ABSTRACT

An abstract of the thesis of Jasmin Stephanie Kratzer for the Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages presented October 30, 2008.

Title: Task Orientation Practices by Pairs of Low-Level Adult Immigrant Learners of English.

One of the primary goals of language educators teaching adult immigrant students is to design tasks that engage learners in meaningful dialogue. But, teachers cannot always know if their tasks achieve their intended outcomes, so it is necessary to evaluate and improve upon task design through task based research. In my study I use a qualitative methodology, conversation analysis (CA), which documents the participants' perspectives on social actions and talk occurring in their natural talk-in-interaction as they perform teacher-assigned tasks.

At the ESOL Lab School database at PSU I observed ten pairs of learners from five different class sessions performing a similar role-play task designed and implemented by the same teacher. I transcribed all of the teacher instructions along with the student pair interactions. My aim was to detail the methods that the students used to carry out a role-play task with their partner, to compare the different pairs of students performing the same task, and to determine the relationship between what students did in a task and what they were instructed to do by the teacher.

I found that students rarely oriented to the role-play task as a conversation, and instead oriented to it as a language-learning task wherein they focused on reading and accuracy. This orientation stemmed from being in a classroom environment and to how the teacher modeled the scripts. Most student pairs read the script, focused on the accuracy of pronouncing each line, and used the vocabulary items as the teacher instructed. However, to achieve these objectives every pair relied on creative resources to construct their turn of talk, to repair a partner's line, and to manage the progression and completion of the task. Occasionally, they even provided unscripted responses, demonstrating that they possessed the interactional tools and competencies needed to engage in the role-play scripts in a conversational way. Although students demonstrated their ability to orient to the role-play as a conversation, in the classroom, they choose instead to orient to their role and responsibilities as a student, which committed them to following the teacher instructions.

TASK ORIENTATION PRACTICES BY PAIRS OF LOW-LEVEL ADULT IMMIGRANT LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

by

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DEDICATION

To my husband, Nathan Kratzer,
for his absolute and unconditional love.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Adjacency Pair
CA	Conversation Analysis
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESOL	English Speakers of Other Languages
L2	Second Language
LH	Left hand
NB	Notebook
NNS	Non-Native Speaker
NS	Native Speaker
PCC	Portland Community College
QA	Question and Answer Task
RH	Right hand
RP	Role-play Task
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TBL	Task-Based Learning
TCU	Turn Construction Unit
TPR	Total Physical Response
TRP	Transition Relevance Place
VC	Verbal Command Task
WB	Whiteboard

TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

(Schegloff, 2000)

[	Overlapping or simultaneous talk
=	"latched utterances" no break or pause between utterances
(0.5)	Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, represented in tenths of a second
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicates a "micropause"
.	Period indicates a falling intonation contour, not necessarily the end of a sentence
?	Question mark indicates rising intonation
¿	Upside down question mark indicates slight rise in intonation
,	A comma indicates "continuing" intonation
::	Colons are used to indicate the prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching.
-	Hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption
really	Underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or emphasis, either by increased loudness or higher pitch
WOrd	Especially loud talk may be indicated by upper case; again, the louder, the more letters in upper case. And in extreme cases, upper case may be underlined
><	The combination of "more than" and "less than" symbols indicates that the talk between them is compressed or rushed
<>	Used in reverse order, they can indicate that a stretch of talk is markedly slowed or drawn out.
hhh	Outbreath
.hh	Inbreath
(( ))	Descriptions of events: ((cough)), ((sniff)), ((telephone rings)), ((footsteps))
(word)	All or part of an utterance is in parentheses indicates transcriber was uncertain
#	Creaky voice
˚soft˚	Soft or quiet speech

1. INTRODUCTION

Language educators want their learners to succeed in communicating in the second language (L2), and thus promote activities and design curriculum aimed at improving their learners' writing, reading and speaking in the L2. Especially for English as a second language (ESL) students living in the second language culture, communicating orally is essential in day-to-day interactions—finding work, communicating with neighbors and their children's teachers, etc. ESL teachers recognize these needs and constantly search for better ways to design curriculum that promote L2 acquisition. Researchers and teachers who subscribe to the interactionist perspective claim that language learners need comprehensible input in the L2 and opportunities to engage in production or output in the L2. In this way, learners can process the language they hear and compare it to their current interlanguage and also test their hypotheses about the L2 in meaningful, interactive ways with others in the classroom.

The interactionist view has influenced language pedagogy, particularly task-based learning (TBL). Based principally off of Long's Interaction Hypothesis (Ellis, 2000), this approach aims to create an interactional, meaning-focused environment. Therefore, TBL's pedagogical focus are tasks that engage language learners in real life, meaning-focused scenarios in the target language, other wise known as 'target tasks' (Long & Crookes, 1992), such as asking and giving directions, making appointments, telling time, etc, (Leaver & Willis, 2004).

However, creating an authentic version of the world in the classroom can be

challenging for teachers. Different task types are designed to focus learners' attention on different aspects such as form, negotiation of meaning, lexical items and so forth. But, most teachers are unaware of the aspects and goals students actually focus on, as well as, the specific actions and methods that students use to accomplish a task. Therefore, evaluating the task process and learners' actions during tasks is an ever-present need in language pedagogy. However, researchers using quantitative and experimental studies to analyze the task process typically define the task from their own perspective. They draw their data from observations, written descriptions, quantitative analyses of the learners' actions, and interviews with the learners after the task (Breen, 1989; Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun, 1993).

