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THE NATURE OF EFL CONVERSATION IN CLASSROOM AND NET-BASED LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

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by

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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, millaista on englanninkielisen keskustelun harjoittelu luokkahuone- sekä tietokoneavusteisessa ympäristössä. Lähtökohtana tutkimukselle on kohdekielen käyttötilanteet ja niihin annetut mahdollisuudet luokkahuoneessa, ja kuinka tietokoneavusteisella opetuksella ja oppimisella voitaisiin luoda kielenkäytön harjoitteluun enemmän laajuutta. Tutkimusaineistona on käytetty englantia vieraana kielenä opiskelevien lukion 1. luokan oppilaiden kaksoistunnista koostuvaa transkriptiä sekä perusasteen 9. luokan englannin tunnilla käymää verkkopohjaista keskustelua.

Vieraan kielen käyttöä lähestytään sosiokultuoraalisen, sosialisaatio- sekä identiteettiteorioiden näkökulmasta. Luokkahuone- sekä tietokoneavusteista keskustelua ilmiönä pyritään määrittämään ja selventämään aikaisempien tutkimusten pohjalta. Aineiston tarkastelussa on yhdistetty kaksi metodologiaa: etnografia sekä keskusteluanalyysi, joiden avulla pyritään selventämään keskustelun rakenteen lisäksi siihen osallistuvien rooleja eri keskustelutilanteissa. Tutkimuksessa esiintyvää kahta keskusteluympäristöä ei pyritä arvottamaan millään lailla, vaan tarkoituksena on löytää vastauksia myös siihen, miten nämä voisivat täydentää toisiaan ja edesauttaa kielen oppimista – etenkin sen käyttämistä aidoissa vuorovaikutustilanteissa.

Luokkahuonekeskustelua määrittävät suurelta osin tunnilla läpikäydyt tehtävät ja opittavat asiakokonaisuudet. Keskustelut ovat opettajajohtoisia ja oppilaat tekevät vain vähän aloitteita, joskin oppilaat osallistuvat kuitenkin jossain määrin keskustelun kulkuun. Vaikka luokkakoko on suhteellisen pieni, aitoa keskustelua syntyy vähän. Tietokoneavusteisessa keskustelussa oppilaat saivat pohdittavakseen kysymyksiä, jotka osaltaan myös ohjasivat keskustelua. Oppilaat ottivat kuitenkin aktiivisen roolin aiheiden eteenpäin viennissä ja englanninkielistä keskustelua syntyi ilman opettajan ohjausta. Lisäksi oppilaat esittivät enemmän omia mielipiteitään ja ajatuksiaan, sillä verkkopohjaisessa keskustelussa tähän tarjoutui enemmän mahdollisuuksia kuin luokkahuonekeskustelussa.

Vaikka on ymmärrettävää, että kielenopetus tutkimuksen näkökulmasta tukeutuu paljolti käytettävään opetussuunnitelman pohjalta laadittuun materiaaliin, olisi syytä pohtia, kuinka paljon erilaiset harjoitukset tukevat kielen käyttötilanteita. Perinteinen oppimateriaali tarjoaa tietoa kielestä, mutta oppilas ei välttämättä osaa yhdistää oppimaansa erilaisiin kielenkäyttötilanteisiin. Tässä mielessä tietokoneavusteiset keskusteluharjoitukset ja teknologian hyödyntäminen yleensä kielen opetuksessa on avainasemassa tarjoten uusia mahdollisuuksia ja näkökulmia opetukseen ja oppimiseen sekä kielen aktiiviseen ja motivoituneeseen käyttöön.

Asiasanat: classroom conversation, computer-mediated communication, foreign language learning, ethnography, conversation analysis

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to take a look at how communicative practices in a foreign language are constructed in English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom and in an Internet-based learning environment. This study makes an attempt to shed light onto the nature of conversation activities in describing the operations of the teacher and the pupils in creating opportunities for practicing conversation in a unique social environment of the classroom and the net-based environment. The driving force behind this study is the lack of conversation in Finnish FL classroom. Therefore, one aim of this study is to make a practical contribution to language teaching by raising awareness of the benefits of conversation practices. Another aim is to provide suggestions on how to make teaching and practicing conversation pedagogically more effective and meaningful by incorporating computer-based domain to the classroom environment.

In this study, face-to-face and computer-mediated conversation practices in EFL teaching will not be compared in the sense of what makes them different, as it is quite clear that they in fact are different due to physical setting to begin with. Face-to-face conversation most commonly takes place in the classroom, whereas computer-mediated conversation takes place via a computerized network. In contrast, the two environments are seen as complementing each other and adding extra value to the foreign language teaching. My preliminary hypothesis is that Finnish pupils in general do not use English sufficiently in oral communication in the language classroom. Typically, classroom conversations are tied to course book exercises resulting in only brief utterances, and the topics are not dealt with in detail. Thus, the reasons for the limited amount or conversation might derive from the lack of opportunities to speak and have actual conversations. In other words, the teaching follows the framework of the course book leaving little or no room at all for unplanned situations, such as pupils' questions or initiatives on a certain topic. In addition, the pupils can be shy or in some other way inhibited to using the language in a classroom setting. This, in turn, could be the result of not being accustomed to using the language to discuss issues covered in the classroom, whether subject related or something else entirely.

Therefore, a net-based environment could be beneficial to learning conversational practices at least to a certain degree, as the pupils are able to communicate anonymously without the fear of loosing face when making a mistake. In addition, learners become aware of their ability to use the language skills already acquired and apply them in actual communication, and they are able to receive immediate feedback not only from the teacher but from other pupils, as well. Thus, computer-mediated communication (CMC) offers many possibilities for improving the learning process. In addition, creating connections to the surrounding world via the Internet and chatting with other speakers of English, non-native or native, for example, gives the pupil a sense of using the target language for real purposes – that is, making oneself understandable and a part of the surrounding world.

These aspects mentioned above increase the pedagogical value of computer-based language teaching. As computers have become everyday equipment in most homes and at schools, pupils are used to and most likely not reluctant to utilize them. Indeed, pupils have become media-literate in the sense that, for instance, they are able to use various search engines provided in the Internet, and seek information from the immense amount of possible results. They are also able to take part in the enormous quantity of virtual discussion platforms concerned with numerous specified topics. This, in turn, gives the teacher various useful alternatives in conducting the lessons, as his/her pupils can work independently or in groups and use the Internet as a resource in studying and learning. Furthermore, the pupils are also exposed to various types of texts and thereby to different types of language use as they browse the Internet.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the teachers' computer literacy might not be on the same level with that of the pupils. The pupils are accustomed to the multi-layered functions of the Internet as they juggle with numerous chat sessions and look for information on the Internet, for instance. Interestingly, they still manage to participate rather well in the conversations in regards that they do not feel anxious or stressed over being a valid member of each chat session. In contrast, the teacher might feel utterly burdened with ten chat windows filling the computer screen, each related to a different topic.

In fact, due to the pupils' familiarity with using the computer, the schools need to keep up with the technological development, and incorporate technological means to teaching, and most importantly, to provide additional training in educational technology for the teachers. Thus, in addition to books, the pupils should be given the possibility of doing exercises and acquiring knowledge on a computer-based platform which can then add multiplicity and variation to both teaching and learning.

Before moving on to discuss the theoretical framework of this study, central terms and concepts need to be clarified. When face-to-face classroom conversation is referred to, the acronym 'F2F' is used. EFL stands for English as a Foreign Language, and CMC for Computer Mediated Communication, which at times might be referred to as net-based conversation. The term 'conversation' is included in the term 'communication', as through conversation certain information is communicated. However, the emphasis in this study is on conversation, as it, in turn, carries the impression of more intimate interaction and reciprocity.

2. VIEWS ON LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING – The theoretical framework of the present study

The building blocks of the theoretical framework of this study come from three overlapping theories: sociocultural theory, language socialization theory and identity theory. These theories are important for this study, because they provide answers to the question why *using* the language for conversational purposes is important and essential in language learning. The three theories are dealt with in more detail in the following chapters, respectively. Figure 1 illustrates how the three theories interact with each other, forming a three-petal elliptical structure. The unifying factor and, in this case, the core is language use in conversation, outlined by the partially interpenetrating petals. One of the petals refers to sociocultural theory. According to it, language is a mediating tool for establishing relationships and belonging to social groups and passing on ideas. The language mediation is also a link between the petals. The second petal refers to language socialization. It is through language socialization that language users are socialized into a certain language group, where the teacher most commonly operates as a socializing agent. The third petal signifies

the identity theory: according to it, language learning in various situations has an effect on pupils' identity as language learners and as members of social groups.

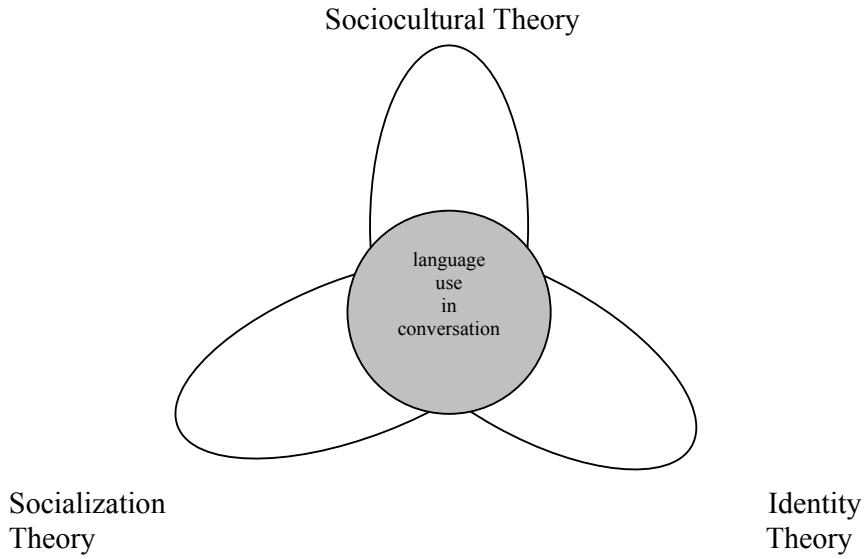

Figure 1. The theoretical framework of the present study. The unifying factor is the focus on conversational language use.

2.1 Sociocultural Theory of language teaching and learning

The present study focuses on the conversational activities carried out in the classroom and in the CMC environment and studies them through sociocultural lenses. This approach sheds light on the question of why and how language is used as a mediator and also clarifies the motivation for activities and operations behind the use. These concepts are dealt with in the following chapters in more detail.

The basis for sociocultural theory is based on Vygotsky's (1978) work which views "the acquisition of language (first and subsequent) as a sociocultural phenomenon linking the social/interactional with the cognitive" (Boxer 2004: 11). Language is seen as a *mediating tool* between the mind and social interaction. As Lantolf (2000: 1) explains: "As with physical tools, humans use symbolic artifacts to establish an indirect, or *mediated*, relationship between ourselves and the world. The task of psychology, in Vygotsky's view, is to understand how human social and mental activity is organized through culturally constructed artifacts". Or, as Block (2003: 99) puts it, sociocultural approach "recognizes the essential relationship between

[human mental] processes and the cultural, historical, and institutional settings." In other words, the participants in a certain social environment use language to establish and maintain relationships and also simultaneously develop their communicative skills.

Classroom is a social environment that has an important role in an individual's development, as oral interaction between the teacher and the pupils and among pupils creates the learning environment and a social setting with certain characteristics, mediated through language use. The interactional relationship between the teacher and pupils is explained, for instance, with the metaphor of scaffolding. As Block (2003: 101) explains, "[s]caffolding takes place in interaction involving two or more people in which at least one person acts as a mentor and the other(s) as relative novice(s)." Thus, the teacher assists the pupils in achieving a higher level of knowledge through joint activity, in which the rules are familiar to all the participants through sociocultural knowledge.

Scaffolding also refers to the institutional role of the teacher as the mentor and the pupil as the novice, which in turn creates a rather asymmetrical communication situation, as the teacher is most likely to hold the floor in classroom discourse. With computer-based communication, however, the teacher might actually be closer to being an active and more equal participant in conversation, who focuses more on listening and observing before reacting to the ongoing discussion (Taalas et al. 2000: 1, 2). In addition, the roles of mentor and novice might turn upside down during computer-based learning, as the pupils often are "the masters of the medium, instead of the teacher" (Taalas et al. 2000: 4).

Block (2003: 101) points out, however, that sociocultural phenomena are part of activity theory – a theory generated from the ideas of A. N. Leontiev (1978), Vygotsky's contemporary. Activity theory refers to the unit of analysis – what is analysed in a text – which in Vygotsky's view, was the *word* since it unified the meaning of a thought and linguistic form. However, many scholars have developed Vygotsky's view and have argued that the applicable unit of analysis is *tool-mediated goal-directed action* (Lantolf 2000: 7). In other words, activity is more than just doing something, as it is always motivated by biological or social needs,

such as the need to eat or the need to feel appreciated, respectively (Lantolf 2000: 8, Block 2003: 101). Block (2003: 101) continues that in order for the needs to transform into action through motivation, there needs to be an objective for the motive, and further, the action needs goal-directed planning and specific conditions in order to create the actual operations. Hence, the chain of events, as Block (2003: 102) describes it, is the following:

Need → Objective → Motive → Goal → Action → Conditions → Operations

Block (2003: 102) clarifies this with an example of a language learner who first has the basic need to belong to a certain group and the objective to be an equal member of that group. This objective gives rise to a motivation for action, the goal being, for example, the presentation of ideas to other participants, the actions, in turn, can include comprehension checks when the ideas are presented. Finally, the actual operation is performed according to the prevailing conditions and context, the fluency depending on how familiar the learner is with the domain in question (ibid.). Indeed, each event in the chain is demonstrated through language, and, therefore, they add to the importance of language use and display its central and dynamic role in the social environment of the classroom.

Indeed, different language uses in diverse domains have specific mediating rules, as Lantolf (2000: 12) also points out. For example, on-line chat sessions rely on mediating rules that are quite different from those of face-to-face discussions. What is regarded as inappropriate language use in a classroom setting can be more or less acceptable in chatting. This gives the pupils more flexibility in using the target language, as the regulations of conversation change according to the context and environment. For example, in addition to the language style mentioned above, pupils can change the subject easily, cut in conversations, and ignore questions or ideas by other pupils and so forth. Naturally, pupils can behave in such a manner in the classroom, too, but in chat they do not have to actually face the classmates or the teacher. The consequences might also be negative: the discussion is derailed from the planned goal or that the pupils do not pay enough attention to the areas of language (such as grammar points) which the teacher regarded to be important. In sum, the teacher has to take the different mediating rules of the two domains under consideration when planning the language lesson as the language use is bound to be

somewhat different whether it takes place in the classroom or in a net-based environment.

2.2 Socialization Theory in the language classroom

In the present study, socialization theory is drawn on to explain and clarify the dynamics of the language classroom, that is, how the teacher and the pupils use language to teach and learn the "rules" of a certain group. Language socialization conceptualises classrooms as communities of practice where the teacher takes the role of a socializing agent in somewhat the same way as a parent with children (Boxer 2004: 10). Language learning from this perspective means the acquisition of linguistic and sociocultural knowledge simultaneously. Language socialization is seen as an ongoing process, as people enter into new sociocultural contexts, such as the classroom (Li 2000). Lave and Wenger (1991: 29, 40) describe this process from an analytical viewpoint of legitimate peripheral participation, where the learner participates in the sociocultural practices and through evolving interactional skills moves towards full participation. The way of talking in which an individual participates in a particular social community in the classroom is a certain activity in itself, as well as a way of belonging (Wenger 1998: 4-5). As Konishi and Tarone (2004: 176) point out, a speaker, for example a teacher or a pupil, selects and uses some language strategy (reduction or compensatory strategy) to establish and maintain a common ground for agreement and understanding of certain issues.

Also Marton and Tsui (2004: 165) emphasize the importance of establishing a common ground between the teacher and the pupils "in relation to the object of learning". They list three tasks that the teacher should carry out:

> First, the teacher should ensure that the conditions are there for the learner to be able to discern and simultaneously hold in awareness the critical aspects of the object of learning, and the relationships between these aspects. Secondly, the teacher should be aware of the learner's experience of the object of learning, and be vigilant of signals from learners indicating a lack of common ground. Thirdly, the teacher should try to widen the shared common ground. These three tasks cannot be achieved independently of each other; they are intertwined.

These tasks seem closely related to socialization, as establishing common ground helps to create a unified social context for the participants to interact in and share the

same knowledge of rules of that group. As van Lier (1994: 150) points out: “In general conversation the activity rules are tacit and largely determined by social conventions. They are acquired through the process of socialization, and can also be found in books on etiquette.” Similarly in a classroom, the pupils along with the teacher, can focus their attention more effectively on the subject matter, as the common ground is well defined there.

However, compared to everyday conversation, the (inter)action rules of classrooms are different. Van Lier (1994: 50) continues: “The activity rules are not the tacit ones that govern conversation, but often specifically established ones that have to be stated, until some activity becomes well known and well tried and turns into a classroom routine.” The socializing activities are important for this study, because they outline the role and function of classroom conversation as a socializing factor, yet differentiating it from the conversational routines that take place outside the classroom. In addition, it is also important to bear in mind the discrepancy of rules in classroom and net-based conversation, and whether the pupils’ conversational skills could actually benefit from these differences. Indeed, this is a question this study makes an effort to answer.

2.3 Identity Theory and the language learner

Language identity theory is an important part of the present study, as it explains what kind of functions and consequences conversation can have in terms of identity. Language Identity in EFL context means that “adding a second language to one’s verbal repertoire necessarily entails modifying one’s self-perception in relationship to others in the world” (Boxer 2004: 8). In addition, language learners are socialized into the learner identity as learners and users of the target language (Hall 2004: 69). Therefore, learners gain and share a social identity.

However, in addition to shared identity, the learners have individual identities comprised of their lived lives and experiences, and the teacher needs to take the two forms of identity into account, as well. This might present a problem, since the group size is not always ideal; sometimes there can be over thirty learners in one classroom in Finnish secondary schools. Nevertheless, Norton (2000: 140) sees the learners’

own identities as intertwined with their language learning experiences and the solution is, according to her, that "[w]hat the language teacher needs to understand is *how* the identities of learners are engaged in the formal language classroom, and how this knowledge can help teachers facilitate the language learner's interaction with target language speakers in the wider community." Even though Norton discusses the case of immigrant learners, this insight is also applicable to the motivational viewpoint of the present study, as the 'wider community' can be seen as the virtual communities on the World Wide Web. Even though the pupils in the CMC data of this study are interacting only with each other via *MSN Messenger* chat forum, this type of exercise also prepares them for using the target language with other speakers of English on the Web. Thus, the teacher's role is to detect how pupils' identities surface in CMC conversations and how that "identity awareness" might help the learning process in, for example, choosing suitable and motivating exercises and texts for the pupils to engage in.

It seems that socialization and identity theories are closely linked. Communicative skills acquired through socialization are seen as symbolic and social capital, which in turn shape a person's identity as s/he gains (or loses) personal and social control (Gumperz 1982: 4). Indeed, as learners use the language to negotiate meaning according to the rules gained through socialization, there is also negotiation about identity, solidarity, support and face, as Block (2003: 81) points out.

