) says, understanding them as practices rather than as skills helped him to understand the differences in their use, such as commercial literacy being employed by those who had been taught in the local schools rather than in the state schools. This was because

> Those with Qur'anic literacy have the status and authority within the village to carry on these commercial practices, whilst those trained in the State school were seen to be oriented outwards and lacked the integral relations to everyday village life that underpinned the trust necessary for such transactions. (Street 2000: 23)

What he found was several literacies each with their own functions in Iranian society instead of a single, autonomous literacy. Thus, the different literacies were associated with different domains of life each carrying a different identity for those using it. These literacies were embedded in cultural practices and could not be separated from these and treated as mere technicalities.

On the basis of his fieldwork, Street challenged the prevailing views of literacy as an ideologically neutral skill taking place in a vacuum. He has termed the traditional view the *autonomous* model and his alternative approach the *ideological* model of literacy. The autonomous view is based on the 'great divide', that is, a clear distinction is made between oral and written language as well as oral and literate cultures. Literacy is seen as a technical skill and a part of an individual's cognitive development. In the alternative ideological model literacy is conceptualized as "an ideological practice, implicated in power relations and embedded in specific cultural meanings and practices" (Street 1995: 1). Literacy cannot be ideologically free if it is understood as a social practice. Street's account of practice thus essentially involves the notion of power structures in society, which is missing in Scribner and Cole's view of practice. If Scribner and Cole tried to combine the cognitive and the social in literacy, Street talks about the cognitive being inherently social. He does not deny the technical aspects involved in literacy, but he emphasizes that the cognitive should be seen as "encapsulated in the social" (Street 1995: 161). Moreover, for Street, literacy is not just the activities of reading and writing, instead, it is part of larger communicative practices in different social contexts. Therefore, the relationship between oral and written language is not that of the 'great divide'; rather, the social context determines which means of communication is appropriate. Both oral and written forms of language may be present in literacy practices.

To turn to the third pioneering piece of research, Heath's (1983) study focused on two communities in the south-eastern United States. She used ethnographic and sociolinguistic methods and she focussed on the ways in which children learned to use language in a black working class and a white working class community, and compared these communities to white townspeople, mainstream people who had the power as far as education was concerned. When examining the way literacy was used and learned in these communities, Heath conceptualized literacy in terms of *literacy events*[3]. For Heath (1983: 386) the term means "those occasions in which talk revolves around a piece of writing". As Heath (1982, 1983) explains, these events are rule-governed in the same way as speech events. There are social rules attached to literacy events that regulate interaction. These rules guide the type and amount of talk about what is written. Oral language has a crucial role in literacy practices in defining how written material is used, exploited and applied. Although Heath does not use the term practice in her work, her approach towards literacy is essentially similar to that of Street's and Scribner and Cole's. Literacy is not a universal skill in people's minds; it is multiple and it is a complex, multilayered and constantly changing phenomenon.

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[3]   A corresponding term, *speech event*, can be found in discourse studies.

All three studies discussed above can be considered as having laid the foundation for Literacy Studies. Their most significant contribution is that they showed through their empirical studies the importance of seeing literacy as practice instead of just a set of skills. Their studies showed that literacy is bound up with other social practices and that it cannot be separated from oral language practices. Most studies within the field have adopted Street's autonomous and ideological models of literacy as their point of departure. Both the concept of practice and that of event – used by Heath – have been central in understanding the social nature of reading and writing, and both concepts will be employed in the present study.

2.3   Literacy as social practice

The social approach has often been contrasted with the cognitive view of reading and writing. As I already pointed out above, the whole approach arose, in fact, as an opposition to the overwhelming mainstream conception of literacy, which seemed to put too much emphasis on the effects and consequences of literacy and suppress other meanings and functions of literacy under the western, educational view. Contrasting one thing with another is often indeed a fruitful strategy as it helps us see seemingly natural, self-evident and familiar phenomena in a new light. Hence, literacy as practice can also be contrasted with the skills and abilities view that has been prevalent for such a long time.

The dominant view of literacy has been the psychologically or cognitively based view, which limits literacy to individual readers and writers and their inner processes, and links literacy to the individual's cognitive growth (see e.g. Coady 1979, Goodman 1967, 1970, 1975, 1994, Gough 1972, Kintsch & van Dijk 1978, LaBerge & Samuels 1974, Rumelhart 1977, Smith 1971, 1978). This conception of literacy has been understood to have grave consequences for both the individual and society at large in terms of economic and social well being. As stated above, Street (1984: 1995) calls this the autonomous view of literacy. In line with this view, there is only one literacy, which is attainable mainly through explicit instruction. Once attained, this literacy can be applied in any context at any time. In contrast, Street's ideological view locates literacy in its contexts of use and involves, in addition to textual practices per se, the values, attitudes and beliefs people hold about literacy and which they draw on when using literacy. These values direct people's actions and talk in relation to literacy. The term *ideology* is used to show that literacy can never be neutral: as it is embedded in the practices of cultures, societies and communities, it is always loaded with the beliefs and values of the particular culture or subculture. To quote Street (1995: 162), "…ideology is the site of tension between authority and power on the one hand and individual resistance and creativity on the other". Therefore, literacy practices always involve some level of power struggle between people making use of literacy and some form of authority. In this sense too, literacy can never be neutral.

Barton and Hamilton's (1998: 3) overall description of literacy captures well the essence of literacy as social practice:

> Literacy is primarily something people do; it is an activity, located in the space between thought and text. Literacy does not just reside in people's heads as a set of skills to be learned, and it does not just reside on paper, captured as texts to be analysed. Like all human activity, literacy is essentially social, and it is located in the interaction between people.

As opposed to a skill inside people's heads, literacy is an activity. People act around text and, moreover, they talk around texts. Although literacy is about texts, it is not enough to analyse texts alone. To understand literacy, the activities around texts need to be examined, too. These activities might involve several people or just a solitary reader or writer, which is often the image that is associated with reading and writing. Even if there is only one person present, there might be other people – hidden from the actual scene – who have been involved in the production of the texts being used.

Practices are pitched at a broader level than the concrete activities of reading or writing since there is also an ideological side to literacy. Literacy does not float in a vacuum but it has a historical and cultural background. It is deeply embedded in the culture and society in which it is used and it gets its meaning within its context of use. The context in which literacy is embedded is more than a variable, more than a factor affecting literacy. Its context shapes literacy and, on the other hand, literacy shapes the context around it. Thus literacy is always situated in a particular context, being an integral part of that context. The context involves both the immediate setting with its specific physical characteristics, which shape literacy, and the broader cultural context with its abstract characteristics[4]. To illustrate, a classroom has a physical setting, which is easily recognizable as a classroom as it bears similarities to other classrooms. In addition, there is a broader cultural context surrounding the immediate setting. This context involves various culture-specific aspects of education such as how schools are governed, what the role of the parents is, and so on. Furthermore, the context of a classroom is characterized by discourses typical of the educational setting.

Literacy is related to different domains of life (Barton 1994, Barton & Hamilton 1998) such as home, school or work. At home certain texts are used for particular purposes, whereas at school other texts are exploited. Within education, literacy is often the focus of explicit instruction, but at home and in the community literacy is often used to attain other purposes. One could talk about home literacy, school literacy or work place literacy. The various domains cannot, however, be separated from each other in any clear cut way, as Barton and Hamilton (1998: 10) point out. They found in their study of local, vernacular literacies that there is overlap between domains and that one domain might 'leak' into another. School literacies are brought into homes and vice versa, and thus use is made of several practices in making sense of literacy. Different domains of life and different institutions have their own social

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[4]   The concept of context will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

practices, and as literacy is embedded in these contexts, it also embedded in the practices of these domains and institutions. Literacy practices are so integral to social practices that it may sometimes be difficult to set literacy practices apart from other social practices. Some domains are, nevertheless, more powerful and dominant than others. School is typically one such domain. Therefore, school-based definitions of literacy are more dominant in society than those of the home, for example (Barton 1994, Street & Street 1991).

Recent empirical studies within Literacy Studies have emphasized the role of vernacular literacies in society (e.g. Barton & Hamilton 1998, Prinsloo & Breier 1996, Street 2001). This emphasis has challenged the dominant views of literacy, which are largely based on the conceptualisations of education. These studies have shown that we live indeed in a textually mediated world and that literacy practices are an integral part of people's everyday lives. Detailed understanding of vernacular and indigenous literacies is necessary to see the relationship of these to education and work-place literacies. Education, as one of the dominant domains, has been the focus of literacy research and discussion for several years. Within Literacy Studies, there has also been a great deal of discussion in the field of education (e.g. Luke 1991, The New London Group 1996, Cope & Kalantzis 2000) and some empirical research has been conducted (see section 2.5). Literacy in education has often been termed 'school literacy' or 'educational literacy'. However, due to the situated nature of literacy, there will inevitably be variation within different educational domains and even within one single educational context. Thus, there is clearly a need for more empirical research within the educational institution. Moreover, foreign language education has been neglected almost completely within Literacy Studies (see, however, Kalaja & Pitkänen-Huhta 1999, Pitkänen-Huhta 2000, see also Martin-Jones & Jones 2000 for studies in multilingual settings) and the literacy practices in this area remain to be explored.

Literacies are acquired rather than learned (Gee 1992, 1996) and thus the socialization of the individual into practices is an essential part of being literate. To be able to read certain kinds of texts in a certain way one has to be socialized into the practice of reading these texts in that way. People become literate through apprenticeship, but being literate is, however, dynamic and constantly changing. It is not something people can achieve absolutely, as there are always new practices one needs to be enculturated into. Therefore literacy is also inherently plural.

Consequently, the literacy that is acquired in the foreign language classroom is not a universal skill that is applicable as such to any situation in any domain of life. Seeing literacy as a social practice inherently means that the literacy acquired in the classroom is shaped by the practices of the classroom setting. Thus understanding the nature of literacy in the foreign language classroom presupposes understanding the nature of the classroom setting. So far, this aspect of literacy in a foreign language has not been examined, and thus the particular nature of the literacy that pupils acquire in a foreign language remains to be explored. The present study seeks to address this question and, building on studies focussing on everyday literacies, aims at extending Literacy Studies by examining the domain of education in greater detail.

2.4   Literacy practices and events

Literacy *practices* and literacy *events* are two central concepts that were used in the pioneering studies of the field. Both concepts have become established in the field of study, since they have been the starting points in numerous later studies and have also been extended and refined. As the field of study is interdisciplinary in nature, problems arise in the use of terminology. Recently, there has been discussion about the necessity to be explicit about the terms when using them (e.g. Street 2000). In the following, I will examine the terms, especially that of the literacy event, and the relationship between practices and events.

There are two sides to literacy as practices: one is the concrete human activity related to literacy and the other is the values and attitudes people place on literacy. Street (1984, 1995, 2000, 2001) combines these two under the same concept *practice*. As he points out (1995: 162), he uses "'literacy practices' as a broad concept, pitched at a higher level of abstraction and referring to both behaviour and conceptualisations related to the use of reading and/or writing." Thus Street includes literacy events in literacy practices, whereas Heath (1983) used the concept of literacy events to refer to concrete events in which written language is present. Heath did not talk about practices in her research. Many other researchers have combined these two views and have used both terms: *literacy events* for the concrete occasions in which people act and interact around written texts and *practices* for "the general cultural ways of utilizing written language which people draw upon in their lives" (Barton & Hamilton 1998: 6). This is a useful distinction, especially for research purposes, as it helps to focus on specific occasions of using literacy and thus identify the multiple ways in which written language mediates the world we live in.

Thus, as Barton and Hamilton (1998, Barton 1991) note, literacy events are concrete, observable occasions where written language has a central role, whereas literacy practices are abstract constellations involving values, attitudes and beliefs about literacy. Barton and Hamilton (1998) further point out that literacy practices can, however, be inferred from events. Regular events form patterns of behaviour, which indicate what kind of practices are prevalent in the context in question.

The nature of events has been described in different ways, and different fields of study make use of similar concepts but give them different names. Heath (1982: 93) describes literacy events as "occasions in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretative processes". Thus any situation in any context that involves a text and people acting and interacting around that piece of written text is a literacy event. Similarly to speech events – a term used in sociolinguistics – literacy events have certain context specific regulations which determine when and where events occur and interactional rules regulating what is talked about, who talks, when and how. Quoting Heath (1983: 386, italics in original): "literacy events have social interactional rules which regulate the type and amount of *talk* about what is written, and define ways in which *oral language* reinforces,

denies, extends, or sets aside the written material." The participants in literacy events must also have certain interpretive competencies to be able to take part in the flow of events (Heath 1982: 93). These competencies are gained through socialization into the practices of the setting.

Thus, although the text plays a central role in literacy events, Heath emphasizes the role of talk in organizing and maintaining literacy events. In some domains such as the classroom, almost everything is done through talk and, therefore, in defining literacy events, talk has to be assigned a prominent position. In addition, when the focus of scrutiny is on interaction among people, it has to be borne in mind that talk is not just talk for the sake of talk; instead, it is always embedded in a social situation. As Goffman (1981: 144) points out "the whole social situation, the whole surround, must always be considered" when talk is examined. In short, literacy events, which take place around a piece of written text, are organized through talk and this talk is embedded in the social situation, constrained by it and constraining it.

Literacy events could thus be described as *communicative events* involving a certain group of people in a certain setting. These events are not located in a vacuum but are, instead, integrated into the social setting, that is, they always occur in a particular context. The context can be examined and described ethnographically and thus, literacy events can also be examined ethnographically through the various components relevant in the description. As Schiffrin (1994: 185) says

> ... an ethnographic approach to discourse seeks to discover and analyze the structures and functions of communicating that organize the use of language in speech situations, events and acts. Knowledge of these structures and functions is part of our communicative competence: what we say and do has meaning only within a framework of cultural knowledge. The ways we organize and conduct our lives through language are thus ways of being and doing that are not only relative to other possibilities for communicating, but also deeply embedded within the particular framework by which we – as members of our own specific communities – make sense of our experience.

Context forms the background for talk in the literacy event: it regulates talk and also makes certain kind of talk possible. Hymes (1972) has extensively discussed speech as a communicative event. He emphasizes the integration of language and social life: how the use of language is linked to the social life in which language is embedded. Hymes (1972) has proposed that communicative events can be described in terms of different components. These components vary according to the setting, some being more prominent and others only marginal. Hymes' classificatory grid is known as the SPEAKING grid. The following are the possible components of communication: setting (scene), participants, ends, act sequence, key (instrumentalities), norms of interaction and interpretation and genre. These components can be used to describe communicative units, which are, according to Hymes (1972), *a speech situation*, *a speech event* and *a speech act*. These are embedded so that, to borrow Schiffrin's (1994: 142) illustration, a party would be a speech situation, a conversation at the party would be a speech event and a joke in the conversation would be a speech act. Schiffrin further notes that speech situations, although proving the

setting for speech, are not directly governed by a set of rules, whereas speech events are "activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech" (Hymes 1972: 56). By analyzing communicative units, especially speech events, through their components, we can find patterns and regularities that organize the use of language.

Levinson's notion of activity types bears similarities to Hymes' notion of speech events, as he himself notes (Levinson 1992: 69). He criticizes Hymes' taxonomy, however, for extreme atomism and notes that all the elements in the taxonomy are not of equal importance in all settings (Levinson 1992: 70). Similar criticism has been presented by Thomas (1995). She points out that Hymes was mainly interested in very formal and rigid events and, therefore, his taxonomy is not well suited for less formal occasions or casual conversations.

Levinson's (1992: 69) notion of activity types refers to "a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with *constraints* on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions." Levinson focuses on the structure of events and divides them into subparts or episodes. He illustrates this by the example of a seminar, which usually has a presentation followed by a discussion, that is, the activity type has two subparts or episodes. The structural elements are adapted to the goals of the activity, which is "the function or functions that members of the society see the activity as having" (p. 71). What is important in activity types is how they constrain the allowable contributions and their interpretation. Sarangi (2000: 2) gives a medical consultation as an example. If a doctor opens a consultation by *How are you?*, the patient interprets this as an enquiry about the patient's health, whereas in an encounter of friends this would be interpreted as a ritual greeting, which does not require an account of the state of the person's health. Sarangi notes further that it is quite possible for the patient to respond in interpersonal terms but it is less likely that a patient would open the discussion with *How are you?*

Thus, the structure of the event sets constraints on talk, but what exactly these constraints are varies from context to context, is related to the purpose of the event and cannot, therefore, be predetermined. Thomas notes (1995, 1989) that Levinson proposes that the way people talk shapes the event, whereas Hymes sees the context as setting constraints on the talk of individuals. Quoting Thomas further (1995: 194):

> . . . (language) is not simply a reflection of the physical or social context, or of the role relationship between the two speakers, but language is used in order to establish and then change the nature of the relationship between A and B and the nature of the activity type in which they are participating.

Thus, the relationship between context and the participants could be seen as bidirectional: the participants create a context through their talk but, especially in institutional settings, the context also sets constraints on the talk. This is in line with the view of the relationship between literacy practices and the surrounding, broader social practices, as seen from within Literacy Studies: literacy practices shape and are shaped by the social practices of the particular setting. Given the importance of the, so far neglected, talk in literacy events, it

can be inferred that the relationship between the literacy event and the participants' talk within the event is bidirectional: the event shapes talk and talk shapes the event.

As was mentioned above, Hymes' notion of communicative events involves various components and Levinson (1992) proposes that activity types, which are similar to literacy events, consist of subparts or episodes. In the same vein, Hamilton (2000), who has examined literacy events ethnographically, suggests that literacy events can be analysed in terms of certain elements. She has analyzed photographs of literacy events and employed the following grid of core elements in analysing literacy events and practices. When looking at events, she analysed participants, settings, artefacts, and activities. She (2000: 17) describes participants as "the people who can be seen to be interacting with the written texts"; settings as "the immediate physical circumstances in which the interaction takes place"; artefacts as "the materials tools and accessories that are involved in the interaction (including the texts)" and activities as "the actions performed by participants in the literacy event". These are the visible elements within literacy events and they can be observed. Because literacy practices are abstract entities, their characteristics are invisible and can only be inferred from the observable events. Hamilton (2000: 17) calls the following the "non-visible constituents of literacy practices". Firstly, related to the visible participants, there are the hidden participants who are somehow connected to the events through, for example, producing or circulating written texts. Secondly, in relation to the immediate setting, there is the domain of practice. The event takes place within this domain – home or education, for example – and the event acquires its meaning and purpose through this domain. Thirdly, in addition to the visible texts, there are all the other resources involved. These include, for example, values and skills. The final constituent, which is related to the activities component, is constituted of the routines that make the participants' actions possible and also regulate them.

To sum up the various views on events, the first scholar to coin the concept of the literacy event, Heath (1982, 1983), identified the core elements of literacy events: text and talk. Within Literacy Studies, Hamilton has developed the concept further by identifying four elements by which events and practices can be examined: setting, participants, artefacts and activities. Her discussion was in line with Hymes' account in that the emphasis was on the physical characteristics of the setting. In Hamilton's discussion, no attention, however, was paid to talk, which is due to her focus on photographs of literacy events. Hymes' grid emphasizes the context in which the speech events are embedded and focuses on describing the characteristics of the context. The role of talk in shaping the event is acknowledged but not given due attention to. Levinson, however, sees activity types as purposeful events which are established through the participants' talk. In addition, he focuses on the constraints that the structural elements of activity types set on talk and, in his account, activity types also consist of subparts. Drawing on these views, literacy events can be seen as rule-governed occasions, which can be examined through various components. These include setting, participants, texts (and other artefacts), activities and interaction among the participants.

Basically, within Literacy Studies, literacy events and practices have been understood from an ethnographic (and sociological) point of view. Events are seen as concrete activities which can be observed, whereas practices are something that cannot be observed directly. Street (2000: 21) sees problems in using the concept literacy event alone:

> 'literacy events' [sic] is a helpful concept, I think, because it enables researchers, and also practitioners, to focus on a particular situation where things are happening and you can see them happening. . . . But there is also a problem if we use the concept on its own in that it remains descriptive and, from an anthropological point of view, it does not tell us how the meanings are constructed. . . . The concept of literacy practices does, I think, attempt to handle the events and the patterns of activity around literacy but to *link* them to something broader of a cultural and social kind. . . . in a literacy event we have brought to it concepts, social models regarding what the nature of this practice is and that make it work and give it meaning. . . . Those models we cannot get at simply by sitting on the wall with a video and watching what is happening . . . we have to start talking to people, listening to them and linking their immediate experience of reading and writing out to other things that they do as well.

Street understands practices as unconscious constellations, which cannot be materialized in literacy events. A link has to be made to broader social and cultural aspects of literacy and this link, as Streets argues above, can be made through talking to people. Thus he argues that practices can be investigated through interviewing people and, in addition, linking their experiences to theories. In the same vein, Tusting, Ivanič and Wilson (2000: 216) describe the relationship between practices and events as follows:

> Only literacy events ever 'happen' in reality, that is to say come to presence directly. …. some aspects of these practices are never made material in literacy events; practices also consist of attitudes to and beliefs about literacy. … some aspects of practice can be brought to presence in consciousness – such as explicit beliefs about different literacies – and therefore investigated by the researcher through interviews and diaries. However, other aspects may be purely unconscious, built up through experience over long periods of time, as an accumulation of past events and experiences which is not open to direct reflection.

What Tusting et al. are saying is that by examining and observing events, it is only possible to get limited information about practices. Some of the abstract elements of practices can be investigated through talking to people but, in contrast to Street, they say that some elements of practices remain hidden. Extrapolating theory from observation is the only way to get at these hidden values and attitudes (Tusting et al. 2000: 216).

Attitudes have been closely related to practices, and it is true that unconscious beliefs and attitudes cannot be investigated through interviews or diaries because these cannot be verbalized. Research on attitudes within discursive social psychology (Potter 1996, 1998, Potter & Wetherell 1987, for an application to second language learning, see Hyrkstedt & Kalaja 1998, Kalaja 1999) takes a social constructionist view. They are not seen as fixed constellations in people's minds but as variable discursive constructions. As Potter (1998: 259) says, attitudes are "heterogeneous evaluative practices" which differ from one setting to another and which are used for different

purposes. Thus attitudes are constructed in interaction among people and therefore a close analysis of the interaction between the participants in particular events gives us insight into the practices as well.

The examination of interaction is crucial in understanding literacy. As Cook-Gumperz (1986: 2) points out, "literacy is constructed in everyday life, through interactional exchanges and the negotiation of meaning in many different contexts" and thus the nature of literacy can only be revealed through "the interactional analysis of actual classroom practices" (p. 15). Similarly, Bloome and Green (1992: 52) emphasize the importance of classroom conversations in establishing definitions of literacy and ways of dealing with written texts. Overall, in the social approach to researching literacy, the role of spoken language and its relation to written language in literacy events has not been explicated. Baynham (1995b: 259-260) calls for a linguistic perspective, in addition to ethnographic enquiries and social theories, in examining literacy. He points out that it is important to examine not only *what* people say but also *how* they say it. So far, however, linguistic analysis has been mainly used in analysing texts. As Ivanič (1998: 43) says, social context both shapes language (interaction and texts) and is shaped by language. In the present study, I will use this basic premise in the examination of interaction and texts in literacy events. Consequently, literacy practices in the foreign language classroom are established, maintained and contested locally in particular literacy events through participants' interaction (including texts) and actions. At the same time, however, their interaction and actions are shaped by the discursive (and social) practices of the institution. Thus, understanding literacy in the foreign language classroom entails examination of both the broader interactional practices of the classroom and the integration of talk and text in interaction and action around texts.

2.5   Literacy studies in the classroom

As I pointed out in section 2.3, there have been numerous studies within the framework of Literacy Studies in the recent years. Many of them have focused on vernacular literacies or the relationship between vernacular and institutional literacies. These studies have increased our understanding of literacy practices greatly, but the role of interaction in constructing literacy practices calls for more detailed examination. In addition, empirical studies in the classroom context are scarce and foreign language literacy has been neglected altogether. Some work, however, has been done on classroom contexts. Four such studies are examined in greater detail here (Maybin & Moss 1993, Bloome 1989, 1993, Baker & Freebody 1989 and Baynham 1995a). These were chosen since they all take a close look at classrooms and especially on talk among the participants. I will review the studies below with special emphasis on their relevance to the present study.

Firstly, Maybin and Moss (1993) studied children's informal talk both at school and outside school. By informal talk at school they apparently mean that

the talk occurs outside actual instruction even though it takes place in the classroom. They draw on anthropological evidence concerning oral language practices which mediate interactions with written texts as well as on Vygotsky's ideas about the importance of social dialogue in the intellectual development of the individual. They report on two sets of data: one consisted of recordings of talk by 10-12-year-old pupils during a single school day and the other involved interviews with children aged between 7 and 14. With the first set of data, they examined two literacy events in the classroom. In the first event, the pupils were drawing their experiences, using a book to help them, and in the second event, which Maybin and Moss call an off-task event, the pupils were talking about a text one of them saw on the mirror in the girls' toilet. In the second set of data, they interviewed a group of boys concerning films they had seen at home.

Maybin and Moss aimed at showing that reading is a social event, that readings are collaborative and that they are also done to negotiate group relationships. They also wanted to extend the notion of *talk about texts* to show how "readings are shaped and regulated by the social circumstances in which texts are shared" (1993: 146) and how texts are remade in talk. In their study, Maybin and Moss paid attention to talk about text and thus made a contribution towards refining the role of talk in literacy events. Although a reference was made to the regulating nature of the social setting of the event, it was not made explicit how this, in fact, takes place and is evident in the participants' talk.

Secondly, along the same lines as Maybin and Moss, Bloome (1989, 1993) studied reading as a social process in a seventh grade classroom. His study was a micro-ethnographic analysis of classroom interaction the purpose of which was to build an in-depth description and interpretation of the interaction among the participants who acted and reacted to each other (1993: 105). The analysis drew on sociolinguistic ethnography and it involved "systematic procedures for transcribing videotaped events, describing utterances and interactional sequences, and for mapping interactional themes and social relationships as they evolve and change within an event and across events" (1993: 105). In the analysis, Bloome's approach to interaction in the classroom was more systematic than that of Maybin and Moss. Bloome examined interaction on three levels, as he identified three levels of social groups in the classroom: the teacher-class level, teacher-student level and peer-peer level (1989). At these three levels, the participants used written language both to form social groups and to signal participation in them as well as to carry out classroom tasks (1989: 103).

The participants constructed meanings and definitions of reading in their interaction with the texts and each other. To illustrate, Bloome found that the teacher might ask a question and want the specific words on a certain page as an answer. Thus this activity defined reading as "text reproduction, locating the information in the correct place in text, bidding for turn and rendering that stretch of text aloud" (1993: 106).

In many studies focussing on the classroom, there is a clear emphasis on the teacher's activities and talk. Both the studies by Maybin and Moss and by

Bloome paid attention to pupils' activities and talk as well. Bloome (1989), for example, found that the pupils often only appeared to be working alone but that there was, in fact, a lot of sharing and group writing among them. Nevertheless, in Bloome's study, the pupils' talk (there was very little of it, in fact) was seen in relation to the teacher's talk and there was no mention concerning the meanings that pupil-pupil interaction creates for reading. What is interesting and more systematic in Bloome's study is that he looked at interaction on a general level and combined this overall interactional framework with the texts used in the event. Thus classroom interaction served as a basis for explaining the flow of the event and the social process of reading. Bloome's study was very detailed and, in addition to verbal interaction, it examined the nonverbal activities of the participants such as directing gaze and body positions. Due to the detailed nature of the study, it was not possible to handle large amounts of data and thus the study focused on a single activity.

Thirdly, Baker and Freebody (1989) in their study did not explicitly subscribe to literacy studies and thus the starting points of the study were slightly different from the other studies discussed here. The general framework of the study included "the relationship between oral and written language; the effects of the printed word on learning and knowledge; and society's attempts, mainly through schooling, to fashion children into students and ultimately into literate adults " (p. 1). The study is relevant from the point of view of the present study, however, in that it was a detailed analysis of talk in a classroom and the relationship of talk and texts. Their data included a large text corpus as well as spoken data from several classrooms. I focus here on one part of study, which examined one reading lesson and which is thus of most relevance to the present study. In this classroom, the pupils were 6 years old and they were in their second year of schooling.

Baker and Freebody's analysis of talk centred on the teacher. The implications of the study also focused on the teacher's role in the classroom: the teacher oriented the students to the written text and the teacher was the authority as far as literacy is concerned. The interaction in the classroom was characterized by questions and answers, and Baker and Freebody (1989: 167) claim that "the question-answer-evaluation format of reading comprehension lessons presumes that the teacher can know or does know all of the answers". Through these routine questions and answers the teacher mediated the text to the pupils. The teacher used the text so that she evaluated the pupils' answers from within the text and she determined what the students were 'allowed to know' about the text. Baker and Freebody (1989: 182) concluded that the practices related to texts in the classroom, that is, reading instruction, are, in fact, "lessons in the school culture" through which the pupils learn the ways in which knowledge is generated and transmitted at school. In this way the practices of interaction in the classroom maintain, renew and possibly transform the broader practices of education.

Finally, Baynham (1995a) studied reading in an adult numeracy classroom. His starting point was reading as a situated social practice as opposed to the dominant psychological models of reading. Psychological models have emphasized the interaction between an individual reader and the

text, whereas Baynham (1995a: 24) wanted to show that reading is social and how different readings are socially produced:

> The psycholinguistic approach models the individual reader's engagement with the reading text and the kinds of knowledge, linguistic and non-linguistic, that are in play in the reading process. The social-practice approach shows how reading in context is often not a case of the solitary individual struggling with a text, but a social activity involving complex interactions of spoken and written language.

He thus emphasized the importance of examining language since it is mainly through language that many social activities are constructed (Baynham 1995a: 23). As his data, he had material from one reading activity. In his study, he aimed at showing that the classroom context constrains the reading of a text and determines what counts as an appropriate reading of it. He (1995a: 18) argued "that in fact classrooms should be seen as cultures or discourse sites where specific ways of reading are required and within which particular regimes of reading are in play."

In contrast to the studies discussed above, Baynham's study involved adult learners. Despite this, his conclusions bear significant similarities to those in the studies by Bloome and by Baker and Freebody. Baynham concluded that what counts as proper reading of a text is constrained by both the type of classroom activity and the teacher. He shows that the teacher decides how much real life knowledge can be used in the activity and thus controls the reading of the text. The participants have to produce a schooled reading of the text, that is, the social context constrains the linguistic possibilities available to the participants.

In brief, the studies discussed above have all made an important contribution in the examination of talk in relation to literacy in the classroom. They showed that interactional practices in the classroom maintain and renew the broader practices of the domain, and thus pupils acquire and learn a schooled way of approaching and dealing with texts. The studies reviewed here have focused on both children and adults and they have shown how literacy is a social activity, constructed in interaction and constrained by the setting. All the studies examined classrooms in which literacy in the native language was the focus of instruction. Thus classrooms where foreign languages are taught remain to be explored in future studies. Moreover, most of the studies discussed above concentrated on *reading*, i.e. on continuous texts meant for practising reading. In the foreign language classroom, however, literacy is not only reading, and therefore other aspects of texts are involved in building literacy. These include exercises on grammar, for example, in which the texts involved are short and may consist of isolated sentences only. The role of all the written material used in the classroom in building literacy should therefore be examined. As far as methods are concerned, the integration of talk and text, i.e. how the speakers make texts relevant in their talk, as well as the constraining nature of the context should be examined more systematically and across a wider range of literacy events.

3   THE CLASSROOM AS A CONTEXT FOR LITERACY

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the classroom as an institutional context and see what makes it an institutional context and how this context is established. The aim is also to discuss the characteristics of the two central elements of literacy events, text and talk, in the institutional context of the classroom.

3.1   The classroom as an institutional context

> As an institution, school has distinct ways of doing things, and particularly a set of practices around language use and around literacy. School consumes a large part of children's lives and forms a significant reference point for their values and attitudes. This influence continues into adulthood and is reasserted as these adults become parents with children; for families with children at school, the school values enter the home. School attitudes and values influence society generally, and it is probably true that the general public view of reading and writing is influenced to some extent by schooling and images of what goes on in schools. (Barton 1994: 178)

The classroom (or the school) is a special kind of context with particular ways of acting and interacting. Classroom can be characterized as an institutional context and the interaction within it as institutional interaction. In the following, I will examine the concept of *context* and discuss the relationship between context and interaction. The discussion will focus on what makes a context an institutional one.

Classroom interaction takes place within the institution of education. Peräkylä (1997: 178) notes that the concept of *institution* can be defined in many ways. In sociology institutions are defined as the official systems organized by society. Such are, for example, the judicial system, the health care system or the educational system. These institutions are based on laws and their functions are regulated by formal rules. Peräkylä (1997: 179) points out further that families or religion, for example, are also defined as institutions even though, in addition to the formal dimensions, there are also many unofficial and informal

characteristics connected to these. Classrooms are part of the former type of institutions, since they are formally organized by society.

The concept of *context* has been defined in many ways in different disciplines and, as Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 1) note, it is perhaps impossible to reach a single technical definition of a context and, according to them, it is not even necessary. Nevertheless, Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 1-2) further note that one of the basic elements of context is *talk*:

> One of the most pervasive social activities that human beings engage in is talk. … it would be blatantly absurd to propose that one could provide a comprehensive analysis of human social organization without paying close attention to the details of how human beings employ language to build the social and cultural worlds that they inhabit.

People create contexts by acting and reacting to each other. People actively construct contexts and thus contexts are dynamic and changing: in their talk people both modify the existing context and create a new context for subsequent talk. Even though people actively modify contexts, "this does not mean that context is created from scratch within the interaction so that larger cultural and social patterns in a society are ignored" (Goodwin & Duranti 1992: 4).

Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 6-9) distinguish four dimensions of context. Firstly, there is the setting, which refers to "the social and spatial framework within which encounters are situated" (p. 6). Secondly, there is the behavioural environment. People use their bodies and they act in certain ways in specific settings. With their behaviour they create a frame for their talk. The third dimension is language itself. Talk both creates context and provides context for other talk. Thus context is not only a frame surrounding talk; instead, talk itself acts as builder and maintainer of context. Finally, there is the extrasituational context, which refers to culturally specific background knowledge which lies outside the immediate setting and which people make use of in their talk.

Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 31) point out that even though context has been defined in many ways, it is common to most recent attempts that they take into account both linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions of context. To quote them (1992: 31):

> Instead of viewing context as a set of variables that statically surround strips of talk, context and talk are now argued to stand in a mutually reflexive relationship to each other, with talk, and the interpretive work it generates, shaping context as much as context shapes talk.

Similarly, Drew and Heritage (1992: 19, 21, see also Silverman 1999) note that context is not seen as a predetermined frame, which contains the actions and talk of the participants. Instead, the participants' actions are shaped by the context but their actions also shape the context. Thus context is produced locally by the participants in their talk and action and therefore, context can also be transformed at any moment.

When we look at literacy events in the classroom, we should take into consideration this broader view of context. The classroom is a particular kind of

physical setting and the participants in that setting engage in particular kinds of interaction. The classroom is a context which has a physical setting with desks for pupils and for the teacher, walls with boards for writing and for hanging, for example, drawings or posters, and usually some audiovisual equipment such as an overhead projector. Additionally, there might be other equipment needed in different school subjects. The physical setting of the classroom is specially designed for learning and certain elements can help establish and maintain certain roles for the participants. An example could be the format and placing of the teacher's desk: it is often larger than those of pupils' and it is often set apart from the pupils' desks. Thus it reinforces the teacher's institutional identity as separate from that of the pupils. The physical setting of a classroom can thus reinforce the institutional activities performed there. What makes the setting institutional is not, however, the setting alone. The same classroom setting might be used for other activities that are not "as institutional as a lesson" or that are institutional in a different way. For example, a classroom can be the setting for a parents' night or a party held by the pupils.

As was already discussed above, the participants in a setting create and recreate the context in their talk. Certain kinds of interactions can be called *institutional interaction* but, as Drew and Heritage (1992, see also Sarangi & Roberts, 1999: 5) point out, whether an interaction is institutional or not is not determined by the setting. Informal matters may be talked about in settings such as a workplace or a school, or institutional interaction may take place in a private home, for example. To quote Drew and Heritage (1992: 4), "… interaction is institutional insofar as participants' institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged." Thus, in institutional interaction, people act in their institutional roles, such a doctor and a patient or a teacher and a pupil. In their talk, people establish and maintain these roles and thus the institution. As Nuolijärvi and Tiittula (2000: 14-16, see also Drew & Heritage 1992, Drew & Sorjonen 1997) note, institutional interaction differs from everyday conversation in that there is always a third party involved that regulates the flow of talk. The institution provides certain conventions, rules and regulations, which the participants – or at least the participant with an institutional identity – have to take into account in talk, and the person in the institutional role has a task or purpose which has been bestowed by the institution.

People show in various linguistic ways their orientation to their institutional identity. Drew and Heritage (1992) say that it not possible to give a precise definition of institutional talk, but there are some common characteristics and these have been investigated in various institutional settings (see also Peräkylä 1997). These include, first of all, the lexical choices made by the participants. Language always offers alternative words or expressions for referring to matters in focus. One example is the use of the pronoun *we* rather than *I*, through which the speaker displays attachment to the institution she/he is representing. Secondly, the institutional context can be made relevant through turn design. In other words, speakers both select the action and the verbal shape of that action. The teacher, for example, uses questions because instruction typically involves asking questions and, through asking questions,

she/he shows orientation to the institutional role of a teacher. Thirdly, institutional interaction is characterized by sequential organization, such as the question-answer sequences typically used in classrooms and courts of law, for instance. In addition to sequential organization, institutional interaction has an overall structural organization, which could include opening the event, handling the topic, and closing the event. Finally, institutional interaction is characterized by asymmetrical relationships. The institutional role gives certain rights to the speaker who as a representative of the institution is the expert regarding knowledge concerning the institution compared with the novice participants. The following quote from Drew and Sorjonen (1997: 94) crystallizes the essence of institutional interaction:

> The institutionality of dialogue is constituted by participants through their orientation to relevant institutional roles and identities, and the particular responsibilities and duties associated with these roles; and through their production and management of institutionally relevant tasks and activities.

The classroom is an institutional context, which is created through talk among the participants. The physical setting, even though it does not determine the kind of talk allowed, reinforces the institutionally relevant tasks of the teacher and pupils. The institution imposes certain roles on the participants. In their talk, however, the institutional roles of a teacher and pupils are established and maintained, and also contested and negotiated. Literacy can be placed within this frame. As Street (2001: 8) points out,

> The ways in which teachers or facilitators and their students interact is already a social practice that affects the nature of the literacy being learned and the ideas about literacy held by the participants, especially the new learners and their position in relations of power. It is not valid to suggest that 'literacy' can be 'given' neutrally and then its 'social' effects only experienced afterwards.

Consequently, in the present study, it will be assumed that in order to understand the literacy the pupils are socialized into in the classroom, the context in which literacy is embedded must be analysed in detail. This study builds on the premise that the institutional roles of the participants and the discursive practices of the institution regulate the interaction the participants engage in when talking about texts. At the same time, however, the institutional context of the classroom is constituted by the interaction and activity – involving texts – of the participants in the particular setting. Therefore, the focus has to be on interaction in the classroom.

3.2 Classroom discourse

Classroom lessons are comprised of complex social activities involving particular participants in specific settings. The social reality of classrooms has been extensively studied and from many different perspectives. As Leiwo et al. (1987a,b) point out, attention has been paid to various pedagogically important aspects, such as teaching as problem solving or learner and teacher characteristics. Language classrooms have also been studied extensively (see e.g. Brumfit & Mitchell 1990, Bailey & Nunan 1996). Classrooms are, however, institutional contexts in which most institutional tasks are carried out through talk. As has been discussed above, the institutionality of the classroom is established and maintained through participants' interaction and activities and, where literacy events are concerned, these take place around texts. The purpose of this section is to examine how the talk typical of classrooms has been described.

There are two groundbreaking studies on the structure of classroom interaction: the studies by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Mehan (1979). A great number of later studies on classroom interaction have been based on these two pieces of research (see e.g. Cazden 1988, Bloome & Theodorou 1988, Leiwo et al. 1987a,b). In the following, I will first take a look at Sinclair and Coulthard's study and then I will examine Mehan's approach.

Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) study was a discourse analytic study and it was based on speech act theory. When examining classrooms closely, they found that classroom interaction forms a hierarchical structure. At the bottom of this rank scale there are acts which form moves. Moves form exchanges; exchanges form transactions and finally transactions form lessons. The most central acts are elicitations, directives and informatives. These function in moves. Moves, just like acts, are categorized in different classes, such as opening moves. To illustrate with a simple example, a teacher's question (elicitation act) *Do you know what we mean by accent?* functions as an opening move. A pupil's answer (reply act) *It's the way you talk* functions as an answering move and the teacher's utterance *The way we talk* (evaluate act) functions as a follow-up move. These three moves form a three-part exchange. Several exchanges of this kind form transactions and, finally, lessons are comprised of a series of transactions.

Sinclair and Coulthard found that the most typical exchange in the classroom was a three-part exchange with teacher initiation, pupil response and teacher follow-up (IRF). Other researchers have later confirmed this and considerable attention has been devoted to examining this three-part exchange and its functions in classroom interaction (for the most recent research see e.g. van Lier 1996, Wells 1999, Nassaji & Wells 2000). Sinclair and Coulthart's model is, however, very rigid and formal, and it has received criticism because of this. Drew and Heritage (1992: 14-15) point out that the model is based on a very traditional classroom and a certain – perhaps not so desirable – pedagogical theory. Moreover, they further note that, in the formal model by Sinclair and Coulthart, the aspects of social relations and context are completely neglected.

Similar criticism has been presented by Fairclough (1992: 15-16). He points out that the classroom examined was very traditional and teacher-centred and thus the investigation fails to see the diversity in classroom discourse. Sinclair and Coulthard did, however, direct attention towards the importance of sequences in interaction. Nevertheless, current classroom practices are not as homogeneous as in Sinclair and Coulthard's study. There is bound to be other kinds of interaction in the classroom as well. For example, the pupils talk to each other and carry out tasks jointly or address the teacher to establish and maintain social relations and the institutional context of the classroom.

Although also interested in the structure of classroom discourse, Mehan's (1979) approach towards classroom discourse was ethnomethodological. His purpose was to find out how teacher-student interaction was organized in classroom lessons. The three principles of constitutive ethnography that he employed were: (1) "the organization described by the researcher must, in fact, be the organization employed by the participants"; (2) "the analysis must be retrievable from the materials"; and (3) "the analysis must be comprehensive" (Mehan 1979: 35). In contrast to the analytical tool developed in Sinclair and Coulthart's model, Mehan (1979: 186) wanted to start from the data and reach a description of the structure of lessons that would be meaningful for the participants. The participants of the setting need to orient themselves to the structure of interaction.

Classroom discourse has a particular structure, which becomes evident in the way the participants talk and react to each other's talk. Nonverbal properties of interaction are involved as well. These include, for example, the teacher's orientation to the materials or pupils' nods of acknowledgement. According to Mehan (1979: 35-36), lessons are organized both sequentially ("the flow of the lesson as it unfolds through time from beginning to end") and hierarchically ("the assembly of the lesson into its component parts"). There are three sequential components within a lesson. These are the opening phase, the instructional phase, and the closing phase. The verbal and nonverbal behaviour of the participants consists of interactional sequences which serve different purposes in the various phases of the lesson. Directive sequences are typical in openings whereas elicitation sequences occur in the instructional phase. The hierarchical structure describes what happens in each of the sequential phases.

In the opening phase, the participants first arrange themselves physically for the lesson to start. Information is given, mainly by the teacher, about what is going to happen during the main part of the lesson. In this first part, the teacher and the pupils together orient themselves to the start of the lesson and distinguish the forthcoming lesson from other activities in the classroom. The students' role as initiators in the opening phase is minimal: they are actively listening and thus acknowledging what the teacher says. Mehan argues that the pupils are not passive even though their verbal contribution is minimal. By nodding their heads, for example, they show that they are orienting themselves to the opening of the lesson.

The instructional phase is the heart of the lesson. During this phase academic information is passed on between the teacher and students; or the topic of the lesson is dealt with. A typical form of interaction is a question-

answer sequence, comparable to Sinclair and Coulthard's three part exchange of initiation-reply-follow-up. The questions in these sequences are not always in the grammatical form of questions: these also include sentences to be completed, for example.

Finally, there is the closing phase which could be described as "the mirror image of the opening phase" (Mehan 1979: 49). Here the teacher and pupils look back on the lesson and jointly bring the topic to an end moving on to the next classroom activity. This phase often includes only a short overall evaluation by the teacher.

Both Sinclair and Coulthard's and Mehan's accounts focus mainly on the activities of the teacher. Mehan says, however, that the assembly of classroom events is a joint accomplishment of both the teacher and the pupils: even though the pupils do not talk as much as the teacher, they are actively involved in listening to the teacher (eye contact, nodding of heads, comments like '*yeah*'). But the talk of pupils is, nevertheless, examined from the teacher's point of view and not on its own terms. It is, however, possible that in the classroom which Mehan analyzed there was very little pupil talk. The amount of pupil talk is naturally dependent on the nature of the classroom interaction: with strict teacher control pupil talk can be minimal, whereas in some classrooms a great deal of room is given to pupils' spontaneous talk. In the latter cases, more attention should be paid to the contribution of the pupils in the classroom interaction as well as on the peer talk in the classroom context, as Cazden (1988) notes.

As Cazden (1988) says, the IRF sequence is the most prevalent one in classrooms and, in particular, in teacher led events. She refers to this sequence as the 'default' pattern of interaction. She points out, however, that other patterns occur as well, and these need to be examined as they may prove socially significant. Similarly, Bloome and Theodorou (1988) call for analysis of multiple layers of classroom discourse. They argue that there are various types of discourse available to students and the teacher. The teacher's words are most often targeted at the whole group (even when s/he is talking to a single student) but the students have possibilities for one-to-one or small group conversations as well. Moreover, the more learner-centred, pedagogical models and teaching practices prevalent today have to be considered, since they naturally transform discourse practices in the classroom.

In short, research has shown that classroom interaction has structures which are most likely typical of all classrooms. There is both sequential and hierarchical organization. Some patterns of interaction such as the typical three-part sequence of initiation-response-follow-up are perhaps more prominent than other patterns. The patterns are partly a consequence of the institutional roles of the participants and partly of the overall purpose of classroom activities, that is, instruction. Classroom discourse should, however, not be examined as if its structure were somehow predetermined. Different classrooms might have different patterns and attention should be paid to these as well.

Although literacy is central in classroom activities both as the target of learning and as a means for learning, research on classroom discourse has not recognized the role of texts. Consequently, there has been no research on how

texts are involved in classroom interaction. As literacy events involve interaction and action around texts, examining texts as part of the interaction is paramount in order to understand literacy in the classroom.

3.3   Texts in the classroom

In the previous sections, it was established, firstly, that talk is the main means of creating and maintaining institutional contexts and roles and, secondly, that the classroom is an institutional context which is characterized by particular interactional conventions and practices. As Drew and Sorjonen (1997: 92, see also Sarangi & Roberts 1999) point out, however, there are also other forms of language that have a role in institutional communication. In the classroom, texts play a very prominent role and the types of texts used in the classroom also contribute to the institutionality of the setting and to the formation of discursive practices. There are, then, two kinds of interaction in the classroom, as Malamah-Thomas (1987) notes: in addition to the teacher-pupil interaction, there is interaction between the textbook (and its writer) and the teacher and pupils in the classroom.

Educational texts (textbooks) have been examined mainly in the social sciences and in first language literacy. De Castell and Luke (1989) have examined textbooks on literacy in the first language, predominantly in basic reading, in the US and they have noticed a clear increase in interest over the years in the technological aspects of teaching literacy. This shift from a focus on content to focus on methods of literacy training has been gradual over the past two centuries and this change has been effected particularly by the rise of research in cognitive psychology. An increased interest in and knowledge of the psychological processes involved when the eyes move over a page of written text has turned reading into a set of skills to replace the earlier notions of reading as literary knowledge. Therefore, textbooks have been examined from this point of view and various measures of syntactic complexity and lexical density have been developed to assess the readability level of texts. In addition, de Castell and Luke (1989: 80, see also Luke 1988) argue that there has been a growing market for textbooks, and thus economic issues have also been behind the expansion of textbooks in teaching. Moreover, with a detailed textbook, the teacher's role has been reduced to that of a transmitter of knowledge and thus there has been an underlying assumption that a teacher is no longer an expert in her/his field. De Castell and Luke (1989: 82) further point out that the teacher's manual together with the textbook "attempt to guide classroom discourse and interaction by specifying discussion topics, teacher questions and the parameters of correct student response."

Literacy textbooks are often based on the premise that literacy is a universal skill (Luke 1988). Therefore, the optimal pedagogical techniques for reaching literacy are also assumed to be universal and the materials can supposedly be used by any teacher with any group of pupils. Consequently, it is assumed that there is no need to take into account the specifics of the

particular context or the pupils' and the teacher's background. This is especially evident in multinational teaching materials as, Lorimer and Keeney (1989) point out. These textbooks provide universal products for all kinds of communities. In addition, the skills orientation prevalent in literacy textbooks prevents spontaneous and critical reactions to text. If the meaningful communication in classroom is subordinated to learning isolated skills, this leads to "the development in both teacher and student of an uncritical and mechanical relation to the reading of text, the writing of text and the acquisition of knowledge from text" (de Castell & Luke 1989: 84).

Today's textbooks could be characterized as instructional manuals. Students learn skills through various means: there are exercises, games, audiotapes and even films in or attached to a textbook. Thus, in addition to providing information and content, textbooks aim at entertaining varied audiences (van Lier 1996: 208). Moreover, textbooks are often not meant to be only read. Sunderland et al. (2001: 253) note that many textbook texts are written to be spoken, written to be read aloud either by the participants or by someone on the tape. This especially concerns textbooks used in foreign/second language teaching. The whole layout of textbooks is designed so that it guides the teaching in a certain prescribed direction and positions the reader in a certain way. To quote Luke et al. (1989: 250):

> To facilitate instruction and assessment, it is common for school textbooks, and this includes literary works, to frame ideational and skill components into sections that are familiar to us all. Recall, for instance, finding at the end of chapters pages entitled 'concepts and ideas', important words', 'things to do', fact quizzes', chapter summaries and, most commonly, 'comprehension questions' which guide and limit our experience of the text.

Through the layout, certain aspects of the texts are emphasized and highlighted. These predetermined central points reflect the ideology behind textbook construction. In addition to layout, this is done by various linguistic and textual means. Luke (1991: 134) notes that analyses of textbooks have shown that "texts prescribe specific student 'reading positions', by restricting pragmatically what can and cannot be done with the information given in the text" (see also Baker and Freebody 1989, Kress 1985). Veel and Coffin (1996) studied history books and concluded that they present different kinds of worlds to the reader through various linguistic and textual means such as temporal and causal markers or personal and institutional references. In the case of foreign language instruction, textbooks have not been studied much but it can be inferred from other studies on textbooks that the current trends in pedagogy and the understanding of language learning are reflected in the learning materials.

As far as textbooks in content areas such as history or science are concerned, the content and the language of texts have been considered separate, as Karvonen (1995: 20-21) notes. Consequently, it is assumed that the same content can be presented using easier or more difficult language, and thus the same content could be presented to different target groups at different levels of difficulty. Similarly, in language textbooks, the structure of language receives

more emphasis than the content of texts, as the purpose is not to transmit information and knowledge in the same way as, for example, in science or history. Rather, the aim is to learn the foreign language in question, which is assumed to exist at different levels of difficulty. In foreign language textbooks, texts are easier in terms of language structure and vocabulary at lower levels of learning and more difficult at more advanced levels. At lower levels, texts may not be deemed relevant to learners, and an overemphasis on form prevents real conversations on real life matters (Leiwo & Pöyhönen 1987: 195). Moreover, many ESL textbooks "severely hamper your ability to engage in innovative, exploratory teaching" (van Lier 1996: 208). In addition, Street (1991, 1995) argues that the language used in the classroom is objectified and thus made into something that can be studied and analysed by the teacher and pupils. To quote Street (Street 1995: 116):

> … putting it [language] on the blackboard serves as one technique for enabling children to see and objectify the process of learning. Once language is on the board, on the worksheet, in the book, and so on, it becomes a separate problem for the teacher and children to work on together. … The school presentation of text is, then, unproblematized regarding its meaning and content, focussing on form.

Thus, the content of texts is neglected with the focus geared towards the text as an object that can be worked on and analysed.

What is crucial in textbooks is that they are meant to be used and often by a group of people, notably that of a teacher and pupils. As Veel and Coffin (1996: 226) point out, it is what is done with texts that counts and not the kinds of texts you choose to read. Therefore, as Karvonen (1995: 30) notes, texts do not have autonomous meanings; instead, they are closely tied to the context in which they are used. Texts are language in use and thus they always have a context of occurrence, a context of interpretation and a context of origin. As was discussed above, the concept of context can be defined in many ways. Within the approach to context adopted in the present study, a text acquires its meaning through the talk of the participants in the specific context. Even though the talk among the participants creates the context, it is, however, also shaped by the broader social practices of the setting. Thus the textbook acquires its meaning through talk and through the practices of the particular context. Accordingly, Luke et al. (1989) examine textbooks at four levels: 1) the mode of discourse in textbooks, 2) techniques of text construction, 3) the material quality and 4) the institutional practices surrounding the textbook. Thus, in addition to the textual characteristics of texts, attention needs to be paid to the practices surrounding them. Freire's (Freire & Macedo 1987: 35) famous words underline the same: "Reading the world always precedes reading the word, and reading the word implies continually reading the world."

The designers of a textbook text have had certain meanings and purposes in mind when producing the text but, through its use, the text may acquire completely new meanings. Sunderland et al. (2001) report on several small-scale studies which examined the teacher's use of gendered texts. They point out that the use of texts may be quite different from their intended purpose, that is, a gendered text may be treated in the class so that the bias is brought into

discussion and neutralized. On the other hand, a text presenting an equal approach to gender may be talked about in class so that a gender bias emerges in the discussion. Thus, to understand literacy, it is important to examine the use of texts in addition to the textual analysis of texts.

Originally textbooks were designed to help teaching but now it seems that they are used to regulate the flow of lessons, homework and the use of time in general (Karvonen 1995). We recognize a certain text as a textbook text because we are accustomed to the self-evident nature of textbooks. Textbooks have been institutionalized and thus they are somehow beyond criticism; we do not question why texts are what they are, because they have always been like that. Karvonen (1995: 16) notes that this is reflected in the fact that textbooks seldom have prefaces that set out to explain the purposes of the book. There is no need to explicate or argue for the nature or use of texts. Similarly, Apple (1989) argues that the curriculum in American schools is defined by the textbook. This has immense influence on the social relations in the classroom so that a great deal of the time spent in classrooms or doing homework is regulated by texts. Consequently, Luke et al. (1989: 245-246) indicate that the curricular knowledge transmitted in the classroom is, in fact, the knowledge contained in textbooks and that knowledge is the "authorized version of society's valid knowledge" (p. 246).

Olson (1989) argues that textbooks have become authorized owing to characteristics intrinsic to text. He claims that, first of all, texts are made explicit through specific linguistic structures and are thus inaccessible until a student masters these structures; and secondly, the separation of the speaker from the speech (which is a characteristic of written text) makes texts objective and impersonal, placing them above criticism. Luke et al. (1989: 247) point out, however, that it is not just the intrinsic features of text that make it an authority. They argue (1989: 247) that "…linguistic analysis of school texts needs to be supplemented by a description of the social situations specific to schooling. … textual form and institutional context together constitute text authority." Similarly, Halliday (1996: 366) says that text authority derives both from the linguistic properties of the text and from "the sociocultural processes by which its value and scope of action are defined".

Baker and Freebody (1989) claim that the textual material used in the classroom is mediated through the teacher and thus teacher authority is inseparable from the authority of the text. Similarly, Luke et al. (1989: 252) argue that a mediator is required between the text and the learner. Texts need interpretation, and the teacher instructs both with and through the text. They add, however, that in their role as a mediator, teachers do not just passively transmit information in the text, they select and exclude, interpret and emphasize issues in the text. These views emphasize the teacher's role in the exchange between the text and the pupils. However, if one subscribes to the views emphasising the central role of interaction in creating contexts, then all the participants in a particular setting are, in fact, involved in assigning (or denying) the text its authority. It is not merely the task of the teacher but a joint venture by all the participants.

Barton (2001a: 43-44) points out that textbooks are not only used for reading only in the classroom. He observed an English language class and found that the artefacts of literacy – including textbooks – were used to create time and space in the classroom. Texts were central in the classroom activities and talk revolved around them. Besides the traditional use of texts, they were also used physically to mark activities into phases. In addition, books were used in a ritual way to show participation in the social encounter. Similarly, Luke et al. (1989: 255-257) talk about the textbook as a material artefact, as an icon. Books have symbolic and ritual value in the classroom: they are cared for or scribbled into, they are hidden from others and protected with plastic. In their view, this adds to the property of text as the authority and regulator of activities and interaction. As pointed out above, however, authority is contextual, and it is assigned to text by the participants.

In brief, texts play a central role in helping to create the institutionality of a context. Textbooks have been assigned the status of authority and as such they reflect the ideologies and practices of the society in which they are produced. They are texts that are meant to be used. Their use is not, however, solely in the hands of the participants, as textbooks guide instruction, activities and the interaction among the participants. Given that talk and text together build the context and its institutionality, texts are involved in the interaction among the participants. The role of texts in classroom discourse and in promoting institutionality of a context has been neglected in previous studies. However, in order to understand literacy in the classroom, the role of texts in literacy events and the integration of text and talk in classroom interaction have to be analysed in detail.

3.4   Speaker roles and texts

At this point, it is possible to briefly characterized literacy events in the classroom. Literacy events are embedded in the broader institutional context of education and this context shapes the literacy acquired in the classroom. The classroom as a setting has certain physical characteristics which are typical of classrooms and these reinforce the institutional roles and practices of the participants. The participants have their institutional roles as a teacher and as pupils, and these roles are made relevant in their talk and in their use of texts. The classroom is constructed as an institutional context through interaction among the participants and through texts used by the participants. Thus, talk and text also shape the literacy event. By examining the setting, texts and their use as well as interaction in the literacy events, it is possible to shed light on the literacy practices in the foreign language classroom. This section aims at exploring how the integration of text and talk in literacy events can be examined.

In the classroom there is interaction among the participants and, in addition, between texts and participants. Text has a central role in classroom literacy events for at least three reasons. First of all, it is the centre of the literacy

event around which talk revolves and, secondly, it is one element in creating the institutional context of a classroom. Finally, given the prominent role of talk in creating institutionality and in accomplishing the activities in the classroom, the participants need to make the text relevant in their talk. The participants give the text a role in the event as they orient themselves to the text. They do not just express views or opinions concerning texts; instead, the way they refer to texts in their talk tells about how they make sense of literacy. This takes place within the overall organization of interaction in the classroom. The overall organization of classroom interaction provides the framework within which the participants operate. This organization does not, however, give us tools to examine how text and talk are integrated.

Within Literacy Studies, linguistic activity in the literacy events remains to be examined in greater detail. The concept of *talk about/around text* (e.g. Maybin & Moss 1993) has been used to imply that talk and text are inseparable. In literacy events, participants' talk is related to other participants and to texts, and in their talk they establish their relationship to texts. These relationships vary and they are partly constrained by the institutional setting. The roles of the participants vary and are not limited to the traditional dyad of one person speaking and another listening (e.g. Seppänen 1997).

When discussing the roles of speakers and hearers, Goffman (1981) broadens the traditional concept of a single speaker-hearer encounter to a social situation which he defines (p. 136) as "the full physical arena in which persons present are in sight and sound of one another". When the notions of a speaker and hearer are examined he states further that "the whole social situation, the whole surround, must always be considered" (p. 144), thus making a connection with the work of Hymes (1972), who also stated that the dyadic model of one speaker and one hearer is not appropriate in most situations. Goffman further adds that often the words spoken are linked to the task activity at hand and not just the conversation going on. Thus speakers may also refer to other elements, such as texts, present in the situation. Taking this view into consideration and given the properties of literacy events, it is paramount to examine the multiple ways speakers bring text into their talk. In Goffman's (1981) terms, participants constantly change their footing, that is, their alignment (or stance) towards themselves or others present. In addition, in literacy events, participants change their alignment towards the text, which is expressed through changes in participant roles (complex roles of speaker and hearer).

When unpacking the notion of a hearer (or recipient or listener) Goffman (1981) uses the term *participation framework*, which means that "when a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it" (p. 3). In a social situation which includes several people some are directly addressed by the speaker and some might be overhearers or bystanders only. Goffman (1981: 133) separates these as *ratified recipients* and *unratified recipients*, the former being addressed and unaddressed recipients and the latter overhearers or bystanders and eavesdroppers. This entails that communication becomes more complex as well: alongside the dominant communication there might be different kinds of

subordinate communication. The subordinate communication includes *by-play*, *crossplay* and *side-play* which Goffman (p. 134, see also Goodwin 1997) defines, respectively, as "subordinate communication of a subset of ratified participants", "communication between ratified participants and bystanders across the boundaries of the dominant encounter", and "respectfully hushed words exchanged entirely among bystanders".

In relation to speaker roles, Goffman (1981) uses the concept of *production format*. Similarly to the roles of a hearer, the notion of speaker needs unravelling. Goffman (1981) distinguishes three roles: *animator*, *author* and *principal*. In the role of an *animator*, the speaker acts as a "sounding box" (p. 144). The speaker is not the creator of her/his own words; instead, s/he merely animates the speech (or writing) of someone else. Thus, in this role, the speaker does not need to be completely responsible for what s/he says. The *author*, however, is the creator of her/his own words and, therefore, a speaker responsible for the words uttered. Finally, the *principal* is "someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken" (p. 144). This is often a person holding a certain social or institutional role, such as the role of teacher. This might be evident in the way the speaker uses the pronoun *we* instead of *I* to include more than the self in the activity, thus seeking to control the group of participants.

Goffman (1981: 140) says that the speaker and hearer roles he proposes are applicable in conversations but not perhaps in other kinds of situations such as podium talk. Therefore, Goffman's participation roles might not, as such, be adequate for the purpose of examining institutional settings either. The leading idea, though, is very important: participant roles include more than the primitive speaker-hearer dyad and the words we speak are often not our own. Levinson (1988) has developed these roles further and made very finely graded distinctions within Goffman's somewhat crude categorization. Levinson proposes a model that is perhaps more appropriate as an analytical tool. Quoting Levinson (1988: 169):

> Unfortunately, although Goffman's categories are a notable advance on earlier schemes, they do not seem sufficient. First, they appear empirically inadequate, simply not providing sufficient distinctions . . . Secondly, they remain essentially unexplicated – we are not given sufficient characterization to make the application of the terms at all clear.

Instead, Levinson (1988: 170-171) proposes a basic system, which makes a distinction between *source* and *speaker*, on the one hand, and *addressee* and *target*, on the other. Source is the "informational/illocutionary origin of message"; target the "informational/illocutionary destination of message"; speaker is the "utterer"; and addressee the "proximate destination". In addition to these, a *participant* is "a party with a ratified channel-link to other parties". From these it is possible to derive further categories of *producers* who are either sources or speakers and *authors* who are both sources and speakers and *relayers* who are speakers but not sources and so on. Levinson goes on to refine these further with a set of underlying discriminations: *transmission*, *message origin*, *motive* and *form* at the production end and *address*, *recipient*, *participant* and *channel-link* at

the reception end. To illustrate these, an author would have both the properties of message origin and transmission as well as motive and form, whereas a relayer would only have the property of transmission but neither the motive nor the form. In the receiving end, an interlocutor, for example, would have all the properties (address, recipient, participant and channel-link), whereas an audience would have the properties of participant and channel-link only. It must be noted at this point that Levinson (1988: 167) makes a distinction between an utterance event and a speech event. If this distinction is not made, using roles such as speaker or audience leads to ambiguity. He gives an example: "a guest speaker at an interactive seminar may be the designated speaker in the speech-event sense when someone else is doing the talking (a speaker in the utterance-event sense)" (p. 167). Therefore, the participation roles are not tied to the literacy event as a whole but, instead, they vary from turn to turn during the interactional activities.

To summarize, within the sequential and hierarchical organization of talk in the classroom, speakers may act in various speaker roles. Even though the teacher and pupils have certain institutional roles, their speaker roles are not fixed. Through different speaker roles, the participants may orient themselves to texts in various ways. Thus the institutionality of the classroom and literacy events within it are established through talk, which has an overall structure typical of this particular institution and which allows the participants to orient themselves to texts in various ways. The speaker and hearer roles described by Goffman and Levinson offer tools with which to tackle the integration of text and talk. Neither of them specifically mentions texts in their accounts, but the assumption that speakers often utter words that are not their own has obvious relevance in examining talk in literacy events. When using texts in interaction, the source and motive of the speaker's words will, on occasion, be provided by the text in focus.

4 THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

In order to explore literacy in the institutional setting of a classroom, the present research draws on several fields of study and can thus be considered an interdisciplinary endeavour. The purpose of this chapter is, firstly, to draw together the various implications from previous studies on literacy, context and interaction to build a foundation for the present study. Secondly, the aim is to present the research problem in the form of three research questions. Thirdly, this chapter focuses on the methodological approach adopted in this study. The discussion covers the procedures of data collection and transcription and the analytical framework, including a description of the central concepts used in the analysis and the tools of analysis.

4.1 Implications from previous research

Previous studies within Literacy Studies have examined literacy from various perspectives. The focus has been on the social nature of literacy in both vernacular and educational contexts. Various studies have shed light on the literacy practices of different contexts. There are still, however, some questions that need to addressed in future studies. First of all, literacies in foreign language contexts have not been examined from the social perspective and institutional contexts, classrooms in particular, still await further investigation. Moreover, the relationship between practices and events needs to be made more explicit. More specifically, the questions of how practices shape events and vice versa as well as what role texts and talk have in literacy events need to be addressed.

The previous research has a number of implications for the present study. Firstly, the overall basis of the present study lies within Literacy Studies, and therefore literacy is examined as a social practice involving more than the acts of reading or writing. Secondly, the basic concepts of practice and events need to be refined for the purposes of the present study. In addition, the institutional setting of the classroom with its particular discursive practices and

characteristic texts needs to be defined in order to identify the literacy events that take place in that setting. Finally, there are some overall implications for the analysis of the data[5].

To begin with, as this study focuses on the utilization of texts, it is assumed that readings of texts are socially constructed by the participants, who are members of a particular group. Thus a clear contrast is made to the cognitively based views of reading, which have been dominant in research on reading. Moreover, literacy in the EFL classroom is more than reading: all aspects of the use of written texts are involved in building literacy. The concept of *practice* opens up a link between the cognitive and the social: skills are embedded in their social contexts of use. A social approach to literacy broadens our understanding of the kind of literacy pupils are socialized into in the classroom.

Secondly, research in Literacy Studies has made extensive use of the two central concepts of this field of study, namely those of *practices* and *events*. As was discussed in section 2.4, some researchers include both under the same term, *practice*:

> I want to use the concept of *literacy practices* to indicate this level of the cultural uses and meanings of reading and writing. Literacy practices I would take as referring not only to the event itself but the conceptions of the reading and writing process that people hold when they are engaged in the event. (Street 1995: 133)

Others, however, use both terms in order to focus first on individual events and then infer practices from these:

> However practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships. . . . Events are observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them. (Barton & Hamilton 1998: 6-7)

The concept *literacy event* emphasizes the situated nature of literacy: literacy is always embedded in social contexts. Events themselves are bounded occasions, which impose specific constraints on what constitute appropriate activities and interactions, and thus events form the context in which literacy is embedded. Events are, however, embedded in broader contexts of, for example, specific institutions. The present study builds on the premise that literacy events and literacy practices are connected through language. Interaction between participants and between participants and written texts establishes, maintains and contests the practices of the particular setting. Interaction and actions in literacy events are shaped by the broader practices of the institution in question and thus the participants also draw on these when acting and interacting around texts. Thus the relationship between practices and interaction (and thus events) is dialogic: interaction shapes practices and practices shape interaction.

Thirdly, literacy events (and practices) are embedded in the social practices of the setting, in this case, that of the classroom. The classroom can be characterized as an institutional setting, which is largely created by the

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[5]   The methodological approach and the analytical tools will be discussed in section 4.3.

participants in their talk as they carry out their institutional tasks and make their institutional roles relevant in their talk. The institutional setting of the classroom includes particular kinds of discursive practices and particular kinds of texts. Both classroom interaction and instructional texts have been investigated in previous studies. They have, however, been examined as separate phenomena and not as integrated elements of the literacy events that take place in the institutional context of the classroom.

Thus, literacy events involve, in addition to texts, interaction among the participants and between texts and the participants. Thus a focus on talk in establishing and maintaining literacy is necessary to gain a fuller understanding of the nature of literacy events. The role of talk in literacy events has been acknowledged within Literacy Studies, but the nature of talk in various contexts needs to be examined further. In studies focussing on classroom contexts, talk has been examined but the use of texts and the integration of talk and texts has been neglected. The present study seeks to investigate literacy events so that both talk and texts as well as the interaction between the two is examined in detail. The aim is to examine texts and talk in a more systematic way. Special attention is paid to how, on the one hand, texts constrain the event and, on the other hand, how participants use texts in their talk.

Finally, the overall implications from previous studies on literacy in the classroom for the analysis of talk in relation to literacy events include the following. The overall interaction typical of classrooms and how this forms the basis for literacy events has received some attention, but this line of research needs to taken further. The discursive constraints set on the construction of literacy in the classroom need to be explored further. The diversity of classroom interaction has not been taken into account. Therefore, the various interactional structures available to the participants and their role in determining how texts can be talked about need to be examined in detail. In addition, the teacher's verbal activities have received more attention than the pupils' talk and, consequently, a lot of responsibility for the activities and for the constructions of literacy has been placed on the teacher. As literacy is a social activity, all the participants in a setting make a contribution towards constructing literacy. Therefore, more emphasis needs to be placed on talk among the pupils and thus on the pupils' role in constructing literacy.

4.2 Research questions

The overall aim of the present study is to examine literacy in the foreign language classroom. The classroom is considered an institutional context with its own special types of talk and texts. It is assumed that the institutional context shapes literacy and that literacy, for its part, shapes the context. The institutional context is created and maintained by the participants in their talk as they act in the roles imposed by the institution. Literacy events are embedded in this institutional context and they are themselves contexts. Texts are central in literacy events and the participants make them relevant in their

talk. Thus the literacy event is shaped both by texts and by talk. Moreover, texts and talk are integrated so that, on the one hand, texts shape talk and, on the other hand, talk shapes texts. In other words, the discursive practices of the classroom constrain the way texts are talked about and, on the other hand, the way participants talk about texts create meanings for texts and thus sheds light on how they make sense of literacy. These overall aims can be broken down into the following three research questions:

(I)   How are literacy events organized within the institutional context of the classroom?
  1. How do the participants orient themselves to literacy events in their talk?
  2. What interactional structures are used to organize literacy events?

(II) What role do texts play in literacy events?
  1. How do texts structure literacy events?
  2. How do the participants make use of texts?

(III) How does talk among the participants shape texts?
  1. How do the participants talk about texts?
  2. What speaker roles do the participants adopt in relation to texts?
  3. What meanings do the participants give texts in their talk?

The principal focus of the study is thus on utilizing texts, that is, on how the participants use texts and talk about texts in the classroom. Thus I will not examine the production of texts in the study. Similarly, I analyse texts as instructional texts which are meant to be used by a group of people and which offer the participants something to work on. Therefore text analysis is not carried out in the present study. In the present study, language is seen as constitutive of social reality of the classroom and, therefore, of classroom literacy. Although both Finnish and English are used in the classroom under scrutiny, the study assumes that both languages are used to build literacy. Thus code-switching is not examined; instead, I only make a distinction between English and Finnish when this is relevant to the overall examination of the interaction.

The approach adopted in the analysis of data will be discussed in section 4.5. Chapter 5 seeks to answer the questions under I, and Chapters 6 and 7 make an attempt at providing answers for questions II and III, respectively.

4.3 Methodological approach

The research process is guided by our understanding of the world, of knowledge and of the means by which this knowledge can be gained. These assumptions underlie all research and they may be implicit and tacit or they may be explicit and transparent. In the present study, the aim is to make the

ontological and epistemological questions explicit and thus build a bridge between the theoretical approach and the methods used in analysing the data.

Research has often been crudely categorized either as quantitative or qualitative but the more profound questions of ontology and epistemology are often overlooked. The division into quantitative and qualitative research traditions is, in fact, based on particular research paradigms. Alasuutari (1995) points out that the division is indeed attractive because it is so simple but it does not, in fact, match up with reality. Methods are not rigidly tied to the type of research. As Piirainen-Marsh and Huhta (2000: 84) point out, there are, on the one hand, studies that use a manipulated research design but analyse the data qualitatively and, on the other hand, studies that focus on naturally occurring data and use both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis.