These data represent only a small portion of the students' interaction or talk. Hence, more qualitative research is needed to look at the many complex actions and talk of students engaged in tasks in order to determine the students' perspective on the task goals and teacher instructions. However, due to limited technology and data collection processes, observing the task process from the learner's perspective as they engage in a task has been difficult. Thus, researchers and teachers actually have very little knowledge of what happens during a task, because that knowledge is more detailed and accurate when collected from the perspective of the learner. Researchers are then motivated to use a more objective and inductive methodology to detail the processes learners engage in during tasks; information from such studies can then serve to inform teacher's curriculum. Conversation analysis (CA), a methodology influenced by ethnomethodology, attempts to describe the social actions and relevancy

of these actions for social organization through the close analysis of audio and video recordings of the talk of participants in natural conversation. This method aims at showing participants' interpretations of one another's talk. Knowledge gained from observing task processes through this qualitative, micro-level approach can inform the teacher's task design by providing empirical evidence detailing language learners' orientations to and interpretations of the task.

This exploratory study applies conversation analysis to detail qualitatively the task-in-process. Many recognize that task-design does not predict task outcomes nor do learners always perform tasks the same way (Ellis, 2000; Coughlan & Duff, 1994; Harris, 2005). However, little research has compared and contrasted how different pairs of English language learners in the same classroom orient to and co-construct the same task. My study looks specifically at low-level adult immigrants as they engage in ESL classroom tasks. This population in particular has been understudied due to the difficulties and complications of data collection (Reder, 2005). Thus, using CA not only details the learner's perspective, but also documents a very specific population, about which little is currently known in SLA. I will analyze multiple pairs of low-level learners performing similar role-play tasks in order to document how each pair interprets teacher instructions and co-constructs turns and sequences of turns in their various orientations to the task.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review addresses how current quantitative research methodologies evaluating tasks in language classrooms do not represent the learner's perspective during the "task-in-process." There are several assumptions underlying current methodologies that may compromise their ability to obtain valid data on the task process. These assumptions include *a priori* accounts of what the task process should look like and the roles and responsibilities of the learners engaged in the task. First, I describe TBL and the differences between task design and task process. Next, I evaluate the current methodologies looking at task processes and discuss the components of task research (task design and task participants) from varying perspectives. Then, I examine the theoretical foundations of CA and explain its usefulness as a tool for analyzing task processes.

2.1 TBL—Task-Based Learning

Beginning in the 1980's, task design and its implementation in L2 classrooms became an important research area. The fundamental reasons for implementing tasks revolved around their ability to aid the language acquisition process and challenge the learners' current level of L2 knowledge (interlanguage) through facilitated interaction. This interaction provides learners with the necessary comprehensible input required to formulate and test hypotheses about the L2, produce output, and negotiate meaning (Swain, 1985). Students also benefit more from one-on-one interaction with each other, than in teacher-fronted classrooms, because they experiment and use the language more creatively when talking with small groups of peers as opposed to the

teacher (Swain, 1985, 1995; Gass & Varonis, 1985; Long, Adams, McLean, & Castanos, 1976). In this way, learners negotiate meaning and talk about vocabulary and grammar, thus raising their 'metalinguistic awareness' as they focus on the form of the language (Long, 1996). Simply stated, from the Task-Based Learning perspective the goals of tasks are, "for learners to gain assistance with comprehension of L2 input, to receive feedback on the comprehensibility of their interlanguage output, and to respond to feedback through modification of their interlanguage" (Pica et al., 1993, p. 13). Task-based instruction involves designing tasks for students that enable them to interact and create meaning with the L2 in order to initiate acquisition of the L2. Current beliefs about tasks state that by focusing on the improvement of task design, a teacher can maximize learning opportunities for students as they engage in the task process (Breen, 1989; Pica et al., 1993).

2.2 Task Design

A task design is the teacher's written version of the task, whereas the task process is the interactional event that students engage in during the task (Breen, 1989). Whereas the teacher has complete control over the design of a task, once implemented, the teacher has little control over how the task is performed (Breen, 1989). Teachers want to design tasks that ensure students meet the goals and outcomes they have set forth in the task. However, as participants in the classroom, they have many elements they need to be focusing on at once. Observing every set of students engaging in the task process is not possible, or productive. In fact, teacher involvement in tasks can dramatically alter the interaction of student pairs, even minimizing learning

opportunities for students (Ford, 1999; Garland, 2002; Markee, 2004). And as previously mentioned, without the presence of the teacher, students may use more creative language one-on-one with each other (Swain, 2000). Thus, language and curriculum researchers have sought to evaluate the task process. This external perspective can shed light on variables affecting the environment, participants, or interactions normally unseen by the participants themselves. While some question the necessity of external evaluation (Candlin, 1987), most concede that outside researchers can help illuminate the *task-as-process* and can better evaluate the learning process.

2.3 Quantitative vs. Qualitative Approaches to Tasks

Quantitative and qualitative researchers have approached the evaluation of the task process differently. While quantitative approaches have analyzed the task design and the interactional products that correlate with the task design, qualitative research highlights the social and interactional factors influencing the participants during the task process. Currently, quantitative, experimental approaches have dominated research looking at tasks (Seedhouse, 2005b) and more generally the field of SLA (Lazaraton, 2000). This approach to understanding language learning during tasks consists of defining the task, isolating and quantifying variables (i.e. participants, language use) within the task process, and designing experimental studies in order to document the outcomes of the task by eliciting and controlling for these few variables. The results generally depict how a design either succeeded or failed in eliciting the predicted target forms or vocabulary from students. From these results, researchers

then suggest ways for teachers to restructure or improve upon their task design.

The question then becomes: Are these data sufficient to inform task design? Many contend that quantitative data do not provide enough information regarding the task process, and qualitative studies are needed in order to capture a more holistic view of the methods students use as they engage in tasks. This view sees that not all useful knowledge can be quantified or operationalized. Many times, the amount of interrelated and complex variables at play in a particular context cannot be isolated from each other, nor can the situation be generalized or quantified (Spielmann & Radnofsky, 2001). Therefore, qualitative and exploratory research is needed to analyze task processes, in order to inform and improve task design.