The shared identity of the participants in the present study is that they have the social identities of teenage Finnish EFL students and Finnish EFL teachers working in the upper level of comprehensive school (CMC data) and in upper secondary school (F2F data). However, the learners' own identities are more complex to define, as Block (2003: 79) points out. In his own attempt he follows the lines of Weedon (1997): "[I]ndividuals embody multiple subjectivities which are in a state of ongoing and constant change and which are managed through thought, speech and other forms of communication such as writing, graphic representation and corporal expression." Yet, if we take on Norton's view that the personal identities are engaged in the learning process, we can look at the learners in the data of the present study as a more or less uniform group of pupils as they have undergone a similar educational route starting from the first grade of the comprehensive school.

3. CLASSROOM IN ACTION

Section (3) deals with previous studies related to classroom interaction and CMC. The aim here is to outline the field in which the present study is located and also briefly introduce the findings of previous research. The results of the present study are compared to those of the previous studies in the discussion section (6).

3.1 Conversation in the language classroom

A central concept of this study is (EFL) classroom discourse, particularly its *conversational* aspect (explained in the following section (3.2) in more detail). Classroom discourse is a widely studied area, which is described with the help of the dimensions of pedagogical function, content and speakers. In general, it is seen as an I-R-F (Initiation-Response-Follow-up) pattern: The teacher makes an initiative remark; a pupil gives a response, after which comes the teacher's follow-up (see, for example, Cullen 2002: 117). As Papaefthymiou-Lytra (1990: 25) puts it: "(...) the main purpose of verbal interaction in the classroom is to instruct and inform."

Furthermore, classroom conversation can be roughly divided into pedagogical and conversational activity, where the former is about learning about language and language use and the latter is concerned with more unpredictable conversation, such as humour and casual talk (Papaefthymiou-Lytra 1990: 26). Of those activities, the pedagogical function in classroom interaction seems to prevail according to the study of Papaefthymiou-Lytra. The teacher is tightly in control and attempts toward a more casual level of communication are scarce and when they do occur, they seem flat or impersonal (Papaefthymiou-Lytra 1990: 90, 91). Thus, even though communication skills should be an object of learning, the focus is more on pedagogical language use, particularly on giving instructions.

In recent studies on classroom conversation the social contexts of real communicative interaction has also been taken into account (Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000). Allwright (1983: 157) points out the importance of genuine classroom communication: "(...) we should not expect our learners to be able to use their classroom learning outside the classroom if they have never really had much

opportunity to practice in circumstances at all similar to 'real life'." Allwright (ibid.) also introduces four answers to the question 'why communication?':

1) It is pedagogically useful as by communication the taught issues are transferred to the outside world,
2) the process of communication is a learning process in itself,
3) learner involvement and investment; learning is expected to be more effective the more the learner is involved in and has invested in the process, and
4) peer discussions might enhance learning; learners discuss language learning and share their understandings.

Furthermore, meaningful teacher talk is seen central to language learning, and learning is an outcome or result of interaction, controlled by the teacher (Hall and Verplaetse 2000: 5, Malamah-Thomas 1987: vii). In other words, the teacher does not simply hand out information, but challenges the pupils to create theories and ideas on the subject in hand by asking questions and making initiatives, and also challenging the teacher. This forces the teacher to clarify and perhaps check his/her own ideas and thoughts, and thus, might lead to a deeper understanding of the issue in question. Indeed, communication has an essential sociocultural role in a functioning language classroom, as it socializes the participants into a certain group and simultaneously remoulds their joint and individual identities. Thus, the three-petal structure introduced in chapter (2) is formed through language use (see Figure 1 on page 8).

3.2 Computer-mediated and face-to-face conversation in language learning

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) is in Herring's (1996: 1) words: "(...) communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers." CMC also overlaps with the term CALL (computer-assisted language learning), which is traditionally associated with drills, simulations and games (Beatty 2003: 9, Warschauer and Kern 2000: 1). What differentiates these two terms is, as Warschauer and Kern (2000: 12) point out, that CMC enables not only one-to-one but one-to-many communication worldwide, whereas CALL provides offline activities to a single individual (on definition of CALL, see Beatty 2003: 7).

The CMC data used in this study is synchronous (opposed to asynchronous) and text-based. Herring (1996: 1) defines these types: "Participants interact by means of the written word, e.g., by typing a message on the keyboard of one computer which is read by others on their computer screens, either immediately (synchronous CMC) or at a later point in time (asynchronous CMC)." The net-based platform used during the CMC of which the data is collected for the present study is introduced below in the methodology section.

As computers have become "a household" item in the majority of schools, CMC is increasingly used in language teaching. According to Warschauer (1996: 7), before the arrival of personal computers, social scientists claimed that CMC had potential effects on society and computerized conferencing was proving these claims to be correct. The main findings were that CMC seemed to have an equalizing effect on its users' participation compared to face-to-face discussions. In corporations, for example, face-to-face negotiations tend to be imbalanced as one or two persons are holding the floor. Yet, this does not seem to be the case with CMC where the speakers are sharing the floor more equally and the discussions are more balanced (Warschauer 1996: 8).

Warschauer himself has compared face-to-face and electronic discussion in ESL (English as a second language) classroom including Filipino, Japanese, Chinese and Vietnamese students in the secondary school (Warschauer 1996). One of his findings was that the pupils actually benefited from CMC as they learned how to partake in and hold the floor more effectively during conversation. The electronic discussions were more balanced with more equal and increased participation by the students (Warschauer 1996: 14). The reasons for this, according to Warschauer, might be related to cultural differences, as, for example, the Japanese students' participation in face-to-face discussions was scarce compared to much more equal CMC. Another factor Warschauer suggests is shyness rather than the lack of understanding of the language. This could limit the participation in face-to-face discussions (Warschauer 1996: 20). The students themselves reported that they felt the electronic discussions more stress-free; they could express themselves more freely and creatively and thus facilitated their thinking ability (Warschauer 1996: 16).

In addition, the qualitative analysis showed differences in language and interaction between face-to-face and electronic discussion regarding turn-taking and formality. In face-to-face exchange the turns were shorter, yet more direct, whereas electronic exchanges were longer and more general displays of the pupils' own opinions rather than direct answers to questions. Warschauer points out that this might be due to the fact that many people were writing their answers at the same time. (Warschauer 1996: 18-19). Interestingly, the electronic discussions tended to be more formal, including expressions such as "in my opinion" and "over all", which were more or less absent from face-to-face discussions, which, in turn, revealed more informal expressions as connectors, such as "like" and "you know", for instance (Warschauer 1996: 20). As the present study takes on a qualitative approach, both turn-taking and formality are in focus. However, this study views face-to-face and CMC in the classroom from a more general perspective, as the participants in face-to-face and CMC data are not the same pupils.

Face-to-face and computer-mediated learner interaction has also been functionally compared for their differences and possible similarities. Condon and Čech (1996: 66) studied 60 native English speaking University students that participated in decision-making tasks created for the study (Condon and Čech 1996: 66-67). The study compared face-to-face interaction with s-interaction (abbreviation of synchronous machine-mediated interaction) to provide a discourse-level comparison.

The students were divided into two groups and further to pairs to solve the tasks either orally or through computer-based interaction. The results showed differences in both types. S-interaction seemed to be shorter in turns, as it tended to "omit unnecessary linguistic material, which makes what they do say more efficient and more likely to accomplish more than one function" (Condon and Čech 1996: 80). S-interaction was also more overt in expressing orientation by using more information requests or requests for action (Condon and Čech 1996: 79). However, Condon and Čech (1996: 80) point out that both electronic and oral interaction "fit a generic decision-making schema that determines, at an abstract level, the flow of conversation", thus promising electronically mediated discourse to be an effective tool in discourse research.

Vandergriff (2006: 125) has had similar results in her study of how reception strategies are used in face-to-face and CMC environments. Her study consisted of eighteen advanced learners of German. The group was divided into groups of three and worked with two similar consensus-building tasks, one in face-to-face and the other in CMC environment (Vandergriff 2006: 115). The studied reception strategies were global and specific reprise, hypothesis testing and forward inference. The results were that these strategies were used in quite similar frequencies in both environments, even though independent communicative units that carried referential of pragmatic meaning were fewer in amount in CMC (Vandergriff 2006: 116). However, as Vandergriff (2006: 117) states:

> When calculating strategy use as percentage of overall production, the data clearly show that CMC and FTF are very similar with respect to fostering the use of reception strategies. CMC users do not seem to have any more or less difficulty negotiating common ground with their interlocutors than listeners in FTF."

Vandergriff's findings support the view that CMC is an effective medium to use in language teaching and learning, as the participants show similar conversational conventions compared to face-to-face situations. Yet, Vandergriff also states that CMC needs to be regarded as providing variation, not alternative, to interactional language use (Vandergriff 2006: 125).

Kern (1995) has compared oral and computer-mediated interaction in FL teaching, with second-semester university students of French. The participants used *Daedalus Interchange* for CMC, which is a local area computer network application (Kern 1995: 457). The intent of using *InterChange* was to facilitate the students' future writing process by doing preliminary brainstorming in which the target language is used for discussions with the group and the teacher (Kern 1995: 458). Kern makes an interesting observation, as in his view, the teacher's role in *InterChange* was not a "typical" one. It seemed that teacher's authority did not enter net-based conversation, actually quite the contrary. The teacher's remarks were dealt with in the same way as anyone else's. In Kern's excerpts, teacher's comments might not be responded to at all.

In addition, the computer-based discourse seemed to lack formal accuracy. For example, orthographic accents (e.g. é, ô) were missing, even though the students were encouraged to use them (Kern 1995: 459). However, new "medium-specific conventions" were used to create, for instance, the tone of voice and facial expressions with underlining or [:-)], respectively. The results showed greater participation in turn taking, sentence production and larger variety in discourse functions when the students worked with *InterChange* (Kern 1995: 464-466).

Furthermore, according to a questionnaire administered later on showed that the teachers' attitudes were mostly positive, yet, less enthusiastic than the students'. As Kern (1995: 470) points out, the teachers' control over the discussions is compromised and this might result in incoherence and lack of continuity and closure in computer-based discussions. However, this change in teacher role and management should not be generalised, as other studies have shown quite opposite results (e.g. Taalas et al. 2000). Naturally, the reasons for these differences can be found in the teacher personality and interactional skills, the way the exercise was planned and executed, or whether the net-based communication is synchronous or asynchronous. Yet, one important insight in the benefits of *InterChange* is that it offers an effective aid in restructuring classroom dynamics and environment for social language use. Taalas et al. (2000: 16) make a valid point as they state that "[i]t is also important to consider both teachers and students as reflective practitioners who study their own actions and learning process, while becoming more and more aware of the complexity of the social and interactional constraints of the learning environment in question."

In sum, computers need to be used according to the prevailing goals in language learning, and the educators make the decision on up to what extent is the computer used. Kern expresses a wish which adds to the motivation of the present study: "It can be hoped that computers in language learning settings will be used primarily to facilitate human communication by linking individuals in new and productive ways. Continued evaluation of the nature of these new links and their effects on learners is essential if as a profession we are to make well-informed decisions." (Kern 1995: 470). The nature of these new links is indeed the focus of the present study.

4. THE TOOLS – The set-up of the present study

The focus of this study is on communication activities, where the target language is used as a mediating tool for conversation. In other words, English is used as the means of giving and receiving information, passing on feelings, ideas and opinions in addition to speaking about the language and language learning. The main goals of the present study are, firstly, to shed light on how these practices are created, secondly, what topics are addressed, and, thirdly, what the conversational span is and what are the roles and actions of the teacher and the pupils in F2F and CMC conversations. Especially in net-based communication, one interesting question is also to see how the participants are able to create interaction similar or different to face-to-face classroom situation, how they are socialized with each other by means of text-based conversation and how this interplay is maintained and displayed through different medium and identities, and, furthermore, whether this environment provides additional pedagogical value to "normal" verbal classroom conversation.

Before presenting the research questions for the present study, the National Curriculum and Common European Framework are shortly addressed, since they outline the general goals, aims and recommendations for EFL teaching and learning in Finland. Thus, the two agenda give suggestions on what kind of teaching is recommended and valued in general.

4.1 The agenda for language teaching and learning - National Curriculum and Common European Framework for EFL teaching and learning

The National Curriculum for Finnish General Education is important for the purposes of this study, because it outlines and defines the objectives and the pedagogical framework of EFL learning and teaching on the upper level of comprehensive school and upper level of secondary school, specifically those of conversation skills. The general teaching tasks for grade levels from 7 up to 9 (the latter being the focus in the present study, as well as the 1st level of upper secondary school) are that the pupil's language skills (such as grammatical issues, oral and written communication) expand to enable him/her to participate in more demanding areas of social situations, as well as hobbies, services and other areas of public life.

Different communication strategies are listed as one of the major areas of learning, as well as the importance of persistent practicing of using the language (2004 National Curriculum for Finnish General Education: 141). This is also the case in the Curriculum for Upper Secondary School – naturally the required skills are more advanced, yet, aimed at using the target language in a way that is characteristic to the language. In addition, the curriculum also emphasizes that the pupils need to learn how to use different media tools and information technology for interaction and information seeking purposes. The recent curricula are based on The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. According to Huttunen (2000: 79, 80), the Framework emphasis is on language as a tool for communication, and the basic concept is communicative language competence. Thus, teaching and learning conversational skills is the key purpose and objective in the language classroom. This particular goal naturally increases the motivation for the present study, since the main concern is on teaching and learning conversational skills.

4.2 Research questions

The research questions of the present study are the following:

1. How are conversational practices constructed in the EFL classroom and in the CMC environment?

2. What are the roles and identities of the participants like in EFL classroom and in the CMC environment?

3. How does face-to-face and computer-mediated conversation contribute to language learning from a pedagogical viewpoint?

The first question aims at identifying conversation situations in the classroom and in the net-based environment by clarifying the types of conversation, the topics that are dealt with and how they are dealt with. In other words, the main interest is the focal point in the conversation – whether it is leaning towards a certain topic or an activity and how the focus is indicated and by whom. In addition, the span and patterns of conversation are of interest and how turn-taking takes place in the two environments.

The answers to the first research question help to create the overall picture of the EFL lesson in both F2F and CMC environments, and how language is used as a mediating tool to construct the conversational situations from a sociocultural point of view.

The second question aims at describing the conversation from the participants' point of view. It focuses on clarifying what are the roles and identities like in the FL classroom and net-based environment. By roles I mean the distribution of work that takes place between the teacher and the pupils from conversational point of view. For example, the teacher is often regarded as the one holding the floor and initiating discussions, whereas the pupils settle for short answers to teacher's questions. In addition, the second question aims at shedding light on how language socialization and identity are put forward in the two environments and what kind of effect they have on the conversational roles.

The third question focuses on evaluating the conversational activity from a teacher's point of view. In addition to focusing on conversation in the target language, the answers to this question provide information that helps the teacher evaluate face-to-face conversational practices and computer-mediated language teaching and make decisions whether or not learning technology provides pedagogical assistance to his/her teaching methods. This relates to task-design, as the choice needs to be made on whether or not the selected medium is meaningful for the pupil and for learning.

4.3 The data

In the following paragraphs I will introduce the data for the present study, and also give reasons why that particular data are used and how they are attained. I then move on to describing the data in more detail and provide an overall portrayal of the FL classroom conversation and that of the net-based environment.

The primary goal was to find classroom (F2F) and CMC data that included participants from the same grade level in order to have pupils from the same age group. As it became evident that this was not possible, the decision was made to select data as closely comparable to each other as possible. Thus, the data used in this

study consist of two parts and include a transcript of EFL lessons in Finnish upper secondary school and printouts of conversation activities in a net-based environment of two classes in the upper level of Finnish comprehensive school (the 9th grade). At this stage it is important to bear in mind that the focus of this study is not on language proficiency but more on conversation and on the presentation of an overall picture of EFL classroom and net-based conversation. Therefore, the age difference of approximately one year between the pupils is not relevant.

4.3.1 Classroom data

The classroom data, a part of a larger data collection of face-to-face (ordinary) EFL lessons, were provided by the Department of Languages in the University of Jyväskylä. The transcript includes one double-lesson of English. The pupils are in their first grade of upper secondary school, and English is their B-language. This means that they have began to study English from the 7th grade onwards, whereas A-language is started from the 3rd grade level. The group consists of five girls and six boys and their Finnish female teacher. The goal of the analysis is to draw a clear picture of a typical English lesson and have an idea of the conversational practices conducted inside that particular classroom.

The double-lesson begins with the teacher asking questions about what kind of skills the pupils have and what characteristics they possess. The conversation moves on to talk about the pupils' future jobs and how their skills might determine their profession. The lesson also consists of a listening exercise, pair work and whole class work, which are all conducted by the teacher asking questions and the pupils answering them when asked, except during the pair work. All except one of the exercises relate to qualities and skills of different persons and different occupations, and the one remaining exercise has to do with identifying word stress. The teacher also tackles some grammar points on adjectives, switches to Finnish and begins by explaining the issues to the whole class and asking questions from the pupils. After covering the grammatical points the class does another listening exercise and check the answers immediately afterwards. The lesson ends with the teacher giving homework and information on what is to come the next day. The focal point in studying this classroom data is on the conversation taking place in the target

language during these different classroom situations and what does it reveal about a conventional EFL lesson in Finland.

4.3.2 CMC data

My computer-mediated conversation material consists of two lessons (chat sessions) in length, that is of two 45-minute sessions. The first group of 9th graders (later referred to as group A) consists of nine girls and seven boys and a Finnish female teacher. The second group (later referred to as group B) consists of nine boys and three girls and a Finnish female teacher. The software used as the net-based conversation platform is *MSN Messenger* (http://messenger.msn.fi/), a commercially funded, Internet-based chat forum in which the conversation takes place in real time, i.e. synchronous CMC.

The function of the forum is quite simple. Once one has an email-address that supports *MSN Messenger* service, for example xxx@hotmail.com or xxx@yahoo.com, s/he can log in to the service. In order to be able to send messages and chat requests, the user has to add persons (recipients) to the mailing list. In addition, the user needs the approval of the recipient(s) to add them to the mailing list. Once the approval is received, the chatting can begin.

The participants write the message they wish to send on their keyboards into a lower space of a two-piece table in the screen. When they are satisfied with the content of their message, they click on a SEND-button, which results in transferring the message to the message board for the rest of the group to read and respond. The participants can also include different kinds of emotion icons = "emoticons" (☺ , ☻) into the messages in addition to changing the font and colour of the message text.

Unfortunately, the saving and printing function of *MSN Messenger* chat forum deletes emoticons and displays the text in one font style and colour, in other words the software converts the text into rich text format (rtf). This limitation became evident only after the first data collection session (data of group A), and therefore, the decision had to be made to carry on with the same saving function during the

second session (group B) in order to have comparable data, and not, for example, use the 'Print screen' alternative.