The present study endeavours to examine the literacy practices of a particular setting, namely that of a classroom, with the spotlight especially on language as constitutive of social reality. The contextual nature of the phenomenon under scrutiny presupposes a particular view of reality and knowledge. Consequently, the present study subscribes to the constructivist paradigm (not to positivism, postpositivism or critical theory), as defined by Guba and Lincoln (1994). They (1994: 105) define *paradigm* as "the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways". In the constructivist paradigm, this means, according to Guba and Lincoln (1994, see also Piirainen-Marsh & Huhta 2000), that the ontological standpoint of the research is relative. Therefore, realities are specific, locally constructed, diverse and variable. Epistemologically constructivism entails that the relationship between the investigator and the object being investigated is interactive. In the research process, this means that the findings are created as the investigation proceeds as opposed to testing hypotheses, for example. The methodology is hermeneutical and dialectical and the aim is to "distil a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any of the predecessor constructions" (Guba & Lincoln 1994: 111). Thus the purpose is not to find the absolute and objective truth but the findings are the result of a process of investigation and they are based on interpretation.

This research paradigm and these ontological and epistemological premises call for certain kinds of methodological decisions. In constructivism, the analysis of data is typically qualitative. By qualitative analysis I mean here the kind of process of unriddling that Alasuutari (1994: 7) refers to. Various clues and hints in the data contribute to building a complete picture of the object of study. Consequently, given the contextual nature of language and literacy, it is necessary to obtain data in its natural context and with as little intrusion as possible. In addition, the data must be described, explained and interpreted without prescriptive labels or categories. With these points in mind, the present study could be characterized as ethnographic in its approach.

As Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) point out, the definition of ethnography has been subject to controversy. It is sometimes treated as a philosophical paradigm and sometimes as a method. The present study employs ethnography as a method rather than as a philosophy. Overall, in

applied language studies, ethnographic research typically examines the use of language as a social, cultural and contextual process and aims at producing a systematic and profound description of a specific target (Piirainen-Marsh and Huhta 2000: 97-98). This is precisely what the present study ventures to do: to describe and interpret literacy practices in the classroom with special emphasis on the role of language in constructing those practices.

Although there is a great deal of variation in ethnographic research, it can be characterized by certain features, most of which are present in ethnographically oriented studies (Watson-Gegeo 1988, Mehan 1979, Atkinson & Hammersley 1994, Hammersley 1994). These concern the overall aims, the type of data, data collection, and the analysis of data. To begin with, ethnographic research explores the nature of particular social phenomena, focusing especially on social groups and patterns of culturally specific behaviour. The general purpose is to produce a detailed description and interpretation of a certain social setting, which could be a community or a classroom, as well as the interaction among the participants in that setting and what they make of that interaction.

Secondly, data collection begins with a theoretical framework, which guides the investigator's attention to certain aspects of the phenomenon but, importantly, does not regulate or predetermine the collection or analysis of the data. The data typically come from real-world situations and are not manipulated for research purposes. In addition, the data come from a range of sources (observation, written documents, interviews, etc.) even though the focus is usually on a single setting or group. Observations made over a long period of time, in particular, have been one of the trademarks of ethnography. Observation can be either participant or non-participant observation or something in between.

Finally, in analysing the data, a holistic approach is adopted and, moreover, the data are unstructured and have not been coded in terms of a closed set of analytic categories. In addition, the data are treated comprehensively, which according to Mehan (1979) means that all the data must be analysed and examples used in reporting have to be representative examples, which reflect both variation and typicality in the data. The analysis involves interpretation of the meanings and functions of human activity and the product is usually in the form of verbal descriptions and explanations. Ethnographic research aims at emic interpretation of the data, that is, the aim is to bring forth the participants' own understanding of the situation, or as Alasuutari (1995: 68) formulates it: "…we are studying how people – or texts – themselves classify and construct things." Thus the analysis starts from the data and builds the interpretation from within the data, with the meanings that arise from the data. Alasuutari (1995: 68) points out that this does not mean that we have to use only the *terms* that appear in the data. To quote Alasuutari (1995: 68),

> When a researcher detects a distinction that appears repeatedly in the text, he or she gives it a name as an empirical generalization, as a characterization which describes the distinction in question as closely as possible. Of course in the research report the scholar has to mention as many diverse examples as possible, so that the

reader may decide whether the name given to the notion in question gives a true picture of what the texts are all about.

On the basis of the above features, the present study fulfils the "criteria" for ethnographic research. The focus is on a single setting and the aim is to reach an in-depth understanding of the object of study by a descriptive and an interpretive analysis of the data. The data is naturally occurring, it comes from more than one source and it is based on observation and recordings. The procedures of data collection will be discussed below under section 4.4. The present study focuses on a single case, and it is assumed that understanding (and describing and interpreting) one case profoundly is the basis for understanding the general phenomenon (Flyvbjerg 2001: 66-87). The aim of the present study is not to be able to make generalizations across all FL classrooms; instead, the aim to is to gain an in-depth understanding of the use of texts in a particular setting. Generalizations are often not even possible in research concerning human activity. As Flyvbjerg (2001: 73, 77) puts it:

> Predictive theories and universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs. Concrete, context-dependent knowledge is therefore more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals. … But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas "the power of the good example" is underestimated.

To obtain a comprehensive picture of the complexity of interaction around and about texts, methods from various discourse analytical approaches will be employed. Methods of investigating social interaction have been developed within various fields of study such as sociology, anthropology and linguistics. The present study draws especially on the premises of interactional sociolinguistics associated with Gumperz and Goffman but also on ethnography of communication (Hymes). Even these are not clearly definable approaches and there are different branches within them (Schiffrin 1994). I have taken the freedom of combining the basic ideas of these approaches and employing their results and some of their methods in examining talk in literacy events. The approaches can be characterized briefly as follows.

As Schiffrin (1994) notes there are two different but interrelated branches within *interactional sociolinguistics*: one stemming from anthropology (Gumperz) and the other from sociology (Goffman). Both are concerned with language, society and culture with a focus on "the interaction between self and other, and context " (Schiffrin 1994: 105) and they both emphasize the situated and diverse nature of talk and its central role in creating social reality. Rampton (1995: 20), for example, subscribes to interactional sociolinguistics in his study on the interaction in ethnic groups, and thus focuses on language, interaction structures, institutional organization and knowledge about social groups.

The basis of *ethnography of communication* lies in anthropology and linguistics and the key term is *communication*. From a linguistic point of view understanding communication is paramount, as people communicate predominantly through language, and from an anthropological viewpoint communication is central, since the way we communicate is one means of

making sense of the world (Schiffrin 1994: 138). Thus language is an integral part of culture. Schiffrin (1994: 144) summarizes ethnography of communication as "an approach to discourse that studies communicative competence" and this is carried out "by discovering and analysing the patterns (structures) and functions of communicating that organize the use of language (in speech situations, events, and acts) in the conduct of social life." In addition to interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication, conversation analysis has made a significant contribution to the understanding of institutional interaction. In describing and interpreting interaction and its relation to activities in literacy events of the classroom, the present study shares the basic premises of interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication, as it makes use of the findings gained in these areas and applies some of their methods. As far as conversation analysis is concerned, the present study relies on similar premises and makes use of findings in this field of study, but does not share the aims nor applies the methods used in conversation analysis.

In brief, the present study starts from the constructivist research paradigm and subscribes to an ethnographic approach in studying the literacy practices of the participants in a social group in terms the interaction between the participants and between texts and the participants. In describing and interpreting the micro-level dynamics of interaction and the integration of text and talk, methods from interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication will be employed eclectically. In the next sections, I will discuss the data collection procedure and the overall process of the analysis in greater detail.

4.4   Data and transcription conventions

The data for the present study were collected in a classroom in a secondary school in Finland in autumn 1996. The data were collected as a part of a larger project concerning foreign language teaching and learning in the Finnish school context. For the project, several schools were contacted and finally three teachers were found who were willing to let researchers observe and video record their lessons. Lessons in three classrooms were observed and recorded in the project. One of them was in primary school (year 5), one in a secondary school (year 7) and one in an upper secondary school (year 10). As the project consisted of several subprojects with different foci of investigation, the data pool was fairly large and I selected the data for the present study from this pool. The selection was guided by the theoretical framework and with the initial research problem in mind. As the focus was on the constructing of literacy through the interaction among the participants in a classroom, it was important to obtain data that would allow a detailed analysis of talk of all the participants. The classes in the primary school and in the upper secondary school were fairly large and therefore the quality of recordings was not very good and thus the voices of the pupils were not always audible. The class in the

secondary school was, however, fairly small and thus the voices of the pupils, in addition to that of the teacher, could be heard very well on the tape. Consequently, as the focus of the study is on interaction of all the participants in the setting as constructing literacy events, I chose the video- and audio-recordings from the classroom in the secondary school as well as the written material used in that classroom as the data for the present study.

The classroom under scrutiny in the present study was an English language classroom. The lessons observed and recorded were ordinary lessons, which the teacher had not specifically prepared them the study, since she did not know exactly what aspects of classroom activities were being examined. Thus the data can be considered as naturally occurring data. Obviously, outsiders in a classroom with notebooks and cameras have an effect on the situation and this is not denied in the present study. To minimize the effect of outsiders in the classroom, four lessons were first observed without cameras and only after that were video-cameras brought into the classroom. In this way the participants got used to being observed, and, in fact, the data show no signs of clear effects from these intrusions. It is, however, very difficult – if not impossible – to obtain spoken data that would not be affected by the data collection procedures. Ethical questions are also involved: the participants in a research project have the right to know that their conversation is being used for research purposes. Therefore, it would be unethical to use data that were recorded without the participants knowing it. The teacher, pupils and their parents (verbally by the teacher on parents' night) in the present study were asked for permission to use the data anonymously for research purposes.

The pupils in this classroom were in their seventh year at school and they were aged between twelve and thirteen[6]. The pupils were studying English as their second foreign language as they had already started German in their third year. They had then chosen English in their fifth year. There were seven pupils – three girls and four boys – and a female teacher in her thirties in the class. The class was exceptionally small for the reason that the pupils were studying English as a second foreign language. It is compulsory to start a foreign language in the third year of schooling and most pupils choose English as the first foreign language. Pupils can choose to begin another foreign language, typically in their fifth year, and therefore these classes are usually smaller than regular classes. The textbook used in the class was *The News Headlines*, courses 1-4 (Westlake et al. 1996) with an accompanying workbook, *The New Exercises* (Pitkänen et al. 1996). The texts used during the lessons were from course 1, unit 3.

Three researchers were involved in the data collection. The class had two weekly forty-five minute lessons in English, as a double period on Fridays. At first the classroom was observed without recording equipment. This took place

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[6]   Pupils begin school at the age of seven in Finland.

on two Fridays, that is, during four lessons.[7] After that six successive lessons were observed and video- and audio-recorded. The pupils' desks were arranged in the form of a horseshoe. There were two cameras in the classroom and they were placed so that one was focused on the teacher and the other predominantly on the pupils (see Figure 1). In Figure 1, P stands for a pupil's desk, OHP for the overhead projector and Cam1 / Cam2 for the two cameras. The teacher mainly stood or sat by the overhead projector and not by her desk. Camera 1 was targeted at the teacher and some pupils and camera 2 was targeted at pupils only.

	Blackboard	
T's desk	OHP	P
P		
		P
P		
		P
P	P	Cam2
Cam 1		
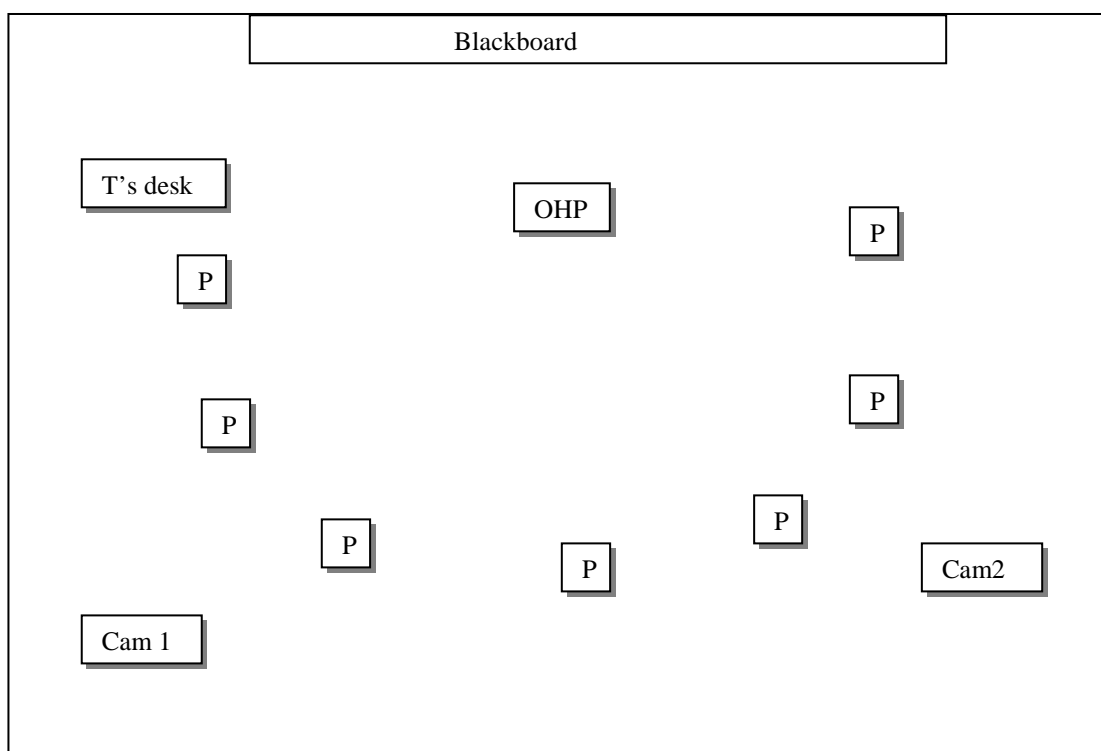
FIGURE 1   Seating and the placement of cameras in the classroom

Sometimes the pupils moved their desks, which meant that one or two pupils were out of range of the camera. Small tape recorders were used occasionally when the pupils were working in pairs or small groups. In addition to recorded material, all the written material used in the classroom was collected and the researchers also had access to the books used in the classroom. The teacher and two of the pupils were also interviewed, but these interviews were not used in the present study due to the nature of the overall purpose of the study.

The recordings were transcribed by adopting the conventions generally used in interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis. The transcription conventions can be seen in Appendix 2. The transcripts show, for

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[7]   In Finland, a lesson is almost always a 45-minute session, which comprises one subject, such as history or English. The lesson as a whole consists of instructional activities. The lesson might then include various activities, such as reading, writing, listening, oral and written exericises, tests, pair work or individual work.

example, overlapping speech, rising and falling intonation as well as loud or soft voice and mispronunciation. Very fine details such as breath or aspects of prosody are not indicated, as they were not relevant to the analysis.

All the utterances in Finnish in the transcripts have been translated into English. Translating speech is, however, always problematic. There are incomplete utterances, which are difficult to translate so that they retain the same effect or probable meaning as the originals in Finnish. Sometimes it is difficult to determine the meaning of incomplete utterances even in Finnish. Colloquial expressions are another problem. I use a fairly standard form of English in the translations. Still another difficulty is caused by the very different word order of English and Finnish. It would have been possible to give the translation in exactly the same order as in the Finnish original and then mark the grammatical category of each item, as is sometimes done in transcriptions. This was not, however, done in the present study, as, due to the nature of the analysis, the exact word order is seldom relevant. The translations attempt to capture the meaning of the utterance. However, where it has been possible to follow the order without distorting the meaning too much, this has been done. Therefore, the English translations may not sound very idiomatic in places. The translations are shown in bold face in the transcripts. Capital letters for proper nouns are used in the translations and in the description of the nonverbal activities but not in the transcriptions proper.

The nonverbal activities of the participants are marked in the transcript only when they are relevant to the point made in the analysis. These are marked in curvy brackets under the utterance and its translation. Thus only some examples are marked for nonverbal activities. The nonverbal activities marked are mainly actions, body or gaze orientations, such as the teacher showing her book to the class, the teacher standing in front of a particular pupil, the teacher looking at a particular pupil, and so on.

Normally, the transcriptions are presented in the most conventional form so that the utterances follow each other line by line. Sometimes, however, the transcription is presented in parallel columns to illustrate more clearly the simultaneity of conversations by different groups of participants. Arrows next to the line number are used to mark the analytical points referred to in the description of the extract.

The following example illustrates the conventions used in the transcriptions.

(1) YA1, Pictures (57-67)

1 →	Heidi	hei ope, **hey teacher**
2	Teacher	yes (.)
3 →	Heidi	>ope< **teacher**
4	Teacher	[and we listen,] (-) {teacher talks to Katja}
5 →	Eeva	[en mä osaa näitä] **I can't do these**

6 →	Heidi	[mä en tajua tätä] **I don't get this**	
7	Aaro	[mihin tää tulee] (-) ni **what't this done for** {Aaro talks to the researcher}	
8 →	Heidi	mä en tajua tätä **I don't get this**	
9	Teacher	to: bon jovi: ↓ {teacher goes to Heidi}	
10	Aaro	(joo↓) sitä minäki↓ **yeah I thought so**	
11	Teacher	elikkä joka kuvasta yksi lause↑ (.) täällä on annettu (x), **so of each picture one sentence it has been given here** {teacher points at Heidi's book}	

Line 1 shows Heidi's turn (hei ope). The translation is given below the turn in bold face (**hey teacher**). The arrow after the line number marks the turn as analytically interesting. The teacher's turn on line 2 is followed by a pause shorter than one second, whereas the utterance on line 4 is followed by a pause longer than one second. Under the utterance on line 4, there is the observation that the teacher is talking to Katja, that is, a brief description of the nonverbal activity. The utterance on line 3 is said fast and some utterances are marked with rising, falling or level intonation. The examples are coded so that the first number in parenthesis, (1 in the example above), refers to the number of the example in the chapter in question. The numbering starts from 1 in each chapter. The letters (YA) refer to the data pool (YA = secondary school) and the number refers to the lesson (1 = the first lesson). The name after this code (*Pictures*)[8] refers to the literacy event and the numbers in parenthesis (57-67) indicate the line numbers in the original lesson transcriptions.

The following example illustrates the parallel columns used in the transcriptions:

(2) YA2, Game (39-44)

	Teacher	Tuomo and Mikko	Aaro and Juuso	Eeva, Heidi and Katja
1		T MIHIN PÄIN tässä kierretään (-) kellonsuuntaan **which way do we go here clockwise**		
2	okei (-) perhaps (-) yeah↓ (-) clockwise↓			H ((coughs))(xx)
3			A (kuhan se on siellä perillä↓) **as long as it is there**	E aha (-) näin päin **aha this way**
4	you can decide↓			H näin [°päin°] **this way**

---

[8]   The events are described in Appendix 1.

| 5 | | | E | näin (-) näin päin
this this way |
| 6 | | J ♪ di dii♪ | H | näin päin (-) näin
päin
this way this way |

In this example, the pupils work in pairs and therefore there are three simultaneous conversations going on. The first column presents the line numbers, the second the teacher's turns and following three columns display the conversations between Tuomo and Mikko, Aaro and Juuso, and Eeva, Heidi and Katja, respectively. The other conventions are the same as in the line by line transcriptions.

4.5   Analysis of the data

This section outlines the analytical procedure. The analysis proceeded in stages: I first examined all the six lessons and identified all the literacy events within them. From these, thirteen events which focused on the textbook or the workbook were selected for the close analysis (the selection procedure is explained below). The events chosen were from the first four lessons. The last double period, i.e. the fifth and the sixth lesson, involved project work in which textbooks were not used. The first and second lessons both contained three events, the third lesson six and the fourth lesson only one. The length of the events varied from about three and a half to about fourteen minutes. All the lessons were 45 minutes in length. In the first lesson, the literacy events took up 21 minutes of the lesson, in the second lesson 35 minutes, and in the third lesson 33 minutes. The fourth lesson contained one event of about fourteen minutes in length. The rest of that lesson was spent on a verb test. Thus, the textbook-based literacy events occupied a substantial proportion of the lesson time.

In the following, I will first briefly describe the central concepts used as the basis of the analysis and then explain the tools of the analysis, that is, the descriptive dimensions of the analysis.

4.5.1 Central concepts in the analysis

The analysis makes use of four central concepts. These are *event*, *text*, *task* and *activity*. I will briefly describe each of these in the following.

The basic analytical unit in the present study is the literacy *event*. Before the analysis and description proper of the events, it was necessary to identify them in the classroom and limit their number for the detailed analysis. As Barton (1994: 186-187) notes, it is difficult to define literacy events in the classroom. When does one event end and another one start? What are the boundaries of events? Sometimes there might be no text present but reference is made to a text later, or an activity is turned into texts later. Is this then a literacy event or not? In the present study, I employed the basic notion of a literacy event advocated by Heath (1983) for the initial identification of events. Literacy

events are occasions where people act and interact around a piece of written text. Thus, text was taken as the basis for identifying literacy events. Therefore, a written text[9] would have to form the centre of the event and hence I excluded activities which were based on spoken language only. Whenever there was a change of text, there was an assumed change of events. In addition, the texts used were limited to those in the textbook or the workbook. As was mentioned above, the textbook-based (and workbook-based) literacy events occupied a considerable amount of the lesson time, and thus textbooks were central in the classroom activities. Therefore the examination in the present study focuses on those literacy events, and events that had a handout, for example, at the centre were excluded. Through these procedures, I chose thirteen literacy events during the six lessons recorded for a closer analysis. The events and the texts used in them are described in Appendix 1.

Another central concept is that of *text*. The traditional meaning of text has been a fairly long continuous text or a whole textbook. In textbooks for foreign language instruction, however, the texts are often also exercises or short prompt texts. In the present study, I therefore adopt a broader view of text. Similarly to Sunderland et al. (2001: 253), the concept of text denotes to a stretch of written language, which has a certain purpose. In the case of a classroom – and a language classroom in particular – these might be exercises or tasks in addition to continuous texts. Also, there might be more than writing involved: there could be visuals such as drawings or photographs next to the texts as well as recordings of talk transformed into written form. Thus texts in textbooks can be multi-modal.

Thus, in the present study, texts in the textbook are either continuous texts meant for reading or studying text or prompt texts for listening exercises or for oral exercises. In the latter case, the text consists of captions under pictures, short presentations, tasks to be completed or pictures. In addition, *text* refers to spoken texts on the tape that are used in the listening exercises. These include a quiz programme and some interviews. Otherwise, *text* refers to written texts only. The workbook texts are exercises focussing on grammatical points. In one case only, the exercise concerns a text that was read in the textbook. These are the kinds of texts that are at the centre of the literacy event. In addition, the events might involve other accessories that are related to texts. These include overhead transparencies, text on the black board, the teacher's book, or the pupils' notebooks.

Literacy events in the classroom focus on certain *tasks*. The texts in the events each have a task that the participants are supposed to work on. This might be a listening task with questions to answer or an exercise comprising of a text with gaps to be filled in or a game in which sentences in the past tense have to be formed. The tasks focus on certain aspects of foreign language learning. Each event focuses on one task and in a way tasks are accomplished in the events.

The events also contain *activities*. These include reading aloud text, listening to the tape, working in pairs, asking and answering questions, and so

9   How *text* is defined will be discussed below.

on. Thus activities are ways of carrying out the tasks, which, for their part, are usually defined by the texts. In other words, activities are linked to behaviour of the participants, whereas tasks are related to the purposes of language learning defined by the texts and the teacher.

To summarize, the basic unit of analysis is the literacy event, which has been defined as interaction and action around written text. This will serve as the basis for closer description of literacy events in the institutional context of a classroom. The literacy event includes texts, tasks and activities. These concepts are the basis of the analysis of interaction within the literacy events.

4.5.2 Tools of analysis

The purpose of this section is to describe the tools of analysis that are used in building a description, explanation and interpretation of literacy events in this classroom by analysing the use of texts and talk around and about texts. There are three descriptive dimensions in the analysis: 1) the structure of interaction, 2) the use of texts and 3) the integration of talk and texts.

The prime focus of the present study is on talk and its nature in constructing the literacy practices of the particular context. The context in which the talk is embedded is an institutional context and the participants hold certain institutional roles, which are assigned by the institution. These roles play a role in the interaction among the participants. They do not predetermine the type of talk possible for the participants, but the roles can, for example, give the participants certain rights concerning the allowable contributions. When the participants act in their institutional roles, they make them relevant in their talk.

In examining the structure of this interaction, I will pay attention to the following aspects of interaction. First of all, I will examine the overall structural organization of talk and the participants' orientation to each other and to texts. Research on institutional talk, including classrooms, has shown that talk in institutional contexts is organized sequentially. Thus talk organizes classroom activities into particular structures, which are regulated by the institution and the participants' institutional roles. On the other hand, the participants maintain their institutional roles with particular patterns of talk (e.g. the IRF structure) and thus also construct the institutionality of the context. As research on classroom discourse has shown, talk in the classroom falls into certain patterns of sequential organization, which organize the lesson into phases. This needs to be examined as the structure of interaction in the literacy event forms the basis of and frames the participants' talk and activities and is thus one aspect in the construction of literacy practices.

In addition to the sequential organization of talk, I will examine the participants' orientation to each other and to texts. The focus will be on the lexical choices made by the speakers. As Drew and Heritage (1992, see also Peräkylä 1997) point out, this reflects the participants' orientation to the institutional context and their roles in it and, in the case of literacy events, to the texts used. As far as lexical choices are concerned, the participants have numerous alternatives to choose from. Drew and Heritage (1992: 29) note that research has shown that both lay and technical vocabularies are used in the

institutional context. By their choice of vocabulary, the speakers express their identities as experts in their specific field, for example. Another example is the use of pronouns. Using *we* instead of *I* when referring to oneself, for instance, a speaker can hide personal identity behind institutional role. In the present study, I will focus on these aspects of talk when the speakers make explicit or implicit references to texts. The present study seeks to explore this aspect of talk in constructing literacy practices on the micro-level. This is precisely what Baynham (1995b) suggests a linguistic analysis could bring to the study of literacy practices.

The texts used in the classroom will be analysed in relation to their use. The analysis assumes that instructional texts are meant to be used by a group of people and thus they offer something for the participants to work on. As the focus is on a certain limited set of literacy events, it is reasonable to pay attention only to the texts that are used in those events and their role in shaping interaction in the particular classroom. More importantly, I analyse texts from the point of view of their use and users in the literacy event. To this end, I will pay attention to the general layout of the texts and the elements into which the text page is divided. Emphasis will be on how these elements of texts reflect the overall purpose that the text conveys and imposes on its users. The analysis focuses principally on how the participants make use of the texts and turn them into classroom activities.

As far as the integration of talk and texts is concerned, I will apply the basic idea of complex and changing speaker-hearer roles employed both by Goffman and Levinson. Special emphasis will be on the roles in which the speakers do not utter words of their own but, instead, bring the text at hand into their talk in various ways. Therefore, the distinction between *source* and *speaker* made by Levinson is crucial in the present study. The principal terms used are *animator*, *author* and *spokesperson*. On the whole the focus will be more on production than on reception roles. The finer distinctions made by Levinson, such as *motive* (cf. Goffman's *principal*) and *form*, will be made use of only as far as they are relevant in the data of the present study. As the data come from an institutional setting, the participants' institutional roles might impose certain speaker roles. I will also take this into account in the examination of the interactional activities that take place within the literacy events.

In addition, in relation to the idea of participation framework employed by Goffman, I will pay attention to the participants' orientation to each other and the talk around them. It is assumed that the participants shift their alignment to each other so as to be able to take part in several conversations at the same time and so that they might have overlapping conversations. To this end, I will make use of the concepts of *by-play* and *side-play*. Goffman (1981: 134) uses the terms by-play, cross-play and side-play. He defines by-play as "subordinated communication of a subset of ratified participants"; cross-play as "communication between ratified participants and bystanders across the boundaries of the dominant encounter"; and side-play refers to "respectfully hushed words exchanged entirely among bystanders". Goodwin (1997: 78) adds to the definition of by-play that is could be "commentary on ongoing talk subordinate to a main storyline". In the present study, I will use these terms

insofar as the participants' talk is related to texts. I link by-play to the text so that by-play means commenting on the text that is the focus of the dominant talk. This comment is, however, a sideline to the dominant line of talk. In addition, I use the term side-play, which I take to mean that there are two simultaneous lines of talk: the dominant line focuses on a text but the sideline is not linked to the text at hand.

By focusing on these aspects of texts and talk, the present study aims at providing a description, explanation and interpretation of the literacy practices of a foreign language classroom. The following three chapters will present the analysis. Chapter 5 examines the structure of interaction in the classroom, chapter 6 focuses on the use of texts, and chapter 7 presents the analysis of the integration of talk and texts.

5   TALK ORGANIZES LITERACY EVENTS

Literacy events are embedded in specific contexts and are shaped by the practices of that particular setting. Therefore, the patterns of classroom discourse provide a basis for such literacy events. Consequently, to be able to explore the structure of literacy events in the classroom we need take a look at the patterns of interaction prevalent in the setting. This chapter aims at answering the first research question: How are literacy events organized within the institutional context of the classroom? This is divided into two subquestions: 1) how do the participants orient themselves to literacy events in their talk? and 2) what interactional structures are used to organize events? The analysis will focus on how literacy events in the classroom are organized through the institutional forms of talk typical of classrooms. In other words, the focus will be on the internal organization of the events and on the participants' talk and action in accomplishing this.

The analysis shows that, as in the organization of a lesson, as described by Mehan (1979), literacy events are organized sequentially as they unfold in time. Literacy events have a beginning and an end, that is, they are framed and thus separated from other activities in the classroom. In the same way as the activity types described by Levinson (1992, see section 2.4), each of the literacy events in this study consists of three parts. These are the opening phase, the text-processing phase and the closing phase. During the opening phase the teacher introduces the task and the text. In the next phase, which forms the core of the event, the text focussed within the event is processed and the task carried out. Finally, in the closing phase, evaluation by the teacher and a shift to another text marks the end of the event.

In the following sections, I will discuss each of the three phases. First, I will examine the participants' orientation to the opening phase and the teacher's mediating role during the opening phase. Secondly, I will discuss the participants' orientation to the text-processing phase as well as the various interactional activities that occur during the phase. Finally, I will pay attention to how the closing phase is accomplished by the participants.

5.1 The opening phase

5.1.1 Participants' orientation to the new phase

During the opening phase both the teacher and the pupils engage in certain verbal and nonverbal activities and thus show their orientation to the start of a new event. I will first examine the teacher's activities and then discuss the pupils' role in the opening phase.

Typically, the teacher starts the literacy event in the classroom. The most prominent activity on the part of the teacher is the giving of instructions[10] for the task that is the focus of the event. The instructions usually include several different components. The verbal activities include introducing the text, reading the instructions given in the book, giving the instructions in a different form to the class, and giving the page or exercise numbers. Nonverbal activities consist of the teacher opening and closing the pupils' books and showing her own book, which is open at the correct page, to the class. The opening includes either all or just some of these elements.

The teacher's instructions often consist of three different parts. Firstly, the teacher introduces the text to the pupils with general remarks concerning the text. Secondly, she reads aloud verbatim the instruction given in the textbook and perhaps gives the correct page numbers. Finally, she interprets the instruction to the class. During the whole act of giving instructions or during a part of it, she also shows the book to the class, thus using the text as an icon, which marks the opening of the event. In other words, the teacher gives instructions concerning both the purpose of the task as well as the procedures involved. The following two examples illustrate the various components of the teacher's instructions. Consider first example 1, which is the very beginning of a new literacy event the focus of which is a reading task:

(1) YA3, Tarzan (598-641)

```
1 →   Teacher    okay, [let´s go on with] your (.) textbook
2     Aaro             [ (xx)            ]
3     Heidi      tossa (x)
                 there
4     LF         ai niin
                 so it is
5 →   Teacher    an:d uh [here´s a (.)] [quite an interesting story about]
6     Heidi              [ did you    ]
                 {teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}
7     Aaro                               [ otaksää nää              ]
                                         will you take these
                 {teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}
8 →   Teacher    [film-making (.) in africa ]
```

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[10]   *Instructing* is here defined as a subgenre of directives. Instructions "imply an asymmetrical relationship of participants, with the teacher providing actions such as getting the attention of subordinates, giving them information, and criticizing them" (Goodwin 1990: 100).

{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}

9	Heidi	[(xxx)]
10	Tuomo	yeah [yeah]
11	Aaro	[oiskohan] oikeen tarzan (x)

                  could it be the real Tarzan

12	Mikko	[hei onks toi se tarzan joka jäi loppuiäkseen tarzaniks]

          hey is that the tarzan that remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life

13	LL	[(xxx)]
14	Aaro	johnny weissmüller
15 →	Teacher	[fifty-two and fifty-three]

{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}

16	Aaro	[(xxx)] (x)

{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}

17 →	Teacher	[wild wild animals is the name of the story]

{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}

18	L	[(xxx)]
19	Mikko	niinku [se yks] tarzan [jäi loppuiäkseen tarzaniks]

          just like that Tarzan who remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life

20	Katja	[mitä] [hä (.) ai toi vai]

          what   what oh that one

21	Teacher	yeah, i can take the papers
22	Mikko	pikkusen [(xxx) tarzanina] kuulemma siellä •hyppii vieläki•

          just like the Tarzan they say he's still jumping there

23	LL	[((laughter))]
24	Aaro	[((laughs))]
25 →	Teacher	[harjoittele (.)]

            practise

26 →		[vieraskielisen tekstin (-) haloo]

          a foreign language text   hello

27	Mikko	[joku tarzan näyttelijä jäi tarzaniks loppuiäkseen]

          a Tarzan actor remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life

28		kun sai jonkun vähän liian kovan [(x)]

          somebody got something a little too tough

29 →	Teacher	[harjoittele]

          practise

30		[vierastekstisen] (.) [VIERASKIELISEN (.) juuso]

          a foreign text   a foreign language Juuso

31	Juuso	[nii (.)] [se hyppii siellä vanhainkodissa (xx)]

          yeah   he is jumping there in the retirement home

32	Aaro	[((laughs))]
33 →	Teacher	vieraskielisen [tekstin ymmärtämistä lue] kertomus,

          foreign language text comprehension read the story

34	Juuso	[huutelee tarzan-huutoja]

          yelling Tarzan calls

35 →	Teacher	[kuinka paljon] ymmärrät siitä ensi lukemalla

          how much do you understand after the first reading

36	Aaro	[((laughs))]
37 →	Teacher	oheisen sanaluettelon [avulla]

          with the help of the attached word list

38	Juuso	[he:i] missä mun-

          hey where's my

39	Juuso	(.) ai [tuossa]

          oh there

40 →	Teacher	[so you] don´t have to understand the whole story,
41		not <u>every</u> word (.) just if you understand the idea↓
42		that´s [enough↓]

43	Aaro	[siis] mikä tämä, wild wild [animals]
		so **which one this**
44	Teacher	[wild] wild
45		animals, that´s right↓ let´s read the words first (.)

First, the teacher introduces the task and the text. She starts her instruction by remarking that the pupils should switch from their workbooks to textbooks (line 1). She uses the form *let's*, thus referring to a joint task: we all as a group are going to start a new task. The book, however, is labelled *your* textbook and not *the* textbook, for example (see section 7.1.1). Everybody has his or her own textbook and it should be taken out for this event. Thus the teacher points out that the pupils should also get ready for the joint task and their part in getting ready is to take up their books. The teacher also introduces the text to be worked on by giving a general characterization of the text and saying the title of the text. The text is a story, and it is interesting (line 5). The story tells about film making in Africa (line 8) and the title of the story is *Wild, Wild Animals* (line 17). This way she orients the pupils to the task and its content. Simultaneously, the teacher holds up the book, open at the correct page, and shows it to the class. Thus the book as an artefact plays a role in framing the literacy event. While showing the book, she also gives the page numbers (line 15). In the next part of the instruction, the teacher reads aloud the instruction for the task, which is given in the book in Finnish: *practice understanding text written in foreign language, read the story, how much do you understand after first reading with the help of the attached word list* (lines 25, 30, 34, 36 and 38). The instruction is in the second person singular imperative form (marked in Finnish) and thus targeted at pupils as individuals in the classroom (see section 6.1.2). Finally, the teacher instructs the class further in English (lines 41-43). She says another instruction in her own words, that is, she interprets the instruction in the textbook adapting it to this particular class. She uses the word *so* to mark a switch from the textbook instruction to her own instruction. In addition, she does not use the imperative form when talking to the class in her own words.

Example 2 below is from an event in which the pupils work in pairs. This opening contains several of the same elements as the previous example:

(2) YA2, Game (1-17)

1 →	Teacher	ok let's (-) play a little (-) dice game↑ (.) so if you take
2		[page fifty-one↓]
3	Aaro	[kuolemapeli↓]
		death game
4	Katja	•kuolemapeli•
		death game
5	Juuso	(mitä)
		what
6 →	Teacher	play a game with your friend↓ (.) throw the dice, and form a <u>sen</u>tence
		{teacher looks at her book}
7		in the past tense↓ [(-) use] one of the pictures to help you↓ (-) start
		{teacher looks at her book}
8	Juuso	[missä]
		where

9 →	Teacher	<u>any</u>where you like↓ (-) and here's an example (-)<u>eat</u>↓ (-) i ate a
		{teacher holds up her book, shows it to the class and points at it}
10		[banana yesterday] (-)
11	Juuso	[sivu mikä↓]
		page what
12 →	Teacher	so this is fifty-one↓
13		[you] can get the dice from me↑ (-) an:d ö (-) so there is no start and
14	Juuso	[ai jaa]
		oh I see
15 →	Teacher	no finish i guess, [(-) but] it doesn't matter you can start where ever
16	Learner	[(x)]
17 →	Teacher	you want to↓ (.) just (-) try to form some sentences↓ (-) in the past
18		tense↑ here's for [you:]
19	Tuomo	[can i] get a noppa
		dice
20	Teacher	here's for you:

The teacher opens the event by introducing the next task (line 1): they are going to play a game. Similarly to the opening in example 1, the teacher uses the form *let's* to indicate that this is a joint task. She also gives the page number (line 2) and reads aloud the instruction in the book (lines 6, 7 and 9). This time the instruction is in English. Notable is again the second person imperative form of the written instruction. While she refers to the example in the textbook (line 9), she also holds up her book and shows it to the class, thus again using the text as an icon. The teacher gives the page number again (line 12), as a pupil enquires about it (line 11). She also gives further instructions concerning the procedure (lines 12, 14, 16-18): the teacher will provide the dice, the game has no beginning and no end and therefore the pupils can start wherever they wish. She also clarifies the purpose of the task, which is to form sentences in the past tense. When compared with the written instruction, only one imperative form (*try to form*, line 17) is used in the teacher's own instruction.

Examples 1 and 2 both contained instructions concerning the purpose of the task as well as the procedures for carrying out the task, whereas in example 3 below, the core of the teacher's instruction seems to consist of locating the correct book and page as well as giving the pupils procedural information. Sometimes the instructions focus, in addition to the procedures, on the accessories that are needed in performing the task. Consider the fairly long opening in example 3:

(3) YA4, Animal quiz (664-725)

1 →	Teacher	okay, now you need your notebooks and [your (.)]
2	L	[(x)]
3 →	Teacher	textbooks (.) this [time, because] we are going to
4	Aaro	[see saw seen]
5 →	Teacher	listen to a [animal quiz (.)] but first of all (.)
6	LM	[♪see saw seen♪]
7 →	Teacher	here are some questions, ten questions altogether↑
8	Mikko	[((xx))]
9 →	Teacher	[and before you listen] to the quiz you should try
10		to answer the questions below↓ so (.) make a guess (.)

11		what [do you think] it´s the right answer and then we are
12	Aaro	[*quiz*]
13 →	Teacher	going to listen to the quiz, and see how (.) how many
14		(.) answers you got right↓

(28 lines omitted)

15 →	Teacher	you need your notebook↓
16	Tuomo	mikä on notebook↓
		what's a notebook
17 →	Teacher	vihko↓ (.) eli laitetaan vastaukset vihkoon ei
		notebook (.) so we'll write the answers in the notebook not
18		tähän kirjaan
		in this book
19	Mikko	das hef:te
20 →	Teacher	you can (.) then try to guess the right answers ,

(10 lines omitted)

| 21 → | Teacher | and please take your notebook mikko↑ |
| 22 | | (-) an:d you need a pencil (.) so, number one↓ |

The teacher starts the instruction (and the event) by saying what accessories the pupils need to perform the next task, i.e. notebooks and textbooks (lines 1 and 3). In the same way as the book was shown in the previous two examples, the artefacts needed in the task are used here in framing the event. The teacher uses the second person plural (*you, your*) forms when talking about the books and notebooks. Then she shifts to the first person plural (line 3) as she tells the pupils what they are going to do next: *we are going to listen to a animal quiz*. During the rest of her instruction, the teacher alternates between the second person plural and the first person plural forms: listening will be done together as a group (*we are going to listen*, lines 11 and 13) as well as by the pupils (*before you listen*, line 9) but answering is the responsibility of the pupils (*you should try to answer the questions, how many answers you got right*, lines 9-10 and 14). On lines 15 and 21 the teacher again reminds the pupils of the accessories they need for this task.

All the three openings discussed so far were fairly long and included several different elements. The opening phase can, however, be very short and consist only of reading aloud the instruction in the textbook and very briefly giving instructions about the procedures. The following examples illustrate brief openings of this kind:

(4) YA3, Circle (407-412)

1 →	Teacher	okay,
2	Aaro	jee
3	Teacher	rengasta oikea vais:- vaihtoehto↓ (-)
		circle the correct alt- alternative
4 →	Teacher	laitta- [miettikääs] kaikki jokainen sitä vähän aikaa (.)
		put- think about it everyone for a while

5   Juuso   [nii joo nää]
                        oh yeah these
6 → Teacher   katotaan sitten (x)
                      we'll have a look at it then

(5) YA3, Columns (579-586)

1 → Teacher   okay (-) ota sana tai lauseke joka [sarakkeesta ja]
                      take a word or a phrase from each column and
2   Juuso   [*correct*   ]
3 → Teacher   muodosta lauseita (-) >kirjoita
                      form sentences (-) write
4   [vihkoosi tai lue parisi kanssa< tehdään parin kanssa]
                      in your notebook or read with your partner we'll work with a partner
5   Juuso   [*corr::::*   ]
6 → Teacher   [molemmat sanoo viis lausetta (-)] aina yks (-)
                      both will say five sentences (-) always one
7   Juuso   [*:::ect*   ]
8 → Teacher   jokaisesta sarakkeesta mitä huvittaa
                      from each column as you wish

In example 4 above, the switch from the previous event is marked by the teacher's *okay* (line 1). The teacher first reads aloud the instruction in the workbook: *circle the correct alternative* (line 3). The instruction in the textbook is targeted at the lone reader and is thus in the second person singular imperative form. The teacher switches to the second person plural form (line 4) when she directs her words to the class and, finally, uses the first person plural (line 6) when she refers to the joint activity which is to follow the pupils' individual working. Similarly, in example 5, the teacher first reads the instruction (lines 1, 3-4). Part of the instruction in the workbook gives two alternatives for carrying out the task: either to write the sentences in the notebook or to read them aloud with a partner. The teacher reads this part very fast (lines 3 and 4) and then switches to the first person plural (line 4) as she chooses one of these alternatives: she decides that the pupils are going to work in pairs. On lines 6 and 8, the teacher clarifies the procedures further by saying that both pupils have to say five sentences; they have to take one expression from each column and they can choose freely the combinations of phrases or expressions.

All the examples so far have involved the teacher reading aloud the instruction in the textbook. This is not, however, always the case as the following example shows:

(6) YA3, ABCD (201-204)

1 → Teacher   hullulta (.) mut se oli idea↓ o:kay sitten katotaan
                      crazy but that was the idea okay then we'll have a look
2   seuraavalta sivulta [vielä olla-verbin↑ (.) eri muodot↑]
                      on the next page the different forms of the verb to be
3   Mikko   [(xxx)   ]
4 → Teacher   imperfektinä (.) eli teillon siellä (.) neljä vaihtoehtoo,
                      in the past tense so you have there four alternatives

Here the teacher starts a new event very briefly. *Okay* on line 1 marks the boundary between events. This time the teacher does not read aloud the instruction in the book. Instead, she introduces the task in her own words: *we'll have a look at the different past tense forms of the verb be on the next page* (lines 1 and 2). She uses the passive form (in Finnish), which in spoken language is used as a first person imperative form (see Sorjonen 2001), to tell the class what they are going to do next. Then she goes on explaining the text on the page to the class and switches to the second person plural (line 4). The instruction and the following explanation are separated by the Finnish word *eli* (= *so* in English).

The openings do not always proceed according to the teacher's initial instruction. Sometimes the event seems to need two openings with a change of tack in between. Consider example 7, which comes from an event focussing on exercises on grammar. The pupils had to do some exercises at home and now they are about to check them together in class:

(7) YA1, Fill in (602-687)

```
1  →  Teacher    mitä nyt tehään ↓ [now] I think
                 what shall we do now
2      Tuomo                        [nii  ]
                                    yeah
3  →  Teacher    we´re going to have a look at your
                 {teacher takes her workbook}
4                homework↓ (-) you were supposed to do
5                three exercises↓
6      Aaro      no emmää tehny kun kaks=
                 well I didn't do more than two
7      Tuomo     =ai  [et   ]
                 oh you didn't
8  →  Teacher      >⁰ [on  ] your exercise book↓⁰< you did two↓well↑
                 {teacher looks at Aaro}
9      Aaro      yes
                 {pupils start taking up and opening their workbooks}
10     Juuso     määkin tein
                 so did I
11     LL        (xxx Finnish)
12     Teacher   fortys- was it (.)
13               [ let´s see↓              ]
14     Mikko     [ mää tein ihan kaikki]
                 I did all of them
15     Tuomo     mää en oo yhtään ees
                 I haven't even got
16               [selevillä missä me ollaan menossa]
                 a clue where we are
17     Teacher   [fifty and fifty-one (.)              ]
18     Aaro      mmm
19     Teacher   aha↑
20     Juuso     emmää tehny kun kaks↓
                 I didn't do more than two
21  → Teacher    how about marking down↓
```

(15 lines omitted during which the teacher goes around in class and looks at each pupil's book to check whether they have completed their homework and the pupils try to make excuses.)

22	→ Teacher	vähintään kolme tehtävää↓ ((clicks her tongue))
		{teacher points at Eeva's book}
		at least three exercises
23	Tuomo	siis mikä sivu↓=
		so what was the page
24	→ Teacher	=it says, fifty and fifty-one↓
		{teacher points at Tuomo's book}
25	Eeva	ne alkaa tässä
		they start here
26	Teacher	it´s right over there

(35 lines omitted during which the teacher tells the pupils to stay after school hours to do the exercises they have not done at home)

27	→ Teacher	no katotaas yhessä se [kakstoista joka niistä on tärkein]
		well let's have a look at twelve which is the most important together
28	Mikko	[et sää saa sitä (xx Finnish)]
		you don't get that
29	Aaro	pitääks mun tulla vielä tekeen se yks
		do I have to come and do the one
30	Teacher	(-) joo
		yeah
31	Aaro	eih
		oh no
32	LL	((laughter))
33	→ Teacher	täydennä lauseet [sopivilla imperfekteillä]
		fill in the sentences with suitable past tense forms
34	Aaro	[eihän sitä jaksa millään]
		I'm just too tired
35	→ Teacher	valitse listasta↓ (-) katotaas tää (.) yhdessä tässä↓
		choose from the list (-) let's have a look at this (.) together here
		{teacher switches on the overhead projector}

On lines 1-5, the teacher tells the pupils that they are going to go over their homework and reminds them that they were supposed to do three exercises. Aaro confesses that he did only two (line 6). The teacher starts to check each pupil's workbook and realizes that most pupils have not done their homework. She repeats the page number (line 17) and says that the pupils should mark their homework in their books (line 21). After line 21, there follows a fairly long episode during which the pupils try to make excuses for not having done their homework. On line 22, the teacher reads aloud part of the instruction in the workbook[11]: *at least three exercises*, points at Eeva's book, refers to the instruction by saying: *it says* (line 24), points at Tuomo's book and mentions again the correct page numbers. Again there is a fairly long episode during which the teacher tells the pupils to remain after school to finish the three exercises. After this the teacher picks one of the three exercises and gives a new instruction (line 27) by remarking that they are going to do the exercise now together. Then she reads the instruction for the exercise in the workbook (lines 33 and 35). Thus, the event did not proceed according to the opening initially proposed. The

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[11]   The Finnish instruction in the workbook reads: You have to do at least three of the exercises on this opening.

teacher had to readjust her plan and open the event anew after a long negotiation between the participants. The new opening did, however, proceed in the same way as openings in general and served as a reorientation to the activity. Thus, the teacher's instructions and the linguistic means used in them helped the participants' orientation to the event and the activity at hand.

During the teacher's instructions, the pupils also show in their verbal and nonverbal activities whether they are orienting to a new event or whether they disagree with the teacher's intentions. Nonverbally the pupils are preparing for the task: they look for books in their bags, switch between books and open their books as well as take up pencils, rubbers and sharpeners. They sometimes also express verbally that they are looking for their accessories, as in example 8:

(8) YA4, Animal quiz (715-725)

1	Teacher	first of all=
2	Katja	=[(xxx)]
3 →	Tuomo	[hei] mikä sivu se on↓
		hey what page is it
4	Teacher	this is [uh fifty-four↓]
5 →	Juuso	[(x)] ru:otsin vihkojen kannet
		the covers of the Swedish notebook
		{Juuso searches in his bag}
6	Aaro	((laughs))
7	Teacher	hurry up
		{teacher takes Aaro's textbook and passes it to him}
8 →	Juuso	ruotsin [vihon sivut]
		the pages of the Swedish notebook
		{Juuso searches in his bag}
9	Tuomo	[♪ *hurry hurry hurry*♪]
10	Teacher	[and please take] your notebook mikko↑
11	Teacher	(-) an:d you need a pencil (.) so, number one↓

This extract is from a listening task. The teacher has given the instructions for the task and is trying to get on. On line 1, she is making an attempt to start the actual task (*first of all*), when Tuomo asks about the correct page (line 3). Juuso has been trying to find his notebook. After searching for a long time in his bag, he finds the cover of his Swedish notebook (line 5) and then the pages of the notebook (line 8). All these preparatory activities have taken a long time and the teacher asks the pupils to hurry up (line 7). Finally, the teacher starts the task by saying: *so, number one* (line 11).

Despite the pupils' less prominent verbal role in the opening phases of the events, they do have a contribution to make through which they show their orientation to the phase at hand. Bloome and Theodorou (1988: 236) note that pupils are not supposed to talk at the beginning of a lesson: no turns are given to pupils and it is also inappropriate for pupils to bid for turns. The opening of a literacy event resembles the beginning of a lesson in that there are similar preparatory activities. In this classroom, the teacher allows the pupils to talk fairly freely and they do not need to bid formally for turns by raising their

hands, for example. Some pupil contributions are considered appropriate; some, however, are not.

When the teacher reacts to a pupil contribution, it can be considered an appropriate one. The teacher's institutional role gives her the permission to do that. Such contributions typically include questions concerning the correct page and exercise number or other questions concerning procedures relating to carrying out the task or other practicalities relevant to the situation. Example 9 contains a number of contributions that can be considered to have relevance in the situation:

(9) YA2, Translate (833- 870)

1	Teacher	let´s work [on the] past tense a little bit
2	LM	[(x)]
3	Teacher	[more, and then: that´s that], I think
4	Aaro	[(xxxFinnish) livenä parempi]
		better a live
5	Teacher	[oh yes it is (.) we] don´t have too much time
6	Mikko	[(xxxFinnish)]
7	Teacher	[let´s take uh]
8 →	Tuomo	[<how much time] do we have>
9	Teacher	about, ten minutes I think. (.) and we´ve tak- (.)
10		[we: will take two exercises only↑ twenty-one and]
11	LL	[(xxxFinnish)]
12	Teacher	twenty-two:↓
13 →	Tuomo	*twenty-one twenty-two* missä ne on=
		where are they
14 →	Teacher	=fifty-fo:ur [(.) PAGE fifty-four please]
15	Aaro	[fif:: ty-four]
16 →	Tuomo	[*twenty-four twenty-five*]eiku mitkä ne oli=
		no which ones were they
17	LF	[(xxxFinnish)]
18 →	Aaro	=miten se oli
		how was it
19	Teacher	[menneen tapahtuman] ilmaiseminen↓
		expressing past events
20	Katja	[onks (xxFinnish)]
		is it
21	LM	twenty-two
22	Teacher	elikkä ens viikoks (.) ja sit tehdään se [animal (x)]
		so for next week (.) and then we'll do the
23 →	Tuomo	[mikä sivu se on]
		what page is it
24 →	Teacher	fifty-four↓
25		(-)
26	LM	[twenty-four]
27	Mikko	[fifty-four]
28 →	LF	mikä tehtävä=
		which exercise
29	Teacher	=[ne nimittäin kerrataan täällä]
		they are by the way revised here
30 →	Tuomo	[twenty-one and] twenty-two niinkö↓ (.)
		was it

31	Aapo	tämä↓
		this one

(5 lines omitted)

32 →	Teacher	kaksiyksi ja kaksikaksi↓
		twenty-one and twenty-two

This extract includes several questions by the pupils. The teacher opens the event by saying that they are going to work on the past tense (lines 1 and 3). She also comments that they do not have much time left (line 5) and Tuomo asks how much time they do, in fact, have left (line 8). This is considered a relevant question by the teacher as she replies that they have about ten minutes (line 9). What is exceptional here is that Tuomo asks his question in English, which is not very typical. This could be one reason for the teacher's reaction to the enquiry. After this, the teacher gives the numbers of the two exercises they are going to look at (lines 9-12). Tuomo does not find the correct page and he asks about it (line 13). This is also an appropriate question, which the teacher answers (line 14) first to Tuomo and then to the whole class in a slightly louder voice. Tuomo asks again about the correct numbers of the exercises (line 17) and Aaro, too, is uncertain about the numbers (line 19). The teacher begins, however, to explain the grammatical forms (line 20). When Tuomo once more asks about the correct page (line 24), the teacher gives the page again (line 25). A few questions are still asked and page numbers said aloud by the pupils (lines 29 and 31). Aaro gives an answer (line 31) and finally, after explaining the task, the teacher repeats once more the correct exercise numbers, this time in Finnish.

By asking these questions the pupils show that they are actively involved in getting ready for the event to start or, in other words, the pupils are orienting themselves to the opening of the literacy event. These activities or, rather, questions, are also considered appropriate by the teacher. Naturally, it is necessary to know the correct page and exercise number to be able to carry out the task in question. However, enquiries such as the ones above are not only ones regarded as relevant by the teacher. She also reacts to contributions that she considers to be related to the task. In example 10, the teacher reacts to a pupil contribution, which she interprets as a remark concerning the text:

(10) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (400-418)

1	Teacher	okay, do you remember the sto:ry↑
		{teacher takes her book and looks at it}
2		[we read last time, a dog´s best friend↑]
3	Heidi	[(xxx Finnish) ((laughs))]
4	Teacher	[because it´s already a week ago i thought] we might
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
5	LL	[(xxx)]
6	Teacher	listen to it once again↑
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
7	Aaro	missä me ollaan
		where are we

8	Teacher	so please take these (.) books again↑ and this is page forty-six↓=
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
9 →	Aaro	=phoenix coyote from califo:rnia
10 →	Teacher	yeah↓ do you remember where where it happened↑ (.) this
		{teacher points at Aaro}
11		sto:ry, [it wasn´t in california] it was in arizona↓ that´s right↓
		{teacher points at her book when saying: this story}
12 →	LM	[*arizona*]
13 →	Aaro	no siellähän sehän on, phoenix
		well that's where it is isn't it
14	Mikko	nii onki=
		so it is
15 →	Teacher	=[is it↑] yeah you´re right↓ (.) [you are right↓ that´s right]
		{teacher points at Aaro}
16	Juuso	[onko]
		is it
17	Aaro	[on]
		yes it is
18	Mikko	[(xxx Finnish)]
19	Aaro	[no nii, phoenix coyote]
		alright

This is the very beginning of an event. The teacher introduces the task (lines 1 and 2) and gives instructions (lines 4, 6 and 8). On line 9, Aaro says: *Phoenix coyote from California.* Apparently, he just mumbles the name of a NHL hockey team. Ice hockey is very popular in Finland and the boys in this class often talk about ice hockey and they have skates and sticks with them in the classroom. The story they are about to work on tells about a fight between a cat and a coyote and it takes place in Arizona, but Phoenix is not mentioned in the story. The teacher seems to interpret Aaro's remark as concerning the text and she asks the pupils whether they remember where the story was located (lines 10-11). She adds that it was not in California, which also implies that she interpreted Aaro's remark to concern the text. One of the pupils says simultaneously that it took place in Arizona (line 12) and Aaro further remarks that Phoenix is, in fact, in Arizona. Thus, here the teacher considers the pupil initiation to be appropriate as she misinterprets it to be related to the text and therefore to task at hand.

Not all pupil contributions are, however, considered appropriate during the opening phase. Sometimes the pupils talk about the focal text but, as a separate group, simultaneously as the teacher is giving them the instructions. This by-play, although related to the text, disturbs the opening imposed by the teacher. The contribution made by a pupil in the previous example was a single remark, and as such it did not perhaps disturb the opening but the by-play by a group of pupils is a competing activity. Consider example 11 and the pupils' talk especially (the teacher's opening was discussed above in example 1):

(11) YA3, Tarzan (598-634)

| 1 | Teacher | okay, [let´s go on with] your (.) textbook |
| 2 | Aaro | [(xx)   ] |

3	Heidi	tossa (x)
		there
4	LF	ai niin
		so it is
5	Teacher	an:d uh [here´s a (.)] [quite an interesting story about]
6	Heidi	[did you]
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}
7	Aaro	[otaksää nää]
		will you take these
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}
8	Teacher	[film-making (.) in africa]
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}
9	Heidi	[(xxx)]
10	Tuomo	yeah [yeah]
11 →	Aaro	[oiskohan] oikeen tarzan (x)
		could it be the real Tarzan
12 →	Mikko	[hei onks toi se tarzan joka jäi loppuiäkseen tarzaniks]
		hey is that the Tarzan that remained theTarzan for the rest of his life
13	LL	[(xxx)]
14 →	Aaro	johnny weissmüller
15	Teacher	[fifty-two and fifty-three]
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}
16	Aaro	[(xxx)] (x)
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}
17	Teacher	[wild wild animals is the name of the story]
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to class}
18	L	[(xxx)]
19 →	Mikko	niinku [se yks] tarzan [jäi loppuiäkseen tarzaniks]
		just like that Tarzan who remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life
20	Katja	[mitä] [hä (.) ai toi vai]
		what what oh that one
21	Teacher	yeah, i can take the papers
22 →	Mikko	pikkusen [(xxx) tarzanina] kuulemma siellä •hyppii vieläki•
		just like the Tarzan they say he's still jumping there
23	LL	[(laughter))]
24	Aaro	[((laughs))]
25	Teacher	[harjoittele (.)]
		practise
26		[vieraskielisen tekstin (-) haloo]
		a foreign language text hello
27 →	Mikko	[joku tarzan näyttelijä jäi tarzaniks loppuiäkseen]
		a Tarzan actor remained the tarzan for the rest of his life
28 →		kun sai jonkun vähän liian kovan [(x)]
		somebody got something a little too tough
29	Teacher	[harjoittele]
		practise
30		[vierastekstisen] (.) [VIERASKIELISEN (.) juuso]
		a foreign text a foreign language
31 →	Juuso	[nii (.)] [se hyppii siellä vanhainkodissa (xx)]
		yeah he's jumping there in the retirement home
32 →	Aaro	[((laughs))]
33	Teacher	vieraskielisen [tekstin ymmärtämistä lue] kertomus,
		foreign language text comprehention read the story
34 →	Juuso	[huutelee tarzan-huutoja]
		yelling Tarzan calls

35	Teacher	[<u>kuinka paljon</u>] ymmärrät siitä ensi lukemalla
		how much do you understand after the first reading
36	Aaro	[((laughs))]
37	Teacher	oheisen sanaluettelon avulla
		with the help of the attached word list

In this extract, which is from an event focussing on a reading task, from line 11 onwards, a group of pupils starts to talk about Tarzan when they see a picture presenting Tarzan on the page the teacher is showing to the class. The pupils do not have their own books open yet. This discussion takes place simultaneously with the teacher-imposed opening of the event. The by-play is considered inappropriate, which becomes evident through the teacher's activities. At first the teacher ignores the talk and gives the page numbers again (line15) and then she tries to stop the group of boys by trying to get their attention (line 26), raising her voice (line 30) and addressing one of the boys by saying his name aloud with an emphatic stress (line 30). Apparently, here the teacher does not consider the pupil's talk to be related to the text and task, and therefore these contributions are not appropriate in this situation. Tarzan is not mentioned in the text even though the picture on the page represents him. On the other hand, the talk among the boys is disturbing the opening of the event. The teacher evidently wants to set the event in motion, whereas the pupils disturb this by their talk. There are clearly two competing activities simultaneously in progress during the opening of the event here: the opening imposed by the teacher and the competing opening by a group of boys (see section 5.2.3 for a discussion on competing activities during the text-processing phase).

Even though the teacher usually initiates the opening, it does not, however, mean that the pupils always agree with the teacher. This was already seen in example 11: the teacher and pupils did not start the event in the same way. The teacher wanted to start the task as was proposed in the written instruction, whereas a group of boys wanted to focus on the picture next to the set text. In addition, the start of the event is not always simultaneous for both the teacher and the pupils. When the teacher opens the event, the pupils are sometimes still engaged in the previous event. Consider example 12:

(12) YA2, Animal jobs (359-377)

1 →	Teacher	okay i think it´s [enough we will uh listen] to:
		{teacher starts to collect the dice}
2	LL	[(xx Finnish) joo]
		yeah
3 →	Teacher	[some interviews now, (-)]
		{teacher takes the dice from Eeva}
4 →	Aaro	[yks kaks kolme neljä viis kuus]
		one two three four five six
5	Tuomo	[oh, some interviews]
6 →	Juuso	[säähän oot ●tässä näin●]
		you are right here aren't you
7	Teacher	[about uh] [people who work]
		{teacher points at Tuomo's book}

8	Mikko	[ketä siellä interview (x)]
		who there
9	Teacher	[(.) with animals↓]
		{teacher takes the dice from Mikko}
10 →	Aaro	[mää saan tuon kiinni ihan kohta]
		I'll catch him in a minute
11 →	Teacher	aha, [you do↑] let´s listen to this one, animal jobs↓
		{teacher passes Heidi's desk and points at her book}
12	Aaro	[(xx)]
13	Tuomo	[animal jo:bz][jo:bz]
		{teacher goes to Aaro's desk}
14	Juuso	[(xxFinnish)]
15	Mikko	[sidney brooks]
16	LL	[(xxx Finnish)]
17 →	Aaro	[ai kuutonen kuutonen kuutonen älä nyt älä älä]
		oh six six six don't you now don't don't
		{teacher tries to take the dice from Aaro}
18 →	Teacher	[(xx) finish , we go on]
19	Tuomo	[animal jo:bz:]

On line 1, the teacher opens a new literacy event. Some of the pupils are still engaged in the previous event in which they played a game. On line 4, Aaro is counting the steps on the game board and Juuso comments on Aaro's position in the game (line 6). At the same time, Tuomo is commenting on the teacher's turn about the interview (line 5). Thus, at least he is listening to what the teacher is saying. Aaro and Juuso are still playing dice: Aaro says to the teacher that he is going to catch Juuso in a minute (line 10), thus implying that their game is not going to last for long. Curiously enough, the teacher reacts to this: *aha, you do* (line 11), but does not ask the boys to stop. The teacher goes on with the introduction to the task, but the boys still go on playing. Finally, on line 18, the teacher asks the boys to stop playing and start focussing on the next event.

In example 12, there are clearly two competing activities going on. The teacher is starting a new event while the boys are still engaged in the previous one. The teacher and the pupils have different orientations to the situation. The same happens, in fact, in example 11 above, in which the group of boys engage in by-play during the teacher's instructions. The orientations of the pupils and the teacher to the event are not the same. In both cases, the teacher makes an attempt to establish a shared focus for the activity. It is the teacher's task to control the activities in the classroom and even though there are competing orientations, she aims at restoring the common focus by going on with the instructions, by ignoring the disturbance or by asking the pupils to join the joint task.

Sometimes the pupils' turns, although occasionally considered appropriate, prolong the opening too much, and at some point the teacher needs to put an end to the pupils' talk. For example:

(13) YA4, Animal quiz (689-749)

| 1 → | Teacher | please (.) page fifty (.) f:our |
| 2 | Tuomo | ((coughs)) |

3 →	Teacher	the other book↓

```
 3 →  Teacher    the other book↓
 4    Tuomo      (xx)
 5    Teacher    over [here          ]
                 {teacher takes her book and shows it to the class}
 6 →  Juuso            [other book↓]
 7    Aaro       [(xxx)]
 8    Tuomo      [(xxx)]
 9 →  Teacher    and here are the [questions↑]
                 {teacher shows her book to the class and points at it}
10    Juuso                        [ ⁰(xxx)⁰   ]
11    Mikko      [ (x)                         ]
12 →  Tuomo      [♪here are the questions♪]
13    Mikko      [ ((xx))          ]
14 →  Teacher    [   don´t answer ] them here in your
                 {teacher points at her book}
15               book because there are (.) others who are going to
                 {teacher points at her book}
16               use the same book after you, so please (.) uh write
                 {teacher points at her book}
17               the answers in your notebook↓
                 {teacher points at her book}
18 →  Juuso      notebook↓ [(xx)                        ]
19    Teacher              [ you need your notebook↓]
20 →  Tuomo      mikä on notebook↓
                 what's
21 →  Teacher    vihko↓ (.) eli laitetaan vastaukset vihkoon ei
                 notebook (.) so we'll put the answers in the notebook not
22               tähän kirjaan
                 in this book
23 →  Mikko      das hef:te
24    Teacher    [you can] (.) then try to guess [the right answers,]
25    LM         [(xx)     ]
26    Mikko                                      [ (xxx)            ]
27 →  Teacher    first of all=
28    Katja      =[(xxx)   ]
29 →  Tuomo       [    hei] mikä sivu se on↓
                         hey what page is it
30 →  Teacher    this is [uh fifty-four↓]
31→   Juuso              [ (x)            ] ru:otsin vihkojen kannet
                         the covers of the Swedish notebook
32    Aaro       ((laughs))
33    Teacher    hurry up
                 {teacher takes Aaro's book and passes it to him}
34 →  Juuso      ruotsin [vihon sivut          ]
                 the pages of the Swedish notebook
35    Tuomo              [♪ hurry hurry hurry ♪]
36 →  Teacher           [    and please take  ] your notebook mikko↑
37               (-) an:d you need a pencil (.) so, number one↓
38    Tuomo      [ mikä on sper::m ]
                 what's
39    Juuso      [ (xx) keski-aika   ]
                         the Middle Ages
40    Aaro       ((xx))
41 →  Teacher    [how many bones does the giraffe have in its neck,]
42    Aaro       [ ((xx))                                          ]
```

43	Juuso	[(xxx)]
44	Teacher	and now you [(.) just put] your own [(.) guess↓]
45	Aaro	[((xx))]
46 →	Mikko	[aaro, minne] **Aaro where**
47		sää heitit taas sen kynän↓ **did you throw that pen again**
48	Katja	bones
49	Teacher	kuinka monta: luuta[↓(.) kirahvilla on täällä niskassa] **how many bones does the giraffe have in here in the neck**
50	LM	[♪(xxx) ♪]
51 →	Aaro	[how many bones]
52	LM	[♪ (xxx) ♪]
53	Aaro	[do you have in neck]
54	LF	ai
55 →	Teacher	tohon laitat nopeesti oikeet vastaukset, [teillä menee] **you put the correct answers there quickly you're** {teacher opens Aaro's notebook for him}
56	LM	[(xx)]
57	Tuomo	[kato] **look at**
58 →	Teacher	(.) menee vähän liian kauan näissä hommissa yleensä= **generally a bit too slow in these matters** {teacher opens Aaro's notebook for him}
59 →	Aaro	[mikä sivu se on]= **what page is it**
60 →	Juuso	[mää en löyä mun] **I can't find my**
61 →	Teacher	=viiskytneljä (-) and number two↓ **fifty-four**

This example shows how the pupils and the teacher orient themselves to the event in very different ways. The pupils are slowly searching for the accessories needed, repeating the teacher's words and asking about the correct page number. The teacher, however, attempts to establish a common focus, in the same way as in examples 11 and 12. She tries to introduce the task, read the instruction, give the page numbers and, finally, explicitly asks the pupils to move on.

The event in example 13, focussing on a listening task, has already started before this extract with the teacher's instructions. Here, on line 1, the teacher repeats the correct page number and book (line 3) and shows her own book to the class. Juuso repeats the teacher's words: *the other book* (line 6). The teacher tries to get the task going by introducing the quiz questions (line 9). Like Juuso, Tuomo repeats the teacher's turn *here are the questions* in a singing tone of voice (line 12). The teacher ignores these repetitions and gives further instructions on how to answer the questions (lines 14-17), thus attempting to control the activity. Now Juuso says: *notebook* (line 18), and the teacher considers this an appropriate contribution as she reacts to this by clarifying that they need their notebooks for the task (line 19). The pupils do not, however, have their books open and they have not yet found the necessary accessories. Tuomo wants to know what a notebook is (line 20) and the teacher translates the word (line 21)

and gives the same instruction again in Finnish (lines 21-22). Mikko says the word *notebook* in German (line 23). Again the teacher makes an attempt to start the task (line 27), but Tuomo interrupts and asks about the correct page (line 29), and he gets an answer (line 30). Juuso is looking for his notebook (lines 31 and 34) and Mikko is not ready either as the teacher has to ask him to take out his notebook (line 36). Tuomo again repeats the teacher's words in a singing tone of voice (line 25). At this point, the teacher starts the actual task and moves to the text-processing phase as she starts to read the quiz questions (lines 37 and 41) (cf. example 25 on page 93). Katja says *bones* aloud (line 48) and the teacher interprets this as uncertainty about the meaning and thus she reads the question in Finnish too (line 49). Some of the pupils are still not ready to move on: Mikko is looking for his pencil (line 46 and 47) and an unidentified male pupil is again singing something inaudible (lines 50 and 52). Aaro is playing with the question the teacher just read aloud (lines 51 and 52). The teacher has been patient so far but now she tells Aaro to answer the questions quickly (line 55) and blames the boys for always being so slow (lines 55 and 58). At the same time, she opens Aaro's notebook for him. Again Aaro asks about the page (line 59) and Juuso cannot find something he is looking for (line 60). The teacher quickly provides the page number and goes on reading the questions (line 61). This time the page number is given in Finnish as if to make sure that there is no uncertainty about it any more.

Some of the turns in example 13 were considered appropriate as the teacher reacted to them. Others, however, were ignored by the teacher, such as the turns made in a singing tone of voice or turns that repeated the teacher's words. These turns as well as the ones considered appropriate prolonged the opening considerably. Eventually, the teacher had to put an end to the pupil contributions by explicitly asking them to hurry up and move on to the next phase in the event.

To sum up, the opening phase is the point in the literacy event during which the participants orient themselves to the event. The orientations may be the same and the event proceeds as intended by the teacher. The orientations may, however, also differ; in these cases, the teacher – acting in her institutional role of a teacher – seeks to establish a shared orientation, and this is done through various interactional means during the opening. The teacher introduces the task and text as well as gives instructions for carrying out the task. In her instructions, the teacher uses three forms of address: the first person plural, the second person imperative and the second person plural or singular (marked in Finnish). These forms of address change when the teacher switches from reading aloud the textbook instruction to interpreting and adapting the instruction to the situation at hand (see section 5.1.2 for a discussion of text mediation). Accordingly, she shows different orientations to the class, i.e. she may treat the class as one group including herself (*let's, we*), as a group of pupils excluding herself or as individual pupils (*you, your, singular* or *plural*).

The pupils, for their part, either comply with the teacher's opening or resist it. Accordingly, they show their orientation verbally and nonverbally. They are either sitting silently ready to do the task or they are looking for the accessories necessary to carry out the task. Some pupil contributions are

considered appropriate by the teacher and some are not. When the pupils ask about the correct page or exercise number, the teacher answers them and thus treats these questions relevant. In addition, when the pupil contributions are otherwise connected to the text or task at hand or when the teacher interprets them to be so related, they are considered appropriate. If, however, the pupils engage in by-play or if their competing activities prolong the opening, the teacher has to find ways of establishing a common focus in the event.