In their controversial paper, Firth and Wagner (1997) made claims that epistemological problems underlie the quantitative paradigm to second language research. These include: a) lack of participant perspective toward the language being learned, b) ignoring the context in which language is acquired, c) and overdependence on quantitative data. The first critique claims that the participants' perspectives are secondary or ignored in the collection of data. Seen as simply another variable, participants have static and unchanging roles in quantitative second language research. One of the main critiques concerns the labeling of participants—native (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS)—because, as Firth and Wagner claim, these labels tend to predetermine the roles of the speakers and the trajectory of their interaction, while other interactional factors are ignored. Another controversy involves the collection of data. Qualitative research tends to take a holistic view on language learning and

compiles thick, rich descriptive data. These data show the interactional competencies of multiple participants and the countless verbal and non-verbal gestures, behaviors, and rituals that these participants learn and habituate to in a language-learning classroom. Quantitative research isolates variables and presents a more controlled, theory-based view of language development and learners in order to find generalizations that summarize a few behaviors, techniques, or skills that learners demonstrate in experimental settings. The last main critique questions not only the fact that quantitative data do not provide enough descriptive information, but that quantitative research dominates the published work in second language research journals (Lazaraton, 2000). Firth and Wagner fear that qualitative studies with alternative perspectives may not receive adequate attention in the field of SLA.

Many researchers have agreed with Firth and Wagner, and since then, many qualitative studies have presented a very different picture on language learners and classroom tasks. Firth and Wagner (1998) state:

> SLA has collected data mainly in lab-like situations. There is a reason to believe that this quasi-experimental situation triggers a certain set of interactional activities which—and here our critics are correct—have been shown to occur systematically in a large number of studies. Because we do not find comparable evidence in our data from naturally occurring, everyday, or workplace interactions between speakers of different languages, our conclusion is that experimental elicited data may provoke the nonnative speaker into acting as an interactional

> guinea pig. For this reason, such data cannot unproblematically be taken as a basis for generalizations. (p. 92).

From a qualitative perspective, there are several ways to approach such research. While some studies are exploratory and longitudinal without a strong theoretical underpinning (Duff, 1993), others have taken a sociocultural perspective on learning in tasks while looking at specific case-studies (Donato, 1994, 2000; Platt & Brooks, 2002; Coughlan & Duff, 1994; Storch, 2002; Ohta, 2001), and others detail talk-in-interaction in one-time case-studies using conversation analysis (Mori, 2004; Markee, 2004; Kasper, 2004). A recurrent theme throughout these studies is a focus on describing as complete a picture as possible of the learners, language use and context. For the purposes of this study, I use conversation analysis to uncover the elements of the task process and the locally situated practices of the participants (low-level adult immigrants). In these next sections, I contrast quantitative and qualitative research views on the task-process and participant roles.

2.4 Task Process

Quantitative research on non-native speaker learner interactions in TBL often categorizes and labels task types. This has led to a variety of typological classifications of tasks for teachers to choose from depending on what goals and outcomes they want their learners to achieve, i.e., Candlin (1987) suggests four typologies based on task goal, whereas Long and Crookes (1992) outlines 'target tasks' or real-world tasks based on their design, and Pica, et al., (1993) classify tasks based on their potential outcomes. In other words, a teacher wanting their learners to

engage in meaningful, problem-solving interactions might consult a typology aimed at goals and thus choose to implement an 'information gap' task. This task type entails each student having different information and contributing to solving a shared problem. Learners ask each other questions and negotiate meaning in order to get the missing information from their partner.

Inherent in this description is the teacher's and researcher's prediction of what the learners will do, but nothing regarding what the learners actually do (Wright, 1987). This view assumes that task design dictates task outcome. Underlying this description is the belief that specific designs elicit specific outcomes and discoursal patterns. Critiquing this view, Wright addresses the contention by many that closed task designs—those that have both the questions and answers structured and provided by the teacher (i.e. questions: can you___? answers: yes I can; no I can't)—elicit more negotiation of meaning from learners, than open task designs which are less structured (open-ended questions "what did you do this weekend?"). In his analysis of learner interactions, this prediction did not play out in the task processes of students. In fact, they were more likely to do the reverse (engage in more negotiated interaction during open tasks, and less during closed tasks) (Wright, 1987). However, despite this contradictory evidence, quantitative research continues to inform task design based off experimental data with the continued assumption that the appropriate input, output, and 'negotiation of meaning' is played out in the task process (Firth & Wagner, 1997). The summation of the quantitative approach is that processes undertaken by students are insignificant as long as they produce the desired outcomes.

Yet, researchers and teachers do not believe that all students will engage in the same task *process* or achieve the same *outcome*. On the contrary they expect the processes undertaken by students to construct a task vary widely. This awareness stems mostly from seeing that students have reached different outcomes, thus one can deduce that the students engaged in different task processes. However, what this process looks like and entails is often unobserved by the teacher and secondary to quantitative research data. For instance, de la Fuente's (2006) quantitative study compared a task-based approach to a presentation-practice-production (PPP) approach. She wanted to determine which approach encouraged the most focus on certain target words. She predicted that the task-based approach would provide more interactional opportunities for students to use the vocabulary. However, the results from the post-task recall tests indicated that in both approaches, students used a minimal number of 'target' words. The reason behind this, she states, is that the task-based design was flawed because it lacked "a built-in mechanism to direct the students' attention to the target words during production" (de la Fuente, 2006, p. 280). In other words, the expected outcome—a focus on certain vocabulary forms—was not achieved, because the task design did not allow for accurate predictions regarding the task process. It provided few opportunities for learners to practice the 'target forms'.

Research approaching the task process in this manner does not describe the whole picture because the purpose behind it is to isolate variables, identify only how those variables affect the interaction, and then to determine the best means to improve upon or reproduce it in order to achieve the intended goals of the task design. This

presents an *a priori* account of what a task process should look like, but not what actually happens. Inevitably, relevant details and actions—how students used the language, other interactional competencies—are excluded from the data and analysis. The quantitative approach, therefore, presents a controlled and researcher-oriented view of language learning, learners, and the task process.