In order to have computer-based material, I sent an inquiry to a school in Central Finland via email, which explained the basic idea of the study and a request to carry out a net-based English lesson. Two teachers replied and were interested in incorporating computer-based learning into their EFL teaching. The teachers were not directed into any course as to how the lesson should or should not be carried out. The only preordained factor was that the net-based environment to be used during the lesson was *MSN Messenger*, as it was free of charge, "easy-access" software and could be downloaded into the school's computers if such a programme did not already exist in the computer menu. After the teachers had promised to take part in the study, the headmaster gave an official permit, as long as the pupils' parents were also informed of and asked permission to use the future data. The headmaster clarified that the parents need to be asked, as well, since the data might include personal or intimate information about the family and its members. In both groups the permission for participation was 100 %.

Fortunately, *MSN Messenger* software was already installed into the school's computers, which facilitated the preparations. This also suggests that *MSN Messenger* is used among pupils. Each participant received a unique nickname (Jaana, Leevi etc.) and email address (e.g. pupil116@hotmail.com). As group A had more pupils, the amount of nicknames was created accordingly, nine boys- and nine girls'-nicknames altogether. Both groups used the same nicknames and email addresses. The only difference was that as group A had boy names for boys and girl names for girls, group B used both girl and boy names with girls and vice versa, since the teacher chose to mix up the nicknames to further the anonymity of the participants.

The teacher's nickname during both of the net-based conversations was Maija and the teacher let the pupils know this at the beginning of the lesson for clarity. Yet, none of the pupils knew who was who, except the teacher who had the list of nicknames and their equivalent pupil names for future evaluation. Thus, the chat session was anonymous. Group A's theme in the chat room dealt with nature issues,

such as pollution and consumption. The group was divided into 3 teams, and each team had their own topic to discuss. Group B's theme dealt with young people's lives. It contained issues such as TV, troubles with the parents or friends, and alcohol. The whole group dealt with the same topics, as they were not teamed up in any way. The class teachers provided both groups' themes beforehand to the pupils and the topics were already somewhat familiar to the pupils from earlier lessons. Neither of the teachers spent time on grounding the topics in more detail and they let the pupils begin the conversation. For complete list of topics and related questions, see Appendix 2.

Both of these groups had earlier used computers in school activities, yet, none of them had participated in chat sessions during English lessons. According to group A's teacher, the pupils had previously taken an architecture course which was also visited by actual architecture students from all over the world. Naturally, the pupils had to use English to get by and they also learned to use the computer for accessing information. According to their teacher, the pupils gained confidence in taking advantage of the computer in other subjects, as well. Group B's pupils told that they, too, had used the computer previously for information search in schoolwork, and *MSN Messenger* was also familiar software.

Both of the lessons with chat sessions started with the teacher giving quick last-minute instructions. She checked that all of the pupils could log in and could also be seen on *MSN Messenger* windows of their peers. The teacher handed out written questions for the previously selected three chairpersons. Their job was to write the first question of the topic on the screen for the rest of their group and also control and move the conversation forward with the next question should it sidetrack in some way. During the conversation, the teachers circled the classroom and helped the pupils with technological and vocabulary problems, if they asked for help.

At the end of the lesson the group A teacher wrote on *MSN Messenger* chat board and asked the pupils to send an email to her and give feedback on the lesson. The group B teacher asked the same orally. Thus, the data also include the pupils' feedback on the net-based lesson. The pupils' opinions will be addressed in the Discussion section of the thesis, since it is important to find out, what the pupils

thought about using the computer during their EFL lesson. As the instructions for giving feedback were merely to write their opinion, the amount of text is not great. Yet, it hopefully gives some kind of idea of the pupils' view.

4.4 Methods of analysis

In the following paragraphs I will introduce the analytic framework of the present study, which rests on classroom ethnography and conversation analysis. First, the two methods are discussed separately in order to clarify their main ideas and why they are valuable for the present study, and finally, the collective framework is formulated by combining the views of classroom ethnography and the tools of conversation analysis.

4.4.1 Classroom ethnography

The present analytic framework adopts an ethnographic approach, as it takes the multi-levelled context of speech actions into account and interprets it qualitatively (Fetterman 1989: 12, Warschauer 1999: 189). In other words, ethnography recognizes the effect that the social environment has on conversation. As Boxer (2004: 14) points out, in addition to the various contexts, participants' knowledge is also of interest to ethnographic research, and the meaning of speech on certain social occasions needs to be studied in order to create sufficient material for language teaching. For instance, material designers need to be in touch with the world of the pupils, as it were, in order to create texts that feel relevant for the pupils. It also seems that the ethnographic approach enables the data to "speak" freely without tying it down with narrow views. However, this also causes the ethnographic studies to be quite lengthy, since the researcher is the main "tool" of the study, making observations based on the data. As Rampton et al. (2002: 374) point out: "if we are to judge the validity of the claims being made, ethnography requires quite a detailed reflexive account of the researcher's own activity – their hopes and failures as well as their position in the field and experiences in data-collection and data-analysis." Indeed, this is a fact that needs to be considered with the present study. As a member of the Finnish society and having quite recent experiences of classroom life myself, and also having gone through the teacher training, I must be cautious of making

assumptions or drawing conclusions without offering clear examples and data to back up the opinions. As Hammersley (1990: 119) puts it, in order for the reader to judge the accuracy of claims made about the data, the author needs to present evidence.

This is relevant in studying classroom conversation, as the lessons consist of many different types of activities related to language learning and creating the social environment within the classroom. Papaefthymiou-Lytra (1990: 18) describes the ethnographic approach as "the outcome of sociological and anthropological considerations in understanding the world of the classroom." Indeed, the classroom can be seen as a world of its own, as it contains a unique space filled with different people who by means of conversation create a social environment that exists only in the classroom. According to Papaefthymiou-Lytra (ibid.), it is claimed that ethnographic methods can produce very specific and detailed results in analysing foreign language classroom and the world within.

In this study, the data will be described in as detailed a way as possible, yet, letting answers present themselves without premature generalization. Even though the author of the present study has a hypothesis of what is to be expected to take place in the FL classroom and the net-based environment, she has to keep an open mind and try not to draw stereotypical conclusions and, thus, managing to shut her eyes against what is happening under the surface. Indeed, an effort to see the reasons behind actions can provide interesting insights into raising the teacher's own awareness towards his or her own behaviour and how effective the chosen conduct actually is from the viewpoint of language teaching and learning, that is, how the pupils reacted to certain activities and did it promote language skills (van Lier 1994: xv). In order to achieve this goal, Fetterman (1989: 88, 89) lists a few important stages of ethnographic analysis, which are also important for the present study: a) Perception: selection of information according to the theories, models and personal approach of the researcher – which in this case are drawn from the three-petal structure of sociocultural, socialization and identity theories and the author's familiarity with the language classroom, b) focus on relevant, manageable topics, yet, comparing and contrasting data, and c) ability to combine and evaluate information, with common sense. These stages refer to the researcher's own active role in interpreting and

reflecting on the data in relations to his or her own background and perceptions. They work also as guidelines for the first glance at the present data.

Van Lier (1994: 155-162) introduces four interaction types, which are divided according to the amount of topic-orientation and activity-orientation. These terms are clarified in the following. In van Lier's (1994: 147-148) words, topic refers to something that is talked about, and "[i]n a classroom ethnography, topic is therefore a sustained focusing of attention, *through* the talk and *across* a stretch of talk, on some single issue or set of closely related issues." (emphasis in the original). How the topics are initiated and how they survive or die out during the conversation is up to the participants to decide – mainly the teacher, and, as van Lier (1995: 148) points out, interaction is often created for the purpose of raising topics, and therefore the more adequate term is topic *orientation*.

Whereas topic orientation refers to what is talked about, activity orientation is concerned with "what is being *done* and *how* it is done." (van Lier 1994: 149, emphasis in the original). From the perspective of classroom conversation, activity orientation refers to saying something in a particular way, and in a manner that is familiar to the participants, such as playing games or performing a certain role, drills etc. (van Lier 1994: 150). Van Lier also points out that in order to create successful interaction, the participants must agree on the orientation and "know the rules for the activity" (ibid.). The learners are expected to perform in a certain way, as in repetition drills, for example, and this is a feature that mostly separates classroom discourse from the conversation taking place outside the school premises (van Lier 1994: 151).

Topic and activity orientation types are introduced in the following paragraphs with van Lier's glosses and examples, and, in addition, the terms are clarified in more detail. Van Lier's classification is used in order to create a sense of classroom and net-based conversation in the data of this study, thus, providing answers to the first research question on the construction of conversations.

I) Interaction Type 1: Less topic-orientation, less activity-orientation

> *Gloss:* 'Talk about anything you want in any way you want to, observing the usual social rules.'
> *Examples:* small talk, general conversation over a cup of coffee, etc. (van Lier 1994: 155).

The first Interaction Type is fairly straightforward. In addition to van Lier's examples, another could be, for instance, chit-chat between two passengers sitting next to each other in a bus. The usual social rules in this respect imply the way the participants are being polite by listening to one another and waiting for their turn to speak. Talking about the weather is yet another example, where the actual purpose of conversation is to avoid awkward silence rather than discuss about the prevailing climatic conditions.

II) Interaction Type 2: More topic-orientation, less activity orientation

> *Gloss:* 'There is some information that needs to be transmitted, or some issue that needs to be sorted out.'
> *Examples:* announcements, instructions, explanations, lectures. (van Lier 1994: 155).

Comparing the Type 2 interaction to Type 1, the orientation to topic is more focused. To use the weather-example from Type 1 above, in Type 2 it would mean that the participants of the conversation are, for example, two fishermen, who are discussing whether or not it is wise to cast the fishnet before the approaching storm. The focus, however, is not on how to do the actual activity, rather than how sound a choice it would be to go out in a storm from the perspective of safety and fish movements. Hence, the orientation of that specific conversation is more on the topic than on the activity.

III) Interaction Type 3: More topic-orientation, more activity-orientation

> *Gloss:* 'Some information needs to be transmitted, and this transmission needs to proceed along specific lines, following certain rules.'
> *Examples:* elicitation (teacher-learner 'recitation'), interviews, reports, summaries, discussions, debates, jokes, stories. (van Lier 1994: 155).

In this Interaction Type the focus is on both topic and activity. Van Lier's example of teacher-learner 'recitation' depicts this well: the teacher asks a question, the pupil then produces an answer followed by the teacher's feedback, which commonly reveals whether or not the given answer was satisfying. Thus, the topic is dealt with in the questioning and answering sequence, yet, this moves forward along specific

rules. In addition, a joke needs to be told in a certain order, revealing the punchline at the very end. Hence, the topic of the story is important, and it is funny only if it is presented in a correct order.

IV) Interaction Type 4: Less topic-orientation, more activity-orientation

> *Gloss:* 'Things of a certain kind must be said following specific rules. Follow the rules and you'll be all right.'
> *Examples:* repetition and substitution drills, pair work, role taking, games. (van Lier 1994: 156).

In the fourth Interaction Type the focus is mostly on how the interaction proceeds. Drills in the language classroom, for example, do not offer any choice in answering, as the teacher's 'repeat after me'-phrase clearly suggests. Van Lier's other examples (pair work, role taking and games) refer to exercises where the correct words or lines are either prewritten or the pupils come to a conclusion based on the context.

However, it needs to be emphasized that even though classroom interaction can be divided by means of orientation towards topic and activity, the classification is not clear-cut. Each category might hold inside characteristics of another type or types, and a valid question of 'what is more and what is less' needs to be asked. Yet, despite this fact, certain patterns and definitions can still be identified, which are useful in studying classroom interaction. Van Lier (1994: 157) explains this as follows:

> If these unitary types can be identified in a relatively unarbitrary fashion in a classroom lesson, and if they can be consistently related to certain patterns of participation, we have a simple but powerful tool to analyse sections of a lesson in terms of the kinds of input they provide, and the quality of language practice (communication) they encourage the learner to participate in.

If we think of lesson structure as a whole, van Lier (1994: 162) argues that Interaction Type 4 is the one prevailing throughout the lesson, and other types are constructed around pair or group work, drills and games. Van Lier calls this 'cyclical rhythm' and points out that if this is the general lesson structure, i.e. other types leading into Type 4, one needs to study these activities and see how they are constructed and what kind of interaction is involved. However, van Lier also points out that the type of interaction that is involved in Type 4 is the most farthest from what is characterized as 'natural conversation' and thus the value of this type of

conversation to language learning is questioned (van Lier 1994: 163). Yet, as the cyclical rhythm suggests, other interaction types might precede and transpire inside Type 4, group work can result into a "variety in interaction and participation patterns within the framework of a 'typical' lesson." (ibid.). In the present study, this point made by van Lier is important, since group work might easily be addressed as just what it suggests, that is, pupils working in groups following a script planned beforehand, and relevant and interesting information might escape the attention it would deserve in the analysis.

In sum, van Lier's classification of classroom interaction into four types gives the present study a practical tool in categorizing the conversation taking place during the lessons in both environments. It also links the theoretical background into the methodological: the orientation types relate to the socializing features of certain sociocultural environments and situations where different identities surface, as the goals to be achieved in each Interaction Type are diverse.

4.4.2 Conversation analysis (CA)

Even though ethnography offers an analytical framework for this study, it is evident that the scope of that analytical direction is too wide and, therefore, needs to be narrowed down for the purposes of this thesis. For example, ethnography in its purest sense would demand tight and long-term involvement with the participants in data collecting situation and also thorough knowledge of their awareness and views on the issue in question provided by interviews or study diaries, for instance (Fetterman 1989, Duff 2002: 294). Thus, more tools are a necessity. For that purpose, this study also applies conversation analysis.

Ten Have (1999: 104, originally introduced by Pomerantz and Fehr (1997)) suggests some ways of starting the data analysing process. These methods seem to intertwine with van Lier's depiction of four Interaction Types (presented above), as the process starts from a sequence which is then studied observing the participants' actions and turns in more detail. These 'tools' are introduced below by listing the method followed by a short explanation.

1. Select a sequence.

This means that one should look for different types of sequences in the data, with a beginning and an end. Ten Have (1999: 104) points out that finding the both ends is not a simple task, since the start of a sequence might only be hinted rather than clearly initiated, and the end might merely fade away. Thus, the ending should be marked down to the point where next hint or initiative is evitable. This method is actually in line with those of van Lier, as the focal point of a sequence is action or topic.

2. Characterize the actions in the sequence.

As a sequence is depicted, the next task is to describe actions inside that sequence in 'turn-by-turn' basis. The turns of each participant are described. In ten Have's (1999: 105) words, this should produce "an 'actional' description of the sequence (...) which should be completed by a consideration of the relationship between the actions, for instance as initiatives and responses of some sort."

3. Consider how the speakers' packaging of actions, including their selection of reference terms, provides for certain understandings of the actions performed and the matters talked about. Consider the options for the recipients that are set up by that packaging.

This means that one should consider how participants are expressing themselves. In other words, actions, such as utterances can usually be voiced in many different ways – ten Have gives the example of different types of greetings – that could be based on the person saying the utterance or the recipient of that utterance, thus carrying different meaning.

4. Consider how the timing and taking of turns provide for certain understandings of the actions and the matters talked about.

This means reviewing the turn-taking process: how the turn was taken, how much time it took to initiate the turn, how long time the turn took until it ended and did the "turn-holder" select the person for the next turn (ten Have 1999: 106). This section, in particular, is interesting when CMC is considered. In net-based conversation the idea of holding the floor is quite different from that of F2F since what is regarded as 'turn' in CMC is the time when the message appears on the screen and the turn is

lost. In addition, if a person clicks the "Send"-button simultaneously with another person, it is a question of the software performance and higher mathematics (affordance, see p. 36 below) which one gets the message on the message board first.

5. Consider how the ways the actions were accomplished implicate certain identities, roles and/or relationships for the interactants.

This means that one should look for signs that refer to different 'traditional' concepts, as ten Have (1999: 106) puts it. In his view, this last guideline means that, for example, roles and relationships are on constant debate during conversation. Ten Have also makes a practical suggestion on how to handle this area, as he proposes that these implications should first be seen oriented to the interaction and only secondly to the participants.

As the guidelines above offer tools for making 'a first look' inside the data, ten Have also introduces CA to study institutional practices (ten Have 1999: 167-183) in addition to 'ordinary conversation'. Typically institutional conversation includes participants with unequal or unbalanced knowledge of the issue or environment at hand, in other words professionals and clients/laypersons, or teachers and pupils (ten Have 1999: 161). Ten Have (1999: 168) introduces Heritage's (2004: 225) 'six basic places to probe the "institutionality" of interaction' (ten Have refers to the 1997 edition; however, this study uses the 2004 edition):

1. Turn-taking organization.
2. Overall structural organization of the interaction.
3. Sequence organization.
4. Turn design.
5. Lexical choice.
6. Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry.

Turn-taking organization in institutional conversation means to look for the turn-taking system specific for that certain institution, in the case of the present study, the classroom in both F2F and net-based environments. The idea is to recognize the normative and shared tendency towards taking turns. (ten Have 1999: 169). Turn-taking is considered in the first research question.

As the title of the second concept already suggests, the next step is to formulate an overall picture of the interaction by creating a 'map' indicating typical phases or

sections. These two sections include sub-goals, which are co-constructed by the participants in order to achieve a certain task. One can look for agreement or disagreement of how to perform a task and thus find out how language is used in these 'task-orientations' (ten Have 1999: 169). In addition to giving answers to the first research question about conversational span, for instance, the second concept also sheds light on the participants' actions, thus, relating to the second research question about the roles and how common ground is displayed through language socialization and identities.

The focus in the third concept is on sequences, in other words, how courses of actions are initiated and continued, and how the opportunities for these actions are created and put in motion or that the participants are in some way inhibited of using the opportunity. In short, participants create opportunities to talk about certain issues in a certain way by, for instance, questioning and answering. (ten Have 1999: 169).

The fourth concept, turn design, is twofold. On the one hand, it consists of the desired action the talk is designed to perform and, on the other hand, the selected means to perform the action. (ten Have 1999: 168-169). From a language teaching perspective the focus is on, for example, the teacher asking the pupils to open up their workbooks from page 15 and look at a certain exercise, the intention being that the pupils will do the task and preferably learn by doing. This concept relates to the third research question, as it clearly refers to the pedagogical language use.

The fifth concept refers to the word choices typical for institutional conversation, such as the use of descriptive and official terms, self-reference by the organizational 'we', and institutional euphemisms to reduce the unpleasantness of a certain situation (ten Have 1999: 170). This concept, too, refers to the pedagogical viewpoint of classroom language, and also to the socializing effect the language has as it displays the characteristics of a certain institutional group.

The last concept, epistemological and other forms of asymmetry, consists of four different asymmetries: "(a) 'asymmetries of participation'", which refers to the remark that professionals' actions are task-based and direct; "(b) 'asymmetries of interactional and institutional "knowhow"'", which refers to the fact that the

professional possesses more knowledge and is more in control of the progression of the situation in question; "(c) epistemological caution and asymmetries of knowledge", which refers to the tendency of the professional to withhold his or her own firm opinion of the issue, yet at the same time both participants seem to ignore the possible experience of the client; and, finally, "(d) rights of access to knowledge", which, as ten Have points out, seems to motivate all the above asymmetries, as it refers to the fact that the professionals possess the right to know due to their authority, as it were. The clients might also have essential knowledge of the issue at hand, yet, they tend not to use it, as they do not have the right to do so.