5.1.2 Teacher mediating text to pupils: quoting, reporting and interpreting text

As was seen in section 5.1.1, in terms of verbal contributions, the teacher's role during the opening phase is more prominent than that of the pupils. The core of the opening consists of the teacher giving instructions. Within these instructions, the teacher uses the text in different ways and takes different stances towards it. The teacher's instructions are occasions where the text is given a voice in the classroom, directing the activities of the participants and the content of the literacy event. In her talk, the teacher orients herself both to the text and to the class. She both speaks on behalf of the text, thus letting the text talk to the class, and shows alignment to the class. In other words, the teacher is, on the one hand, attached to the text and the institution behind it, and, on the other hand, she is a participant in the classroom activities. By shifting between these roles she acts as a mediator between the text and the pupils.

When giving instructions, the teacher seems to have at least three speaker roles (Goffman 1981, Levinson 1988) in relation to texts. Firstly, the teacher is an animator reading aloud the text verbatim. Secondly, she is a spokesperson reporting or paraphrasing the contents of the text to the pupils by making references to the text. Thirdly, she is an interpreter (author) making the instructions given in the book easier to understand to the class. In the following, I will first look at each of these roles separately and then show how they constantly change in the teacher's talk.

A prominent part of giving instructions to the class is reading aloud all or parts of the task instructions printed in the book. Consider examples 14, 15 and 16:

(14) YA2, Game (1-10)

1	Teacher	ok let's (-) play a little (-) game↑ (.) so if you take
2		[page fifty-one↓]
3	Aaro	[kuolemapeli↓]
		death game
4	Katja	•kuolemapeli•
		death game
5	Juuso	(mitä)
		what
6 →	Teacher	play a game with your friend↓ (.) throw the dice, and form a <u>sentence</u>
7 →		in the past tense↓ [(-) use] one of the pictures to help you↓ (-) start

8	Juuso	[missä]
		where
9 →	Teacher	<u>any</u>where you like↓ (-) and here's an example (-) <u>eat</u>↓ (-) i ate a
10 →		banana yesterday (-)

(15) YA3, Gaps in sentences (110-112)

1 →	Teacher	tee mallin mukaisia lauseita täydentämällä oikeat
		make sentences according to the model by filling in the correct
2 →		imperfektit↓ (.) we didn´t go home we went to
		past tenses
3 →		a football match↓

(16) YA3, Tarzan (622-634)

1 →	Teacher	harjoittele (.)
		practise
2 →		[vieraskielisen tekstin (-) haloo]
		a foreign language text hello
3	Mikko	[joku tarzan näyttelijä jäi tarzaniks loppuiäkseen]
		a Tarzan actor remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life
4		kun sai jonkun vähän liian kovan [(x)]
		somebody got something a little too tough
5 →	Teacher	[harjoittele]
		practise
6 →		[vierastekstisen] (.) [VIERASKIELISEN (.) <u>juuso</u>]
		a foreign text a foreign language
7	Juuso	[nii (.)] [se hyppii siellä vanhainkodissa (xx)]
		yeah he's jumping there in the retirement home
8	Aaro	[((laughs))]
9 →	Teacher	vieraskielisen [tekstin ymmärtämistä lue] kertomus,
		foreign language text comprehention read the story
10	Juuso	[huutelee tarzan-huutoja]
		yelling Tarzan calls
11 →	Teacher	[<u>kuinka paljon</u>] ymmärrät siitä ensi lukemalla
		how much do you understand after the first reading
12	Aaro	[((laughs))]
13 →	Teacher	oheisen sanaluettelon avulla
		with the help of the attached word list

In example 14, the teacher first introduces the task (lines 1-2) and then starts to read aloud the instruction in the textbook (lines 6-7, 9). The instruction in the textbook reads:

> *Play a game with your friend. Throw the dice and form a sentence in the past tense. Use one of the pictures to help you. Start anywhere you like.*

When reading the instruction aloud, the second person imperative form is used in contrast to the beginning of the instruction, which the teacher starts with the form *let's*. After reading aloud the printed instruction, the teacher reads the example given in the book (line 9). This is linked to the instruction by a reference to the book the teacher is holding in her hand: *here's* (more about

such reporting below). Similarly in example 15, the teacher reads the instruction given in the workbook in Finnish: *form similar sentences as in the model by filling in the correct past tense forms* (lines 1-2). She also reads the example, which in this case is separated from the rest of the instruction by a pause: w*e didn't go home, we went to a football match*. Still further, in example 16, the teacher reads the text in the textbook (lines 1-2, 5-6, 9, 11 and 13). In this extract, she is interrupted several times by pupils' by-play. She starts reading twice (lines 1 and 5), and she tries to stop the boys talking by directly asking for their attention (line 2), raising her voice and calling one of the disrupters by name (line 6).

In these examples, the teacher acts as an animator when she reads the text aloud. She does not speak words created by herself; instead, she is merely a mouthpiece animating the text and thus giving the text a voice in the classroom. In other words, the teacher is here the speaker but not the source of the message. She does not need to commit to the words, i.e. to this part of the instruction. Someone else has written the instruction with a motive and given it the form it has. The teacher merely transmits this to the pupils.

Reading aloud the instruction is a routine in this classroom and the pupils seem to expect this from the teacher. If, however, the teacher for some reason does not do this, the pupils themselves read out aloud the instruction given in the book:

(17) YA2, Translate (865-879)

1	Teacher	kun tapahtuminen, eiku tekeminen <u>ta</u>pahtui ja loppui **when the happening I mean the doing took place and was finished**
2		menneisyydessä käytetään muotoa jonka nimi on **in the past you use a form called**
3 →		imperfekti↓ (-) ja täällä sitten sanotaan että miten tehdään **the past tense (-) and then it says here how you form**
4		kysymyksiä↑ laitatte sen did sanan siihen <u>did</u> you like it↑ **questions you put the word did there**
5		what did you say, ja kieltolauseiseen didn´t↓ (.) eli↓ (.) **and in the negative sentences didn't (.) so**
6		[kaksiyksi ja kaksikaksi↓] **twenty-one and twenty-two**
7	Aaro	[tää kynä ei kyllä pysy mun käessä yhtään] **this pen won't stay in my hand**
8	Juuso	yes
9	LM	(xx)
10	Teacher	ei oo [liikaa] **it isn't too much**
11	Juuso	[(xx)]
12	Mikko	kotitehtäväks vai= **is it for homework**
13	Teacher	=eiku nyt↓ **no for now**
14	Mikko	e:i **no**
15 →	Aaro	merkitse ras:tilla kysymykset jotka ovat imperfektejä **tick the questions that are in the past tense**

This is an exercise in the workbook. At the top of the page, there are first some explanations concerning the past tense in two boxes. The teacher reads the contents of the first box out loud (lines 1-3) and explains briefly what the second box is about (lines 3-5). Then, on line 6, she says the number of the exercise the pupils are supposed to start but does not read the instruction for that particular task. A little later, on line 15, Aaro reads the beginning of this instruction aloud. He does this is a normal voice and thus he is probably not just talking to himself but is, instead, directing the words to the other participants as well. Now he is acting as an animator, verbalising the instruction written in the book. He could, of course, just read it to himself silently but, as on many occasions in the classroom, the written text has to be verbalized – given a voice in class (see also section 7.4).

The second role the teacher adopts in relation to the text differs slightly from the first one. In this case, instead of quoting the text verbatim, the teacher reports the contents of the book's instruction to the class, i.e. she acts in the speaker role of a spokesperson. Consider again the beginning of example 17 above. The focus is on forming questions in the past tense. At the top of the page in the textbook, there are two boxes with explanations about when to use past tense and how to form questions in the past tense. On lines 1-3, the teacher reads out loud part of the text in the first box (*When something took place and was completed in the past we use a form called the past tense*), but she leaves out some of it (*In English, all persons have the same form in the past tense.*). After a little pause, on line 3, she starts to report the contents of the other box. This is marked by: *then it says here how to form questions*. Using the passive form in Finnish (*it says here*) the teacher implies that someone outside the immediate situation has created the message. In addition, she uses a deictic reference *here*, thus referring to the book she is holding in her hand. Then the teacher talks to the class as she uses the second person plural form: *then **you** put the word did* (line 4) and reads the examples from the book: *did you like it, what did you say*. Similarly, in example 18:

(18) YA1, Pictures (933-945)

1	Teacher	kattokaas tämmönen sivu
		have a look at a page like this
2	Mikko	(xxx Finnish)
3	Teacher	the [past↓]
4	Aaro	[sillon kun minä] olin maalivahtina
		when I was a goal keeper
5	Teacher	[(.) eri ajankohdista puhuttaessa käytetään]
		when talking about different points in time you use
6	Aaro	[niin minua potkastiin poloveen se on siitä]
		so I was kicked on the knee it has since
7	Teacher	[eri aikamuotoja↑ (.)]
		different tenses
8	Aaro	[asti naksunu kivasti ((laughs))]
		then cracked nicely
9 →	Teacher	siellä sanotaan että past tarkottaa [imperfektiä↑]
		it says there that past means the past tense

10	Aaro	[siis ihan suoraan↓]
		so quite straight
11	Teacher	present [on (.)] preesensiä, ja future on sitten tulevaa
		present is the present tense and future is then future
12	Mikko	[nii]
		yeah
13	Teacher	aikaa elikkä futuurissa↓
		time that is in the future

The teacher first asks the pupils to find a certain page in their textbooks (lines 1 and 3) simultaneously showing her book to the pupils. After reading aloud the beginning of the explanation (lines 5 and 7), the teacher starts to report the contents of the rest of the text by saying: *it says there* (line 9).

In these examples, the teacher is not only a mouthpiece repeating the words printed in the text. By merely animating the printed words the teacher does not need to commit herself to the words; they are words the source of which is outside the classroom. In reporting the instruction, the teacher is not simply transmitting a message; instead, she gives the message a slightly different form, but the motive is still that of the source. When the teacher is reporting the text her commitment to the words is stronger than when merely quoting text: she speaks to the class in her own voice but, nevertheless, makes it clear that the words are printed in the book.

Thirdly, in addition to reading or reporting the instructions to the class, the teacher also interprets them to the pupils in her own words or transforms them into practical instructions. Thus she is also acting in the speaker role of an author. By interpreting the instruction, the teacher adapts it to the situation at hand by rephrasing the text or choosing one of the possible procedures suggested in the text. In the following three examples, the teacher gives instructions by first reading the instruction in the textbook and then transforming it or interpreting it to the group:

(19) YA3, ABCD (249-257)

1	Teacher	cousin, tai niin päin pois (.) eli nyt teiän pitäis tutkia
		or so on (.) and now you should look in
2		help-ruutua↑ eli missä on ne aa bee cee [dee↑]
		the help-box or where you can see a b c d
3	Aaro	[(x) mää] oon
		I have
4		tutkinu sitä koko ajan=
		been examining it all the time
5	Teacher	=ja kirjoita lauseen perään (.) aa, bee, cee tai dee,
		and mark the sentence with a b c or d
6		sen muo- (.) sen mukaan mitä muotoa tarvit<u>set</u>↑
		to match the form you need
7 →		(-) eli mä luulen että me otetaan nää suullisesti (.)
		so I think we'll do these orally
8 →		merkitään sitten ne (.) kirjaimet tähän↓ missä olit
		let's mark the letters then here where were you
9		eilen
		yesterday

In example 19, the teacher first reports part of the instruction: *so now you should look in the help box* (lines 1 and 2) and then goes on reading the instruction aloud: *mark the sentences with A, B, C or D to match the form you need* (lines 5 and 6). On lines 7 and 8, the teacher talks to the class in her own voice. There is first a pause, then a marker, *so*, and then the teacher tells the class that they are going to do the task orally. The instruction does not say how the exercise should be done and therefore the teacher decides that they will do the task orally. She uses both the first person singular form *I* (*I think*) and the first person plural form *we* (*we'll do*), that is, she speaks both as herself, as an author, and as a representative of the institution and authorized by it. It is the teacher who decides what actions need to be taken to carry out the task. Consider now example 20, in which the teacher also decides on the action:

(20) YA3, Columns (579-586)

1	Teacher	okay (-) ota sana tai lauseke joka [sarakkeesta ja]
		take a word or a phrase from each column and
2	Juuso	[*correct*]
3	Teacher	muodosta lauseita (-) >kirjoita
		form sentences (-) write
4 →		[vihkoosi tai lue parisi kanssa< tehdään parin kanssa]
		in your notebook or read with your partner we'll work with a partner
5	Juuso	[*corr::::*]
6 →	Teacher	[molemmat sanoo viis lausetta (-)] aina yks (-)
		both will say five sentences (-) always one
7	Juuso	[*:::ect*]
8 →	Teacher	jokaisesta sarakkeesta mitä huvittaa
		from each column as you wish

In example 21, the teacher first reads aloud the instruction in the book (lines 1, 3-4), which gives alternatives for performing the task. The teacher states her choice to the class: *we'll do this in pairs* (line 4) and gives further guidance on completing the task on lines 6 and 8. Finally, example 21 illustrates the teacher's speaker role as an author:

(21) YA3, Tarzan (622-639)

1	Teacher	[harjoittele (.)]
		practise
2		[vieraskielisen tekstin (-) haloo]
		a foreign language text hello
3	Mikko	[joku tarzan näyttelijä jäi tarzaniks loppuiäkseen]
		a Tarzan actor remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life
4		kun sai jonkun vähän liian kovan [(x)]
		somebody got something a little too tough
5	Teacher	[harjoittele]
		practise
6		[vierastekstisen] (.) [VIERASKIELISEN (.) juuso]
		a foreign text a foreign language

7	Juuso	[nii (.)] [se hyppii siellä vanhainkodissa (xx)]
		yeah he's jumping there in the retirement home
8	Aaro	[((laughs))]
9	Teacher	vieraskielisen [tekstin ymmärtämistä lue] kertomus,
		foreign language text comprehension read the story
10	Juuso	[huutelee tarzan-huutoja]
		yelling Tarzan calls
11	Teacher	[kuinka paljon] ymmärrät siitä ensi lukemalla
		how much do you understand after the first reading
12	Aaro	[((laughs))]
13	Teacher	oheisen sanaluettelon [avulla]
		with the help of the attached word list
14	Juuso	[he:i] missä mun-
		hey where's my
15	Juuso	(.) ai [tuossa]
		oh there
16 →	Teacher	[so you] don´t have to understand the whole story,
17 →		not <u>every</u> word (.) just if you understand the idea↓
18 →		that´s enough↓

In example 21, the teacher again reads the instruction in the textbook (lines 1-2, 5, 7 and 9). After that she interprets the instruction: *so you don't have to understand the whole story, not every word, just if you understand the idea, that's enough* (lines 12-14). Here it can clearly be seen that the interpretation can differ a great deal from the original instruction. The instruction in the book asks the pupils to see how much they understand with the help of the word list, whereas the teacher's interpretation says that it is not necessary to understand everything and brings up the issue of understanding the main idea of the text. In her interpretation, the teacher uses the second person form *you*, thus shifting the responsibility for understanding to the pupils.

In the speaker role of an author, the teacher is both the speaker and the source of the message. Now she is committing herself to the words spoken. It is notable that the authored instructions differ slightly from the animated or reported ones, which also further confirms the fact that the teacher is not fully committed to words the source of which is outside the classroom.

The various speaker roles the teacher has in relation to the text and thus her relationship to the text shifts in her talk. They may change within a single turn and even several times. Example 22 illustrates this:

(22) YA1, Pictures (993-1005)

1 →	Teacher	elikkä↓ [(.)] teiän pitäis nyt sanoo lauseita
		so you should now say sentences
2	LM	[((clears throat))]
3 →	Teacher	tästä kuvasta↑ seitsemäntoista kuvasta katso
		about this picture seventeen picture look at
4 →		esimerkkiä ja muodosta kuvista samantapaisia
		the example and form from the pictures similar
5		lauseita↓ (.) yks on valmiina↓=
		sentences (.) one is given
6	Aaro	=ai mitä nuo on noi (.) tossa [kuvassa]
		so what those are those in the picture

7	Teacher	[my parents]

8   traveled by train↑(.) we traveled by car↓ (.)

9 →   elikkä kokeilkaas parin kans tehdä (.)
so try to with your partner to form
{teacher looks at her book}

10 →   jokaisesta (.) kuvasta yksi lause↓ siellä on annettu valmiiks
from each picture one sentence you are told whether
{teacher looks at her book}

11   pitääkö ol- tehä imperfektilause↑ (.)listened↑ (.) vai pitääkö
you have to form a sentence in the past tense (.) listened (.) or whether
{teacher looks at her book}

12   tehä preesenslause↓ (.) lause listen↓ (.)
you have to form a sentence in the present tense listen
{teacher looks at her book}

13 →   elikkä (.) teette joka kuvasta yhden lauseen↓
so (.) you'll form one sentence from each picture
{teacher points at juuso's book}

Just before this extract the teacher has been explaining the past tense forms to the pupils. She marks the switch to giving an instruction with the work *elikkä* (*so* in English). She first speaks in her own voice, as an author, directing her words to the class and using the second person plural (marked in Finnish) form: *you should now form sentences from this picture, picture seventeen*. Then, on line 3, she starts to read the instruction given in the book, switching to the role of an animator. The form of address switches to the second person singular (marked in Finnish): *look at the example and form similar sentences from the pictures*. After a pause (line 5), the speaker role returns to that of the author again: *one is given*. On lines 7 and 8, she reads the examples in the book, i.e. animates the text. Then again marked by *elikkä* (*so*), she speaks as an author in the second person plural: *try to form one sentence from each picture with your pair*. This is followed by the role of a spokes-person, on lines 10-12: the text is reported in the passive voice (*you are told whether you have to form a sentence in the past tense, listened, or a sentence in the present tense, listen)*. Once more, the speaker role is changed (line 13), again marked by *elikkä* (*so*) and the teacher finishes her instruction by authored words: *you form one sentence from each picture*.

      This example shows that the teacher's relationship with the text changes constantly through her changing speaker roles. The teacher mediates the text to the pupils and adapts it to the immediate situation. On the one hand, she indicates that the order of doing a task comes from outside the classroom through the text. In a way she goes behind the text and lets it guide the situation. By animating it she gives the text the role of a participant in the situation. This implies that the text represents the institution and the teacher is acting as a mediator between the institution and the pupils. On the other hand, when acting as an author, the teacher commits herself to the instruction either as such or to a modified version of it. This indicates that the teacher is in control of the classroom activities. She guides the action as a representative of the institution.

5.2 The text-processing phase

The text-processing phase is the core of the literacy event. Here the principal text is brought into the centre of teacher-pupil interaction and the task in focus is completed. Through their talk the participants transform the text into a school task to be worked on. This talk takes several forms and engages different combinations of participants depending on the purpose of the event (e.g. practising listening comprehension) and the activities within it. In section 5.2.1, I will describe how the participants orient themselves to the text-processing phase of the event. In addition, the activities that provide grounding for the task in focus in the event will be examined. Section 5.2.2 focuses on the interactional activities prevalent in organizing the text-processing phase. The aim is to discuss how this phase evolves and how it is accomplished through different interactional activities. In section 5.2.3, I will examine instances where the participants' purposes and aims differ and where there seems to be a clash.

5.2.1 Participants' orientation to the new phase

Both the teacher and the pupils show in their talk and action that they are about to move from the opening phase to a new phase in the event. In other words, they orient themselves to the text-processing phase. The pupils' orientation mainly becomes evident in their nonverbal actions. For the teacher, the start of the text-processing phase means giving further instructions concerning the task at hand or a classroom activity within the event. The event may contain several different classroom activities, such as listening to the tape, reading aloud word lists, working in pairs on a grammar exercise and so on. If the text-processing phase involves several of these activities and whenever the activity is about to change, the teacher gives new instructions.

The instructions given during the text-processing phase differ from those given in the opening of the event. As was seen in section 5.1, the instructions in the opening phase are general openings of the event and they include various elements such as introduction of the task, displaying the book/text and giving the page and exercise numbers, whereas the instructions during the text-processing phase are short and they focus more strictly on the activity at hand. In addition, during the opening phase the pupils are getting ready for the task, i.e. they are taking books out of their bags, opening books, finding notebooks and other necessary accessories simultaneously with the teacher's instructions. In contrast, during the instructions within the text-processing phase of the event, the pupils do not engage in such activities. The instructions are very short and their purpose is to signal a move on to a new activity within the phase. Consider examples 23 and 24:

(23) YA2, Animal jobs (595-598)

1	Teacher	what had the *lady* forgotten to tell
2	LM	that the cat was [(.) u:h]
3	Tuomo	[(xx)] tiger=

4 →   Teacher   a tiger okay↓ let´s take next- next one sydney↓

(24) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (518-522)

1 →   Teacher   [very good↓   ] so let´s try to underline these things↓
2   L   [((laughs))   ]
3 →   Teacher   or these sentences↓ I have (.) one mistake here↓
4   pikkusiskoni ei<u>vät</u> (.) halun<u>neet</u> ha lun neet↓ so how do you
                           my little sisters didn't want to
5   say siellä tapahtui jotakin kummallista↓
                           something strange happened there

In example 23, the teacher and the pupils are listening to the tape and working on short exercises concerning the spoken text on the tape. There are three stories about three different people who work with animals. In this extract, they are moving from one story to another. On line 4, the teacher both finishes the previous activity: *okay* and starts a new activity: *let's take the next one Sydney*. In example 24, the participants have been going through a set of questions concerning a text. On line 1, the teacher evaluates this activity: *very good* and starts the next activity of underlining sentences in the text: *so let's try to underline these things*. In both of these examples, the teacher uses a single word (*okay,* example 23, line 4 and *so,* example 24, line 1*)* to mark the change of activity. The teacher also uses the form *let's* in the instructions (line 4 in example 23 and line 1 in example 24), which seems to be the most typical way of referring to activities that are to be jointly accomplished.

In addition to giving instructions during the text-processing phase, the teacher engages the pupils in activities the purpose of which seems to be to prepare for the task in focus in the event (see also section 6.2). In other words, before starting the actual core activity (listening, examining a text or filling in grammatical forms) of the task, the participants do some preparatory work, which provides the background needed for the pupils to be able to carry out the task. These include the teacher reading aloud bits of text, explaining grammatical forms and checking understanding as well as the teacher and pupils reading and repeating word lists. All these are done in order to orient the pupils to the core task of the event.

After giving instructions the teacher might proceed in the task by reading all or part of the text which furnishes the task. This takes place in listening tasks, in which a text serves as the basis for the focussed task of listening (see section 6.2.2). By reading the text aloud, the teacher makes sure that the pupils' minds are set on the task in front of them and that they understand and know how to proceed in it. In example 25, the task involves listening to a quiz programme. First, however, the pupils have to answer a set of quiz questions each with three answer alternatives. In example 25, the teacher is reading aloud and explaining the quiz questions:

(25) YA4, Animal quiz (724-766)

1   Teacher   and please take your notebook mikko↑

2 →		(-) an:d you need a pencil (.) so, number one↓
3	Tuomo	[mikä on sper::m]
		what's
4	Juuso	[(xx) keski-aika]
		the Middle Ages
5	Aaro	((xx))
6 →	Teacher	[how many bones does the giraffe have in its neck,]
7	Aaro	[((xx))]
8	Juuso	[(xxx)]
9 →	Teacher	and now you [(.) just put] your own [(.) guess↓]
10	Aaro	[((xx))]
11	Mikko	[aaro, minne]
		where
12		sää heitit taas sen kynän↓
		did you throw that pen again
13	Katja	bones
14 →	Teacher	kuinka monta: luuta ↓(.) kirahvilla on täällä niskassa
		how many bones does the giraffe have in here in the neck

(25 lines omitted)

15 →	Teacher	[number two,(.) how many wings]does a horsefly have
16	Juuso	[how many wings does]
17 →	Teacher	and you can see that horsefly (.) on päa- is paarma,
		is hors- is horsefly
18 →		in Finnish↓ so you just (.) guess

In this extract, the teacher prepares the task by giving the pupils a model of how to proceed in the task: read, translate and make a guess about the answer. On lines 2 and 6, after giving instructions, the teacher starts to read the quiz questions aloud: *so, number one. how many bones does the giraffe have in its neck.* She marks the transition from the instructions to providing grounding for the task by the word *so* (line 2). After reading the question, she reminds the pupils of what they need to do to carry out the task: *and now you just put down your own guess* (line 9). Some of the pupils are already working on the task and they are wondering about the meanings of words (lines 3 and 13). As a response to Katja's turn (line 13), the teacher gives a translation of the question she just read aloud in English (line 14). During the omitted lines the teacher once again tells the pupils the correct page and gives instructions on how to do the task, as the pupils seem to be very inattentive and somewhat reluctant to continue with it (cf. example 13 on page 80). After this episode, the teacher goes back to reading the questions aloud (line 15). She gives a translation for *horsefly* (line 17) and at the same time remarks that the words are given in the word list (*you can see*). In addition, she again gives procedural information: *so you just guess* (line 18). Reading aloud the text, explaining and translating the quiz questions serve as preparation for the task and as a model for carrying out the task. This is not, however, the way the pupils want to do the task. The pupils choose to collaborate and negotiate on the possible answers. This competing activity will be discussed below in section 5.2.3.

Similarly, in example 26, the teacher reads aloud the text, i.e. captions, printed on the page. This is also a listening exercise. There are pictures with

captions of people who work with animals. Each picture has an exercise next to it, which is to be completed after listening to the tape.

(26) YA2, Animal jobs (380-390)

```
1 →  Teacher      good. u:h (.) animal jobs, read the captions and the
2                 word list before you listen to the program↓ okay
3                 welcome to animal [jobs↓] in [this program]
4     Aaro                         [kato ]    [(xx Finnish) ]
                                   look
5     LM                                     [       mm  ]
6 →  Teacher      we talk to [people] who work with animals,
7     LM                     [ mm   ]
8 →  Teacher      and here is susan robertson↓ (.) who is talking about
9                 her job↓ (-) what does it mean, susan robertson works
10                for the <RSPCA> the royal society for the prevention
11                of cruelty to animals
```

On lines 1 and 2, the teacher first reads aloud the instruction in the book and then (on lines 3, 6 and 7-11) starts to read the captions under the pictures on the page. She begins by reading the text directly from the book: *in this program we talk to people who work with animals.* Then she goes on by making a remark concerning the picture that portrays a woman: *and here's Susan Robertson who is talking about her job.* The actual caption (*Susan Robertson works for the RSPCA - The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals*) is embedded in a question whereby the teacher wants the pupils to translate the caption. In this way the teacher prepares the pupils for the listening task by going through all three pictures with captions on the page: in each case she reads the text and asks the pupils to translate bits of it.

Secondly, in addition to reading aloud stretches of text, the teacher might also explain grammatical forms before starting the actual task. This takes place in events in which grammatical exercises form the core task. Included within her explanations are occasional questions to the pupils. Example 27 is from an event in which the pupils are working in pairs. The purpose of the task is to form sentences both in the present and in the past tense with the help of a set of pictures and model sentences:

(27) YA1, Pictures (951-991)

```
1 →  Teacher      no kuka osais suomentaa ton (.)imperfektilauseen mikä
                  well who could translate that past tense sentence which
2                 siellä on↓ (.) one hundred years ago people drove a horse
                  is there
3                 and a cart↓ (-) [tosta   ]noin↓ mitä toi tarkottaa suomeks↓
                                  there that one what does that mean in Finnish
4     LM                          [mm-h ]
5     Aaro         [no kun se on sata vuotta ole nyt siinä]
                  well when it's a hundred years ago will you stop that
6     Juuso        [sata vuotta sitten ihmiset            ]
                  a hundred years ago people
7     Teacher      nyt pannaan nää [kirjat pois, tossa  ]
```

		we'll put these books away now there
8	Aaro	[sata vuotta sitten] [(.)ihmiset ajoivat]
		a hundred years ago people drove
9	Juuso	[ihmiset ajoivat]
		people drove
10		[((laughs))]
11	Aaro	[((laughs))] hevosilla ja kärryillä=
		a horse and cart
12 →	Teacher	=HYVÄ: ↓ sata vuotta sitten ihmiset ajoivat hevosilla ja
		good a hundred years ago people drove a horse and
13		kärryillä↓=
		cart

(10 lines omitted)

14 →	Teacher	=elikkä menneestä ajasta te käytätte [imperfektiä] tässä se
		so for past time you use the past tense here it's
15	Aaro	[(xx)]
16 →	Teacher	on drove↑, ja tulevasta [ajasta preesensiä drive ja sitte (.)]
		drove and for the future time the present tense drive and then
17	Juuso	[emmää tiiä (.) ai]
		I don't know oh
18 →	Teacher	futuuri tehdään will [apuverbillä,] mä en tiedä onks teillä
		the future is formed with the auxiliary will I don't know if you
19	Aaro	[uh]
20 →	Teacher	sitä vielä ollu↓ (.) no sitte täällä [sanotaan vielä] että
		have had it yet well then it says here as well that
21	Aaro	[kameralle tuli]
		that was filmed
22 →	Teacher	on olemassa [säännöllisiä] [ja epäsäännöllisiä]
		there are regular and irregular
23	Juuso	[aijaa]
24	Aaro	[ºkameralle tuliº]
		that was filmed
25 →	Teacher	[verbejä↑] ja täällä on yks esimerkki säännöllisestä↑ listen↑
		verbs and there is one example here of a regular listen
26	Juuso	[ai tuli↓]
		oh was it
27 →	Teacher	ja siihen perään pannaan eedee↓ siinä on se sääntö↓ ja
		and you put ed after it that's the rule and
28		epäsäännöllinen on drive verbi,[koska] siinä ei oo
		drive is an irregular verb because there's no
29	Aaro	[((yawns))]
30 →	Teacher	mitään sääntöö vaan se pitää opetella ulkoo että se
		rule but it has to be learnt by heart and the
31		i-imperfekti on drove↓
		past tense is drove

Just before this extract, during the opening phase of the event, some of the pupils have engaged in side-play and have not paid attention to the teacher's instructions. The teacher tries to catch these pupils' attention by asking a question in the form of a direct question: *who could translate that past tense sentence* (lines 1-3). Both Juuso and Aaro answer the question (lines 5-11). At the same time, the teacher has to tell some pupils to close their workbooks as they

are still doing exercises that were started during the previous event (line 7). After the pupils have translated the other two sentences (the omitted lines), the teacher starts to explain the use of the past and present tense and the forms expressing the future. First she says that for past events the past tense is used (line 14) and she refers to the form given in the text: *here it's drove* (lines 14 and 16). Similarly, she tells the pupils, by mistake, that the present tense is used for future events and the example is *drive* (line 16) and, finally, that the auxiliary *will* is used for future events (line 18). She goes on explaining regular and irregular verbs (lines 20, 22 and 25) and gives examples (lines 25, 27, 28, 30 and 31). Throughout her explanations she refers to the text by saying *it says here* (line 20) or *there is one example here* (line 25). The pupils, for their part, are not very attentive during the teacher's explanations. Like the by-play during the openings of the events, the pupils talk to each other about matters not related to the task (partly inaudible on lines 15, 17, 19, 21-23, 26), thus engaging in side-play.

Finally, before the actual core activity of the task, the participants might read and repeat words in the word list attached to the texts. This means that the teacher reads aloud a word as a model and the pupils repeat it. This takes place both in reading and listening tasks. Consider example 28, an extract from an event with a listening task in focus. The teacher has just finished reading the captions of the three pictures on the page:

(28) YA2, Animal jobs (420-436)

```
1 →  Teacher     okay,[ (xx)          but: u.:h  ] let's repeat the words
2    LM              [joo on siinäkin sarja    ]
                     yeah that's some series
3 →  Teacher     [first before we listen:       ]
4    Mikko       [ se on ihan älytön ohjelma]
                 it's a completely brainless programme
5    L           (xxx)
6 →  Teacher     [caption:]
7    LM          [(xx)    ]
8    LM          kauniit ja rohkeet↓
                 the Bold and the Beautiful
9    LM          no se [on ihan       ]
                 well that's completely
10 → Teacher          [to complete↑]
11   LM          °to comple:te°↑
12   Aaro        se on ihan (xxx)
                 it's completely
13 → Teacher     come o:n come along come along, an inspector.
14   L           °mitä°
                 what
15   LL          an inspector
16 → Teacher     royal
17   LL          royal
```

Here the teacher gives a brief instruction about repeating the words (lines 1 and 3) and reads the first word (line 6). Some pupils mumble something inaudible

on line 7 but most pupils do not repeat the word. The teacher reads the next word (line 10) and an unidentified male pupil repeats it (line 11). Most pupils still do not start this activity. The teacher has to urge the pupils to come along (line 13). Here we can see competing activities: the pupils are not willing to start repeating the words. This will be discussed in greater detail in section 5.2.3.

To summarize, in the text-processing phase, the participants orient themselves to the core task of the event. Like the opening phase, the participants' orientations may vary and the orientation of the group is established through various interactional efforts. At the beginning of the text-processing phase the teacher provides some background information for the pupils so that they are able to carry out the task. This involves reading aloud stretches of text and explaining grammatical forms as well as reading and repeating word lists. The pupils are more or less ready to concentrate on the task and they have their books open. Some pupils do, however, engage in competing activities while the teacher attempts to provide grounding for the task.

5.2.2   Interactional activities in organising the phase

The tasks in focus in the event, that is, practising reading, writing or grammar, for example, sometimes involve several different classroom activities such as listening, asking questions, individual work or pair work. Some tasks, however, have only one activity in focus. All the tasks and the activities within them are accomplished through different interactional activities such as the teacher eliciting responses or negotiations among the pupils. The teacher's instructions at the transition points between activities were discussed above. In the following, I will examine the various classroom and interactional activities involved in the text-processing phase. The interactional activities to be examined are the teacher's elicits (section 5.2.2.1), the ways the pupils address the teacher (section 5.2.2.2) and the forms of interaction among the pupils (section 5.2.2.3).

5.2.2.1   Teacher eliciting responses

The overall purpose of the activities in the classroom is to learn, and this takes place predominantly through instruction. Typically, instruction is accomplished through interaction between the teacher and the pupils with the teacher being in the more prominent role. The teacher often addresses the pupils in the form of elicits, which call for responses from them. Therefore, the most dominant interactional activity during the text-processing phase is the teacher eliciting appropriate responses from the pupils. All tasks within the literacy events, except those which only feature pair work amongst the pupils, involve elicit-response sequences at some point during the text-processing phase. Both Sinclair and Coulthart (1975) and Mehan (1979) found that a typical form of interaction in the classroom is a three-part sequence consisting of an elicit/initiation, response and follow-up (IRF). First the teacher elicits (initiates), a pupil responds and finally there is a follow-up by the teacher (which is often

feedback). These sequences are also frequent in the data of the present study. Consider example 29, which comes from an event with a listening task in focus:

(29) YA2, Animal jobs (695-702)

```
1 →   Teacher      tigers↓ okay↑ and, what was his father in a circus
2                  don´t tell me before I can ask katja
3 →   Katja        clown=
4 →   Teacher      =a clown↓ and his mother, [(xxx)     ]
5     Juuso                                  [•clown•]
6     Teacher      [what did his mot-]
7 →   Aaro         [  sold tickets      ]
8 →   Teacher      sold tickets, good, (.) and uh
```

This interaction between the teacher and the pupils takes the typical three-part form of initiation-response-follow-up (IRF). On line 1, the teacher makes an initiation in the form of a direct question: *what was his father in a circus*. On line 3 a pupil responds (*clown*) and on line 4 the teacher confirms this by repeating the answers. Similarly, on lines 4 and 6, there is an initiation, on line 7 a response and finally on line 8 the teacher confirms the answer. In the following, I will concentrate on the teacher's elicits and especially on the techniques she uses. How the text is used by the participants in the three-part interactional sequence will be discussed in section 6.3.1.

In her elicits, the teacher makes use of different techniques, that is, the initiations in the IRF sequence take on different forms. First of all, the teacher may elicit responses by *asking questions*. These questions are either read aloud directly from the book or they are questions created by the teacher herself. Example 30 comes from an event with a reading task in focus. After listening to the text, the teacher asks questions which are printed in the book and which the pupils have, in fact, worked on in pairs during the previous lesson:

(30) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (488-503)

```
1 →   Teacher      =and why weren´t bill´s family at home on friday evening↓
2     Juuso        they were at (.) the movies=
3     Teacher      =yeah they went to the movies↓ that´s right↓
4     Juuso        all right=
5 →   Teacher      =to the cinema↓ and how did they know that
6                  something was wrong when they came home↑
7     Tuomo        they heard barking↓
8 →   Teacher      yes↓ loud barking↓ and growling↓ in the barn↓ an:d,
9                  how did rusty chase the coyote away↓ (.) rusty is
10                 the cat↓
11    Mikko        [he] slashed the: eiku she[(-)][ slashed                    ]
12    LM           [uh]                       [he ]
13    LM                                      [ he]
14    LM                                            [((laughs)) voihan se olla he]
                                                    **it could be a he**
15    Mikko        the (.) *over* the nose↓
16    Teacher      very good↓ with his claws↓ (.) yes↓
```

The teacher begins her question with the word *and* (line 1) and then reads aloud the question printed in the textbook. Juuso answers (line 1) and the teacher immediately confirms the answer by giving acknowledgement (*yeah, that's right*) and by repeating Juuso's response (line 3). On line 5, the teacher again connects the previous elicit-response sequence to her next elicit by *and*. Again a response (line 7) and acknowledgement (line 8) follow. On line 8, *and* is again used to mark the beginning of the next elicit. Mikko starts to respond (line 11) but his use of pronouns needs some negotiating (lines 12-14). Nevertheless, he finishes his response on line 15 and gets an evaluation from the teacher (line 16). The questions the teacher uses in her elicits are all printed in the textbook. In addition, the pupils have worked on the questions during the previous lesson and, obviously, the purpose here is to simply check that the task has been done and to perhaps remind the pupils of the gist of the text in focus. These aspects are clearly reflected in the teacher's elicits: the questions that the teacher reads are connected to each other by *and*. This implies that the questions are only routinely asked again to check in public that everybody has completed the exercise. Heritage and Sorjonen (1994) have found that *and*-prefacing in questions indicates that the questions have a routine or agenda-based nature. These are typical in institutional settings.

The questions in the previous example, were simply read aloud by the teacher. The teacher, however, also asks questions which are not taken from the book. Example 31 below is also from a reading task. Again, after listening to the text, the participants talk about the text and the talk they engage in takes the form of IRF. The textbook proposes a summary task but the teacher decides not to do this; instead, she asks questions that concern the events of the story in chronological order:

(31) YA3, Tarzan (788-871)

1	Teacher	a:-ha:=
2	Aaro	=ihanaa (.) (x) **lovely**
3	Teacher	eli↓ (.) ennen vuotta kakskytyhdeksän tehtiin paljon **so before the year nineteen twenty-nine they made a lot of**
4		myöskin tota noin nä- (.) e- villieläinelokuvia millä lailla **also well th- wild animal movies in what way**
5	Aaro	uh (-)
6	Teacher	ole hyvä= **please**
7	Aaro	=jos ne niitä sirkuseläimiä **what about if they those circus animals**
8	Teacher	ne käytti sirkuseläimiä↓ [missäs ne kuvattiin] **they used circus animals where were they filmed**
9	Aaro	[(xx)]
10	Aaro	no studiossa= **well in a studio**
11	Teacher	=studiossa↓ no↓ mutta (.) minkä takia ne sitten päätti lähtee **in a studio well but why did they then decide to go**

Just before this extract, the participants have finished listening to the text being read on the tape. The elicits in this event differ from those discussed above: the elicits are in a way embedded in the story. The teacher retells the story little by little and transforms her declarative statements into direct questions. On lines 3 and 4, the teacher first tells (following the text) that many wild animal films were made before the year nineteen twenty-nine. Then she adds an elicit in the form of a direct question: *in what way*. Aaro bids for a turn to answer, the teacher gives him permission to make a response (line 6) and he answers (line 7). As his answer was in the form of a question and he thus displayed hesitation about his response, the teacher repairs the answer in a more definite form (line 8). An elicit in the form of a direct question by the teacher follows: *where did they do the filming* (line 8). Again Aaro answers (line 10) and the teacher repeats the answer, thus confirming it (line 11). These questions the teacher asks in this example are not taken directly from the textbook. Consequently, they are not connected with *and* and are thus not treated as routine questions. The purpose of these questions is, rather, to reconstruct the story and to make sure that the pupils have understood the text (see section 6.3.1).

The second technique the teacher uses for eliciting responses involves *saying sentences either in Finnish or in English* which call for translations as responses. Example 32 comes from an event with a reading task in focus. The teacher has written sentences in Finnish on the blackboard. All the sentences can be found in the text in English. The pupils are supposed to first find the sentence in the text, say it aloud and then underline it in their textbooks.

(32) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (521-580)

1 →	Teacher	so how do you say siellä tapahtui jotakin kummallista↓
		something strange happened there
2	Juuso	something strange happened there=
3	Teacher	=yeah↓ so [please] underline in
4	Tuomo	[hmh]
5	Teacher	your textbook↓ alleviivataan nää muutamat kohdat↓
		let's under<line these few points

(45 lines omitted)

6 →	Teacher	aloimme juosta kohti latoa↓
		we started running towards the barn
7	Eeva	uh missä niitä on
		uh where are they
8	Teacher	over here
9	Heidi	tossa
		there
10	Tuomo	mm
11	Mikko	we=
12	Teacher	=aloimme juosta-
		started running
13	Tuomo	uhmm [-ted -ing *towards* the barn]
14	Mikko	[we started running *towards* the barn]
15	Teacher	towards (.)[towards the barn]
16	Mikko	[ai jaa, towards]
		so it's towards

In order to show what the pupils should do next, the teacher asks, in the form of a direct question, how the pupils would say a Finnish sentence in English (line 1). She then reads the sentence she has written on the blackboard in Finnish (line 1). Juuso responds on line 2 by reading the sentence in the text in English. The teacher confirms this on line 3 and also gives instructions on what to do next: *so please underline in your textbook* (lines 3 and 5). Later in the activity, she only needs to say the sentence that she has written on the blackboard in Finnish (line 6). As there is no immediate response, the teacher repeats the beginning of the sentence (line 12). Tuomo and Mikko respond on lines 13 and 14 by reading aloud the correct sentence. They mispronounce the preposition *towards* and the teacher corrects this in her follow-up (line 15). After the initial explicit question, the teacher only needs to say aloud the Finnish sentence and the pupils know that they are expected to read it aloud in the textbook in English. The purpose of these elicits seems to be to draw the pupils' attention towards certain forms in the text.

Similarly, in example 33 below, the teacher reads a sentence in the textbook and uses this as an elicit. In this event, the teacher and the pupils are talking about a text. In their talk, they are reconstructing the text in its chronological order (see example 31 above and section 6.3.1). The discussion, which consists of the teacher eliciting responses from the pupils, takes place in Finnish. Just before this extract, the participants have been listing problems that a film group has had in Africa:

(33) YA3, Tarzan (834-841)

```
1       Teacher     =joo se palo ihan (.) k- [ne kasvot   ]
                    yeah she was burned all ov- her face
2       Juuso                           [ sunburned]
3 →     Teacher     ja sit siellä oli vielä (.) tämmönen et- että
                    and then there was this th- that
4 →                 [everybody] caught tropical diseases=
5       LM          [ (x)        ]
6       Aaro        =no kaikki sai trooppisia [semmosia tropikaalisia]=
                    well everybody caught tropical kind of tropical
7       Mikko                              [no tropikaalisia        ]
                                           well tropical
8       Teacher     =sairauksia joo↓ no↓ sit täällä sanottiin että tämä: (.)
                    diseases yeah well it was said here that this
```

On line 1, the teacher confirms that an actor got sunburned. Then she adds one more problem, first introducing it in Finnish: *then there was this* (line 3) and then reading aloud a sentence in the textbook in English: *everybody caught tropical diseases* (line 4). The teacher does not ask the pupils to give a translation but what is required of the pupils seems to be obvious to them. When suddenly a sentence is said in English in the middle of interaction in Finnish, a translation is expected. On line 6, Aaro translates the stretch of text into Finnish.

This technique is employed by the teacher, in addition to reading tasks, in exercises on grammar as well. In the exercise in example 34, the pupils are required to recognize whether a Finnish sentence needs *was*, *were*, *wasn't* or

weren't when translated into English. The instructions do not ask for translations; instead, the pupils should choose either A (=*was*), B (=*were*), C (=*wasn't*) or D (=*weren't*) and write the letter after the sentence:

(34) YA3, ABCD (255-279)

1	Teacher	(-) eli mä luulen että me otetaan nää suullisesti (.)
		so I think that we'll do these orally
2 →	Teacher	merkitään sitten ne (.) kirjaimet tähän↓ missä olit eilen
		then we'll mark those letters here where were you yesterday
3	Aaro	[where were you]
4	Tuomo	[where were you]
5	Juuso	[(xx) where] [were you yesterday]
6	Teacher	[eli sinne perään] pannaan
		so you'll put after it
7		[mikä kirjain]
		which letter
8	Aaro	[*where you were*] *were were you*
9	L	(xx)
10	Juuso	where were you (.) eiku
11	Teacher	mikä kirjain laitetaan lauseen perään (-) jos
		which letter goes after the sentence if
12		pitää valita aa bee cee tai dee
		we have to choose a, b, c or d
13	Juuso	[bee]
14	L	[bee]=
15 →	Teacher	=bee, a:ivan oikein↓ [(.)] jodykin oli poissa↓
		b quite right Jody was absent too
16	Mikko	[(xx)]
17	Teacher	(-) poissa-sana on annettu siinä [(.) marginaalissa]
		the word absent is given in the margin
18	Juuso	[jody was]
19		[gone too]
20	Aaro	[gone too]
21		[(xxx)]
22	Mikko	[gone] *also*
23	Teacher	tai <u>absent</u> jos haluu käyttää sitä sanaa mikä on siinä
		or absent if you want to use the word which is there
24		(.) eli (.) kirjain on (-) aa eikö vaan (-) noni↑
		so the letter is a isn't it okay

After her instruction, on line 2, the teacher reads the first sentence in Finnish. The pupils immediately translate it (lines 3, 4 and 5) even though a translation is not explicitly required – either by the instruction in the book or by the teacher. Accordingly, the teacher asks for the correct letter (lines 6-7) and as the pupils continue to offer translations, she enquires again about the letter to be put after the sentence (lines 11-12). On line 15, the teacher reads aloud in Finnish the next sentence. Now she, however, points out that the word *absent* is given in the word list (line 17) thus implying that a full translation, not only the correct letter, is, after all, expected. Juuso translates the sentence (lines 18 -19) but does not use the word given in the margin, which the teacher notes on line 23. In addition, she herself gives the correct letter (line 24).

Reading sentences aloud may involve similar routines as with direct questions printed in the textbook. In the following example, the participants are engaged in a listening exercise. The group is carrying out the task jointly and, similarly to the questions in example 30, the linguistic material they are working on is printed in the textbook:

(35) YA2, Animal jobs (587-598)

```
1 →  Teacher      that´s right↑[ an:d    ]
2     Aaro                     [then the] tiger [ jumped     ]
3     Juuso                                    [tiger jumped]  (.) u:h
4     Mikko       yhet ihan innoi- [tiger jumped]
                  you're quite excited
5 →  Teacher                      [    at me↑   ] mm-m↑ (.) and
6                 [the lady had forgotten] to tell me
7     Aaro        [tiger jumped           ]
8     Juuso       tiger jumps
9     Teacher     what had the lady forgotten to tell
10    LM          that the cat was [(.) u:h ]
11    Tuomo                         [(xx)    ] tiger=
12    Teacher     a tiger okay↓
```

In this listening task in example 35, the participants have been listening to the tape and now they have to complete unfinished sentences printed in the textbook. The teacher reads aloud the beginnings of the sentences and the pupils complete them. On line 1, the teacher evaluates one response and starts her next elicit with *and.* She does not, in fact, read the sentence here as Aaro and Juuso are quick to make a response (lines 2 and 3). The teacher completes their answer (line 5) and again uses *and* to mark the beginning of the next sentence (line 5). A similar routine in the elicit-response sequences as noted with questions that are printed in the textbook can be seen here. The task is perhaps fairly simple and the pupils could carry it out on their own. Nevertheless, the task is accomplished jointly by the whole group and the teacher's task is reduced to reading aloud the stretches of text in the textbook, which she then combines together with *and.*

The third technique the teacher uses in eliciting responses involves *utterances left incomplete.* Instead of asking questions or reading sentences aloud, the teacher sometimes starts an utterance, stops in the middle and expects the pupils to complete it. Example 36, from an event with a reading task in focus, illustrates this:

(36) YA3, Tarzan (865-895)

```
1 →  Teacher     [joo-o↑] ensimmäisellä kerralla käviki kuitenkin
                  yeah the first time it happend however
2     LM          [nii    ]
                  yeah
3 →  Teacher     niin että=
                  so that
```

4	Aaro	=[(x) krokotiilit]
		the crocodiles
5	Tuomo	[(xxx)]
6	Mikko	[(xx) rikko ne aiat]
		broke the fences
7	Teacher	joo ne on niin voimakkaita et ne rikko ne aidat↑
		yeah they are so strong that they broke the fences

(19 lines omitted)

8 →	Teacher	sumunen ja taikka pilvinen sää
		foggy and or cloudy weather
9		ei voitukaan kuvata. elikkä ne ajatteli et no okei huomenna
		they couldn't film so they thought that okay tomorrow
10		sitte↓ (.) mutta siin oli vaikeuksia niitten krokotiilien
		then but there were problems with the crocodiles
11 →		kans koska
		(with) because
12	Mikko	sinne tuli pari sataa krokotiilia, e:iku e:iku e:i=
		a couple of hundred crocodiles came no no I mean

The participants are going through a text they have read and listened to on tape. The discussion takes place in Finnish. On line 1, the teacher first acknowledges a previous response and then starts to retell the story by saying: *the first time it happened so that*. She stops in the middle of an utterance after the conjunction *that* starting a dependent clause. The pupils seem to know that they are expected to complete the teacher's unfinished utterance as they immediately start to make suggestions (lines 4, 5 and 6). Similarly, a little later in the event, the teacher again retells the story and stops speaking after the conjunction *because* (lines 8-11). Here too the pupils seem to know what is required, and Mikko makes an attempt to complete the utterance (line 12). The technique of stopping the utterance at a syntactic juncture makes it possible for the hearer to anticipate what kind of clause is expect to complete the unit.

In addition to making an elicit, the teacher may name the pupils she wants to respond. Very often the pupils in this classroom respond to the teacher's elicits without bidding for turns. Sometimes, but seldom, they raise their hands to bid for a turn. If no immediate response occurs or if the teacher wants a particular pupil to respond, she names the pupil to answer as in example 37:

(37) YA3, Gaps in sentences (117-125)

1 →	Teacher	mitäs sanotte kakkosesta
		what do you say about number two
2 →		eeva, mitäs sulla on
		Eeva what do you have
3	Eeva	mm
4	Teacher	ota koko lause
		say the whole sentence
5	Aaro	(xx)
6	Eeva	I didn´t (.) buy *a* (.) *cassette*, I *bought* (-)
7	Juuso	[(xx), mikä]
		what

| 8 | Teacher | [a new CD] |
| 9 | | I bought a new CD |

Here the teacher first elicits in the form of a direct question (line 1) and then names the pupil she wants to answer her question (line 2). In addition to asking a question, she gives a brief instruction on how to formulate the answer: a full sentence should be used when answering (line 4). Then Eeva makes a response on line 6 and the teacher completes it on line 8 and finally confirms the answer by repeating the whole sentence (line 9).

Sometimes naming is not even necessary. Often the pupils are expected to answer in succession according to their order of seating. After the firsts pupils are named this order becomes clear to the pupils. Example 38 is an extract somewhat later in the same event as example 37:

(38) YA3, Gaps in sentences (141-161)

1 → Teacher okay↑ (.) no sit, mikko↓
             well then Mikko

(10 lines omitted)

2 Mikko mm↓ (.) they didn´t speak finnish, they only (.) s- (.)
3   <u>spoke</u> english=
4 → Teacher =mm-h↑ (.) right↑ (.) sitte=
             then
5 Aaro =u:h (.) I didn´t make coffee I: <u>made</u> tea=
6 Teacher =good↓
7 Juuso we didn´t eat anything in: the morning we only:
8   (.) <u>ate</u> in the afternoon↓=
9 → Teacher =mm-h↑ seven (-) mites:=
             how
10 Katja =I didn´t meet any people, I only met my old ᵒfriendsᵒ
11 Teacher any <u>new</u> people I only met nonni↑ ei yhtään hassumpaa↓
           alright not bad at all

On line 1, Mikko is asked to give an answer. This is the third time the teacher names a pupil to respond in this activity. Mikko answers (lines 2 and 3) and the teacher evaluates the response on line 4. Then, to make a new initiation, she only says *then* (line 4). Aaro seems to know that it is his turn, although it is not explicitly stated. After naming three pupils, the teacher has shown that they are to answer in succession according to their order of seating. Aaro provides an answer (line 5) and the teacher evaluates this (line 6). Then, without a prompt from the teacher, Juuso reads aloud the next sentence (lines 7 and 8). After evaluating this (line 9), the teacher gives the number of the next sentence and she says *how* as if to start a question, but Katja answers before she can finish the elicit (line 10). Here the pupils know how they should answer without being told to, because they know it is their turn.

In brief, the teacher uses three different techniques to elicit responses from the pupils. She asks questions, which are either printed in the textbook or created by the teacher, she says sentence that call for translations, and she

leaves utterances incomplete for the pupils to complete. In addition, she sometimes names the pupil she wants to make the response, although the pupils in this classroom usually answer the questions freely without bidding for turns. When the questions are ready-made or, in other words, when they are printed in the textbook, routine-like interactional sequences seem to appear. The teacher elicits through routine questions. Similarly, when the teacher's task is simply to read aloud items in the text in a joint task, routines occur. However, when the elicits are not picked out directly from the textbook, such routines are not evident and various techniques of eliciting are used.

5.2.2.2 Pupil-initiated talk targeted at the teacher

As has already been noted, generally the teacher talks the most in the classroom. Sections 5.1 and 5.2.2.1 above showed that in this classroom as well, as far interaction is concerned, the teacher has a prominent role both in the opening and in the text-processing phase. There is not much talk initiated by the pupils and targeted at the teacher, even though they are fairly active in by-play (see section 5.1.1 above and 5.2.3 below). Especially during the opening phase, the pupil contributions are limited to asking the teacher about the correct book, page and exercise numbers. Similarly during the text-processing phase, there is not much talk initiated by the pupils. The pupil-initiated talk targeted at the teacher typically concerns the procedures to be followed, the location of items in the text, meanings of words and expressions, and the correctness of tasks carried out independently.

Although most of the questions concerning the correct page and exercise are asked during the opening phase, some enquiries about the procedures to be followed occur during the text-processing phase as well. Consider example 39, in which the pupils are starting pair work. They should form sentences in the past tense with the help of some pictures on the page:

(39) YA1, Pictures (57-67)

1 →	Heidi	hei ope,
		hey teacher
2	Teacher	yes (.)
3	Heidi	>ope<
		teacher
4	Teacher	[and we listen,] (-)
		{teacher talks to Katja}
5 →	Eeva	[en mä osaa näitä]
		I can't do these
6 →	Heidi	[mä en tajua tätä]
		I don't get this
7	Aaro	[mihin tää tulee] (-) ni
		what are we doing
		{Aaro talks to the researcher}
8 →	Heidi	mä en tajua tätä
		I don't get this
9	Teacher	to: bon jovi: ↓
		{teacher goes to Heidi}

10	Aaro	(joo↓) sitä minäki↓
		yeah I thought so
11	Teacher	elikkä joka kuvasta yksi lause↑ (.) täällä on annettu (x),
		so from each picture one sentence it has been given here
		{teacher points at Heidi's book}

Heidi attempts to catch the teacher's attention (lines 1 and 3) by calling her[12]. The teacher is standing by Katja's desk, which is next to Eeva's, and talking to her. Eeva and Heidi both simultaneously point out that they do not know how to carry out the task (lines 5 and 6). The teacher does not answer immediately, as she is talking to Katja, and Heidi repeats her remark (line 8). Then the teacher moves closer to her and starts to give more precise instructions on how to accomplish the task (line 11).

Similarly, in example 40, the pupils ask for more precise guidelines to perform the task. In this event, the pupils have to recognize past tense sentences from a set of Finnish sentences, then translate them into English and write them in their notebooks. This is not, however, quite clear to all the pupils:

(40) YA2, Translate (904-926)

1	Aaro	mää tein sen[, kakskakkonen]
		I did it twenty-two
2	Juuso	[niin määkin]
		so did I
3	Tuomo	[mitä hän sanoi, what did he say]
		what did he say
4	LL	[(xxx)]
5	Teacher	[(xxx)] menneitä
		past
6 →	Mikko	[ai teit jo]
		so you did it already
7	LL	[(xxx)]
8	Teacher	aikamuotoja [(xx)on tapahtunut]
		tenses (xx) has happened
9	Tuomo	[onks mitä hän sanoi], eiks sekin oo (.) vai=
		is it what did he say isn't that too or
10	Teacher	=joo
		yes
11	Juuso	where did you go
12	Aaro	HURJA
		wild
13	Juuso	(xxx)
14 →	Mikko	kirjoita ne sitten englanniks vi:hkoon.
		write them in English in your notebook
15 →	Teacher	[mm-m↑]
		{teacher looks at Aaro}
16	Aaro	[jaa] no emmää sitten ookkaan-
		aha well I haven't done it yet then

---

[12]   This is a common way of addressing the teacher in Finland and it is not considered impolite, although it may sound such when translated into English. The teacher's name is not usually used; instead, the pupils address the teacher by using a shortened version of the word *teacher* (*opettaja* –> *ope*).

17	Heidi	puhukaa hei ruotsia [(.)] eihän (x)
		hey speak in Swedish (.) it isn't
18	Juuso	[mi:stä]
		about what
19	Aaro	(x) mut nyt mun pitää ottaa vihko täältä pois
		but now I have to take my notebook from here
20		mää unohan kohta sen [tonne väliin (xx)]
		otherwise I'll leave it there in between (xx)
21 →	Tuomo	[englanniks vihkoon] niinkö=
		in English in the notebook or
22 →	Teacher	=mm
23 →	Juuso	mitkä pitää tehä vihkoon↓
		which have to be done in the notebook

In this extract, the pupils use various interactional means to seek for confirmation from the teacher on how to carry out the task. Aaro has been working on the task and he says that he has completed it (line 1) and Juuso adds that he has done it too (line 2). Tuomo is still working on the task saying aloud the sentences he is translating (line 3). Mikko asks Aaro, perhaps a little surprised, whether has he really completed the exercise (line 6). Mikko knows about the full instruction as he says aloud part of the instruction: *write the sentences in English in your notebook* (line 14). He says it so that the teacher who is kneeling down at Tuomo's desk (next to Mikko's) can hear this, and the teacher acknowledges this with a minimal response and looks at Aaro: *mm-m* (line 15). By reading aloud the instruction so that the teacher can hear it as well, Mikko seeks for confirmation from the teacher and thus indicates to Aaro that something more has to be done in the exercise. Consequently, Aaro notes that he has not completed the exercise after all (line 16). Tuomo also seeks confirmation (line 21) and gets it from the teacher. In addition, Juuso asks the same question once more (line 23).

      In addition to procedures, the pupils ask the teacher about the locations of items they should find in the text. This takes place in an event in which the pupils are underlining sentences in the text:

(41) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (540-553)

1	Tuomo	queenie gave birth [to five pups]
2 →	Eeva	[missä se on]
		where is it
3 →	Tuomo	[siinä](.) billin tota siinä [ala-]
		there under Bill er there under
4 →	Teacher	[tässä] [over] here↓
		here
		{teacher points at Eeva's book}
5		gave birth (.) to five pups↓ (-) pikkusiskoni
		my little sisters
6		eivät halunneet jättää queeniä↓
		didn't want to leave Queenie
7	Tuomo	my little sisters *didn´t* want to leave queenie=
8	Teacher	=good↓ my little sisters [didn´t want] to leave

9 →	Aaro	[missä se on]
		where is it
10	Teacher	queenie↓
11	Aaro	niin tuolla↓
		oh there
12 →	Juuso	missä se on
		where is it
13	Teacher	it´s line (.) nine↓
14	Juuso	jaa tuossa↓
		oh there

Tuomo reads aloud the sentence he has located in the text (line 2) but Eeva has not found it and she asks where it is (line 2). Tuomo tells her that the sentence can be found *under Bill* (line 3). The teacher goes and shows Eeva the right place in her book (line 4). The teacher reads aloud the next sentence she has written on the blackboard (lines 5 and 6). This time Aaro does not find the sentence immediately and asks about its location (line 9). He finds it without help (line 11). Juuso also asks about the location of the sentence (line 12) and now the teacher gives the correct line number (line 13). This helps Juuso to find the sentence in the text (line 14).

When the pupils are working in pairs, they do, however, sometimes address the teacher as well. These initiations usually concern the meanings of words or expressions and the correct spelling. In the following extract, the pupils are forming sentences with the help of some pictures and model sentences in the textbook. Some of the words they need are, however, unknown to them:

(42) YA1, Pictures (161-279)

1 →	Katja	(hei) mikä on kirjoituskone
		hey what's a typewriter
2	Aaro	(hei) [my parents bought] (-)
3	Teacher	[typewriter↓]

(15 lines omitted)

4 →	Mikko	mikä on kirjotus °kone°↓
		what's a typewriter
5	Teacher	typewriter↑

Katja needs the word *typewriter* in her sentence and she asks the teacher what the word is in English (line 1). The teacher gives her the translation (line 3). A little later in the event, Mikko asks about the same word (line 4) and gets an answer from the teacher (line 5).

When the pupils want to find out the meanings of words and thus initiate talk targeted at the teacher, they obviously need to catch the teacher' attention first. They do this by various linguistic means. If the teacher is standing near the pupil, there is no need to catch her attention in any special way, as was the case in example 43 above. Katja says *hey* and then asks her question and Mikko simply asks a question in his normal voice (see also example 39 above and

example 48 below). As the teacher is standing close by, she is a natural recipient of the pupils' utterances. Sometimes, however, the pupils need to be more explicit: calling the teacher and raising their voice is necessary. The two examples (43 and 44) below illustrate two different ways of catching the teacher's attention. In example 43, the pupils are working in pairs and the teacher is sitting by the overhead projector leafing through her books. The pupils ask the teacher, if they do not know the meanings of the words they need in completing the exercise. In this exercise the pupils are playing a game, in which they have to form sentences using the verbs in the steps of the game board:

(43) YA2, Game (161-168)

1	Mikko	*climb* (-)[mikä on *climb*]
		what's
2	Juuso	[mihin se meni]
		where did it go
3	Aaro	tuola (-) mää voin ottaa sen (-) [mää voin][ottaa sen]
		there I can take it I can take it
4	Heidi	[en minä][tiä mikä][tuo post on]=
		I don't know what that post is
5	Mikko	[OPE MIKÄ][ON *CLIMB*]
		teacher what's
6	Katja	=[(x) post (.) se on posti]
		it's the post
7	Teacher	[climb (-) kiivetä]
		climb
8	Mikko	ai niin
		alright

On line 1, Mikko wonders what the word *climb* means. This utterance is either not meant for the teacher or the teacher just does not hear Mikko as there is no immediate reaction. Thus Mikko has to address the teacher more explicitly by calling *teacher* and then asking the question: *what does climb mean* (line 10). In addition, he raises his voice. Now the teacher hears his question and answers it on line 12. Mikko attempts to catch the teacher's attention both by calling her (ope = teacher) and by raising his voice. Sometimes the raised voice alone signals that the words are meant for the teacher and for fellow pupils, as in example 44:

(44) YA2, Game (30-40)

1	Tuomo	no nii i <u>start</u>
		alright
2	Katja	onks tää sun reppus↓
		is this your back bag
3	Heidi	<u>on</u>↓
		yes
4	Katja	ai jaa (xx)
		aha

5	Juuso	(noppa tänne)
		give me the dice
6	Mikko	°hei° saanks mä kattoo tänne↓
		hey can I have a look at this here
7	Aaro	[ei siellä oo mitään]
		there's nothing there
8	Heidi	[(xx)]
9	Juuso	[(missä se on)]
		where is it
10 →	Tuomo	MIHIN PÄIN tässä kierretään (-) kellonsuuntaan
		which way do we go here (-) clockwise
		{teacher is looking at her books}
11 →	Teacher	okei (-) perhaps (-) yeah↓ (-) clockwise↓
		{teacher glances briefly at Tuomo}

The pupils are playing a game and they are not quite sure about the rules of the game. Tuomo says to his partner Mikko that he will start the game: *alright I start* (line 1). The other pupils are still getting ready to start. On line 10, Tuomo raises his voice as he wants to know which way they are supposed to go on the game board: clockwise or anticlockwise. His raised voice serves as a signal to the teacher that the question is targeted at her and, consequently, she answers Tuomo (line 11). Unfortunately, Tuomo's face cannot be seen on the videotape and therefore it is not possible to say whether Tuomo is also looking at the teacher. The teacher is not, however, looking at Tuomo. She is leafing through her books. Therefore, there is no eye contact until the teacher briefly glances at Tuomo on line 11 when she says *clockwise*.

In addition to unclear procedures and meanings of words, the pupils also ask the teacher about the spelling of certain words. In the event in example 45, the pupils are working on Finnish sentences, which need to be translated into English and written in their notebooks:

(45) YA2, Translate (1094-1098)

1 →	Heidi	mikä on toi call miten se kirjotetaan
		what's that call how do you spell it
2	Teacher	cee↓ [cee aa äl äl]
		c c a l l
3	Juuso	[did you see something]
4	Aaro	[viitonen on when did you come]
		five is
5	Teacher	cee aa äl äl

Heidi is working on a sentence in which she needs the word *call*. She wants to know how she should spell it (line 1). The teacher gives her the correct spelling twice by listing the letters needed (lines 2 and 5).

Sometimes the pupils also initiate talk targeted at the teacher, when they want to know whether the task or an item in the task has been completed appropriately. Examples 46 and 47 illustrate this. Example 46 comes from the same event as the previous example. Here the pupils have been translating Finnish sentences into English:

(46) YA2, Translate (1054-1391)

1 →	Mikko	tuleeko se d:oes he speaks
		is it
2	Teacher	(-) katoppa siitä (-) tuosta ohjeesta
		have a look at the that instruction

(Later in the event)

3	Tuomo	did they know
4 →	Heidi	hei onks se niinku että (.) did he, tai mm=
		hey is it like did he or mm
5	Tuomo	=did=
6	Teacher	=they
7	Aaro	=did [they know]
8 →	Tuomo	[did they] (.) [onks se] did (.)
		is it
9	LM	[mm]
10	Tuomo	[they] know it
11	Teacher	[mm]
12	Tuomo	did [(.)] they: (-) know
13	Teacher	[just]
		right

Mikko has been working on a sentence and now he wants to know whether it is correct to say *does he speaks* and he asks the teacher about this (line 1). The teacher tells him to have a look at the explanations in the workbook (line 2). A little later in the same event, Tuomo wants to know whether his sentence (*did they know*) is appropriate. He first says the sentence aloud (line 1). At the same time, Heidi asks the teacher about her sentence (line 4) and the teacher helps her (line 6). On line 8, Tuomo seeks for confirmation from the teacher as he asks if his sentence (*did they know it*) is correct. The teacher acknowledges this with a minimal response *mm* (line 11) and this leads to the correct form from Tuomo (line 12), which is then confirmed by the teacher: *right* (line 13).

In example 47, the exercise the pupils are working on contains Finnish sentences both in the present and in the past tense. Corresponding English sentences are shown next to them but with two alternative predicates, one in the present and the other in the past tense. The pupils have to choose the correct one:

(47) YA3, Circle (437-444)

1 →	Aaro	onks se [we got] onks se (x)
		is it we got is it
2	LM	[(x)]
3	Juuso	tä
		what
4 →	Aaro	we *got* [, vai miten]
		or how
5	Teacher	[joo, jos] <u>saim</u>me sen
		yes if we <u>got</u> it

6		[(.)] muutenhan se on että me <u>saam</u>me sen
		otherwise it would be we <u>get</u> it
7	LM	[we got]
8	Teacher	(.) imperfektissä
		in the past tense

Aaro wants to know whether *got* is the correct predicate in the sentences he is thinking about. He asks the teacher about this (lines 1 and 4). The teacher explains that *got* is needed if the Finnish verb is in the past tense (line 5) otherwise the sentence should be in the present tense (line 6).

In the data, there is only one question from the pupils to the teacher that is not linked to either carrying out the task, the meanings of words or the correctness of the performance. This takes place in an event in which a listening task is in focus and one of the pupils sees a name that reminds him of something he has seen on television:

(48) YA2, Animal jobs (407-416)

1 →	Mikko	hei muuten ope
		hey by the way teacher
2	Teacher	yes=
3 →	Mikko	=miten tää on mahollista että tässä niinku on että s<u>ydney</u>
		how is this possible that here it's like Sydney
4		brooks niinku (.) eiks siinä melrose placessä sydney oo
		Brooks is like isn't Sydney a woman's name in that Melrose Place
5		naisen nimi↓
		(**a woman's name**)
6	Teacher	aha: (.) I don´t know, I´ve never watched melrose [place]
7	Mikko	[joo↓]
		yeah
8	Teacher	but I, I [think you are right↓]
9	Tuomo	[nii siinä on sydney] yks semmonen hullu vai mikä=
		yeah in it Sydney is kind of crazy or something
10	Teacher	=yeah it could be a female and a male=

Mikko catches the teacher's attention by calling her (line 1). When the teacher gives him the permission to speak (line 2), Mikko asks how it is possible that in this text *Sydney* is a man's name when he knows a female *Sydney* in a television series called *Melrose Place* (line 3-5). The teacher says that she is not sure as she has never watched the series (line 6) but she thinks, however, that *Sydney* could be both a male and a female name (lines 8 and 10).

In brief, when the pupils initiate talk that is targeted at the teacher, it mainly takes place in events in which the pupils are working in pairs but also in joint activities. In their initiations, the pupils ask about the procedures necessary in carrying out the task or the meanings of words they need in the exercises. They also want the teacher to confirm that they are doing the task correctly. To get a response from the teacher, the pupils need to catch the teacher's attention: they call her and/or raise their voice. In this way, the pupils orient themselves to their institutional role as pupils: the acknowledge the teacher's role in the classroom as a source of knowledge and confirmation.

5.2.2.3   Interaction among pupils

In addition to the interaction between the teacher and the pupils, there is talk among the pupils only. Some of the workbook exercises are done in pairs of pupils. The teacher starts the activity but, naturally, after that the main form of interaction is pupil-pupil interaction. This interaction takes several forms: talking about the procedures, completing the task, making jokes, self-talk (or talking aloud while doing the exercise) and by-play. In the following, I will discuss each of these in turn with the help of illustrative examples.