Qualitative research has helped to illuminate the task process because it places less emphasis on the task design. Observations of participant interactions include taking notes, recording interactions, transcribing spoken language, and factoring in the social and interactional requirements of the task. Some research has shown that different groups of students focus on different aspects of the task, i.e., one group on vocabulary, the other on grammar (Harris, 2005). A Vygotskian, activity theory study by Coughlan and Duff (1994) evaluated how the same student performing the same task a second time focused on different aspects throughout the process than he had the first time. Mori (2002) looked at an interaction in an advanced level foreign language classroom in which the students themselves participated in the pre-task design—chose topics and practiced vocabulary—before meeting with a Japanese guest speaker. The task departed from its original design (a discussion) because several students began to interview the Japanese speaker rather than engaging her in discussion. Using conversation analysis as her methodological tool, Mori showed empirically and in great detail how classroom talk and tasks shift on a moment-to-moment basis and how the participants adapt to these shifts, reconfiguring the task along the way. These qualitative studies demonstrate that despite having control over the task design

researchers and teachers cannot always predict the way that the task will unfold or its outcome.

2.5 Participant Roles

Previous studies of tasks have assumed not only that the task itself has predictable outcomes, but also that the participants have predefined roles and responsibilities. However, these roles and responsibilities may be defined and enacted in unexpected ways by the participants; these ways often go unseen by researchers and teachers. First of all roles can refer to a variety of labels and traits. Second, different participants may or may not be aware of their various roles or may find that one is more relevant than another in a particular context. Roles can refer to the behaviors and labels that people assign one another in different institutions or social contexts, (i.e. patient/doctor; customer/salesperson; teacher/student), they can refer to the general categorical labels assigned by governments and society (i.e. American, male, NNS), or they can be self-assigned responsibilities and traits that each individual assumes in different interactional contexts (i.e. listener, speaker, expert, novice). Participants in a language-learning classroom have many roles (i.e. student, listener, Hispanic, female, sister, friend, NNS), but not all of these roles are equally relevant all of the time. It is only possible to know which roles the students find most relevant in any given moment by closely observing their behavior and talk-in-interaction. In addition, even though teachers may believe that the overwhelming role for their students is to be task-oriented learners, the students themselves may not adhere to this role or carry out their responsibilities for this role in the way the teacher expects. For example, the

teacher in the classroom may assign students the roles of 'A' or 'B' in a particular pair task. But, the learners may not necessarily adopt these specific roles within a task or follow through on the responsibilities of these roles.

In many quantitative studies the participants are defined or categorized by their status as native or non-native speakers (Wesche & Ready, 1985; Shortreed, 1993), and the participants are assumed to take on their respective traits and responsibilities based on their interlocutor and the context of the interaction. For instance, it is assumed by many researchers that native speakers slow down their speech rate and use simplified words when speaking to NNSs (Wesche & Ready, 1985; Shortreed, 1993). This interpretation of communicative events between NS and NNS provides an incomplete view of interaction and provides little data in regards to how the speakers are actually orienting to one another and what actions they are accomplishing in their talk. Rather, this type of analysis presupposes a pattern of NS and NNS discourse, and also imposes a hierarchy upon the speakers—NNS are always trying to attain the 'perfect' speech of NS, (Firth & Wagner, 1997). The labels imposed on participants by quantitative studies tend to predetermine the role and responsibility of each participant, and does not, for example, entertain the idea of a non-native speaker with more expertise than a native speaker (Zuengler, 1989) or the fact that speakers may find these roles inconsequential in the course of their own interactions (Kasper, 2004). Therefore, these data say little about how these students actually interacted or what mechanisms they engaged in.

Analysts using CA claim that construct validity is achieved when the analyst orients to the identities invoked by the participants and deemed relevant by participants as seen in their talk. Researchers using CA to investigate talk-in-interaction between native and non-native speakers show that participant roles are negotiable and the roles that learners identify and/or orient to are always changing (Kasper, 2004; Mori, 2002). Kasper (2004) showed that in a conversation between a NS and NNS of German, both speakers referenced numerous roles that they found relevant, such as speakers of German, 'movie-watchers', and occasionally expert and novice. However, the participants did not orient to these roles all of the time, and only invoked them based on their current talk and actions. In Mori's (2002) study, while the students of Japanese assigned themselves the role of 'discussion leaders' prior to interacting with a Japanese native speaker, their actions and talk with the Japanese speaker displayed the traits of 'interviewers' and not of discussion leaders. In this instance, the role of NNS and NS was never invoked.

Even in language learning classrooms where all of the participants are NNSs, the students sometimes take on multiple roles simultaneously depending on the context of their talk (Markee, 2005). Markee's (2005) study looked at how L2 students in a language learning classroom switch roles throughout a pair task in order to engage in off-task talk with peers. Although students had been assigned to do a task with peers, they did not always engage in task talk throughout the entire task. Instead, what Markee found was that the students took on multiple roles and maintained them in the course of the task. When the teacher was nearby, the students took on the roles

assigned to them by the teacher (task-oriented learners focused on discussing the pros and cons of Germany's reunification). However, when the teacher moved to another group or was out of earshot, two of the students disengaged from the task by discussing a party, consequently changing their roles to "inviter and invitee" (Markee, 2005). The students showed a strong awareness of the teacher's presence by constantly moving in and out of these roles and the respective conversations depending on the teacher's proximity to their small group. Although the group was successful in completing the teacher assigned task, a quantitative approach to looking at this type of task work may not have noticed the multiple roles undertaken by the students to accomplish two tasks at once.