For the benefit of using CA for studying classroom conversation and especially educational technology Mazur (2004: 1073) points out: "Conversation analysis is one such qualitative approach that has recently become highly relevant for examining educational phenomena related to discourse supported by the plethora of tools and resources for computer-mediated communication." Indeed, as CA is focused on talk-in-interaction, the Internet chat room language and synchronous messaging, for instance, are examples of the new hybrid language of "written speech", as Mazur (2004: 1075) puts it, and thus widen the scope of CA. The conventions of talk, the syntax and semantics, as it were, are transformed into written text, including expressions of feelings by using multiple written symbols, such as multiple use of exclamation marks to indicate shouting, or abbreviations, e.g. 'lol' to express that the person is laughing out loud, and most commonly, emoticons.

As the use of communication technologies are studied, the concept of affordance (Mazur 2004: 1081, Hutchby 2001: 13) is central. From the viewpoint of technology, this refers to the qualities and features, in other words the possibilities for action, a computer offers to the user (Hutchby 2001: 26), and this, in turn, has an effect to the computer-based conversation as part of a context. As Mazur (2004: 1081) states: "An examination of the material aspects of objects is important for conversations in CMC, particularly in reference to the potential to enable or constrain the ways in which a conversation is carried out." For example, in chat forums the time consumed by the typed message to enter into the public display is a matter of the computer technology's offered affordance and depends on the server and also on the computer's own performance capacity.

Hutchby (2001: 183-184, see also Mazur 2004: 1081-1082) introduces four constraints (due to affordance) that distinguish IRC (Internet Relay Chat) from ordinary, face-to-face conversation:

1 Participants can only 'take a turn' in the ongoing conversation by typing something in their talk-line box and pressing ‹Enter›.
2 That 'turn' only reaches all others on the channel once it has been accepted and distributed by the server (temporal lag).
3 There is a difference between a turn's course of production (typing in) and its public 'enunciation' (sending), such that other turns may appear in the interim which disrupt the turn's sequential relationship with its intended prior.
4 While all this is happening, the conversation is going on in a scrolling window on the monitor screen; which means that, on occasions of high traffic through the server, the prior contribution to which a turn is intendedly tied may have scrolled off the screen by the time the second contribution appears.

In reference to the 4th constraint, the participant may be occupied with several chat sessions simultaneously, which in turn lags the contribution. IRC and *MSN Messenger* (the software used in the data of the present study) are similar from the affordance point of view, as they offer the possibility for synchronous chat with multiple participants, and, therefore, the constraints above apply to the characteristics of the CMC data of the present study as well. These chat features are important in turn-taking analysis, since otherwise the "speech" might indeed seem occasionally incoherent and ambiguous.

All in all, the methods introduced by ten Have assist in digging deeper into the data of the present study. The institutionality of classroom conversation can also be studied with the help of ten Have's implements introduced above (see p. 34). As ethnography offers the framework for the analysis, CA provides the tools for a more detailed description and evaluation.

4.4.3 Combining ethnography and conversation analysis

Rampton et al. (2002: 387) give a justification for using ethnographic and conversation analytic methods as follows: "The overall message emerging from our discussion of these papers is, rather predictably, that there is a lot of scope for interaction between EC [and] CA (...) and that they offer more to the analysis of

classroom discourse in combination than they do alone." For example, Rampton et al. (2002: 376-377) point out, that an ethnographically oriented researcher might be too close to home, as it were, through his or her own professional interests and identification with the teachers and school administration and, thus, too empathic in relation to the subject of inquiry. This, in part, might lead to assumptions and concepts that might not even be clear or understood by the pupils. As mentioned above, the author of the present study is indeed close to home in studying the classroom, and, therefore, CA tools are used in order to reduce the possibility of being too quick to jump into conclusions before presenting actual evidence.

To sum up, this study uses ethnography to separate and distinguish the various situations and contexts of EFL classroom and CMC conversation and then moves on to conversation analysis in order to analyse these situation in more detail. In other words, as ten Have (1999: 31) notes, CA is sceptic towards generalisations of human behaviour, for example, language use and verbal interaction. Thus, this study makes an effort to respect this view and, therefore, uses ethnographical analysis to separate the actions, recognize their uniqueness in situation and context, and then analyse these incidents by conversation analytic tools. Moerman (1988: xi, cited in Rampton et al. 2002: 383, emphasis in the original) voices out the reconciliation of CA with ethnography:

> [CA's] transcripts are tracings of social events, analogous to the cloud chamber photographs that record physical events. But our events are human events, events of meaning. Their description, explication, and analysis require a synthesis of ethnography – with its concern for context, meaning, history and intention – with the sometimes arid and always exacting techniques that conversation analysis offers for locating culture in *situ*.

Ten Have (1999: 4) gives a description of what, in CA's view, is regarded as conversation: "Conversation analysis, therefore, is involved in the study of the orders of talk-in-interaction, whatever its character or setting." CA's core, in ten Have's words, is comprised of "*in situ* organization of conduct" and talk-in-interaction (ten Have 1999: 28). From the viewpoint of the present study this 'synthesis' means that the classroom and net-based environment create the in situ setting for a certain organized conduct carried out via language use.

5. THE DIGGINGS – The analysis of the present study

The analysis of the present study is divided into four categories according to the Interaction Types defined by van Lier (1994). As each orientation is thus ethnographically depicted from the data, the presentations are also explored using the tools that conversation analysis offers in order to dig deeper into the classroom and computer mediated environments. Thus, the three research questions will be systematically addressed in each section beginning with the constructional aspect of conversation, followed by finding answers to the second question on language socialization, roles and identities and, finally, focusing on the contribution aspect of face-to-face and computer-mediated conversation to language learning.

5.1 Ethnographic and conversation analytic diggings in F2F and CMC environments

The analysis begins with the Interaction Type from 1 to 4, followed by examples from F2F and CMC data to clarify the orientation type. Secondly, each orientation type is dissected according to the turns the participants take and how this process moves forward and reveals how certain orientation is maintained, which also relates to the roles and identities the participants possess in the two environments. Thirdly, each orientation is considered from a pedagogical point of view to assess the possible value or a lack thereof for language teaching and learning. The analysis also relates back to the theoretical framework as the results are studied from the sociocultural point of view, where the participants operate via language use as socializing agents or targets thereof, and as individuals. These aspects will be addressed in the concluding section of the present study.

5.1.1 Interaction Type 1

It is quite difficult to identify Interaction Type 1 (small talk, general conversation etc., see p. 29 to 31 for definitions) in the classroom environment. This is because classroom talk is most often related to the topic or certain activity of that lesson. On some occasions, however, the orientation might first be towards topic or activity, yet, as the discussion moves forward, the initial focus might shift into another level and

the conversation takes a more generalized form. Most commonly Type 1 Interaction occurs at the beginning of the lesson, when the books might not yet be opened and the pupils are starting to turn their attention to language learning, with the help of the teacher. This type of getting started-behavior, as it were, is quite natural, since it probably would feel awkward to start off immediately by dealing with an exercise on adjectives, for instance. Similar type of warming up, or 'tuning' in pedagogical terms, is evident in both F2F and CMC environments, even though the styles might be diverse, as the following examples show.

Example 1A (F2F)

1 T	(xx) have you already discovered
2 T	your ↑skills
3	(2.6)
4 T	start with
5 T	yeah
6 T	te- tell me something about your skills
7 T	do **you** have any special skills
8	(1.3)
9 LM1	ahh (.) not **very special** (1.3)
10 LM1	I have some skills (.)
11 T	for ins↑tance
12 LM1	ahh (.) I play guitar (.)
13 T	hm (1.4) okay
14 T	what's your favorite ahh guitar (.) player
15	(1.2)
16 LM1	slash (.)
17 T	[who's *that*]
18 LM	[((somebody] coughs))
19 LM1	hiz (.) ahh an old guitarist by (0.7) the band guns an roses
20	(1.1)
21 T	guns and rose- heavy metal
22 LM1	ahh rock
23 T	*rock* (0.8)
24 T	°I don't know anything about them°
25 T	okay any other ↑skills

The teacher is starting the lesson by asking a question from the whole class about personal skills, which can be regarded as small talk or general discussion in a classroom setting, and her focus is thus more on getting the pupils tuned in for the English lesson and getting them to talk in the target language. Even though the

teacher is narrowing down the conversation by asking the pupils about their special skills, the pupils have the opportunity to say more or less what they desire, or pay no attention at all to the question, as the teacher is not requiring the answer from a specific pupil. Therefore, the atmosphere seems quite relaxed. The conversation begins with a more topically oriented sequence, as the teacher asks about the pupils' skills (one of the topics of the lesson), yet, in line 14 the teacher moves away from the initial topic by asking a more specified question from LM1, who, in turn, decides to contribute to the conversation by giving his opinion that moves the conversation forward and into a more general level. LM1 also chooses to correct the teacher's opinion of the kind of music by the band Guns 'n' Roses in line 22. The example above can also be seen as a negotiation of common ground as the participants are clarifying their own views on music and also displaying comprehension of negotiation rules in this respect (see lines 22 and 23). In addition, the pupil's individual identity can be seen through his reply, as the conversation topic relates to his personal life.

The turn-taking process in the example above is monitored by the teacher, as she begins with a question and allocates the turns, even though the question is intended for the whole class. As it seems that there are no volunteers to answer, the teacher appoints LM1 in line 7 and succeeds in receiving a reaction. Again, the teacher allocates the turns as she asks specified questions (lines 11, 14 and 17) and receives an answer from LM1. The conversational pattern of example 1A is rather typical of FL classroom. Yet, LM1 takes a turn in line 22, as he corrects the teacher's guess in line 21, which seems to imply that the issue is of at least some significance to him, as he could have remained silent, as well. This type of structure also alters the power relations and the institutional structure in the classroom, as the pupil is suddenly the expert with more knowledge on the issue compared to the teacher. It is also important for the pupils to have possibilities for meaningful conversation in the target language, as it increases the value of learning. For the teacher it is equally important to offer such possibilities and, thus, be attentive for the pupils' conversation initiatives.

The following example (1B) of the CMC data is also an illustration of Interaction Type 1 (less topic-orientation, less activity-orientation) occurring at the beginning of the chat session.

Example 1B (CMC)/Team 2/Group A

1	Risto says:	hello
2	Outi says:	Ciao!
3	Antti says:	Ristoooooo
4	Riitta says:	Whatt!!!
5	Outi says:	Puke colour
6	Antti says:	Ristooooooo
7	Minna says:	why.....
8	Antti says:	Say something
9	Antti says:	Minnnnaa
10	Outi says:	Ask something
11	Minna says:	hello
12	Outi says:	Boring...
13	Antti says:	Outiiiii
14	Risto says:	Describle yor buying habits. What do you spend yor
15		money on

In this CMC example the group members 'report for duty' by expressing their presence at *MSN Messenger* screen either by making a direct contact with one of the group members or by writing a more general and brief comment. Naturally, this is crucial in CMC, as the only way to show active presence is by typing a message, regardless of the content. This presents many options as to how to make oneself visible, as the example 1B shows: some group members greet the group (lines 1, 2 and 11), while others choose to express shouting one member's nickname (lines 3, 6, 9 and 13) by stretching some of the letters in the nicknames, most often the last vowel. As the team members have made their first contribution to the chat session, the chairperson Risto sends the initial question in line 14 and 15.

However, the amount of time used for the "tuning up" varies in CMC as it undoubtedly does in ordinary classroom, and moving on to discuss the actual topic might occur earlier, as the next CMC example shows. This CMC sample is also oriented to both topic and activity from line 4 onwards (Interaction Type 3, see p. 30 for clarification), as the chatting evolves into discussion. Yet, it can be argued that the chairperson of the team (Kaisa) does not leave much room for a casual chat

opening, as “she” goes straight to the point already in line 4. For comparison, in example 1B, the opening question of the task was typed in line 14.

Example 1C (CMC)/Team 3/Group A

1	Kaisa says:	ok
2	Pekka says:	Hello boss
3	Anni says:	oh yes
4	Kaisa says:	what do you know about recycling!!???
5	Matti says:	La fermata di Antti ciò fa
6	Anni says:	That is important
7	Kaisa says:	soooo
8	Pekka says:	It isn't done enough.
9	Pekka says:	There's so much waste.
10	Matti says:	recycling is a good thing
11	Anni says:	What
12	Kaisa says:	thats tro
13	Pekka says:	Capitalism will lead the humankind to an early grave.
14	Jukka says:	we in Finland recycle betr than in other countries. Or
15		then the people i know are just limited-minded.

In the example 1C above only two members of the group in addition to the chairperson announce their presence (lines 1, 2 and 3) before the chairperson begins with the first topic in line 4. However, the “missing members”, Jukka and Matti, present themselves shortly after Kaisa’s question, and manage to participate successfully in the conversation – Matti in two languages, even. However, it is not clear how Antti’s bus stop is involved in recycling (see Matti’s comment in Italian in line 5, which can be loosely translated ‘Antti’s bus stop does that’). The reason behind Jukka’s silence might be due to affordance constraints: Jukka’s response in line 14 is quite lengthy compared to the other replies, and the answer to Kaisa’s question has two parts; Jukka compares Finland’s efforts to other countries followed by reasoning for that particular view in line 15. In addition, the replies of Pekka and Jukka in lines 13 and 14 respectively give the chatting a more conversational style due to a more general argument presented by Pekka (line 13) and Jukka’s opinion about other countries’ recycling habits (line 14 and 15). Even though van Lier (1994) categorises discussions as Interaction Type 3, it can be argued that general conversation over a cup of coffee, for instance, might include similar features, such as those of Pekka and Jukka’s remarks show.

All of the examples above, both F2F and CMC, are taken from the beginning of the lesson and the conversation could very well be described as ‘small talk’. Especially in the F2F example the teacher is in pedagogical terms tuning the class towards the possible theme of the lesson. Even though the teacher asks questions, the pupils have the opportunity to say what they want or say nothing at all. The focus is neither on the topic nor on the activity, as the goal is to start the interaction between the participants, and it is not important how or in what manner they respond. Thus, the aim is to direct the pupils’ attention towards the target language, and typically the theme of the lesson is presented rather soon after the tuning.

The difference between F2F and CMC is that the teacher does not intervene in or control the conversation in the latter environment, and she lets the pupils to hold the floor. In the CMC examples the pupils are the socializing agents and make themselves perceptible in similar ways to what they might have done verbally in the classroom, that is, by brief answers to teacher’s tuning questions, for example. However, in net-based environment this “reporting” is more important in order for the rest of the group to know who is online, and, especially, paying attention to the task at hand. In addition, the allocation of turns differs in the two environments. In F2F the teacher asks the questions and sets the pace and span of the conversation. In CMC, by contrast, the turn-taking is looser, since the chairperson’s job is to present the questions and steer the conversation, and not allocate the turns. In addition, the conversation span on the same topic (or off-topic) might be far longer, if the teacher is not active during the chat session. Yet, the control can be taken by a pupil, as well, if the CMC is moving towards an undesired direction (see example 1D).

Indeed, the beginning of the lesson in both environments has a social function. In addition to tuning for foreign language learning, the participants also tune in as members of a social group as they display functions characteristic to that specific assembly. In other words, the sense of belonging into a certain sociocultural environment is mediated through language use. The difference between F2F and CMC environments is that in the former the participants see and hear each other, whereas in the latter the only visual perception is the nickname on the chat window. Even though the pupils present in the CMC data were in the same computer classroom, the only way they could be sure their peers were participating in the chat

sessions was the appearance of their instant messages on the *MSN Messenger* chat window.

As mentioned above, in CMC the pupils take the role of a socializing agent, which in F2F environment generally is the teacher's task. This insight answers to the second research question of the present study. On the one hand, the roles of the participants are quite different in the two environments. On the other hand, the roles change according to the environment: in CMC the pupils seem to take the role of the teacher, when needed.

In the following example of Type 1 Interaction the socializing role is taken by a pupil in order to give strict advice to a peer, which shifts the orientation towards Type 2, to be exact. Furthermore, the manner in which the guidance is given clearly illustrates how chat is a form of written speech, as the chat language imitates shouting by typing certain sounds repeatedly, for instance. The use of emoticons is also an example of written speech, as the used symbols illustrate certain facial expressions or feelings. For this aspect, Kern (1995) uses the phrase 'medium-specific conventions' (see p. 19 above). Again, this sample is taken from the beginning of the chat session, involving team 3 of group B. One of the members (Tiina) holds the floor (lines 1-7) in a way that seems to disturb at least one of the other participants (Outi) resulting in immediate feedback (see line 8). The speech-like manner is quite characteristic for chatting, and it can easily be identified in Outi's "outburst" as the vowel is typed more times than necessary in order to create the illusion of shouting 'shut up'. In addition, Outi chooses to use the phrase 'shut up' instead of, for example, 'stop that', even though the former clearly suggests that a voice of some sort is heard and the mouth needs to be shut. Outi's comment seems to have an effect and, therefore, is most likely understood by Tiina, as can be seen in line 9.

Example 1D (CMC)/Team 3/Group B

1	Tiina says:	g
2	Tiina says:	g
3	Tiina says:	g
4	Tiina says:	g
5	Tiina says:	g
6	Tiina says:	g
7	Tiina says:	gf

8 Outi says: shut uuuup
9 Tiina says: ok

In the classroom environment a clear-cut Type 1 Interaction is quite difficult to distinguish, as most of the conversation is either topic or activity oriented, or both. However, as mentioned earlier, the focus of F2F conversation might alter as the discussion moves along. It might start from activity orientation and then shift to a more general level, towards Type 1. The following F2F example is from a phase of the lesson where the class is going through a listening exercise where the pupils need to recognize an occupation and give it a correct number. The teacher is leading the conversation by asking specific questions (Type 3 interaction, see below). Nevertheless, the teacher's questioning results in a more general conversation (Type 1) about newsreaders.

Example 1E (F2F)

1 T	that's- so do you- is there any difference between the news-
2 T	öö american news readers and finnish news rea↑ders
3 LM5	yes (.) in finnish they are old
4 T	hmm
5 T	and in- in in ameri↑ca
6 LM5	they change (0.5)
7 LM5	I think like every year
8 T	which one (.) is better in your *opinion*
9 T	a good looking news reader
10 LM5	he (x)=
11 T	= or an **old** one
12 LM5	I'd go- I'd go (with a young)
13 T	you'd prefer a [good looking]
14 LM6	[kymmenen] ten o'clock
15	(0.5)
16 T	ivan
17 LM6	kymmenen (uutisten)= ten o'clock (news)
18 T	=↑sorry
19 LM6	definitely fe↑male
20 LM5	höhö
21 T	fe↑male
22 LM6	yes women [yes]
23 T	[a woman]
24 T	okay
25 T	how about you guys (.)
26 T	female male

27 LM1	(yes) female
28 T	hmm (.)
29 T	good loo↑kin
30 LM1	yeah
31 T	and whaddo you- (0.8) whaddo you think about ää (1.0)
32 T	[what's her] name (.) ää hm leena kask- kaskela
33 LM5	[eighties]
34	(1.9)
35 T	I think [she must] be in he- aah (1.6) almost in her sixties
36 LM5	[who is she]
37 LM5	nii °joo se° right °yeah that one°
38 T	whaddo you think about ↑her (0.7)
39 T	do you think she's too old for the job
40 LM6	no
41 LM5	(x) (1.2) she should go on
42 T	you think she should [go on]
43 LM5	[yes]
44 LM6	ne- yes I think that <other good side is that> we listen to them
45 T	aha
46 LM6	cause if there's very good looking girl (.)
47 LM6	twenty years old
48 LM6	so maybe we [(x)]
49 T	[yeah] (.) it disturbs your concentration then (0.8)
50 T	okay that was a good point (0.8)

Even though the teacher asks most of the questions and controls the direction of the conversation, the pupils take part in the discussion and answer without the teacher actually directing the question to anyone in particular. At the end of this sequence, LM6 adds to the conversation by presenting his own view on the issue (lines 44-48) to which the teacher shows agreement in line 49 and gives positive feedback in line 50. This type of conversation not only gives the pupils opportunities to use the target language, but it also helps to create and maintain the social relationships inside the classroom. In addition, the teacher's understanding of LM6's point gives the impression that she is aware that the pupil belongs to a social group of teenage boys, as well (see line 49). In other words, the teacher understands that young boys might be interested in young, beautiful girls of women, and this attraction might have an effect on their attentiveness. On the one hand, the teacher's questioning is successful; on the other hand, none of the girls seem eager to participate. The example above shows that two pupils, LM5 and LM6 give answers, even though the teacher does not

select them out as speakers referring to them by their first names, for example (see lines 25, 31, 38 and 39).