First of all, the pupils talk to each other about the procedures connected to performing the task. In example 49, the pairs of pupils (or groups in the other case) talk to each other about how they should play the game. The intention is to form sentences in the past tense with the help of pictures attached to a game board. The instruction in the book only says: *play a game with your friend, throw the dice.* There are, however, no specific instructions on how to actually play the game, and neither does the teacher give any. Nevertheless, the pupils obviously want to have some rules: who is to start, which direction to go and how does one get to be the winner? These have to be agreed on before they start to play. In example 49, the pupils are working in three pairs or groups and the teacher is sitting in the front of the classroom and leafing through her folder:

(49) YA2, Game (39-103)

	Teacher	Tuomo and Mikko	Aaro and Juuso	Eeva, Heidi and Katja
1		T MIHIN PÄIN tässä kierretään (-) kellonsuuntaan **which way do we go here clockwise**		
2	okei (-) perhaps (-) yeah↓ (-) clockwise↓			H ((coughs))(xx)
3			A (kuhan se on siellä perillä↓) **as long as it is there**	E aha (-) näin päin **aha this way**
4	you can decide↓			H näin [ºpäinº] **this way**
5				E näin (-) näin päin **this this way**
6			J ♪ di dii♪	H näin päin (-) näin päin **this way this way**
7		M alotetaan vaikkapa **we might start**	J ♪di dii♪	K kellon suuntaan niinku kello menee **clockwise like a clock goes**
8		T mä alotan **I'll start**		E eikö se kello mee näinpäin **doesn't the clock go this way**
9		T ainaki tosta draivista **at least from drive**	J ♪ di duu♪	H jos mä alotan se on eeva ja sitte oot

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			sinä **what if I begin then Eeva and then you**
10		J drink drank *drunk* A ((laughs))	H jos sä alotat se on minä **if you start then it's me** K ihan sama kumpi alottaa **it doesn't matter who starts**
11	M mä alotan **I'll start**		H ((laughs)) ((coughs))
12	T (x mulla on noppa täällä) **I have the dice here**	A no nii (nyt alotetaan draivi) **alright now we'll start the drive**	
13	M (mä tiän) yritetään ottaa toisia kiinni mä alotan luussista **I know let's start to catch each other I'll start from lose**		K mitäs mun nyt pitää tehdä **what should I do now**
14		J mä alotan **I'll start**	
15		A hei (-) alota sä drinkistä niin mä alotan rinkistä (-) **hey you start from drink and I'll start from ring**	E sä heität noppaa ja sit sää **you throw the dice and then you** H (x sen) voi alottaa **you can start**
16			H mistä vaan **anywhere**
17		A molemmat alottaa päistä **both will start from the ends** J (mistä) **from where**	E muodosta ruudun verbistä imperfektilause **form a sentence in the past tense from the verb in the square**
18			K (mä alotan tästä) **I'll start here**
19		J okei (-) kumpaan suuntaan pitää mennä↓ häntään↓ **okay which way do we have to go to get to the tail**	H no nii (-) sitte sä heität noppaa ja (xx) **okay then you throw the dice**
20	M joo (-) **yeah**	J (päästä) alottaa↓ **start from the end**	
21	M mä alotan luussista (niin) sä alotat draivista **I'll start from lose and you start from drive**	A alotetaan myötäpäivään **we'll start clockwise**	
22		J okei (-) kumpi on myötäpäivä **okay which way is clockwise**	

23		M kilpaillaan kumpi saa (toisen enemmin kiinni) **let's compete to see who catches the other first**		K (kaks) **two**
24			J okei (.) mä alotan **okay I'll start**	K kumpaan suuntaan **which way**
25			J kumpi alottaa **who starts**	H kellon suuntaan (x) **clockwise**
26		T KILPAILLAAN KUMPI SAA TOISE-toisen enemmin kiinni **we'll compete to see who catches the other first**		K ai niin **alright**
27	okei (.) yeah			
28		T alotetaan vastapäivään **let's start anti-clockwise**		
29			A no (.) alotetaan päistä **well let't start from the ends**	
30		T (hei) (-) (se on se) (tähän) **(hey) (it's the) (here)**	(A) (tää on paha toteuttaa) **this is difficult to do**	H mistä sää ny oikein alotit **where did you start now**
31				H tästä **here**
32			J kutonen (-) elikkä mä (.) mä haluun kumin (välineeksi)= **six so I'll want the rubber as a counter**	K tästä näin (.) tästä näin **here like this here like this**
33			A =no sähän saat **you'll get it**	

Example 49, which a fairly long extract from the beginning of the event, shows that all three pairs or groups of pupils are negotiating over the rules of the game. There are three simultaneous discussions going on, which the teacher comments on when asked to do so. Tuomo and Mikko are talking about which way to go on the game board. Tuomo also seeks for clarification from the teacher (line 1) and gets it. Next the boys establish who is going to start and on which step (there is no marked beginning on the game board) (lines 8, 9 and 11). There is some disagreement but then Tuomo says that he has the dice and he will start the game (line 12). Mikko suggests further that they attempt to catch each other (lines 13 and 23) and thus they should start at different points on the game board (line 21). Tuomo seeks for the teacher's approval (line 26) and gets confirmation from her (line 27). The final decision about the way to go on the board is that Tuomo and Mikko play anti-clockwise. A similar conversation is going on between Aaro and Juuso. The same topics are negotiated: who is going start (line 14, 24 and 25), where to start (lines 15, 17 and 29) and which way to go (19, 21 and 22). In addition, Juuso tells Aaro that he wants a rubber as a counter (line 32) and Aaro agrees with this (line 33). Eeva, Heidi and Katja talk for a long time about the way to proceed on the

game board. They also hear that the teacher says that it is all right to go clockwise and now the girls are trying to establish which way round the clock goes (lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 24, 25 and 26). They use their hands to show each other which way. The girls also negotiate over turns (lines 9 and 10). In addition, the girls also talk about what to do to play to game. Katja starts the game and she asks the others what she should do (line 13). Eeva tells her to throw the dice (line 15) and then she reads out loud the instruction in the textbook (line 17).

Secondly, pupil-pupil interaction also, naturally, involves the pupils completing the task. In all the pair work exercises in the data, this means saying sentences one after the other. In two of the tasks the sentences are invented by the pupils with the help of clues provided in the textbook and in one task the pupils choose words from columns to form sentences. In example 50, the pupils are taking words and phrases from columns to form sentences:

(50) YA3, Colums (21-47)
Only the turns of one pair of pupils are shown

1	Juuso	i:: (x) >eiku< i sa:w
		I no I mean I saw
2		(-)
3	Juuso	my cat in the park (-) öö (-) last week
4	Aaro	nobody *talked* to a newspaper
5		(in a the kitchen) last week
6	Juuso	somebody:
7		>eiku sanoit sää somebody jo<
		no I mean did you already say somebody
8	Aaro	en
		no
9	Juuso	>eiku sä sanoit nobody< somebody:
		no you said nobody
10		kissed kissed (-) a story ää
11		at the *bus* stop bus stop (-) yesterday

On line 1, Juuso starts to select words from the columns. The first column has pronouns or names in the subject position, the second one verbs for the predicate, the third one has noun phrases for the object and the last two columns have prepositional phrases and noun phrases that can be used as adverbials. He finishes his sentence on line 3: *I saw my cat in the park last week*, and then Aaro says his sentence aloud (line 4). The basic structure of talk here is to produce sentences and say them aloud. There is, however, some negotiation involved in doing this. As Juuso starts a new sentence (line 6), he stops after saying the subject and wonders whether Aaro has already used *somebody* in one of his sentences (line 7). Aaro replies that he has not used it (line 8) and Juuso also remembers now that it was *nobody* that Aaro had said (line 9). Consequently, Juuso uses *somebody* and ends up with the sentence: *somebody kissed a story at the bus stop yesterday* (lines 9-11). The instruction does not say that each word or phrase can be used only once and neither does the teacher tell the pupils this. Perhaps it is a procedure familiar to the pupils from other exercises they have done, which would explain why the question was raised

here by Juuso. Nevertheless, the seemingly straightforward task of forming sentences by simply picking out elements from a list requires some negotiation from the participants. The basic interactional sequences needed in the task are perhaps too simple and thus the participants are minded to make it more complicated by negotiating over the items in the task.

Thirdly, when working in pairs the pupils also make jokes which are somehow connected to the task. Very often they concern the words or expressions used in the task. As in example 50, the interaction in example 51 has a prestructured format for the interaction between the pupils: they take turns to form sentences with the help of pictures in the textbook:

(51) YA1, Pictures (224-270)
Only the turns of one pair of pupils are shown

1	Juuso	ää (.) my parents listened to (.) radio
2		but we listen
3		ää: (.)
4		*korvalappustereos*
		((imitating English pronunciation))
		Walkman
5		((laughs))
6	Aaro	((laughs))
7		Mikko
8		>•tää on aika paha juuso pisti aika pahan•<
		this is a good one Juuso made up a good one
9	Teacher	mites [se menee, (-) mites sanot (-) meidän]
		how does it go how do you say our
10	Aaro	[my *parents* (-) listened (.) radio but we listen]
11		*korvalappustereos*
		Walkman
12	Juuso	[((lauhgs))]
13	Aaro	[((lauhgs))]
14	Mikko	[((lauhgs))]
15		•*korvalappustereos*•
		Walkman
16	Aaro	(olipa aika rankka)
		that was a tough one
17	Juuso	no sano (nyt mikä oli) korvalappustereot (englanniksi)
		tell me now what was Walkman in English

It is Juuso's turn to form a sentence, which he starts on line 1. The picture presents two ladies: one listening to an old fashioned-looking radio and the other with a walkman. The word *walkman* is given in the word list. Juuso begins to form a sentence: *my parents listened to radio but we listen* (lines 1 and 2). Here he stops as he evidently does not notice the word *walkman* in the word list. He has to pause and think (line 3). Then he decides to use the Finnish word instead but he pronounces the word as if it were an English word (line 4). Thus he formed a full English sounding sentence, although it sounds a little funny to him (he laughs, line 5). Aaro also finds this very funny and wants to share the joke with Mikko (who is working with Tuomo): *Mikko, this is a good one, Juuso made up a good one* (lines 7 and 8), and he repeats the whole sentence with the

"Finglish" word (lines 10 and 11). Mikko also finds it funny and he too repeats the word with the English pronunciation (line 15). Juuso still wants to know what the word really is in English and asks Aaro (line 17). The role of jokes for the pupils and their relation to texts will be discussed more extensively in section 7.5.3.

Fourthly, the pupils engage in self-talk while they are working on tasks. I define self-talk as talk which is not clearly targeted at anyone, which takes place when the speaker is engaged in working on a task and which is related to this task. This talk is typical of events in which the pupils are supposed to be working on their own. Consider example 52, in which the pupils are translating sentences from Finnish into English and writing them down in their notebooks:

(52) YA2, Translate (1031-1049)

```
1 →   Juuso       he (-) <ca::lled>
2     Heidi       mää en laittanu tohon [(xx)              ]
                  I didn't put anything there
3 →
      Juuso                           [   what did he say ]
4     L                               [    mm             ]
5 →   Aaro        say
6     L           ((coughs))
7     L           mm (.)[mulla ei oo mitään         ]
                        I haven't got anything
8 →   Aaro            [    did you see something]
9     LF             [              mitä↑      ]
                                    what
10    L           näittekö jotain↓
                  did you see something
11    Mikko       tuo:
                  that
12    LL          (xxxFinnish)
13    Tuomo       [<what>                          ]
14 →  Aaro        [     what did you see something ]
15    LF          [  mää en pistäny ollenkaan      ]
                  I didn't put anything
16 →  Mikko       [ <what  (.) did (.) you>              ]
17 →  Juuso       [   um what did he (-) he vai she, he  ]
                                      or
18    LL          [ (xxx)                                ]
19 →  Juuso       [ pistetään he, what did he:: (.)  <say>]
                  let's put he
```

Juuso is writing down the sentence *he called* and while he is doing this he says aloud what he is writing: first *he,* then a fairly long pause and then slowly: *called* (line 1). Then he goes on with the next sentence and says it out loud as well (line 3). Aaro is also talking aloud while he is working (lines 5, 8 and 14) and so is Mikko (line 16). On line 17, Juuso is wondering whether he should use *he* or *she* in the sentence and decides to use *he* (line 19). Similarly in example 53, the pupils are talking to themselves as they are working on an exercise. This time

they have to choose either a past or a present tense predicate so that the English sentence corresponds to the Finnish one:

(53) YA3, Circle (423-436)

```
1 →   Juuso      where did you get
                 {Juuso writes in his book}
2     Teacher    [ite sitä                ]
                 yourselves that
3     Mikko      [>aaro lainaatsää kynää<]
                 Aaro would you lend me a pencil
4     Aaro       kato tolta
                 ask him
5 →   Juuso      [we:    ] (.) got [ it from the      ] country
                 {Juuso writes in his book}
6     Teacher    [ mm-h↑]
7     Mikko                          [ (x)mulla on tässä ]
                                     I've got it here
8     Aaro       (xxx)
9 →   Juuso      ⁰now we have goldfish⁰
                 {Juuso writes in his book}
10               (-)
11 →  Juuso      [they eat]
                 {Juuso writes in his book}
12 →  Aaro       [we got it]
13    Teacher    [(xx)            ]
14 →  Juuso      [my parrot talks]
                 {Juuso writes in his book}
```

Juuso is thinking about the sentence: *where did you get*. He chooses the verb *did* (and not *do*). He circles it in his book at the same time as he says with emphasis the verb. Then he goes on with the next sentence (line 5). On line 9, he says aloud the next sentence but this time in a very quiet voice, again writing in his book. Clearly, the utterance is not targeted at anyone in particular. Again with the sentence *they eat* he emphasizes the verb that he chooses (line 11) and then goes on with the next sentence (line 14). All Juuso's utterances here are statements, and they do not seem to be targeted at anyone. No responses are made either. Therefore, they can be characterized as self-talk the purpose of which can only be speculated. Perhaps the aim is to show that he really is working on the task and progressing in it.

Finally, the pupils also engage in by-play, that is, their talk is a sideline to the dominant line of talk and at the same time it is a commentary on the text that is the basis of the dominant talk as well. This talk takes place among the pupils only and it occurs mainly during the teacher's instructions in the opening phase (see example 11 in section 5.1.1). Examples of by-play as an illustration of two simultaneous, competing activities in connection with organizing the phase will be discussed below in section 5.2.3.

To sum up, it is evident that all the participants are involved in organizing the event in their talk. Although teacher talk is dominant and the pupil-initiated talk targeted at the teacher is reduced to enquiries about procedures and

appropriateness, there is also talk that takes place among the pupils only. Some of the workbook exercises are done in pairs of pupils and although the teacher starts the activity, the main form of interaction is, understandably, pupil-pupil interaction. This takes several forms. Firstly, the pupils talk to each other about the procedures connected to performing the task. Secondly, the pupils engage in talk in order to complete the task. This often involves saying sentences in turns. Thirdly, when working in pairs the pupils also make jokes which are, nevertheless, somehow connected to the task and, especially, the words or expressions used in the task. Fourthly, the pupils engage in self-talk while they are working on tasks. Self-talk is not clearly targeted at anyone and it takes place when the speaker is engaged in working on a task – supposedly on his or her own. Finally, there is by-play among the pupils, which takes place as a sideline to the dominant talk of the teacher.

5.2.3 Competing activities during the text-processing phase

Very often there seems to be harmonious cooperation in the classroom: the teacher and pupils collaborate and the events flow smoothly from one activity to another with all the participants focussing on the task. Sometimes, however, there are clearly competing activities going on at the same time. Such competition takes place between the teacher and the pupils, usually only some of the pupils. In the events examined, there are three kinds of instances where the participants seem to pursue different aims. Firstly, there are clashes at the transition points between events and between the opening and text-processing phases or when the activities change during a phase (competing activities during the opening were discussed in section 5.1.1). In these cases there is a different activity focus. Another point of disagreement seems to be the activity itself. This happens during activities which are done as preparation for the task, that is, when the participants are still orienting themselves to the new phase. Finally, the teacher and the pupils do not always have the same understanding about how to carry out the task in focus.

In example 54, the participants have just completed one activity and the teacher begins to give instructions for the next activity. This fairly long extract shows that the change of activities within the text-processing phase does not always take place smoothly and that the pupils are not always ready to start the task. The activity focus of the teacher and the pupils differs. In this extract, the teacher tries to get started on a new activity. The previous activity concerned determining which of five alternative sentences would best describe the whole text. This was done jointly by the teacher and the pupils. In the next activity, which is about to start in this extract, the pupils have to reorganize sentences to correspond to the order of events in the text they have just read in their textbooks:

(54) YA3, Text in sacks (966-1010)

	Teacher	**Pupils**	
1	number four↓ (.) and then you should uh (-)	Juuso	impossible to film
2	put these sentences in the right order↓ (-)		
3	according to the text↓ (9 lines omitted during which the teacher gives further instructions)		
4		Tuomo	numeroi säkit **number the sacks**
		(-)	
6		Tuomo	juuso, lähetsää (x) **Juuso are you going**
7	mm (.) yeah	Mikko	ihan numo- n- ihan numeroilla vaan **just with num- just with numbers**
		Juuso	joo **yeah**
8		Tuomo	mää en lähe (xx) **I'm not going**
9	could you tell me which (.)	Tuomo	mun piti lähtee muttemmää voikkaan **I was to go but I can't after all**
10		Tuomo	mun piti lähtee mutta emmää voi lähtee **I was to go but I can't go after all**
		Aaro	jaa **aha**
11	tuomo, any idea↓	Tuomo	joo kun mulla on tää flunssa ja yskä **yeah because I've got this flu and cough**
12		LM	mm
		Tuomo	tä, mitä: **what what**
13	which is the first sentence	Juuso	pitää lähtee (.) **I have to leave**
14		Juuso	tuntia aikasemmin (xx) **an hour earlier**
		Mikko	mitä toi ykkönen tarkottaa toi (.) the script= **what does that number one mean**
15	= <writer> knew very little about Africa	Mikko	ai niin joo se ei (xx) **oh yeah it isn't**
		LF	mää laitoin (x) **I put**
		Juuso	(x)
16		Tuomo	jaa↓ jaa↓ **yeah yeah**
17	but I can help you↓ the first sentence here, number one		
18	is (.) t- the last one↓ (.) an American	Mikko	an *american* film group
19	film group went to kenya (.) to make a film there↓		
20	that´s number one↓ so that´s where	Juuso	tässei oo lyijyä **there's no lead in this (pencil)**
21	you start↓ (-) and then (.) go on↓		

The teacher gives instructions for this activity (lines 1-4) and some procedural information (which has been omitted from the extract). Tuomo clearly begins the task as he reads aloud part of the instruction (line 4) but then he starts to talk about a personal matter with Juuso on line 6. This talk goes on (lines 6-14) for quite a while. The teacher notices that these pupils are not focussing on the task and starts to guide the pupils accordingly. On line 9, she asks a question: *could you tell me which one of the sentences is the first one*, and directs her question to Tuomo: *Tuomo, any idea* (line 11), thus challenging Tuomo to take part in the joint classroom work. Tuomo wakes up: *what what* (line 12), and the teacher repeats the question: *which is the first sentence* (line 13). Tuomo starts to look at the task but he does not seem to know the answer. After waiting for a while the teacher decides to tell the pupils what the first sentence is (lines 17-21), and thus she helps them to get started with the task. The discussion between the boys dies out and all the pupils start to focus on the task.

Secondly, the pupils seem to resist the activity itself. The participants do not always seem to cooperate when the aim of the activity is to ground the task that is in focus in the event. Reading and repeating word lists, especially, causes clashes. In the textbook, both in connection with the reading and the listening tasks, there is a bilingual list of words in the margin. Not all the words that appear on the page are listed; instead, only words that are considered new or more difficult for the pupils are on the list. Reading words means that the teacher first reads a word aloud and the pupils repeat it in chorus. In the literacy events examined in this study, reading words is a point of struggle between the participants, which becomes evident in several ways. Consider example 55:

(55) YA2, Animal jobs (420-434)

```
1 →   Teacher    okay, [(xx)      but: u:h↓     ] let´s repeat the words
2     LM                [joo on siinäkin sarja]
                        yeah that's some series
3     Teacher    [first before we listen:      ]
4 →   Mikko      [se on ihan älytön ohjelma]
                 it's a completely brainless programme
5     L          (xxx)
6     Teacher    [caption:]
7     LM         [(xx)    ]
8 →   LM         kauniit ja rohkeet↓
                 the Bold and the Beautiful
9 →   LM         no se [on ihan       ]
                 well that's quite
10    Teacher          [to complete↑]
11    LM         ⁰to comple:te⁰↑
12    Aaro       se on ihan (xxx)
                 it's quite
13 →  Teacher    come o:n come along come along, an inspector↑
14    L          ⁰mitä⁰
                 what
15    LL         an inspector
```

In this example, the teacher starts the new activity of reading words by giving a brief instruction (lines 1 and 3), whereas some of the pupils are simultaneously talking about a television program (lines 2, 4, 8 and 9). This issue was raised a little earlier by Mikko asking the teacher about a name appearing in the text. Sydney is a man's name in the text and Mikko knew it was a woman's name in a television series all the pupils seemed to be familiar with. This led a group of boys to talk about another series as well, and this talk is still going on in this extract. Despite the pupils' talk the teacher begins to read the words aloud (line 6). The pupils only mumble something inaudible (line 7). The teacher reads aloud another word (line 10) and now at least one of the pupils repeats the word (line 11) but Aaro and Mikko go on talking about the programme (line 12). The teacher has to urge them to join others in repeating the words on line 13. After this the pupils repeat the words in chorus according to the model given by the teacher, except for one pupil who mumbles the whole list of words at his own pace without waiting for the teacher to provide model.

In example 56, the participants are also beginning to read a word list. As in example 55, there is a clash between the aims of the teacher and some pupils. This time the clash becomes evident in a different way:

(56) YA3, Tarzan (642-688)

1 →	Teacher	animals, that´s right ↓ [let´s read the words first] (.)
2	Aaro	[((xx))]
3	Teacher	[i think (.)most of the words] are new for you↓
4	Juuso	[wild wild]
5 →	Aaro	>*popular*<
6	Teacher	[popular↑]
7	Katja	[hei,][missä se mun]
		hey where's my
8	LL	[popular]
9	Katja	[missä se mun (x) on]
		where's that my
10	Teacher	[photography↑]
11	LL	photography:↑
12	Teacher	[an actress↑]
13 →	LL	[(xxx)]
14 →	LL	[(xxx)]
15 →	Teacher	[hey come on boys, wait for me↓] mm↓
16		[an audience]
17	LM	[jungle↑]
18	LL	[an audience]
19	LM	[a jungle]
20	Katja	[ei muuten <u>taatusti</u>] oo mulla
		I definitely haven't got it
21	Teacher	a jungle↑
22	LL	a jungle

(15 lines omitted)

23 →	Teacher	=a heroine↑
24	LL	[a heroine]
25 →	LL	[((laughter))]

| 26 | Mikko | (xxx)= |

(2 lines omitted)

27 →	Juuso	=heroiini
		heroin
28	LL	[((laughter))]
29	Teacher	[a disease↑]
30 →	Tuomo	[heroiini on sankari]
		heroin is a heroine

The behaviour of the boys in this extract leads to sanctions. There is a certain norm in reading the word lists aloud: the teacher reads aloud first to provide a model and the pupils repeat this in chorus. Here the reading and repeating of the words does not proceed in this way, and thus the teacher attempts to establish the normative pattern by explicitly telling the boys to wait for her. The teacher begins the activity by giving a brief instruction: *let's read the words first* (line 1). Right after this, without waiting for the teacher's model, Aaro says aloud the first word: *popular* (line 4). He also exaggerates the pronunciation of the word imitating a very sophisticated accent. Thus, Aaro deviates from the norm from the very beginning as he says the model before the teacher. Moreover, he ironizes the purpose of reading word lists by playing with the pronunciation of the word. To follow Aaro's example, some of the boys start to mumble the words in the list (unclear talk on lines 13 and 14). Again the teacher has to ask the boys to concentrate on the activity: *hey come on boys, wait for me* (line 15). After this, for a little while, the reading of words proceeds smoothly in cooperation. Then the teacher reaches the word *heroine* in the word list (line 23). The boys start to laugh (line 40) as the word *heroine* resembles the word *heroin*. In Finnish *heroin* is *heroiini*, i.e. the words sound similar, whereas *heroine* is *sankari*, which is not even remotely similar. The boys see the fun in the similarities of the words and start playing with them: *heroin is heroine* (line 45). Thus they again break the normative pattern of reading the words, but this time the teacher ignores this by-play and goes on with reading the words and, eventually the pupils also comply with this. The rest of the word list is read and repeated in unison, and only after finishing with this activity do the boys briefly return to the heroin joke.

The third instance where the teacher's and the pupils' aims clash is when there are opposing understandings of the procedures. This takes place when the teacher proposes individual work on an exercise but the pupils choose to collaborate. Consider example 57:

(57) YA4, Animal quiz (763-773, 869/258-272)

1	Teacher	[number two, (.) how many wings] does a horsefly have
2	Juuso	[how many wings does]
3	Teacher	and you can see that horsefly (.) on päa- is paarma,
4		in finnish↓ [so you just (.) guess]=
5 →	Tuomo	[ai paarma]
6 →	Juuso	[two]

7 →	Mikko	=no four↓
		well four
8 →	Juuso	four↓
9 →	Teacher	put (.) put your own [an- guess:][(.) in the notebook]
		{teacher looks at Mikko and gestures with his hand towards Mikko}
10	Tuomo	[four *wings*]
11	Mikko	[no e::ikä laiteta↓]
		no we won't put

(Later in the event)

12	Teacher	a:l<u>right</u>
13	Mikko	no mut se on kiina tai japsi (mutta)=
		but it's China or Japan but
14	Aaro	=ei ole japsissa (.) se on in-[kiina tai intia]
		it isn't in Japan it's China or India
15	Mikko	[ai nii (se on se kii-)]
		oh yeah it's Chi-
16		<u>e:i</u> no ei intiassa aina[kaa oo]
		no well not in India
17	Tuomo	[no] KIInassa ne kyllä [(.) on mutta ei millään (x)]
		they live in China alright but not at all (x)
18	Mikko	[no- no-]
		well well
19		[mää- mää-] uh uutisissa vaan kuulin
		I- I- uh in the news I just heard
20	Aaro	[no kiinassa sitte]
		well in China then
21	Mikko	[(xx tämmösessä] ajan[kohtasessa kakkosessa]
		in this kind of documentary
22	LM	[(xx]
23 →	Teacher	[everybody writes] down their <u>own</u>
		{teacher stands in front of the boys and looks at them}
24		[answers it doesn´t matter] if they are not correct
		{teacher stands in front of the boys and looks at them}
25	Juuso	[mää pistän että kina↓]
		I'll put China

In this extract, the teacher has already given instructions for the task and she is reading aloud the quiz questions that the pupils have to answer before listening to a quiz program. On lines 1, 3 and 4, she reads the question, gives a translation for one word and tells the pupils that they just need to guess the right answers from among three alternatives. Juuso and Aaro consider the alternatives (lines 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11).[13] The teacher interrupts, turns towards Mikko, gestures with her hand towards him and says: *put your own guess in the notebook* (line 9), thus making it clear that it is not necessary to negotiate on the alternatives. A little later in the activity, Mikko, Aaro and Tuomo again negotiate on the correct answer. The question they are working on is: *in which country do giant pandas live*, and the alternatives are India, China and Japan. On line 13, Mikko proposes that the answer must be either China or Japan. Aaro

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[13] There is some negotiation among the girls as well but their voices cannot be heard on the tape as the boys' voices are so loud.

knows that it is not Japan and he proposes that the correct answer is either China or India (line 14). Mikko seems to be certain that they do not live in India (line 16), whereas Tuomo thinks that the correct answer is China (line 17). Mikko resorts to a documentary he has seen about pandas living in China (lines 19 and 21). Aaro gives up and agrees with Mikko (line 20). At this point, the teacher, who is standing in front of the boys and looking at them, intervenes: *everybody writes down their own answers* (lines 23 and 24), emphasising the word *own* thus telling the boys to work on their own and not to collaborate.

The following extract (example 58) is another example of a task where the teacher proposes one way of working on the activity but the pupils' choose to work differently:

(58) YA3, Circle (407-436)

1	Teacher	okay[,] rengasta oikea vais:- vaihtoehto↓
		circle the correct alt- alternative
2	Aaro	[jee]
3		(-)
4 →	Teacher	laitta- [miettikääs] kaikki jokainen sitä vähän aikaa (.)
		put- think about that everyone for a while
5	Juuso	[nii joo nää]
		oh yeah these
6 →	Teacher	katotaan [sitten (x)]
		we'll have a look then
7	Tuomo	[we had a dog]
8	Juuso	I [liked]
9	Aaro	[ai oli]
		oh you had
10	Teacher	[no niin, siitä] vaan eteenpäin sitten=
		alright then just go from there
11	Aaro	[(xx)]
12	LM	=pitääks sitten se ympyröiä [siihen]
		do we have to circle that
13	Teacher	[joo]
		yes
14	Aaro	where [did you:]
15	Mikko	[>aaro lainaatsää kynää<]=
		Aaro would you lend me a pencil
16 →	Teacher	=muttei ääneen [tarvi ettei- (.) naapuri] voi miettiä sitten
		but not aloud so that your neighbour can think about
17	Juuso	[where <u>did</u> you get]
18	Teacher	[ite sitä]
		that themselves
19	Mikko	[>aaro lainaatsää kynää<]
		Aaro would you lend me a pencil
20	Aaro	kato tolta
		ask him
21	Juuso	[we:] (.) got [it from the] country
22	Teacher	[mm-h↑]
23	Mikko	[(x)mulla on tässä]
		I've got here
24	Aaro	(xxx)
25	Juuso	°now we have goldfish°

26		(-)
27	Juuso	[they eat]
28	Aaro	[we got it]
29	Teacher	[(xx)]
30	Juuso	[my parrot talks]

First the teacher gives a brief instruction by reading the instruction in the book aloud (line 1). Then she adds that every pupil should think about the task a little (line 4) first and then they will look at it together (line 6). Immediately, the pupils begin to say aloud the sentences in the exercise (lines 7 and 8), that is, they engage in self-talk. The teacher asks them to go on (line 10) and answers a pupil's enquiry (line 12) about how to do the task (line 13). On line 16, the teacher reminds the pupils that they should work silently on their own and not talk aloud. Despite this the pupils go on reading out loud the sentences on lines 25, 27, 28 and 30.

In all the examples above, the participants had to negotiate on the way to proceed in the activity. The teacher had a certain procedure in mind, which the pupils did not seem to agree with. At the transition points and when reading the words, agreement was finally reached and the activity proceeded as proposed by the teacher. In the last example, when the teacher and the pupils disagreed on the appropriate procedures, the teacher seemed to give up and the pupils went on doing the task in collaboration. Thus, although the participants jointly organize the event in their talk, their aims may vary. The clashes have to be negotiated in order to establish a shared focus.

5.3   The closing phase

Finally, the literacy event comes to an end. As is the case of openings, the teacher plays the major role in closing the event, but the pupils have a contribution to make as well. The teacher marks closing the event both verbally and nonverbally. The pupils, again, either comply with this and show it nonverbally or they resist it and close the event in their own terms. In the following, I will first examine the teacher's activities and then have a look at how the pupils orient themselves to the closing phase.

Closing the event is marked by the teacher's verbal activities. In contrast to opening an event, the closing phase is very short and it may consist of just a few words or even only one word, *okay*. Consider the following four extracts (examples 59, 60, 61 and 62):

(59) YA3, ABCD (405-408)

1	Aaro	nii↑ were *they* (.) sick=
		yeah
2	Teacher	=yeah, tai ill↓ were they sick or were they ill↓
3 →		okay [ ] rengasta oikea vais: vaihtoehto
		circle the correct alternative
4	Aaro	[jee]

130

(60) YA2, Animal jobs (832-835)

```
1 →   Teacher      not so good, you don´t think so okay,
2                  let´s work [on the] past tense a little bit
3     LM                      [ (x)    ]
4     Teacher      more, and then: that´s that, I think
```

(61) YA2, Game (625-630)

```
1     Aaro         one two three four (xxx)
2     L            (xx)
3     Juuso        sun vuoros
                   it's your turn
4 →   Teacher      okay i think it's [enough we will ö listen] to:
5     L                              [(xx) joo                ]
6     Teacher      some interviews now,
```

(62) YA2, Translate (1519-1520)

```
1     Aaro         mää kirjotan ton ite uuestaan
                   I'll write that again myself
2 →   Teacher      okei, siis kotiläksyks on tota: (.) ne verbit↑
                   okay for homework then well those verbs
```

In example 59, the teacher confirms the final item in the exercise the group has been working on (line 2) and she finishes the event by saying *okay* (line 3). Immediately after that she starts a new event by issuing a new instruction, which she reads aloud from the book. Similarly, in example 60, the teacher comments on a pupil's turn (line 1), finishes the event (*okay*) and moves on to the next event (lines 2 and 4). Still further, in example 61, which is from an event in which the pupils have worked in pairs, the teacher stops the pair work by saying: *okay I think it's enough* (line 4) and gives an instruction for the next event: *we will listen to some interviews now*. Finally, in example 62, again just the word *okay* (line 2) marks the closing of the event. In these cases, the closing phase is just a brief transition from one event to another.

In addition to a single word marking the closing of the event, the teacher might add a general evaluative statement about the activity that has just been carried out. Examples 63 and 64 illustrate this:

(63) YA3, Tarzan (936-944)

```
1     Teacher      kahdenkymmenen [vuoden päästä]
                   after twenty years
2     Juuso                       [mää sanoinkin] kahenkymmenen
                                   I said after twenty
3     Juuso        [vuoden päästä]
                   years
4     Mikko        [ai jaa         ] mää [kuulin että] parin vuoden päästä=
                   oh yeah I heard that after two years
5 →   Teacher                            [ okay      ]
```

6	Juuso	=jaa↓
		aha
7 →	Teacher	very good indeed
8		there are a couple of exercises about this story (.)
9		in your (-) work books

(64) YA4, Animal quiz (1055-1070)

1	Teacher	[eight points (.)] eight points as well
2	Tuomo	[eight points]
3	Juuso	eight
4	LM	[mulloli yks väärin↓]
		I had one wrong
5	Teacher	[eight as well]
6	Tuomo	[((coughs))]
7	Aaro	[yheksän]
		nine
8 →	Teacher	[very good↓] yeah↓ (.) I wouldn´t
9		[have known (.) everything (xx)]
10	Mikko	[mullakin oli (xxx)]
		I did too
11	Aaro	[mää haluun nukkumaan ja syömään]
		I want to go to bed and to eat
12	LL	[(xxx)]
13	Aaro	ei muuta mukavempaa [(xx)]
		there's nothing nicer
14 →	Teacher	[okay↓] [(.) then] (.) we`re
15	Tuomo	[okay↓]
16	Teacher	going to go to the menu (.) num- exercise number

Example 63 is from an event with a reading task in focus. On lines 1-4, the participants are finishing the activity and on line 5 the teacher says *okay* to finish the event. However, she adds: *very good indeed* (line 7) to evaluate the activity just completed. Then she moves on to the next event by introducing it (lines 8 and 9). Similarly, in example 64, which is a listening task, the teacher first says: *very good* (line 8) as an evaluation and then: *okay* (line 14) to mark the transition from one event to another.

In contrast to the examples above, neither evaluation nor a single word to mark the change are used in the following change from one event to another (example 65). The event about to end involved an exercise on the past tense and it was a joint activity. The new event also focuses on grammar but now the pupils are going to work in pairs. Here the teacher marks the change of event differently from the examples discussed above. She links the events together by talking about the general topic of the two events and marks the change from one event to another by switching books:

(65) YA1, Fill in (871-919)

1→	Teacher	[helped his old pal queenie]
2	LM	[*run away*]
3 →		(-)

4	Teacher	[me ollaan] opeteltu siis perfektiä joka tehdään tolla have
		we've been learning the present perfect which is formed with have
5	Aaro	[that´s]
6	Teacher	ja has plus kolmas muoto mut nämä ei oo perfektimuotoja↓
		and has plus the third form but these are not present perfect forms
7	Tuomo	siis ihan mitkä tahansa kolme tästä kappaleesta↓
		so any three in this chapter
8	Teacher	ei tehdä nyt niitä (.) vielä↓=
		we won't do them now
9	Mikko	=nokun ne on säännöllisiä [verbejä]
		well they are regular verbs
10	Teacher	[mitäs] muotoja nää on
		which forms are these
		{teacher writes on the OHP}
11		sitten [mitä tässä] (.) käytettiin↓ (.)
		then that were used here
		{teacher writes on the OHP}
12	Aaro	[jaa]
13	Teacher	tyhmä [kysymys] no nää on imperfektejä ku tuolla
		a silly question well these are past tense forms because it
14	Mikko	[imperfektejä]
		past tense forms
15	Teacher	lukeekin
		reads there
16	Eeva	ᵒmikä on [imperfektiᵒ]
		what's the past tense
17	Mikko	[ᵒai niiᵒ]
		oh yeah
18	Teacher	imperfekti [(-)] teillä on ollu viime vuonna ja me kerrattin
		the past tense you had last year and we revised
19	L	[mm]
20	Teacher	sitä syksyn [alussa elikkä↑] se kertoo menneestä ajasta
		it at he beginning of the autumn so it tells about past time
21	LF	[(xx Finnish)]
22→	Teacher	eikö vaan↑ (.) ja teidän kirjassa on vähän lisää tästä
		doesn't it and your books have a little more about this
		{teacher stops writing on the OHP}
23		juttua↓

(25 lines omitted during which the teacher explains the past tense and Tuomo asks about an exercise)

24 →	Teacher	mennääs tänne teiän kirjaan täällä on tämmönen kun
		let's go into your books here's is a page like this
		{teacher takes her book, holds it up and shows it to the class}
25		imperfektisivu sivulla (.) nelkytkaheksan ja nelkytyhdeksän
		past tense page on page forty-eight and forty-nine
		{teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}

The overall topic of the events, the past tense, remains the same but the event which is closed here had the workbook at its centre and the new event about to begin has a page in the textbook in focus. At the end of the event to be closed, the teacher already starts to ground the next event by talking about the past tense and present perfect forms, which they have also been practising during the six lessons observed in this study. On line 1, the teacher confirms the last

response in the previous activity. After a fairly long pause (line 3), which also could mark the end of the event, the teacher starts to talk about the present perfect forms and points out that the forms in this exercise were not in the present perfect (lines 4 and 6). Tuomo interrupts the teacher by asking about homework (line 7). The teacher then asks the pupils what the forms are called that appeared in the exercise (lines 10 and 11) but answers herself (lines 13 and 15). Then she points out that they should switch books (lines 22 and 23). A little later, she remarks again that they are now going to turn to their textbooks. At the same time, she takes her book, holds it up and shows it to the class.

In the examples above, the teacher and the pupils seemed to agree on the closing of the event. In contrast, in example 66, there is a misunderstanding concerning the closing of the event. The teacher and one of the pupils misinterpret each other and therefore, the closing phase does not follow the same pattern as those in the previous examples. In this event, a reading task is in focus. The pupils have been underlining some sentences in the text:

(66) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (589-604)

1	Teacher	and the last [one, vai]puolustiko se vain itseään↓
		or was he just defending himself
2	L	[((coughs))]
3	Mikko	or was it just *defending* (-) himself
4	Juuso	[defending himself]
5	Teacher	[yes]
6	Tuomo	[mää menin kyllä (xxx Finnish)]
		I went completely
9	Teacher	twenty:-four and twenty-five↓
10	Tuomo	mm
11		(4) (a break of four seconds)
12	Eeva	[bird]
13 →	Tuomo	[what about then]
14 →	Teacher	uh what about then,what happened then, any idea
15 →	Tuomo	eeikä ku mitä nyt tehään↓
		no I mean what do we do now
16 →	Teacher	mitä nyt tehään↓ [now] I think
		what do we do now
17	Tuomo	[nii]
		yeah
18	Teacher	we´re going to have a look at your homework.

On line 1, the teacher says the last sentence to be underlined in Finnish and Mikko reads the sentence in English (line 3). The teacher confirms this (line 5) and gives the line number of the sentence to be underlined (line 9) as Tuomo does not seem to know where the sentence is (line 6). After this, there is a long pause of four seconds. It appears that Tuomo interprets this to mark the closing of the event and he asks: *what about then* (line 13). The teacher interprets Tuomo's question to concern the text they have been working on in the event, as she asks whether the pupils could imagine what would happen next in the story (line 14). Tuomo, however, had meant what would be the next activity and he makes himself more explicit – in Finnish (line 15). Thus Tuomo repairs

the teacher's misunderstanding by switching into Finnish. Only after this does the teacher move on to the next event: *now I think we're going to look at your homework* (lines 16 and 18).

The pupils' orientation to the closing phase may vary slightly according to the kind of activities they have been engaged in. When the event is predominantly teacher-led, the pupils remain fairly silent and still during this phase. There might be some stretching or yawning but generally they seem to comply with the teacher-imposed closing of the event. However, when the pupils have been working on their own or in pairs, their cooperation with the teacher is not quite so smooth. In example 67, the pupils have been collaborating in working on the task of rearranging scrambled sentences to match the text they had read in their textbooks:

(67) YA3, Text in sacks (1125-1153)

```
1        Juuso        =so they built (.) [stronger ones]
2        Aaro                            [ (xx)          ]
3        Teacher      [yes↓      ]
4        Juuso        [ stronger] ones↓ (.) siis tuo on kasi sitte
                                  so that's eight then
5 →      Tuomo        aksa, käviks (xx) kattomassa [sitä (x)]
                      Aksa did you go to see that
6        Aaro                                        [JOO    ]
                                                      yes
7        Tuomo        [ missä sää kävit                       ]
                      where did you go
8 →      Teacher      [so you can check your answers here]
                      {teacher points at the black board}
9        Juuso        [ mitä  JOO                         ]
                      what yes
10       Aaro         [                  ii dee nelosen  ]
                                         ID four
11                    [ooksää käyny kattomassa sen ]
                      have you seen it
12       Teacher      [ did  you get it like that        ]
                      {teacher looks at Juuso's book}
13       Tuomo        en enkä käy
                      no and I won't
14       Juuso        yheksän
                      nine
15       Teacher      [that´s right             ]
16       Tuomo        [se on liian pelottava]
                      it's too scary
17       Mikko        ((gasps))
18       Aaro         ♪scary film♪
                      {teacher sits down by the OHP and looks around the class until line 26}
19       LM           [(xxx)           ]
20       Mikko        [   siis millon] se oli elokuvateatterissa=
                      so when was it on the cinema
21       Aaro         =onhan se vieläki↓
                      it still is
22       LM           hmh↓
```

23	Eeva	mikä
		what
24	Mikko	siis mikä:
		so which
25	Tuomo	ii dee nelonen
		ID four
26 →	Teacher	okay, [I think you can (.) st- have a] break now↓
27	LL	[independence day]
28	Tuomo	[let´s have a break]
30	Teacher	[fifteen minutes] (.) mm

The teacher and the pupils are about to complete the task: Juuso says the last sentence (line 1) and the teacher acknowledges this (line 3). It seems that, for the pupils, the event is closed once the task has been finished and they show this by starting a completely different conversation, which is clearly off-task. They start to talk about a new film (lines 5 and 6). On line 8, the teacher asks the pupils to check their answers. She has written the correct order on the blackboard and there is no joint verbal checking of the exercise. Therefore, while checking their answers to the exercise, the pupils can continue talking about the film (lines 9-11, 13, 16-25, 27). While the pupils are checking their answers – and talking about the film – the teacher sits by the overhead projector and looks around the class. Finally, on line 26, the teacher closes the event by saying: *okay, I think you can have a break now*.

When working in pairs, some of the pupils also show that they are not ready to close the event at the same time as the teacher and the other pupils. In example 68, the teacher and most of the pupils close one event and move to the opening phase of the next event, whereas two of the boys are still engaged in the previous event:

(68) YA2, Game (620-650)

1	Aaro	one two three four (xxx)
2	L	(xx)
3	Juuso	sun vuoros
		your turn
4 →	Teacher	okay i think it's [enough we will ö listen] to:
5	L	[(xx) joo]
6 →	Teacher	[some interviews now,]
		{teacher takes the dice from Eeva}
7	Aaro	[yks kaks kolme neljä][viis kuus]
		one two three four five six
8	Tuomo	[oh, some interviews]
9	Juuso	[säähän oot ●tässä näin●]
		but you're right here
10 →	Teacher	[about ö][people who work]
		{teacher points at Tuomo's book}
11	Mikko	[ketä siellä interview(x)]
		who will be interviewed
12 →	Teacher	[(-) with animals↓]
		{teacher takes the dice from Mikko}
13 →	Aaro	[mää saan tuon kiinni ihan kohta]
		I'll catch him in a minute

14 →	Teacher	aha, you do↑ [let's listen to this one,] animal jobs↓
		{teacher passes Heidi's desk and points at her book}
15	Aaro	[(xx)]
16	Tuomo	[animal @jo:bz][jo:bz@]
		[teacher goes to Aaro's desk}
17	Juuso	[(xx)]
18	Mikko	[sidney brooks]
19	LL	[(xxx)][(xx)]
20 →	Aaro	[ai kuutonen kuutonen kuutonen][älä nyt (-) älä >älä älä<]
		oh six six six don't now don't don't don't
		{teacher tries to get the dice from Aaro}
21→	Teacher	[(xx) finish,]
22 →		[we go on]
23	Tuomo	[animal jo:bz:]
24	Juuso	u:h uh a (broke legs) in this one=
		{teacher takes the dice from Aaro}
25	Aaro	=((laughter))
26 →	Teacher	good. u:h (.) animal jobs, read the captions and the
		{teacher takes her book and shows it to class}

The pupils are playing a game in which they have to form sentences in the past tense with the help of the pictures on the page. The teacher attempts to close the event and start a new one (lines 4, 6, 10 and 12). While doing this, she starts to collect the dice from the pupils. Aaro and Juuso, however, go on playing. Aaro throws the dice and counts the spots on the dice (line 7) and Juuso comments on his position on the game board (line 9). Aaro says to the teacher that he will catch Juuso in a minute (line 13) and the teacher comments on this briefly (line 14). She tries, however, to move on with her instructions (line 14). Aaro and Juuso still go on playing (line 20), while the other pupils are already examining the new text (lines 16, 18, 23). The teacher asks the boys to stop playing (lines 21-22), trying to take the dice from Aaro. But Aaro gets a six and he does not want to give the dice back yet. Juuso says one more sentence (line 24) and at the same time the teacher takes the dice. Finally, the boys stop and the teacher closes the boys' prolonged event by saying: *good* (line 26). At last the whole class is ready to move on to the next event and the teacher can go on reading the text.

Also, when working in pairs, the event is sometimes not closed simultaneously across the whole group; instead, the teacher might give individual instructions to pairs of pupils. Example 69 is an illustration of this kind of gradual closure:

(69) YA3, Columns (185-235)

1 →	Teacher	sitte jatketaas tällä
		then let's go on with this
		{teacher hands a sheet of paper to Juuso}
2	Juuso	[betsy and bill][kissed my cat in the park a minute ago]
3	Tuomo	[(x][xx)]
4 →	Teacher	siinä pitäs olla hyvät ohjeet et selviätte
		the instructions should be good so that you manage
		{teacher hands a paper to Aaro}

5	Mikko	(x)
6	Juuso	[missä]
		where
7 →	Teacher	[kokeilkaas] sitte tätä
		try this one then
		{teacher hands a paper to Mikko and Tuomo}
8	Aaro	utele ystävältäsi menikö
		ask your friend if he did
9	Tuomo	((coughs))
10	Juuso	(xx) policeman under the bed
11	Aaro	policeman
12 →	Teacher	kokeilkaas sitte tämmöstä
		try this one then
		{teacher hands a paper to Katja}

(6 lines omitted)

13 →	Katja	utelet
		enquire
14	Juuso	[my house][last summer]
15 →	Katja	[ystävältäsi][menikö]
		your friend did
16	Teacher	[onks teillä eri laput]
		do you have different sheets
		{teacher asks Mikko and Tuomo}
17 →	Katja	menikö päivä piirustusten mukaan ei mennyt (-) (kaikki meni)
		did your day go according to plan no it didn't everything went

(24 lines omitted)

18 →	Teacher	o:kay, [viis minuuttia aikaa tätä varten]
		okay five minutes for this
		{teacher talks to the whole class}
19	Mikko	[(xxx)]
20	Juuso	woke up
21→	Teacher	kokeilkaas
		try that

The pupils work in pairs and as they finish, the teacher hands out a new task to one pair after another: first to Juuso (line 1) and Aaro (line 4), then to Mikko and Tuomo (line 7) and Katja and Heidi (line 12). Katja starts to read the instructions on the piece of paper given by the teacher (lines 13, 15 and 17). When all the pupils have a piece of paper and all have finished the previous event, the teacher talks to the whole class (line 18), closing the event by *okay* and starting the new one for the whole group (lines 18, 21).

Just like the opening phase, the teacher accomplishes the closing phase by means of verbal and nonverbal activities. Compared to the opening, the closing phase is very brief. Often just a one word is used to mark the end of the event. Sometimes the shift from one event to another is just a brief transition point. A teacher evaluation might also be present in some form. The pupils show their orientation mostly in their nonverbal activities: once the event is coming to an end it is time to stretch and yawn a little. There is less resistance than during the

opening. Sometimes, however, when the pupils are engaged in pair work, they are not willing to end the event at the teacher bidding.

5.4 Summary

This chapter aimed at answering the first research question: how are literacy events organized within the institutional context of the classroom? This was divided into two sub-questions, which were (1) how do the participants orient themselves to literacy events in their talk? and (2) what interactional structures are used to organize events?

It is evident from the data that all the participants in the setting – both the teacher and the pupils – make a contribution in organizing the event through talk. The analysis shows that literacy events in this classroom have three different phases: 1) *opening*, 2) *text-processing* and 3) *closing* phases. These are characterized by various structures of interaction.

In the first phase the teacher is in the most prominent role, partly owing to her institutional role. She gives instructions for the task that forms the focus of the event being the primary activity. With the help of the instructions, the participants orient themselves to the literacy event as a whole. In the teacher's instructions, the text is present in various ways. The teacher animates and reports the text, thus mediating it to the pupils. Accordingly, she uses three forms of address: the first person plural, the second person imperative and the second person plural or singular (this distinction is marked in Finnish). These forms of address change when the teacher switches from reading aloud the textbook instruction to interpreting and adapting the instruction to the situation at hand. When mediating the text, the teacher indicates either that a hidden participant (see Hamilton 2000) is regulating the activities or that she herself as the teacher is in control of the classroom activities. In addition, the text is used as an icon in the opening phase. The teacher holds up the book and shows it to the class. She also closes and opens the pupils' books on their desks. Thus the text as an artefact marks the opening of the event and helps the participants to orient to the situation.

The verbal role of the pupils during the opening phase is less prominent than that of the teacher's, but they too show their orientation to the event both verbally and nonverbally. They are either sitting silently ready for the task, thus complying with the teacher-imposed opening or they are looking for the accessories necessary to carry out the task. The pupils' verbal contributions during the opening are mainly questions about the correct page or exercise numbers. These contributions as well as those that are otherwise related to the text and task are considered appropriate by the teacher.

The text-processing phase is also organized by various interactional means, and through these the participants orient themselves to this new phase. The text-processing phase focuses on the core task of the event, but before the participants start working on the task, they engage in some preparatory activities. The teacher provides some background information for the pupils so

that they can carry out the task. This involves reading aloud stretches of text, explaining grammatical forms and reading and repeating word lists.

The most prominent pattern of interaction in the text-processing phase is that of the teacher eliciting responses from the pupils. She uses various techniques of elicitation, including questions, sentences that call for translations and incomplete utterances to be completed. When the teacher uses material in the textbook in her elicits or, acts as an animator, the interactional patterns indicate that the activity is a routine. The task is gone through quickly and efficiently. However, when the teacher acts in the speaker role of an author, no such routines are evident and various techniques of eliciting are used.

The pupils are also engaged in organizing the text-processing phase. The pupils naturally respond to the teacher elicits, but they also initiate talk that is targeted at the teacher. This takes place mainly in events in which the pupils are working in pairs but sometimes also in joint activities. The initiations are limited to enquiries concerning the procedures necessary to carry out the task or the meanings of words they need in the exercises. In addition, the pupils seek for confirmation from the teacher for their performance in the task. Thus they orient themselves to their institutional role. Moreover, the pupils engage in talk that takes place among themselves only. This takes on several different forms, including negotiations over the procedures connected to performing the task, talk necessary in completing the task, making jokes concerning the words or expressions used in the task and self-talk while are working on a task independently.

In the closing phase, the teacher has again the most prominent role. She marks the change of events by briefly commenting on or evaluating the event or by showing nonverbally, that is, by changing books, that the event is coming to an end. The pupils usually agree with the teacher and are ready to close the event but sometimes they are not willing to end the event simultaneously with the teacher. This happens when the pupils are engaged in pair work and they have not yet finished their task.

Often the participants' orientations to the different phases are in synchrony so that the event flows smoothly from one phase to another. Sometimes, however, there is a clash of interests. During the openings, especially, the pupils engage in by-play, which is connected with the text and task at hand but occurs as a sideline to the dominant teacher-talk of giving instructions. Similarly, while preparing for the task during the text-processing phase, the teacher's and the pupils' aims do not always coincide. On these occasions, the institutional roles have to be negotiated and the teacher makes an attempt to establish a shared focus. This takes place through various interactional means. The teacher may ignore the by-play and go on with her primary activity or she may stop and explicitly ask the pupils to conform. Eventually, the pupils comply with the teacher-imposed way of carrying out the phase.

In conclusion, all the participants in the setting are involved in organizing the literacy event into phases. This organization takes place through various interactional efforts involving both the participants and the texts. As with Levinson's (1992) activity types (see section 2.4), the phases serve different

functions in carrying out the task – defined in the text – that is the focus of the event. The participants' orientations to the different phases do, however, sometimes clash. The analysis shows that literacy is embedded in the interactional practices of the classroom and it acquires its meaning within the boundaries of classroom interaction. Understanding the context is a precondition for understanding literacy, and therefore the interactional structures in the classroom are the basis for further analysis of literacy in the classroom. The role of texts in the literacy event and the meanings literacy acquires in the talk among the participants are the foci of the next two chapters.

6 TEXT SHAPES TALK AND ACTIVITIES IN LITERACY EVENTS

The purpose of this chapter is to take a closer look at the role of texts in the literacy event. Texts serve different purposes in different phases of the event and they both shape the event and are shaped by the event. The aim of this chapter is to find answers to the second research question: what role do texts play in literacy events? More specifically, (1) how do text structure literacy events? and (2) how do the participants make use of texts? The analysis focuses on exploring how the text shapes the event by setting constraints and providing opportunities for the participants and for the forms of talk and activity appropriate in a given event as well as on how the participants utilize the text in the activities engaged in.

The texts used in the 13 literacy events of the data are either from the textbook or from the workbook[14] and they have three different pedagogical purposes. These are to practise reading, listening or grammatical forms. In the textbook, there are two texts through which reading is practised, two that focus on listening and two with the aim of practising grammatical forms. In the workbook, the texts are exercises one of which is attached to one of the reading texts and provides further practice in reading comprehension. The other exercises in the workbook focus on grammar, although their topic and vocabulary might relate to the reading or listening comprehension texts in the textbook or the general topic of the unit.

As the centre of the literacy event, text offers something for the event. Text shapes the event in several ways and the participants turn texts into activities in the course of the event. The analysis focuses on these two aspects. Section 6.1 examines how text frames the event overall. Section 6.2 discusses how text is used in proving grounding for the task in focus in the event. Finally, texts provide various kinds of linguistic material for the tasks. I will examine these and their use in section 6.3.

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[14] Other texts such as handouts were omitted of the study. For a more precise description of the texts, see Appendix 1.

6.1 Text provides the framework for the task

Text provides the overall framework for the whole event. A text addresses the readers in a certain way and it has a role in determining the purpose of the event and the kind of activities involved in the event. These features can be seen in the way the text is laid out and in the instructions given in the textbook (see section 3.3). The participants make use of the instructions in the textbook in the opening phase of the event when orienting themselves to the event. The written instructions are clarified, made more precise or transformed in the teacher's instructions.

6.1.1 Purpose of the event

First of all, the general purpose of the texts featured in this study is displayed in their layout. All the units of the textbook are divided into chapters with the following titles: *start out, listen, find out, talk, study, think, read, play, work out* and *sing*. The titles reflect a special function, as the introduction to the textbook explains (Westlake et al. 1995: 3). These functions are further defined in the textbook as follows[15] (Westlake et al. 1995: 4):

start out: introduction to the subject area of the unit
listen: listening exercises in the usual way
find out: little reading exercises, especially for pair work
talk: oral communication tasks
study: basic text with tips for activating everyone to study
think: basic information about the structures to be studied with activities
read: a longer text for practising understanding language
play: games for activating language proficiency
work out: stimuli/ideas for follow-up work in pairs or groups

Of these, the 13 events examined in the present study involve the chapters with the titles *study, read, listen, think* and *play*. The titles reflect the overall intended purpose of the tasks and they are displayed on the top of each page (see Figure 2).

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[15]   Translated from the Finnish by the author.

FIGURE 2   A page in the textbook

The workbook contains exercises that are linked to the titles of the chapters in the textbook (e.g. *listen*, *think* or *read*). Accordingly, the pages of the workbook have a "pop down menu", reminiscent of a desktop area on a computer screen, on the top of the page, which indicates this link. In addition, words such as *name*, *match*, *answer*, *fill in*, *choose* or *define* indicate the types of exercises on that specific page (see Figure 3). Thus there could be an exercise in which the pupils need to fill in gaps, answer questions or choose words from a list to complete sentences.

FIGURE 3   A page in the workbook

Through the titles of the chapters, the general purpose, or function as the textbook puts it, is explicitly stated. However, further explication is needed as far as these titles are concerned. The users need to know what exactly is meant by *read*. The instructions given in the books serve this purpose. The instructions may be quite clear, as in the case of the continuous text labelled *read* and called *Wild, Wild Animals*. The instruction says:

Harjoittele vieraskielisen tekstin ymmärtämistä. Lue kertomus. Kuinka paljon ymmärrät siitä ensilukemalla oheisen sanaluettelon avulla.
(Practice comprehending a text in a foreign language. Read the story. How much do you understand after a first reading with the help of the accompanying word list?)

In this instruction, the purpose of reading is specified further: reading means practising comprehending foreign language texts. Comprehending, however, is not defined explicitly in the instruction. It is, nevertheless, linked to the word list next to the text, thus implying that the words should be used to aid comprehension. This is not, however, explicit enough for the participants and therefore the teacher explains further to the pupils:

(1) YA3, Tarzan (637-639)

```
1 →   Teacher      so you don´t have to understand the whole story,
2                  not every word (.) just if you understand the idea↓
3                  that´s enough↓
```

After reading the instruction in the textbook, the teacher gives a further explanation concerning the task (lines 1-3). She notes that there is no need to understand every single word of the text; instead, grasping the main idea of the text is more important. Understanding the idea of the text is thus the purpose of this task.

There may sometimes be two purposes implied. The overt activity proposed in the instruction reflects one activity but the underlying purpose related to language learning is expressed in the introduction to the textbook and is implied in the instruction for the task. One text label in the textbook is *play*. As the textbook explains in its introduction, the purpose of these tasks is to activate language proficiency (Westlake et al. 1996: 4). Thus, it is evident that the purpose is not to play per se; instead, language is practised through play. This purpose is implied in the instructions as well:

Play a game with your friend. Throw the dice and form a sentence in the past tense. Use one of the pictures to help you. Start anywhere you like.

In this instruction, the pupils are asked to play a game, but no rules for the game are spelled out. The pupils just need to throw the dice and start anywhere on the game board. While playing they have to form sentences in the past tense with the help of pictures located around the game board, as the instruction suggests. The teacher does not specify this instruction any further; instead, she reinforces the purpose laid down in the textbook instruction in her own instruction:

(2) YA2, Game (6-17)

```
1        Teacher      play a game with your friend↓ (.) throw the dice, and form a sentence
2                     in the past tense↓ [(-) use] one of the pictures to help you↓ (-) start
3        Juuso                         [missä   ]
                                        where
4        Teacher      anywhere you like↓ (-) and here's an example (-) eat↓ (-) i ate a
5                     [banana yesterday] (-) so this is fifty-one↓
6        Juuso        [sivu mikä↓        ]
                       page what
7 →      Teacher      [you  ] can get the dice from me↑ (-) an:d ö (-) so there is no start and
8        Juuso        [ai jaa]
                       oh yeah
9 →      Teacher      no finish i guess, [(-) but] it doesn't matter you can start where ever
10       L                             [(x)    ]
11 →     Teacher      you want to↓ (.) just (-) try to form some sentences↓ (-) in the past
12 →                  tense↑ here's for you:
```

The teacher first reads aloud the instruction in the textbook (lines 1, 2 and 4). There is a model sentence in the book and the teacher reads this aloud (lines 4-5). While she is distributing the dice, she gives further instructions which reinforce the purpose implied in the textbook instruction. She says that the game has no start and no finish (lines 7 and 9). She notes, however, that this does not matter (line 9) as the pupils as supposed only to form sentences in the past tense (lines 11 and 12). Thus she makes it clear that the purpose is to practise grammatical forms.

In summary, the purpose of the event and the task within it is presented in the text through the general layout of the page and the instructions given in the textbook. The teacher either refines and clarifies the purpose in her instructions to the class or accepts and reinforces the purpose implied in the instruction.

6.1.2 Participants and activities

Participants

Any text has an assumed reader and this reader is addressed in an implicit or an explicit way. The aim of an instructional text is to instruct and give directions for activity. The instructional text is meant to be used by a group of people (see section 3.3) and therefore it needs to address the participants. Through the forms of address it uses, the text positions the reader in a certain way. In the books used in the present study, a single reader is addressed in the second person singular in the Finnish instructions and in the second person in the English instructions. Even though the text this way gives a certain independent role to the learner, it seldom regulates what combination of participants should work on a given task. In fact, the text does not determine the participants in the activities. It is the participants themselves who decide how to carry out the task. The text merely instructs them in what should be

done to perform the task. Activities such as listening, circling, filling in or translating are specified in the instructions.

Through the chosen form of address, the text positions the reader so that s/he is responsible for the accomplishment of the tasks and the activities involved. For example:

Read the captions and the word list before you listen to the programme.

Numeroi (2nd p sg) säkit kertomuksen mukaiseen järjestykseen. Keksi (2nd p sg) itse kaksi viimeistä lausetta.
(Number the sacks so that they correspond to the order in the story. Invent the last two sentences yourself.)

Tutki (2nd p sg) HELP-ruutua. Kirjoita (2nd p sg) lauseen perään A, B, C tai D sen mukaan, mitä muotoa tarvitset.
(Examine the HELP box. Mark the sentences with A, B, C or D according to the form you need.)

In these instructions, it is the reader of the text who does the listening, reading the wordlists, filling in the gaps and so on. The text is constructed so that it speaks to a single language learner and the responsibility for learning is the learners'. The text does not address the teacher, or does not take the role of the teacher into account. This way the text leaves the decision concerning the participants in the classroom activities to the teacher and the pupils.

The instruction might, however, ask the reader to do something with a partner:

Kirjoita vihkoosi tai lue parisi kanssa.
(Write in your notebook or read with your partner.)

Play a game with your friend.

Ask your friend these questions about the text.

These instructions continue to address the reader in the second person thus, gearing the responsibility to the reader/pupil, but now the purpose is to work in pairs. The text regulates how the activity is to be carried out or gives the reader options. The text assigns a partner to the language learner, thus implying that learning can take place collaboratively as well.

Although the textbook positions the reader as an individual language learner or as a learner collaborating with another learner, the text is used in a classroom setting by a group of participants. Naturally, it is not the idea that the tasks are done by individual pupils alone. On the contrary, classroom activities are characteristically group activities. Obviously, the participants of the events are always the same: both the teacher and the pupils are physically present.

What varies, however, is how the participants orient themselves to each other. This is not determined by the text alone; instead, it is the participants themselves who ultimately decide what is the appropriate combination of participants in a given task. Through her instructions, the teacher tells the pupils how the activities are carried out. The pupils, however, might or might not comply with this. Sometimes the teacher suggests individual work but the pupils choose to collaborate (see section 5.2.3).

Activities

Text also plays a part in regulating the kinds of activities involved in the event as well as their relative order of occurrence. In other words, text defines what should be done to complete the task. These activities might be reading word lists, listening to a text being read on the tape or the teacher asking questions of the pupils. Clearly, the emphasis the text puts on the kinds of activities needed as well as their relative order varies from event to event. In some cases, it seems to be important that the activities are performed in a particular order as this order is quite explicitly stated in the instructions. In other cases, more freedom is given to the participants. Even though the text regulates the activities to an extent, ultimately the participants perform activities which might or might not be stated in the text. The participants either choose to follow the instructions or do something else. The instructions define the activities in four ways. Firstly, the instructions might be very brief and concise and might only mention one activity. Secondly, the instructions often include several activities and may also state the order they are to be done in. Thirdly, the instructions are sometimes very general and broad and they do not mention any particular activities through which to carry out the task. Finally, there might be no instructions at all. In the following, I will discuss each of these in turn and see how the activities proposed in the instructions turn into activities in the classroom.

To begin with, the instructions are sometimes very brief and concise, stating quite explicitly what should be done to complete the task introduced. This is most often the case with exercises in the workbook. In these cases, the participants follow the instructions and the event in the classroom consists of this one activity only. Consider first the following three instructions:

Rengasta oikea vaihtoehto.
(Circle the correct alternative.)

Tee mallin mukaisia lauseita täydentämällä oikeat imperfektit. Keksi itse yksi virke.
(Form sentences similar to the model by filling in the correct past tenses. Invent one sentence.)

Täydennä lauseet sopivilla imperfekteillä. Valitse listasta.
(Complete the sentences with suitable past tenses. Choose from the list.)

These three instructions all say what should be done to complete the task. The first instruction says that the pupils should circle the correct one of the two alternatives given in the exercise. To put it in another way, the activity of circling is defined in the instruction. Similarly, the next two instructions say that the gaps in the text or sentences should be filled in either by thinking of a suitable verb or by choosing from a list next to the exercise. When the instructions are very short and explicit and a single activity is stated, as in the instruction above, the teacher follows it and merely reads it aloud as in example 3:

(3) YA3, Gaps in sentences (110-118)

1 →	Teacher	tee mallin mukaisia lauseita täydentämällä oikeat
		form sentences according to the model by filling in the correct
2 →		imperfektit↓ (.) we didn´t go home we went to
		past tense forms
3 →		a football match↓
4	Juuso	[(xx) liian vaikeita]
		too difficult
5	Teacher	[we went↑]
6	Juuso	emmää ainakaan (xx)
		I'm not
7	Mikko	mää kans katoin eilen [(xx)]
		I watched that too yesterday
8 →	Teacher	[mitäs sanotte] kakkosesta
		what do you say about two
9		eeva, mitäs sulla on
		Eeva what do you have

The teacher simply reads out loud the instruction as well as the model sentence in the book (lines 1-3). She repeats the verb form needed in the gap (line 5) and then starts to elicit responses from the pupils (lines 8-9). No further instructions or clarifications are necessary: the instruction states clearly what has to be done and this is followed in the activity.

Secondly, the instructions often list several activities and might also give a specific order in which they must be carried out. For example:

> Read the captions and the word list before you listen to the programme. . . . Listen to Susan Robertson talking about her job. Complete the sentences. . . . Listen to Sydney Brooks talking about his job. Answer the questions below. . . . Listen to Chris Hudson talking about his job. Then do the following.

This set of instructions list several activities that are needed in the task. In fact, it consists of four separate instructions, and it lists several activities (see Figure 2 on page 143). First, the reader is asked to read the captions below the pictures as well as the word list, and then to listen to the programme. After listening, the exercises include completing sentences, answering questions and doing little tasks of listing, describing and telling about an issue talked about on the tape.

When the instructions are quite explicit about the types of activities and their relative order, the participants seem to follow the instructions step by step. Example 4 comes from an event with the instructions above. The teacher starts the event with an instruction in which she says that they are going to listen to some interviews:

(4) YA2, Animal jobs (359-405)

1 →	Teacher	okay I think it´s [enough we will uh listen] to:
2	LL	[(xx Finnish) joo]
3 →	Teacher	[some interviews now, (-)]
4	Aaro	[yks kaks kolme neljä viis kuus]
		one two three four five six
5	Tuomo	[oh, some interviews]
6	Juuso	[säähän oot •tässä näin•]
		but you are right here
7 →	Teacher	[about uh] [people who work]
8	Mikko	[ketä siellä interview(x)]
		who is interviewed
9 →	Teacher	(.) with animals↓

(12 lines omitted during which some of the boys are still working on the previous task)

10 →	Teacher	good↓ u:h (.) animal jobs, read the captions and the
11		word list before you listen to the program↓ okay
12 →		welcome to animal [jobs↑] in [this program]
13	Aaro	[kato] [(xx Finnish)]
14	LM	[mm]
15 →	Teacher	we talk to [people] who work with animals,
16	LM	[mm]
17 →	Teacher	and here is susan robertson↑ (.) who is talking about
18		her job↓ (-) what does it mean, susan robertson works
19		for the <RSPCA> the royal society for the prevention
20		of cruelty to animals, minkälainen yhdistys on tämmönen.
		what kind of a society is this

(4 lines omitted)

21 →	Teacher	[cruelty (.)] raakuutta eläimiä kohtaan, and then
		cruelty to animals
22	Tuomo	[eläinkokeita]
		animal tests
23 →	Teacher	there is sydney brooks who is a lion tamer↓ (.)

(4 lines omitted)

24 →	Teacher	mm-m↑ and he works in a circus,
25		but he also works with many other animals, he says,
26		and then (.) finally, chris hudson, who says it would
27		be like eating one of my dearest friends (.)

First the teacher tells the pupils that they are going to listen to some interviews. Thus she implies that this event is about listening comprehension. She makes a

further remark about the topic of the interviews: people who work with animals (lines 7 and 9). The teacher reads aloud the instructions in the book, which asks the reader to first read the captions and the word list and then listen to the programme (lines 10-11). After the actual instructions, the beginning of the programme on the tape is printed in the book: *Welcome to Animal Jobs. In this programme we talk to people who work with animals.* The teacher reads this aloud (lines 12 and 15). Then she starts to do what the instructions ask them to do: she starts to read the captions. She reads aloud the first caption and asks the pupils for translations (lines 17-20) and then she reads the latter two captions (lines 21-27). After the teacher has read the captions aloud, they go reading the word list exactly as instructed in the text:

(5) YA2, Animal jobs (420-422)

```
1 →   Teacher      okay,[ (xx)        but: u.:h  ] let´s repeat the words
2     LM                 [joo on siinäkin sarja    ]
                         yeah that's some series
3 →   Teacher      first before we listen:
```

In her instruction, the teacher tells the pupils that they are to repeat the words and then go on listening to the programme (lines 1 and 3). After reading and repeating the word list, the participants go on listening to the programme and working on the exercises in the order proposed in the textbook instruction. Thus this event involved several activities and they were carried out in exactly the same order as the textbook instruction proposed.

Similarly, the following set of instructions lists several activities that the participants are supposed to carry out. According to the instructions, the participants should first answer the quiz questions and write them down in their notebooks, then listen to the programme and, while listening, check their answers:

Vastaa ennen kuuntelua visailun kysymyksiin. Arvaa ellet tiedä. Kirjoita vastaukset vihkoosi. Kuuntele sitten tietokilpailu ja tarkista vastauksesi.
(Before you listen to the quiz, answer the questions. Guess if you don't know. Write the answers in your notebook. Then listen to the quiz and check your answers.)

Again the instruction is followed very closely by the participants. The activities in the classroom follow the same order as in the instructions:

(6) YA4, Animal quiz (664-677)

```
1     Teacher      okay, now you need your notebooks and [your (.) ]
2     L                                                  [ (x)     ]
3 →   Teacher       textbooks (.) this [time,    because] we are going to
4     Aaro                         [see  saw seen    ]
5 →   Teacher      listen to a [animal quiz  (.) ] but first of all (.)
6     LM                       [see saw seen     ]
```

7 →	Teacher	here are some questions, ten questions altogether↑
8	Mikko	[((xx))]
9 →	Teacher	[and before you listen] to the quiz you should try
10 →		to answer the questions below↓ so (.) make a guess (.)
11 →		what [do you think] it´s the right answer and then we are
12	Aaro	[*quiz*]
13 →	Teacher	going to listen to the quiz, and see how (.) how many
14 →		(.) answers you got right↓

The teacher tells the pupils the order of the activities involved in this event. First, they focus on the questions (lines 5, 7) and the teacher remarks that they should answer the questions first, and then they listen (lines 9, 10). While listening, the pupils can then check their answers (lines 11, 13-14). This order is followed in carrying out the task.

Both the very brief instructions with one activity and those listing several activities in a particular order are followed closely in the classroom. Thus in these cases, the text determines the activities and the participants let this happen. Sometimes, however, the instructions in the books are rather open and broad in scope, thus leaving space for the participants to decide what the activities are. Consider first the instructions for the *read* text:

Harjoittele vieraskielisen tekstin ymmärtämistä. Lue kertomus. Kuinka paljon ymmärrät siitä ensilukemalla oheisen sanaluettelon avulla.
(Practise comprehending text in a foreign language. Read the story. How much do you comprehend after first reading with the help of the accompanying word list?)