Because Markee used CA methodology, he did not pre-assign roles to the students or have expectations for how the students would carry out or accomplish the task prior to viewing the recorded data of the small group's interaction. However, after reviewing the audio and video recording and after careful transcription and observation of students' and the teacher's actions, Markee was able to make a claim based on evidence from the details of the interaction. This impartial view allowed Markee to see that the students, while continually aware of their responsibilities in a classroom environment during a task with fellow peers, also remained vigilant of their social status and the responsibilities they had toward these fellow task mates as friends. Perhaps the students were successful at completing the task because they remained aware of their roles as friends to one another. It may be possible that creating and strengthening a bond of friendship with others in a language-learning

classroom may actually help the learning process, because learners may find that they cooperate and work together more effectively on a difficult task when working with friends. In addition, Markee was able to show that teachers, however hard they try, cannot see or hear everything that goes on in a classroom. In this example in particular, the students ensured that the teacher could not hear their off-task talk, because they were extremely vigilant of the teacher's location at all times and made sure to switch to task talk whenever the teacher walked by.

More qualitative research is needed to better understand what students actually do in a classroom language learning task, the roles they assume and find relevant, and the actions and mechanisms that they use throughout a task. Gaining information on whether the students actually use the roles or understand the roles assigned to them by the teacher would be valuable in terms of how teachers present material or explain their task designs to the students. In summary, quantitative data offers an incomplete and researcher-oriented view of the task-process. The data is reduced to several variables believed to improve the acquisition of a language and other elements of the environment of context are secondary or overlooked. In addition, researchers assign predefined roles and labels to task types and participants, regardless of relevancy or accuracy. Finally, tasks play a large role in classroom language learning because of their ability to provide the adequate input and promote output in the target language. However, in the majority of TBL studies, there has been little consideration of social or interactional competencies that contribute to language learning. The use of qualitative methodologies capable of considering a learner's multiple competencies

from the perspective of the leaner can augment these studies. I now turn to CA methodology in order to discuss how its ethnomethodological influences enable it to view talk-in-interaction and language learning tasks from the participants' perspective.

2.6 CA Theoretical Foundation

This section describes CA's theoretical foundation in ethnomethodology and outlines how this approach to analyzing task processes gathers data from the learner's perspective. Ethnomethodology, founded by Harold Garfinkel in the 1960's, studied the common sense methods of community members as they engaged in their everyday activities. It developed as an alternative to the Parsonian description of social action. Whereas Parsons viewed participants' actions in social settings as automatic and conditioned, Garfinkel (1967) claimed that participants were fully aware of the actions they made and not merely robots reacting to stimuli.

Ethnomethodology's central ideas concern the documentation of the common sense methods—shaking hands, greetings, crossing the street—member's partake in and orient to in daily situations. Hence, it seeks to "recover social organization as an emergent achievement that results from the concerted efforts of societal members acting within local situations" (Clayman & Maynard, 1995, p. 2). The principle ideas that emerged from this approach to social action entailed the concern with the maintenance of a societal moral order and the continual local creation of intersubjectivity, or shared social and cognitive understanding, among members in a society.

Through his observations and 'breaching' experiments, Garfinkel described how participants in their daily actions maintained moral order. Breaching pertained to the breaking of the expected socially understood methods. For instance, after being asked 'How are you?' instead of answering with a 'typical' or 'common-sense' answer such as 'fine', Garfinkel or his students would begin questioning the asker's intentions, i.e., "What is that supposed to mean?" Overwhelmingly subjects made excuses or provided rational explanations for the other person's strange answer to a simple question (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). From this Garfinkel realized that when members did not collaborate to maintain the common sense methods, that other members had ways of making that person accountable for his/her actions, either through the use of rebukes or by explaining it away as a fluke. Central to Garfinkel's experiments was the discovery that members in a society expect other members in a society to know how to conduct themselves. There is an unstated, yet culturally agreed upon way to accomplishing daily common-sense activities, and through local daily actions, this cultural agreement on conduct is continually practiced and renewed.

The local, interactional means for doing this cultural work is intersubjectivity, or the idea that members of a society create shared social and cognitive meaning with one another. Ethnomethodologists are concerned with questions such as: If one says "hello," how do I know that someone else is interpreting this in the same way that I am? Or if I extend my hand for someone to shake, does that person interpret this gesture in the same way that I do, and if he/she does, how do I know? By describing the intricate process of social interaction, ethnomethodologists believe that it is

possible to show the common sense methods underlying these questions. The fundamental problem with ethnomethodological practices is how to collect the evidence that supports the intersubjective nature of mundane social interactions.

The intention of ethnomethodology is to explain common sense behaviors of members' methods by observation of member's actions to find the ways that the members themselves would interpret it, thus attaining a member's perspective. At that point, it is then possible to describe how those actions either deviate from or sustain the moral order or how they create intersubjectivity with other social actors. However, Garfinkel realized that ethnomethodology and the breaching experiments were limited in their ability to attain the member's perspective since they only describe how the 'subject' reacted. "They do not show how mutual understandings are constructed and maintained in the unremarkable course of mundane interaction" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 33). Since many of the choices member's make regarding their actions are done internally, ethnomethodologists struggled to obtain the member's 'true' perspective.

After studying with Garfinkel, another sociologist, Sacks recognized the methodological problems with ethnomethodology—principally that researchers struggle in describing members' actions because the reasons behind those actions are unclear or obscured. Sacks avoided these problems by analyzing only recorded naturally occurring conversations (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). The benefits were that intersubjectivity could be observed as it happened; there was evidence for it in people's turns of talk and their orientation to and responses to others' turns (Clayman

& Maynard, 1995). Thus Sacks's principle goal was to detail how the moral order was sustained within 'talk-in-interaction'. The fundamental, analytic question of ethnomethodology and now conversation analysis is 'why that now?' By using conversation, Sacks developed a more detailed, language-focused methodology as to why a participant said what they did at a particular moment or reacted or laughed in a certain way, because he could reference how the actors themselves understood one another.