Naturally, this kind of unequal participation, as it were, might be due to differences in personalities and, indeed, in language learner identities. Some of the learners might feel more secure in using the target language, while others could have lower language skills or they might feel more shy or hesitant. The effect of shyness was evident in Warschauer's (1996) study, for instance. In general, however, it can be argued that positive feedback tends to create positive results. As the F2F example above shows, LM6 receives encouragement from the teacher and this might support his efforts to use the target language. Evidence is seen later during the same exercise check-up (see the example below).

Example 1F (F2F)

1 T	↑six
2 LF	a
3 T	a is correct (0.7)
4 T	would you imagine yourself as a priest
5 LM(6)	mhhei
6 LM(5)	no way man (0.9)
7 T	but even if you like talking an- and (1.0) an- and so on
8	(1.1)
9 LM6	but (.) in Russia wh- when I was little I (want) (.)
10 LM6	because (0.5) some öö thirty years of öö often (built)
11 LM6	priests came öö our school in a very young (messengers) (.)
12 LM6	you know they (all very rits)
13 LM6	so I wanted to be a priest
14 T	hmm
15 LM6	because they they get (.) it's like the (.) middle ages <of there now>
16 LM6	they just <get money very much>
17 T	did you have religion at ↑school
18	(1.6)
19 LM6	öö yes I think we did
20 LM5	((small laughter))
21 T	okay i-I thought it wasn't allowed
22	(1.6)
23 LM6	in rus↑sia
24 T	yeah
25 LM6	well it was (0.7) ei se enää neuvo- it wasn't soviet union anymore it wasn't Sov-
26 T	aha (0.7) okay (0.7) yo- [(you had priests and-)]
27 LM6	[(i donno maybe]
28 LM6	because of that we didn- we did *have*

29 T	yeah orthodox religion
30 LM6	yes we have ö (.) we had ö (0.5) almost like a bible öööö
31 LM6	mikä se on opetuskirja what is it a teaching book
32 T	hmh
33 LM6	book
34	(1.9)
35 T	okay (.)
36 T	interesting (.)
37 T	se↑ven

Even though LM6 does not succeed in producing thoroughly accurate language, the teacher does not correct him in any way. She shows interest in asking clarifying questions and thus giving LM6 the possibility to carry on the discussion and hold the floor. This type of conversation is quite crucial in the classroom, as LM6 is talking about his own experiences. The prevention or too critical an assessment, such as the correction of grammar or lexical terms, might effectively discourage the pupils' efforts to use the language. Indeed, by shifting the focus towards a more general direction, in other words away from topic or activity, and by letting the pupils discuss their own views and opinions, the teacher gives space to a more authentic language use. Interestingly, the initial response to the exercise at hand was given by one of the girls in line 2, yet the ones who answer to the teacher's further questioning are LM5 and especially LM6. In general, considering the examples above it seems that Type 1 orientation in the classroom takes place either at the very beginning of the lesson, or as a result of orientation shift from topic or activity.

A similar example of an orientation shift can be found in the CMC data. First, the conversation moves along the lines of the topic introduced by the chairperson, in this case TV-programmes, and the participants are presenting their opinions about certain series. The conversation evolves as Anni presents a clarification request (line 1), and Kaisa takes the discussion even further in line 5. This results in a more general conversation to which everyone in the group takes part in. The example 1G below could very well take place over a cup of coffee, as well, thus, rendering it to Type 1 Interaction.

Example 1G (CMC)/Team 1/Group B

1	Anni says:	what is oc?
2	Jaana says:	programmmenrna
3	Kaisa says:	Matti could tell us
4	Matti says:	a new television program which comes every tuesday
5	Kaisa says:	What is the genre
6	Kaisa says:	?
7	Jaana says:	drama
8	Matti says:	yes
9	Kaisa says:	I don´t like dramas
10	Matti says:	why not??
11	Kaisa says:	they are boring
12	Jaana says:	why
13	Anni says:	dramas sucks
14	Kaisa says:	I agree
15	Anni says:	how about weakast link

Similar to the F2F example (1F) the CMC example above shows that while the pupils are participating in a conversation where the topics are planned beforehand, they also give information about themselves during the discussions. Their individual identities surface, as they react to certain questions as, for example, in line 10 above. This also gives room for the other members of that group to show sense of belonging and agreement (see line 14). In addition, the social function is also shown in the allocation of turn in line 3, as Kaisa is asking Matti to explain what a certain TV-series is all about. This gives a clear impression that Kaisa and Matti know each other quite well, at least to the point that they are familiar with each other's TV-programme preferences.

The pupils' sense of belonging and of maintaining their mutual relationships is displayed in the following CMC example, as well. Here the orientation is more on topic, yet, the participants lead the discussion towards a more general direction, which gives the impression of a loose, relaxed atmosphere between participants with equal rights. Thus, their opinions are presented and argued in quite a collaborative manner.

Example 1H (CMC)/Team 3/Group A

1	Jukka says:	Recycled underwear probably not.. But you can found
2		lots of nice clothes from the jumble sales.
3	Kaisa says:	thats troo
4	Matti says:	jumble sales yuck

5	Anni says:	yes...
6	Pekka says:	Well underwear is really not too great to recycle.
7	Anni says:	yack
8	Kaisa says:	in jumble sale is allways something disquestin
9	Anni says:	Some t-shirts is maybe okei
10	Kaisa says:	i can write
11	Pekka says:	Everywhere is something disgusting, but it doesn't have
12		to be bought. People buy too much stuff anyway.
13	Kaisa says:	sometimes
14	Anni says:	Always
15	Matti says:	who truly goes to a jumble sale ?
16	Pekka says:	Me.
17	Anni says:	me, perhaps
18	Kaisa says:	but in jumble sale the clothes are durty
19	Matti says:	ok
20	Anni says:	no, they are not
21	Matti says:	and they are not new
22	Kaisa says:	but could be
23	Pekka says:	They are mostly washed, and they can be washed
24		afterwards just to be sure.
25	Anni says:	well sometimes
26	Jukka says:	Dirty clothes can be washed like Pekka the dearest just
27		said.
28	Pekka says:	I'm dear, how great.
29	Anni says:	And YOU can wash them
30	Jukka says:	If you know how to use a washing machine that is.
31	Kaisa says:	i want buy a clean clothes
32	Matti says:	i want to buy new clothes
33	Anni says:	I to
34	Kaisa says:	same to me
35	Pekka says:	I just want to have something to wear.
36	Kaisa says:	thats good
37	Anni says:	What does it mather what you have wear...
38	Kaisa says:	it is mather
39	Pekka says:	I agree with Anni, it isn't so big deal.
40	Anni says:	Of course
41	Matti says:	it is
42	Jukka says:	It matters yes, but it isn't all that important.
43	Kaisa says:	i don't want wear the too small shirts and like that,...
44	Anni says:	But i mean if there is something what you can wear
45	Pekka says:	Well I don't mean like dressing in to sacks or too small
46		clothes, but those that work on the one they are weared
47		by.
48	Pekka says:	Nothing really glamorous and shiny, just plain old
49		clothing.
50	Anni says:	I agree
51	Kaisa says:	new question?

In the above example the pupils take turns to clarify their own opinions which then are either backed up or argued against by other group members, as in lines 18 to 22, for instance. The turns also consist of humorous and friendly remarks, such as those in lines 26 to 28. The pupils also show agreement with short comments in lines 33 and 34. This lengthy example 1H above shows how an exercise can result in a naturally flowing conversation without any additional guidance or leading. The important factor might be the space and time given to the pupils to present themselves freely, without the fear of failure or mistakes. Even though the pupils make mistakes and notice it themselves (see line 10), the conversation moves forward regardless and they are able to feel understood and accepted by their peers.

The pupils also teach each other indirectly, and, perhaps, unconsciously, as they use the correct form of a word previously mistyped by their peer. For example, the word 'matter' is mistyped twice (lines 37 and 38) by Anni and Kaisa, respectively. However, in line 42 Jukka types in the correct form. Similarly, sentence structures might be corrected by adding the right prepositions (see lines 31 and 32). Even though the example does not reveal whether learning occurs among those who previously made mistakes in their typing, they had the chance to see the correct form and, thus, type the word correctly later.

However, shift in the orientation might also lead into disorientation and the conversation can get sidetracked, as the CMC example below suggests. Team 2 of group B is supposed to discuss TV-programmes, yet, a comment by one of the members direct the conversation towards something quite different, and even though some of the participants try to control the conversation, it takes a while before the initial topic is restored.

Example 1I (CMC)/Team 2/Group B

1	Riitta says:	WHO
2	Liisa says:	p3310
3	Riitta says:	
4	Liisa says:	ootko vähä noppa jätkä aren't you a clever dude
5	Leevi says:	how often do you whatch TV?
6	Riitta says:	ALLAH on SUURI allah is great
7	Riitta says:	juu

yea
8 Liisa says: smthing like 1h per day
9 Riitta says: jea
10 Riitta says: its fun to see

Maija has been added to the conversation.

11 Riitta says: in the SOHVAPERUNAS
couch potatoes
12 Riitta says: $
13 Riitta says: here ai am
14 Riitta says: rok juu like a hurricane
15 Riitta says: JYP
16 Riitta says: LEIJJAS
17 Leevi says: hahhah..
18 Riitta says:
19 Riitta says: hitler
20 Pekka says: jyp won yesterday
21 Riitta says: what is the topic??
22 Riitta says: jea
23 Liisa says: what do u watch from tv
24 Liisa says: u could listen sometimes
25 Liisa says: and how often
26 Riitta says: i watch a a sm liiga cames
Finnish national hockey league games
27 Riitta says: wery often

In the CMC example above, Riitta is trying to find out who is present in the chat session, and even though Leevi rephrases the initial question in line 5, Riitta holds the floor by typing a message that is most certainly not related to TV (line 6). Liisa, the chairperson of this team, answers to the question in line 8, yet, Riitta still chooses to take short turns and refer to something else in lines 11 and 16 which to the present author is unintelligible, thus most likely being an inside joke of some sort. Naturally, 'couch potatoes' might relate to people keenly watching TV. Interestingly, when Pekka reacts to Riitta's comment in line 20 stating that the Finnish ice-hockey team (JYP) mentioned in line 15 was victorious, Riitta chooses to ask about the actual topic of the conversation. To this the chairperson Liisa reacts and also scolds Riitta in line 24 with a remark that again displays the written speech style of chatting (the use of the verb 'listen'). Hence, the pupils themselves take control over the conversation by guiding it towards desired direction and also by giving feedback on each other's performance. It is worth noticing that the teacher Maija's appearance after Riitta's turn in line 10 seems to have a very slight or even insignificant effect on the conversation which is in line with Kern's (1995) findings. The type of conversation

displayed above is an example of Type 1 orientation. However, in chatting, or in any kind of conversation for that matter, this kind of blurting out is more or less unwanted, even though it occasionally seems rather mandatory for teenagers, whether it is a sign of wanting to belong to a certain group or a demonstration of one's own individuality.

To sum up, Interaction Type 1 seems to resemble ordinary conversation a great deal. It has the characteristics of a casual, everyday talk that can take place over a cup of coffee among friends, or at the bus stop among strangers. As van Lier (1994) points out, the content of the conversation is not important as long as one follows the social rules, such as politeness towards others. Therefore, from a pedagogical point of view and to answer the third research question, this orientation should be more present in the foreign language classroom, as the pupils have an opportunity to use the target language in a way that is meaningful to them. Interaction Type 1 can be achieved by the teacher leading the conversation to issues that most likely are of interest to the pupils. More importantly, the teacher can let the pupils themselves take initiatives and lead the conversation. The teacher's role in this respect is to guide the learners to take control and pay attention that everyone gets opportunities to speak and voice out their opinions, whether in the classroom or online. The examples above show that CMC might function as a helpful and motivating tool in getting the pupils to use the foreign language and notice their own capabilities as FL speakers. However, the task-design plays an important role, as well. If we think of the questions given to the pupils in CMC, they only require opinions and do not present any problem-solving situations, for example. Naturally, the chat sessions need not be similar on all occasions, yet, diversity within the tasks is worth paying attention to. Thus, the teacher might, for instance, create a problematic situation for the pupils to solve by means of negotiating a common ground and solutions to the given puzzle. This type of exercise lets the pupils to share and discuss about their opinions and values, which in turn strengthens the sense of belonging as everyone is reaching for a common goal. In addition, as mentioned earlier (see Allwright 1983), authentic conversation situations need to be created in order for the pupils to make use of their classroom learning.

5.1.2 Interaction Type 2

During the analysis of Type 1 orientation we have already briefly come across Type 2 orientation, where the focus is more on topic rather than activity. Examples of the Type 2 given by van Lier (1994:155) are, for instance, announcements, instructions and explanations. In a language classroom setting, or in any classroom for that matter, instructing and explaining are of the essence, indeed. Most often, the teacher holds the floor in this respect, as well, as she asks for clarification or explains grammatical points. The importance in Type 2 orientation is on what rather than how something is said.

In the F2F example 2A below the teacher is orienting to the skills of the pupils and asks from a particular pupil about her skills. Even though this short conversation begins with the pupils' completing the exercise by answering the teacher's questions (Type 3), the orientation changes into Type 2 in line 5, as the teacher makes a request for further information about LF1's hobby. Hence, the answer to the question is important for the teacher, and she even provides alternatives for LF1. The teacher chooses to use another orientation type, as the first alternative, that is Type 3, does not provide the desired result. In other words, the teacher changes from eliciting to telling. The result is, however, that LF1 produces the same answer as she did earlier in line 4, and the teacher seems to accept this finally and moves on to ask the next pupil.

Example 2A (F2F)

1 T	so kai↑sa
2 LF1	hmm I draw (.) pictures=
3 T	=you ↑draw
4 LF1	sometimes
5 T	aha (0.8) by pencil or (.) watercolor
6 LF1	sometimes
7 T	aha
8	(1.1)
9 T	laura
10	(1.1)

The example above can also be regarded as rather comical, even though it probably is not intentional (see the question in line 5 and the answer in line 6). Most of us are guilty of answering similarly to a question as LF1 did. For example, we are asked 'Do you walk or shall I pick you up?' and we mean to reply that we would like to have a lift, yet our answer is a mere 'yes'. Most often, fortunately, we are asked to clarify and so should be the case in example 2A, as well. When one gets away with an ambiguous answer, such as LF1's in line 6, it gives a rather indifferent impression on what the pupils are actually saying. Presumably this is not the teacher's intention, but it is important for the pupils to realize that their input matters and that there is a purpose for the teacher's questions, in this case to get the learners to use the target language by giving information about themselves. However, in the F2F data, the girls in general are quite silent, which might allude to lower language proficiency, and this might have an effect on LF1's reply, as well. Perhaps the contents of the teacher's questions are unclear to LF1, as she might be uncertain of the meaning of 'watercolour', for example.

Another example of the Interaction Type 2 in F2F is displayed below in a conversation between the teacher and another pupil. Again, there is some orientation towards activity, as the teacher is asking specific exercise related questions, yet, the focus shifts more towards the topic, since the teacher seems to be interested in the pupil's actual answer and not how she answers.

Example 2B (F2F)

1 T	how about you girls any special (0.9)
2 T	naspa↑ri=
3 LF5	=no
4 T	any- any skills=
5 LF5	=no=
6 T	=whaddo you do at home (.) in the evenings (0.5)
7 T	watch ↑tv
8 LF5	yeah
9	(1.1)
10 T	all the ↑time
11 LF5	no
12 T	what else (.) do your homework [(x)]
13 LF5	[no] (I read x books)
14 T	you ↑read (.)
15 T	you don't cook o:r

16 LF5	yee sometimes
17 T	aha (0.8) so do you cook amm (0.5)
18 T	wha kind of fo- what's your favourite dish
19	(4.0) ((LM1 and LM2 talk during the pause))
20 T	you can cook yourself
21	(3.2) ((the same pair talks still, talk unidentifiable))
22 LF5	yeah I don't know
23 T	mm (0.7) finnish sh-sh--stuff [or]
24 LF5	[no]
25 T	something from your own [country-] your old country (0.7)
26 LF5	[yeah]
27 T	okay (.)

In the example 2B above, the teacher does not settle for the answer 'no' given by LF5 in lines 3 and 5, and she elaborates on her initial question by giving alternatives for possible answers in order to get LF5 to participate more, again a shift from eliciting to telling. The teacher succeeds to an extent, as in line 13 LF5 reveals that she reads books. Interestingly, the teacher's follow-up to this answer is merely a repetition (line 14) and in line 15 the teacher asks yet about another skill. This might be due to the fact that LF5 is of foreign descent and the teacher is interested in the culinary culture of that pupil rather than what kind of books she likes to read (see lines 23 and 25) or that LF5 chooses to read books instead of doing her homework (see lines 12 and 13). The teacher's rephrasing in line 25 might also indicate that she sees LF5 more as a member of the foreign culture than the Finnish culture, as she first uses the word 'own', and decides to switch it to 'old' to qualify the noun 'country'. This type of change of words refers to institutional interaction (see p. 34 and 35 of the present study), where the professional (the teacher) and, in this case, the representative of the dominant culture makes a lexical choice (from 'own' to 'old') in order to avoid unpleasant remark about the lay person, in this case, the pupil, who is a Finnish citizen despite her origin. The teacher's choice of words could also indicate that she is socializing the pupil to a new sociocultural community and wants to express it to the pupil through language mediation and also build up a common ground between herself and the pupil.

In the next example the class is going through an exercise, and the teacher wants to find out if there is anyone in the group interested in mechanics (lines 3 and 5). Even

though one of the teacher's goals is to complete the exercise, the focus shifts to one pupil's interests in particular (the topic). Even though the teacher's intention is in receiving a simple 'yes'-answer from LM6, it seems that her remark in line 6 offends LM6, and he wants to clarify why the teacher has the impression that he would be interested in areas that are not dealt with in upper secondary school. Unfortunately the teacher's answer in line 8 is unintelligible, and therefore it is not clear what the teacher actually meant.