All the instructions say is that the story should be read. In the classroom, there could be several different ways of carrying out reading. The teacher could, for example, read the text aloud, the pupils could read it in chorus or individually silently or it could be read on the tape. In the last case the pupils would not, in fact, do any reading; they would, instead, be listening to someone else read. When the instruction does not explicate the kinds of activities that could be involved or when there is no instruction on how to proceed in the task, it is the teacher's task to decide what to do to complete the task. This particular event involves, in fact, several different kinds of activities. First of all, the teacher and pupils read the word list aloud together. The instruction does indeed mention the word list as a possible aid to understanding. The teacher decides, however, to bring it to the centre of the event:

(7) YA3, Tarzan (642-644)

1	Teacher	animals, that´s right↓ [let´s read the words first] (.)
2	Aaro	[((xx))]
3	Teacher	I think (.) most of the words are new for you↓

The teacher gives an instruction to read the word list and states a reason for the activity (lines 1 and 3). Then the teacher starts to read the words one by one and the pupils repeat them in chorus. This activity takes, in fact, quite a large chunk out of the lesson. After reading through the longish word list, a new activity is begun:

(8) YA3, Tarzan (728-730)

```
1      Teacher      =o:kay, [let´s listen to this one]
2      Tuomo              [ strike struck        ]
3      Teacher      and then I have some questions for you
```

The teacher finishes the activity of reading words by *okay* and gives a new instruction: *let's listen to this one* (line 1). There is no mention of listening in the instructions but the symbol of a tape next to the title indicates that the tape is available. At this point, the teacher also remarks that she is going to ask the pupils some questions after they have listened to the text. In fact, the textbook suggests another kind of activity: in addition to the reading task there, is a summary task on the opening. The teacher does not, however, ask the pupils to do this task; instead, she decides to ask the pupils questions on the text. Consequently, this event involves three different activities: reading the words aloud, listening to the text being read, and asking and answering questions concerning the text. None of these are explicitly mentioned in the textbook instructions and thus the text leaves the decision to the participants.

There is also one text in the data with no instructions. This is the *study* text, a "basic text with tips for activating everyone to study" as the textbook (Westlake et al. 1995: 4) defines it. In this case, the decision on the activities that are needed in the event are wholly left to the participants. It could also be the case that *studying text* involves typical classroom practices familiar to all participants and therefore there is no need to explicate the activities in the classroom. In any case, the participants themselves can decide on how to carry out studying the text. The event involves many activities: the text is first listened to, then the teacher asks the pupils questions and the pupils are asked to underline certain expressions in the text. All the activities are made explicit by the teacher's instructions:

(9) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (419-520)

```
1 →    Teacher      okay let´s listen to this once again and now we are
2 →                 going to underline a couple of things because we
3                   didn´t  underl- (.) we didn´t underline anything last
4      Aaro         [ joo ]
5      Teacher      [time↓] (.)  so: uh let´s listen to it once again↓
```

 (43 lines omitted)

```
6 →    Teacher      so: last week you [asked    ] these questions↑
7      LM                             [ ((yawns)) ]
8      Teacher      but, let´s see if you can remember↓ why was queenie
```

9   still very weak↓ what did you answer↓ (-)last week

(49 lines omitted)

10 → Teacher   [very good↓   ] so let´s try to underline these things↓
11   L   [((laughs))   ]
12   Teacher   or these sentences↓

First the teacher tell the pupils that they are going to listen to the text being read (line 1) and she also mentions the activity of underlining text (line 2). After listening, the teacher wants to go back to the questions that the pupils have already worked on the previous week (lines 6-9). The activity of underlining is begun after the questions have been gone through. This is instructed by the teacher on lines 10 and 12.

To summarize, instructional texts are meant to be used in classrooms, yet the instructions for the tasks speak to a single reader, to an individual learner, giving no role to the teacher. Thus the responsibility for learning is shifted towards the pupils, even though the tasks are carried out in various combinations of participants, which are decided by the teacher and pupils. Although the instructions in the textbook do not determine the participants in the activities, they make an attempt at regulating the type and order of activities involved. Sometimes the activities are stated very precisely and their relative order is also given. In these cases, the participants follow the instructions and organize the event accordingly. Some instructions are, however, very broad and open or there are no instructions at all in the book. In events with texts like these, the teacher decides how the task is to be carried out and often a range of activities is involved. Thus the text both regulates the event and lets the participants decide what to do.

6.2   Text is used in preparing the task

Besides the instructions and material for the actual core tasks, the texts also contain elements that can be used in grounding the task to be completed. Their purpose as pre-task activities is either explicitly stated in the instructions or they are elements that the teacher uses in preparing the pupils for the task proper. These include the bilingual word lists in the margin, prompt texts for listening and explanations concerning grammar. Each of these will be discussed in the sections below.

6.2.1 Word lists as preparation

Word lists with both the foreign language words and their translations are usually an essential part of any foreign language learning material. Learning vocabulary is one of the core elements of language learning alongside reading, writing, listening, speaking and grammar. Therefore, word lists hold a prominent place in foreign language textbooks.

In the textbooks used in this study, word lists always appear in the margin of the pages of the textbook and sometimes in those of the workbook. The word list does not list every word in the texts or exercises; instead, the words that have not appeared earlier in the book are presented with their translations. There is a separate alphabetical word list at the back of the books. Although always present, the word list is used differently in different events. In two events, one of which focuses on reading and the other on listening, the word list forms the basis for the task. The teacher uses it in preparing the task at hand. The instructions to each of the texts mention the word list. In the listening task (example 10) it is explicitly stated that the word list should be read, but the instructions to the reading task (example 11) only imply that the word list can be used as an aid to understanding. In both cases, however, the word list is turned into a joint activity in the event:

(10) YA3, Tarzan (642-644)

```
1 →  Teacher      animals, that´s right↓ [ let´s read the words first] (.)
2     Aaro                                [ ((xx ))                   ]
3     Teacher      I think (.) most of the words are new for you↓
```

(11) YA2, Animal jobs (420-422)

```
1 →  Teacher      okay,[ (xx        but: u.:h  ] let´s repeat the words
2     LM                [joo on siinäkin sarja   ]
                        yeah that's some series
3     Teacher      first before we listen:
```

In both cases the teacher marks the reading of the lists as a joint activity by using the form *let's* (line 1 in examples 10 and 11). After the teacher's initial instructions the class starts to read the words. The teacher reads aloud the model and the pupils repeat it in chorus (see example 56 in Chapter 5). The activity of reading words takes quite a long time and thus acquires a prominent role in the event. It is emphasized as much as the other activities involved in the event, thus being assigned a position equal to listening to the text, talking about the content of the text and completing the tasks attached to the text. The use of the word list in preparing for the task implies that words are considered to be the basis of the tasks, essential in enabling the learners to complete the tasks. In both cases, the purpose of the tasks is to practise comprehension – both listening and reading comprehension. Therefore, it can be inferred that the word list is considered the basis of understanding.

Although always available, the word list is not, however, in such a prominent position in all events. In some events it is not used to provide background for the task; instead, it is only referred to by the teacher:

(12) YA4, Animal quiz (968-977)

```
1     Juuso        mikä on dromedary
                   what is
```

2	LM	asiaa↓=
		(playing with the word *Asia = thing* in Finnish)
3	T	=[se on dro]medaari
		it is a dromedary
4	Juuso	[ai nii joo]
		oh yeah
5	Aaro	asi[aa]
6	Mikko	[mikä] on slotti
		what's a sloth
7	Aaro	slotti↓ se o-
		a sloth that's
8	Mikko	[la:iskimus]=
		lazy person
		(a sloth = laiskiainen in Finnish = a lazy person)
9	Juuso	[(mitä:)]
		what
10 →	Teacher	=use your word list here,

Here the pupils ask the teacher about the meanings of various words needed in the task. Juuso asks what *dromedary* means (line 1) and the teacher answers him (line 3). Mikko too asks about a word (*sloth*) using a word which sounds Finnish (line 6). In fact, Mikko gives himself the answer on line 8. The teacher refers to the word list and asks the pupils to use the word list when they do not know the meaning of a word (line 10). Thus the teacher tells the pupils to use the word list in carrying out the tasks but does not attach such prominence to the list to such a prominent role as in the previous example. Here the teacher is very explicit in her reference to the word list. Sometimes, however, the reference is very implicit, as in examples 13 and 14:

(13) YA1, Pictures (288-294)

1	Aaro	[ope]=
		teacher
2	Eeva	[(x][x)]
3	Teacher	=[yes]
		{teacher goes to Aaro}
4	Aaro	niin (.) mikä on korvalappustereot
		so what's a walkman
5	Teacher	walkman↓
		{teacher points at Aaro's book}
6	LM	korvalappu[stereot]
		walkman
7	Teacher	[(se on)]annettu täällä
		it is given here
		{teacher points at Aaro' book}

Aaro attempts to catch the teacher's attention by calling her (line 1) and she makes a response (line 3) and goes to him. Aaro asks the teacher what the word for *korvalappustereot* is in English (line 4). The teacher tells him the word (line 5) but at the same time she points at the word list in Aaro's book and adds further that the word is given in the word list, still pointing at his book (line 7).

Similarly, in example 14 the teacher uses implicit means of referring to the word list:

(14) YA1, Pictures (174-84)

1	Juuso	my parents
2	Juuso	had (.) [money:] but we have a
3	Teacher	[mm↓]
4	Aaro	credit card=
5	Juuso	=credit ca:rd
6	Teacher	or cash cards↓=
		{teacher looks at and talks to the boys}
7	Juuso	=•cash card•
8	Teacher	mm
9	Aaro	[(miksei) credit cards↓]
		why not
10	Mikko	[OR CREdit cards↓]
11 →	Teacher	it's a different thing
		{teacher looks at and talks to the boys}

Juuso is forming a sentence: *my parents had money but we have a* (lines 1 and 2). He stops there and Aaro suggests the term *credit card* (line 4). Juuso accepts this and repeats it (line 5). The teacher, however, gives an alternative, which is, in fact, the one given in the word list: cash card (line 6). Aaro wants to know why *credit card* was not appropriate (line 9) but the teacher gives a very vague explanation about it not being the same thing (line 11).

To sum up, the word list holds a prominent position on the textbook page. However, as the examples above show, it is used differently in the events. It can be brought into a very prominent position alongside other activities in the event or it can just be referred to. Thus, the word list has at least two functions in the events. Firstly, it provides the basis for the core task and it is essential in the joint preparation of the task by the teacher and the pupils. Secondly, it offers an aid in completing the task at hand and is meant to be used independently by the pupils.

6.2.2 Text as a basis for listening

In the tasks that focus on listening comprehension, the written text provides a basis for listening. There are prompt texts and exercises that have to be dealt with before the actual listening. This way the text guides and regulates what and how the pupils listen. While listening, the pupils can only focus on those parts of the spoken text that are related to or based on the written text in the book.

In the data, there are two tasks the focus of which is to practice listening comprehension. Both of these tasks have some written text that has to be worked on before starting the actual listening task. Thus, in both cases, listening is based on written text, which guides the pupils and sets constraints on listening. In the event with the title *Animal Jobs*, there are pictures of three people with captions as well as some exercises next to the pictures (see Figure 2

on page 143). The instructions ask the reader to read the captions and the word list before listening to the programme. There is no instruction on how this reading should be accomplished in the classroom. Here the teacher adopts the role of an animator. After giving instructions and after reading aloud the beginning of the programme, the teacher starts to read the captions:

(15) YA2, Animal jobs (387-406)

```
1 →   Teacher    and here is susan robertson↑ (.) who is talking about
2                her job↓ (-) what does it mean, susan robertson works
3                for the <RSPCA> the royal society for the prevention
4 →              of cruelty to animals, minkälainen yhdistys on tämmönen↓
                                 what kind of a society is this
5     Aaro       u:h eläintensuojelu joku
                 animal protection something
6     Teacher    joo=
                 yes
7     Aaro       =kuninkaallinen eläintensuojeluyhdistys↓
                 a royal animal protection society
8     Teacher    joo, jossa tota vastute- vastustetaan tämmöstä (.)
                 yes which is against  against this
9                [cruelty (.)   ] raakuutta eläimiä kohtaan, and then
                                 cruelty to animals
10    Tuomo      [eläinkokeita]
                 animal tests
11 →  Teacher    there is sydney brooks [who is a lion tamer↓] (.)
12    LL                                [((laughter))              ]
13 →  Teacher    what´s a lion tamer↓
14    Juuso      [leijonankesyttäjä      ]
                 lion tamer
15    Aaro       [     leijonankesyttäjä   ]
16 →  Teacher    [                 mm-m↑] and he works in a circus,
17                but he also works with many other animals, he says,
18                and then (.) finally, chris hudson, who says it would
19                be like eating one of my dearest friends (.) but I don´t
20                know what´s that (xx)
```

The teacher reads aloud the captions, as instructed, but she also engages the pupils in the activity of reading them. The caption of the first picture reads: *Susan Robertson works for the RSPCA - The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.* The picture also has a bubble with Susan's words: *The hardest part of my job is putting animals to sleep.* The teacher first presents the person in the picture (lines 1-2) and then asks the pupils what the caption means (lines 2-4). She clarifies further that the pupils should explain what kind of a society the RSPCA is (line 4). Aaro provides the translation (line 7) and the teacher explains further the purpose of the society (lines 8 and 9). The text in the bubble is not talked about; instead, the teacher moves on to the next picture. She again says the name of the person and what he does (line 11). Again, she engages the pupils in the task of reading the captions by asking for a translation (line 13) which is provided by Juuso and Aaro (lines 14 and 15). Finally, she moves to

the last picture (lines 18-20) but this time she does not invite the pupils to translate.

Reading the captions is only one part of preparing the task. Reading the word list is also necessary, as was instructed in the text (reading words providing grounding for the task was discussed in section 6.2.1). After reading the words, the participants are still not ready to start the core task of listening. They still need to have a look at the exercise next to the picture. It has separate instructions: *Listen to Susan Robertson talking about her job. Complete the sentences.* This suggests that listening comes first and then the completion of the sentences. Nevertheless, the teacher decides to go through the exercise before listening:

(16) YA2, Animal jobs (471-479)

```
1 →   Teacher      =uh complete the sentences please,  so
2                  täydennetään lauseet, ei tartte kirjottaa koitetaan (.)
                   complete the sentences you don't have to write let's try
3                  painaa vähän mieleen miten nää täydennettäs, one
                   to think a little about how these could be completed
4 →                morning, an old lady↓ and what happened then↓ I drove
5                  [to see] [what ]
6     Aaro         [ so    ]
7     Mikko               [missä↓]
                          where
8 →   Teacher      I opened the garden gate, and↓ (.) suddenly a tiger↓
9                  and the last one, the lady had forgotten to tell me=
```

First the teacher asks the pupils to complete the sentences (lines 1-2), that is, she refers to the exercise next to the picture. She reads the instruction in the textbook aloud and then gives further explanations: the sentences have to be completed but the pupils do not need to write them down (lines 2 and 3). She also reads aloud the five beginnings of sentences and indicates how they need to be completed. On lines 3 and 4, she reads the first sentence: *one morning an old lady*, and continues by a question: *what happened then*, thus explaining that the pupils have to find out what the old lady did next. She goes on with the next one (*I drove to see...*) and again adds a question (line 5). Similarly, she reads the next sentence (*I opened the garden gate and ...*) but now she uses a more indirect way of indicating that the pupils need to fill in the rest of the sentence: she puts emphasis on *and* (line 8). With the last two sentences no such hints are used (lines 8 and 9). This way she prepares the pupils for the listening task activity: the pupils know what issues they have to pay attention to.

With the next exercise (example 17), the teacher repeats the same procedure of preparing the pupils for listening by going through the exercise first:

(17) YA2, Animal jobs (612-647)

```
1     Teacher      now, let´s see
2                  [((music))]   21 seconds
```

3	LL	[(xxx)]
4	FV	as you can hear, here I am in a circus (.) (xx) circus
5	FV	to be exact (.) standing beside me is sydney brooks (.)
6	FV	he´s a lion tamer (.) but he works with other animals too↓
7	FV	(.) what animals do you work with syd
8	MV	well
9 →	Teacher	okay this is a different exercise you [(.)] don´t have to
10	Aaro	[(x)]
11 →	Teacher	complete [the sentences], but try to [answer the questions↓]
12	Aaro	[all right]
13		[(xxx)]
14 →	Teacher	mikko- aaro I´m sorry↓ what animals does sydney work
15		with, you [understand that don´t you↑]
16	Juuso	[lions]
17	Aaro	[lions and]=
18 →	Teacher	=don´t tell me yet, I just want to check that you understand
19		the questions↓ what was his father in a circus↑ do you
20		understand that↓ [mikä] hänen isänsä siellä oli↑
		what was his father there
21	LM	[joo]
22 →	Teacher	[where] do they get their animals , that´s easy enough↑
23	Aaro	[tirehtööri]
		director
24	LM	mm
25 →	Teacher	how long (.) do the animals stay if they are good↑
26		that´s something you should find out↑ and why
27		did the lioness gra:b sydney´s leg↓ what´s the
28		last question in finnish↓=
29	LM	=[u:m]
30	Tuomo	[miksi:] eiku [miksi] tämä:
		why I mean why did this
31	Aaro	[miksi] (.) nii leijona tarttui
		why did the lion grab
32	Tuomo	nii joo
		yeah
33	Aaro	[ei]
		no
34	Katja	[sydneyn] jalkaan
		Sydney's leg
35	Aaro	[raapi tai] tarttu tai mikä se on
		scratched or grabbed or whatever
36	Teacher	[joo]
		yes
37		and this is a female lion lioness, okay↓ once

The teacher starts the tape (line 1) and first music and then a female voice can be heard (lines 2, 4-8). The teacher stops the tape suddenly and starts to explain what sort of exercise they are about to do next (lines 9, 11). She then reads out loud the five questions that should be answered on the basis of the text listened to, starting with the first question on line 14. Juuso and Aaro make an attempt to answer this (lines 16, 17) but the teacher stops them by saying that she merely wants to see that the pupils understand the questions (lines 18, 19). She goes through the questions, both translating them by herself (line 20) and asking the pupils for translations (lines 27, 28). Finally, they start to listen to the second

part of the programme.[16] This way the exercise itself functions as a preparation for listening as well as the captions and the word list. As the pupils have first had a close look at the sentences to be completed or the questions to be answered, they need only focus on those parts of the spoken text.

Similarly, in the other listening task in the data, listening is grounded by the written text. Again the instructions say that the pupils should first familiarize themselves with the written text and only after that listen to the tape. This time there are quiz questions to answer. The same questions are then gone through in the quiz programme they are going to listen to, the pupils' task being to check their answers while listening to the quiz. Again it is the teacher's task to read through the questions, that is, to mediate the written text to the pupils:

(18) YA4, Animal quiz (697-801)

```
1 →   Teacher      and here are  the  [questions↑]
2     Juuso                            [°  (xxx) °   ]
3     Mikko        [ (x)                    ]
4     Tuomo        [♪ here are the question ♪]
5     Mikko        [   ((xx))          ]
6     Teacher      [      don´t  answer ] them here in your
7                  book because there are (.) others who are going to
8                  use the same book after you, so please (.) uh write
9                  the answers in your notebook↓
```

(10 lines omitted)

```
11 →  Teacher      [an:d you need a pencil] (.) so, number one↓
12    Tuomo        [   mikä on sper::m      ]
13    Juuso        [ (xx) keski-aika        ]
                        The Middle Ages
14    Aaro         ((xx))
15 →  Teacher      [how many bones does the giraffe have in its neck,]
16    Aaro         [ ((xx))                                          ]
17    Juuso        [     (xxx)                                       ]
18 →  Teacher      and now you  (.) just put your own (.) guess↓
```

(30 lines omitted)

```
19 →  Teacher      [number two,(.) how many wings]does a horsefly have
20    Juuso        [how many wings  does           ]
21→   Teacher      and you can see that horsefly (.) on  pää- is paarma,
22                 in Finnish↓ so you just (.) guess
```

(17 lines omitted)

```
23 →  Teacher      and then number three how
24                 [deep can the sperm whale     ] [ dive↑     ]
25    Juuso        [eiku mä oon tossa ykkösessä ]
                   no I'm on number one
```

---

[16]   The teacher does not go through the third part of the listening exercise.

26	Mikko	[ai <u>sei</u>ttemän]
		oh seven
27 →	Teacher	and that´s kaskelotti↑ (.) can you guess,
28		what you think is right

(2 lines omitted)

29 →	Teacher	how many species of insects are there
30		in the world today↓ (.) kuinka monta (.)
		how many
31		hyönteis<u>lajia</u> on maailmassa↓=
		species of insects are there in the world

(4 lines omitted)

32 →	Teacher	and then,number five↑ [(.) how many] humps does a- (.)
33	Juuso	[　　hei, 　]
34	Mikko	[<u>dromedary</u>　]
35	Aaro	[　　mikä] [tehtävä kakskuutonen] yes ihanaa↓ (xx)
		which exercise twenty-six yes lovely
36 →	Teacher	[　dromedary have↓　]

First the teacher presents the questions (line 1) and tells the pupils that they should write the answers in their notebooks and not make marks in the textbook (lines 6-9). On line 11, the teacher introduces the first question and reads it out loud: *how many bones does the giraffe have in its neck* (line 15) and adds that they should just guess the answer from the alternatives (line 18). Similarly with questions number two and three, she first reads them out loud (lines 19, 23-24), gives a translation for *horsefly* (line 21) and *sperm whale* (line 27) and again mentions guessing (lines 22, 27). With questions numbers five and six, she only reads the question (lines 29-30, 32, 36) and in the first case gives a translation (lines 30-31). As in the previous example, written text serves as the basis for listening. Since the pupils have already answered a set of questions themselves, they only have to pay attention to certain points of the quiz programme on the tape.

To summarize, in listening tasks the teacher prepares the task by going through the prompt texts and exercises in the book together with the pupils. Thus the written text serves as the basis for the spoken text on the tape and directs the way the pupils listen to the tape. In other words, the written text builds a framework for listening. The listening task is regulated by the text so that the pupils needs only focus on certain points while listening.

6.2.3 Grammatical explanations

Some textbook and workbook exercises on grammar are accompanied by explanations concerning certain grammatical points. In the data of the present study, they are all related to the past tense: about verb forms related to different points in time, the forms of the verb *be* in the past tense and the formation of questions in the past tense. As they are placed on the top of the page before the exercises, they form a basis for them. They provide the focus for these exercises,

explicating the grammatical form needed in the tasks. The teacher uses these to prepare the pupils for the task: she explains the forms to the pupils.

The text does not instruct on how these explanations should be used in the classroom. The teacher chooses to mediate the text to the pupils. She both reads the text aloud, refers to the examples and explains them to the pupils (for the teacher changing speaker roles, see example 22 in chapter 5). In this way she goes through the grammatical explanations before the pupils start to work on the exercise in pairs. As with the listening tasks, she also engages the pupils in the explanations by asking for translations:

(19) YA 1, Pictures (937-965)

1 → Teacher   [(.) eri ajankohdista puhuttaessa käytetään]
                   when talking about different points in time you use
2   Aaro   [niin minua potkastiin poloveen se on siitä]
                   so I was kicked on the knee it has ever
3 → Teacher   [eri aikamuotoja↑ (.)   ]
                   different tenses
4   Aaro   [asti naksunu kivasti ((laughs))]
                   since cracked funnily
5 → Teacher   siellä sanotaan että past tarkottaa imperfektiä↑
                   it is said there that the past means the past tense

(8 lines omitted)

6 → Teacher   no kuka osais suomentaa ton (.) imperfektilauseen mikä
                   well who could translate that past tense sentence that
7   siellä on↓ (.) one hundred years ago people drove a horse
                   is given there
8   and a cart↓ (-) [tosta   ] noin↓ mitä toi tarkottaa suomeks↓
                               that one there what does that mean in Finnish
9   LM   [mm-h]
10   Aaro   [no kun se on sata vuotta ole nyt siinä]
                   well it is a hundred years stop it now
11 → Juuso   [sata vuotta sitten ihmiset   ]
                   a hundred years ago people
12   Teacher   nyt pannaan nää [kirjat pois, tossa]
                   now we'll put these books away there
13 → Aaro   [sata vuotta sitten] [(.)ihmiset ajoivat]
                       a hundred years ago people drove
14 → Juuso   [ihmiset ajoivat   ]
                           people drove
15   [((laughs))]
16 → Aaro   [((laughs))] hevosilla ja kärryillä=
                      a horse and cart
17   Teacher   =HYVÄ: ↓ sata vuotta sitten ihmiset ajoivat hevosilla ja
                   good a hundred years ago people drove a horse and
18   kärryillä↓=
                   cart

After her general instructions for the event, the teacher starts to read out loud the text in the textbook (lines 1, 3). The text is given both in English and in Finnish and the teacher chooses to read out loud the Finnish one. Then she refers to the text by saying: *it says there* (line 5). After the first sentence, the

information is presented in chart-like form and it cannot be read as such. Therefore, the teacher reports the information to the pupils. This way she goes through the explanations. Then the teacher engages the pupils in the interaction by asking someone to translate the example sentences into Finnish (lines 6-8). Aaro and Juuso jointly give the translation (lines 10-11, 13-14, 16). The other two sentences are translated in the same way.

Similarly in the following example, the workbook page first shows a box in which the two forms of the verb *be* in the past tense are explained. The teacher explains the grammatical forms to the pupils and engages them in the activity:

(20) YA3, ABCD (201-217)

1 →	Teacher	hullulta (.) mut se oli idea↓ o:kay sitten katotaan
		funny but that was the idea okay then we'll have a look
2		seuraavalta sivulta [vielä olla-verbin↑ (.) eri muodot↑]
		on the next page the different forms of the verb to be
		{teacher looks at her book}
3	Mikko	[(xxx)]
4 →	Teacher	imperfektinä (.) eli teillon siellä (.) neljä vaihtoehtoo,
		in the past tense so you have four alternatives there
		{teacher looks at her book}
5		englannin olla-verbillä on kaksi [imperfekti-muotoa] on
		the English verb be has two past tense forms there is
		{teacher looks at her book}
6	Tuomo	[ai täällä]
		oh here
7 →	Teacher	wa:s taikka were ja sitten ne samat kielteisenä wasn´t weren´t,
		was or were and then the same in the negative wasn't weren't
		{teacher looks at her book}
8		ja tän te varmaan (.) muistatte=
		and you'll probably remember this
		{teacher stands up and goes to the blackboard}
9	LM	=kalju=
		bald
10 →	Teacher	=milloin tulee wa:s milloin tulee were (-) mitä ehdottasitte
		when do you use was when do you use were what would you suggest
		{teacher writes on the blackboard}
11	Juuso	⁰ (xxx) ⁰
12 →	Teacher	jos minä sinä hän, me te he laitetaan tähän↓ [minä olin]
		if I you he she we you they are put here I was
		{teacher writes on the blackboard}
13	Tuomo	[((coughs))]
14	Juuso	((yawns))=
15 →	Teacher	=mikä noista vaihtoehdoista↓
		which of those alternatives
		{teacher turns and looks at the class}
16		(-)

The teacher begins the explanation by saying to the pupils that they are going to have a look at the different forms of the verb *to be* in the past tense (line 1-2), that is, she starts to explain the box. On line 4, she refers to the text in the same way as in the previous example (*you have four alternatives there*) and reads aloud

the title of the box in Finnish: *the English verb be has two forms in the past tense* (line 5). Here the teacher complements the explanation in the workbook with her own explanation on the blackboard. On line 12, at the same time as she says: *if I you s/he we you they are put here*, she writes the words on the blackboard and asks the pupils to match the correct verb form with the personal pronouns (lines 10, 15). All the personal pronouns get the correct form of *be* (lines 24-40) thus engaging them in the activity. All the personal pronouns get the correct form of be and after this the teacher adds that the same forms can be used in the negative and sums up the explanation.

In the two examples above, the teacher devoted quite a lot of time to the explanations, also engaging the pupils in the activity as well as adding her own clarifications. In the following example, however, the explanation is fairly brief even though the explanation in the workbook gets even more space than the in the previous example. Consider example 21:

(21) YA2, Translate (852-870)

1 →	Teacher	[menneen tapahtuman] ilmaiseminen↓
		expressing past events
2	Katja	[onks (xxFinnish)　　　]
		is it
3	LM	twenty-two
4	Teacher	elikkä ens viikoks (.) ja sit tehdään se [animal (x)　　　]
		so for next week (.) and then we'll do the
5	Tuomo	[mikä sivu se on]
		which page is it
6	Teacher	fifty-four↓
7		(-)
8	LM	[twenty-four]
9	Mikko	[fifty-four　　]
10	LF	mikä tehtävä=
		which exercise
11	Teacher	=[ne nimittäin kerrataan täällä]
		those will by the way be revised here
12	Tuomo	[twenty-one and 　　　　　] twenty-two niinkö↓ (.)
		was it so
13	Aaro	tämä↓
		this one
14 →	Teacher	kun tapahtuminen, eiku tekeminen <u>tapahtui</u> ja loppui
		when the happening I mean the doing took place and was finished
15		menneisyydessä käytetään muotoa jonka nimi on
		in the past you use a form called
16		imperfekti↓ (-) ja täällä sitten sanotaan että miten tehdään
		the past tense (-) and then it says here how you form
17		kysymyksiä↑ laitatte sen did sanan siihen <u>did</u> you like it↑
		questions you put the word did there
18		what did you say, ja kieltolauseiseen didn´t↓ (.) eli↓ (.)
		and in the the negative sentences didn't (.) so
19		kaksiyksi ja kaksikaksi↓
		twenty-one and twenty-two

First the teacher reads out loud the title in the box (line 1). After a brief sorting out of homework and the current correct page, the teacher begins to read aloud the text in the box (lines 14-16). References are made again to the text: *it says here how to form questions* (lines 16-17). The actual explanation is very brief on lines 17-18, after which they move on to do the exercise as instructed by the teacher (line 19). Here the teacher was not as explicit as in the previous two examples and she left more to the pupils to find out by themselves.

That the grammatical explanations serve as the basis for the task is reinforced also in their later use during the event. Consider the following:

(22) YA2, Translate (1014-1028)

1	Teacher	=[kun sä teet kysymyksen]
		when you form a question
2	L	[<u><called></u>]
3	Teacher	niin sä [tarviit sen did (x)]
		then you'll need the did
4	Tuomo	[what did he said] niinkö
		is it so
5	Teacher	what did he: (.) ja (.) perusmuoto [pääverbistä]
		and the basic form of the main verb
6	Mikko	[<u>said</u>]
7	Teacher	[said]
8	Juuso	[did] somebody [call] eiku
		no I mean
9	Mikko	[ai (x)]
10 →	Teacher	kato [tässä kun on] se esimerkki vielä↑
		look here we have the example
		{teacher points at Tuomo's book}
11	Mikko	[ai niin joo]
		oh yeah
12	Tuomo	what did he say=
13 →	Teacher	=[kato, täälläkään ei lue että did] you <liked>
		look it doesn't say here did you liked
		{teacher points at Tuomo's book}
14	LM	[mikä tuo on tuo kakkonen]
		what is that number two
15 →	Teacher	vaan did you like it↓ what did he say↓
		but
		{teacher points at Tuomo's book}

In this extract, the teacher explains the formation of questions in the past tense again to Tuomo. On lines 1 and 3, she says that the form *did* is needed and, as Tuomo still forms an incorrect sentence: *what did he said* (line 4), she adds that the main verb has to be in the basic form (line 5). Then she refers to the examples in the grammatical explanations given in the text (lines 10, 13, 15) and points at Tuomo's book. A little later in the event, she again refers directly to the explanation in the text:

(23) YA2, Translate (1054-1055)

1	Mikko	tuleeko se d:oes he speaks
		is it does he speaks
2 →	Teacher	(-) katoppa siitä (-) tuosta ohjeesta
		have a look at that instruction

Mikko produces here an inappropriate sentence asking the teacher whether it is correct (line 1) and the teacher tells him to have a look at the instruction (line 2).

To sum up, in all the cases where the text has an explanation concerning grammatical points, it serves as a basis for the exercises that follow. The teacher sees that it is her task to mediate this explanation to the pupils and she does this either very explicitly and thoroughly or she just quickly goes over the main point. The text provides here the focus for the exercises and it is used by the teacher for preparing the pupils for the tasks that follow.

6.3 Text provides linguistic material for activities

The instructions and the general layout of the text provide the framework and purpose for the whole literacy event at hand, and certain elements, such as the word lists, grammatical explanations and prompt texts provide the basis for the task. The core text of the page, however, offers the linguistic material for the activities and talk during the text-processing phase of the event. Text provides the written and spoken texts for the tasks and the prompt texts and grammatical forms used in the tasks. This material is then used in varying ways by the participants.

6.3.1 Written and spoken texts

In events with reading, studying text or listening in focus, the text consists of either continuous text or dialogues such as interviews. The text is either in written or in spoken form, that is, texts are often listened to on the tape and they may or may not be included in the textbook. In the following, a closer look will be taken at how the participants use, firstly, the *read* text, then the *study* text and finally the two spoken texts (i.e. texts on the tape only) in the chapter of the textbook they are working on.

The read text is a continuous text the purpose of which is to practice reading comprehension. The text tells a story about film making in Africa in the early days of the cinema. There is the symbol next to the chapter number, which indicates that the text is also available in spoken form. There are also two pictures on the page. As was already discussed in section 6.1.1 above, the concept of comprehending is not defined and there are no explicit instructions as to how the text should be dealt with. The lines of the text are numbered which suggests that issues can be located in the text by reference to these numbers. The exercise attached to the text suggests that translating and summarizing are the two activities that could be done by the participants. This

is what the textbook offers, but the participants decide how they eventually use the material provided by the textbook.

After listening to the text being read on the tape, the content of the text is talked about by the teacher and the pupils but not in the way the textbook suggests, as the teacher decides not to do the exercise proposed in the textbook. The interaction takes the form of elicits and responses (see section 5.2.2.1). Through these the text is gradually reconstructed point by point. The teacher's elicits concerning the content of the text proceed in the chronological order of the events in the text. Consider, first, the following example:

(24) YA3, Tarzan (lines 788-807)

1	Teacher	a:-ha:=
2	Aaro	=ihanaa (.) (x) **lovely**
3 →	Teacher	eli↓ (.) ennen vuotta kakskytyhdeksän tehtiin paljon **so before the year nineteen twenty-nine they made a lot of**
4		myöskin tota noin nä- (.) e- villieläinelokuvia millä lailla **also well th- wild animal movies in what way**
5	Aaro	uh (-)
6	Teacher	ole hyvä= **please**
7	Aaro	=jos ne niitä sirkuseläimiä **if they those circus animals**
8 →	Teacher	ne käytti sirkuseläimiä↓ [missäs ne kuvattiin] **they used circus animals where were they filmed**
9	Aaro	[(xx)]
10	Aaro	no studiossa= **well in a studio**
11 →	Teacher	=studiossa↓ no↓ mutta (.) [minkä takia] ne sitten päätti lähtee **in a studio well but why did they then decide to go**
12		sillon (.) kakskytyhdeksän afrikkaan tekemään **then in nineteen twenty-nine to Africa to make**
13		kunnollisen (.) villlieläinelokuvan↓ **a proper wild animal movie**
14	L	((sniffs))
15	Mikko	että ei tarvii sitte (.) n- no niin no emmää tiiä **so that they don't have to then well I don't know**
16		tuliks se niinku nii villimmän näkönen tosiaan= **was it kind of wilder looking**
17 →	Teacher	=joo [koska täällä sanottiin] ihmiset oli kyllästyny **yes because it said here that people got fed up**
18	Aaro	[ihmiset oli kyllästyny] **people got fed up**
19 →	Teacher	the au- audiences got fed up with studio jungles↓

This sequence is related to the very beginning of the text and it reads as follows:

> (1) In the early days of the cinema, wild animal films were very popular. (2) At first, the animals used in the films were not wild. (3) They were circus animals. (4) With the help of good trick photography, the actors and actresses did not need to go anywhere near the animals. (5) But audiences soon got fed up with the studio jungles and circus animals, and film makers decided to travel to Africa.
> (6) In March 1929 an American film team arrived in Kenya to make a movie. [17]

The text provides a framework for the teacher's elicits. First the teacher says that before the year nineteen twenty-nine a great deal of wild animal films were made (lines 3 and 4) and then adds a question: *in what way* (line 4). Notice the form of the elicit here. Instead of asking a question, the teacher first states an idea, which roughly corresponds to the first sentence of the text, and continues her elicit with a short elicit in the form of a direct question related to the idea she has just stated. Aaro responds that they used circus animals (line 7) (cf. the second and third sentences in the text), which is confirmed by the teacher (line 8). An elicit follows immediately: w*here were they filmed* (line 8). An implicit answer is provided in the text in the fourth sentence and a more explicit one in the fifth sentence. Aaro provides a response (line 10), which is again confirmed by the teacher (line 11). The teacher's next question is related to sentences 5 and 6 in the text (lines 11-13): w*hy did they decide to go to Africa to make a proper wild animal movie.* The text provides the answer in the fifth sentence and Mikko makes a response (line 16), which is confirmed by the teacher first in Finnish (line 17) and then by reading the sentence in the text (line 19).

The joint effort in retelling and reconstructing the story in Finnish is even more evident in the following extract as the teacher leaves the completion of her utterances to the pupils as well as embeds questions in the middle of the story:

(25) YA3, Tarzan (lines 865-883)

1 →	Teacher	[joo-o↑] ensimmäisellä kerralla käviki kuitenkin
		yes the first time it happened however
2	LM	[nii]
		so
3 →	Teacher	niin että=
		so that
4	Aaro	[(x) krokotiilit]
		the crocodiles
5	Tuomo	[(xxx)]
6	Mikko	[(xx) rikko ne aiat]
		broke the fences
7	Teacher	[joo] ne on niin voimakkaita et ne rikko ne aidat↑
		yes they are so strong that they broke the fences
8	Aaro	[nii]
		yeah

---

[17]   Sentence numbering by the author.

9 →	Teacher	[okei↑] no:,sit nää yritti uudestaan millä lailla
		well they they tried again in what way
10	Aaro	[ne lähti kotia]
		they went home
11	Mikko	[(xxx)]
12 →	Aaro	[no ne rakensi mu-] kolmessa päivässä (.) isomman ja (.)
		well they built in three days a bigger and
13		paremman (.) aian mut sit ne (.) krokotiilit yritti
		better fence but then the crocodiles tried
14		kuitenkin kiertää senkin aian ja
		anyway to go around that fence too and
15 →	Teacher	(x) ne yritti nousta niinkun maahan, maalle sieltä (.) joesta
		they tried to climb up to firm ground from the river
16		nii mitä (.) se aiheutti sitte
		then what did that cause then
17	Aaro	no ne joutu (x) pisteleen takasi sinne veteen kepeillä
		well they had to push them back to the water with sticks
18		niin ne krokotiilit söi ne kepit↓
		so the crocodiles ate the sticks
19	Teacher	joo↓ just
		yes exactly

The part of the text that is related to the participants' talk reads as follows:

---

(20) Soon the river was full of hungry crocodiles. (21) The team shut the gate.

(22) Some of the crocodiles were six meters long. (23) They also had very powerful tails. (24) They simply ate the meat, broke down the fence and returned to the Nile. (25) The film producer was very angry.

(26) It took them three days to build a bigger, stronger fence. (27) They put more bad meat in the river and waited. (28) That night more than two hundred crocodiles arrived to eat the meat. (29) When they couldn't break down the fence, they decided to walk round it. (30) Men with sticks tried to push them back into the river but the crocodiles just ate the sticks.

Just before this extract the teacher and the pupils have established that the film crew had lured crocodiles into a small river (sentences 20 and 21 in the text). On lines 1 and 3, the teacher refers to this first attempt and starts an utterance stopping it with a conjunction *that*. Aaro, Tuomo and Mikko jointly complete the teacher's incomplete utterance (lines 4-6), which roughly corresponds to sentence 24 in the text. The teacher acknowledges this by reformulating the response (line 7) to include sentence 23 in the text. She then goes on with the story: *then they tried again* (line 9) and adds a question: *in what way*. What is again notable is that this question is related to what the teacher has just said. Instead of asking questions on the story, the teacher retells the story and in a way embeds questions to include the pupils in the reconstruction. Aaro makes a lengthy response on lines 12-14 covering sentences 26 and 29 of the text, and finishes his utterance with *and*. Now the teacher continues Aaro's utterance and thus retells the story further (line 15) and again adds a question: *what did that cause then* (line 16). Similarly to the previous embedded questions, a reference is

made with the pronoun *that* to what was just said. On lines 17 and 18 Aaro responds and covers sentence 30 in the text.

The text is reconstructed so that almost every sentence of the text is retold in Finnish as the following example illustrates:

(26) YA3, Tarzan (886-901)

1	Teacher	just↓ elikkä sit seuraavana aamuna ku tota noin ne oli
		right so the next morning when they were
2		vihdoin viimein ne krokotiilit kaikki siellä joessa <u>taas</u>,
		at last all the crocodiles back in the river again
3		niin (.) oli kuitenkin minkälainen sää↓
		so it was however what kind of weather
4	Aaro	[niin pilvinen sää] [ettei voinu kuvata]
		so cloudy that they couldn't film
5 →	Katja	[u:h, sumunen]
		foggy
6 →	Teacher	[sumunen ja taikka] pilvinen sää
		foggy and or cloudy wheather
7		ei voitukaan kuvata↓ elikkä ne ajatteli et no okei huomenna
		they couldn't film so they thought that okay tomorrow
8		sitte↓ (.) mutta siin oli vaikeuksia niitten krokotiilien
		then but there were problems with the crocodiles
9 →		kans koska
		(with) because
10 →	Mikko	sinne tuli pari sataa krokotiilia, e:iku e:iku e:i=
		a couple of hundred crocodiles came no no I mean
11	Katja	=ne- ne tota: (.) [um]
		they they well
12 →	Mikko	[hyökkäs]
		attacked
13 →	Teacher	they were very hungry and angry=
14	Katja	=ai: nälkäsiä ja [(.)] [vihasia]
		oh hungry and angry
15	Heidi	[vihasia]
		angry
16	Teacher	[vihasia] aivan oikein, no
		angry quite right well

The part of the text that is related to the participants' talk reads as follows:

(31) Somehow they managed to get the crocodiles back in the river by morning. (32) Unfortunately it was cloudy and they could not do any filming. (33) The team tried to keep the crocodiles in the river for another night but they were very hungry and very angry.

First the teacher retells sentence 31 in the text on lines 1-2 and begins to reconstruct the idea of the next sentence (line 3). She involves the pupils in the reconstruction by adding a question about the quality of the weather. Both Aaro (line 4) and Katja (line 5) respond by saying that the weather was cloudy or foggy, thus covering sentence number 32. The teacher repeats the answer

correcting it slightly and goes on with the story (lines 6-9). Again she stops in the middle of her utterance with a conjunction and calls for a completion (line 9). Mikko responds (line 10) but his answer is not appropriate. He notices it himself as he says: *no I mean I mean no*. Katja attempts to make a contribution (line 11) and Mikko also tries again (line 12). Neither of these attempts is appropriate, however, as the teacher resorts to the text and reads a part of sentence number 33 aloud (line 13). Katja, echoed by Heidi, then translates this and it is accepted by the teacher. Thus, these three sentences of the story were all covered jointly in the correct order by the participants.

The *read* text focuses on practising reading comprehension. This purpose becomes realized in different classroom activities through the participant's interpretation of the task. In this event, reading comprehension means giving the text an oral form as well as being able to reconstruct the text in the native language. Understanding is accomplished jointly by the teacher and the pupils with the teacher leading the activities.

As was discussed in section 6.2.2, the written texts in events with listening in focus provides a basis for the activity of listening. The spoken text that is only listened to is, in fact, very similar to the written dialogue of the *study* text. The difference is that in the listening tasks, the pupils do not have the text in written form in the textbook. In the same way, the activity in the event with listening in focus comprises of the joint reconstructing of the spoken text by the teacher and the pupils. The exercise that is attached to the text *Animal Jobs* also suggests this. The first exercise consists of five sentences that have to be completed according to the text. These are:

1. One morning an old lady ...
2. I drove to see what ...
3. I opened the garden gate and ...
4. Suddenly a tiger ...
5. The lady had forgotten to tell me ...

The spoken text on the tape is as follows:

well (.) one morning (.) this old lady (.) called me, (.) and asked me to come over and do something about (.) a strange cat in her neighbor´s back garden↓ (.) so I drove there to see what was the matter, I opened the garden gate and went in, (.) suddenly, a tiger jumped at me↓ ● well luckily●, it was on the end of a chain↓ (.) the lady had just forgotten to tell me that the cat was in fact a tiger.

In their interaction, the participants seek to complete the sentences so that they match those in the spoken text as example 27 shows:

(27) YA2, Animal Jobs (567-591)

1   Teacher   so[,   ] try again, Juuso=

```
2       Aaro            [(xx)]
3 →     Juuso           =uh one morning an old lady uh °emmää [muista°    ]
                                                              I can't remember
4       LL                                                          [((laughter))]
5 →     Aaro            talked  [talked me] and asked me to came=
6       Teacher             [ I think   ]
7 →                     =that´s right, called [me↑   ]
8 →     Juuso                                  [ai niin  ] called, nii joo=
                                               oh yeah called well yes
9 →     Aaro            =and asked me[ to came      ]
10 →    Teacher                      [   asked me: ], to come over↓=
11→     Aaro            =come over [and (x)     ]
12      Teacher                    [that´s right]
13 →                    [I drove to see what       ]
14      Aaro            [the neighbor neighbor´s ] cat was a strange cat=
15      Tuomo           =the: what´s the matter ((laughs))=
16      Teacher         =yes what the matter wa:s↓
17      LM              [ai niin          ]
                        oh yeah
18      Juuso           [and I opened] the garden gate and:
19      Teacher         [    yeah     ]
20      Juuso           went in↓
21      Teacher         that´s right↑ [ an:d   ]
22 →    Aaro                          [then the] tiger [ jumped       ]
23 →    Juuso                                          [tiger jumped]  (.) u:h
24      Mikko           yhet ihan innoi- [tiger jumped]
                        they got all excited
25 →    Teacher                          [    at me↑   ] mm-m↑ (.) and
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After listening to the tape, the teacher asks Juuso to try to complete the first sentence (line 1) . Juuso begins by reading aloud the beginning of the sentence (line 3) but says then that he cannot remember. Thus Juuso realizes that not any continuation is possible: it has to match the text on tape and he cannot remember it. Aaro makes an attempt (line 5) and the teacher encourages him and, as Aaro's response was not quite appropriate, corrects the first verb form (line 7). Juuso says the continuation again with the correct form of the verb (line 8) and Aaro also continues (line 9). The second verb form is also erroneous and the teacher corrects that one as well (line 10). Now the first sentence is complete and the teacher acknowledges this (line 12). She then starts the second sentence (line 13). Now Tuomo completes it (line 15) and confirmation is given by the teacher (line 16). Similarly, the next two sentences are completed jointly by the teacher and the pupils. Thus, the first part of the spoken text gets reconstructed by the participants. The purpose seems to be to make the written and the spoken text match.

Similarly, the second exercise encourages the participants to focus on a few central points in the story. The questions printed in the textbook are as follows:

What animals does Sydney work with?
What was his farther in circus?
Where do they get their animals?
How long do the animals stay if they are good?
Why did a lioness grab Sydney's leg?

Now consider the stretch of spoken text against the questions:

Female voice:	as you can hear, here i am in a circus (.) (xx) circus to be exact (.) standing beside me is sydney brooks (.) he´s a lion tamer (.) but he works with other animals too↓ (.) **what animals do you work with syd**
Male voice:	i´ve got all sorts of animals, tigers, chimps, lions (.) you just called me a lion tamer but uh i´m not really, in fact i hate that word tamer, you don´t tame wild animals, you train them↓
Female voice:	well, °sorry° u:h, how did you get into this business↓ working in a circus↓ in the first place syd
Male voice:	well i more or less grew up in a circus, (.) my father was a clown, my mother sold tickets and helped clean the cages↓
Female voice:	many people feel that circuses are cruel to animals↓ (.) what´s your opinion.
Male voice:	i: don´t think circuses are cruel to animals, (.) i´ve been in this business for twenty years, and i love working with animals↓ (.) you can´t train them if they don´t respect you, and they´ll never respect you if you don´t treat them right↓
Female voice:	**where >do you< get your animals from**, your lions for example
Male voice:	uh, from safari parks↓ (.) some of them are real (x) and learn quickly↓ if they´re good, they stay maybe (.) fourteen or fifteen years↓ this one (xxx) so we take him back and try another↓

Two of the questions in the text are, in fact, questions presented by the interviewer on the tape (bold face in the text above). The answers to the questions can be again directly found in the text (see the underlined parts above). By reproducing a stretch of spoken text, the pupils can give an appropriate response. Now consider the interaction related to the questions and the spoken text:

(28) YA2, Animal Jobs (686-711)

1 →	Teacher	=let´s take the first (.) questions↓what [animals does]
2	Aaro	[(xx)]
3 →	Teacher	sydney work with↓ [(x)] lions but also: heidi↓
4	L	[((coughs))]
5	Teacher	tell me↓ (.) did you get any other animals lions and,
6	Heidi	[u:h]
7	Aaro	[chimpan-]=
8	Teacher	chimps [and]
9	Aaro	[tigers]
10 →	Teacher	tigers↓ okay↑ and, what was his father in a circus
11	Teacher	don´t tell me before I can ask Katja

12	Katja	clown=
13 →	Teacher	=a clown↓ and his mother, [(xxx)]
14	Juuso	[°clown°]
15	Teacher	[what did his mot-]
16	Aaro	[sold tickets]
17→	Teacher	sold tickets, good, (.) and uh
18	Teacher	where do they get their animals: ↓
19	Aaro	in the sa-=
20	Teacher	=Tuomo↓
21	Tuomo	emmää sitä oo[saanu]
		I didn't get that
22	Teacher	[you didn´t get this]
23	Aaro	[(x) safari]
24	Teacher	from the safari park↓ that was that↓ (.) and how long
25	Teacher	do the animals stay↑ if they are good↓
26	Tuomo	u::h four to fif:teen years↓
27 →	Teacher	yes↓ fourteen to fifteen years↓ and now the last question↓

The participants go through the questions fairly quickly and efficiently. The answers are short and easily spotted in the spoken text and therefore there is no need for lengthy discussions over the possible answers. Therefore the elicits and responses reflect a routine with questions connected by *and* (see section 5.2.2.1). The teacher reads out loud the questions and the pupils answer them with single words. There is only one question that is not printed in the textbook. There is a question about Sydney's father and the teacher asks a follow-up question about Sydney's mother (line 13) but that too is simply answered by one word.

In the event with the text labelled as *study*, the text is an interview and thus takes the form of dialogue. Similarly to the *read* text, there is the symbol for the tape and the lines of the text are numbered. As there are no instructions, the participants can decide how to use the text. The exercise proposed in the textbook consists of questions concerning the text. There are eleven questions printed in the book and the instruction is: *Ask your friend these questions about the text*. The Finnish instruction in the margin adds that *your partner answers according to the text*. The questions are as follows:

Does Bill Martin's family live in England or the USA?
Do they have a terrier or a collie?
Was the dog called Queenie or Rusty?
Did she have five or six puppies?
Did they sleep in the house or in the barn?
Was it a coyote or a wolf that tried to get at the pups?

Why was Queenie still very weak?
Why weren't Bill's family at home on Friday evening?
How did they know something was wrong when they came home?
How did Rusty chase the coyote away?
What kind of cat was Rusty?

The instruction given in the textbook was followed in the previous lesson as the pupils worked on the questions in pairs. In this event the participants return to these questions as instructed by the teacher. The teacher focuses, however, only on the latter set of the questions, that is, the last five questions. The first set is not referred to. The teacher's instruction is as follows:

(29) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (466-472)

```
1 →   Teacher      so: last week you [asked      ] these questions↑
2     LM                              [((yawns))]
3 →   Teacher      but, let´s see if you can remember↓ why was queenie
4                  still very weak↓ what did you answer↓ [(-) ] last week
5     Juuso                                              [mm]
6     Teacher      do you remember why was (.) queenie the dog
7                  still very weak
```

Again the teacher refers to the previous lesson (line 1) and reminds the pupils that they have asked the questions in the book and that now they want to see whether they still remember them (line 3). Consequently, she starts to ask the questions by reading aloud the first question (lines 3 and 4). The way she elicits responses differs from that in *read* text event. Consider the following extract:

(30) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (488-497)

```
1 →   Teacher      =and why weren´t bill´s family at home on friday evening↓
2     Juuso        they were at (.) the movies=
3     Teacher      =yeah they went to the movies↓ that´s right↓
4     Juuso        all right=
5 →   Teacher      =to the cinema↓ and how did they know that
6                  something was wrong when they came home↑
7     Tuomo        they heard barking↓
8 →   Teacher      yes↓ loud barking↓ and growling. in the barn↓ an:d,
9                  how did rusty chase the coyote away↓ (.) rusty is
10                 the cat↓
```

In this extract the teacher's elicits equal to the questions in the textbook and thus they take the form of direct questions. Each of the questions (lines 1, 5 and 8) begin with the word *and*. Thus the teacher links the questions to each other and shows that they are just routinely asked and also that they are questions printed in the textbook (see section 5.2.2.1). These elicits clearly differ from the ones in the event with the *read* text. Those questions were not chained with *and* as they were not printed in the textbook and they were not just routinely asked. The questions in this event are, however, asked to check whether the pupils still remember what they already did in the previous lesson and perhaps also to check that they have answered the questions correctly.

Each of the questions can be answered by reading one sentence or part of a sentence in the text. Thus, the text gives a direct answer to each question and, like those they answered in relation to the *read* text, the text is partly reproduced in the activity of asking and answering questions. In addition to going through the content of the text by questions, the text is also used to focus

attention on certain linguistic forms. This is done through the activity of underlining text. The book does not provide any specific instructions on how to "study" a text. As with reading aloud the word lists and listening to texts being read, underlining seems to be an activity familiar to the participants. By underlining certain forms in the text, the teacher directs the pupils' attention towards these forms. They might be examples of specific vocabulary or expressions, or certain grammatical forms. The teacher does not specify the purpose of underlining to the pupils. Her instruction is:

(31) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (518-521)

1	Teacher	so let´s try to underline these things↓
		{teacher points at the blackboard}
2	L	((laughs))
3	Teacher	or these sentences↓ I have (.) one mistake here↓
		{teacher goes to the blackboard and writes on it}
4		pikkusiskoni ei<u>vät</u> (.) halun<u>neet</u> ha lun neet↓
		my little sisters didn't want to
		{teacher writes on the blackboard}

She asks the pupils to underline certain *things* (lines 1) and specifies them further as *sentences* (line 3) (see section 7.1.1 for the lexical choices). She has written some sentences in Finnish on the blackboard while they were listening to the tape. Here she refers to these sentences by noting that she has made one mistake on the blackboard. She says the correct sentence (line 4) and simultaneously wipes out the mistake and rewrites the sentence on the blackboard. The activity of underlining is accomplished through elicit-response sequences:

(32) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (532-553)

1 →	Teacher	and then number two, queenie synnytti viisi pentua↓
		Queenie gave birth to five pups
2		once again↓ [(-)　　] once again, how about (.)
3	LM	[(xxx)]
4	Teacher	one of the girls (.) [eeva how would you　　]
5 →	Mikko	[　　queenie gave birth] to
6		five (.) pups=
7 →	Teacher	=that´s right↑
8		(-)
9	Tuomo	queenie gave birth [to five pups]
10	Eeva	[missä se on]
		where is it
11	Tuomo	[siinä](.) billin tota siinä [ala-]
		there under Bill er there
12	Teacher	[tässä]　　　　　　　　[over] here↓
		here
13 →		gave birth (.) to five pups↓ (-) pikkusiskoni
		my little sisters
14		eivät halunneet jättää queeniä↓
		didn't want to leave Queenie
15 →	Tuomo	my little sisters *didn´t* want to leave queenie=

16 →	Teacher	=good↓ my little sisters [didn´t want] to leave
17	Aaro	[missä se on]
		where is it
18	Teacher	queenie↓
19	Aaro	niin tuolla↓
		so there
20	Juuso	missä se on
		where is it
21	Teacher	it´s line (.) nine↓
22	Juuso	jaa tuossa↓
		oh there

The teacher reads aloud the questions she has written and numbered on the blackboard in Finnish (lines 1, 13-14). The pupils find them in their books and read aloud (lines 5-6, 9, 15) and underline them in their books. In this way the participants proceed through the activity of underlining sentences in the text. The teacher does not explicate the purpose of underlining nor does she say why these specific sentences are underlined. It could be speculated that the purpose of underlining is to direct the pupils' attention to past tense forms as all the sentences underlined contain verbs in the past tense.

Thus, the dialogue text that the textbook offers for studying text in a foreign language is used in this classroom in two ways. Firstly, the content is talked about briefly through elicits and responses, which display a routine character. Secondly, the text is used to focus on certain forms, which are then underlined in the text. Therefore, *studying text*, an activity which is not defined in the textbook, is turned into two activities in the classroom.

To sum up, the textbook provides the linguistic material – written and spoken – for reading, studying and listening. In all of these cases, the text is reconstructed jointly by the participants. The *read* text is reconstructed point by point in the chronological order of the events in the text through elicits and responses. Thus, the text provides a framework for the elicits and responses. The purpose of practising reading comprehension becomes thus realized in different classroom activities: reading comprehension means giving the text an oral form as well as being able to reconstruct the text in the native language. In the same way, *listening* to spoken text comprises of reconstructing the spoken text jointly by the teacher and the pupils. The written text on the page has to be matched with the spoken text on the tape. S*tudying text*, an activity which is not defined in the textbook, is turned into two activities in the classroom: the content is talked about briefly through elicits and responses and certain forms are underlined in the text. Consequently, the participants interpret the purpose of the task – whether specified or not in the textbook – in a certain way and this is reflected in the activities that they choose to carry out. The text thus serves as a basis for the classroom activities.

6.3.2 Grammatical forms

What the text also provides is grammatical forms to be used in the tasks. This means that certain texts focus on grammar and thus provide material for practising the forms in question. This mainly concerns exercises on grammar in

the workbook, and the prompt texts and examples in the textbook which are used for the production of structures. The exercises consist of two types of material. Firstly, there is a stretch of text or a set of sentences with gaps to be filled in by the forms in focus. Secondly, there are sentences in Finnish that have to be translated or connected to corresponding sentences in English. The prompt texts are, in fact, pictures, which serve as hints for producing sentences similar to the model sentences given. The grammatical forms offered by the text lead to very different kinds of activities. They are used in joint activities or the pupils work on them individually or in pairs. The activities around the texts transform them, and thus materials which look similar become very different in the activities. In the following, I will first discuss the use of exercises with gaps, then exercises with sentences and, finally, prompt texts and pictures.

Exercises with gaps

Gap-filling exercises are used in two very different ways in this classroom. One leads to a routine activity of checking homework and the other to a joint construction of the text. In the former case, the exercise has sentences with gaps. The first part of the sentence contains a verb in the present tense in bold face and the second part has a gap that has to be filled in with the past tense form of the same verb. The exercise very strictly limits what can fill the gap: a given verb in the past tense in a form that fits the semantic context. Thus the text offers a linguistic context for specific forms. Consider example 33:

(33) YA3, Gaps in sentences (152-161)

```
1      Mikko      mm↓ (.) they didn´t speak finnish, they only  (.) s- (.)
2                 spoke english=
3 →    Teacher    =mm-h↑ (.) right↑ (.) sitte=
                             then
4      Aaro       =u:h (.) I didn´t make coffee I: made tea=
5      Teacher    =good↓
6      Juuso      we didn´t eat anything in: the morning we only:
7                 (.) ate in the afternoon↓=
8 →    Teacher    =mm-h↑ seven (-) mites:=
                             how
9      Katja      =I didn´t meet any people, I only met my old ºfriendsº
10     Teacher    any new people I only met nonni↑ ei yhtään hassumpaa↓
                             okay not bad at all
```

Here the procedure of going through the sentences is fairly quick and efficient and has a routine character. The task is carried out through elicit-response sequences and the elicits are connected to each other with markers such as *then* (line 3) and *how* (line 8). *Then* and *how* function here similarly to *and* discussed in section 5.2.2.1. The focus is clearly on the past tense forms of specific verbs as the pupils say these forms with emphasis (lines 2, 4 and 7). It is interesting that this is done by the pupils but not by the teacher when she confirms one of the sentences by repeating it; instead, she emphasizes an adjective (line 10). This exercise was homework for the pupils and they all had done it at home.

Therefore, there is no need to negotiate over the answers. Instead, the exercise is simply checked through routine questions.

The exercise changes, however, with the last item. The first seven sentences in the exercise each have one gap that has to be filled in with a verb. The eighth sentence is a blank sentence. The pupils are supposed to invent a sentence, which would, however, follow the same model. In example 34, the interaction among the participants differs quite radically from that in example 33. When the linguistic context does not strictly determine the forms needed, the interaction also changes from a routine mode with unproblematic responses to a negotiation over the sentence to be formed:

(34) YA3, Gaps in sentences (162-201)

1	Teacher	(.) pitäis tehdä yksi oik- oma lause ja se tulee heidille **you should form one sentence of your own and it is Heidi's turn**
2		(-)
3 →		keksippäs joku, i didn´t , ja sitte, <u>but</u> **invent one I didn't and then but**
4 →	Heidi	i didn´t sing a song
5	Teacher	i didn´t sing a song↑
6	Aaro	[(xxx)]
7	L	[i didn´t (xx)]
8		(-)
9	Teacher	mitäs [(xx)] **what**
10	Tuomo	[i didn´t *sing*] *a song*
11	Aaro	[((laughs)) i didn´t] *sing a song*
12	Teacher	[i:]
13 →		en laulanut laulua vaan= **I didn't sing a song but**
14	Tuomo	=sing sang song sing sang song
15	LL	[((laughter))]
16	Juuso	[i:] (.) i (.) u:h
17 →	Teacher	mitään muuta ei voi laulaa kun laulun vai **nothing else can be sung but a song or**
18		(-)
19 →	Mikko	no voihan laulun lausua **but you can recite a song**
20	Teacher	[mm-h↑]
21 →	Mikko	[siis] niinku runoja **yes like poems**
22→	Teacher	mutta jos pitäis käyttää samaa verbiä i didn´t sing [a song] **but what about if you have to use the same verb**
23	Mikko	[jaa] **aha**
24 →	Teacher	i sang (.)
25 →	Aaro	a sing
26	LL	[((laughter))]=
27 →	Tuomo	=i sing a sang
28 →	Juuso	[i sang a sing]
29	Teacher	[i sa:ng]
30	Aaro	((laughs))
31 →	Tuomo	i sang a sing

32	Teacher	(-) mitähän me laitetaan tähän
		what shall we put here
33		(1)
34	Juuso	[i] sa:ng, mitäköhän mää laittasin, sang
		what could I put
35	LM	[(x)]
36 →	Teacher	i sang (-) no pannaan näin, i sang an opera
		well let's put it like this
37		jos se on jotain muuta kun laulu↓ (.) en laulanut
		if it is something else than a song (.) I didn't sing
38		laulua lauloinkin oopperan. [kuulostaa] kyllä ihan
		a song I sang an opera it sounds really
39	Tuomo	[mm]
40	Teacher	hullulta (.) mut se oli idea↓ o:kay sitten katotaan
		funny but that was the idea okay then we'll have a look

The teacher says that now they need to form one sentence of their own (line 1) and assigns Heidi to do it. Notice the expression *sentence of your own* in contrast to the sentences given in the workbook. The teacher further gives Heidi instructions how to do it: invent something starting with *I didn't* and continuing with *but* (line 3). Heidi begins her sentence: *I didn't sing a song* (line 4) and stops there. The teacher repeats this with a rising intonation to indicate that she is waiting for it to continue (line 5). Aaro and another pupil mumble something inaudible (lines 6 and 7) and then there is a fairly long pause. The pupils repeat the first part and the teacher even says it in Finnish, perhaps to make the task of inventing a sentence easier (line 13). Tuomo plays with the words (line 14). Now the semantic content of the sentence is in focus: the participants try to think of something other than a song that could be sung (lines 17, 19, 21 and 22). The teacher begins the second part of the sentence: *I sang* and pauses (line 24). Now the boys begin to play with the words (lines 25, 27, 28 and 31). Finally, the teacher solves the problem with *I sang an opera* (line 36). She admits that it may sound a little funny but that it serves the purpose which was, after all, to practise verb forms (lines 38 and 40). With this item the linguistic context that the text provides for the verb forms is open, in contrast to the earlier items in which only a single word needed to be filled in. This seemed to transform the talk among the participants from a routine question-answer to a lively discussion over the possibilities.

The other exercise with gaps contains a short continuous text from which all the verbs have been omitted. The verbs are placed in a box next to the text and they have to be put in their correct places. This text offers the participants a different kind of activity. The interaction does not display a routine character. Instead, it becomes a joint venture in structuring the text with the pupils in a more prominent interactional role than the teacher:

(35) YA1, Fill in (758-789)

1	Teacher	but we [saw how]
2 →	Tuomo	[saw how] she fell (.)
3	Teacher	yes↑ (.)
4 →	Mikko	fell down and the *coyote*=

```
 5 →  Juuso      =°growled°
 6 →  Tuomo      uh (.) tried to get (-)
 7    Juuso      (x) sehän on [helppo    ]
                      but that is easy
 8    Aaro                  [   kiinni↓]
                              catch
 9    Tuomo      °mm tried to get [((mumbles))] °
10    Juuso                      [      rusty ]=
11    Teacher     = tuomo (.) annetaas nyt muittenkin-
                      let's give the others a chance
12    LL          ((laughter))
13    Aaro        niin [tuomo ]
                      yes
14    Juuso          [ täähän] rupes nyt menemään hyvin
                      this started off so well
15    Teacher     a:-lähti kyllä hyvin [täytyy sanoo.]
                   it started well I have to say
16    Tuomo                           [ but we::    ] we saw eiku  (.) we saw
                                          no I mean
17    Juuso       eiku missä me [ollaan menossa], ai tossa (.)
                   no where are we now oh there
18    Teacher                  [ mm-m↑       ]
19 →  Juuso       °uh tried°
20    Juuso       mitä then rusty=
                   what then Rusty
21    Aaro        = mikä [tää on      ]
                      what's this
22 →  Juuso             [then rusty: ] (.) *ran↓* eiku=
                                          no I mean
23    Aaro        =[eeikä kun eei]
                   no I mean no
24    Teacher      [   (x)     ]=
25 →  Juuso       =slashed
26 →  Teacher     at [the  ]doorway
27    LM             [(xx)]
28 →  Aaro        appeared
29    Tuomo       [ap-           ]
30 →  Teacher     [  hyvä        ]
                      good
31    Juuso       [n-appeared n-uh]
32    Teacher     ilmestyi (.) oviaukkoon↓ appeared at the doorway=
                   appeared at the doorway
```

The participants are jointly filling in the verbs in the text. This is in clear contrast to the interaction in example 31. The teacher's first utterance on line 1 is a confirmation for a response a pupil has just made. Tuomo goes on filling in the text with the verb *fell* (line 2) and the teacher accepts this (line 3). Then Mikko continues reading the sentence aloud until the next gap (line 4). Both Juuso (line 5) and Tuomo (line 6) make an attempt to fill in the gap. Tuomo has filled in several of the gaps and so the teacher asks him to give the other pupils a chance as well (11). The verb *tried* is proposed again (line 19) by Juuso but he is not happy with it and first suggests *ran* (line 22) and then *slashed* (line 25). None of these are appropriate and the teacher shows this by reading aloud the rest of the sentence: *at the doorway* (line 26) thus indicating that these verbs are

not suitable in this context. Finally, Aaro suggest the verb *appear* and this is acknowledged by the teacher (lines 30 and 32). The accomplishment of the task is clearly a joint venture by the teacher and the pupils. The pupils are, in fact, very active in finding suitable forms and the teacher only guides them into the right direction.

As examples 33, 34 and 35 show, a text may provide the same kind of material in two different events but the activities that follow can, nevertheless, be quite different from each other. Consequently, the instructional text alone does not always dictate the kind of talk and activities to be engaged in. Instead, the text is meant to be exploited and it acquires meaning only when used in a particular situation by particular participants.

Sentences

Some of the exercises that focus on grammatical points consist of a set of sentences. These sentences in Finnish have to be matched with corresponding sentences in English so that the verb forms expressing tense are equivalent in meaning. The isolated sentences obviously have a semantic meaning as sentences but they are also connected to each other so that they appear to form a story. Some of the sentences are questions and some are answers to these. In this way the sentences resemble a dialogue between two people. The sentences are, however, numbered and they are placed on separate lines. The connectedness of the sentences is treated differently by the participants. Firstly, the pupils make jokes about the apparent connections and, secondly, the teacher uses them to form her elicits.

First of all, the pupils make fun of the apparent semantic meanings between the sentences. The exercise has twelve sentences in Finnish with translations in English next to them. Each English sentence has two alternatives for the main verb or the auxiliary (e.g. *have/had* or *talks/talked*). The pupils have to circle the alternative that corresponds to the Finnish sentence. The sentences appear to be connected so that they form a little story. The sentences are:

1. Meillä oli koira.	We have/had a dog.
2. Pidin siitä hyvin paljon.	I like/liked it a lot.
3. Mistä te saitte sen?	Where do/did you get it?
4. Saimme sen maalta.	We get/got it from the countryside.
5. Nyt meillä on kultakaloja.	Now we have/had goldfish.
6. Ne syövät kalanruokaa.	They eat/ate fish food.
7. Papukaijani puhuu paljon.	My parrot talks/talked a lot.
8. Veljeni ei pidä siitä.	My brother doesn't/didn't like it.
9. Emme ostaneet sitä täältä.	We don't/didn't buy it here.
10. Ostimme sen Lontoosta.	We buy/bought it in London.
11. Se oli kallis.	It is/was expensive.
12. Pidätkö eläimistä?	Do/Did you like animals?

Consider now the interaction around this piece of text:

(36) YA3, Circle (469-496)

1	Mikko	=[veljeni ei pidä siitä] emme ostaneet [sitä täältä]
		my brother doesn't like it we didn't buy it here
2	Teacher	[no se on ihan oikein]
		well that's quite right
3		[ja toi on oikein]
		and that one is correct
4 →	Mikko	ihan [ku puhuis siitä veljestä]
		as if one talks about the brother
5	Teacher	[saimme] sen maalta
		we got it from the country
6		eli sekin [on tapahtunu jo]
		so that too has happened already
7	Aaro	[((laughs))]
8	Teacher	eli se [tulee]
		so it is
9	Tuomo	[onks] mistä te [saittekin]
		is it where did you get
10	L	[(xx)]
11 →	Mikko	((laughs)) ●ostimme sen [lontoosta●]
		we bought it in London
12	Tuomo	[onks sekin] nii (.) tapahtunu
		has that too like happened
13		ennen
		already before
14 →	Aaro	[veli] ostettiin [lontoosta]
		the brother was bought in London
15	Teacher	[on] [(xxx)]
		yes
16		[(xx) saatte sen]
		you can get it
17	Mikko	[lontoon mustasta pörssistä]
		on the black market in London
18	Juuso	mistä sen näkee
		how do you see it
19	LF	emmää tiiä onko se
		I don't know if it is
20	Aaro	we [didn´t]
21 →	Juuso	[veljeni ei pidä siitä] ●emme ostaneet veljeä täältä●
		my brother doesn't like it we didn't buy a brother here
22	Mikko	[kasi ja ysi]
		eight and nine
23 →	Juuso	[uh ostimme ve- veljeni lontoosta]
		we bought my brother in London
24	LF	[(xxx)]
25	LF	(xx)
26	LF	[(xxx)]
27	Juuso	[ihan kun se (xx)]
		just as if
28	Aaro	ostimme sen lontoosta↓ veljenkö↓
		we bought him in London was it a brother

Mikko reads aloud the sentence: *my brother does not like it*, as well as the next sentence: *we did not buy it here* (line 1). On line 4 he remarks that the second sentence sounds as if they were talking about the brother[18]. This is in fact true: the reference is ambiguous. *It* could refer both to *the parrot* and *the brother* and *the brother* is, in fact, closer to the reference than *the parrot*. On line 11, Mikko goes on with the sentences and notices that the sentence *we bought it in London* could also refer to the brother. Aaro joins in the joke (line 14) and Mikko goes on joking about the brother being bought in London (line 17). Juuso also sees the fun in the connected sentences and replaces *it* by *my brother* in the sentences (lines 21 and 23). Through making fun of the sentences and their meanings, the boys create their own meaning to the story. At the same time they are criticizing the artificiality of the apparent connection between the sentences in the exercise.

Secondly, the teacher makes use of the connectedness of the sentences in eliciting responses. In the following example, the focus is also on the past tense. The exercise has twelve sentences and the pupils have to decide whether they need *was, were, wasn't* or *weren't* in the corresponding English sentences. These forms are marked by the letters A, B, C and D respectively. The teacher is eliciting responses from the pupils but she does not go through the sentences in their right order. The layout of the sentences is as follows:

1. Missä olit eilen? (Where were you yesterday?)	7. Jodykin oli poissa. (Jody was absent too.)
2. Olitko sairas? (Were you sick?)	8. Olimme retkellä. (We were on a picnic.)
3. Etkö ollut koulussa? (Weren't you at school?)	9. Missä te olitte? (Where were you?)
4. En ollut. (No, I wasn't.)	10. Emme olleet kaukana. (We weren't far.)
5. Oliko opettaja vihainen? (Was the teacher angry?)	11. Tom ja Tim eivät olleet mukana. (Tom and Tim weren't with us.)
6. Ei ollut. (No, s/he wasn't.)	12. Olivatko he sairaita? (Were they sick?)

The teacher goes through the sentences so that the answers to 1 and 7 are checked first, then 2 and 8. This is because the teacher has a copy of the page with the correct answers as an overhead transparency, and she uncovers the sentences from top to bottom. Thus they go through the sentences in the wrong order. Consider now the following extract:

(37) YA3, ABCD (333-398)

1 → Teacher   o:kay (-) no jos hän kysyy sulta että weren´t you at
                okay well if s/he asks you weren't you at
2 →   school ja sää vastaat en ollut↓
                school and you answer I wasn't

---

[18]   In spoken Finnish, you can refer to a person by the pronoun *it*.

3	Tuomo	[mm]
4	Teacher	[no]
		well
5	Tuomo	uh (.) no i (.) u:h (.) wasn´t, nii

(51 lines omitted)

6 →	Teacher	no jos (-) heidi kysyy mi- juusolta että was the
		well if Heidi asks Mi- Juuso was the
7 →		teacher angry ja sun pitäis vastata ei ollut
		teacher angry and you have to answer that s/he wasn't
8		(-)
9	Juuso	mitä
		what
10→	Teacher	miten sä vastaisit ei ollut, [was] the teacher angry↑
		how would you answer no s/he wasn't
11	Juuso	[uh]
12	Teacher	[no↑]
13	Juuso	[mm] (.) no: uh he [(.) wasn´t], [eiku he wasn´t]
		no I mean
14	Aaro	[she]
15	Teacher	[he wasn´t]
16		tai sh- he tai she, sillei oo väliä. olivatko he sairaita
		or sh- he or she it doesn't matter were they ill

The first six sentences (numbers 1 and 7, 2 and 8, 3 and 9 in the exercise) have already been worked on and none of the participants pointed out the connection between the sentences. Obviously, the sentences do not have any connection if they are not read in their correct order. On lines 1 and 2 in this extract, however, the teacher creates a context for the fourth sentence (*No, I wasn't.*) She engages the pupils in a question-answer sequence by wondering what Tuomo would answer to Mikko's question: *weren't you at school.* She further points out that Tuomo has to answer: *I wasn't*, which is sentence number 4 in the exercise. Tuomo then responds (line 5). A little later in the event, the teacher creates a similar context for the sixth sentence: *no, s/he wasn't.* On lines 6 and 7, she says that if Heidi asks Juuso whether the teacher was angry and Juuso should answer that s/he wasn't, what would Juuso say. The teacher repeats the elicit on line 10. Juuso makes a response on line 13. Thus, the teacher creates a context for the two very short sentences, which displayed responses to questions (*No, I wasn't* and *No, s/he wasn't.*) Otherwise the little story that the sentences appear to contain was not referred to. Apparently, the context is needed only for the short sentences, which appear to have no meaning in themselves and thus call for an explanation.

In one event, one set of sentences is meant to be translated into English. The pupils first have to tick all the Finnish sentences that are in the past tense and then translate them into English. The translated sentences have to be written in the pupils' notebooks. Thus the pupils have to produce written language and its production is directed by the text. The text shapes the activity so that the talk revolves around the sentences to be produced. Although the aim is to produce sentences in writing, talk is central in the event. Consider example 38:

(38) YA2, Translate (1075-1105)