While both CA and ethnomethodology are "concerned with the diverse phenomena of everyday life" (Clayman & Maynard, 1995, p. 2), these two methodologies diverge in several ways. For instance, CA uses recorded data that anyone can analyze, while ethnomethodology is more ethnographic and aims to achieve "bona fide competence of an insider" (Clayman & Maynard, 1995, p.2). In other words, to understand what it is like to be a lawyer, you become a lawyer. CA records and transcribes talk in detail and makes it available to both researchers and members in order to gain multiple perspectives and analyses on the observed interaction. This aspect of CA also gives it more external validity than an approach like ethnomethodology (Seedhouse, 2005a). In ethnomethodology there is always the likelihood of misinterpreting member's methods.

After recording and analyzing conversations from various contexts for several years, Sacks, with the help of his colleagues Gail Jefferson and Emmanuel Schegloff, developed the principle features of conversation analysis. Influenced by ethnomethodology, the primary features are collecting recorded data from participants

engaged in natural speech, making very detailed transcripts of the participants' talk, avoiding the use of pre-existing theories about language or culture to describe or explain the actions and talk of the participants, and resisting interpretations about the data that rely on context or identities of the participants that the participants themselves have not made relevant within their interaction (i.e., race, gender, culture) (Seedhouse, 2005a).

While much of qualitative research recognizes the researcher as the main measuring device, CA analysts attempt to minimize the researcher's perspective and influence on the data collection and analysis as much as possible (Perry, 2005). The first way to minimize a researcher's bias is to rely on high quality video and audio data, as opposed to researcher notes and interviews. Through recordings, researchers can analyze the same interactions many times and share those recordings with others in order to increase reliability. Also, the researcher meticulously transcribes the interaction of interest to reveal the turns of talk within the interaction. The transcription of the data is reviewed many times in order to add further detail. The written transcript can highlight patterns, turn sequences, overlap, and repair. In addition, the video and audio data are reviewed numerous times in order to make as accurate a description as possible of the interaction and identify patterns to be used later in the analysis.

A second feature of CA that aids in analyzing tasks from the learners' perspective is that it makes no *a priori* assumptions about the task process based on the task design. Just as in ethnomethodology, the researcher does not take for granted

any of the common sense features of task organization, but instead gives weight and consideration to the description of members' methods for doing each social action, finding it relevant in some way or form to the interaction and conversation at that moment. Therefore, even if researchers know that the task design intends for learners to ask each other questions, the researchers do not base their focus on this aspect nor does they have expectations about what they think they should see. Many quantitative researchers approach data with an idealized vision of classroom language behavior, which can compromise data findings. In other words, they will often find what they are looking for whether it is there or not. This *a priori* approach questions the validity of their analysis and can obscure other important details of the interaction that the researchers simply overlooked. Instead, CA analysts strive for an agnostic stance, trying to be open to other interactional aspects including gaze, gesture, expansions on the task, repair, learners' orientations to one another, etc, and are not limited to detailing only whether the learners performed the task according to the design or not.

A third and highly important feature of CA and the analytic process is that participant roles and responsibilities are not considered prior to looking at the task. This is one of the fundamental principles of all CA work and ethnomethodology: participant's identities regarding race, gender, culture, religion, and so on are all external to the analysis. Therefore, these features do not enter into the analysis unless the participants themselves make these identities relevant in their talk.

CA is thus a welcomed new tool in SLA for looking at the task processes from the learners' perspective. In capturing the unencumbered interactions of students in a

language-learning classroom, CA aided me in documenting the methods, resources, and interactional tools students used in their talk and non-verbal gestures.

2.7 Statement of Purpose

In my thesis I documented pair interaction of low-level adult ESL immigrants engaged in classroom tasks using Conversation Analysis (CA) methodology. Few researchers have investigated low-level language learners; therefore it was necessary to enhance understanding of their language learning processes and interactions in a classroom. In addition, few qualitative studies have documented the learner's perspective of classroom events and even fewer have compared multiple pairs of learners in the same classroom. Therefore, I used CA methodology in order to show learners' actions and talk from their perspective during pair role-play tasks. My research was exploratory in nature and aimed to fill a gap in the current body of published work in terms of its focus and population. In addition, it supplied further knowledge to the field of second language research and ESL curriculum design.

2.8 Guiding Questions

CA analysts collect data through "unmotivated looking," which encourages researchers to approach data inductively. Therefore, I posed questions only once I had observed hundreds of hours of classroom interactions. The questions helped to guide my research, but remained open-ended so as not to restrict my data collection or analyses of the data. This process aided me in uncovering and identifying different task types, relevant features from the participants' perspective, and the methods of pairs involved in task co-construction.

1. When low-level adult immigrant language learners are engaged in teacher-assigned classroom tasks, what mechanisms do they use to orient to (show their engagement in) and co-construct a task with their peer?

2. What similarities and differences exist between pairs of students as they interpret and co-construct the same task?

3. What is the relationship between what participants do in a task and what the teacher instructed them to do?

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Setting

The data for this study came from a large corpus at the Adult English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Lab School at Portland State University. The ESOL Lab School originated in 2001 as a federally funded program aimed at documenting adult learners in ESL classrooms. Researchers in the Applied Linguistics Department at Portland State University and teachers at Portland Community College (PCC) collaborated on this project so that ESOL instruction could be studied in a natural, as opposed to an experimental, setting (Reder, Harris, & Setzler, 2003). In other words, the ESOL Lab School classes were based entirely on the established PCC program, policies, and practices and were thus identical to regular PCC English classes, with the exception that they were video and audio recorded. The goals of the ESOL Lab School include conducting research on SLA and educational environments and strengthening the link between research and ESL classroom pedagogy (http://www.labschool.pdx.edu/).

Students that attended ESOL Lab School classes "represented more than 30 different countries" and "ranged in age from 17-77" (http://www.labschool.pdx.edu/). All students were shown video footage of a recorded classroom and were provided with a consent form in their first language detailing the data collection process. Those choosing to participate signed forms granting permission to be audio and video recorded in their classroom interactions.