Example 2C (F2F)

1	T	okay no cee persons
2		(1.6)
3	T	nobody is interest(ing) in in repairing cars fixing cars or
4		(2.0)
5	T	nobody interested in machinery (0.8)
6	T	not even you i↑van
7	LM6	<no:> why do you think I'm (1.0)
8	T	you have [(xx)]
9	LM6	[I think I'm] in the right place in lukio upper secondary school
10	T	°okay°

The two F2F examples above show that the teacher is in control most of the time. Yet, she tries to get the pupils involved in conversation, and at times she succeeds. Nevertheless, the pupils do not seem too keen on answering or participating in the conversation. Hence, the teacher is able to hold the floor and be in command. However, in the example 2C LM6 challenges the teacher by questioning her opinion in line 7. This clearly demonstrates that the pupils are able to take control in the classroom and that it is acceptable, as the teacher's affirmation in line 10 suggests. It seems that while the conversational practice is related to the target language, the pupils let the teacher be in control as she is the expert, but when the pupils' own opinions or aspirations are in question, it is easier for them to participate and take on a more active role – as they are the experts on their own lives. Thus, the pupils' individual identities are clearly displayed in the type of conversation discussed above.

The CMC example below is from team 2 of group A. The orientation is more on topic, as the team asks one of its members to change the font, and as it appears, for the second time (see line 2). Even though there seems to be some activity orientation, the focus is more on why the font needs to be changed, not how. In addition, the request is directed to a certain member of the team, and hence, the nickname is also typed in order for the message to reach the right recipient, Outi. In this respect, typing the nickname is what could be regarded as "eye contact" in chat sessions.

Example 2C (CMC)/Team 2/Group A

1	Antti says:	Outi chanse your font
2	Outi says:	Not again
3	Risto says:	yes
4	Risto says:	
5	Riitta says:	Yes outi, I can't understand

In the examples above, some information is passed on and the context of that information is important. In the F2F conversation the teacher asks a question that is directed to a certain pupil, and the aim is to find out more about his/her interests. This, in turn, helps the teacher to establish a closer relationship with her pupils and also create a more comfortable environment, even though in example 2B the relaxed sensation is somewhat disturbed as a pupil challenges the teacher's opinion. In the CMC example 2C, the font issue had to be sorted out by first establishing the concern about the font and later providing a reason why the font required changing. One reason for the confusion might be that the font colour was too bright for the background (e.g. light yellow), and thus, it was difficult to read, or that the font itself was too winding or curly, to which Riitta's comment in line 5 suggests.

Another example of Interaction Type 2 in the CMC environment displays a request for help, similar to what might occur in the classroom, as well. The pupil in question is confused about the task and needs clarification. Minna, the chairperson of the team, gives an immediate answer followed by Jukka's confirmation that he had noticed Minna's reply.

Example 2D (CMC)/Team 3/Group B

1	Outi says:	what are we talkin about...

2 Minna says: television programs
3 Jukka says: ok

Furthermore, Outi's inquiry and the choice of reference in line 1 above display what in terms of institutional interaction can be described as organizational 'we'. However, this might also be regarded as a sign of belonging to the same group, and that the participants are equal in the sense that there are neither professionals nor laypersons present. It might also suggest that a task needs to be done and, naturally, it is crucial to know the topic of the discussion. Jukka's turn in line 3 can be regarded as a beginning to the conversation in the manner of 'OK, we are ready, let's get cracking!'

As mentioned earlier, the orientation might change quite rapidly and shift the focus more towards the topic (or activity) in order to achieve a desired result. The next CMC example shows how the request for explanation changes the interaction from Type 3 to a Type 2.

Example 2E (CMC)/Team 3/Group B

1 Minna says: what do u like to watch?? why??
2 Minna says:
3 Outi says: örhm...
4 Jukka says: o.c every tuesday
5 Minna says: why????
6 Minna says: ok
7 Outi says: its a real teenprogram...
8 Jukka says: but it´s good
9 Outi says: yep.. seth is so dude...

Minna is the chairperson of team 3 above and after two replies to the initial question in line 1, Minna restates the interrogative 'why', since Jukka's answer covers only the first part of the question. In addition, 'why' changes the orientation from topic and activity to focus on topic, as the participants are able to give their own opinions on any TV-programmes they wish to mention, and further, their opinions are important.

A similar example can be found in the classroom setting, where a pupil is deepening the answer with an explanation. In other words, the orientation begins as Type 3

(both topic and activity), yet, the pupil extends his answering turn and shifts the interaction towards Type 2.

Example 2F (F2F)

1 T	hmm I would ac- mm add here practical
2 T	I add them to be practical
3 LM5	and I would add just
4 T	hmm
5 LM5	<so that (1.4) house won't show up (1.2)
6 LM5	out (0.8) into a tree>
7 T	hmm (0.9) how about journalist

In this sequence the class is checking an exercise where the aim is to add adjectives that best describe the qualities needed for a given profession. In example 2F the conversation is about an architect. The focus is first on both topic and activity, as there is information that needs to be voiced out along specific lines, that is, in this exercise one needs to use adjectives that suit a particular line of work (see lines 1 to 3). The teacher does not provide explanations as to why architects should be practical, yet interestingly LM5 gives a humorous justification to his own choice in lines 5 and 6. However, LM5's remark reveals that perhaps his understanding the meaning of the adjective 'just' is a bit off unless he means that an architect is righteous enough not to build a house into a tree. LM5 might be confusing 'just' with 'exact', as used in a phrase 'just right', for instance, or perhaps the pupil's L1 has an effect on the matter ('just' in Finnish means 'precisely'). In any case, LM5's reply goes unnoticed as the teacher makes a notion of acceptance in line 7 and moves forward with the exercise.

From a pedagogical point of view, the teacher could have checked whether LM5 is aware of the meaning of 'just' by adding to the joke and discussing it through with the whole class. Perhaps, on the one hand, it was more important to finish the exercise and get on with the lesson. On the other hand, the teacher might also find it difficult to switch rapidly from one orientation to another – a situation the pupils more often face in the classroom – as it requires other rules for participation, as van Lier points out (1994: 159). For the benefit of language learning, however, clarifying certain aspects of the target language is an important practice. To address the third

research question, the teacher could take advantage of the misunderstandings that occur in the classroom conversations, as the situation is authentic and could also take place in 'real life' situations, connecting the language learned inside the classroom to the language used in the surrounding world.

After a short period of time, however, the meaning of the adjective 'just' is taken into consideration, as the example 2G below shows. This indeed reveals that the word in question was unclear for the pupils and it deserves an explanation. It also seems that the teacher has realized that the adjectives might not be clear to all of her pupils. Thus, she chooses to display how a certain adjective is used in order to clarify its meaning and prevent misunderstandings (see line 10 and line 12 for accepting the pupils answer).

Example 2G (F2F)

1 T	o↓kay
2	(0.7)
3 T	mikael
4 LM3	ahh (.) what does this (.) just mean
5 LM(4)	oikeu[denmukainen]
6 T	[just oikeu]denmukainen [(i'd say)] yeah
7 LM5	[(xx)]
8 LM3	ahh hrm ahh (1.6)
9 LM3	ahh (0.5) enthusiastic and (0.7) encouraging
10 T	hmm who do you encourage
11 LM3	myself
12 T	okayh

In general, it can be argued that Type 2 orientation occurs when the first direct answers to a certain question have been announced, thus providing insight on the first research question. In other words, the main purpose is on what the participants are actually saying, rather than finishing the exercise quickly. For instance, in the CMC example below a pupil asks a question related to the topic (TV-programmes) and expands it further, as well.

Example 2H (CMC)/Team 2/Group B

1 Liisa says: how many of u have digi box
2 Leevi says: i have...
3 Riitta says: ihave

4	Liisa says:	i don't
5	Riitta says:	ihave
6	Pekka says:	me too
7	Riitta says:	ihave
8	Liisa says:	is it whort for that much money
9	Riitta says:	jea
10	Leevi says:	yes...

In addition, the pupil presenting the questions in lines 1 and 8 is not the chairperson of team 2. Hence, the focus is even more clearly on topic, as other members of the team are not compelled to formulate questions on the different topics dealt with during the chat session. Thus, the example 2H might even be categorized as Type 1 orientation, as it resembles an everyday-conversation among friends, for instance. Naturally, Liisa is asking a specific question that requires a certain answer, mostly 'yes' or 'no', even though Liisa's second inquiry in line 8 tries to dig deeper as it questions the value of owning a certain technical commodity. Compared to F2F environment, CMC, too, enables participants to participate with short answers and even if a deepening question appears on the screen inviting the group members to reveal more, they refrain to 'yea'. Thus, it is not self-evident that online environment would somehow get the pupils to participate more – it is the task and content (task-design) that count in this respect, as well. However, the pupils in CMC take more active roles in asking questions, as in F2F environment it is the teacher's task. In this respect, the responsibilities are more equally shared in CMC. Returning to the example 2G, for example, reveals that it is the teacher who asks a clarifying question, not a pupil. Of course, in CMC the teacher is quite absent from the actual conversations and perhaps this makes it easier for the pupils to occasionally take the teacher's role.

5.1.3 Interaction Type 3

In Interaction Type 3 the orientation is both on topic and activity. This kind of interaction occurs during summaries, debates, story-telling and interviews, for instance. In classroom setting, elicitation (teacher-learner 'recitation') is regarded as being Type 3, since generally the teacher asks a specific task-related question to which the pupils give as correct as possible an answer. In other words, the information is transmitted according to certain rules.

The following F2F example of Interaction Type 3 clarifies the elicitation process. The teacher holds the floor by asking questions related to an exercise to which the pupils are expected to answer accordingly.

Example 3A (F2F)

1 T	okay you've already done exercise ↑one
2 LM	(joo joo) yeah yeah
3 T	↑yes (.)
4 T	okay I think we could do exercise two together
5 T	(it'll) be more interesting (.)
6 T	whaddo you think hmr ((clears her throat))
7 T	you have a list of adjectives there (0.5)
8 T	ahh what kind of qualities (.)
9 T	does a business person ↑**need** (0.7)
10 T	to be a good ↑one
11 T	(4.2)
12 T	ivan
13 LM6	mhh (0.5) effective sociable (1.0) systematic
14 LM6	mite se sanotaa how do you say it
15 T	systematic yes

In the example 3A the teacher clarifies how an exercise is going to be done (line 4) and also gives reasons for this particular decision in line 5. However, the orientation continues to be on topic, as well, since the exercise is concerned with qualities, which is the theme of the lesson. In order to complete the task, the teacher asks questions and the pupils can look for answers from their workbooks that, in their opinion, suit for answers. Thus, the focus is on both the topic of the lesson and also on how a specific activity is done – it is important to reply in a certain way, and in addition, the answer needs to be linguistically correct. At this point one might wonder how this particular exercise is more interesting, if the pupils are reading the adjectives from their books and, in addition, without clarification why they would use a certain description to match the profession. Perhaps the focus is more closely oriented towards the activity of recognizing the proper adjectives and pronouncing them adequately (see lines 14 and 15) than discussing the possible alternatives. In this respect, the example 3A wavers between Type 3 and 4.

The following example of the F2F data can be regarded as an overall description of the most prevalent orientation type of the language classroom data of the present study, as most of the lesson is structured around multiple exercises and the revision of those tasks. The teacher asks a question related to the exercise in line 1 on which the pupils were expected to rate themselves according to certain definitions. The categorization is from letter 'a' onwards and the exercise also provides clarifying aspects to verify whether a person is a "strong" or a "weak" a, for instance. In line 3 the teacher receives an answer from LF2. However, the teacher requests clarification whether or not LF2 recognizes herself as being a 'type a' person in lines 9 and 12. The pupil's answer in line 15 reveals that certain qualities do not fit her description and the teacher then decides to move from elicitation to telling (that is, from Type 3 to Type 2) in order to receive an affirmation from the pupil that she is a 'type a' regardless. Thus, the focus is on moving forward with the task evaluation (activity) and also on the pupils' answers (topic). Even though the teacher is giving possible answers to LF2, this pattern resembles a situation that could take place during an interview, which is one of van Lier's examples for Interaction Type 3.

Example 3B (F2F)

1 T	any a persons ↑here
2 T	(1.3)
3 T	you laura
4 T	ho- how many points did you get what was your score
5 LF2	°fifteen°
6 T	sorry
7 LF2	fifteen=
8 T	=fifteen (.) okay
9 T	ahh do you recognise yourself
10	(1.1)
11 LF2	ahh
12 T	as an a person (.) aa (0.5) cre[ative]
13 LF2	[creati]ve
14	(1.2)
15 LF2	not that much I don't
16 T	ahh [are you interested] in literature art and music
17 LF2	[(xx)]
18 LF2	ahh yeah I think so
19 T	okay (.) so ↑any (.) any other (0.6) a persons here
20	(1.7)
21 T	okay

In the next F2F example below the teacher is asking the pupils about their skills and turns to a specific pupil to hear his answer (lines 1-3, 6 and 8). The orientation in on activity, as the pupil is expected to answer to the specific question, yet, LM5 moves on to widen his answer. Interestingly, he manages to use English structures in a natural way, even though his pronunciation is not so accurate (see line 13, 14 and 21). By doing this, LM5 succeeds in holding the floor, since the structure 'first of all' implies that at least 'second of all' will follow. In addition, LM5 is also building up an extended role, as the focus of the primary activity (getting a specific answer) changes: the orientation moves closer to topic on line 16, as the teacher asks for explanation, which she then receives from LM5. The teacher interrupts him with an off-topic remark due to his Finnish-like pronunciation in lines 19 and 22 and encourages him to speak English (line 24). LM5 promises to do so, yet, in line 30 the pupil's poor pronunciation continues, and simultaneously, his list of skills seem to run out, which can be detected from the pauses and repetition (lines 29 and 30).

Example 3C (F2F)

1 T	but we have (.)
2 T	fortunately we have (.)
3 T	one perfect pupil here (.)
4 LM5	yes=
5 LMs	=((boys laugh [at this point))]
6 T	[tell us about your] skills
7 LM5	of course
8 T	so=
9 LM5	=well (0.8) I know a lot (0.5)
10 LM5	I know (.) a whole (0.5) buns of (.) skills (1.1)
11 LM5	I have a whole bunch of skills
12 T	such ↑as=
13 LM5	=FIRST of all I can ride a bi↑cycle (1.1)
14 LM5	>second of all< (.) second of all
15 LM5	I can (.) ride a (.) tri↑cycle (0.9)
16 T	what's that
17 Ls	((there is a spell of laughter from the class))
18 LM5	that's a little thing but children (.) drove
19 LM5	you know (.) **tree** (0.8) kykles
20 LMs	((there is a laughter from some of the boys))
21 LM5	and th-en (0.9) on the **thirdess** of- (.) **thirdes-ss of** all
22 LM5	I know how to ↑**rite** (0.8)
23 LM5	I know [how to listen]
24 T	[speak english] please

25 LM(4)	((a boy laughs))
26 LM5	↑what
27 T	[speak english please]
28 LM(4)	[((the same boy laughs again))]
29 LM5	okay (0.7)
30 LM5	**ten** I: mmm (1.9) **ten** (.) I: (1.7)
31 T	okay that's enough [°I think°]
32 LMs	[((laughter))]
33 LM5	yes
34 T	okay yo- you seem to be very skillful

Indeed, the clear-cut division between interaction types is often quite vague, as the orientation wavers from one to the other, as the example above shows. However, it is also possible that the recognized orientation type is two-layered. The CMC example 3D below shows how two similarly oriented conversation sequences can be created and entwined in Type 3 orientation. Naturally all four orientation types can show this type of overlapping.

Example 3D (CMC)/Team 2/Group A

1	Risto says:	what is the least ecological product your own?
2		GIVE REASONS
3	Antti says:	I can live without music, but i like it and it,s good
4	Riitta says:	I don't know.....
5	Antti says:	What is least??
6	Minna says:	i don`t know
7	Outi says:	Hairspray bottles are dangerous to ozone. That's my
8		answer
9	Tiina says:	I dont have car...but if i have
10	Antti says:	Least = Vähiten
11	Riitta says:	NO CARS!!!!

In the CMC example 3D, the focus is on the team's topic (consumption) and the chairperson Risto asks a specific question that requires somewhat specific answers, which the team then provides (activity orientation). However, embedded in this conversation there is another question in line 5. Antti has a lexical problem and asks for help. Even though the only answer he gets from the team is given by Minna, who says she does not know (line 6), Antti most likely has voiced out his problem leading to the teacher or a peer answering it, since Antti ends up answering the question himself in line 10. It is worth remembering at this point that the pupils are in the school's computer class, and are able to hear one another in addition to asking the

teacher for assistance. The difficult word for Antti was included in the chairperson's question, and thus, Antti needed the answer in order to respond to the question properly. Hence, the focus is on both orientations – topic and activity.

The other (main) conversation surrounding Antti's clarification request in the example 3D is concerned with one of the themes of the chat session. The team is discussing products they own and they are also asked to specify why certain goods are less ecological than others. Again, the focus is on receiving multiple answers to the question, and this interplay needs to proceed along certain rules. In the example above, the elicitation moves from Risto's initial question followed by Antti, Outi and Tiina's answers (lines 3, 7 and 9 respectively). Riitta also manages to voice out her opinion in line 11 as a reaction to Tiina's remark. Even though this type of conversation could also be categorized as Type 2, Outi's remark in line 7 in particular reveals the embedded rules of engagement. In other words, a specific question is asked and it requires a certain kind of an answer in order for the information to move forward. Outi produces a thorough answer, albeit general in form. Thus, one can assume that Outi owns a bottle of hairspray, which she nominates as being the least ecological a product. The closure for Outi's answer in line 7 displays the activity orientation, as she states that she has given her answer, hence completed the task.

The example 3D also shows one of the common features of chatting. As one discussion progresses, there often is another topic also visible for the members to participate in. Moreover, what can be detected from the above conversation, the multiple topic streams do not seem to distract the team members, and the conversation continues without interruptions. The facilitating factor is that the members can easily scroll up the message board if they loose track of what is talked about and join in the conversation later. In addition, chat sessions might take place in multiple message boards, as well. It is quite ordinary to joggle with at least two or three messaging windows, and even to have the whole computer screen filled with them!

A similar overlapping incident takes place in the F2F environment. The class is checking a listening exercise together when LM1 presents his problem, which naturally requires a specific answer.

Example 3E (F2F)

1 T	and then
2	(1.2)
3 T	vesa
4	(1.3)
5 T	the following
6 LM1	mää oon aiva hukassa (0.9) I'm totally lost
7 LM1	mitä täsä niinku tehhää what are you supposed to do here
8 T	elikkä tästä piti laittaa näitä (0.6) sana (.) niinku sana**painoja** well you were supposed to put these word like word **stresses**

In the F2F example the checking is done in English (see lines 1 and 5), yet, LM1 decides to use Finnish to voice out his distress. This results in the teacher switching the language, as well. The switching might be due to the fact that LM1 is more relaxed when using his mother tongue and is more likely to receive a satisfying and understandable answer in Finnish than in English. Naturally, when an issue in itself is confusing, one does not need a foreign language to mystify the problem even more. From the language learning point of view, however, the CMC example 3D shows that problems can be solved in English, as well. As an answer to the third research question, perhaps computer mediated learning environment offers a less threatening atmosphere for mistakes than a classroom.