```
1 →  Tuomo      [did you see something↓      ] [ did you see something]
2 →  Katja      [ miten someone  kirjotetaan  ]
                   how do you spell someone
3    Teacher                              [s::o  (.)                ]
4    LF         [   some                       ]
5    Aaro       [ hei, mää en (x) ees (x) sitä where] did you go
                   hey I don't (x) even (x) that

6    Katja      emmää osaa[tehä näitä]
                I don't know how to do these
7    Teacher              [ mutta    ][jotakin↓   ]
                            but         something
8    Juuso                 [ei kai niitä][kaikkia (.)          ]
                            not all of them
9 →  Tuomo                             [♪where did you go♪]
10   Juuso      [kaikkia näitä piä tehä        ]
                we don't have do all of these
11   LL         [   (xxx)                  ]
12   Teacher    [             someone on joku]
                                means someone
13   Katja      [soittiko joku]
                did somebody call
14   Juuso      [e:i, vaan      ] [ne jotka mihin pisti rastin]
                no just the ones you ticked
15   Teacher              [joo↓  som              ]
                           yes
16 → Mikko      [did someone call]
17 → Tuomo      [did someone call]
18   Teacher    joo someone
                yes
19   LL         (xxx)
20 → Heidi      mikä on toi call miten se kirjotetaan
                what's call how do you spell it
21   Teacher    cee↓ [   cee aa äl äl              ]
22 → Juuso           [       did you see something    ]
23 → Aaro        [viitonen on when did you come ]
                   number five
24   Teacher    [cee aa äl äl]
                c a l l
25   Mikko      [did some  ]=
26   Tuomo      =one=
27   Juuso      =vitonen=
                number five
28   Tuomo      =[yhteen]
                  as one word
29   LM          [(xx)   ]
30   Juuso      ai niin niin (xx)
                oh yeah yeah
31   Tuomo      caeld↓ cee aa äl äl ee dee
                     c a l l e d
```

The extract shows that even though the pupils are supposed work on their own, talk dominates in the event. The pupils say aloud the sentences they are

translating (lines 1, 9, 13, 16-17, 22-23) and ask how words are spelled (lines 2, 20). The answers are provided by the teacher (line 3, 12, 24). In addition to shaping talk, text also shapes the activities in the event. The sentences that the pupils write in their notebooks are also written on the blackboard. The language produced in writing privately has to be made public in the classroom. This time the exercise is not checked orally but, instead, by writing the sentences on the blackboard. The teacher checks that they are correct and the pupils can then check their sentences against the ones written on the blackboard.

Prompt texts

Exercises on grammar also focus on the oral production of grammatical forms. These exercises have pictures in addition to written language as prompts for carrying out the task. There is also a model sentence given in the text and the pupils are supposed to form similar sentences with the help of the pictures and verbs given. The text constrains the talk quite narrowly. Only sentences of the kind presented in the model are appropriate. Consider example 39 from the event in which the pupils are supposed to play a game and form sentences in the past tense with the help of the prompts:

(39) YA2, Game (425-479)
(Only the turns of Mikko, Tuomo and the teacher are shown as Mikko and Tuomo are working as a pair)

```
1 →   Mikko      i: cook a cake
2                eiku i cook aa
                 no I mean
3                cook aa
4 →   Teacher    cooked (.) you cooked
5     Mikko      cooked
6                aa (-) mm mikä on sausage- eiku mikä se on=
                         what is sausage- no what is it
7     Teacher    =sausages
8     Mikko      eiku
                 no I mean
9 →              keitto (-) mä haluan välttämättä keiton
                 soup I definitely want soup
10    Teacher    [soup] (.) [soup (-)    ][sausage ][soup  ]
11    Mikko             [soup ai niin][joo soup][tietysti]
                             oh yes yes soup of course
12               yeah sausage soup
13    Teacher    aha↑
14→   Tuomo      four (-) one two three four
15→              i switched o:n my tv
16    Mikko      no ni
                 okay
17→              °yks ka ko ne vii°
                   one two three four five
18→              i spent lots of money (-) last (summer)
19    Tuomo      three
```

| 20 | | one two three i:: drove my car |
| 21 | | öö last summer |

Mikko first produces a sentence: *I cook a cake* (line 1). He then wants change the object of his cooking (lines 2 and 3) and while he is thinking the teacher corrects the verb he uses to *cooked* (line 4). Mikko wants to say that he cooked sausage soup and he asks the teacher what *keitto* (soup) is in English (line 9). The teacher gives him the word (line 10) and Mikko finishes his sentence (line 12). Then Tuomo rolls the dice and counts the spots (line 14). He lands on *switch* and he forms a sentence (line 15). Mikko rolls the dice (line 17) and forms a sentence (line 18) and so the game goes on. The text provides the framework within which the pupils produce single sentences. A model sentence is given according to which the pupils form their sentences. The game board also shows which verbs can be used. The verbs are all irregular verbs and thus their forms get practised. Creativity can be used only in choosing the other elements in the sentence.

In the same way, the pictures, words and model sentences regulate the kind of talk that is appropriate in the following event. The pictures are arranged so that two pictures represent one verb, the first one the past tense form and the second one the present tense form. For example, the verb *used* is attached to a picture with hands typing on a typewriter and the verb *use* to a picture with hands typing on a keyboard. Consider now the activity in which the pupils are working in pairs:

(40) YA1, Pictures (161-179)
(Only the turns of one pair of pupils is shown.)

1	Aaro	(hei) my parents bought (-)
2		lps but ((laughs)) °we buy cassettes° (.) or cds↓
3		*your turn*=
4	Juuso	=ää (.) ää (.) my parents used (.)
5	Juuso	mm money: but we use we eiku
		no I mean
6		my parents
7		had (.) money: but we have a
8	Aaro	credit card=
9	Juuso	=credit ca:rd

The pupils form sentences one after the other according to the model given. Aaro forms a sentence: *my parents bought lps but we buy cassettes or cds* (lines 1 and 2). The picture presents a cassette but cds seem to be more common today and so Aaro adds them into his sentence. Next it is Juuso's turn, also mentioned by Aaro (line 3) and Juuso forms a sentence: *my parents used money but we use* (line 4 and 5). He stops there and starts again: *my parents had money but we have* (lines 6 and 7). Now Aaro fills in *credit card* (line 8) and Juuso uses it to finish his sentence (line 9). The text provides the model sentence and pictures as clues for other similar sentences. The pupils follow the model sentence and form their sentences accordingly. They do not, however, follow the pictures closely as they do not seem to be quite up to date.

Text can regulate the language to be produced in the exercise to the extent that all the elements to be used in forming the sentences are given in the prompt text. The pupils' activity is reduced to picking out phrases from the list and connecting them to form sentences. In this exercise, there are five columns with phrases: the first has subjects, the second predicates, the third direct objects and the fourth and fifth have adverbials expressing place and time. Consider the interaction between two pupils:

(41) YA3, Columns (10-30)
(Only the turns of one pair of pupils is shown.)

1	Aaro	i: found
2	Juuso	i: :
3	Aaro	an *umbrella* (-) in the park
4		two years ago
5	Juuso	i:: (x) >eiku< i sa:w
		no I mean
6		my cat in the park (-) öö (-) last week
7	Aaro	nobody *talked* to
8		a newspaper
9		(in a the kitchen) last week

Aaro first forms a sentence: *I found an umbrella in the park two years ago* (lines 1, 3 and 4). Then Juuso, partly simultaneously with Aaro, forms his sentence: *I saw my cat in the park last week* (lines 2, 5 and 6). Again, it is Aaro's turn and he chooses phrases from the columns to form a sentence: *nobody talked to a newspaper in the kitchen last week* (lines 7-9). Here the text leaves very little for the participants to do. The production of oral language is reduced to picking out phrases and saying them aloud one after the other.

To summarize, one of the purposes of the texts used in this classroom is to practise grammatical forms. To this end, the books provide exercises with gaps in stretches of text or in sentences, Finnish sentences to be matched with English ones and prompt texts for producing structures. Even though the primary focus is to practise grammar, the activities around the texts are various and the texts shape both the activities and the talk among the participants. Some texts are turned into activities with a routine character, whereas others lead to joint construction of the text. The examples show that when the linguistic context does not strictly determine the forms needed, the interaction changes from a routine to a lively discussion over the possibilities. In addition, the pupils' contributions become more prominent. The sentences in the exercises are sometimes semantically connected to each other so that they form a story or a dialogue. This aspect is mostly ignored in the activities. The pupils do, however, seem to mock the apparent connectedness of sentences and the teacher only uses this to create a context for the most simple sentences. The activities also shape the text so that a written exercise is dominated by oral language. Moreover, the private text in the notebooks becomes public text on the blackboard or, in other words, individual work is turned into a group activity. In addition, oral exercises are narrowly constrained by written

language. Interaction is then reduced to mechanical performance and the pupils are not able to use their own ideas in producing language.

6.4 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to seek answers to the second research question: What role do texts play in literacy events? More specifically, the aim was to examine how texts structure literacy events and how the participants make use of texts. The analysis concentrated on two aspects. Firstly, texts were examined as instructional texts and the analysis focused on how the various elements in texts structure the event and what possibilities texts offer for activities. Secondly, the analysis paid attention to the activities the participants chose to embark on around the texts that were used and looked at the ways these texts were turned into classroom activities.

The analysis shows that texts play a major role in the literacy event in three respects. Firstly, they provide the overall framework for the whole activity. Secondly, they are used in preparing for the core task of the event and, finally, they provide the linguistic material for the tasks in focus in the literacy events. The texts both shape the activities and talk among the participants and they are shaped in the activities the participants choose to carry out.

First of all, in *providing the overall framework of the event*, the texts lay out the purpose of the event and the task. This aspect is used mainly by the teacher during the opening phase of the event. The general layout of the page and the instructions given in the textbook contribute to making the purpose clear. The teacher either refines and clarifies the purpose in her own instructions to the class or accepts and reinforces the purpose indicated in the textbook instructions.

As far as the participants are concerned, the textbook used in the events examined addresses a single reader in the instructions, sometimes pointing out that a task can be carried out with another pupil. Thus, the text positions the reader as an individual language learner or as a learner collaborating with another learner, while the teacher is given no role at all. The responsibility for learning is shifted onto the pupils, even though the tasks are carried out in various combinations of participants, which are decided both by the teacher and the pupils. In her instructions, the teacher tells the pupils how the activities are to be carried out. The pupils, however, either comply with this or not. Sometimes the teacher suggests individual work, but the pupils choose whether to collaborate.

Although the instructions in the textbook do not determine the participants in the activities, they make an attempt at regulating the type and order of the activities involved. The participants, however, follow the instructions in the textbook in different ways. If the activities are stated very precisely and their relative order is also given in the textbook, the participants tend to follow the instructions closely and organize the event accordingly. When the instructions are, however, very broad and open or when there are no

instructions at all, it is the teacher who decides how the task is to be carried out, and often a range of activities is involved in organizing the event.

Secondly, the text plays a role in *preparing the participants for the task at hand*. There are certain "extra" elements in the textbooks that can be used for providing grounding for the task to be completed. These include word lists, prompt texts in listening tasks and grammatical explanations. The instructions might propose that these elements be used or there might be no mention of them but the teacher chooses, nevertheless, to use them in preparing the pupils for the task proper at the beginning of the text-processing phase. Every text has a word list next to it. Sometimes it is turned into a prominent joint activity, whereas sometimes it is only referred to in passing by the teacher. Thus the activities determine the function of the wordlist: it is either a necessary basis for the task or an aid in carrying out the task.

In the listening tasks, the prompt texts and exercises in the book prepare the participants for listening. The textbook instructions state that these should be dealt with before listening to the tape and this is, in fact, what the participants do. Thus the written text serves as the basis for the spoken text on the tape and builds a framework for listening. In a way, this makes listening easier for the pupils, since they can focus on certain predetermined points only.

Explanations concerning grammatical points also serve as a preparation for the tasks to be completed in the events. There are no specific instructions in the textbook on how to use these explanations in the classroom but the teacher may consider it necessary to go through the explanations before moving on to carrying out the task. Her task is to mediate the explanations to the pupils and this is done either very quickly or fairly explicitly and thoroughly.

Finally, the books *provide the linguistic material for the core tasks* of the literacy events. In the books there are two kinds of material, which appear in the events examined. Firstly, there are either written or spoken texts for practising reading and listening and for studying text. Secondly, there are grammatical forms for practising structures in the English language. The texts are surrounded by various kinds of activities during the text-processing phase, and the same kind of text may be turned into very different activities and interaction among the participants.

The texts for reading and listening provide the framework within which the participants talk about them. The text is used in elicits and responses and through these the text is reconstructed almost sentence by sentence in the chronological order of the original text. Moreover, in listening tasks, the spoken text has to be reproduced to match the written one in the textbook. The activities that the participants engage in around these texts reflect their understanding of the purpose of comprehension and studying text. Comprehension becomes reconstructing the original text, matching a spoken with a written text and being able to translate it into the native language. In addition, studying text (as it is called in the textbook) equals comprehending the content (reproducing it) and focusing on certain grammatical forms in the text.

Texts serving as the basis for practising grammatical points consist of exercises filling in gaps in the text, sentences to be worked on or prompt texts

for producing structures. When turned into activities, grammatical exercises lead either to routines or lively discussion among the participants. When the linguistic context is strictly controlled, there is very little talk and routines take over. Tasks are carried out quickly and efficiently. With prompt texts, interaction is reduced to mechanical turn-taking and the pupils cannot express ideas of their own or creativity in producing structures. When the context is open and there are fewer constraints, the talk among the participants is more varied and lively and, moreover, the pupils are more active than the teacher. However, even when faced with strict linguistic contexts, the participants can make the activity interactionally varied. Thus, ultimately it is the participants who decide how the texts are used in the activities based on them.

7 TALK IN LITERACY EVENTS SHAPES TEXT

Chapter 5 discussed how literacy events are organized through the institutionally typical talk of the classroom. It was demonstrated how literacy events are organized in phases, which are characterized by various interactional structures. In Chapter 6, the role of texts and their relationship to the activities in the literacy events of the classroom was examined. The role of texts in shaping the event was discussed in terms of what texts have to offer the event and how the participants make use of texts.

Bearing in mind the two-dimensional relationship between texts and the literacy event, this chapter aims at giving an answer to the third research question: how does talk among the participants shape texts? Building on both the forms of talk and the role of texts, I will take a detailed look at the ways text is used in literacy events. The analysis pays attention to how the participants talk about text, what speaker roles they adopt in relation to text and, consequently, what meanings they give to text in their talk.

7.1 Text as an artefact

As has already been pointed out, text is in a very central position in the classroom. Teaching and learning revolve around written texts. On many occasions, text is treated like an artefact or an icon (see section 3.3): text is a book in someone's bag or in the teacher's hand, text is talked about as numbers and pages, text can be worked on, moved around, manipulated just like any object with physical properties. In the following, I will first examine how text becomes an icon through the way the participants talk about text, especially through their lexical choices, and then I will discuss how activities carried out by the participants give the text the meaning of an icon or artefact.

7.1.1 Talking about texts

The participants in the classroom refer to texts in certain ways and make particular lexical choices (for the relevance of these in institutional talk, see section 4.5.2) when talking about text. These create a rhetoric that characterizes text as an artefact or an icon with physical characteristics similar to those of any other object.

Text is often referred to as a *book* – a workbook or textbook – and, more specifically *your book*, a book possessed by the pupils. This becomes evident in the following examples in the teacher's use of the second person personal pronoun in connection with the textbook and the way in which the teacher shows the book to the class:

(1) YA3, Tarzan (598-605)

```
1 →   Teacher      okay, [let´s go on with] your (.) textbook
2     Aaro                [ (xx)              ]
3     Heidi        tossa (x)
                   there
4     LF           ai niin
                   so it is
5     Teacher      an:d uh [here´s a (.)] [quite an interesting story about]
                   {teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
6     Heidi                  [ did you    ]
                   {teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
7     Aaro                              [ otaksää nää                ]
                                         will you take these
                   {teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
8     Teacher      film-making (.) in africa
                   {teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
```

(2) YA3, Text in sacks (943-944)

```
1     Teacher      there are a couple of exercises about this story (.)
                   {teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
2 →                in your (-) work books
```

(3) YA1, Pictures (918-933)

```
1 →   Teacher      mennääs tänne teiän kirjaan täällä on tämmönen kun
                   let's go here into your books here is this
                   {teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
2 →                imperfektisivu sivulla (.) nelkytkaheksan ja nelkytyhdeksän
                   past tense page on page forty-eight and forty-nine
```

(13 lines omitted)

```
3 →                kattokaas tämmönen sivu
                   have a look at this page
                   {teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class}
```

All three examples above are from the teacher's instructions during the opening phases and when a change of text takes place. In example 1, the teacher refers to the book as the pupils' book: *let's go on with your textbook* (line 1). The teacher herself has the same book in her hand and she is also holding her book up and showing it to the class (lines 5-8). Similarly, in example 2, the teacher refers to the book as *your workbooks*, at the same time showing hers to the class. Still further, in example 3, the teacher once again uses the expression *your book* (line 1). In this example, there are further characteristics that create an impression of text seen as an object. The teacher says: *let's go **into** your book* (line 1), (which in Finnish is perhaps even more marked than in English) as if to imply that the text is a place with spatial dimensions. In addition, the page is named as *past tense page* (line 2) and later, the external characteristics of the page are referred to at the same time as the teacher is showing the book to the class: *have a look at this kind of page* (line 3).

Notice how the text is treated as a physical entity in all of these examples. The teacher shows the book to the class, especially at the beginning of the event (see section 5.1.1). This showing of the book acts as a reinforcement of the words spoken, further emphasising the nature of text as an object.

Text is also referred to as a *task in the book* or *on a page* or *as an exercise number*. On numerous occasions text is referred to as page or exercise numbers both by the teacher and the pupils. Consider the following examples:

(4) YA4, Animal quiz (689-718)

1 →	Teacher	please (.) page fifty (.) f:our [(.)]
2	Tuomo	[((coughs))]
3 →	Teacher	the other book.
4	Tuomo	(xx)
5	Teacher	over [here]
6 →	Juuso	[other book↓]

(22 lines omitted)

7 →	Tuomo	hei mikä sivu se on↓
		hey what page is it
8 →	Teacher	this is uh fifty-four↓

(5) YA1, Fill in (685-701)

1	Teacher	täydennä lauseet [sopivilla imperfekteillä]
		fill in the sentences with suitable past tense forms
2	Aaro	[eihän sitä jaksa millään]
		you are just too tired
3	Teacher	[valitse listasta↓ (-) katotaas tää (.) yhdessä tässä↑]
		choose from the list let's have a look at this together here
4	LL	[(xxx Finnish)]
5	LM	tä
		what
6	LF	mikä
		what

7 →	LM	mää en oo tehny tätä sivua
		I haven't done this page
8 →	Teacher	twelve
9	LF	kakstoista
		twelve
10	LL	((laughter))
11	Aaro	kyllähän selviää
		sure it will be alright
12	Teacher	okei, mitäs te laittasitte [ensimmäiseen↓]
		okay what would you put in the first one
13 →	Aaro	[missä on kakstoista sitten ees=]
		where is twelve then
14	LM	=tu-=
		the-
15 →	Juuso	=seuraavalla sivulla
		on the next page
16	Teacher	mm=
17 →	Aaro	=tuolla
		over there

In example 4, the teacher mentions the pages they are going to start working on (line 1) and also points out that the pupils have to switch books: *the other book* (line 3). Some time later during the same event, the pupils continue to ask about the pages (line 7) and the teacher gives the correct page numbers once again (line 8). In example 5, the teacher starts the activity by reading aloud the instruction (lines 1-2) and tells the pupils that they are going to look at this exercise together (line 3). Now the pupils refer to the task as pages and page numbers (lines 6, 8 and 9). On line 7, a male pupil notes that he has not done *this page*. Further, they talk about the correct pages and positions located in space (lines 15 and 17).

It is quite natural that the correct books and page numbers should be specified when the task is begun. It is, however, often a very prominent way of talking about text in the classroom by both the teacher and the pupils. It is common rhetoric to refer to the text in this way and, as a prominent opening, it seems often to replace or suppress any talk about the content of the text, for example. This artefact rhetoric conceptualizes the text in a specific way, that of an object to be manipulated and to be looked at from the outside. Text as an artefact becomes the centre of the event. It is present not only in an abstract sense but also as a concrete object on desks and in hands.

Text as an artefact can also be seen in the situation where the text displays a game board with verbs as steps in the game and the pupils talk about these steps. In the game, the pupils have to form sentences in the past tense. A pupil lands on a step and forms a sentence by using that verb in the past tense. Here text becomes a step in the game:

(6) YA2, Game (65-156)

1 →	Mikko	(mä tiän) [yritetään ottaa][toisia kiinni][mä alotan] luussista
		I know let's try to catch each other I'll start on lose
2	Juuso	[(x][x)]

3	Katja		[mitäs][mun nyt pitää tehdä] **what should I do now**
4	Juuso	mä alotan **I'll start**	
5	Eeva	[sä heität noppaa ja sit sää] **you toss the dice and then you**	
6 →	Aaro	[hei (-) alota sä] drinkistä niin mä [alotan rinkistä (-)] **hey you start on drink and I'll start on ring**	
7	Heidi		[(x sen) voi alottaa] **you can start**
8		[mistä vaan] **anywhere**	
9	Eeva	[muodosta][ruudun verbistä][imperfektilause] **form from the verb in the square a sentence in the past tense**	
10	Aaro	[molemmat alottaa][päistä] **both will start at the ends**	
11	Juuso	[(mistä)] **where**	
12	Katja	(mä alotan tästa) **I'll start here**	
13	Juuso	okei (-) [kumpaan suuntaan pitää mennä↓ häntään↓] **okay which direction should we go in to the tail**	
14	Heidi	[no nii (-) sitte sä heität noppaa ja (xx)] **okay then you toss the dice and**	
15	Juuso	[(päästä) alottaa↓] **start from the end**	
16	Mikko	[joo (-)] **yeah**	
17 →	Mikko	mä alotan luussista (niin) sä alotat draivista **I'll start on lose and so you'll start on drive**	

(45 lines omitted)

18 →	Heidi	mä alotan tosta ringistä **I'll start on that ring**
19	Mikko	sä joudut koko ajan kato vaihtamaan **see you have to change all the time**
20 →	Eeva	miks sä [ringistä alotat] **why are you starting on ring**
21	Juuso	[mm:]
22	Mikko	[sitte (x [x)] **then**
23	Juuso	[the compu[ter] last night]
24 →	Heidi	[no] ku mä haluan] alottaa ringistä **'cos I want to start on ring**

(22 lines omitted)

25 →	Heidi	mä alotan (-) iitistä (-) niin mä oon pleissä **I'll start on eat and then I'll be on play**

Notice how the pupils talk about the steps. They use the English verb as if it were a Finnish word with Finnish pronunciation and inflectional endings. Mikko says that he will start from *lose* (line 1) which would be spelled *luus* if it were a Finnish word and then he adds the ending *–sta*, which is comparable to

the English preposition *from*. Thus he ends up saying *luussista*.[19] Similarly, on line 6, Aaro uses the verbs *drink* and *ring* in the same way as *drinkistä* (= *from drink*) and *rinkistä* (= *from ring*). Still further, on lines 17, 18, 24 and 25, the pupils use the forms *luussista* (= *from lose*), *draivista* (= *from drive*), *ringistä* (= *from ring*), *iitistä* (= *from eat*) and *pleissä* (= *in play*). The way the pupils use the verbs indicates that they are not really talking about items of language but about steps on a game board with names such as *Euston* or *Piccadilly*, as in the game of *Monopoly*. Thus, here text takes on the meaning of a game, which as such is an artefact with physical characteristics.

The very non-specific vocabulary used when talking about items in the text may also create the sense of an artefact. The following example comes from an event with a *study* text at its centre. The class is about to start underlining text:

(7) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (419-520)

```
1     Teacher    okay let´s listen to this once again and now we are
2 →              going to underline a couple of things because we
3                didn´t  underl- (.) we didn´t underline anything last
4     Aaro       [ joo ]
                 yeah
5     Teacher    [time↓] (.)  so: uh let´s listen to it once again↓
```

Notable here is the teacher's lexical choice. She says that after listening to the text again they are going to underline something in the text. Here she uses the word *things* (line 2) instead of, for example, *words*, *sentences* or *expressions*. After listening she, however, specifies her expression slightly:

```
6     Teacher    [very good↓    ] so let´s try to underline these things.
7     L          [((laughs))    ]
8     Teacher    or these sentences↓ I have (.) one mistake here.
```

Things is replaced by *sentences* (line 8). Why certain sentences are underlined is, nevertheless, not explained. Thus the object itself, the *thing*, becomes the centre of the activity and not the content or meaning of the text.

In brief, the participants treat the text as an artefact or icon, which has the characteristics of an object. This is reflected in the lexical choices the speakers make in relation to the text and the way the text is used physically when they talk about it.

7.1.2 Activities around texts

In the activities in the classroom, text is transformed into a school task. A text does not exist on its own; instead, it is used in doing school tasks. The activities involved might be complex and the meanings text acquires through talk varies.

---

[19]   He wants to say here that he is going to start on the step marked *lose*. The Finnish expression is formed with the ending –sta, which is comparable to the English preposition *from*.

The object-like nature of text becomes evident also in some of the activities that the participants engage in with texts. Thus, in addition to talking about text in a certain way, the participants have specific ways of using texts in activities, which lend the text the meaning of an artefact or icon.

Sometimes activities are turned into mechanical tasks, which are taken over by classroom routines. Such routines involve quick and efficient elicit-response sequences and they are often related to checking that the pupils have done their homework or understood a task. (These routines were discussed in sections 5.2.2.1 and 6.3.2.) During these routines, the activity itself becomes more prominent than the content of the task.

In addition, in some activities text is worked on and it is manipulated as a form, not as content, for example. As example 7 above shows, by the very non-specific use of terms, the physical activity itself becomes more important than the material underlined. Doing something with the text – text as an artefact – seems to be the focus rather than what the text is about or what it does. This is further confirmed by the activity of underlining. The teacher reads aloud sentences she has written on the blackboard in Finnish and the pupils have to find the corresponding English sentences in the text, read them aloud and underline them in their textbook. The pupils treat these items as objects, which is reflected in the way they talk about finding them:

(8) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (540-543)

```
1      Tuomo       queenie gave birth [ to  five pups]
2 →    Eeva                          [missä se on  ]
                                     where is it
3 →    Tuomo       [siinä ](.) billin tota siinä [ala-  ]
                   there under Bill er there under
4 →    Teacher     [tässä]                  [over ] here↓
                   here
                   {teacher points at Eeva's book}
```

Tuomo reads aloud a sentence he has found in the text (line 1). Eeva asks about the location of the sentence (line 3) and Tuomo remarks that it is to be found *under Bill* (line 3). Tuomo refers to the name Bill, which marks the speaker Bill before his words and is in bold face. In addition, the teacher goes and points at Eeva's book to show the correct place (line 4). In the pupils' talk, the text has spatial dimensions and items can be located *under* other items.

Thus, in some activities it seems that doing something with a text is more important than considering its content. When the activity as such becomes emphasized over the meaning or content of the task, the text takes on a meaning of an artefact. Doing something to the text superficially is the main focus of attention of the participants. In the following example, the purpose is to form sentences by choosing one word or phrase from five columns. At first the pupils pick out phrases and form meaningful sentences such as *I found an umbrella in the park two years ago* (see example 41 in section 6.3.2 on page 190). Later in the activity, the pupils start to form nonsense sentences:

(9) YA3, Columns (54-105)
(only the lines with nonsense sentences are shown)

1	Tuomo	[kiss kiss kissed my newspaper]
2	Katja	[(a newspaper)]
3	Tuomo	in the kitchen yesterday
4	Mikko	[debbie ate some money]
5	Katja	[(xx)]
6	Aaro	betsy and bill
7	Mikko	at a party two year- two years ago
8	Tuomo	we talked to the policeman
9	Teacher	a [sausage] that's right sitte valitset

then you choose

| 10 | Juuso | [we:] |
| 11 | Tuomo | under the bed last night |

Tuomo forms a sentence: *xx kissed my newspaper in the kitchen yesterday* (lines 1 and 3). Mikko's sentence is: *Debbie ate some money at a party two years ago* (lines 4 and 7) and Tuomo's second sentence is: *we talked to the policeman under the bed last night* (lines 8 and 11). These sentences do not make much sense semantically. Grammatically they are appropriate because the exercise is designed so that by choosing one phrase from each column one automatically forms a grammatically correct sentence. The very first sentences the pupils form made sense but they soon seem to notice the mechanical nature of the task as they start to form these nonsense sentences. This way they seem to be mocking the purpose of the task, which is to produce sentences using five different phrases. They show that if they choose just any combination of phrases – which is, in fact, what the teacher instructed them to do – they may end up with single sentences that make no sense. Through their irony, these pupils are indicating that the task is fairly arbitrary and that the activity of saying aloud sentences is more important than the meaning of the sentences they form.

Furthermore, the teacher's instructions often emphasize the importance of the activity of doing something to the text over the reasons or meaning of the activity. Consider the following example, in which the pupils are supposed to answer quiz questions before listening to a quiz programme on the tape. As they listen, they are supposed to check their answers against the programme:

(10) YA4, Animal quiz (765-766, 1132-1133)

| 1 | Teacher | and you can see that horsefly (.) on päa- is paarma, |

hor- horsefly

| 2 | | in finnish↓ so you just (.) guess= |

(Later in the event)

| 3 | | everybody writes down their own |
| 4 | | answers it doesn´t matter if they are not correct |

The teacher emphasizes guessing the answers here. She points out that the pupils need to just guess (line 2). Later in the event, as the pupils continue

negotiating over the possible answers and as this seems to take a great deal of time, the teacher says that it does not matter if the answers are not correct (line 4). Thus she indicates that it is not necessary for the pupils to go into lengthy negotiations over the possible answers, as the purpose of the task is, ultimately, to practise listening and answering questions about animals. The aim seems to be just to do something to the text and then go to the next activity.

Attributing the nature of an artefact to a text also becomes evident in events where the focus is on a fairly mechanical task. The following extract is from an event that focuses on an exercise on grammar. The exercise consists of twelve sentences in Finnish. In the box above the sentences are given the forms of the verb *be* in the past tense: *was, were, wasn't* and *weren't*. These forms are marked with the letters A, B, C and D, respectively. In the exercise, the pupils have to write one of the letters next to the sentences according to the form of the verb that would be needed in the corresponding English sentence. In the extract, the teacher has just finished her instructions for the task:

(11) YA3, ABCD (256-279)

```
1 →  Teacher    merkitään sitten ne (.) kirjaimet tähän↓ missä olit
                **then we'll mark those letters here where were you**
2                eilen
                **yesterday**
3    Aaro        [where were you ]
4    Tuomo       [ where were you ]
5    Juuso       [  (xx)       where] [were you yesterday ]
6 →  Teacher                          [ eli sinne perään      ] pannaan
                                      **so you'll put after it**
7                [mikä kirjain      ]
                **which letter**
8    Aaro        [ where you were] were  were you
9    L           (xx)
10   Juuso       where were you (.) eiku
                                    **no I mean**
11→  Teacher    mikä kirjain laitetaan lauseen perään (-) jos
                **which letter goes after the sentence if**
12               pitää valita aa bee cee tai dee
                **you have to choose a b c or d**
13 → Juuso       [bee   ]
14   L           [  bee]=
15   Teacher     =bee, a:ivan oikein. [ (-)  ] jodykin oli poissa.
                **b quite right Jody was absent too**
16   Mikko                        [ (xx)]
17   Teacher     (-) poissa-sana on annettu siinä [(.) marginaalissa]
                **the word absent is given there in the margin**
18   Juuso                                        [ jody was        ]
19               [gone too  ]
20   Aaro        [ gone too]
21               [(xxx)]
22   Mikko       [gone ] *also*
23   Teacher     tai absent jos haluu käyttää sitä sanaa mikä on siinä
                **or absent if you want to use the word that is there**
```

24 →   (.) eli (.) kirjain on (-) aa eikö vaan (-) noni↑
              so the letter is a isn't it okay

On line 1, the teacher finishes her instruction by stating that the letters will be marked in the book and then she reads aloud the first sentence (lines 1 and 2). Aaro, Tuomo and Juuso simultaneously make a response, that is, they translate the sentence (lines 3-5). This is not, however, what is expected in the exercise and thus the teacher asks about the letter (lines 6 and 7). Aaro and Juuso repeat the sentence in English (lines 8 and 10). The teacher does not acknowledge this as the correct letter is required in the task and thus she asks again which letter should be added after the sentence, if they have to choose from A, B, C and D (lines 11 and 12). Now Juuso gives the letter B (line 13). Similarly, with the second sentence, the teacher remarks that the correct letter is A (line 24). Here choosing the correct letter seems to be more important than the correct word itself. Even though the pupils use the correct form of *be* in their translation, the teacher requires the letter as that was the purpose of the exercise. Here mechanical performance is given more emphasis than language and thus text acquires the meaning of an artefact or tool in carrying out a school task.

To sum up, the participants treat the text as an artefact or an icon with the physical characteristics of an object. This becomes evident in how they talk: the lexical choices they make when referring to texts reflects this attribution of artefact-like properties to text. In addition, how the text is used also adds to its conceptualizing as an icon. The text is used physically, that is, the teacher shows the text to the class when she introduces tasks. Furthermore, the activities that revolve around texts may treat texts as artefacts: the text is manipulated and worked on. The activities themselves may also be given more emphasis than other possible aspects of texts: tasks are carried out as routine or mechanical activities of selecting or labelling items of language.

7.2 Text as content and meaning

The texts that are used in the events also have content that is dealt with by the participants. In addition, the meanings of particular words and expressions, which are a part of the overall content, are also talked about among the participants. The concept *content* can have several different meanings. Here content means the information or the meaning that the text conveys as opposed to language structures, for example, which are also present in any text. The analysis in this section focuses on how the participants talk about the content of text and the meanings of words. A special emphasis is on how the speakers adopt different speaker roles in integrating talk and text.

7.2.1 Locating content

When practising reading or listening, the purpose is to understand the content of the spoken or written text. This content is talked about among the

participants in the classroom. The basis for the events that form the focus in reading or listening comprehension is either a continuous text or a dialogue. When the content of a text is talked about, the participants locate the information *in* the text and also *reproduce* it in their interaction, thus giving the text authority over its content. This mainly takes place through elicit-response sequences. The participants both quote and report text; that is, they act in the speaker roles of an animator and a spokesperson (Goffman 1981, section 5.4). This takes place in all parts of the sequence: in elicits, responds and in the follow-ups.

In eliciting appropriate responses the teacher often uses the text as a prompt. The prompt might be a direct quote from the text, i.e. the teacher acts as an animator. In the following example, the teacher asks the pupils questions about the content of the text they have just heard being read on the tape. She wants the pupils to translate a stretch of this text:

(12) YA3, Tarzan (836-841)

```
1 →  Teacher    ja sit siellä oli vielä (.) tämmönen et- että
                and then there was still this that
2                [everybody] caught tropical diseases=
3     LM         [ (x)        ]
4     Aaro       =no kaikki sai trooppisia [semmosia tropikaalisia]=
                well everybody caught tropical kind of tropical
5     Mikko                                [no tropikaalisia        ]
                                           well tropical
6     Teacher    =sairauksia joo↓ no↓ sit täällä sanottiin että tämä: (.)
                diseases yeah well then it was said here that this
```

First the teacher refers to the text: *and then there was this* (line 1), and then she reads aloud – animates – a sentence in the text (line 2): *everybody caught tropical diseases*. Predominantly, the discussion around this text takes place in Finnish. The reading aloud of a sentence in the text as an elicit seems to automatically imply that it calls for a translation despite the fact that no specific instruction is given as to how the pupils should respond. They seem to know that a translation is expected, as Aaro, echoed by Mikko, supplies one (line 4). This is then acknowledged by the teacher on (line 6).

The teacher might also ask for a translation directly, as in example 13:

(13) YA3, Tarzan (830-835)

```
1 →  Teacher    mitä se tarkottaa↓ [was badly sunburned      ]
                what does it mean
2     Mikko                        [ no järkytty varmaan (xx) ]
                                   well was shocked I guess
3     L          ((laughs))
4     Mikko      eiku (.) a- auringon polttama=
                no I mean burnt by the sun
5     Teacher    =joo se palo ihan (.) k- [ne kasvot  ]
                yeah s/he was totally burnt her face
6     Juuso                               [ sunburned]
```

A pupil has just made a response by quoting the text verbatim (see example 15 below on page 206) and now the teacher asks what this response means in Finnish (line 1). She uses an elicit in the form of a direct question (*what does it mean*) and then reads again aloud the stretch of text in English. Simultaneously, Mikko answers her on line 2. His answer is not , however, correct and he repairs it on line 4. This response is then acknowledged by the teacher (line 5).

By quoting a stretch of text verbatim, the teacher, in a way, goes behind the text and gives it the voice of an participant in the activity. She indicates that this stretch of text is important or that it is potentially a difficult point, and thus it has to be translated into the native language to make sure that has been understood by the pupils. Thus the notion of understanding is understood by the participants as word-for-word translation of the text.

Text is also used as a further clarifying prompt if the pupils do not seem to find the answer the teacher expects. Consider example 14:

(14) YA3, Tarxan (893-899)

1 →	Teacher	sitte↓ (.) mutta siin oli vaikeuksia niitten krokotiilien
		then but there were problems with the crocodiles
2		kans koska
		(with) because
3	Mikko	sinne tuli pari sataa krokotiilia, e:iku e:iku e:i=
		a couple of hundred crocodiles came no no I mean
4	Katja	=ne- ne tota: (.) [um]
		they they well
5	Mikko	[hyökkäs]
		attacked
6 →	Teacher	they were very hungry and angry=
7	Katja	=ai: nälkäsiä ja (.) vihasia
		oh hungry and angry

The teacher starts an utterance which she stops, thereby expecting the pupils to complete it (line 1). Mikko starts to complete the utterance: *a couple of hundred crocodiles came* (line 3) but right away notices that he is mistaken: *no I mean, no I mean no.* He tries again (line 5) by remarking that perhaps the crocodiles *attacked.* Now the teacher comes in by reading aloud a sentence in the text: *they were very hungry and angry*, thus showing that this was the completion she was expecting. This is then translated by Katja (line 7). Although the teacher, in a way, gives the correct answer here, it is not what is expected from the pupils. The pupils are supposed to give their responses in Finnish and therefore, the sentence read aloud by teacher serves here as a prompt for the correct answer, which is provided by Katja (line 7).

Again, by animating text, the teacher points out the crucial segment of the text which the pupils should concentrate on. In this case, this stretch of text provides the response that the teacher was expecting. The pupils' earlier attempts were not appropriate as they did not follow the order of the text at hand (see section 6.3.1 for a more detailed discussion on the importance of the chronological order of the text).

In addition to acting in the speaker role of an animator, i.e. quoting the text verbatim, the teacher also speaks as a spokesperson. In other words, in her elicits, she reports the content of the text. Consider the following extract (example 15), in which the participants talk about the *read* text:

(15) YA3, Tarzan (841-848)

```
1 →   Teacher     =sairauksia joo↓ no↓ sit täällä sanottiin että tämä: (.)
                  diseases yes well then it was said here that this
2                 e- elokuvan käsikirjoittaja ei tiennyt afrikasta juuri
                  scriptwriter didn't know anything about Africa
3                 mitään koska se oli valinnu semmosen (.) yhden (.)
                  because he had chosen kind of one
4 →               u:h (.) näytöksen↑ (.) j- jossa (.) tämä: hetkinen
                  oh scene in which this just a moment
                  {teacher looks at her book}
5     Mikko       (xx)=
6     Aaro        =vihaset [afrikkalaiset ]
                  angry Africans
7     Teacher              [       laiset] ajo sitä (.) sankaria takaa ja mitä
                                  -cans chased the hero and what
8                 sen sankarin piti tehdä pelastautuakseen=
                  did the hero have to do to save himself
```

At first, the teacher refers to the text by saying: *then it says here* (line 1). In formulating her elicit, she reports what the text says: she tells the class briefly that the scriptwriter did not know much about Africa and he had chosen a scene where angry Africans chase the hero. Then she adds her question (lines 7 and 8): *and what did the hero have to do to save himself*. In the middle of the report, she stops briefly and says: *just a moment* and looks at her book (line 4) to check how the story continues. Here Aaro comes in and completes the teacher's utterance: *angry Africans* (line 6). It is clear to the pupils as well, partly through the teacher's role of a spokesperson, that they are reconstructing the story as it is written in the textbook.

The pupils also act in the speaker role of an animator when they are responding to the teacher's elicits. In the following example, the discussion among the participants takes place in Finnish, and thus the teacher's elicits are also in Finnish. A pupil, however, responds by giving an English quotation from the text:

(16) YA3, Tarzan (824-829)

```
1     Teacher     mitäs sille h- sankarittarelle tapahtu elkää [kertoko   ]
                  what happened to the heroine don't tell
2     LM                                                     [heroiinille]
                                                            to the heroin
3     Teacher     ennenko (.) [muut ehtii] miettiä
                  before the others have had time to think
4     Tuomo                   [kuoliks se]
                              did she die
```

| 5 → | Juuso | *heroine* of the [film was] badly *sunburned.* |
| 6 | Teacher | [heroine] |

The teacher asks a question: *what happened to the heroine* (line 1). Instead of giving an answer in Finnish, Juuso answers the question by reading aloud a sentence in the text: *heroine of the film was badly sunburned* (line 5). The teacher then asks the pupils to translate the sentence into Finnish (see example 13 above). By reading aloud the stretch of text that answers the teacher's question, Juuso displays that he is able to locate the correct place in the text. As to why he does not answer in Finnish, it is possible that he is not quite sure about the meaning of the word *sunburned.* He mispronounces the word so that he says it in the way it would be pronounced if it were a Finnish word. This suggests that he is not familiar with the word, and it is likely that he does not know its meaning either, and therefore he chooses this strategy, which seems to work, however. It is perhaps safer to read aloud the correct sentence in the text than attempt to translate it into Finnish.

In example 16, the pupils were not expected to animate the text verbatim. This is, however, the case in events focusing on listening exercises. This expectation is not made explicit in the teacher's instruction. On the contrary, the teacher asks the pupils to complete the task sentences in their own words. The actual interactional activities, however, create a tacit expectation that the text should be repeated verbatim. Consider now example 17:

(17) YA2, Animal jobs (567-578)

1	Teacher	so[,] try again, juuso=
2	Aaro	[(xx)]
3	Juuso	=uh one morning an old lady uh °emmää [muista°]
		I can't remember
4	LL	[((laughter))]
5	Aaro	talked [talked me] and asked me to came=
6	Teacher	[I think]
7 →		=that´s right, called [me↑]
8	Juuso	[ai niin] called, nii joo=
		oh yeah called oh yes
9	Aaro	=and asked me[to came]
10→	Teacher	[asked me:], to come over↓=
11	Aaro	=come over [and (x)]
12	Teacher	[that´s right]

Right before this extract, the teacher and the pupils have listened to a short stretch of text on the tape. The task is to complete a few sentences that are listed on the page. This was the second time they were listening to this extract, as they had been made to complete the sentences after the first listening. The first sentence to complete is *One morning an old lady . . .* and the teacher asks Juuso to try to continue the sentence (line 1). Juuso starts with what is printed on the page (line 3) but then stops and says that he cannot remember how it goes on. Aaro steps in and says: *talked talked me and asked me to came* (line 5). The teacher acknowledges this with *that's right* but, nevertheless, corrects the inaccuracies so

that the sentence corresponds word for word to that on the tape: *called me* (line 7). Aaro repeats the latter part of what he has already said (line 9): *asked me to came.* Again the teacher corrects the inaccuracy with *asked me to come over* (line 10) and Aaro repeats this on line 11 and gets positive feedback: *that's right* (line 12). Clearly, the teacher implicitly shows here that the appropriate answer has to be a word-for-word repetition of a section of the text. On the other hand, it could be argued that the teacher wants to correct the grammatical mistakes so that no false models are given. Nevertheless, the message is clear: repeating text is expected, be it written or spoken text, that is, whether the purpose is to practise reading or listening comprehension.

Animating text to obtain the appropriate responses seems to be such a well established practice that the participants appear to believe that the text has to have the answer even in cases in which it does not, in fact, provide the answer directly. For example:

(18) YA2, Animal jobs (711-742)

```
1 →  Teacher    yes↓ fourteen to fifteen years↓ and now the [last question↓]
2    Tuomo                                              [   four      ]
3               (.)°teen°
4    FV         (xx) an example of things going wrong↑
5    MV         well, uh (.) I was in the cage with the lions, (.)
6    MV         when the lights suddenly went out (.) a lioness
7    MV         grabbed my leg in her mouth, (.) I hit back, and
8    MV         luckily the lights went back on and she let go (.)
9    MV         but next month (.) she bit me again (.) it wasn´t
10   MV         her fault though↓ a:nd it (.) wasn´t my fault, just
11   MV         (.) one of the risks we have to take in this job↓
12 → Teacher    [mm-h↑]
13   Aaro       [ ihme  ] ettei se murskannu sitä luuta
                it's a wonder it didn't smash the bone
14   Tuomo      minkä [takia ] minkä [takia se (.)     ]
                what for what for did it
15   Teacher           [why: ]
16   Aaro                            [ (xxFinnish)    ]
17   Tuomo      [niin valot sammu] niin säikähti niinkö↓
                well the lights went out so it got scared didn't it
18   LM         [ (xxxFinnish)    ]
19   Aaro       [e:ikä ku valo-]  va- valot, noemminä tiiä=
                no the lights li- lights well I don't know
20   Teacher    [(xx)      no   ]
21→             =the lights went out (.) [and  the] lioness
22   Aaro                                [no     ]
23 → Teacher    grabbed [his leg               ]
24   Aaro               [ne metsästää pimeessä]
                        they  hunt in the dark
25   Tuomo      [nii mut jos ne pelkäs] ja otti siitä kiinni↓
                yeah but if they were afraid and got hold of it
26   Teacher    [but then why        ]
27             maybe they [were a bit afraid↓ ]
28   LL                   [((laughter))       ]
29→  Teacher    but [s-sydney says that it wasn´t   ]
```

30	Aaro	[määkin kuristan (xxFinnish)]
		I would strangle too
31 →	Teacher	<u>her</u> fault↓ [(-) and] it wasn´t his fault
32	Aaro	[(x) pimeessä]
		in the dark
33 →	Teacher	either↓ (.) good

The teacher asks the pupils to consider the last question in the exercise (line 1), which is *why did a lioness grab Sydney's leg?* She then starts the tape and they listen to a short piece of text. After listening the teacher only says: *mmh* (line 12) and the pupils start to wonder about the last question: *what for what for did it* (line 14), and the teacher also asks: *why* (line 15). On lines 17, 18, and 19 the pupils discuss the possible answer. On line 21, the teacher starts to repeat aloud the text that was on the tape: *the lights went out* (pause) *and the lioness grabbed his leg.* By animating the text, she is searching for the right answer. The text does not, however, give the answer to the question *why* and thus the pupils go on talking about the possible reason: they hunt in the dark or maybe they were afraid and therefore grabbed him (lines 24 and 25). Still the teacher asks *what for* (line 26) and then agrees with the pupils that maybe they were a bit afraid (line 27). She then goes on reporting what the text says: *but Sydney says that it wasn't her fault and it wasn't his fault either* (lines 29, 31 and 33) and brings the discussion to a conclusion by her evaluation: *good* (line 33).

Here it seems that even the teacher is somewhat puzzled that the text does not indeed seem to contain the answer to the question why the lioness did what it did. She does, however, attempt to resort to the text through the speaker roles of an animator and a spokesperson in searching for the correct answer. In a way, she does not venture to "step away from the text" and freely consider possible answers in the same way as the pupils do.

Indeed, reliance on the text is very strong whenever the content is talked about. Therefore, the chronological order of the events (see also section 6.3.1) in the text seems to be important to the extent that it determines what counts as appropriate answers. In example 19, the participants are talking about the *read* text, which tells about film making in Africa:

(19) YA3, Tarzan (891-906)

1	Teacher	sumunen ja taikka pilvinen sää
		foggy and or cloudy wheather
2		ei voitukaan kuvata↓ elikkä ne ajatteli et no okei huomenna
		they couldn't film so they thought that okay tomorrow
3		sitte↓ (.) mutta siin oli vaikeuksia niitten krokotiilien
		then but there were problems with the crocodiles
4		kans koska
		(with) because
5 →	Mikko	sinne tuli pari sataa krokotiilia, e:iku e:iku e:i=
		a couple of hundred crocodiles came no no I mean
6	Katja	=ne- ne tota: (.) [um]
		they they well
7 →	Mikko	[hyökkäs]
		attacked

8 →	Teacher	they were very hungry and angry=
9	Katja	=ai: nälkäsiä ja [(.)] [vihasia]
		oh hungry and angry
10	Heidi	[vihasia]
		angry
11	Teacher	[vihasia] aivan oikein, no
		angry quite right well
12		sit ne rupes (.) hyökkäämään niitä [(.) u:h (.)]
		then they started to attack them
13→	Mikko	[niin, <u>nyt</u> ne sitten]
		yeah <u>now</u> they then
14	Teacher	filmi- [(-) henkilökuntaa vastaan]
		the film crew
15 →	Mikko	[ne puolusti itteensä aseilla ja]
		they defended themselves with guns and
16		(x) tappo kolme krokotiilia=
		killed three crocodiles

Here the teacher's elicit is in the form of an incomplete sentence. She starts her elicit and leaves the sentence incomplete: *but they had trouble with the crocodiles because* (lines 3 and 4). Mikko begins to complete it by saying: *a couple of hundred crocodiles came,* but he stops: *no I mean no I mean* (line 5), as he seems to notice that this is not the correct response. Katja also attempts to respond (line 6) and Mikko, too tries again: *attacked* (line 7). To guide the pupils to the expected response, the teacher reads aloud a sentence in the text: *they were very hungry and angry* (line 8). Then Katja, echoed by Heidi, translates this into Finnish and the teacher confirms this (line 11). Then the teacher goes on with the story: *well then they started to attack the film crew* (lines 12 and 14). Now Mikko says, with emphasis: *so **now** they then defended themselves with guns and killed three crocodiles* (lines 13, 15 and 16) showing that he realizes that the order of the events in the text has to be retained in their reconstruction of it. His earlier attempt to talk about attacking (line 7) was too early. The story first tells that the crocodiles were hungry and angry and only after that is their attack described.

The teacher guides the pupils to follow the order given in the text in their responses. She does not state this explicitly; instead, she directs the pupils in a subtle way through animating text. The following extract (example 20) further shows that the order of the events or issues revealed in the text determines appropriate responses:

(20) YA3, Tarzan (846-854)

1	Aaro	=vihaset [afrikkalaiset]
		angry Africans
2	Teacher	[laiset] ajo sitä (.) sankaria takaa ja mitä
		-cans chased the hero and what
3		sen sankarin piti tehdä pelastautuakseen=
		did the hero have to do to save himself
4 →	Mikko	=hypätä niilin yli↓
		jump across the Nile
5 →	Teacher	[joo taikka ylipäätään] (.) joen yli ja sit se oli
		yes or generally across a river and then he had

6	Aaro	[((laughter))]
7 →	Teacher	se kirja- käsikirjottaja (x) että tosta vaikka tuon joen yli
		the scriptwriter that from there across that river
8		ja se osottautu olemaan tää niilinjoki, kukaan ei pysty siitä
		and it proved to be the Nile nobody can
9		hyppäämään yli (.) no niin, mitenkäs tää ongelma ratkastiin↓
		jump across that well how was this problem solved

At the beginning of this example, on lines 2 and 3, the teacher makes an elicit in the form of a direct question: *what did the hero have to do to save himself*. Mikko answers that he had to jump across the Nile (line 4). The teacher acknowledges this: *yes* (line 5), but she immediately goes on correcting the answer so that it corresponds to the text: *or generally across a river*. In the text, it is first stated that the scriptwriter created a scene in which the hero jumps across a river. One river was chosen randomly on the map. Only later did this river proved to be the river Nile and nobody can jump across that. This is the order in which the teacher expects to get responses and therefore, Mikko reveals too early that the river was the Nile when, in fact, it was first just a river and only later specified as the Nile.

When confirming or acknowledging the pupils responses in the elicit-response sequences, the teacher also reinforces the importance of repeating the text verbatim. Consider the following extract in which the teacher is asking the pupils questions concerning the *study* text:

(21) YA1, Queenie & Rusty (492-503)

1	Teacher	=to the cinema↓ and how did they know that
2		something was wrong when they came home↑
3	Tuomo	they heard barking↓
4 →	Teacher	yes↓ loud barking↓ and growling↓ in the barn↓ an:d,
5		how did rusty chase the coyote away. (.) rusty is
6		the cat↓
7	Mikko	[he] slashed the: eiku she [(-)][slashed]
		no I mean
8	LM	[uh] [he]
9	LM	[he]
10	LM	[((laughs)) voihan se olla he]
		it could be he
11	Mikko	the (.) *over* the nose↓
12 →	Teacher	very good↓ with his claws↓ (.) yes↓

On lines 1 and 2, the teacher presents a question: *how did they know that something was wrong when they came home*. Tuomo answers: *they heard barking* (line 3). In her follow-up (line 4) the teacher corrects the answer to correspond to the exact wording of the text: *yes loud barking and growling*. The corresponding sentence in the text says: *we could hear loud barking and growling*. Similarly, on line 12, she completes the answer Mikko gives: *he slashed [the coyote] over the nose*, by adding: *with his claws*, as the text reads: *slashed it across the nose with his claws*.

By reading aloud text when confirming responses, the teacher reinforces the authoritative role of the text as the ultimate source of correct answers. Consider the following extract from the event with the *read* text in focus:

(22) YA3, Tarzan (798-807)

1	Teacher	=studiossa↓ no↓ mutta (.) minkä takia ne sitten päätti lähtee
		in a studio well but why did they then decide to go
2		sillon (.) kakskytyhdeksän afrikkaan tekemään
		then in nineteen twenty-nine to Africa to make
3		kunnollisen (.) villlieläinelokuvan↓
		a proper wild animal movie
4	L	((sniffs))
5	Mikko	että ei tarvii sitte (.) n- no niin no emmää tiiä
		so that they don't have to then well I don't know
6		tuliks se niinku nii villimmän näkönen tosiaan=
		was it kind of wilder looking
7 →	Teacher	=joo [koska täällä sanottiin] ihmiset oli kyllästyny
		yes because it said here that people got fed up
8	Aaro	[ihmiset oli kyllästyny]
		people got fed up
9 →	Teacher	the au- audiences got fed up with studio jungles↓

First the teacher asks a question (lines 1- 3), which is answered by Mikko (lines 5 and 6. Mikko is somewhat uncertain about his answer as his response is in the form of a question: *was it sort of wilder looking*. The teacher confirms this first by saying: *yes* (line 7) and then makes the answer more affirmative by resorting to the text. She reports what the text says (line 7). She does this in Finnish and finally reads the sentence in the book verbatim: *the audiences got fed up with studio jungles* (line 9).

If the pupils' responses to the teacher's elicits are not quite appropriate or if they are lacking in something, the teacher might give further clues by reading the text aloud:

(23) YA3, Tarzan (910-917)

1	Teacher	nyt- yks näyttelijälle tapahtu jotakin mitä sille[tapahtu↓]
		now something happened to one actor what happened to him
2	Tuomo	[herolle]
		to the hero
3	Mikko	katkas ja- no se eiks <u>sekin</u> jotain, emmää t-
		(s/)he broke and well didn't (s/)he too something I don't kn-
4		[eiku (x)]
		no I mean
5	Aaro	[krokotiili tarttu jalkaan]
		a crocodile struck his leg
6 →	Teacher	[a crocodile had] struck him across the leg with its tail
7	Mikko	ai nii joo se huitas sitä jalkaan hännällä
		oh yeah it struck him across the leg with its tail
8	Teacher	joo niin sen piti maata siellä se ei päässy liikkeelle, okay↓
		yes so he had to lie there he couldn't move okay

The teacher tells the pupils what happened next in the story: *now something happened to one of the actors* (line 1) and then transforms this into a question: *what happened to him/her* (line 1). Then again the pupils start to build the answer jointly. Mikko starts on line 3: *s/he broke well didn't s/he something,* but then he abandons his answer and Aaro continues that a crocodile grabbed his leg (line 5). Simultaneously with Aaro's answer, the teacher reads aloud from the text: *a crocodile struck him across the leg with its tail* (line 6). She gives the answer in English as it is in the text, as the pupils did not seem to find the answer easily. Mikko says the same in Finnish (line 7), thus providing the appropriate response and the teacher goes on with the story (line 8).

In addition, the following example further shows that the teacher uses feedback to correct the pupils' responses to match with the text:

(24) YA3, Tarzan (886-891)

1	Teacher	just↓ elikkä sit seuraavana aamuna ku tota noin ne oli
		right so the next morning when they were
2		vihdoin viimein ne krokotiilit kaikki siellä joessa <u>taas</u>,
		at last all the crocodiles back in the river again
3		niin (.) oli kuitenkin minkälainen sää↓
		well it was however what kind of weather
4	Aaro	[niin pilvinen sää] ettei voinu kuvata
		so cloudy that they couldn't film
5	Katja	[u:h, sumunen]
		foggy
6→	Teacher	sumunen ja taikka pilvinen sää
		foggy and or cloudy wheather

First the teacher reports how the story about making the film continues (lines 1 and 2) and she adds a question: *what kind of weather* (line 3). Aaro answers that the weather was so cloudy that they could not film (line 4). Simultaneously with Aaro, Katja makes a response as well. She says that the weather was *foggy* (line 5). The teacher acknowledges this by repeating *foggy* and then adding *and or cloudy* (line 6) thus correcting Katja's response to match the information given in the text.

To sum up, when the participants are talking about the content of the text, the interaction usually takes the form of elicits and responses as well as teacher follow-up. The text is used in all three parts of these sequences as the participants are animating and reporting text. Animating the text seems to reduce the content of the text into correctly repeated and translated sentences. The text is reconstructed and this has to match the original chronological order of the events in the text. Thus the text becomes an authority as the ultimate repository of answers and information and its content cannot be altered by the participants.

7.2.2 Locating meanings of words

In addition to the content of the text, the meanings of individual words are talked about by the participants. Like the information given in the text, these

too are located in the text. Typically, the pupils ask the teacher for the meanings of words and the teacher, for her part, directs the pupils to the text either verbally or nonverbally. She answers the pupils' enquiries by giving the right words and, in addition, points at their books to locate the words there. The following three extracts (example 25, 26 and 27) illustrate this. The first two are from events where the focus is an exercise on grammar and example 27 is from an event with a listening task:

(25) YA1, Pictures (161-163)

```
1       Katja        (hei) mikä on kirjoituskone
                     hey what's a typewriter
2       Aaro         (hei) [my parents bought] (-)
3 →     Teacher            [typewriter↓          ]
                     {teacher points at Katja's book}
```

Katja asks the teacher how she should translate *kirjoituskone* (=typewriter) in English (line 1). The teacher gives her the word in English (line 3) and simultaneously points at Katja's book. The word and its translation are given in the word list next to the task, and the teacher points at the word list.

(26) YA1, Pictures (291-294)

```
1       Aaro         niin (.) mikä on korvalappustereot
                     yes what is a Walkman
2 →     Teacher      walkman↓
                     {teacher points at Aaro' book}
3       LM           korvalappu[stereot   ]
                     Walkman
4 →     Teacher                 [(se on)   ] annettu täällä
                                  it is given here
                                 {teacher points at Aaro' book}
```

Aaro wants to know what *korvalappustereot* (=a Walkman) is in English (line 1). Again the teacher first gives the translation (line 2) and at the same time points at Aaro's book (line 2). Now she also says that the word is given in the text (line 4) thus reinforcing her gesture.

(27) YA4, Animal Quiz (891-982)

```
1       Mikko        HUM[PS ] MIKÄ: ON HUMP.=
                             what is a hump
2       LM(1)           [(xx)]
3       L            =[(xx).              ]
4       LF            [ mää en oo ees (x][xx)
                      I'm not even
5 →     Mikko                            [AI NII JOO, humps
                                         oh yeah yes
6 →                  nii (onki)
                     so it is
                     {teacher points at Mikko's book}
```

(Later in the event)

7	Mikko	mikä on slotti
		what is a sloth
8	Aaro	slotti↓ se o-
		a sloth that is
9	Mikko	[la:iskimus]=
		lazy person
		(a sloth = laiskiainen in Finnish = a lazy person)
10 →	Juuso	[(mitä:)]
		what
		{teacher points at Mikko's book}
11 →	Teacher	=use your [word] list here,
		{teacher points at Mikko's book}
12	LM	[(x)]
13	Teacher	[(x)]
14	Mikko	[ai <u>nii</u>] joo↓
		oh yeah yes
15 →	Aaro	slotti on (0) jo[ku eläin (se oli).]
		a sloth is some animal (it was)
		{teacher points at Aaro's book}
16	Katja	[ai<u>jj</u>aa]
		oh yeah
		{teacher points at Aaro's book}

Mikko first enquires about the meaning of *hump* (line 1) with a raised voice. The teacher does not answer his question; instead, she points at Mikko's book thus implying that the answer is to be found in the text. A little later in the event, Mikko wants to know what the meaning of a *sloth* is (line 7). Again, the teacher points at his book (line 10) and also adds that the pupils should use the word list in the book (line 11). As Aaro still goes on wondering what animal the sloth is (line 15), the teacher points at his book as well thus directing him to the text.

The teacher also directs the pupils to use the words that are given in the text instead of or as alternatives to other words with the same or similar meaning. This way she also implies that the text contains the correct forms and meanings. Consider the next example:

(28) YA3, ABCD (270-278)

1	Teacher	=bee, a:ivan oikein↓ [(-)] jodykin oli poissa↓
		quite right Jody was absent too
2	Mikko	[(xx)]
3 →	Teacher	(-) poissa-sana on annettu siinä [(.) marginaalissa]
		the word absent is given in the margin
4	Juuso	[jody was]
5		[gone too]
6	Aaro	[gone too]
7	Aaro	[(xxx)]
8	Mikko	[gone] *also*
9 →	Teacher	tai <u>absent</u> jos haluu käyttää sitä sanaa mikä on siinä
		or absent if you want to use the word that is there

The teacher reads out loud a sentence in Finnish (line 1) and also remarks that the word *absent*, needed in the translation, is given in the word list in the margin (line 3). Juuso replies with a translation: *Jody was gone too* (lines 4 and 5). Simultaneously with Juuso, Aaro also says: *gone too* (line 6) and he is further echoed by Mikko (line 8). The teacher acknowledges the response by giving an alternative, *or absent* (line 9). She further remarks that this is the word that is given in the text and it could also be used in the sentence.

Similarly, in example 29, the teacher directs the pupils to use the words that are given in the text. The pupils work in pairs forming sentences with the help of pictures in the textbook:

(29) YA1, Pictures (174-184)

1	Juuso	my parents
2		had (.) [money:] but we have a
3	Teacher	[mm↓]
4	Aaro	credit card=
5	Juuso	=credit ca:rd
6 →	Teacher	or cash cards↓=
		{teacher looks at and talks to the boys}
7	Juuso	=°cash card°
8	Teacher	mm
9	Aaro	[(miksei) credit cards↓]
		why not
10	Mikko	[OR CREdit cards↓]
11→	Teacher	it's a different thing
		{teacher looks at and talks to the boys}

The sentence that Juuso and Aaro are forming here should be based on two pictures, one showing hands with money and the other one displaying a hand with a card. Juuso starts to form a sentence: *my parents had money but we have a* (lines 1 and 2). He stops here and Aaro fills in *credit card* (line 4), which Juuso then repeats on line 5. The teacher, however, says: *cash card* (line 6) which Juuso then very quietly repeats (line 7). Aaro wants to know why *credit card* is not acceptable (line 10) but the teacher only says that it is a different thing (line 11). The pictures certainly do not indicate whether the card in the picture is a credit card or a cash card. The word list, however, only gives one alternative, that is, *cash card*. Thus the teacher directs the pupils to rely on the words and meanings given in the text.

In brief, as in the case of locating content in the text, the meanings of words are to be found in the textbook that is used. When the pupils enquire about the meanings of words, the teacher explicitly or implicitly directs them to use the words given in the textbook. Thus the version of words and meanings given in the textbook is accorded special status. The implication is that these words and meanings are somehow superior to other possibilities and thus more appropriate.

7.3 Text as grammatical structure

In learning a language, attention naturally has to be paid to language structures. Many of the events in the foreign language classroom focus on practising grammatical points. The texts in these events are exercises containing pieces of text with gaps and isolated sentences and prompt text or pictures. The focus of talk around these texts is on grammatical forms. Even though the sentences or pieces of text carry a semantic meaning (or at least appear to have one in some cases, see section 6.3.2), this is not the focus of talk. Only grammatical appropriateness counts. In the following, I will discuss how the participants invest the text with the meaning of grammatical structure in their talk. This becomes evident in how the joint talk focuses on grammatical appropriateness, even in tasks that are not explicitly focused on grammar, and how the teacher directs the pupils towards correct forms. In addition, the pupils use grammatical terminology and try out forms in their talk thus emphasising the structural properties of language.

First of all, when the pupils and the teacher are working on fill-in-the-gap exercises, the focus is obviously on completing the text so that it becomes structurally appropriate. Meaning is obviously also involved as the text has to make sense, too: not all words are appropriate in the given context, even though they might be grammatically correct. This reconstruction of text takes place jointly. The pupils read the text aloud and fill in the gaps as they go along. The teacher acts as a guide directing the pupils towards the correct forms. The following extract is a part of a long interaction around a piece of text with gaps in it. The text to be completed is as follows:

Queenie _____ loudly and the coyote _____ at her. Queenie _____ her pups, of course. But we _____ how she _____ down and the coyote _____ to get at one of the pups. Then Rusty _____ at the doorway. He _____ and _____ the coyote with his claws. The coyote _____ and _____ away. That's how Rusty _____ his old pal Queenie.

There is a list of verbs next to the text. The verbs to be filled in the gaps are *appeared, barked, defended, fell, growled, helped, howled, ran, saw, slashed, tried* and *turned.* The meanings of the verbs (and the text) are subordinate to the structural properties of the text. The structural properties of the text are highlighted: individual words have been taken out, all the omitted words are verbs and they are all in the past tense. Moreover, the gaps in the text are numbered and the verbs are given in the correct grammatical form. The talk among the participants also aims at locating the correct verbs in their correct places in the text:

(30) YA1, Fill in (756-789)

```
1 →   Tuomo      (x English) but [we: (-)] but we saw (.) how ] (-)
2     LL                       [ (xxx)                      ]
3     Teacher    but we [saw how ]
4 →   Tuomo             [ saw how] she fell (.)
5     Teacher    yes↑ (.)
6 →   Mikko      fell down and the coyote=
7 →   Juuso      =°growled°
8 →   Tuomo      uh (.) tried to get (-)
9     Juuso      (x) sehän on [helppo    ]
                 but that's easy
10    Aaro                   [   kiinni↓]
                 catch
11 →  Tuomo      °mm tried to get ((mumbles)) °
```

(10 lines omitted)

```
12 →  Juuso      mitä then rusty=
                 what then Rusty
13    Aaro       = mikä [tää on        ]
                 what's this
14 →  Juuso             [then Rusty: ] (.) ran↓ eiku=
                 no I mean
15    Aaro       =[eeikä kun eei]
                 noo I mean noo
16    Teacher     [   (x)      ]=
17 →  Juuso      =slashed
18 →  Teacher    at [the  ]doorway
19    LM            [(xx)]
20 →  Aaro       appeared
21    Tuomo      [ap-            ]
22    Teacher    [   hyvä        ]
                 good
23    Juuso      [n-appeared n-uh]
24    Teacher    ilmestyi (.) oviaukkoon. appeared at the doorway=
                 appeared at the doorway
```

In this extract, the pupils jointly construct the sentences by completing each others' utterances and by one continuing a sentence another left incomplete. The pupils seem to be more active here and the teacher is acting more like a guide directing the pupils talk into the appropriate direction. At the beginning of the extract, Tuomo is reading aloud the sentence: *but we saw how* (line 1). He pauses there and the teacher repeats what he has just said (line 3). Then Tuomo goes on filling in the next missing verb *fell* (line 4) and the teacher acknowledges this by saying: *yes* (line 5). Mikko continues from where Tuomo left by completing the unfinished clause and reading aloud the beginning of the next clause: *fell down and the coyote* (line 6). Here Juuso steps in and fills in a verb (line 7). He seems to be uncertain about the verb as he says it very quietly. Tuomo makes an attempt with another verb (lines 8 and 11) and mumbles the rest of the sentence. On line 12, Juuso wonders about the next sentence and tries to use the verb *ran* in the gap (line 14), but notices himself that it does not fit the

context. Juuso tries again on line 17, but the teacher reads out loud the phrase following the verb: *at the doorway* (line 18), thus showing that *slashed* is not appropriate in this context. Aaro realizes that the verb must be *appeared* (line 20) and this is accepted by the teacher (line 22). Finally the teacher translates the completed clause and also reads it aloud in English (line 24). There is no need here for the teacher to elicit responses from the pupils since they are actively constructing the text themselves. The teacher only needs to guide them towards the grammatically correct verb. She does this by animating a stretch of text (line 18) thus showing that the verb suggested by the pupils does not match the continuation, which the teacher reads aloud.

When filling in the gaps, the pupils try out forms aloud. Thus structures again are given emphasis at the expense of meanings. Consider example 31, which partly overlaps with example 30:

(31) YA1, Fill in (785-817)