From 2002 to 2005, PCC teachers taught in two ESL classes for three hours, two days a week. Six ceiling-mounted cameras provided various perspectives on the classroom participants and events. The teacher and two students wore individual microphones during each class period, and two of the six cameras focused specifically on the learners with microphones and whoever worked with them. The student-focused cameras thus provided up-close recordings of the learners, their partners, notes and worksheets. The other four cameras provided different views of the entire classroom from the front, back, and sides. The student microphones rotated daily so that data could be collected on each student several times per term. In four years of recordings, the ESOL Lab School collected almost 4,000 hours of classroom footage.

3.2 Research Participants

For this study, I focused on level A students—those with little to no English skills—for several reasons. First, this level of students had been the most difficult for me to teach. Last year I taught an ESL class made up of adult immigrants from Mexico and Guatemala. The most daunting aspect of teaching was structuring curriculum and designing tasks to accommodate the lowest level students. This group posed the greatest challenge for me as an inexperienced teacher, and therefore, I committed to learning more about adult SLA from a research perspective. Second, this population of students is understudied in SLA research. Typically, many applied linguistic researchers are associated with universities and use convenience samples (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). In other words, they use students already taking language classes on campus, such as well-educated international students taking advanced

English classes or American students in foreign-language classrooms.

Further, low-level learners have not been studied due to limited technology and translation services needed to help coordinate research involving these students. As Reder (2005) points out, less research has been done on beginning levels "because their emerging second-language forms and nonverbally conducted communication are difficult to gather, represent in transcripts, and analyze" (p. 3). In addition, research looking at lower levels is challenging due to the difficulties with student attendance rates (Condelli, Wrigley, & Yoon, 2002; Magos & Politi, 2000). As recent immigrants to the U.S., students at this level need not only English skills, but also jobs and other support. Attending English class several times a week may not be their first priority, especially if they work long hours and have a family. Thus, collecting consistent data and enough data on a student with infrequent attendance poses challenges.

The goal of this thesis is thus to research student-student interaction in the classroom where students with limited English skills must find a way to talk to one another about vocabulary, questions, pronunciation, and their roles for the task, *inter alia*. Insights can be gained regarding the processes by which learners construct meaning and aid one another in comprehension. Systematic observations of such pair interactions are becoming more frequent in SLA research, but few analyze low-level learners of English, and very few compare student pairs in the same classroom as they construct the same task. To my knowledge, Harris (2005) is the only researcher who has systematically examined two different pairs of learners and compared the processes undertaken by each pair as it occurred in a classroom setting.[1]

After ten months of observing archived data from level A classes, I selected five class periods as the focus of my study and observed and analyzed the two pairs of adult immigrants wearing the microphones in each class (ten pairs total). Students' identities pertaining to gender, ethnicity, race, and economic status were not considered in the selection of which students or class period to observe. Instead the five class periods were chosen based on a specific task type used by the teacher. The students discussed in the data were wearing the microphones on those days. The data came from class session dates in fall 2002 and winter and spring 2003. Many of the observed students were attending their first term in PCC English classes, and each took a PCC placement exam, which determined their level of English and the appropriate PCC class level. The placement exam ensured that students entered the class at similar language ability levels. All students discussed in the data were given pseudonyms.

3.3 Data Selection

I use the methodology known as Conversation Analysis (CA) in order to collect and analyze my data. CA methodology was put in place with high standards and an aim towards internal validity and reliability. Its defining characteristics include 1) collecting and observing only naturally occurring interactional data, 2) making highly detailed transcriptions of the talk-in-interaction, and 3) maintaining a participant-oriented perspective (Seedhouse, 2005a).

Collecting only naturally occurring interactional data stems from the belief that the only way to capture a truly authentic view of language use and the perspective of

the participants is through natural observation. In this way, CA studies maintain ecological validity, that is, they are "applicable to people's everyday life" (Seedhouse, 2005a, p. 257). This concept of validity is concerned with capturing the participants' organization of talk within their natural, locally situated context. In this regard, the meaning of words and other details of the participants' talk-in-interaction (i.e. deixis—"this"; non-verbal gestures—pointing) are locally constructed and only make sense when studied within the sequential context of their conversation. This type of research differs significantly from other qualitative research in that the researcher has little contact with the participants—there are no interviews and the analyst takes no part in the interaction—because the idea is to capture real conversation between participants as it is locally constructed, and avoid "researcher effects" (Perry, 2005). These beliefs constitute the principle reason behind using high quality video and audio recordings. With high quality recordings, analysts can ensure reliability in their data collection. In CA studies, this reliability is a necessity because the data obtained from audios and videos constitute the main evidence used in the analysis (Seedhouse, 2005a). Even though the data is transcribed precisely and in great detail, most of the claims about structure and organization techniques come from repeated viewings of the recordings in collaboration with the written transcript in order for the analyst to uncover participants' own interpretations.

For my study I identified recordings of task interactions by different pairs of language learners. I define this data as 'natural' because the interactions took place in a standard, non-experimental ESL class, in which the teachers, not the researcher,

planned the activities and lessons each day. Also, even though the students were recorded with microphones and cameras in each class, students did not 'perform' for the cameras, but instead were comfortable in their presence and interacted naturally in the classroom. One way that teachers minimized the presence of technology was to have students wear and rotate the microphones, making it a daily, mundane ritual, like attendance.

For another project I observed participants in the ESOL Lab School classes from September 2007 and March 2008—about 200 pair interactions—, which allowed me to become familiar with the teachers, tasks, behaviors and rituals in the language learning classrooms at the data collection site. As I discussed in my literature review, my main focus was on the tasks that teachers implemented in their classes and how pairs of students oriented to these tasks in ways that teachers may not have expected. In my data collection, I specifically focused on the teacher's modeling of the task and presentation of the task language and then on ways that students oriented to the teacher's instructions and the methods they developed to do the task. The data I collected on classroom interactions fit a specific definition of task: A teacher-assigned and goal-oriented activity in which two students (a pair)[2] work together, as they attempt to follow and complete the teacher's instructions given for the activity. Therefore, interactions that occurred in break times or in between tasks were not considered as potential data for this study.