As mentioned earlier, Type 3 Interaction in the classroom is in its clearest form and quite easy to depict in teacher-learner recitation. In the classroom data of the present study, Type 3 seems to be the most prevailing orientation. The next F2F sample is a clear case of teacher-pupil elicitation. The class is going through the exercise on adjectives that best suit a profession. The teacher asks for the pupils' opinions on different qualities. Here the answer is quite controlled, as the pupil does not have many alternatives for describing a certain profession. However, the teacher makes an effort to get a clarification from the three pupils reacting to the question (LM3, LM5

and LM6). Thus, it seems that the teacher tries to involve the whole class to think about the correct answer, not only LM3, and the focus is on both activity and topic.

Example 3F (F2F)

1 T	mikael whaddo you suggest
2 LM3	hmm I think that precise is (1.0)
3 LM3	hmm (1.5) [precise] and (1.0) responsible
4 LM5	[yes]
5 T	okay
6 T	but do you think politicians **are** precise
7 LM6	I don[no]
8 LM5	[(don't)] think so
9 LM5	<when they told they go all (0.6)
10 LM5	the way (0.7) around>
11 T	okay (0.7) that's
12 T	(but) you would (1.0)
13 T	ahh like them to be more precise
14 T	what other qualities (1.3) do they demand
15 T	vili
16 LM5	sociable and sincere
17	(1.0)
18 T	sociable and sincere
19 LM5	yes [(you) hope] them to be sincere=
20 LM	[(xx)]
21 T	=you hope them to be on a sincere (atmosphere)

As the above example shows, Interaction Type 3 might lead to a lengthier conversation, given that the pupils have the opportunity to extend their answer. In 3F the teacher allocates a turn by asking a question in line 6 and even though the pupils could give a simple yes/no answer, LM6 and particularly LM5 expand the answer by backing up their opinions. Finally, the teacher finishes the conversation by a general and rather humorous remark in lines 19 and 21.

As mentioned, Interaction Type 3 appears to be the most often occurring orientation in the F2F data. This differs from van Lier's study, as in his opinion, Interaction Type 4 (analyzed in the next paragraphs) is the most prevailing one in the language classroom (van Lier 1994: 162). However, the analysis of the present study shows that the cyclical rhythm pf classroom conversation is constructed around Type 3 and moves through orientation shifts all the way to Type 1 or Type 4 and back again.

This is somewhat relieving from the point of view of teaching and learning conversation, as Type 4 interaction is the farthest from naturally occurring (free-flowing) conversation. Hence, the pupils have at least a nominal chance to participate in the construction and progression of the classroom conversation. Yet, in most cases the teacher is holding the floor, allocating turns and asking questions. The pupils' job, as it were, is to provide answers and take action according to given instructions. However, the data for the present study only consists of one double-lesson of English, and therefore, the analysis can only refer to that session and one needs to be careful not to over-generalize. Nevertheless, the power relations in the classroom seem to divide similarly in many previous studies, as well. Papaefthymiou-Lytra's (1990) study, for example, showed that attempts to have authentic and more equally balanced conversation in the classroom were few in number and seemed quite impersonal and dreary. The reason can be found in the socialization process: the teacher and the pupils, too, are used to have a certain role in the classroom – the teacher holds the floor and pupils listen and participate when asked. In order to change the power relations towards a more equal participation the teacher could hand some responsibility over to the pupils with the help of task-design: the lessons should not be bound to exercises that limit the possibilities for negotiation and conversation to take place. Problem-solving situations, for example, could offer alternatives and presumably more possibilities for the pupils to take part in the lesson content. This, in turn, would gently force the pupils to take a more active role in language learning. Naturally tasks that offer immediate answers – when a pupil succeeds in connecting the words with similar meaning to each other, for example, help those who do not have good language skills, but those pupils, too, should be exposed to a more varied language learning experience.

5.1.4 Interaction Type 4

The final orientation, Interaction Type 4, consists of repetition drills, pair work (with pre-written lines), other role taking and games (van Lier 1994: 156). In Type 4, the focus is on how something is said rather than what is said (see p. 31 for more information). The first F2F example is from a situation where the teacher gives specific instructions on how a task has to be carried out. The pupils do not have

alternatives to say what they want, as the possible answers are found in the pages of their English books.

Example 4A (F2F)

1	T	okay an pick up
2	T	ahh couple of-f adjectives describing **you** (.)
3	T	from this list (0.5)
4	T	what kind of a person are you (.)
5	T	only two
6	LM	(outstanding)
7	T	you can have only two (.)
8	T	adjectives to describe you (1.0) as a person
9	T	(2.9)
10	T	riikka (.) whaddo you say
11	LF3	mm maybe original and open minded
12	T	okay an:d (1.3)
13	T	kai↑sa (.) whaddo you suggest
14	LF1	open minded an:d (2.4) strong minded
15	T	okay=

In example 4A the class has finished an exercise and the teacher then decides to carry on by asking the pupils to describe themselves with two adjectives of their choice. It seems that it does not really matter what the answer is, as long as the pupils answer according to the teacher's instructions (lines 1-2, 5 and 7-8). The teacher does not, for example, ask clarifying questions, such as, 'why does Riikka think that she is original'. According to van Lier (1994: 159), this is an example of explicit ritual structure, as the teacher gives precise directions on how to answer and does not pay attention to the content of the answer itself, yielding the example above to the Type 4 category. In addition, the teacher allocates the turns by asking certain pupils to answer.

Interaction Type 4 also takes place when the pupils engage in pair work that is planned in advance. In the next example the teacher asks the pupils to work with their partners, first on a questionnaire, which is then followed by an exercise that involves acting. The teacher first gives a justification for these exercises in line 6 and then reveals the actual aim in line 7. This gives the impression that it is not relevant how the pupils get through the task, as long as they speak English and follow the task orders and instructions in the exercise book.

Example 4B (F2F)

1 T	but we'll see (.)
2 T	you do follow up **one** with a partner (.)
3 T	a:nd (0.5) you can check (1.6)
4 T	check the the questionnaire with your partner
5 T	and discuss them **one** and (1.1) two (0.7)
6 T	very good exercise
7 T	talk english
8	(1.0)
9 T	an:d (1.3) an:d (0.7)
10 T	°stuff like that°
11	(1.9)
12 LM1	mää alotan I'll start
13 LM2	okei
14 T	°and in° exercise t- two exercise two
15 T	you are suppose to (1.4)
16 T	act a little bit ……
17 LM	(xx)
18 T	okay

In the example above the teacher gives precise instructions for the pupils on what to do next. However, it seems that the emphasis is on the activities, as the teacher only praises the exercises in line 6 and does not give an explanation why the exercises are so good. In addition, the teacher's remark in line 10 is rather ironical, as if there was a list named 'The ways to make the pupils function in a language classroom'. Again, the idea behind each task should be clear for the pupils, which is not the case in example 4B, as the pupils even begin the exercise in Finnish rather than in the target language (see line 12 and 13).

Yet another place to come across Type 4 orientation in the EFL classroom is when grammar points are dealt with. Especially if the topic in question is new to the pupils, the teacher often uses Finnish to ensure that everyone has similar possibilities to understand and the concepts are clear. In the F2F classroom of the present study, the class deals with grammar issues that are familiar to the pupils and the teacher thus asks the pupils to translate sentences that include some grammatical points. Hence, the focus is more on activity, as the pupils do not have alternatives for the right answer, or as van Lier (1994: 156) puts it: "Follow the rules and you'll be all right".

Example 4C (F2F)

1 T	eli mite sä sanot (0.5) so how do you say
2 T	suuri suurempi (.) suu↑rin big bigger the biggest
3	(1.7)
4 T	kimmo
5 LM2	<ahh (0.8) big (0.5) bigger ((schniis)) more biggest>
6 T	hmm

Example 4D (F2F)

1 T	mites sanotte että hän on **sairaampi** tänään how do you say that he is **worse** today
2	(5.5)
3 T	huomasitteko did you notice
4	(2.4)
5 T	hän on sairaampi tänään (1.3) he is worse today
6 T	sielä on sielä (.) kirjassa siitäki puhetta there in the book there is also a notion about it
7	(5.0)
8 LF4	onks s- oisko se (0.6) <he's worse today> is i- could it be
9 T	joo yeah
10 T	he is worse today

The two F2F examples above show how the process of going through grammar points advances. In example 4C the teacher first presents a question to a pupil in line 1 and then recites the adjective forms in line 2, followed by LM2 accomplishing the task in line 5. Even though LM2 has formulated the superlative wrongly (*more biggest), the teacher does not correct him directly, as she chooses to briefly explain the importance of the definite article. In example 4D the teacher encourages the pupils to read the correct answer from their books. Thus, is the goal to teach the pupils how to use and find information from source material or to explain the exceptional grammar rules?

The following F2F example shows how the orientation often shifts from Type 3 to Type 4. The conversation begins with a more interview-like discussion (line 1) where

the teacher poses an open-ended question to a pupil (LF2). This type of question gives the pupil the opportunity to say what she wants, even though the topic is originally introduced by the teacher. As the pupil fails to give an immediate answer, the teacher then moves on to rephrase her question by presenting a possible answer in line 4, which narrows the pupil's answering options into 'yes' or 'no'.

Example 4E (F2F)

1 T	so (.) any i↑dea (.) so far
2	(1.2)
3 LF2	ahh
4 T	have you (plans set) (0.5) of coming an artist
5 LF2	no
6 T	desig↑ner
7 LF2	no I can't draw so
8 T	okay=
9 LF2	=(it's another) problem there
10 T	aha

However, the orientation can also shift back to Type 3 (or even 2 or 1) just as quickly, as the following example shows. Immediately after the teacher's short acknowledgment in line 10 above, LF2 decides to reveal more information and actually answers to the teacher's initial question (line 1 above), thus, moving the orientation towards the topic, as well.

Example 4F (F2F)

1 LF2	bu' my (0.5) sister's boyfriend told me that I should be a politician
2 T	politi↑cian
3 LF2	yeah=
4 T	=okay (0.5) you have to be very creative
5	((laughs at this herself))
6 T	if you want to be politician
7 T	£ we'll continue

In the example 4F above LF2 presents an interesting piece of information. For example, it would be intriguing to know why her sister's boyfriend thinks that LF2 has a good career opportunity as a politician, and there might even be a funny remark or a story behind this announcement. However, the teacher responds by repeating the possible profession in line 2, thus checking that she understood the answer and after

insurance from LF2 in line 3, the teacher incorporates the lesson's topic to her follow-up in lines 4, 5 and 6, and continues her questioning from the whole class.

Furthermore, the examples 4E and 4F above also display what van Lier (1994: 162) describes as the cyclical structure or progression of the language classroom. As already pointed out during the analysis of Interaction Types 1, 2 and 3, the interaction tends to shift from Type 3 to Type 2, then back to Type 4 and all the way to Type 1, for instance. Naturally, the teacher plays the key role in controlling the way the classroom conversation moves along. Yet, the pupils might also take action and "time out of the 'official business' of the lesson to engage in some lighthearted conversation" (van Lier 1994: 161). However, the two examples above show that the teacher does not give possibilities for a longer conversation to take place, as she quite quickly moves on with the exercise. Perhaps the teacher is not in need of a time out and wants to stick with the official business of language teaching and learning. In other words, the teacher wants to move forward with the exercise and follow the lesson plan.

However, at times the teacher also needs a "time out". In the F2F data, the teacher shows her easy-going side, too, and what could be a better place than in the midst of grammar:

Example 4G (F2F)

1 LM5	nii equally (0.5) furry right
2 T	hmm (.)
3 T	do you have a dog
4 LM5	nouhh
5 T	mhmh
6 LM5	but I do have a (.) very hairy little sister
7 T	aha
8	(1.6)
9 T	does it run in the family
10 LM5	yes

In the example above LM5 has finished and rephrased his answer to which the teacher reacts by asking an off-topic question regarding LM5's family life. LM5 sees

an opportunity for a light-hearted joke in line 6 and the teacher adds to the gag in line 9. This type of conversation in addition of being an example of orientation shift from Type 4 to Type 3 is also an illustration of the atmosphere and social relations in the classroom, mediated through language use. The teacher and pupils clearly know each other well in order to engage in this type of conversation. They allow ironic remarks and jokes of each other and go along with the "time out"-behaviour, as it were. It seems, however, that the boys in the class are keener in such activities, as the girls do not participate or initiate this kind of conduct. Perhaps they have taken the role of being silent overhearers, since the boys are rather vocal in other respects, too.

In the following CMC example, team 2 of group A is discussing consumption, which has led to the issue of cars. However, the focus shifts from the topic, as strong exchange of opinion takes place. Lines 1 to 6 yield this to Type 4 interaction, since a debate of this nature has a clear pattern: Riitta presents the strong argument in line 1, immediately put down by Risto in line 3, which then leads to short 'yes-no' turns. This type of chatting inspires the other members of the team to participate with strong arguments, as well (see lines 7 and 8). However, Outi intervenes with quite a harsh statement in line 9 that is seconded by Riitta (line 10), the other member of the initial debate.

Example 4H (CMC)/Team 2/Group A

1	Riitta says:	NO CARS!!!!
2		
3	Risto says:	cars rule
4	Riitta says:	NO!!!!
5	Risto says:	yes
6	Riitta says:	NO
7	Minna says:	risto alas risto down
8	Tiina says:	yes! spray bottles
9	Outi says:	Stop it, stupid...
10	Riitta says:	Joo yeah

In the examples from 4A to 4H above the classification is quite evident, especially in F2F data. The class has just finished an exercise, which itself belongs to Type 4, and the teacher starts to ask questions regarding that specific exercise. The topic is not the main focus, but to get the pupils to answer following the instructions of the

teacher. However, this type of interaction is more difficult to find in the CMC data of this study. It does not include drills or repetition, yet, it can be argued that the entire CMC is an example of group work from beginning to an end, since the pupils are divided into teams on *MSN Messenger* board. However, group work in CMC is different from F2F exercise, since the lines are not written down beforehand, which naturally gives the pupils the opportunity to "speak" freely. Nevertheless, if the classification is made based on the focus of orientation, the example 4H above seems to belong to Type 4: the topic is not the main issue, since the pupils concentrate on putting down each other's opinions rather than discussing about the actual pollution problems of cars, and they are using the most common and simplest words for argumentation: 'yes' and 'no'. In addition, the affordance aspect of CMC also indicates that while engaged in rapid exchange of opinions, one simply cannot follow all the remarks appearing on the screen. Hence, the mere participation in the argument is perhaps more valued than what the actual content of the message actually contains. Therefore, short answers are a necessity, as they are easily typed and read.

Furthermore, in CMC data of the present study the questions were formulated in advance, which by and large set the "tone" and depict the topics of conversation. Therefore, Type 4 orientation often occurs right after the chairperson has typed the initial question, to which the pupils present a short answer, thus executing the given exercise. The next example displays this operation. In a sense it is not significant what one answers as long as something appears on the message board.

Example 4I (CMC)/Team 1/Group A

1	Leevi says:	what do you think of Jyväskylä´s environment is it clean?
2	Jaana says:	In some places, yes..
3	Leevi says:	I think so too
4	Olli says:	maybe, but sometimes mess
5	Olli says:	enought clean

In the example 4I above, the chairperson Leevi types the question (line 1) and gets immediate replies from Jaana and Olli in lines 2, 4 and 5. As the question itself only requires a yes/no-answer, the two members more or less produce precisely that. Even

though there could be some clarification to the answers, for example, what places Jaana means, no-one asks for that.

Another indication that illustrates the strong orientation towards activity in CMC is when the team members directly refer to the exercise in the form of asking for the next question or in some other way referring to or describing the task. In the next CMC example, Liisa takes a turn in the middle of an ongoing conversation to refer to the question the team is dealing with and to her own amount of participation. Immediately afterwards, Liisa takes another turn to show frustration even more, as the first turn's tone in line 4 already suggests that Liisa feels pressured in some way.

Example 4J (CMC)/Team 1/Group A

1	Leevi says:	I´m happy that we have here in Finland clean water that
2		we don´t have to drink "bad" water...
3	Paula says:	*good
4	Liisa says:	whatmore do I have to say...?
5	Liisa says:	prkle. damn it (a certain type of abbreviation from 'perkele')
6	Jaana says:	We don't need to bottle water..
7	Leevi says:	yea

Interestingly, the other team members do not pay any attention to Liisa's outburst, as they carry on with the topic of conversation. There can be many reasons for this kind of disregard, as it were. For example, from the affordance point of view, the teammates might be typing down and sending their own answers simultaneously and Liisa's message goes unnoticed. Another motive might be the strong focus on the activity, and finishing the task.

However, most often immediately after the first responses, the discussion shifts towards Types 3, 2 or even Type 1. In this particular case the catalyst, as it were, is the chairperson, who leads the discussion further (see line 1 below) and ushers the other team members to produce more or at least participate in the discussion. As pointed out earlier in this study, the similar shift occurs in F2F classroom, and the goal is similar: to reach a certain goal, whether it is finishing an exercise or to get the pupils to use English and participate more in the lesson. Thus, the chairperson of the team seems to take the role of the teacher, as s/he takes up responsibility of the

team's success and motivates the other members of the team to use English, clarify their answers and contribute to the conversation, for instance. As such, this aspect sheds light on the second research question of the present study. It seems that in CMC the pupils are able to take the role of a language learner but also of a teacher, as taking control seems to be easier in CMC. One reason might be that chatting offers more possibilities for participation as no-one can prevent the message appearing on the screen. A second reason might be found in the group equality: all the members have the shared identity as language learners and in that sense there is little difference in the level of language skills – at least it cannot be compared to the distinction between a teacher and a learner. Of course, the role of a chairperson was given to certain pupils when the chat begun, yet, the instructions on how to act as one were quite vague: they were to type the initial questions and follow the conversation in order to present the next question when the previous one had been dealt with. Despite the brief guidelines, the chairpersons seem to succeed quite well, since they managed to activate their teams, as the next example displays.

Example 4K (CMC)/Team 1/Group A

1	Leevi says:	some places are very messy and polluted. Something could
2		be done to this situation. right?
3	Jaana says:	I think so too..
4	Leevi says:	what do you think what we could do?
5	Olli says:	you`re right
6	Jaana says:	There are also some very messy places..
7	Olli says:	yeah... like a hell
8	Jaana says:	Put rubbish to the trashbin!
9	Liisa says:	du hast recht. you are right.
10	Paula says:	yes it is.
11	Paula says:	I like this place!

As the two examples above (4J and 4K) show, the conversation quite quickly moves farther from a clear Type 4 orientation, as Leevi presents a more elaborate question on the topic at hand in line 1 and rephrases it in line 4, perhaps since Jaana's agreement in line 3 does not give alternatives and, therefore, does not succeed in producing a satisfying answer. Both Jaana and Olli show agreement repeatedly, and the first answer to Leevi's question is then given by Jaana in line 8. To this Liisa takes her first turn in line 9, followed by Paula with two turns in lines 10 and 11. Thus, it can be argued that one of the chairperson's goals was reached – he got

everyone in the team to answer or at least participate in the conversation. The reasons behind Liisa and Paula's quite constant chat silence might be caused by affordance factors, as they might be slower in typing their messages compared to their team mates. They might also be too self-conscious in using English in the chat forum, thus being afraid of mistakes. Indeed, the mistake or mistyping one makes is displayed in the screen until the chat session ends for all members to see repeatedly if one so wishes. Evidence of the latter possible reason follows later on during the chat session (see example 4L below).