```
1       Aaro        appeared
2       Tuomo       [ap-            ]
3       Teacher     [  hyvä         ]
                       good
4       Juuso       [n-appeared n-uh]
5       Teacher     ilmestyi [ (.) ] oviaukkoon↓ appeared at the doorway=
                    appeared at the doorway
6       LM                   [uh  ]
7       LF          =°mikä sivu°
                       which page
8       L           mm
9  →    Aaro        appea- [appea (.) appea (.) red]
10      LF                 [ (xxx Finnish          ]
11 →    LM                 [appeared               ]
12      LF          [mää en oikeen voi (xx Finnish) ]
                    I can't really
13 →    LM          [   appeared                    ]
14      LF          ai jaa
15      Teacher     appeared↓
16 →    Aaro        [appeared      ]
17 →    Tuomo       [ < - peared  > ]
18 →    LM          [he: slashed  ]
19 →    LM          [ he ssh      ]
20 →    Aaro        no (xx) slashed
21 →    Tuomo       eeikä oo ku slashed (.)
                    no it isn't it's
22 →    Aaro        slash ed
23      Tuomo       eei
                    no
24      Teacher     se sopis ysiin se slashed↓
                    that could fit in number nine that slashed
25      Mikko       nii=
                    yeah
26      Tuomo       =nii=
                    yeah
```

27	Aaro	=nii [but rusty:]
		yeah
28	Teacher	[sivalsi kojoottia↓] (.) tassullaan↓
		slashed the coyote with his paw
29 →	Tuomo	*slashed*
30 →	L	slashed
31	Juuso	slashed the coyote with his claw=
32	Teacher	=mut mikäs tulis mitä se muuta teki kun sivalsi↓
		but what else could be what else did it do besides slashing
33 →	Tuomo	sla:s hed↓

Aaro has just found the correct verb for the gap in the sentence *Then Rusty appeared at the doorway*, and the teacher has acknowledged this (lines 1-5). Then some of the boys start to say the verb *appeared*. They test the pronunciation as well as the way it is spelled, while they are writing it down in their workbooks. On line 9, Aaro repeats the beginning of the verb and pronounces it as it would be pronounced in Finnish. On lines 11 and 13, an unidentified male pupil also tries to pronounce the verb. The teacher notices this and says the verb as it is pronounced correctly (line 15). Still both Aaro and Tuomo once again repeat the verb or a part of it (lines 16 and 17). Similarly, the boys keep repeating the verb *slash*. An unidentified male pupil first reads the beginning of the next sentence and fills in a verb: *he slashed* (line 18). Another pupil simultaneously starts the same sentence but only pronounces the first sibilant of the verb *slashed* (line 19). Aaro also says aloud the verb (line 20) but Tuomo thinks that Aaro's pronunciation was not quite right and thus he corrects it (line 21). Now Aaro pronounces the verb very carefully and also separates the ending, which marks the past tense (line 21). The teacher remarks, however, that *slash* would be more appropriate in gap number nine (line 24). Even though the verb is not appropriate in this gap, the boys go on testing its pronunciation (lines 29, 30 and 33).

With this kind of verbal testing of single forms, the structural properties of language get marked. The meanings of these words are not brought into the discussion, even though it could be inferred that the words are not very familiar to the pupils as they seem to be unaware of the correct pronunciation. In addition, even when a verb is not appropriate in a gap – as with the verb *slash* – it is not pointed out why this is the case.

The previous two extracts (examples 30 and 31) were from events in which the focus of the task was on grammar. Sometimes, however, grammatical correctness gets highlighted in talk in events which seemingly appear to focus on other aspects of language. Example 32 comes from an event with a listening task in focus:

(32) YA2, Animal jobs (567-578)

1	Teacher	so[,] try again, juuso=
2	Aaro	[(xx)]
3	Juuso	=uh one morning an old lady uh °emmää [muista°]
		I can't remember
4	LL	[((laughter))]

```
5 →   Aaro           talked  [talked me] and asked me to came=
6     Teacher                [ I think    ]
7 →   Teacher        =that´s right, called [me↑   ]
8 →   Juuso                              [ai niin ] called, nii joo=
                                         oh yeah called oh yes
9 →   Aaro           =and asked me[ to came      ]
10 →  Teacher                      [   asked me: ], to come over↓=
11 →  Aaro           =come over [and (x)     ]
12    Teacher                    [that´s right]
```

The pupils and the teacher have just been listening to the tape for the second time and are now doing the first exercise, in which they have to complete sentences according to the interview on the tape. On line 1, the teacher asks Juuso to try to complete the first sentence. Juuso starts to read the beginning of the sentence (which is printed in the textbook) but stops and says that he cannot remember (line 3). Aaro makes an attempt next (line 5) and forms a sentence in which almost all the words are in their correct places except that the verbs are not quite appropriate and they are not in their correct tense. The teacher acknowledges this by saying: *that's right* (line 7) but, however, starts to correct the verbs. Both Juuso and Aaro join the teacher and repeat the sentence bit by bit after the teacher (lines 8-11). Finally, the teacher gives feedback by saying again: *that's right* (line 12).

The purpose of the task is to practise listening comprehension. This extract shows, however, that the grammatical correctness is also central in the task. The first sentence that Aaro said would perhaps have been adequate semantically – to get the message across. It was not, however, grammatically accurate and it is made such in the interaction by the teacher and the pupils jointly.

In addition to constructing forms and treating a stretch of text predominantly as a grammatical structure, the participants in the classroom use grammatical terminology in their talk or otherwise emphasize the importance of the structural properties of texts.

Firstly, the teacher might emphasize the importance of structure in her instructions, thus implying what the underlying purpose of the task is. Consider the following instruction for a game:

(33) YA2, Game (6-17)

```
1     Teacher        play a game with your friend↓ (.) throw the dice, and form a sentence
2                    in the past tense↓ [(-) use] one of the pictures to help you↓ (-) start
3     Juuso                            [missä ]
                                       where
4     Teacher        anywhere you like↓ (-) and here's an example (-) eat↓ (-) i ate a
5                    [banana yesterday] (-) so this is fifty-one↓
6     Juuso          [sivu mikä↓          ]
                     page what
7     Teacher        [you  ] can get the dice from me↓ (-) an:d ö (-) so there is no start and
8     Juuso          [ai jaa]
                     aha
9     Teacher        no finish i guess, [(-) but] it doesn't matter you can start where ever
10    L                                 [(x)    ]
```

11 → Teacher   you want to↓ (.) just (-) try to form some sentences↓ (-) in the past
12 →   tense↓ here's for you:

The teacher gives the instruction for the task by first reading aloud the instruction given in the textbook (lines 1, 2 and 4) and then referring to the text and explaining the examples given in the book (lines 4- 5). She gives the dice to the pupils so that they can play the game. While doing this, she points out that the game does not have a specific starting point neither a step that would mark the finish (lines 7, 9 and 11). On line 11, she remarks that this does not, in fact, matter as the pupils should *just try to form sentences in the past tense* (lines 11 and 12). Therefore, she indicates that the purpose of the task is not, as a matter of fact, to play a game; instead, the aim is just to form sentences. This way of referring to the task puts the language structures in the foreground at the expense of other aspects of the activity.

Similarly, example 34 illustrates how structure is emphasized over other aspects of language use. The teacher and the pupils are working on an exercise in which they have to decide which from of the verb *be* they would need if a set of Finnish sentences were translated into English:

(34) YA3, ABCD (392-398)

1   Teacher   miten sä vastaisit ei ollut, [was] the teacher angry↓
                  how would you answer no s/he wasn't
2   Juuso   [uh]
3   Teacher   [no↓]
                  well
4 →   Juuso   [mm] (.) no: uh he [(.) wasn´t], [eiku he wasn´t]
                                                    no I mean
5 →   Aaro   [she   ]
6 →   Teacher   [he wasn´t]
7   tai sh- he tai she, sillei oo väliä.
                  or sh- he or she it doesn't matter

The teacher bids Juuso to answer the question: w*as the teacher angry* (line 1). Juuso makes a response: *no, he wasn't* (line 4). The teacher in this class is a female teacher and perhaps therefore Aaro suggests that the pronoun used should be *she* (line 5). The teacher repeats Juuso's answer (line 6) and remarks that either *she* or *he* can be used (line 7). In a real life situation, using *she* or *he* would naturally make a difference. In the classroom and in this situation in particular, the focus is, however, on verb forms and therefore the question of whether to use a male or a female pronoun is irrelevant.

When the pupils are working in pairs and talking to each other, they also use "grammar talk" learnt in class. In the following example (35), the pupils are forming sentences in the past and in the present tense with the help of some pictures:

(35), YA1, Pictures (124-148)

```
1     Teacher    otetaas toi [drink ja] drank↓
                 let's take that drink and drank
2     L                     [(xx)     ]
3     Aaro       my parents [watched (.) aa      ]
4     Heidi                 [(ja mikä minä x)]
                 and what I (x)
5     Aaro       [black and white movies] (.)
6     Katja      [my parents drink        ]
7     Aaro       but↓ (.) [we watch↓   ] (.)
8     Eeva                 [°en mä tiä°]
                 I don't know
9     Teacher              [drank     ]=
10    Katja      =drank (-)
11    Aaro       colour movies
12    Katja      [and](-)
13    Juuso      [ok  ]
14    Aaro          [jee:]
15    Heidi         [no  ]
16    Aaro       [>kyllä mä oon hyvä<]
                 I am so good
17    Katja      [mikä toi on (x)          ]
                 what's that
18 →  Tuomo             [drink drank drunk (.)  ]
19    Teacher          [(se on) tomaattimehu↓]
                 it's tomato juice
20    Heidi      mikä [on (x)                ]
                 what's
21    Katja            [tomato juice      ]
22 →  Tuomo            [drink drunk drunk]
23    Katja      and we [drink] (cola)
24    Heidi              [ni    ]
25    Teacher    yes↓ (.) (no↓ entäs sitten↓)
                 well what next
```

Katja is working with the teacher as otherwise she would not have a partner (there are seven pupils in the classroom). She is forming sentences from the verb forms *drink* and *drank* as the teacher suggests (line 1). She begins to form the sentence by saying: *my parents drink* (line 6). The teacher corrects the verb form (line 9) and Katja repeats it (line 10). She makes an attempt to go on with the sentence (line 12) but then she stops and asks the teacher what something in the picture is (line 17). The picture shows a man and he is pouring something from a can into a glass. The can has a picture of a tomato on it. The teacher says to Katja in Finnish that it is tomato juice (line 19). Katja continues the sentence: *tomato juice* (line 21) *and we drink cola* (line 23). Tuomo has apparently been overhearing Katja's talk with the teacher as he says the different tense forms of the verb *drink* (line 18). Over the past few weeks the pupils have been learning by heart a list of irregular verbs, and now Tuomo says out loud the three forms. He repeats them once more, this time slightly inaccurately (line 22).

Similarly, in examples 36 and 37 the pupils are repeating the three verb forms. In both examples, the pupils are working in pairs and they are forming sentences in the past tense.

(36) YA2, Game (461-468)

```
1    Juuso      i wrote
2    Mikko      °yks ka [ko    ]ne vii°
                one two three four five
3    Juuso              [wrote]
4 →  Aaro       @write wrote [written@]
5    Mikko                   [i spent    ] lots of [money (-) last (summer)]
6    Juuso                                        [i wro:te a letter           ]
7    Heidi      ni
                yea
8    Juuso      >eiku< i wrote (-) a book
                no I mean
```

Juuso is trying to form a sentence starting with *I wrote* (lines 1 and 3). Aaro is Juuso's pair in the game and now he takes the verb and says all the three forms (line 4). He is evidently doing this playfully as he does this in an altered tone of voice. Then Juuso finishes his sentence (line 6) and changes it a little on line 8.

(37) YA2, Translate (1062-1065)

```
1 →  Tuomo      eiks (.) see [saw seen]
                isn't it
2    Mikko                   [   see    ] (x) eiku-
                                     no I mean
3 →  Tuomo      [see saw seen ]
4 →  Juuso      [see saw seen ]
```

The pupils are translating sentences from Finnish into English and Tuomo is wondering about the past tense of *see*. He asks whether the forms are *see, saw* and *seen* (line 1). It is notable that he does not ask whether the past tense form of *see* is *saw*; instead, he uses all the three forms – as if they were a rhyme – as they have been learning them in class. Tuomo repeats the forms simultaneously with Juuso (lines 3 and 4).

These instances of pupils speaking verb forms when they are either playing with these forms or when they are trying to remember a certain tense indicate that they treat these items of language as structures out of context. They have learnt these three irregular verb forms by heart and they refer to them later as an entity.

In addition, grammatical terminology is used in the class when talking about texts. Obviously, it is logical for the teacher to use grammatical terminology when explaining forms, but it is notable that the pupils also use this kind of talk when completing tasks in pairs. In the following examples (38 and 39), the pupils are playing a game and forming sentences in the past tense:

(38) YA2, Game (179-190)

1	Juuso	[lose (.) i /luust/ my >eiku< i lost >eiku<]
		no I mean no I mean
2	Mikko	[on my tree (yesterday) (-) (x)]
3	Heidi	[(xxx)]
4	Aaro	[my temper ((laughs))]
5	Mikko	[(x yesterday)]
6 →	Juuso	>okei< [/luust/ miten se taipuu]
		how is it inflected
7	Mikko	[(yesterday)]
8	Katja	[(xxx)]
9	Mikko	JAA:
		aha
10	Juuso	[lose lose >eiku<]
11	Heidi	[(xx)]
12 →	Teacher	lose lost lost (-) lost (-) i lost

Juuso is forming a sentence in which he needs the past tense form of the verb *lose*. He is uncertain about the correct form and he tries out different ones (line 1). On line 6, he then wonders how the verb is inflected. Notice the use of grammatical terminology in contrast to the mere listing of verb forms in the examples above. On line 10, he is still wondering about the correct form and finally the teacher hears him and gives him the correct forms (line 12). Here the teacher uses the same format as the pupils in the examples above: she gives all three forms, although Juuso only needs the past tense form. Similarly in example 39:

(39) YA2, Game (287-299)

1	Tuomo	one two three four
2		five [six][inVENT MIKÄ ON INVENT]
		what's
3	Juuso	[packed][packed >packed packed packed<]
4	Teacher	[drank]
5		[keksiä]
		invent
6	Juuso	[packed] my[:: bag last] night >eiku<
		no I mean
7	Teacher	[what did you drink (.) i::]
8	Eeva	(xx)
9	Teacher	[drank]
10 →	Tuomo	[miten se][taipuu invent]
		how is it inflected
11	Juuso	[>eiku< i][packed][ä my] bag (.) [ä: in this morning]
		no I mean
12 →	Teacher	[te:d]
13	Tuomo	[invent i invented x]

Tuomo counts the steps (lines 1 and 2) and he lands on *invent* on the game board. Thus he has to make a sentence by using that verb. He first asks what *invent* means (line 2). He raises his voice and gets the teacher's attention as she

gives him the meaning in Finnish (line 5). Then Tuomo wants to know how the verb is inflected (line 10), that is, he again uses grammatical terminology. The teacher's response consists only of the ending of regular past tense verbs (line 12). Tuomo knows what this means and now he can form the sentence (line 13).

When playing the verb game, the pupils also use another grammatical term they have learnt in class, namely the *third form*:

(40) YA2, Game (352- 364)

```
1      Tuomo     (three are three are three)
2 →    Katja     [mikähän se kolmas muoto (x)]
                 what could be the third form
3      Tuomo     [one two three           ][(-) break niinku rikoin]
                                                     like I broke
4      Juuso                               [(x a car game (.) last   ]
5      Teacher   [mm]
6      Juuso     [eiku][i played a]
                 no I mean
7      Katja          [i (x      ][x)            ]
8      Teacher        [(x) imperfekti]
                      the past tense
9      Mikko     [brum brum brum brum [bru:      ]:m        ]
10     Juuso     [(car game             [yesterday] (-) eiku ]
11     Tuomo                             [i broke   ]
12     Juuso     [oli se ]
                 it was
13     Katja     [a card] to my friend ((laughs))
```

Katja has landed on *send* on the game board and starts to wonder about the forms of the verb. She wonders what could be the third form of the verb (line 2). The term *third form* refers to the last of the three irregular verb forms (*see saw seen*). In fact, Katja needs the second form in her sentence and not the third form but the *third form* seems to be one of the terms that are associated with the use of tense and it is thus used by Katja. This is comparable to the pupils' use of all three verb forms when trying to remember one form: they have learnt certain forms and terms concerning structures and they apply these when talking about structures among themselves. The same term is used by Katja again later in the event:

(41) YA2, Game (558-566)

```
1 →    Katja     hei mikä (-) mä en tiä [tosta][kolmas muoto (x)]
                 hey what is I don't know the third form of that
2      Juuso                            [(x)  ]
3      Aaro                                    [i wri-            ]
4      Tuomo     written
5      Aaro      write [i've ][written books      ] (-) very much
6      Teacher         [se on][imperfekti          ]
                       that's the past tense
7      Tuomo               [i have never written]
8      Juuso     niin
                 yes
```

9	Katja	i rowed my boat

On line 1, Katja asks about the third form of the verb *row*. Part of the discussion in the class in inaudible but evidently she gets an answer from a friend as she forms the sentence with the correct form of *row* on line 9.

To sum up, in the classroom certain ways of talking among the participants emphasize the structural properties of texts. In exercises on grammar, the focus naturally is on grammatical correctness. The texts involved do, however, carry a semantic meaning but this is not referred to in the talk. Instead, the pupils fill in the gaps by trying out different words at the same time trying out their pronunciation and the teacher directs the pupils towards grammatically correct forms. Grammatical correctness is often emphasized in tasks that do not, however, explicitly focus on grammar. In these cases, in addition to the interaction among the participants, the teacher's instructions might put emphasis on the language structures. The talk among the pupils also concentrates on structures. This becomes evident in the way they talk about verb forms and in how they employ grammatical terminology they have learnt in class.

7.4 The oral nature of written text

As has been discussed earlier, almost everything in the classroom is done through talk. Talk is central even when the primary focus is not on practising oral language skills. As an institution, the classroom is a public sphere. In describing the classroom setting as public, I mean that most tasks are done jointly by all the participants. Even tasks that are done in pairs or groups are done orally so that all the participants can be both speakers and hearers (or overhearers). In addition, tasks that have been done privately either in class or at home are brought into public discussion in the class. Consequently, given the centrality of text in the classroom, the participants give the written text an oral form in the classroom. In the following, I will first examine how this is done in joint activities and secondly, I will look into the activities carried out by the pupils.

Many of the activities in the classroom are done jointly by the teacher and the pupils. Whenever there is a continuous text in the textbook, it is also read on the tape for listening to. The purpose of these texts is to practice reading or to study text, but even the layout of those text which have a little symbol in the form of a tape next to their titles indicates that these texts can and should be listened to. Consider the teacher's instructions for a task with a *read* text in focus:

(42) YA3, Tarzan (728-735)

1→	Teacher	=o:kay, [let´s listen to this one]
2	Tuomo	[♪strike struck ♪]
3	Teacher	and then I have some questions for you

4		[so (.)] do your best
5	Aaro	[lehti]
6	Juuso	heroiini ja heroiini=
		heroin and heroin
7→	Teacher	=and concentrate (.) on listening↓ mikko as well
8		eh no I mean aaro, sorry↓

Before this extract the teacher has given general instructions for the task and the participants have read the word list aloud together (more about this below). After finishing reading the words, the teacher moves to the next activity: listening to the text (line 1). She tells the pupils briefly that they are going to listen to the text and after that she is going to ask them some questions about it (line 3). Why the text is listened to is not explained but it is important as the teacher asks the pupils to concentrate on it (line 7). No explanation is apparently needed, as the pupils seem to know what is to follow. Listening to texts on tape is one of the established, familiar practices in the foreign language classroom. At no point in the event, is the text, in fact, read by the participants, not at least in the conventional sense of reading. The teacher does not even use the word *read* in her instructions. In this event, reading means – for the pupils – listening to the text being read aloud by somebody not physically present in the classroom. They do follow the text in their textbook while listening. Perhaps they also *read* it at the same time. In this case, reading a written text takes on a special classroom meaning: the written text exists only in an oral form.

The following extract (example 43) is from an event which deals with the *study* text. In this event the text is also listened to. The teacher's instruction is as follows:

(43) Queenie & Rusty (400-407)

1 →	Teacher	okay, do you remember the sto:ry↑
2		[we read last time, a dog´s best friend↓]
3	Heidi	[(xxx Finnish) ((laughs))]
4 →	Teacher	[because it´s already a week ago I thought] we might
5	LL	[(xxx)]
6 →	Teacher	listen to it once again↓ [(.)] so please take
7	Aaro	[missä me ollaan]
		where are we
8	Teacher	these (.) books again↑ and this is page forty-six↓=

The text has been listened to already during the previous lesson and the teacher refers to this in her opening of the event (lines 1 and 2). She asks whether the pupils still remember the story they *read* the last time. Here again *reading* takes on a special meaning: the teacher refers to the activity of listening to the text as reading. The teacher says that they should listen to the text again because the last time they dealt with the text was as long as a week ago (lines 4 and 6). Listening is used here as an aide memoire and also to lead the pupils into working on the text again. In contrast to the *read* text, listening seems slightly more justified here as the text is a dialogue between an interviewer and a young boy. In a way, the voices on the tape are like actors in a play, whereas the story

of the *read* text was only read aloud by somebody. Nevertheless, the text in this dialogue resembles written text more than naturally occurring spoken language, that is, the text consists of full sentences and there are no false starts, hesitations, incomplete utterances, and so on.

In addition to listening to written texts, the participants themselves often give text an oral form. First of all, this takes place when the teacher and the pupils are reading aloud the word lists attached to texts. The word lists are used in grounding the task to be done (see section 6.2.1). The task might be either a reading or a listening task. The word lists could be used only to check the meaning of an unknown word, but in this classroom they are foregrounded. In this way, again, written text is given an oral form in the interaction. There are several possible reasons for these activities, such as learning the correct pronunciation, gearing attention towards new words or engaging the pupils in a joint activity.

Secondly, in addition to texts being listened to, tasks done privately or completed in pairs of pupils are made public in joint activities. To begin with, these occasions include checking homework. In example 44, the teacher and the pupils are checking homework, in which the pupils had to fill in verbs in the past tense in sentences:

(44) YA3, Gaps in sentences (117-139)

```
1    Teacher    mitäs sanotte kakkosesta
                what do you say about number two
2               eeva, mitäs sulla on
                Eeva what do you have
3    Eeva       mm
4 →  Teacher    ota koko lause
                take the whole sentence
5    Aaro       (xx)
6 →  Eeva       I didn´t (.) buy a (0) cassette, I bought  (-)
7    Juuso      [(xx),  mikä    ]
                        what
8    Teacher    [   a new CD  ]
9               I bought a new CD
10   Juuso      näänkö mää oikein
                am I seeing right
11 → Teacher    e:ntäs sitte↑ (.) tuomo↓
                what next (.) Tuomo
12              (-)
13 →            ota vaan koko lause↓
                take the whole sentence
14   Tuomo      (x) kun mää kans mietin mikä tuo on
                    I was just thinking about what that is
15   Juuso      (-) uh mm ta- eiku took=
                        no I mean
16   Tuomo      jaa, onks se (.) he didn´t take the bus (.)
                yes is it
17              he (.) uh  (.) took=
18   Teacher    =took=
19   Tuomo      =ai took↓
20   Aaro       (x), took
```

21	Teacher	took a taxi↓
22	LM	mm
23	Teacher	mm-m↑

The teacher asks the pupils to say the second sentence (line 1). Eeva is asked to make a response (line 2). The teacher further remarks that she should read aloud the whole sentence (line 4) even though they have had to fill in only one word in the sentence in the book. On line 6, Eeva then starts to read the sentence aloud: *I didn't buy a cassette, I bought a.* As she hesitates and there is a pause in her utterance (line 6), the teacher completes the sentence on lines 8 and 9. Tuomo is asked to read aloud the next sentence (line 11) and again he is explicitly asked to read out loud the whole sentence, not just the verb that he has filled in. He reads the sentence (lines 16 and 17) with the teacher correcting his incorrect pronunciation (line 18).

The text is also given an oral form when the pupils are, in fact studying written text and manipulating, that is underlining, it. In example 45, the pupils are underlining sentences but in addition to that they have to first read aloud the sentence in the text:

(45) YA1, Queenie and Rusty (532-549)

1	Teacher	and then number two, queenie synnytti viisi pentua↓
		Queenie gave birth to five pups
2		once again↓ [(-)] once again, how about (.)
3	LM	[(xxx)]
4	Teacher	one of the girls (.) [eeva how would you]
5 →	Mikko	[queenie gave birth] to
6		five (.) pups=
7	Teacher	=that´s right↑
8		(-)
9	Tuomo	queenie gave birth [to five pups]
10	Eeva	[missä se on]
		where is it
11	Tuomo	[siinä](.) billin tota siinä [ala-]
		there under Bill er there
12	Teacher	[tässä] [over] here↓
		here
13		gave birth (.) to five pups↓ (-) pikkusiskoni
		my little sisters
14		eivät halunneet jättää queeniä↓
		didn't want to leave Queenie
15 →	Tuomo	my little sisters *didn´t* want to leave queenie=
16	Teacher	=good↓ my little sisters [didn´t want] to leave
17	Aaro	[missä se on]
		where is it
18	Teacher	queenie↓

The teacher has written the sentences to be found in the text in Finnish on the black board. She reads them aloud in Finnish (line 1, 13-14), the pupils find them in the text and read them aloud in English (lines 5-6, 15). In her feedback, the teacher repeats the sentence once more (lines 13, 16 and 18). Thus each

written sentence is said aloud three times: first in Finnish by the teacher and then in English by both the pupils and the teacher.

In addition to the joint activities of the whole group, text is given an oral form in activities in which the pupils are supposed to be working on their own. The pupils talk to themselves when they are doing exercises on their own: they try out forms or the pronunciation of words, for example.

The following extract comes from an event in which the pupils are working on their own on a task. The task consists of there sentences in Finnish and next to them corresponding English sentences with two alternative verb forms. The pupils have to circle the one that corresponds to the Finnish sentence:

(46) YA3, Circle (422-436)

```
1 →   Teacher     =muttei ääneen [ tarvi ettei-  (.)   naapuri] voi miettiä sitten
                  but not aloud so that your neighbour can think about
2     Juuso                     [where did you get        ]
3 →   Teacher     [ ite sitä                  ]
                  it themselves
4     Mikko       [>aaro lainaatsää kynää<  ]
                  Aaro will you lend me a pen
5     Aaro        kato tolta
                  check what he's got
6 →   Juuso       [we:     ] (.) got [ it from the        ] country
7     Teacher     [ mm-h↑]
8     Mikko                     [ (x)mulla on tässä ]
                              I've got one here
9     Aaro        (xxx)
10 →  Juuso       °now we have goldfish°
11                (-)
12→               [they eat]
13 →  Aaro        [we got it]
14    Teacher     [ (xx)              ]
15→   Juuso       [ my parrot talks  ]
```

The teacher has just given instructions for the task and now she tells the pupils to work silently so that everybody can think about the task on their own (lines 1 and 3). Juuso is already working on sentence number 4 and he reads it out loud (line 6). He goes on with the next sentence (line 10) and part of the following sentence (line 12). Aaro also says aloud the sentence he is thinking about (line 13) and Juuso then reads aloud his next sentence. In this way the pupils – notably the boys – go through the exercise. Despite the teacher's explicit request for silent working, the boys keep on saying the sentences aloud. They are not, in fact, talking to each other as there seems to be no dialogue, no commenting on each other's turns. Moreover, they are working on the sentences at their own pace. This kind of talk can be called self-talk (see section 5.2.2.3). It is possible, however, that it is at least partly targeted at the teacher to show that they are actually working on the task. Nevertheless, the text is worked on orally and this way the written text on the page acquires oral form in the pupils' talk.

Consider also example 47. Here again the pupils are supposed to be working on their own. The exercise has 12 sentences in Finnish and the pupils have to first mark the ones that are in the past tense and then translate these into English in their notebooks:

(47) YA2, Translate (1031-1049)
Only Juuso's and Aaro's turns are shown

1	Juuso	he (-) <ca::lled>
2		what did he say
3	Aaro	<u>say</u>
4		did you see something
5		what did you see something
6	Juuso	um what did he (-) he vai she, he
7		pistetään he, what did he:: (.) <say>
		let's put he

Let's first follow Juuso's turns. First he says part of the first sentence (line 1). The next sentence in the past tense is the fourth sentence in the list and Juuso says it aloud next (line 2). He is writing the sentence down when he starts to wonder whether to have *he* or *she* in the English sentence. On line 6, he first reads the beginning of the sentence (*what did he*) and stops there to think about the person: *he* or *she*. He answers himself on line 7: *let's put he*. Finally, he reads the whole sentence (line 7). Here Juuso is clearly talking to himself as nobody answers his question and he ends up answering it himself. Similarly, Aaro is trying to translate a sentence and he verbalizes his efforts. First he says aloud the verb in focus: *say* (line 3). Then he says aloud the whole sentence (line 4) and again on line 5.

As was already seen in examples 46 and 47 above, the pupils engage in self-talk when they are supposed to be working individually. Sometimes it seems that the pupils want to show the teacher that they are working on the task. In example 48, the pupils are answering a set of quiz questions in their notebooks before listening to a quiz programme:

(48) YA4, Animal quiz (1059-1071)

1 →	Teacher	(oka:y) have you answered all the questions↓=
2 →	Juuso	=[no (I haven´t)
3	Mikko	[kaheksankyt kilometriä=
		eighty kilometers
4	Teacher	=qu:estions=
5	Mikko	=ku on toi kauttaviiva=
		but there's that slash
6	Teacher	=[not yet
7	Mikko	[(xx)
8 →	Tuomo	mää en oo vielä <u>miss</u>ään ku mä oon vasta tässä↓
		I'm nowhere yet because I'm only here
9	Juuso	how fast=
10 →	Teacher	=[have you↑
11	Juuso	[can the

12   Mikko   [in which [coun]try do giant pandas::
13   Juuso   [cheetah [(run)]

The teacher asks first whether the pupils have answered all the questions (line 1). Juuso answers that he hasn't (line 2) and Tuomo also remarks that he hasn't finished yet (line 8). The teacher repeats her question on line 10. As if to show that they are still working on the questions, Juuso starts to read one of them (lines 9, 11 and 13). Simultaneously, Mikko also reads the question he his working on (line 12). Thus, the pupils read text aloud even when it is not required. One of the purposes could be that they want to show the teacher that they are working on the text. Another reason could be that, as has been discussed above, most activities in the classroom are done orally and written text is often given an oral form. Thus it could be a way of working that has been established in the classroom and that the pupils employ even if it is not entirely appropriate. Yet another reason could be that the pupils simply say forms because they want to hear what the text sounds like when it is said aloud.

To summarize, text is given an oral form both in the participants' joint activities and in activities in which the pupils are working on their own. Texts are always listened to in the classroom. This also concerns texts that are meant for practising reading or for studying text. Word lists are also often read aloud and thus brought into a very prominent position in the literacy event. In addition, tasks that have been done privately in class or at home are made public in the joint oral activities of the participants. Furthermore, when the pupils are supposed to be working on their own, there is, in fact, a great deal of talk going on. The pupils talk to themselves when working on the written text thus giving it oral form. Thus, almost everything that is done to the written text is turned into oral activities in the classroom.

7.5   Text as a source of conversation

In addition to being treated as an artefact, a structure or content, or as oral language, text also becomes a source of conversation in the talk among the participants. In these instances talk is close to everyday conversation in contrast to the forms of talk typical of educational institutions (e.g. elicit-response sequences). This kind of talk takes place predominantly among the pupils and, in addition, often as a sideline to the dominant classroom talk. Sometimes, however, the teacher is also engaged in the conversation. Obviously, there is plenty of talk among the pupils that can be considered everyday conversation. Here, however, only the kind of talk that is related to text is taken into account. The talk springs from the text, that is, the text at hand is used as a starting point, but the talk is not regulated by the text and the speakers are not animating or reporting text. There are three kinds of talk through which the text acquires the meaning of a *source*. Firstly, the pupils might talk about procedures related to the task at hand or negotiate on issues related to the task. Secondly, there is by-

play evoked by the text and, finally, there is playful talk related to words and expressions in the text. The following sections will discuss each of these in turn.

7.5.1 Negotiations over the task

Sometimes the pupils need to engage in negotiations over the procedures needed in the task. This happens when the instructions in the text are inadequate or, in other words, the text seems to be lacking something essential for the pupils to be able to complete the task. Consider first the following fairly long example. In this extract, the pupils are starting to work on a game in which they have to form sentences in the past tense with the help of the pictures beside the game board. The teacher has given instructions for the task, but evidently they have not been clear enough for the pupils as they engage in this longish talk about how to play the game. The purpose is to play a game but the instructions do not specify the rules of that game (see also section 7.3), such as where to start, how to proceed, who wins and so on. These are issues, related to the text and the task, that have to be clarified before embarking on the actual task. The pupils are, in fact, engaged in an opening of an event which is not the opening done by the teacher (cf. section 5.1.1):

(49) YA 2, Game (39-96)

	Teacher	Tuomo and Mikko	Aaro and Juuso	Eeva, Heidi and Katja
1		T MIHIN PÄIN tässä kierretään (-) kellonsuuntaan **which way do we go here clockwise**		
2	okei (-) perhaps (-) yeah↓ (-) clockwise↓			H ((coughs))(xx)
3			A (kuhan se on siellä perillä↓) **as long as it is there**	E aha (-) näin päin **aha this way**
4	you can decide↓			H näin [°päin°] **this way**
5				E näin (-) näin päin **this this way**
6			J ♪ di dii♪	H näin päin (-) näin päin **this way this way**
7		M aloitetaan vaikkapa **we might start**	J ♪di dii♪	K kellon suuntaan niinku kello menee **clockwise like a clock goes**
8		T mä aloitan **I'll start**		E eikö se kello mee näinpäin **doesn't the clock go this way**
9		T ainaki tosta draivista **at least from drive**	J ♪ di duu♪	H jos mä aloitan se on eeva ja sitte oot sinä **what if I begin**

#			
10		J drink drank *drunk* A ((laughs))	**then Eeva and then you** H jos sä alotat se on minä **if you start then it's me** K ihan sama kumpi alottaa **it doesn't matter who starts**
11	M mä alotan **I'll start**		H ((laughs)) ((coughs))
12	T (x mulla on noppa täällä) **I have the dice here**	A no nii (nyt alotetaan draivi) **alright now we'll start the drive**	
13	M (mä tiän) yritetään ottaa toisia kiinni mä alotan luussista **I know let's start to catch each other I'll start from lose**		K mitäs mun nyt pitää tehdä **what should I do now**
14		J mä alotan **I'll start**	
15		A hei (-) alota sä drinkistä niin mä alotan rinkistä (-) **hey you start from drink and I'll start from ring**	E sä heität noppaa ja sit sää **you throw the dice and then you** H (x sen) voi alottaa **you can start**
16			H mistä vaan **anywhere**
17		A molemmat alottaa päistä **both will start from the ends** J (mistä) **from where**	E muodosta ruudun verbistä imperfektilause **form a sentence in the past tense from the verb in the square**
18			K (mä alotan tästä) **I'll start here**
19		J okei (-) kumpaan suuntaan pitää mennä↓ häntään↓ **okay which way do we have to go to get to the tail**	H no nii (-) sitte sä heität noppaa ja (xx) **okay then you throw the dice**
20	M joo (-) **yeah**	J (päästä) alottaa↓ **start from the end**	
21	M mä alotan luussista (niin) sä alotat draivista **I'll start from lose and you start from drive**	A alotetaan myötäpäivään **we'll start clockwise**	
22		J okei (-) kumpi on myötäpäivä **okay which way is clockwise**	
23	M kilpaillaan kumpi saa (toisen enemmin kiinni)		K (kaks) **two**

			let's compete to see who catches the other first	

24			J okei (.) mä alotan **okay I'll start**	K kumpaan suuntaan **which way**
25			J kumpi alottaa **who starts**	H kellon suuntaan (x) **clockwise**
26		T KILPAILLAAN KUMPI SAA TOISE- toisen enemmin kiinni **we'll compete to see who catches the other first**		K ai niin **alright**
27	okei (.) yeah			
28		T alotetaan vastapäivään **let's start anti-clockwise**		
29			A no (.) alotetaan päistä **well let't start from the ends**	
30		T (hei) (-) (se on se) (tähän) **(hey) (it's the) (here)**	(A) (tää on paha toteuttaa) **this is difficult to do**	H mistä sää ny oikein alotit **where did you start now**

The pairs (or groups) in this task are Juuso and Aaro, Mikko and Tuomo, as well as Eeva, Heidi and Katja. The pairs engage in simultaneous discussions. They all talk about the procedures necessary to play the game. Tuomo asks about the right way to proceed on the game board: clockwise or anti clockwise (line 1). He gets confirmation from the teacher (line 2). Then Mikko and Tuomo talk about who starts and on which step (lines 7, 8, 9, and 11). Mikko remarks that they could try to catch each other on the game board (line 13) which he repeats a little later (line 23), and he also seeks for confirmation from the teacher (line 26). Even though Tuomo already suggested that they go clockwise, he makes a new proposition: *let's start anti-clockwise* (line 28).

Aaro and Juuso are talking about the same issues. They start their negotiations a little later. Aaro suggest that they should begin the game (line 12) and Juuso says that he will start (line 14). Then they talk about where to start (lines 15 and 17) and which direction to go in (lines 19, 20, 21 and 22). Once again they attempt to establish who should start the game (lines 24 and 25) and Aaro makes the final decision about where to start (line 29).

Similarly, Eeva, Heidi and Katja are talking about which way to go (lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8). After deciding to go clockwise around the board they need to decide who shall start and who is next. Heidi says that if she starts the next turn Eeva will go next and after that Katja (line 9). She gives another alternative on line 10: if Katja starts then the next turn will be Heidi's. Katja says that it does not matter who starts (line 10). Katja starts to wonder what she should do next (line 13) and Eeva says that she should roll the dice (line 15) and then she reads aloud the instruction in the book: *form a sentence in the past tense with the verb in the square* (line 17). Katja rolls the dice and gets two (line 23) and continues to wonder which way to move her counter (line 24). Heidi reminds her on line 25.

This talk is meaningful negotiation over the procedures to be adopted. It is related to the text, as it fills in something that is missing in the text in order to carry out a meaningful task. This kind of talk is clearly in contrast to, for example, the kind of talk that involved pupils saying unconnected sentences one after another (see section 7.3). Thus the text is used in quite a different way on this occasion: the speakers were not merely animating text but were using text in their talk as authors. Therefore the meaning is given to the text, namely, that of a source or a stimulus. What is also notable is that the girls are as active in this kind of talk as the boys, who overall are much more talkative than the girls in this class.

In addition to talk concerning procedures, the pupils also engage in negotiations over the actual task at hand. Examples 50 and 51 below are from an event which focuses on a listening task. Before listening the pupils have to answer quiz questions by choosing one of three answer alternatives. While listening they are then supposed to check their answers. The extracts take place before the listening is done, and in them the pupils are negotiating over the correct answers. This is in contrast to the teacher's proposed method of working: the pupils should have worked individually (cf. section 5.2.3). Consider the following fairly long extract which is a mixture of self-talk and conversation:

(50) YA4, Animal quiz (205-272)

```
1 →   Mikko      [in which [coun]try d[o giant pandas::
2     Juuso      [cheetah  [(run)]
3     L                    [yes  ]
4     Aaro                          [(xx)
5     Juuso      [onks se nyt sata kilometriä=
                 now is it a hundred kilometers
6     L          [(xx)
7 →   Mikko      =CHI[NA:::.
8     Katja          [(xx)
9 →   Mikko      [(x) (kiina) vai japani↓]
                       China or Japan
10    Juuso      [              (xx]x)
11 →  Mikko          [(china)
12    Juuso          [(xx)
13 →  Aaro       [chinatown↓]
14    Katja      [(xx)        ](xx)
15 →  Mikko          [onks se japan vai china
                     is it Japan or China
16    Tuomo          [(xx)
17    LM             [(xx)
18    (Aaro)     [how far can a sloth move (x[x)          in] a minute↓
19    L          [(mitä me nyt tehhään) ↓
                 what do we do now
20    Tuomo      [upside down
21 →  Mikko                                [on se japani↓]
                                           it's Japan
22    Juuso      one [meter   ]
```

23	Aaro	[sovitaan] [että (.) pari minuut-
		let's say that a couple of minute-
24	Tuomo	[(xxx)
25	Aaro	pari <u>met:ers</u> =
		a couple of meters
26	Katja	=(x[x)
27	Juuso	[mää pistän että one (.) (<u>meter</u>)
		I'll put one meter

(15 lines omitted)

28 →	Aaro	kymmene in which <u>cound:r:y</u>-
		ten
29	Juuso	<u>eiku</u> se oli asia [eikä mikää aasia↓]
		no it was a thing and not Asia (*asia* in Finnish is a *thing* in English)
30	Aaro	[mikä (x) (chinatownissa)]=
		what
31	Katja	=lähtiskö (x[xx)
		should I go
32	LM	[asia↓
33	L	[mmm
34	LM	(xx)=
35 →	Aaro	=[asia (xx) **in**tia=
36	L	[(xxx)
37	Tuomo	=[(xx) asiassa
		in the thing
38	LM	[(xx) asi<u>aan</u>
		to the thing (=to the point)
39	Teacher	[a:l<u>right</u>
40 →	Mikko	no mut se on kiina tai japsi (mutta)=
		well but it is China or Japan but
41 →	Aaro	=ei ole japsissa (.) se on in-[kiina tai intia
		it isn't in Japan it is In- China or India
42	Mikko	[ai nii (se on se kii-)
		oh yes it is Chi-
43 →	Mikko	<u>e:i</u> no ei intiassa aina[kaa oo]
		no well not in India in any case
44 →	Tuomo	[no] k<u>II</u>nassa ne kyllä [(.) on mutta ei millään (x)
		well in China they do but no way
45	Mikko	[no- no-
		well well
46 →	Mikko	[mää- mää-] uh uutisissa vaan kuulin
		I, I, I just heard it in the news
47	Aaro	[no kiinassa sitte]
		well China it is
48 →	Mikko	[(xx tämmösessä] ajan[kohtasessa kakkosessa]
		in a kind of a documentary
49	LM	[(xx)]
50	Teacher	[everybody writes] down their <u>own</u>
51	Teacher	[answers it doesn´t matter] if they are not correct
52	Juuso	[mää pistän että kina↓]
		I'll put China

Example 50 shows that the text can give rise to a very lively conversation which seems to be meaningful to the participants. The boys especially are eagerly

negotiating over the possible answers. On line 1, Mikko reads aloud a question: i*n which country do giant pandas live.* Then he starts to wonder about the possible answer (the alternatives are India, China and Japan) (lines 7 and 9). At this point, nobody is reacting to his turns. On line 11, Mikko again says *China* and now Aaro reacts to this by saying *Chinatown* (line 13). Mikko asks again whether it is Japan or China (line 15). There is still no response from others and finally he seems to choose Japan (line 21). Later Aaro again opens the conversation, this time about tigers (line 28) as he reads the number of the question and part of the question: *ten in which country*. He thinks about the possible answers, Asia[20] or India (line 35). Even though Mikko has already worked on this question, he joins in the negotiation: *but it is either China or Japan* (line 40). Aaro disagrees: *it is not Japan, it is China or India* (line 41). Mikko is certain that they do not live in India (line 43) and he is echoed by Tuomo who thinks tigers live in China (line 44). Mikko even resorts to a documentary he has seen on television (lines 46 and 48). This way the boys are negotiating over the possible answers.

In addition, the participants are also partly talking to themselves as they are working on the questions at their own individual pace. While Mikko is wondering about the whereabouts of pandas at the beginning of the extract, Juuso thinks about the question: *how fast can the cheetah run* (line 2) and suggests a possible answer: *could it be a hundred kilometers* (line 5). Then Aaro reads the question: *how far can a sloth move in a minute* (line 17) and Juuso gives his suggestion on line 22: *one meter*. Aaro, however, chooses the alternative two meters (line 25) but Juuso stays with his choice (line 27). There seems to be a mixture of self-talk and negotiation. The participants seem to take part in several activities and subconversations at the same time. They are working on the questions individually and talking aloud. At the same time, however, they are commenting on each other's turns. Aaro, for example, comments on Mikko's turn on line 13 and Tuomo takes part in the joke about the words *Asia* and *thing* (=*asia* in Finnish) (line 37).

This talk is close to everyday conversation, but what makes this different from such conversation and perhaps special to a classroom is its clear link to the text at hand. Even though the participants are mainly the authors of their talk, they also read aloud bits of text (lines 1, 18, 28) or use single English words embedded in their Finnish talk. For example, on line 15, Mikko says: *onks se Japan vai China* (*is it Japan or China*), thus embedding the answer alternatives given in the textbook in English into his Finnish utterance.

In example 50, the conversation took place almost exclusively among the pupils. The teacher does, however, take part but within her role as a teacher, that is, she comments on the talk, perhaps also constraining it. Consider now example 51:

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[20]   The boys play with the word Asia and the Finnish word asia (= a thing, an issue). On lines 36 and 37, they play with the inflected forms asiassa (= in the issue) and asiaan (= to the point).

(51) YA4, Animal quiz (59-77)

1	Mikko	[NO KYLLÄHÄN] NÄÄ [ELÄÄ KA:IKKIALLA↓]
		but they do live everywhere
2	Heidi	[mitä↑]
		what
3	Katja	[mikä on the beast]
		what is the beast
4	Mikko	ELÄÄHÄN SUOMESSAKI TIIKEREITÄ=
		but there are tigers in Finland as well
5	Katja	=eiku the <u>bat</u>
		no I mean the bat
6	Aaro	niin eläintarhassa↓
		well in a zoo
7	Mikko	>nonii<=
		in that case
8	L	=[m[m
9	Heidi	[emmää[tiiä
		I don't know
10 →	Teacher	[(mutta villejä)=
		but as wild
11	LM	=<u>nii</u> [(joo) yleensä (xx[x)
		yeah in general
12	LM	[(xx[x)
13	Mikko	[a:frikassa ja aasiassa
		in Africa and Asia
14		[elääkö ne molemmissa↓]
		do they live in both
15	LF	[((laughs))]=
16	Aaro	=(x) aasiassa↓
		in Asia
17	Katja	mi-[mikä tää on tää]
		wha- what is this
18	LM	[no kyllä a<u>a</u>siassa ainakin] (xx) siperian [tiikeri]
		well in Asia at least the Siberian tiger

The pupils are still working on the quiz questions. Mikko talks about a question concerning tigers. The question is: *where do tigers live* and the answer alternatives are South America, Africa and Asia. Mikko is not happy with the answer alternatives because he thinks that tigers live everywhere, even in Finland (lines 1 and 4). Aaro understands what Mikko is saying as he says *well in zoos* (line 6). The teacher, however, notices what the boys are talking about and she comes closer to them and says: *but as wild* (line 10), thus constraining their talk so that it matches the answer alternatives given in the text. Then the boys redirect their talk towards the possible answers. Mikko thinks that tigers might live in Africa or Asia (line 13) and Aaro chooses Asia (line 16). Further, an unidentified male pupil points out that at least the Siberian tiger lives in Asia.

To sum up, text sparks off negotiations among the pupils. Sometimes the pupils seem to find it necessary to talk about the procedures necessary to carry out the task, since these are not explained in the text. The text is a source in this talk, as there is something lacking in the text that needs to be filled in by the

pupils. The pupils also negotiate over the task proper, even though this is not expected. Again they use the text as a source for their lively and meaningful negotiations. The teacher takes part in these negotiations but only to constrain them to fit the boundaries set by the text.

7.5.2 By-play provoked by texts

In addition to talk that takes place within the boundaries of a task, there is talk that occurs "outside" them. Across events and the different phases of events pupils engage in talk the purpose of which seems to be to create solidarity among themselves. This talk takes place among the pupils and it most often takes place as by-play, that is, it occurs simultaneously with the principal talk of the teacher (see section 5.2.2.3). Thus it acts as a resistance to the teacher-imposed dominant activity. Sometimes this talk seems to exclude the teacher; sometimes, however, the teacher is involved either on her own initiative or on that of the pupils.

Example 52 takes place during the opening phase of an event with a reading task in focus:

(52) YA3, Tarzan (602-634)

	Teacher	Pupils	
1	an:d uh here´s a (.) quite an interesting story about	Heidi	did you
		Aaro	otaksää nää **will you take these**
2		Heidi	(xxx)
3		Tuomo	yeah yeah
		Aaro	oiskohan oikeen tarzan (x) **could it be the real Tarzan**
4		Mikko	hei onks toi se tarzan joka jäi loppuiäkseen tarzaniks **hey is that the Tarzan who remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life**
		LL	(xxx)
5		Aaro	johnny weissmüller
6	fifty-two and fifty-three	Aaro	(xxx) (x)
7	wild wild animals is the name of the story	L	(xxx)
8		Mikko	niinku se yks tarzan jäi loppuiäkseen Tarzaniks **just like that Tarzan who remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life**
		Katja	mitä hä (.) ai toi vai **what wha' oh that one**
9	yeah, I can take the papers	Mikko	pikkusen [(xxx) tarzanina kuulemma siellä ºhyppii vieläkiº **just like a Tarzan they say he's still jumping there**
		LL	((laughter))
10	harjoittele (.) **practise**	Aaro	((laughs))
11	vieraskielisen tekstin (-) haloo **a foreign language text hello**	Mikko	joku tarzan näyttelijä jäi tarzaniks loppuiäkseen **a Tarzan actor remained the Tarzan for the rest of his life**

12	harjoittele **practise**	Mikko	kun sai jonkun vähän liian kovan (x) **somebody got something a little too tough**
13	vierastekstisen (.) VIERASKIELISEN (.) <u>Juuso</u> **a foreign text foreign language**	Juuso Aaro	nii (.) se hyppii siellä vanhainkodissa xx) **yeah he's jumping there in the retirement home** ((laughs))
14	vieraskielisen tekstin ymmärtämistä lue kertomus, **foreign language text comprehension read the story**	Juuso	huutelee tarzan-huutoja **yelling Tarzan calls**
15	<u>kuinka paljon</u> ymmärrät siitä ensi lukemalla **how much do you understand after the first reading**	Aaro	((laughs))
16	oheisen sanaluettelon avulla **with the help of the attached word list**		

During this opening of an event the pupils engage in by-play simultaneously with the teacher's instructions. In other words, they do not act in accordance with the teacher's opening (see section 5.1.1). While introducing the task, the teacher holds up her book and shows it to the class and some of the boys seem to notice the picture of John Weissmüller as Tarzan. This triggers the by-play. Aaro says: *could it be about the Tarzan* (line 3). The boys go on talking about the name of the actor in the picture (lines 4 and 5) and his fate as Tarzan (lines 8, 9 and 11). They are also joking about Mikko's idea that he remained a Tarzan for the rest of his life, possibly even in a retirement home (line 13 and 14). The teacher is not commenting on the actual content of this conversation. She attempts, however, to stop the by-play by raising her voice and by explicitly asking the boys to stop (line 13).

Here the boys talk about an issue that was raised by the text – a picture in the text, to be more specific. Their talk is related to the text, it is provoked by the text but not constrained by it. The format or the content of the talk is not determined by the text. In addition, they do not animate the text; instead, they act as authors, both as sources and as speakers. It is noteworthy that this talk related to text and authored by the pupils occurs as a sideline to the dominant line of talk, that is, the talk by the teacher.

The discussion concerning Tarzan is continued later by the same group of boys. After the event with the *read* text in focus, the participants move to the next event, which focuses on an exercise in the workbook. The exercise is related to the text with the picture of Tarzan. Consider the following extract:

(53) YA3, Text in sacks (1048-1073)

1 →	Aaro	weissmüller (.) peilaa tossa **Weissmüller is showing off there**
2	LF	hei, tää on vitonen **hey this is number five**
3	Aaro	*they speak very bad english*
4	L	(xx)
5 →	Tuomo	eiks tuo oo se alkuperänen tarzani **isn't that the original Tarzan**

6 →	Aaro	no weissmülleri totta kai (.) viisas [mylleri]
		well Weismüller of course a clever miller
7	Juuso	[they]
8		found a small river
9 →	Tuomo	*weissmüller*
10→	Aaro	valkoinen mylleri=
		white miller
11	Juuso	=which ran: into the nile
12 →	Aaro	joni [(.) john valkoinen mylläri]
		Joni John the white miller
13	Heidi	[hei onks tää (x) sitten tämä]
		hey is this then
14 →	Aaro	johnny weissmüller [(-) olympiauimari]
		the Olympic swimmer
15	Katja	[they could (xx)]
16	Heidi	[(xxx)]
17	Katja	[(xxx)]
18 →	Aaro	[eiks se voittanu jotain]
		didn't he win something
19	Teacher	[that´s number one]
20 →	Aaro	eiks se voittanu [jotain kultamitalejakin]
		didn't he win some gold medals
21	LL	[(xxx)] [(xx)]
22	Teacher	[what´s]
23		[number two, tell me↓ not that one (.) that´s number three]
24	LL	[(xxx)]
25	Juuso	mikä on k- numero kolme=
		what's number three
26	Teacher	=this is number three, but what´s number two

Even though this event focuses on the workbook exercise, Aaro once again opens up the discussion about Tarzan and especially the actor Johnny Weissmüller who played Tarzan by referring to the picture presenting Weissmüller as Tarzan (line 1). Tuomo wonders whether Weissmüller is the original Tarzan (line 5). Aaro confirms that of course he is (line 6), and he attempts to translate the name into Finnish (*clever miller*)[21]. This is not, however, the appropriate translation as Aaro notices and corrects himself on line 10 (*white miller*). He further remarks that Weissmüller was an Olympic swimmer (line 14) and that he even won some gold medals (line 20). The teacher notices that instead of concentrating on the task the boys are talking about something else, and she attempts to stop them talking by asking the pupils about the task (lines 22 and 23). Thus she is trying to direct the boys' attention towards the task. Here the discussion is a continuation of the previous discussion, which was provoked by the text. The talk among the boys is not by-play here, since there is no dominant talk going on at the same time. The teacher, however, seems to think that it disturbs the work that the pupils are doing and thus she attempts to stop it by directing the boys attention back to the task. Tarzan was,

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[21]   These pupils are studying German as their first foreign language. Therefore they know that wissen (1st p. sg. weiss) = know, Müller = miller, weiss = white. They use this knowledge to play with the translation of the name Weissmüller.

nevertheless, an important topic, since the boys wanted to continue their talk about it.

The following by-play right after the opening of an event starts from a pupil's question targeted at the teacher (and which the teacher also answers):

(54) YA2, Animal jobs (407-433)

1→	Mikko	hei muuten ope
		hey by the way teacher
2	Teacher	yes=
3→	Mikko	=miten tää on mahollista että tässä niinku on että <u>sydney</u>
		how is it possible that here it's like Sydney
4		brooks niinku (.) eiks siinä melrose placessä sydney oo
		Brooks is like isn't Sydney a woman's name in that Melrose Place
5		naisen nimi↓
		(**a woman's name**)
6	Teacher	aha: (.) I don´t know, I´ve never watched melrose [place]
7	Mikko	[joo↓]
		yes
8	Teacher	but I, I [think you are right↓]
9 →	Tuomo	[nii siinä on sydney]yks semmonen hullu vai mikä=
		yeah in that Sydney is kind of crazy or what
10	Teacher	=[yeah it] could be a female and a male=
11 →	Aaro	[●hullu●]
		crazy
12 →	Mikko	=eiku <u>*kimberly*</u> [on se ((laughs)) vähän,]vähän päästä pipi
		no it's Kimberley who's a little soft in the head
13 →	Tuomo	[ai niin *kimberly*]
		oh yes
14	Teacher	okay,[(xx) but: u.:h] let´s repeat the words
15 →	LM	[joo on siinäkin sarja]
		yeah that's some series
16	Teacher	[first before we listen:]
17 →	Mikko	[se on ihan älytön ohjelma]
		that is a completely brainless programme
18	L	(xxx)
19	Teacher	[caption:]
20	LM	[(xx)]
21 →	LM	kauniit ja rohkeet↓
		the Bold and the Beautiful
22 →	LM	no se [on ihan]
		well that is completely
23	Teacher	[to complete↑]
24	LM	°to comple:te↑°
25 →	Aaro	se on ihan (xxx)
		that is completely
26	Teacher	come o:n come along come along, an inspector.
27	L	°mitä°
		what

The by-play starts from Mikko's question. Mikko asks the teacher how is it possible that in their textbooks Sydney is a name for a male person, whereas in a TV series, Melrose Place, Sydney is the name of a female person (lines 1, 3-5).

The teacher replies that she has never watched Melrose Place and therefore she is not certain but that she believes that Sydney can be both a female and a male name (lines 6, 8 and 10). The boys do not intend to stop the discussion of Melrose Place here: they go on talking about a character in the series (lines 9, 11-13). The teacher, however, stops the discussion in short by saying *okay* and going on with further instructions on how to proceed: *let's repeat the words* (line 14). This does not, however, stop the group of boys. They continue talking about this program and another popular American soap opera, *The Bold and the Beautiful* (lines 15, 17, 21-22 and 25).

This talk is also text-related talk: it is set off by something in the text, a conflict between the use of a name in different contexts, and it goes on around that theme. Again the talk takes place almost exclusively among the pupils and the teacher attempts to first stop and then ignore it.

In brief, the pupils often engage in by-play that is evoked by the text. Their talk is related to the text at hand or, in other words, they use the text as a source for their conversation. However, as it occurs as by-play and thus disturbs the dominant activity, it is not accepted by the teacher and she makes attempts to suppress it and establish a joint focus (see section 5.1.1).

7.5.3 Playing with words and their meanings

Playing with words and expressions is also a way of using text as a source of talk. This kind of playing with words and expressions is very typical of the pupils in this classroom. It is text-related talk as the source of their jokes is always something in the text. Often this joking takes place as by-play, as a sideline to the more dominant teacher talk. The talk concerning Tarzan in example 52 on page 241 contained elements of joking and it took place as by-play. Similarly, when the teacher and the pupils are preparing for the task in focus, joking among the pupils acts as a resistance to the teacher-imposed activity. This is especially the case when the participants are reading the wordlists aloud:

(55) YA3, Tarzan (675-688)

1	Teacher	=to expec:t
2	LL	to expect
3	Teacher	to overturn↑
4	LL	to overturn=
5 →	Teacher	=a heroine↑
6 →	LL	[a heroine]
7	LL	[((laughter))]
8	Mikko	(xxx)=
9	Teacher	=tropical↑
10	LL	tropical=
11 →	Juuso	=heroiini
		heroin
12	LL	[((laughter))]
13	Teacher	[a disease↑]

14 → Tuomo   heroiini on sankari
heroin is heroine

The teacher reads the word *heroine* (line 5) and some of the pupils repeat this and simultaneously some of them start laughing (line 7) (see also example 56 in section 5.2.3). The teacher goes on with the word *tropical* (line 9). Juuso notices the similarity of the Finnish word *heroiini* (*heroin*) and the English word *heroine* (*sankari* in Finnish) (line 11). Tuomo further expands the joke by saying that *heroin is heroine* (line 14). The teacher completely ignores this talk.

Joking does not, however, always take place as by-play. Example 56 is from an event with an exercise on grammar in focus. The pupils are working on the exercise. They have completed half of the exercise by marking which of the Finnish sentences in the exercise are in the past tense. Now they should write these sentences in their notebooks in English. Apparently, they are writing the page number of the exercise as well as the exercise number in their notebooks, as they talk about the correct page number:

(56) YA2, Translate (959-976)

```
1        Juuso       page page
2        Mikko       [((clears throat))       ]
3        Aaro        [      page fifty-one  ]
4        LL          [(xxxFinnish)            ]
5        Mikko       [      ((sings ))         ]
6 →      Mikko       [ai page fifty-one]
7        Tuomo       [ ((sings        ))   ]
8 →      Aaro        eiku fifty fifty
9        Juuso       eikä ku fifty-[four      ]
                     no I mean
10       Mikko                     [ four    ]
11       Tuomo                     [  four   ]
12       Aaro        [e:iku mikä exercise ]
                     I mean which exercise
13 →     Mikko       [ tais olla fifty-five   ] eikä fifty fifty
                     I think is is fifty-five and not fifty fifty
14       Aaro        mikä on l- (.) [exercsisesta] lyhenne↓
                     what is the abbreviation for exercise
15       Tuomo                      [ fifty fifty   ]
16       LM          [(xx)]
17       Teacher     [voit] panna vaikka ee äks jos=
                     you can put ex if
18→      Tuomo       =sun mahdollisuudet on  hei fifty-fifty nyt↓
                     your chances are fifty fifty now
19       Mikko       nii justii, pistetään (xxFinnish)
                     that's right let's put
```

First they are trying to establish whether the page is fifty-one, fifty-four or fifty-five (lines 1- 13). Aaro has mistakenly used the form *fifty-fifty* instead of *fifty-five* (line 8) which Mikko then corrects on line 13. Tuomo repeats fifty-fifty (line 15) and notices the connection to the expression *your chances are fifty - fifty* (line 18). This kind of joking takes place among the pupils only and the teacher is not

involved in the jokes made by the boys. The teacher may, however, be involved in the jokes, especially when the participants are engaged in a joint activity. The following example (57) takes place during a task in which the teacher writes the sentences that the pupils say on the blackboard. The exercise consists of sentences with gaps as well as one sentence that has to be invented:

(57) YA1, Gaps in sentences (164-192)

1	Teacher	keksippäs joku, i didn´t , ja sitte, <u>but</u>
		make up something I didn't and then but
2	Heidi	i didn´t sing a song
3	Teacher	i didn´t sing a song↑
4	Aaro	[(xxx)]
5	L	[i didn´t (xx)]
6		(-)
7	Teacher	mitäs [(xx)]
		what
8	Tuomo	[i didn´t <u>sing</u>] <u>a song</u>
9	Aaro	[((laughs)) i didn´t] <u>sing a song</u>
10	Teacher	[i:]
11	Teacher	en laulanut laulua vaan=
		I didn't sing a song but
12 →	Tuomo	=sing sang song sing sang song
13	LL	[((laughter))]
14	Juuso	[i:] (.) i (.) u:h
15	Teacher	mitään muuta ei voi laulaa kun laulun vai
		nothing else can be sung but a song or
16		(-)
17	Mikko	no voihan laulun lausua
		but you can recite a song
18	Teacher	[mm-h↑]
19	Mikko	[siis] niinku runoja
		yes like poems
20	Teacher	mutta jos pitäis käyttää samaa verbiä i didn´t sing [a song]
		but what about if you have to use the same verb
21	Mikko	[jaa]
		aha
22	Teacher	i sang (.)
23 →	Aaro	a sing
24	LL	[((laughter))]=
25 →	Tuomo	=i sing a sang
26 →	Juuso	[i sang a sing]
27	Teacher	[i sa:ng]
28	Aaro	((laughs))
29→	Tuomo	i sang a sing

First the teacher asks Heidi to invent a sentence that would include both the present tense and the past tense forms of the verb *sing* (line 1). Heidi starts the sentence: *I didn't sing a song* (line 2), which the teacher then repeats with a rising intonation waiting for a continuation (line 3). Neither Heidi not anyone else can immediately think of a continuation. Tuomo starts to play with the forms of the verb (line 12). Then the teacher says the beginning of the latter part of the sentence: *I sang* (line 22) and Aaro suggests *a sing* as a continuation (line 23). All

the participants, including the teacher, find this funny and they all laugh. This encourages the boys to go on with *I sing a sang* and *I sang a sing* (lines 25 and 26). Eventually, the teacher writes the sentence: *I didn't sing a song, I sang an opera*, saying that it perhaps does not make sense but it serves the purpose. In contrast to the previous examples of joking, playing with words in this extract takes place during a joint activity within the dominant line of talk. In addition, it seems to be accepted by the teacher, as she joins in laughing at the joke even though she does not comment on it verbally.

Very often the teacher ignores the jokes made by the pupils altogether. In the following extract, the teacher ignores the pupils' jokes as she is busy explaining the task further to one of the pupils:

(58) YA1, Pictures (28-43)

```
1      Aaro        my (.) parents (.) [drank] (.)
2      Eeva                          [hei    ]
                                     hey
3      Heidi       [(en minä][ tiedä)   ]
                   I don't know
4      Teacher     [     liste][ned↓ (.)  ][>sun pitäs  ] sanoa
                                            you should say
5      Aaro                    [tomato   ][ juice °but°] (.)
6      Teacher     joku imperfekti[lause][listened↑< ]
                   a sentence in the past tense
7      Aaro                       [but  ][we drink   ]
8 →    Tuomo                            [my parents] are °●drunk●°
9 →    Aaro        ((laughter)) ●my parents are● rr[rrr  ]
10     Tuomo                                       [rrr  ]
11     Mikko       my [parents drank (.)][tomato]
12     Katja          [(xx            ][ x)    ]
13     Aaro                            [ma-    ]
14     Mikko       jui[ce but i drink (-)                    ]
15     Teacher        [minkälaisen lauseen noista sanoista (xx)]
                      what kind of sentence out of those words
16 →   Mikko       KOSKENkorva
```

The pupils have to form sentences with the help of some pictures and on line 1 Aaro starts a sentence: *my parents drank*. After a pause, he continues: *tomato juice but* (line 5) and goes on: *but we drink* (line 7). He stops there as Tuomo says at the same time: *my parents are drunk* (line 8). Aaro hear this and laughs (line 9). Mikko continues the joke by forming a sentence: *my parents drank tomato juice but I drink koskenkorva*[22] (lines 11, 14 and 16). Again the pupils strengthen their group feeling with this rather daring joke. The teacher ignores the joke even though it is very likely that she hears it as there are so few pupils in the classroom. In addition, on other occasions, the teacher clearly follows the talk of all the pupils even though she is engaged on something else. Consider example 59:

---

[22]   Koskenkorva is a strong Finnish spirit equivalent to gin or vodka.

(59) YA2, Game (206-217)

```
1 →  Tuomo      [drink][i:   ][drank]
2    Juuso         [i lost][my:  ]
3    Teacher       [mitä ]
                   what
4    Eeva       [ei mitää]
                nothing
5    Heidi      [(xx)    ]
6    Katja      se (pässi) joka teki [(xx)                    ]
                that idiot who did
7 →  Tuomo                   [>koskenkorva yesterday<]
8    Juuso                [my: (-)                    ]
9 →  Teacher    [oh no] you [didn't↓   ] (-) [i'm sure you didn't↓]
10   Juuso      [my   ]
11   Heidi                 [((laughs))]    [(xx) ((laughs))       ]
12 → Teacher    (-) you wouldn't be at school today if you did
```

Example 59 comes from the event in which the pupils are playing the game. Tuomo has rolled the dice and lands on *drink* (line 1) and he begins to form a sentence starting with *I drank*. He completes the sentence by *koskenkorva yesterday* (line 7). Now the teacher reacts: *Oh no you didn't, I'm sure you didn't, you wouldn't be at school today if you did* (lines 9 and 12). In contrast to the previous example, here the teacher takes part in the joke. On this occasion, she is not engaged in any typical teacher activity, such as explaining forms or procedures to the class or to a single pupil. Instead, she is in a way an outsider, sitting by the overhead projector, engaged in leafing through her books and only overhearing the conversation that is going on amongst the pupils. It seems that in this role she can take part in the joking by the boys. Consider also example (60):

(60) YA2, Game (406-421)

```
1    Aaro       [yks kaks     ][kolme neljä]
                one two three four
2    Heidi      [(x        ][ x)         ]
3    Teacher    [no sä oot >viime kesänä][sout- soudit veneellä<]
                well you are last summer you rowed a boat
4    Heidi      [(x                    ][x                ][x)        ]
5 →  Aaro                        [@i lose my           ][temper@]
6    LFS        [((laughter))    ]
7    Tuomo      [i row (.) i row][(x) i row (.) öö     ]
8    Eeva                   [(en mä osaa näitä)]
                            I can't do these
9    Heidi      ((coughs))
10 → Aaro       [i lose my temper (x) this morning]
11   Tuomo      [i rowed (.) öö (-)                ]
12   Katja      [(xx)                    ]
13   Heidi      [(xx)                    ]
14 → Teacher    i lo- [●lost↓ my temper this morning↓●] (-) did you
15   Tuomo            [last summer              ]
16 → Aaro       almost
```

This extract is from the same event as the previous one. Here Aaro lands on *lose* on the game board and he forms a sentence: *I lose my temper* (line 5), rephrasing it on line 10 to: *I lose my temper this morning*. The teacher corrects the verb form: *I lost my temper this morning*, commenting on this with *did you* as if in everyday conversation (line 14). Aaro replies on line 16: *almost*. As in the previous example, the teacher acts here as if she were an outsider or overhearer in this task. She is walking around in the classroom occasionally commenting on the pupils' work but not taking part in it as a ratified participant. In her role as an overhearer she is able to take part in the jokes as well.

     Sometimes the pupils want to engage the teacher in their playful talk or want to make their jokes known to the teacher. This is not, however, always successful. Consider the following fairly long extract:

(61) YA1, Pictures (224-303)