Example 4L (CMC)/Team 1/Group A

1	Liisa says:	viemärit haisee, sori, englanti on hieman huono..
		sewers stink, sorry, English is a bit poor
2	Jaana says:	Beaches were messy, they were full of rubbish.
3	Leevi says:	and in other countries in Europe. I think Finland is in top 5
4		of cleanest counrties.
5	Jaana says:	That's okay, Liisa
6	Liisa says:	yeah.

Liisa's turn in the example 4L above clearly implies another kind of tone than her outburst in example 4J. In the latter she shows frustration and in 4L she actually reveals the reason behind her behaviour: she was not confident with her English and now she apologises. The other team members, in turn, note this, and Liisa is given consolation in line 5. Hence, from the sociocultural viewpoint, 4L is also an example of the sense of belonging and maintaining social relationships among the pupils through language mediation. Simultaneously, the pupils' individual identities surface in the ways they participate in the conversations, and their roles can also extend from the role of a pupil to the role of a teacher. Furthermore, if we take a look at all the CMC examples and grammatical or lexical mistakes the pupils make, it is clear that they go unnoticed. The only time a pupil receives negative feedback is when s/he does something unacceptable, such as uses Finnish or behaves badly in some way. Addressing the third research question on pedagogical aspects, the actual mistakes could be jointly dealt with later on in the classroom, for example. Thus the errors would not be linked to one pupil and finding the correct forms and solutions would be a collective effort for the whole class. In this respect, combining F2F and CMC would contribute to language learning, since the pupils and the teacher could use authentic material – their own chatting – as a basis for classroom conversation.

6. DISCUSSION

The objective for the final section (6) of the present study is to pull all the strings together. Firstly, the theoretical basis and methodological decisions of this study are discussed from the point of view of their usefulness. Secondly, the answers to the research questions are revisited, as in the analysis section the responses are not systematically presented. Thirdly, these results are compared to those of the previous research, followed by the pupils' feedback on CMC. Fourthly, suggestions for future studies are dealt with, since it is painstakingly clear that the present study only manages to scratch the surface of language learning in certain environments. Finally, the very last paragraph concludes the present study, and takes a more general look at the future of language teaching and learning technologies, leaving the excavation open for future miners.

6.1 What the diggings exposed

The theoretical background of the present study helped to define and clarify what kind of a world a language classroom is and especially how that special environment is created through language use among the participants – the teacher and the pupils. The three overlapping theories point out clearly why conversational language use is important in the classroom and in the net-based environment. The insights of the theoretical three-petal structure facilitated in unifying the aspects of language and its users in the sociocultural environment from the point of view of socialization and identity, as well, since language is the link between the three theories. Thus, through language use the teacher and the pupils create a sociocultural setting, where they socialize and are socialized into a certain social group, bringing along their shared and individual identities that also have an effect on the dynamics of the conversational practices in F2F and CMC environments.

The two methodologies used in the present study were also useful as they offered practical tools for the analysis of F2F and CMC environments. Ethnography was chosen since it recognizes that the surrounding social environment always affects conversation, and this view ties the methodology to the theoretical background, as well. The categorization of van Lier (1994) proved to be an effective instrument in

identifying different types of interaction in F2F and CMC, and thus helped in dividing the conversations into more manageable pieces. These pieces were then analysed with conversation analytic tools, since "pure" ethnography would have needed a long-term participation and close relationship with the participants in the data-collecting situation. CA provided insight on turn-taking and especially how different actions were carried out through language use in F2F and CMC environments and how different identities were on display during these activities. Hence, both methodologies can be linked to the theoretical framework. CA also helped to define and recognize the institutional aspects of classroom language.

However, combining the two methods was quite challenging. At times it seemed hard to distinguish which method was used, as the two seem to be closely linked indeed. This might have an effect on the presentation of the analysis, as it may appear to be vague in clarifying which method was used. Therefore, the solution was to first categorize the data to the four Interaction Types and then dig deeper with CA tools. A positive aspect was that both ethnography and conversation analysis seem to be applicable in analysing CMC, as well. The only challenge was to maintain focused on the beneficial aspect the both environments have on language learning and not to be too taken by the advantages of net-based conversation alone.

Answers to the first research question on the construction of conversational practices can be found in each Interaction Type. Even though defining the four orientation types in classroom and CMC environments is not a clear-cut division, it helps to categorize the conversational activities into more manageable portions, thus producing a general idea of the lesson structure and language use. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the orientations consist more frequently of two over-lapping types rather than one, and that the orientation shifts quickly from one to the other and back again. Perhaps this aspect is what makes it hard to distinguish the Interaction Types and also shows that there indeed is a cyclical rhythm and certain dynamics in the classroom conversation, as well as in the CMC. For example, the lesson begins with Interaction Type 1, followed by Type 2, then moves to Type 3, then 4 and back to Type 3 or Type 2.

In general, all the Interaction Types were present in F2F and CMC. In F2F Type 3 seemed to be the most prevailing one as the conversation was mostly teacher-learner recitation due to the lesson plan (mostly going through exercises). In CMC, however, the pace to move towards another Type was quicker: after the chairperson had typed the initial question, the conversation moved into a more general level quite swiftly, perhaps since the controlling role was divided among the team members and everyone had similar possibilities to participate in the chat. Naturally, the pupils then used more English in CMC than in F2F, as their turns were longer due to the fact that they were to present opinions and views on many issues rather than read answers from exercise books.

As all the orientation types each have a different focus (topic/activity), it became also apparent that the participants acted differently accordingly. To concentrate on the second research question, Interaction Types 1 and 2 offer more freedom to the participants in how one acts, whereas Types 3 and 4 restrict their possibilities, as certain rules need to be followed and the interaction has a clear pattern, as it were. In addition, during Interaction Types 1 and 2 the pupils' identities are more visible, as they are able to give their own opinions and lead the conversation more. By contrast, Types 3 and 4 focus on certain activities and particularly how they are executed. Thus, the goal seemed to be more on finishing a task in a certain, predetermined manner, where personal identities do not play a central role. In other words, the participants are socialized to act in a certain way when, for example, exercises are checked. Yet, the pupils' identities as members of a certain group (Finnish learners of English, and teenagers) surface in the ways the pupils choose to participate in the tasks. Some are more vocal and active (such as the boys in the F2F data) while others prefer to be seen but not heard.

However, all the Interaction Types are necessary in the language classroom. Even though Types 3 and 4 do not support one's own creativity, they are examples of language use in multiple situations and offer knowledge about the language and culture, for instance. Types 3 and 4 also give possibilities for participation for those who might be afraid of using the target language and prefer to read the answers and do drills and pair work. Naturally, the variation between the orientation types is a necessity, and as the analysis shows, the shift occurs very often, even though Type 3

tends to be the prevailing one especially in the F2F environment, and perhaps Type 2 in the CMC.

From a sociocultural viewpoint, the pupils in the classroom setting use language as a mediating tool in order to establish their roles as learners of English as a foreign language. They also maintain and develop relationships with each other and the teacher by making humorous remarks, for instance, or reacting to something their peer has said or done. Through this behaviour, the identities are on display and in constant change as the pupils learn more about the language, their peers and most importantly, about themselves as language learners and members of a social group. In F2F environment the sense of belonging and acceptance tend to be shown with expressions or laughter, whereas in CMC the pupils comfort, and also scold each other when necessary, thus making the building of their mutual relationships more visible. Perhaps the fact that the teacher was mostly absent in CMC gave room for the pupils to interact more, which also affected the length of the conversation spans. In addition, the pupils did not have to worry about making mistakes when answering, as the topics where open questions that did not require one correct answer. In this sense, it seems that CMC offered the pupils more possibilities in using the target language, as they were able to speak about issues not related to language learning aspects. Naturally, in addition to gaining confidence in using English, the pupils in CMC were able to practice the vocabulary related to pollution and other topics that they were dealing with. For example, they saw the words in sentences and they were also able to ask clarification if some of the words were unidentifiable to them. Thus, it can be argued that the pupils were able to practice their language skills and learn more.

If we consider the F2F and CMC environments described in the present study, the two environments can indeed complement each other which presents answers to the third research question. From a pedagogical point of view, F2F learning about language and its conventions was achieved via focus on certain activities, and vocabulary was also dealt with during the various tasks and exercises. However, the lack of genuine and authentic conversation was evident. The teacher was in constant control and the pupils did not have many opportunities for discussions related to other issues than those dealt with during the lesson. Thus, technology might offer a

useful and motivating tool in activating the pupils to use the target language and the skills they have already acquired during contact teaching.

The results of the present study are quite consistent with the previous research. The pedagogical function (to instruct and to inform) seems to be the prevailing form in classroom interaction and as Papaefthymiou-Lytra (1990) pointed out, the teacher's attempts to change the form into a more conversational direction are scarce. In the F2F data the teacher followed the lesson plan quite consistently, focusing on checking the exercises and, thus, leaving little room for the pupils to take more control. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the atmosphere in the classroom seemed to be relaxed, and the relationship between the teacher and the pupils was quite friendly, as they were able to make fun of each other. Occasionally the pupils, too, took control and challenged the teacher's role by making initiatives. In this respect, there were possibilities for a more equal participation and power relations in the classroom. Perhaps the pupils were not used to take control and be more active due to socialization into certain classroom routine.

Alike Kern (1995) and Warschauer's (1996) researches, the results of the present study show that the participation was more equal and the discussions were more balanced in CMC. In F2F the turns were shorter and more direct compared to CMC where the turns were longer and more general expressions of opinions. However, Warschauer depicted shyness as the dominant reason behind the pupils' silence in the classroom, yet the pupils in the F2F seemed to lack language skills and thus took the role of silent overhearers. Kern (1995) also pointed out that the teacher's role was not "the typical one" in CMC. In the present study, it can be argued that the teacher's authority did not have an effect on the CMC, even though she had the access to the chatting and the pupils were aware of that. Condon and Čech's (1996) results showed more overt expression of information requests or requests for action in CMC. This was also evident in the present study, as the pupils often referred to the task at hand by typing a request for the next question to appear on the message screen, for instance. They also referred to their own performance, whether to apologize for their mistyping or to the extent they had already participated in the chatting. On the whole, as Vandergriff (2006) pointed out, CMC seems to be an effective medium for language learning and teaching, and this insight became evident in the present study,

as well. The reception strategies are similar and the pupils are able to negotiate common ground and thus be a part of a certain social group in the net-based environment, too.

Similarly to Warschauer's (1996) study, the pupils' opinions on CMC were also quite positive. At the end of the chat session the teacher in both groups asked the pupils to send feedback on what they thought of the lesson as a whole. Since all of the pupils did not comment on the lesson, the results are not conclusive. However, the received answers manage to create at least some idea on how the CMC was regarded from the pupils' point of view. The selected pupils' comments are translated from Finnish and typed below in italics.

Most of the pupils thought that using *MSN Messenger* was fun and chatting in English offered a welcome change and added variation to foreign language learning at school. As one of the pupils commented, it was *cool since the lesson was not like a normal English lesson.* Few pupils also pointed out that it was easier to *talk this way than in the language classroom* and that *it was fun because you did not have to think much about what to write or how to spell correctly*. On the other hand, as the analysis showed, typing the messages was regarded time-consuming and difficult for some pupils, and one writes: *It is easier to talk than to write because there were no spell-checking things*. Indeed, affordance aspects might complicate the participation in chat sessions.

The chatting in itself received positive feedback, even though some of the topics were seen as boring, which contributed to the fact that the conversation got side-tracked, as one pupil mentioned. According to one pupil, the given topics also made it difficult to begin the conversation and there was not enough time for completing the discussions properly. By contrast, the conversation appeared to be easier when the topic was regarded as interesting. All in all, in most of the sent feedback the experiences were positive and the pupils noted that it was easier to talk on-line than face-to-face.

As the CMC of the present study showed, the pupils chatted in English and they also managed to create lengthy conversations on various topics, even though some of the

issues were regarded as boring and the length of the pupils' single turn was sometimes quite short. Even though the teacher was absent, the pupils were competent in leading the discussion further, and they also took the role of allocating turns to their peers, especially the teams' chairpersons. In this respect, they took the role of the teacher, yet, they did not control the conversation excessively. Hence, combining the two environments might be the right solutions for a more successful language learning and teaching experience.

6.2 Implications for future studies

The field of learning technologies is massive from which to acquire and collect information. For the moment, however, it seems that the main focus in educational research should be the people who choose to apply technology for their teaching. In other words, their needs, interests and motives should be taken into account in order to create technological applications that best suit their demands. Taking the teachers' views and aspirations into account would most likely increase the use of the multiple software and appliances that technology has to offer. Thus, it would be interesting to study teachers who are planning on using educational technology and those, who are already familiar with it to clarify what their hopes and experiences are like, and how consistent those results are with the pupils' views.

In addition, teacher training should also pay attention to the constantly developing techniques that apply the use of computers. Future teachers and also those who already are acting as one should be able to critically assess the various choices they can make in using technology – whether something is worth trying or not. In addition, the pupils of today are most likely more computer-literate than teachers can ever be. Thus, it could be worthwhile to learn a bit more about the world of computers as technical appliances, but also as a means for various ways of interacting with the surrounding world.

Finally, the benefits of CMC for language learning should be studied in more detail. For instance, the language use in CMC and classroom environments could be compared in order to compare the effect of the two environments among the same participants. The language use might also be studied from the point of view of

assessment. The results should give perspectives on how one could plan the language lessons to benefit all the pupils in individual level and also as a group of language learners. These insights might motivate the pupils and the teacher, as well. However, the language use is different in the classroom and in CMC. The challenge for the teacher, from the assessment point of view, is to figure out how s/he is able to link the two areas together for the benefit of learning to use the language more skilfully in everyday situations. Thus, task-design is an important area for future studies, as well.

6.3 The conclusions

This study has taken a look into the EFL classroom in order to find out how the foreign language is used by the pupils and their teacher. In addition, the language use is also studied in the net-based environment with the purpose of detecting beneficial and positive factors in relation to face-to-face conversation and how the net-based environment might help the learner to improve language learning. The aim, however, was not to undermine the value of "normal" classroom conversation as it in many cases is the only environment, where a learner can actually practice the use of the foreign language. The use of CMC in language teaching can never replace natural face-to-face classroom conversation. As Vandergriff (2006: 125) points out, CMC is only one medium for communication in language learning and its potential should not be overrated.

The challenges and issues preventing the use of computer in language teaching and learning is that teachers and teacher trainees are not familiarized with different opportunities technology has to offer. Especially teachers who have qualified more than few years ago might not have had any training in how to incorporate computers into their teaching, and thus, find the use of technology unapproachable (Thurlow et al. 2004: 9). In addition, a teacher might have developed a teaching strategy, either consciously or unconsciously, which is not easily altered, as the strategy seems to work, or at least suit the teacher's goals and philosophy. Then, it is difficult to start working with an unfamiliar field, where the learning of 'how's' and 'why's' appears to be time consuming, time being a commodity a teacher does not have.

Taken the above into account, a teacher planning to use a certain computerized aid should first learn to use the software or programme in order for the actual net-based activity to work properly. Students idling away in the computer class could result in undesirable behaviour. Of course, nowadays the students are more equipped with technological knowledge than ever and might even be interested to offer help. Indeed, this might actually add to the value of learning, since the pupils are able to get involved in the actual teaching process, and in a sense become teachers themselves.

Computer-mediated conversation can offer a helpful addition to language teaching and learning, and a diverse place to practice with the wide variety of choices the Internet has to offer. The acquired skills could then be passed on back to the classroom, as the learners' self-esteem and eagerness to use the language have increased. As Kern and Warschauer (2000: 57) state, the use of net-based activities and programmes able students to participate in the on-line world, dominated by English as a lingua franca. However, they can create their own space according to their own culture and at the same time learn to use English in a perhaps new and inspiring way. This, in turn, strengthens one's own identity as a prominent language user and learner, being a part of a larger community of learners and as well as a citizen of the surrounding world. As a result, the learners would have even more opportunities to take part in authentic conversations in English – even in the classroom.

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Appendix 1

Transcription keys:

LMX	indicates a male learner
LFX	indicates a female learner
T	indicates the teacher
(.)	indicates an untimed micropause, less than a second
(2)	indicates a pause and the approximate length
[okay]	indicates overlapping utterances
[yes]	
okay1=	indicates latching utterances
okay2	
(xxx)	indicates unclear speech
(words)	indicates uncertain transcription
↑	indicates rising intonation
↓	indicates falling intonation
°quiet°	indicates whisper, soft speech
cutoff w-	indicates cutoff word
:	indicates lengthened sound
(( ))	indicates other sounds than speech
CAPITALS	indicates a raised tone of voice or loud speech
italics	indicates mispronunciation
<words>	indicates slow speech
>words<	indicates fast speech
bold	indicates highly stressed word
small font	indicates translation into English
Liisa says:	
	indicates an emoticon use in CMC (not visible in the print-out)

Appendix 2

The topics of the *MSN Messenger* groups:

Group A, team 1

POLLUTION: XXXXX is a polluted town. Discuss pollution and Finland.

How clean air do we have in Finland?
How about water? And food?
Would you risk your health for money?
What can you do to protect your environment?
What ways are there to dispose of your waste?
What kinds of waste are toxic? How do you deal with them?

Group A, team 2
CONSUMPTION: Describe your buying habits. What do you spend your money on?
How could you consume less? Are there things that you don't need but still buy?
What is the least ecological product you own? Give reasons.
What if people in India and China also wanted to have a car of their own of a fridge?
What could happen?
How could you use less energy?

Group A, team 3
RECYCLING: What do you know about recycling?
How can we make people sort out their waste?
Recycling causes unemployment – why/why not?
Recycling is a waste of time – why/why not?
What things do you recycle?
What things are reused in your family?
How could you use less energy?

Group B's themes for the CMC:

1. Television programmes
   - What do you like to watch? Why?
   - What do you think about the following TV-series
     - Queer eye for the straight guy (Sillä silmällä)
     - E.R. (Teho-osasto)
     - The weakest link (Heikoin lenkki)
     - Survivors (Selviytyjät)
     - Amazing race

N.B. The programme names' Finnish translation was given in brackets by the teacher, also some difficult words were translated)

2. Parents and teenagers
   - What kind of relationship (suhde) do you have with your parents?
   - Do you feel that your parents trust you?

- Do you think you have enough freedom?
- What would an ideal parent be like?
- If you could change one thing in your family what would that be and why?

3. Future
- What would you like to be when you grow up? Why?
- Where do you go after XXXX (= the name of the school)?
- How do you see your future?
- Does it scare you or do you feel confident about it?

4. Young people and alcohol
- Is alcohol a problem to Finnish teenagers?
- If so, then why do you think so many teenagers drink alcohol?
- What should be done to stop the weekend drinking in town?
- What problems can alcohol cause to teenagers?