```
 1 →   Juuso       [ää (.) my parents listened to (.) radio]
 2     Heidi       [(xxx)                                   ]
 3     Tuomo       [(xxx)                                   ]
 4     Teacher     [mcdonaldsilla↓ ]=
                   at McDonalds
 5 →   Juuso       [but we listen     ]
 6     Heidi       [(xx)              ]
 7     Tuomo       [(xx)              ]
 8     Katja       =[my parents ate (.)      ]
 9     Tuomo         [ens viikonlopuks (x) ]
                     next weekend
10     Juuso        [ää: (.)                 ]
11     Eeva          [(x)]=
12     Heidi           =[nonni           ]
                       alright
13 →   Juuso       [korvalappustereos]
                   Walkman
14     Katja       [at a restaurant    ]
15 →   Juuso       [((laughs))]
16 →   Aaro        [((laughs))]
17     Katja       (we eat) at mcdonalds
18     LM                 (xxx)
19     Teacher     at mcdo[nalds ↓ (.)] that's right↓
20 →   Aaro               [mikko     ]
21 →   Aaro        >●tää on aika paha Juuso pisti aika pahan●<
                   this is a good one Juuso made up a good one
22     Teacher     mites [se menee, (-) mites sanot (-) meidän          ]
                   how does it go how do you say our
23→    Aaro              [my parents (-) listened (.) radio but we listen]
24     Teacher     [(x-) minun vanhemp-]
                   my parents
25 →   Aaro        [korvalappustereos       ]
                   Walkman
26     Heidi       [(xx)                    ]
27     Teacher     [vanhempamme]
                   out parents
28     Juuso       [((laughs))     ]
29     Aaro        [((laughs))     ]
```

30	Mikko	[((laughs))]
31	Teacher	[vanhempamme ostivat] **out parents bought**
32→	Mikko	[● *korvalappustereos*●] **Walkman**

(21 lines omitted)

33 →	Aaro	hei opettaja **hey teacher**
34	Mikko	mikä on kirjotus °kone↓° **what is a typewriter**
35	Teacher	[typewriter↓]
36	Aaro	[*type*writer] °typewriter°
37	Mikko	mm (-)
38	LM	(deeper)
39	Mikko	our mm (.)
40 →	Aaro	°opettaja° **teacher**
41	Mikko	parents [*used* used (-)] a: typewriter but we use computer↓=
42	Eeva	[(xx)]
43	Teacher	=yeah
44 →	Aaro	[ope]= **teacher**
45	Eeva	[(x][x)]
46 →	Teacher	=[yes]
47 →	Aaro	niin (.) mikä on korvalappustereot **well what is a Walkman**
48→	Teacher	walkman↓
49	LM	korvalappu[stereot] **Walkman**
50	Teacher	[(se on)][annettu täällä] **it is given here**
51	Juuso	[(ai se on][(x)] **oh it is**
52 →	Aaro	(kato) juuso pisti äsken pahan **look Juuso made up a good one**
53	Teacher	[ok↓] (-)
54 →	Aaro	[my parents] °listened radio°
55	Teacher	[jos te haluutte jäädä välitunnilla tekeen >niitä] **if you want to stay in during the break to do**
56 →	Aaro	[°but we listen *korvalappustereos*°]
57	Teacher	tehtäviä ettei tarvi tehdä [koulun jälkeen↓ niin voi tehdä niinkin↓] (.) **the exercises so that you don't have to do them after school you can do that**
58	LM	[(xxx)]
59	Teacher	(mut) kolme tehtävää pitää tulla valmiiksi↓< **but three exercises will have to be finished**

This extract is from the event in which the pupils form sentences in the past tense with the help of a set of pictures. At the beginning on lines 1 and 5, Juuso forms a sentence: *my parents listened to radio but we listen* and then he adds *korvalappustereos* (line 13). He uses a Finnish word, which is translated in the word list as W*alkman*, as if it were an English word, that is, he uses the plural ending -*s* and pronounces the word as it would be pronounced in English. Both

Juuso and Aaro laugh at this (lines 15 and 16). Aaro finds the joke so funny that he wants to share it with Mikko. On lines 20-21, 23 and 25, he first catches Mikko's attention and then tells Mikko the joke. The three boys laugh at this (lines 29-30) and Mikko repeats the funnily pronounced word (line 32). The boys want to share the joke with the teacher, too. On line 33, Aaro tries to catch the teacher's attention but she is busy answering Mikko's question. Aaro tries again on line 40 and once more on line 44, and now the teacher reacts by saying *yes* (line 46). Mikko asks what the word *korvalappustereot* is in English and the teacher answers on line 48, W*alkman* and adds that it is listed in the textbook (line 50). Aaro tries to explain the joke to the teacher: *look here, Juuso said a good one* (line 52). He then says the sentence with the Finnish word pronounced funnily (lines 54 and 56) but the teacher ignores this and ends the event by saying *ok* (line 55).

All these instances of joking may seem very small and insignificant but they do, nevertheless, create a special kind of bond between a group of pupils. This talk of theirs is their own kind of talk through which they at times attempt to resist the teacher- or text-imposed ways of talking and behaving: through their by-play they resist the teacher-imposed openings of events and joint preparations for tasks. The playful talk is talk that the pupils can keep to themselves if they wish to or they can share it with the teacher if they choose to do that. In other words, they are in control of this talk. Occasionally, the teacher joins in their jokes but in these few instances she does not seem to be prominently in the institutional role of a teacher. Instead, she is an overhearer and her comments are directed at a single pupil. The jokes among the pupils in the present study have similar functions to those found by Baynham (1996). He noticed in his study on adult numeracy classes that with humour it was possible to change the established patterns of interactional structures and the right to speak.

What is more important here is the integration of jokes and text. This solidarity creating talk of the group of boys is not just any talk. It is talk that is clearly linked to the text at hand. The text is used as a source for this authored talk. Moreover, for the pupils, this seems to be a meaningful way of talking about the text. It is, however, rarely supported by the teacher, as it mainly occurs as a sideline to the dominant talk in class.

7.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to seek answers to the third research question: How does talk among the participants shape texts? More specifically, the aim was to see what meanings the participants give texts in their talk. How the participants shape a text emerges from the way they talk about text, especially the lexical choices they make when referring to texts and the speaker roles they adopt in relation to text. In the present study, texts acquire the following meanings through the talk of the participants. Firstly, texts take on the meaning of an *artefact* or *icon*. Secondly, texts are treated as *content* and *meaning* by the

participants. Both of these are located *in* the text. Thirdly, the participants assign texts the meaning of *grammatical structures* and fourthly, texts are given *oral form* in classroom activities. Finally, texts serve as *a source of conversation* for the participants.

Firstly, the meaning of text as an artefact or icon emerges in the lexical choices made by the participants in relation to texts, in the way the text is used physically when talking about it and in the activities that revolve around it. The participants talk about the text in terms of page and exercise numbers, texts are located in books owned by the pupils and items of language are referred to in very non-specific terms or they are treated as objects, such as steps in a game, on the page. All these ways of talking about text treat the text as an artefact. Moreover, the physical use of texts in openings reinforce this meaning. In the activities related to texts they are manipulated and worked on. The activities themselves may also receive more emphasis than other potential aspects of texts: tasks are carried out as routine activities or as mechanical operations of selecting or labelling items of language.

Secondly, the participants talk about text in terms of its informational content. In these cases, the interaction usually takes the form of elicits and responses as well as teacher follow-ups. The participants animate and report text in all of these interactional sequences. Animating the text seems to reduce the content of the text to correctly repeated and translated sentences. The text is reconstructed and the reconstruction has to match the original chronological order of the events in the text. Thus the text becomes an authority as the ultimate location of answers and information, and its content cannot be altered by the participants. Thus, the content of a text is located *in* the text. Similarly, the meanings of words are also to be found in the textbook that is used. When the pupils enquire about the meanings of words, the teacher explicitly or implicitly directs them to use the words given in the textbook, thus implying that these words and meanings are somehow superior to other possibilities and should therefore be used by the participants.

Thirdly, the structural properties of texts receive emphasis in the participants' talk. In grammar exercises, although the focus naturally is on grammatical correctness, the semantic meaning of the texts involved is not referred to in the participants' talk. In addition, grammatical correctness is often emphasized in tasks that do not explicitly focus on grammar. In these cases, the teacher's instructions and the interaction among the participants concentrate on structures.

Fourthly, the written text is given oral form both in the participants' joint activities and in activities among the pupils. Texts – including those that are not meant for practising listening – are always listened to in the classroom. Word lists are also often read aloud and thus brought into a very prominent position in the literacy event. In addition, tasks that have been done privately in class or at home are made public in the joint oral activities of the participants. Furthermore, when the pupils are supposed to be working on their own, there is, in fact, a great deal of talk going on. The pupils talk to themselves when working on the written text, thereby giving it oral form. Thus, almost

everything that is done to the written text is turned into oral activities in the classroom.

Finally, texts are used as a source of conversation in the classroom, particularly among the pupils. Texts give rise to negotiations over the procedures necessary to carry out the task. The texts used are not always clear about the procedures to be followed and these gaps in the instructions are filled in by the pupils. The pupils also use text as a source for their lively and meaningful negotiations over the task proper, even though this is not expected. The teacher takes part in these negotiations only to constrain them to fit the boundaries set by the text. In addition, the pupils also engage in by-play that is provoked by the text. Their talk is related to the text at hand or, in other words, they use text as a source for their conversation. However, as it occurs as by-play and thus disturbs the dominant activity, it is not accepted by the teacher. Joking also occurs in the talk among the pupils. Playing with words and expressions creates a special kind of bond between a group of pupils, and it is clearly linked to the text at hand. Joking often occurs during openings of events and joint preparations for the task in focus. Through their by-play the pupils resist teacher-imposed activities. The pupils' playful talk is talk that they can keep to themselves if they wish or that they can share it with the teacher. In other words, they are in control of this talk. Occasionally, the teacher joins in their jokes, but in these few instances she does not seem to be acting prominently in the institutional role of a teacher. Instead, she is an overhearer and her comments are directed at a single pupil.

In these cases, the participants ascribe different meanings to text. The meanings arise from the way they talk about text and the way the use text in their various activities. Moreover, the meanings are created locally in talk that is situated in specific activities related to text.

8   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

> Teaching the word, we selectively socialize students into versions of the world, into possible worlds, and into a version of the horizons and limits of literate competence. (Luke 1991:139)

The importance of literacy in education is indisputable. It is both the target and means of learning and teaching and it is thus the focus of many activities in the classroom. In this final chapter, I will first briefly summarize the study (section 8.1) and then describe literacy practices in the foreign language classroom in the light of its findings (section 8.2). After that I will discuss some implications for foreign language instruction (section 8.3) and, finally, acknowledge the limitations of the study (section 8.4) and suggest possible directions for future studies (section 8.5).

8.1   Summary of the study

The aim of the present study has been to investigate literacy practices in the foreign language classroom. In carrying out the study, I have principally drawn on the premises of Literacy Studies and, additionally, on research on classroom discourse, instructional texts and institutionality. Accordingly, literacy has been understood as a social practice where people act and interact around written texts. The central concepts of Literacy Studies – events and practices – have formed the basis of this examination of literacy in the classroom. I have based my study on the assumption that the relationship between the two concepts is dialogic with language forming a bridge between them. Thus literacy practices are constructed locally in literacy events through interaction among the participants and between texts and the participants in a particular setting.

Literacy in the classroom is, however, also shaped by the institutional practices of education. The participants act in their institutional roles, which both set constraints on and provide opportunities for talk. The physical setting as such does not make a setting an institutional one, although its characteristics may reinforce the institutional roles and actions of the participants. Instead, the

institutional setting of the classroom is created by the participants as they act in their institutional roles and make them relevant in their talk. The classroom as an institutional setting is characterized by certain kinds of interactional structures and by certain kinds of texts, which are used in ways typical of that setting.

The present study aimed at making a contribution to Literacy Studies by extending the field in the following ways. First of all, literacy in the foreign language classroom has not been studied previously from a social point of view. Secondly, previous studies conducted in classrooms needed to be extended, especially in terms of talk about texts. These studies have not taken into account the diversity of classroom interaction and hence the focus has predominantly been on the teacher. In addition, even when the pupils' talk has been examined, the interactional structures and, in particular, the interaction between texts and participants have not been examined rigorously and systematically enough. Hence, this study aimed at providing a framework – applicable in classrooms in general and in FL classrooms in particular – for examining the use of texts and the integration of talk and texts in the classroom context. The present study has placed a special emphasis on interaction and therefore the relationship between events and practices needed to be refined. The investigation has been built on the premise that literacy practices are constructed locally in particular literacy events by the interaction and action among the participants and between texts and the participants. At the same time, however, the participants draw on the broader institutional practices and conventions of the particular setting, thus maintaining, renewing and possibly transforming existing practices.

With these premises in mind, the study sought to address three research questions concerning 1) the organization of literacy events in talk, 2) the role of texts in literacy events and 3) the meanings texts acquire in talk among the participants to a literacy event. In seeking answers to these questions, the present study has adopted an ethnographic approach. In describing and interpreting the micro-level interactional dynamics among the participants and between the participants and texts, I have employed methods eclectically from interactional sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication. In the analysis, I have also made use of the findings of conversation analysis. I will discuss and integrate the findings of the present study in the following section.

8.2   From events to practices in the EFL classroom

In this section, I will first summarize the findings presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and then make an attempt at describing literacy practices in the foreign language classroom in the light of the particular classroom studied here.

8.2.1 Interactional structure of literacy events

In line with previous studies (Heath 1983, cf. Levinson 1992), it was found that literacy events are structured occasions with rules and regulations governing the flow of the event and that they consist of various phases. Equally, the findings showed that talk is central in organizing literacy events, which has also been emphasized in previous research (Heath 1983, Cook-Gumperz 1986, Bloome and Green 1992). In the classroom, activities are predominantly accomplished through talk and the lesson is organized sequentially (e.g. Mehan 1979). Accordingly, the analysis of the present study showed that literacy events in the classroom were also organized into phases by the participants' interaction and actions. The event was a bounded occasion which had an opening and a closing phase with a text-processing phase in the middle. These phases were characterized by different interactional structures: there was talk from the teacher to the class, from the pupils to the teacher, between the teacher and the pupils and among the pupils. Thus the present study confirms earlier studies (Bloome 1989, 1993) concerning the different levels of interaction in the classroom.

The teacher played a major part in opening and closing the event, thus regulating the flow of the events during the lesson. Partly owing to the teacher's institutional role, the opening was characterized by her instructions, which were necessary to accomplishing the task in focus in the event. In her instructions, the teacher used the text in various ways: she read excerpts from the text aloud and interpreted, clarified and extended the instructions in the textbook. Thus, in her talk, she adapted the textbook instructions to the situation in question and acted as a mediator between the text and the pupils. The openings of the events were also characterized by the iconic use of texts. While introducing the task and giving instructions, the teacher held her book up, open at the page in focus, and showed it to the class, thus reinforcing her instructions and marking the opening of the event. In contrast to the opening, the closing of the event was usually very brief, generally consisting of only a brief evaluation by the teacher and a short word, such as *okay*, to mark the ending of the event.

During the opening phase, the pupils played a less prominent verbal role than the teacher, which was partly inherent in their institutional role. There might, however, be some questions concerning the book or page in focus in the event. The pupils often complied with the teacher-imposed opening and the event proceeded in cooperation. There might, however, also be clashes, and the pupils might resist the teacher's opening: the pupils engaged in by-play simultaneously with the teacher's instructions. Clashes occurred also during the closing of the event. The pupils were not always ready to move on to the next event as they might, for example, still be engaged on the previous task. In this way, the pupils challenged the teacher's authority in organising the event and proposed their own way of proceeding in the lesson. The teacher's task was, however, to attempt to establish a shared focus; eventually this succeeded and the event proceeded as intended by the teacher.

While the opening phase was characterized by the teacher's instructions and by clashes of intentions and purposes, the text processing phase typically contained various kinds of interactional structures. The text processing phase included both preparatory activities and the activities involved in carrying out the core task. Before moving to the task in focus in the event, the participants engaged in preparatory work. The teacher might give further instructions in cases where there were several activities involved. The teacher also explained grammatical forms or read prompt texts aloud, which served as the basis for listening exercises. The participants also read word lists aloud in chorus.

After these preparatory activities, the participants started to do the core task of the event. Perhaps the most prominent interactional structure was the teacher eliciting responses from the pupils, and this predominantly took the form of elicits, responses and follow-ups (or IRF). Thus the three-part structure of interaction established by Sinclair and Coulthart (1975), Mehan (1979) and Cazden (1988) was also evident in the present data. The teacher's elicits took on several different forms depending on the kind of task in focus. The text played a role in these interactional structures: when the material the teacher used in her elicits came directly from the book, routine-like interactional sequences arose. When the elicits were not picked from the text, however, various elicitation techniques were used. Elicits, responses and follow-ups were not, however, the only structures available to the participants. The pupils also initiated talk targeted at the teacher. They asked the teacher questions, mainly concerning procedures and meanings of individual words, and they sought confirmation from the teacher regarding the correctness of the tasks they were working on. These interactional structures seemed to uphold the typical institutional role of pupils. In addition, the pupils engaged in talk that took place among themselves only. This also took on several forms: discussions and negotiations over the procedures to be followed or task content, saying sentences in turn to complete oral tasks, jokes, by-play and self-talk. Thus, the participants engaged in a range of interactional activities during the text processing phase. There was less disagreement about organizing this phase than there was during the opening phase. Sometimes, however, the teacher's and the pupils' aims did not cohere and some negotiation was necessary. Clashes occurred during preparatory activities, especially when word lists were read aloud, and sometimes the pupils chose to carry out an activity in collaboration against the teacher's proposal that they work individually.

The present study extends and specifies the role of talk in literacy events as proposed by Heath (1983) by showing, firstly, that classroom literacy events are organized into phases which reflect the overall organisation of lessons. Secondly, the study suggested that there are various interactional structures, through which these events are created. The social setting, an institutional setting of a classroom in this case, laid out the context for talk and regulated the kind of talk that was appropriate and allowable in the situation. The participants' institutional roles in the classroom also partly determined the way talk structured the event: the teacher gave instructions and dominated in eliciting responses, the pupils asked the teacher some questions, and the pupils talked to each other. In addition to the fairly dominant teacher-pupil

interaction, there was talk among the pupils only, which served as the basis for their constructions of literacy. Even though the classroom setting constrained the organization of the events, the participants were not puppets at the mercy of the situation; instead, they made choices about the interaction. The teacher and the pupils constantly negotiated on the flow of the event. Through her more prominent verbal role, the teacher perhaps had more power in regulating the structure of the event, but this was not always accepted by the pupils and clashes occurred. Therefore, the interactional structure of the event was the joint accomplishment of the teacher and the pupils.

The interactional structures found in the present study are at least to an extent culture-specific. The teacher in this classroom was fairly flexible, and she allowed room for the pupils' spontaneous talk, thus creating a relaxed atmosphere in the classroom. This is certainly not the case in all classrooms across cultures. In classrooms where teacher control is stricter or where the pedagogical orientation is different, the amount and type of pupil-pupil interaction might be very different. In addition, the findings concerning the interactional structures are not limited to foreign language classrooms: these structures are likely to appear in all classrooms with a similar cultural and pedagogical background. Therefore, these findings are applicable in examining literacy in classroom settings other than those of foreign language.

8.2.2 Role of texts in the literacy events

The findings of the present study suggested that the textbook often guides classroom discourse and interaction and lays out discussion topics and appropriate questions, which is in line with previous research (De Castell and Luke 1989). The results showed that the texts in the events examined provided the overall framework for the whole activity. They specified the purpose of the event and the task, and the type and order of activities involved in the tasks. When the instructions were very specific and contained propositions for various activities, the participants followed the instruction closely in doing the task. The books also contained some "extra" elements that could be used to pave the way for the task to be completed. These included word lists, prompt texts in listening tasks and grammatical explanations, which are typical of textbooks in foreign language instruction. Even though the instructions in the book did not always propose that these elements should be used in the activity, the teacher chose to use them in preparing the pupils for the task proper at the beginning of the text processing phase. Apparently, their sheer presence on the page made them seem relevant for accomplishing the task.

The texts used in the events also provided the linguistic material for the tasks in focus in the literacy events. Two kinds of material were used in the events under scrutiny: either written or spoken texts (i.e. texts read aloud on tape) for practising reading and listening and for studying texts, and grammatical forms for practising the structures in the English language. These materials can be characterized as typical of the texts used in foreign language classrooms. These texts provided the context and framework for the core tasks to be carried out. The analysis showed that the texts for practising

comprehension regulated the way these texts were talked about, and thus earlier findings concerning the constraining nature of the textbook (De Castell and Luke 1989) were confirmed. The content and form of the text had to be reconstructed by the participants in their talk to match the original text. In the case of grammatical exercises, the interaction could be characterized either as routine or as lively discussions. With strictly controlled linguistic contexts (such as fill-in-the-gaps exercises) there was very little talk and routines arose; and in the case of prompt texts, interaction was reduced to mechanical turn taking and the pupils could not express ideas of their own or creativity in producing structures. When the context was more open and there were fewer constraints (such as producing full sentences in exercises), however, the talk among the participants was more varied and lively and, moreover, the pupils seemed to be more active than the teacher.

Earlier studies (Veel and Coffin 1996, Karvonen 1995) have also proposed that textbooks are meant to be used and that they acquire their meaning in the context of use. Furthermore, research (Sunderland et al. 2001) has also shown that the users can transform texts and their intended meanings. The present study extended these findings in showing that although the participants were, to an extent, constrained by texts in making choices concerning the activities, they also acted against the propositions imposed by texts. Consequently, they either followed the instructions in the textbook or made their own choices regarding the purpose of the event and the activities to be done. This was especially the case if the instructions in the textbook were fairly open and general and allowed room for the participants' own choices. In brief, in the events examined the text had a two-fold role. On the one hand, it was a constraint regulating what can be done and how the text can be talked about. On the other hand, it was a springboard for activities providing opportunities for talk and action.

8.2.3 Meanings of text

The micro-analysis of the interaction that formed the data in the present study revealed that texts were talked about in various ways in the literacy events and that the speakers integrated text in their talk in many ways, thus adopting different roles in relation to texts. Meanings were assigned both in activities and in the interaction between the teacher and the pupils as well as that among the latter. Moreover, texts were not only read; instead, they were used in ways that go beyond the traditional notions of reading.

Previous studies (Barton 2001a, Luke et al. 1989) have found that texts are often used as artefacts or icons in the classroom. The findings of the present study were similar. This became evident in the way texts were used, especially by the teacher, physically as markers for the beginning of a new event. Moreover, this meaning was also attributed to texts in the participants' talk about texts. They were referred to in terms of page and exercise numbers, texts were located in books owned by the pupils and items of language were treated as objects, such as steps in a game. Furthermore, the activities related to texts also assigned texts the meaning of an icon or artefact: the text was often

manipulated and worked on, and tasks were sometimes carried out in routine or mechanical activities of selecting or labeling items of language.

What was also significant in the findings was a blurring of oral and literate forms of language in the classroom. Written texts acquired an oral form both in the participants' joint activities and in activities among the pupils: texts were always listened to, word lists read aloud, privately completed tasks made public in the joint oral activities, and during individual work pupils talked aloud trying out forms. Thus, almost everything that was done to the written text was turned into oral activities in the classroom. In other words, the oral practices of the particular setting mediated interactions with written texts, which is line with the view proposed by Maybin and Moss (1993). Even though orality is probably evident in all classrooms, many of the activities mentioned above seem to be particularly typical of foreign language classrooms. Reading word lists aloud, listening to texts being read on the tape or the pupils trying out forms was very typical in this FL classroom. Whether this is the case in other classrooms or whether the forms of orality are different in other classroom settings remains to be discovered in future studies.

In the data of the present study, text was also treated as informational content, meaning and grammatical structure by the participants. These are perhaps the more prototypical uses of text, which are connected to foreign language learning. Both the content and meanings were located in the text in the participants' interaction. In activities with this aspect in focus, interaction usually took the form of elicits, responses and follow-ups, and text animation and reporting was involved in all three parts. Thus text content was reduced to correctly repeated and translated sentences and the text was reconstructed to match the original chronological order of the events. In the same vein, the specific meanings of words given in the textbook were given a special status as somehow superior to other possibilities offered by the pupils. The structural properties of language were in focus in many tasks, which is obviously important in foreign language learning. What is significant, however, is that the meaning of structure was ascribed to written texts even to the extent that grammatical correctness was emphasized in tasks that did not explicitly focus on grammar. Owing to the nature of the talk about the content of the text and the emphasis on grammatical structure, textual content in the conventional sense was not, in fact, talked about in this classroom. Thus, it appears that dealing with the content of texts in the FL classroom may differ considerably from the handling of content in other school subjects, such as history or sciences.

Earlier research (Bloome 1989, 1993, Cazden 1988) has acknowledged the importance of pupil-pupil interaction in the classroom. In the present study, I wanted to take this line of research further. The analysis showed that, in their talk, the pupils also ascribed meanings to texts. For them, texts often served as a source of conversation. Texts gave rise to negotiations among the pupils over the procedures necessary to carry out the task and also over the performance of task proper, even where such negotiations were not called for in the task. In addition, the pupils also engaged in by-play that was provoked by the text. This was not, however, always accepted by the teacher. In other words, the teacher

did not bring up for the discussion issues that seemed to interest the pupils and that could have enhanced their learning. Furthermore, the pupils used the text as a source for jokes, through which they created a special kind of bond among themselves. It is important that these uses of texts are acknowledged as a relevant aspect of learning in the foreign language classroom. These ways of using texts seem to be significant for the pupils and therefore their role in the learning process should not be overlooked.

The present study extended the notion of *talk about text* proposed by Maybin and Moss (1993) and Bloome (1989, 1993). The analysis showed in detail *how* the participants talk about text and how they integrate text into their talk, which has been established as an important line of inquiry in Literacy Studies (Baynham 1995b). All the participants in the classroom of the present study made sense of literacy in their own way and attributed to the text various kinds of meanings. The meanings were assigned within the various interactional structures available to the participants in the setting. Particular meanings were not strictly tied to particular structures of interaction, but some tendencies could be seen. The meaning of an artefact or icon, for example, became evident within all kinds of structures and by all participants. When the participants were talking about the content of texts and the interaction was fairly strictly led by the teacher, in the form of elicits and responses, however, it seemed, that the text became an authority as the ultimate location of answers and information, and its content could not be altered by the participants. In contrast, in interactions among the pupils only, the text was often used as a source of negotiations and jokes, for example. Thus, text was an integral part of the interaction among the participants in the classroom, and a variety of meanings for text (and literacy) arose in the interactions. Consequently, the results indicate that there are multiple school literacies that are created in specific literacy events in specific classrooms.

8.2.4 Describing literacy practices in the EFL classroom

In this section, I will characterize the specific nature of the literacy practices in the foreign language classroom (and, to an extent, classrooms in general) in the light of the micro-analysis of the particular setting in focus in the present study. The discussion will focus on three aspects of literacy practices: the role of interaction in structuring practices, the way texts guide classroom activity and the roles of the participants with a special emphasis on authority.

In the classroom context, almost everything is done through talk and therefore interaction (and the activities related to it) has been in a very prominent role in the present study. The results suggest that, in the literacy events of the classroom – both foreign language and other classrooms – spoken language builds literacy. Interaction is involved in constructing the institutional setting and the participants' institutional roles, in making use of texts, turning them into activities and attributing them meanings. There is interaction between the teacher and pupils, among the pupils and between participants and texts. All these together construct different kinds of literacy practices. Talk structures events so that various phases can be identified. These phases are in

line with the general sequential organization of classroom lessons and they are characterized by various interactional structures within which the participants make sense of literacy and assign texts various meanings. Thus, it seems that the general structure of classroom discourse also regulates literacy events and the construction of literacy.

In the present study, the teacher's role appeared to be more dominant in many activities and the pupils' role was often to comply with or to resist the teacher-imposed ways of organising the event. Through these institutional ways of talking, pupils acquire a particular way of approaching texts, i.e. they acquire the literacy particular to the school, as earlier research (Baker and Freebody 1989, Baynham 1995a) has suggested. The analysis indicated that the teacher-imposed ways of talking about texts, such as elicits and responses, are often given a more prominent position in the interaction and therefore the more formal constructions of literacy within these structures may also gain more prominence. The interaction among the pupils, however, often occurred as a sideline to the dominant line of talk, and thus it might get suppressed. It follows from this that the pupils' constructions of literacy might also get suppressed in the classroom. In brief, there are various ways of talking within the institution of the classroom and thus the definitions and meanings of literacy will also vary. There is no single "school literacy" but many literacies with some perhaps more dominant – but not more significant – than others.

As an artefact[23] in Hamilton's (2000) sense, text seemed to play a very prominent role in this classroom, both regulating and constraining talk and activities and giving opportunities and providing clues for talk and activities. The analysis showed that texts may regulate the flow of the literacy event by defining the purpose of the tasks, determining the activities involved and providing the linguistic material, which constrains what and how the text can be talked about. In this classroom, the participants did, however, make decisions concerning the use of texts. They sometimes chose to follow the text but sometimes they decided to act against the guidelines offered by the text. The findings also suggest that texts are closely integrated to talk, thus further emphasising the significance of interaction in literacy practices. Sometimes the text was almost a participant who was given many voices by the speakers. Participants animated texts, thus giving them a voice in the activities and letting them regulate the literacy event. As speakers integrated texts in their talk by other interactional means, text was made an integral part of spoken language. When participants were talking about texts, especially through elicit-response sequences, the text was often given the position of an authority and the ultimate source of knowledge: the answers and meanings were to be found *in* the texts. On the other hand, in the talk among the pupils, the text was sometimes ridiculed and made an object of mockery. In brief, the participants integrate texts to their talk and activities in many ways. They might assign texts the position of an authority by letting them regulate the event and the way the participants talk about texts. On the other hand they may use texts as a source

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[23] Other artefacts, such as pens or notebooks, were not analysed in detail. They were discussed only when they were relevant in the interaction.

of talk and activities, thus using texts for purposes that are not determined by textbooks.

In this classroom, the text was also more than the written code. Texts had significance as physical icons in structuring events and regulating their flow. Also in this sense, the text was like a participant in the classroom. The oral use of texts was also significant in this context. This seemed to be a typical characteristic of the foreign language classroom: written texts were turned into oral activities. In communicative language teaching, spoken language as means of communication is emphasized. In this classroom, the blurring of oral and written modes of language, however, meant more than an emphasis on spoken language. The written mode was turned into oral language and thus written language was mediated through oral language practices (see Maybin and Moss 1993).

In the classroom of the present study, the opening and closing of events structured the lesson so that there were separate events which focused on separate texts and thus on separate tasks. Once an event was over, the participants put it behind them and moved on to the next one. The event was not returned to. The task has been done, the text has been handled and there is no need to return to these later. Moreover, the event itself contained many different activities constructed around the different elements offered by the written text. The textbooks contained elements which seem to be typical of foreign language textbooks: word lists, exercises on grammar, and text on tape. All these elements were brought into the event through different classroom activities. These aspects of texts and their use reinforce the isolated nature of written texts in the textbook: texts become school tasks, which are performed and perhaps forgotten after completion. This suggests that literacy in the classroom is also split into isolated fragments on the assumption that these will eventually constitute a full picture of literacy. This is one aspect of "the school way" of dealing with texts, and the kind of literacy the pupils are socialized into (cf. Baker and Freebody 1989 discussed in section 2.5).

As far as the participants in a classroom setting are concerned, they act in their institutional roles of a teacher and pupils. These roles are partly given by the institution but they are also made relevant – established, maintained and contested – in the participants' talk and action. The teacher is, in terms of interaction, inevitably in a more prominent role in the classroom than the pupils. The analysis of the present study showed that the overall structure of literacy events is in the teacher's hands: she opens and closes the events and she directs pupils in carrying out the tasks in focus. The teacher mediates the text to pupils by animating, reporting, interpreting and extending the instructions in the textbooks. She also controls the way the informational content of the texts is talked about by emphasising the importance of reconstructing the original texts. Baker and Freebody (1989: 171) called this the 'wait and see practice', which means that the teacher establishes "what the students are 'allowed to know' about the text at any point in the reading of the story". The teacher also evaluated answers from within the text by animating texts when acknowledging the pupils' responses.

The authority in the classroom is not self-evidently in the hands of the teacher, and neither does it lie inherently in the institutional role of the teacher. In data present, there were several points in the literacy events in which the teacher's and pupils' purposes clashed. Pupils challenged the teacher-imposed ways of dealing with texts in their by-play and by other interactional means. On these occasions, the authority of the teacher was challenged and negotiated, and thus authority cannot be taken as given. Instead, somebody or something is either given or denied authority by the participants in their talk and actions. Moreover, the analysis of this study indicated that the authority is not in the textbook either; instead, the choices concerning the use of texts are made by the participants. Thus, in the end, it is the participants who again either give or deny the text its authority and decide how the text is used in the event. Thus on the basis of the analysis of the present study the ultimate authority in the classroom does not lie in texts. Neither does it lie solely in the role of the teacher. Instead, the authority in the classroom is the outcome of interplay between the participants and texts and consequently either assigned or denied. Hence, the present study does not fully confirm earlier studies, which have claimed that the ultimate authority is the teacher (e.g. Baker & Freebody 1989, Baynham 1995a) or that the textbook inherently has authority in the classroom (e.g. Olson 1989, see section 3.3).

Even though the teacher's role was the more prominent, the pupils played a role in the literacy events as well. They complied or contested the teacher-imposed ways of dealing with texts, thereby taking part in the joint constructions of literacy. In addition, they had a role in making sense of literacy among themselves. When the pupils worked on their own or in groups, texts were utilized in various ways. In part these were very similar to the ways found in joint activities, but ways typical of pupil-pupil interaction only arose as well. Often pupils used the text as a source for conversation, joking or playing with words and expressions, and they also made use of the visual elements of texts. Thus they had their own ways of making sense of literacy in the classroom and they gave literacy meanings that differed from those imposed by the teacher.

By paying rigorous attention to interaction, the present study has extended the description of literacy events and practices in terms of the elements proposed by Hamilton (2000, see section 2.4). Interaction is involved in all the elements (participants, texts, activities, setting) of literacy events and it forms the link between the elements as well as between events and practices. The present study has also clarified the notion of "talk about text" used within Literacy Studies (e.g. Maybin & Moss 1993). Talk about text does not include only *what* people say about literacy but also *how* they say it. Through the lexical choices speakers make and the roles they adopt in relation to texts, they construct their own views of and definitions of literacy.

The present study has also made a contribution to research in classroom discourse and research on spoken interaction in general in showing how texts may play an important role in interaction in institutional contexts such as the classroom. Classroom discourse consists of a diversity of interactional structures and within these the speakers make texts relevant in their talk. As Goffman (1981) proposes, speakers often utter words that are not their own and

the written text appears to be a major source (and motive) of animation and reporting.

8.3 Implications for foreign language instruction

There are certain implications for foreign language instruction in general and instruction focusing on literacy in particular that can be drawn from the present study. This study has provided a framework within which literacy practices can be examined in both foreign language and other classrooms. The implications concern the acquisition of literacy, definitions of literacy and the role of teachers, pupils and texts in constructing literacy.

As a social practice, literacy is acquired in the specific settings in which it is used. Today, foreign languages are learnt in many kinds of settings, both vernacular and institutional. Formal classroom settings are, however, still important contexts for foreign language learning. The findings of this study show that the discursive practices of the classroom impose constraints on constructions of literacy. The participants, both teacher and pupils, have various interactional structures available to them and it is within these that they make sense of literacy. Therefore, more attention should be geared towards the patterns of interaction in the classroom. Obviously, classrooms in different cultures differ in terms of teacher control and pedagogic frameworks, and these need to be taken into account. If discursive practices are very rigid and teacher-led, pupils will have no room for their own ways of dealing with texts. With more varied structures, the constructions of literacy also vary, and thus the pupils are engaged in different kinds of literacy practices, which makes them perhaps more prepared for the multiple literacy practices they encounter outside school. Moreover, literacy is more than reading. Everything that is done with written texts in the foreign language classroom creates meanings for and definitions of literacy, and these are the literacies that pupils are socialized into. How text is talked about and what activities are related to talk about text builds ways of dealing with text in a foreign language. Therefore, the acquisition of literacy cannot focus on some elements only. Even if something is specifically labelled reading in the textbook or by the teacher, it is not the only instance of text use. Written text is involved in many other activities as well, and through all of these pupils acquire a way of approaching and dealing with texts in the foreign language.

Accordingly, some definitions of literacy may become more prominent in the classroom. These are often definitions imposed by the institution and the teacher for the simple reason that the teacher is usually in a more prominent interactional role in the classroom. Nevertheless, as the analysis of the present study has shown, there are other constructions of literacy, other definitions of literacy available to the participants. In the present study, the pupils had their own ways of making sense of literacy: they used the texts as sources for discussions and jokes. These ways of sense-making are as significant as – and sometimes perhaps even more significant than – the more dominant ways of

understanding literacy in learning a foreign language. In the present study, the pupils' ways of dealing with texts often took place as a sideline to the dominant line of talk and thus they were often suppressed by the teacher-imposed ways of dealing with texts. These less dominant ways should, however, be recognized, acknowledged and elaborated in classrooms in order to give room to a more varied notion of literacy in the foreign language. Therefore, the teacher-imposed way of making use of texts should not be the only one that is acceptable and appropriate in the foreign language classroom. The possibilities of elaborating the less prominent constructions of literacy should also be explored, as these might lead to ways of learning which have particular relevance to pupils themselves. Teachers should therefore be more sensitive to the pupils' sideline talk, as it relates to aspects of texts that seem to interest pupils, and an occasional shift of focus onto these aspects might lead to more effective learning.

It should also be borne in mind that literacy is acquired through all texts and therefore literacy is not just reading in the traditional sense. Every piece of written text, be it an exercise on grammar or a prompt text for listening, and the activities related to these teach pupils how to approach and deal with texts in a foreign language. Texts are increasingly multimodal and therefore all aspects of texts, such as pictures, prompt texts or exercises, should be paid attention to. More attention should also be geared towards awareness raising concerning the different kinds of texts and their functions in the classroom, and these should be made more explicit to the pupils. More importantly, texts are *used* in the classroom. As this study has shown, participants made decisions concerning the use of texts. The texts sought to impose certain purposes and activities, but the participants were able to choose to diverge from these. Teachers should perhaps have more courage to step away from texts, be more aware of the practices surrounding the use of texts and make these practices more transparent to their pupils as well.

8.4 Limitations

The present study set out to describe literacy practices in the EFL classroom by addressing three broad questions concerning the central elements of literacy events: talk and texts. It is important to be aware of the limitations of the approach chosen in the study. The limitations are both theoretical and methodological in nature.

The premises of Literacy Studies have formed the starting point of the present study. The study ventured to examine an institutional setting in which talk is in a central role, and thus the prime emphasis of analysis was on interaction and, more specifically, on the integration of talk and texts. This approach has been a challenge, since Literacy Studies does not directly offer either theoretical or methodological tools for analysing talk. Therefore, the present study has drawn on other fields of study, which are, however, in no contradiction to Literacy Studies. Theoretically, in unravelling the role of talk in

the construction of literacy practices, the present study has relied on the notion of language as constitutive of social reality. In seeking tools for analysis, I have employed the results of research on classroom discourse and research on face-to-face interaction, especially those used by Goffman. It is clear, however, that this aspect of literacy practices needs to be studied further and more sophisticated and advanced links between theory and empirical description are needed in the future.

The present study has been broad in scope and it has made an attempt to examine the literacy events of the six lessons as holistically and in as much depth as possible. The questions asked were also broad, covering both the discursive framework of the institutional setting and the relationship between talk and texts. In consequence, some aspects remain inevitably somewhat superficial and call for further studies. The relationship between the interactional structures and the constraints imposed by the texts should be examined in greater detail in the future. More specifically, the linguistic contexts provided by the texts (e.g. the continuous texts and their contexts in exercises) and the interactional structures (e.g. elicit-response sequences and pupil-pupil interaction) available to the participants may have links that future studies should examine in greater detail.

The methodological approach chosen in the present study was ethnographic, and thus the analysis focused on a single setting. Data was gathered during six successive lessons and 13 literacy events drawn from those lessons were chosen for close analysis. The events in the data focused on a range of tasks. The other alternative would have been to record more lessons and pick out more events of similar types, i.e. events with similar tasks in focus. For example, there could have been more events focussing on practising reading or practising listening. Both ways of collecting data have their advantages and disadvantages. With more events focusing on fewer types of tasks, it would have been possible to make comparisons across events. With events focusing on a range of tasks, which was the case in the present study, it was possible to get a more varied picture of the literacy events occurring in foreign language lessons.

The classroom studied was very small with only seven pupils. Naturally, a classroom this size is different from a classroom with, say, 25 pupils. Recording a large classroom would, however, have been more complicated. A number of pupils would have been out of reach of the cameras and the talk of individual pupils would have been difficult to capture. Thus, inevitably, the teacher's verbal activities would have been considerably more central in the analysis. With a small number of pupils, it was, however, possible to hear on the tape what the pupils said during pair work, for example. Thus it was possible to focus on the diversity of interactional structures available to the participants in different kinds of classroom activities.

A further limitation in the data collection is related to the choice of a single setting. In order to obtain a more varied picture of literacy events in EFL classrooms, data could have been collected from various levels of schooling. This would have increased the amount of data. However, what would have been gained in breadth, might have been lost in the depth of analysis. By

focusing on a single setting, it was possible to gain an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of interaction between the participants and texts in a particular setting.

Another limitation in the data collection concerns the recordings. Squeezing cameras into a fairly small classroom causes some problems. Even though the placing of the cameras was carefully planned and tested, some students are not seen on tape all the time. The pupils move their desks when switching from one activity to another, and thus occasionally they moved out of camera. In addition, the girls talked in a fairly low voice and they were not always heard on the tape, whereas the boys talked in loud voices; it is thus possible that their voices overlay the girls' talk. For this reason, there is a possible danger of gender bias in the study.

In ethnographic studies, interviews are often conducted. In the present study, the participants were, however, not interviewed. It could be argued that their interpretations of the events would have been needed to understand how they make sense of literacy. Given the starting points of the present study, however, interviews were not necessary. The analysis focused on interaction, and the aim was to investigate *how* literacy practices are constructed locally in literacy events through the interaction and actions of the participants. Therefore, interviewing the participants would not have provided reliable information on *how* practices are constructed. Similarly, it could be argued that the texts used in the events should have been analysed with the methods used in text analysis. However, the present study specifically focused on the use of texts and the interaction around texts and, therefore, text analysis was beyond its scope. This might, nevertheless, be a fruitful avenue for future research.

8.5   Directions for further studies

Literacy Studies is a fairly new as well as diverse area and therefore research on various aspects of literacy need to be taken further. The present study raised many interesting and important questions and directions for further research. As I pointed out in the previous section, due to the broad scope of the study, all the areas under scrutiny in it could be examined further in future studies.

Code switching was not a focus in the present study. The study assumed that all language use builds literacy, and thus I made no distinction between the use of Finnish and English in the classroom, even though it is mentioned in the analysis when it was relevant to the analytical point made. However, as work proceeded it became evident that code switching is a very interesting phenomenon in the data. Both the teacher and the pupils change from English to Finnish and vice versa in their talk, and this appears to be an important and interesting further step in examining literacy in foreign language learning contexts.

The texts used in the foreign language instruction also need to be studied further. The present study focused mainly on the use of texts, and therefore analysis of the textual characteristics of the texts was beyond its scope. This line

of research could, however, be taken further in future studies, especially if the analysis texts and their use were combined. Texts used in foreign language instruction are increasingly multimodal and this aspect should also be placed under scrutiny in the future. Moreover, the present study focused on the use of existing written texts in the classroom, i.e. on the consumption of texts. However, texts are also produced in the classroom. In the foreign language classroom, the production aspect is perhaps not very prominent, but pupils do write when carrying out classroom tasks. This aspect of literacy, the other side of the coin, should be addressed in the future.

Foreign language learning predominantly takes place in institutional settings, but other contexts are being increasingly involved as well. This is especially relevant when fairly young learners are in focus. It would be important to study these contexts and compare them with the formal learning contexts of the school. The present study makes a contribution towards understanding the nature of foreign language literacy in formal settings. Other settings need to be examined as well to obtain a fuller picture and to be able to compare vernacular and institutional settings in the construction of foreign language literacy.

Another issue of importance is gender. It is evident in this data that the boys were far more active in the classroom activities. For example, they were eager to respond without bidding for turns. They also engaged more prominently in by-play and side-play. This may partly be because they were louder in the classroom and thus their voices were the ones most clearly heard in the recordings. In addition, the teacher was a fairly young female, and this may motivate the boys, who were in their early teens, to play a more active role in classroom activities. But there may also be a gender issue involved. The contributions of the girls in the classroom should be examined more carefully, as they may use other – perhaps nonverbal – means of showing solidarity. As this study focused mainly on verbal interaction, this aspect was not examined.

Literacy is a complex issue, yet an influential one in society. The present study revealed a detailed picture of literacy events and practices in one EFL classroom, and raised some interesting and important directions for further studies. By examining the intricacy of the interaction among and between the participants and texts in a particular setting in detail, the study has helped in shedding light on the literacy practices of the foreign language classroom and in opening up a new direction for further studies in examining contexts for foreign language learning.

YHTEENVETO

Tekstit ja vuorovaikutus: Tekstikäytänteet vieraan kielen luokkahuoneessa

Tausta ja tavoitteet

Tutkimus käsittelee tekstikäytänteitä vieraan kielen luokkahuoneessa ja sen pääpaino on siinä, miten käytänteet rakentuvat sekä osallistujien välisissä että osallistujien ja tekstien välisessä interaktiossa. Tekstikäytänteillä tarkoitetaan tekstien käyttöön (lukeminen) ja tuottamiseen (kirjoittaminen) liittyviä käytänteitä (engl. literacy practices). Tekstitaidot ovat hyvin keskeisiä opetuksessa: tekstit ovat sekä opetuksen kohde että opettamisen väline. Lukemista ja kirjoittamista (literacy) on tutkittu runsaasti viimeisten vuosikymmenten aikana ja useimmat näistä tutkimuksista ovat lähestyneet lukemista ja kirjoittamista yksittäisen lukijan ja kirjoittajan kognitiivisina taitoina. Tutkimusta on tehty pääasiassa äidinkielen tekstitaidoista, mutta nykyään tutkimusta tehdään yhä enemmän myös toisen/vieraan kielen oppimisen konteksteissa. Kognitiiviseen lukemis- ja kirjoittamiskäsitykseen pohjautuvat tutkimukset käsittävät lukemisen ja kirjoittamisen teknisinä taitoina, jotka ovat ikään kuin yksilön omistuksessa ja joita voi oppia osa-alue kerrallaan kunnes universaali, kaikissa tilanteissa pätevä taito on saavutettu. Viime vuosina on kuitenkin noussut uudenlainen tutkimussuuntaus, joka asettaa nämä näkemykset kyseenalaiseksi ja ehdottaa, että tekstitaitoja voisi taitojen sijaa tarkastella käytänteinä. Tämä sosiaalinen suuntaus (Literacy Studies) on tieteiden välinen lähestymistapa, joka keskittyy tutkimaan tekstitaitoja kontekstiin sidottuna toimintana. Lähestymistapa perustuu antropologiaan, sosiologiaan, sosiolingvistiikkaan ja puheen etnografiaan.

Sosiaalinen lähestymistapa asettaa yhteiskunnassa tapahtuvan tekstien käytön avain uudenlaiseen valoon. Yksilön tekstitaidot ovat osa tekstienkäyttökonteksteja. Tekstitaidot ovat ihmisten välistä sosiaalista toimintaa pikemminkin kuin yksittäisten lukijoiden ja kirjoittajien ominaisuus. Koska tekstitaidot ovat sosiaalista kontekstiin sidottua toimintaa, ovat ne myös vaihtuvia ja moninaisia. Kontekstuaalisuudesta johtuen tekstitaidot myös omaksutaan käyttämällä tekstejä ja erityisesti puhumalla teksteistä ja tekstien ympärillä yhdessä muiden tilanteeseen osallistujien kanssa. Tekstitaitojen ymmärtäminen käytänteinä tarkoittaa sitä, että tekstitaidot sisältävät muutakin kuin lukemis- ja kirjoittamistoiminnan: käytänteet sisältävät niitä arvoja, asenteita ja uskomuksia, joita liitetään tekstien käyttöön tietyissä konteksteissa tai tietyillä elämän osa-alueilla, kuten kotona, koulussa tai työpaikalla. Jotkut osa-alueet saattavat olla yhteiskunnassa vaikutusvaltaisempia kuin toiset ja siksi, esimerkiksi kouluun liittyvät tekstikäytänteet saattavat olla vallitsevia monilla muillakin yhteiskunnan alueilla.

Sosiaalisessa tekstitaitotutkimuksessa on käytetty käytänne-käsitteen lisäksi myös tapahtuma-käsitettä (literacy event). Käytänteet ovat abstrakteja

kokonaisuuksia, kun taas tapahtumat ovat konkreetteja tekstinkäyttötilanteita, joissa voimme nähdä ihmisten toimivan ja puhuvan kirjoitettujen tekstien ympärillä. Tapahtuma on tutkimuksen käsitteenä hyödyllinen, koska tapahtumia voidaan havainnoida ja analysoida. Kunkin kontekstin vallitsevista käytänteistä saadaan viitteitä näiden yksittäisten tilanteiden tarkastelun kautta.

Luokkahuoneen tekstikäytänteet ovat sidoksissa koulutuksen institutionaaliseen kontekstiin. Tätä institutionaalista kontekstia luonnehtivat tietynlaiset puhetavat eli diskurssikäytänteet sekä tietynlaiset tekstit, jotka ovat tyypillisiä tälle kontekstille. Luokkatilanteeseen osallistujat käyttävät tekstejä tässä institutionaalisessa kontekstissa ja samalla käyttävät hyväkseen instituution laajempia sosiaalisia käytänteitä. Tällä tavoin instituutio muovaa luokkahuoneen tekstikäytänteitä, mutta samalla osallistujat pitävät yllä, uudistavat ja muuttavat instituution käytänteitä käyttäessään tekstejä. Niinpä tekstikäytänteiden ja kontekstin suhde on dialoginen: tekstikäytänteet muovaavat kontekstia ja instituutiota ja päinvastoin.

Sosiaalisen tekstikäytännetutkimuksen parissa on institutionaalisia konteksteja ja erityisesti luokkahuonekonteksteja tutkittu suhteellisen vähän. Vieraan kielen luokkatilanteita ei ole tutkittu lainkaan. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena onkin tutkia nimenomaan vieraan kielen luokkahuoneessa tapahtuvaa tekstitoimintaa. Puheen keskeinen asema on ilmeinen silloin, kun tekstien käyttöä tutkitaan sosiaalisena toimintana. Erityisesti luokkahuone on konteksti, jossa lähes kaikki toiminta tapahtuu puheen kautta. Siksi tämän tutkimuksen keskeisenä tavoitteena onkin kiinnittää erityistä huomiota puheen rooliin tekstikäytänteiden rakentumisessa. Tämä tutkimus lähtee liikkeelle siitä perusoletuksesta, että vieraan kielen luokkahuoneen tekstikäytänteet luodaan, niitä pidetään yllä tai asetetaan kyseenalaiseksi tilanteeseen osallistujien puheessa ja toiminnassa lokaalilla tasolla yksittäisissä tekstitapahtumissa. Samalla kuitenkin instituution sosiaaliset ja diskurssikäytänteet muovaavat osallistujien puhetta ja toimintaa. Tutkimuksen peruslähtökohtana on sosiaalinen tekstikäytännetutkimus, mutta tutkimuksessa käytetään hyväksi myös luokkahuonediskurssin tutkimusta sekä oppikirjateksteihin ja vuorovaikutukseen liittyvää tutkimusta. Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena on kuvata ja tulkita vieraan kielen luokkahuoneen tekstikäytänteitä yksittäisten tekstitapahtumien yksityiskohtaisen analyysin avulla. Tarkoituksena on analysoida yhden luokkahuoneen osallistujien välisen ja osallistujien ja tekstien välisen interaktion mikrotason dynamiikkaa. Tutkimusongelma on muotoiltu kolmeksi tutkimuskysymykseksi, joiden avulla tarkastellaan tekstitapahtumien puheen avulla tapahtuvaa sisäistä organisaatiota ja osallistujien orientaatiota tapahtumaan, tekstien roolia tekstitapahtumissa sekä sitä, kuinka osallistujien välinen puhe muotoilee tekstiä ja antaa sille merkityksiä.

Tutkimusaineisto

Tutkimuksen aineistona on kuusi videonauhoitettua peruskoulun seitsemännen luokan A2-englannin kielen oppituntia. Luokassa oli opettaja ja seitsemän oppilasta, joista neljä oli poikia ja kolme tyttöä. Luokka oli epätavallisen pieni, koska oppilaat olivat valinneet saksan ensimmäiseksi vieraaksi kielekseen ja aloitta-

neet englannin vasta viidennellä luokalla. Aineiston keruun kannalta pieni oppilasmäärä oli etu: kaikkien oppilaiden äänet kuuluivat nauhalla hyvin, mikä tuskin olisi ollut mahdollista suuressa luokassa. Näiltä kuudelta oppitunneilta valittiin 13 tekstitapahtumaa tarkemman analyysin kohteeksi. Analyysin ensimmäisessä vaiheessa oppitunneilta tunnistettiin kaikki tekstitapahtumat. Identifioinnin perusteena käytettiin aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa käytettyä tekstitapahtuman määritelmää: tekstitapahtumia ovat sellaiset tapahtumat, joissa ihmiset puhuvat ja toimivat jonkin kirjoitetun tekstin ympärillä. Näin löydetyistä tekstitapahtumista valittiin lopulliseen analyysiin sellaiset tapahtumat, joiden keskuksena oli jokin joko oppikirjan tai työkirjan teksti. Teksti- tai työkirjaan perustuvat tekstitapahtuvat muodostivat suuren osan kaikista oppitunneista (jopa 35 minuuttia 45 minuutin oppitunnista) ja siksi niiden poimiminen analyysin kohteeksi oli perusteltua. Analyysin ulkopuolelle jäivät siis sellaiset tekstitapahtumat, joiden keskuksena oli esimerkiksi jokin opettajan luokassa jakama moniste. Valittujen tekstitapahtumien pituudet vaihtelivat noin neljästä minuutista yli neljäntoista minuuttiin.

Analyysimenetelmät

Tämä tutkimus on luonteeltaan etnografinen: se kohdistuu yhteen ympäristöön ja sen tavoitteena on tutkimuskohteen syvällinen ymmärtäminen kuvaavan ja tulkitsevan analyysin avulla. Interaktion analysoinnissa käytetään eklektisesti menetelmiä vuorovaikutuksen sosiolingvistiikasta ja puheen etnografiasta. Analyysissä käytetään hyväksi myös keskusteluanalyyttisten tutkimusten tuloksia, jotka liittyvät erityisesti institutionaaliseen puheeseen. Analyysissa on kolme kuvausulottuvuutta: 1) interaktion rakenne, 2) tekstien käyttö, ja 3) puheen ja tekstin integraatio.

Interaktion tarkastelussa huomio kohdistuu pääasiassa kahteen asiaan. Ensinnäkin analysoidaan puheen rakenteellista järjestymistä ja sitä kuinka osallistujien puhe organisoi tekstitapahtumaa. Toiseksi kiinnitetään huomiota siihen, kuinka osallistujat orientoituvat toisiinsa. Oletuksena on, että osallistujat vaihtavat suhtautumistaan toisiinsa niin, että he voivat osallistua useisiin keskusteluihin ja että tilanteessa saattaa olla meneillään useita päällekkäisiä keskusteluja.

Luokkahuoneessa käytettyjä tekstejä analysoidaan vain suhteessa niiden käyttöön. Analyysi perustuu siihen ajatukseen, että opetusteksti, erityisesti oppikirjateksti, on tarkoitettu käytettäväksi ja yleensä vielä ryhmässä. Siten opetusteksti tarjoaa osallistujien toiminnalle jotain. Analyysissä kiinnitetään huomiota tekstien yleiseen asetteluun ja niihin elementteihin, joihin oppikirjan sivu on jaettu. Päähuomio on siinä, kuinka nämä elementit heijastelevat tekstin käyttäjille välittämää yleistä tarkoitusta. Näitä tekstien ominaisuuksia tarkastellaan siinä määrin kuin osallistujat muuttavat niitä luokkahuonetoiminnaksi.

Puhujien orientaatiota teksteihin ja tekstin ja puheen integraatiota tutkitaan puhujien erilaisten monitahoisten puheroolien kautta. Goffmanin ja Levinsonin jaottelun mukaisesti puhuja voi olla omien sanojensa luoja tai hän voi lainata jonkin toisen tahon sanoja. Analyysin kohteena ovat erityisesti sellaiset puhujaroolit, joissa puhujat eivät käytä omia sanojaan vaan tuovat tekstin eri

tavoin mukaan puheeseensa. Analyysissä kiinnitetään huomiota myös niihin leksikaalisiin valintoihin, joita puhujat tekevät suhteessa tekstiin. Näiden on osoitettu olevan olennaisia institutionaalisessa puheessa, kun puhujat toimivat erilaisissa institutionaalisissa rooleissaan ja osoittavat omaa asiantuntijuuttaan.

Tulokset

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että tekstitapahtumat jakautuivat osallistujien puheen kautta kolmeen osaan: avaus, tekstin käsittely ja lopetus. Kaikkia näitä osia luonnehtivat erilaiset interaktiorakenteet: opettaja puhui oppilaille, oppilaat opettajalle ja oppilaat puhuivat keskenään. Opettajan rooli oli keskeinen tapahtuminen avaamisessa ja lopettamisessa. Tätä edesauttoi instituution opettajalle antama rooli. Avauksen keskeisen sisällön muodostivat opettajan ohjeet, joissa hän käytti tekstiä monin tavoin sekä verbaalisti että esineellisesti. Oppilaat joko mukautuivat opettajan avaukseen tai sitten he vastustivat sitä esimerkiksi osallistumalla omaan keskusteluun samanaikaisesti opettajan ohjeiden kanssa. Lopetus taas oli hyvin lyhyt ja siihen liittyi joskus lyhyt opettajan arvio tai vain yksi sana, joka merkitsi lopetusta tai tapahtuman vaihtoa. Tekstinkäsittelyvaihetta luonnehtivat useat erilaiset interaktiorakenteet. Hyvin keskeinen rakenne kaikkien tekstien käsittelyssä oli opettajan johtama kolmiosainen rakenne: avaus-vastaus-seuranta (initiation - response - follow-up). Tämän lisäksi myös oppilaat suuntasivat puhettaan opettajalle. He tekivät näin lähinnä kysyessään opettajalta sanojen merkityksiä, toimintaohjeita tai hakiessaan vahvistusta tekemilleen tehtäville. Oppilaat myös puhuivat keskenään: he neuvottelivat toiminnasta tai tehtävän sisällöstä, suorittivat tehtäviä sanomalla lauseita vuorotellen, leikkivät sanoilla ja sanonnoilla, osallistuivat rinnakkaispuheeseen ja puhuivat itsekseen. Yleensä tapahtuma eteni opettajan tarkoittamalla tavalla, mutta joskus opettajan ja oppilaiden tarkoitukset ja tavoitteet olivat ristiriidassa ja osallistujat ajautuivat konfliktiin. Neuvottelun jälkeen tapahtuma kuitenkin useimmiten eteni opettajan tavoitteiden mukaisesti.

Tulokset osoittivat myös tekstin olevan hyvin keskeisessä tehtävässä luokkahuoneen tekstitapahtumissa. Tekstit määrittivät koko toiminnan yleisen kehyksen rajaamalla tapahtuman yleisen tavoitteen, eri tyyppiset toiminnot ja niiden keskinäisen järjestyksen. Silloin kun oppikirjan ohjeet olivat hyvin yksiselitteiset ja yksityiskohtaiset, osallistujat noudattivat niitä hyvinkin tarkasti. Oppikirjan tarjoamia erilaisia lisäelementtejä, kuten sanalistoja ja kieliopin selityksiä, opettaja käytti hyväkseen valmistelemalla oppilaita varsinaiseen tehtävään niiden avulla. Tekstit luonnollisesti tarjosivat myös sen kielellisen materiaalin, jota tehtävän suorittamisessa tarvittiin. Analysoiduissa tapahtumissa oli kolmenlaista materiaalia: kirjoitettua tekstiä, puhuttua tekstiä nauhalla ja kieliopillisia muotoja rakenteiden harjoittelua varten. Nämä tekstin osat ohjailivat hyvinkin tarkasti osallistujien keskustelua. Tekstinymmärtämistä ja kuullunymmärtämistä harjoiteltaessa teksti rakennettiin osallistujien puheessa uudelleen vastamaan tarkasti alkuperäistä tekstiä. Kielioppitehtävien osalta taas voidaan todeta, että samanlainen kielellinen tehtävä saattoi käytössä muuttua joko hyvin rutiininomaiseksi vuoronvaihdoksi tai vilkkaaksi keskusteluksi. Silloin kuin kielellinen konteksti oli tiukasti rajattu, interaktio saattoi olla hyvin mekaanista,

kun taas kielellisesti vapaammassa kontekstissa osallistujat keskustelivat vilkkaasti. Tutkimuksen tulokset siis osoittivat, että teksti sekä rajoittaa interaktiota että tarjoaa sille mahdollisuuksia. Teksti saattaa rajoittaa toimintaa, mutta toisaalta osallistujat saattavat käyttää tekstiä hyvinkin moninaisilla tavoilla.

Analyysistä kävi myös ilmi, että tilanteeseen osallistujat käyttävät tekstiä puheessaan eri tavoin ja integroivat tekstin puheeseensa monitahoisten puhujarooliensa kautta. Tekstille annettiin erilaisia merkityksiä sekä puheessa että toiminnassa, ja monet näistä merkityksistä poikkeavat tavanomaisista tekstin merkityksistä. Ensinnäkin tekstiä käytettiin materiaalisena esineenä. Tämä tuli esille sekä osallistujien tekemissä leksikaalisissa valinnoissa, teksteihin liitetyissä toiminnoissa että siinä, miten erityisesti opettaja käytti tekstiä fyysisesti merkitsemään tekstitapahtumien alkua. Toiseksi tulokset osoittivat, että kielen kirjallinen ja suullinen muoto sekoittuvat luokkatilanteessa. Kirjoitetut tekstit saivat lähes aina suullisen muodon sekä kaikkien osallistujien yhteisissä toiminnoissa että oppilaiden välisissä toiminnoissa. Tekstejä kuunneltiin nauhalta, sanalistoja luettiin ääneen, yksin hiljaa tehdyt tehtävät tehtiin julkisiksi yhteisissä suullisissa toiminnoissa ja oppilaat puhuivat itsekseen tehtäviä tehdessään kuulostellen muotoja ja ääntämistä. Kolmanneksi tekstillä oli luonnollisesti myös sisältö, merkitys ja kieliopillinen rakenne. Nämä ovat ehkä niitä tavallisimmin vieraan kielen oppimiseen liittyviin teksteihin liitettyjä merkityksiä. Toistamalla tekstiä ja viittaamalla tekstiin puheessaan osallistujat paikansivat tekstin ja sanojen merkitykset tekstin sisälle. Tekstin sisällön käsittely rajoittui oikein toistettuihin ja käännettyihin lauseisiin ja tekstit rakennettiin puheessa uudelleen vastaamaan alkuperäistä tekstiä. Käytetyissä teksteissä olevat sanat ja niiden merkitykset saivat myös puheessa erityisen merkityksen. Kieliopillista oikeellisuutta korostettiin myös osallistujien puheessa, jopa sellaisissa tehtävissä, jotka eivät eksplisiittisesti liittyneet kieliopin harjoittamiseen. Tutkimuksen tulosten perusteella merkittävää oli myös se, että teksti sai erilaisia merkityksiä oppilaiden keskinäisessä puheessa: oppilaille teksti oli usein keskustelun lähde. Tekstit herättivät tehtävän suorittamista tai sisältöä koskevia neuvotteluja. Oppilaat käyttivät tekstiä myös leikkimielisen puheen lähteenä ja osallistuivat tekstipohjaisiin rinnakkaiskeskusteluihin, joiden kautta he vastustivat opettajan ehdottamaa toimintaa.

Tulosten arviointia

Tutkimus sekä tukee aikaisempien tutkimusten tuloksia että avaa uusia näkökulmia tekstikäytänteiden tarkasteluun. Tekstien käyttö on todellakin tilanteeseen sidottua toimintaa ja institutionaaliset puhekäytänteet ja sosiaaliset käytänteet säätelevät tekstien käyttöä. Puhe on hyvin keskeisessä asemassa tekstitaitojen rakentumisessa ja teksti ja puhe sulautuvat yhteen osallistujien toiminnassa. Luokkatilanteessa osallistujat puhuvat teksteistä koulukäytänteiden mukaisesti ja näin oppilaat oppivat koulun tavan käyttää vieraan kielen tekstejä. Osallistujien institutionaaliset roolit osaltaan määrittävät, millä tavoin teksteistä voi puhua. Opettajan rooli on luokassa dominoivampi kuin oppilaiden ja siksi myös tekstikäytänteet, jotka muotoutuvat opettajajohtoisessa interaktiossa, saavat suuremman merkityksen tilanteessa. Oppilaiden puhe jää usein dominoi-

van puheen varjoon ja siksi heidän tekstikäytänteensä saattavat myös jäädä vähälle huomiolle. Nämä voivat kuitenkin olla oppimisen kannalta hyvinkin tärkeitä ja siksi niihin tulisi kiinnittää enemmän huomiota.

Kaikki tilanteeseen osallistujat rakentavat osaltaan merkityksiä teksteille. Osittain tekstit ohjailevat puhetta ja toimintaa, mutta toisaalta puhujat myös tekevät itsenäisiä valintoja ja poikkeavat näin tekstin tarjoamasta kehyksestä. Teksti saa merkityksensä käytön kautta kaikkien osallistujien puheessa ja siksi luokkatilanteessa on hyvin erilaisia tekstitaitoja ja näiden kaikkien pitäisi saada sijaa opetustilanteessa. Vaikka opettaja onkin melko dominoivassa asemassa luokkatilanteessa, ei tilanteen auktoriteetti ole kuitenkaan yksin hänen käsissään. Teksti ei myöskään näytä yksin muodosta auktoriteettia, kuten joissakin aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa on todettu. Sen sijaan, auktoriteetti muodostuu kaikkien osallistujien ja tekstien välisessä vuorovaikutuksessa: se joko annetaan tai otetaan pois.

Tutkimus herätti paljon mielenkiintoisia kysymyksiä, joita tulisikin ottaa tarkastelun kohteeksi tulevaisuudessa. Tekstien ja puheen välisen yhteyden sekä tekstitapahtumien ja tekstikäytänteiden välisen yhteyden selvittämiseen tarvitaan lisää sekä empiiristä tutkimusta että teoreettista pohdintaa. Lisäksi koodinvaihto ja tekstien tarkempi tekstianalyysi, jotka rajattiin pois tästä tutkimuksesta, ovat seikkoja, joita tulisi tutkia tarkemmin jatkossa. Kaikki luokkatilanteeseen osallistujat käyttivät sekä englantia että suomea teksteistä puhuessaan. Huomio tulisi kiinnittää siihen, kuinka puhujat vaihtavat kieltä orientoituessaan tilanteeseen ja teksteihin. Tarkemmalla tekstianalyysillä voitaisiin selvittää, kuinka tekstin kielellinen rakenne asemoi lukijoita ja rajoittaa puhetta tai tarjoaa sille mahdollisuuksia.

Tämä tutkimus avaa uudenlaisen suunnan vieraan kielen tekstitaitojen tutkimiseen ja nostaa esille mielenkiintoisia kysymyksiä tekstitaitojen monitahoisesta kokonaisuudesta. Tutkimus tarjoaa kehyksen, jonka avulla voi tarkastella tekstikäytänteitä niin vieraan kielen luokkahuoneessa kuin muissakin luokkatilanteissa.

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Appendix 1

Description of the events analysed and the texts used in the events

YA1, Queenie & Rusty
Length: 7' 27''
Text: The text is labelled as a *study* text and it is a dialogue in the textbook. An interviewer talks to a 13-year-old boy about an incident, in which a cat defended a dog and its puppies against a coyote. The interview took place on a farm in Arizona, USA.
Activities: The text had been listened to in the previous lesson and the pupils had already worked on a set of questions concerning the text. During this event the text is first listened to and then the teacher goes through the questions the pupils had worked on in pairs during the previous lesson. Finally, the teacher asks the pupils to underline some sentences in the text. She has written the sentences on the blackboard in Finnish.

YA1, Fill in
Length: 6' 11''
Text: The text is an gap-filling exercise on past tense in the workbook. The verbs to be used are given in a box next to the text.
Activities: The pupils had been given three exercises to do as homework. As the participants start to check the homework, the teacher notices that most of the pupils have not done it. She decides that the group is going to do this fill-in exercise together in class.

YA1, Pictures
Length: 7' 34''
Text: The text in the textbook is labelled *think*. The text includes an explanation of the verb forms needed to express past, present and future time and an exercise on present and past tense forms. The exercise contains two model sentences: *My parents travelled by train. We travel by car.* With the help of pictures (drawings), similar sentences have to be formed. The verb forms are given in the pictures (e.g. drank – drink).
Activities: The teacher first briefly explains the verb forms used for past, present and future. The pupils then work on the task in pairs, taking turns in forming sentences in the past and present tense. The teacher walks around the class and helps the pupils.

YA2, Game
Length: 8' 56''
Text: The text is a page in the textbook which is labelled *play* and in which a game board is displayed with a model sentence. The game is a circle with verbs as steps and when a player lands on a step, she or he has to form a sentence with that verb in the past tense. The game board also has pictures as prompts for the sentences.

Activities: The teacher explains how the game is played and then the pupils play the game in pairs or threes. The teacher sits in front of the class and occasionally walks around class answering pupils' questions and correcting the sentences they form.

YA2, Animal jobs
Length: 13' 11''
Text: The text is a prompt text with pictures in the textbook. It is labelled *listen*. The pictures display people who work with animals. Each picture has a caption saying something about the person in it and a bubble, in which that person says something about her or his work. There are little tasks next to the pictures, which the pupils have to complete while listening to the tape.
Activities: The teacher first explains the captions and then the pupils read the words in the word list in chorus after the teacher. After that they listen to the tape and do the first task, which requires sentences to be completed. The pupils find it difficult to carry out the task and the teacher plays the tape once more. Now they complete the sentences. They then go through a set of questions concerning the next picture/person and listen to the tape. After listening, the pupils answer the questions. The last picture and the task related to it is not done.

YA2, Translate
Length: 12' 30''
Text: The text is an exercise on grammar in the workbook. The exercise consists of a set of questions in Finnish. The pupils have to first mark the questions that are in the past tense and then translate them into English.
Activities: The teacher asks the pupils to work on the task on their own. The pupils, however, work on the task in collaboration. The translated sentences are then written on the blackboard so that each pupil writes one sentence. The teacher checks that the sentences are correct.

YA3, Gaps in sentences
Length: 3' 48''
Text: The text is an exercise on grammar in the workbook in which sentences have to be completed with verbs in the past tense. The sentences are of the form: *We didn't go home, we ___ went to a football match*. One full sentence has to be invented.
Activities: The exercise had been given for homework in the previous lesson. Now the exercise is checked in class, the teacher asking the pupils to fill in the sentences one by one.

YA3, ABCD
Length: 6' 28''
Text: The text is an exercise on grammar in the workbook. The page first has an explanation concerning the form of the verb *be* in the past tense. The four forms (*was, wasn't, were, weren't*) are marked A, B, C, and D, respectively. The exercise consist of a set of sentences in Finnish. The pupils have to mark each sentence

A, B, C, or D, depending on the form of *be* they would need in a corresponding English sentence.

Activities: The teacher first explains the past tense forms of the verb *be*. Then they go through the task orally, the teacher asking the pupils one by one to mark the sentences with the correct letters. The pupils also translate the sentences orally.

YA3, Circle

Length: 3' 49''

Text: The text is an exercise on grammar on the same page in the workbook as the exercise in the event ABCD above. This exercise consists a set of Finnish sentences with their English translations. The English sentences have two alternative forms of the verb, one in the present and the other in the past tense. The pupils have to choose the correct verb form by circling it.

Activities: The teacher asks the pupils first to work on the exercise on their own. The pupils, however, work on the exercise partly in collaboration. Once they have completed it, the teacher puts up the correct answers on an OHP.

YA3, Columns

Length: 3' 47''

Text: The text is an exercise on grammar on the same page in the workbook as the exercises in events ABCD and Circle above. In this exercise there are five columns of words or phrases: one for the subject, one for the predicate, one for the object and two for the adverbials. The pupils have to form sentences by taking one word or expression from each column. The task can be carried out orally or in writing.

Activities: The teacher asks the pupils to carry out the exercise orally in pairs. The pupils work in pairs saying sentences aloud in turns. The teacher walks around the class answering the pupils' questions and correcting their sentences.

YA3, Tarzan

Length: 10' 25''

Text: The text is a continuous text in the textbook labelled *read*. The name of the text is *Wild, wild animals* and it is a story about film making in Africa in the early days of the cinema.

Activities: After the teacher has introduced the task, the pupils read the words in the word list in chorus after the teacher. Then they listen to the text being read on the tape. After listening, the teacher asks the pupils questions on the text in Finnish.

YA3, Text in sacks

Length: 5' 31''

Text: The text contains two exercises in the workbook. They are related to the text *Wild, wild animals*. The exercise consists of five sentences and the pupils have to choose the one that best describes the content of the text. The other one consists of sacks, which each contain one sentence. The sentences (or sacks)

have to be reorganized so their order matches the order of the events in the text *Wild, wild animals.*

Activities: The first exercise is carried out very rapidly. The teacher asks the pupils which of the sentences describes the text best and she gets an answer. Then the teacher asks the pupils to work on the sentences in the sacks. The pupils work on the task for a while and then they go through the correct order of the sacks on the blackboard.

YA4, Animal quiz

Length: 14' 19''

Text: The text is a prompt text with quiz questions in the textbook, labelled *listen*. There are also pictures (drawings) of the people who take part in the quiz. The tape features an animal-related quiz programme, on the basis of which the answers to the quiz can be checked.

Activities: The teacher first explains the task and goes through the quiz questions, explaining how the questions should be answered. The pupils then work on the questions and talk to each other about them. Once the pupils have finished, they listen to the quiz programme on the tape and check their answers. Finally, the teacher asks the pupils how many answers they got right.

Appendix 2

Transcription conventions

wo[rds]	simultaneous speech; left-hand brackets mark the start of the
[wo]rds	overlap, right-hand brackets the end of the overlap
text=	
=text2	latching speech
cut off wo-	cut off word or sentence
(-)	untimed pause, length one second or longer
(.)	untimed pause, less than a second
LOUD SPEECH	speech spoken louder than surrounding talk
⁰quiet speech⁰	speech spoken more quietly/softly than surrounding talk
<slow>	slow speech
>fast<	fast speech
●laughing●	laughing production of speech
wo(h)rd	(h) denotes laughter within words
♪singing♪	singing production of speech
whispering	whispering production of speech
@tone@	altered tone of voice, (e.g. when quoting somebody)
stressed	emphatic stress
exte:nde::d	noticeable extension of the sound or syllable
mispronounced	mispronunciation (either accidental or on purpose)
↓	follows falling intonation
↑	follows rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
((laughs))	transcriber's comments
(maybe)	probable utterance
(x)	incomprehensible item, probably one word only
(xx)	incomprehensible item of phrase length
(xxx)	incomprehensible item beyond phrase length
((x))	incomprehensible sound
((xx))	incomprehensible sounds
{looks at x}	nonverbal activities
L	an unidentified learner
LL	unidentified learners
LM	an unidentified male learner
LF	an unidentified female learner

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