I noticed that the teachers in the ESOL Lab School program relied on four types of pair tasks. The four main task types included: Question and Answer (QA),

Total Physical Response (TPR), Verbal Commands (VC), and Role-play (RP). The teachers seemed to favor question and answer tasks, but after repeated viewings of different classroom task types, I selected the role-play (RP) task type as the basis for choosing which class dates to analyze.

Once the data were transcribed and video recorded, I viewed the recordings repeatedly with other researchers and colleagues in what are called "data sessions." At these sessions I invited others to watch a two to three minute video clip of a classroom interaction. After a number of viewings—five to eight—each analyst wrote a brief analysis for five minutes. Each person then shared their comments with the group, after which a collaborative discussion ensued. Role-play tasks stood out to the group of CA analysts in the data sessions because we noticed that these tasks resembled and had the potential to be real conversations. Typically, RP scripts feature more colloquial and native-like language, something rarely seen in other task types. Therefore, they have the potential to focus students' attention on conversational language and interpersonal aspects of English, rather than simply grammatical form. I wanted to see how the teacher presented this task type and to what degree she introduced native-like aspects of the task to the students. Through this, I hoped to see the methods students used to carry out the script with their conversation partner.

In the corpus at the data collection site, I collected clips of ten role-play tasks. Five of these were scripted greeting sequences. In five separate classes (11.4.02, 11.7.02, 2.17.03, 5.15.03, 5.22.03), nine different pairs of students practiced these scripts (one pair is observed on two occasions, making the total number of interactions

ten). All pairs observed during the role-play tasks performed the greeting sequence as part of a teacher-assigned task. All pairs were seated at tables next to each other, facing the front of the classroom. Generally, pairs showed clear comprehension of the task instructions and completed the task as assigned by the teacher. While it is true that the pairs were in different class sessions and with different scripts, many of the same conversational phenomenon was observed in each pairs' interaction. Similarities in how pairs performed the script can be attributed to the design of the script and the teacher's modeling of the script before the task.

Table 3.1 Pair Information

Session Date	Pairs	Length of interaction
11.4.02	Lyudmilla and Fen	1 min 41 sec
	Zee and Mai	1 min 34 sec
11.7.02	Lyudmilla and Fen	2 min 52 sec
	Ming and TaiHuan	2 min 50 sec
2.17.03	Ada and Ly	8 min 47 sec
	Du and Nazya	3 min 10 sec
5.15.03	Vasco and Oro	4 min 1 sec
	Qui and Ariza	3 min 24 sec
5.22.03	Jin and Arcelia	1 min 27 sec
	Shei and Bok	2 min

Table 3.1 provides information regarding what class session dates each pair performed the script, pseudonyms of each pair, and the length of each pair's interaction. The script dates correspond to the list of scripts provided in section 4.3, tables 4.1 and 4.2. The data collection staff at the data collection site assigned pseudonyms based on the participant's country of origin. I calculated the length of each pair's interaction and made consistent decisions about what I label a task beginning and a task ending. A task beginning is calculated from the point at which,

following the teacher instructions for the task, the two students show strong physical orientation to one another (shifting chairs, turning to face one another) and subsequently begin pre-task (introductions, role assignment) or task talk. A task ending is calculated from the point at which the two students show a strong physical orientation away from each other and / or use task closing talk (i.e. 'okay', 'thank you'), or when the teacher stops the task and refocuses attention to the front of the classroom.

3.4 Data Analysis

I first selected data clips and then began transcribing and analyzing the interactions. I followed CA transcript conventions originally developed by Gail Jefferson and later standardized by other researchers (see Transcript Conventions, p. xii). Due to the strong focus on jointly constructed, interactional organization of talk, the sequencing and overlapping of turns in a conversation are highly relevant and important in CA transcription (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Transcripts themselves represent the researcher's best efforts at capturing and highlighting the intricacies of the organization of talk and the co-construction of turns.

This is not to say that CA methods of transcription are completely objective. In linguistics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and other fields, transcripts reflect the researcher's theoretical assumptions about what spoken language looks like in written form and the transcript's format is highly dependent on the researcher's focus of study (Ochs, 1979; Kasper, 1997a). For example, as the researcher I consciously chose to use standard orthography as opposed to phonetic representations, because I

believe that standard orthography is the easiest to read and limits biases and generalizations about the speech of the participants. Thus, my transcript is formatted to reflect my theoretical focus on the organization of talk, while much less attention is paid to displaying specific sounds accurately. However, when I chose to use non-standard spellings, I did so consciously and for a specific purpose (i.e. *puh tah toe* as opposed to *potato*, demonstrates the speaker's emphasis on and pronunciation of each syllable, and their orientation to practicing pronunciation). In another instance, I may use the standard spelling (*what*) even if it does not accurately reflect the speaker's pronunciation (*vuht*), simply because neither speaker gave any indication of orienting to the pronunciation as relevant or necessary to understand the talk. (Jefferson 1996; Preston, 2000)

Generally, CA transcription is a way to ensure reliability in collecting and analyzing data. Transcribing can take many hours and must be detailed, capturing as fully as possible every sound and most non-verbal movements made by participants, including laughter, syllables, in and out breaths, length of pauses, intonation, overlapping talk, gaze and gestures. Hence, my transcripts went through several revisions throughout the data analysis process. Other observers of the data offered insights and different views on each transcript, noticing things that I had not. Because many actions occur simultaneously or are inaudible, no transcription is perfect. Details, such as the length of pauses, where overlap occurs, and what word a participant is actually saying were a source of debate for the group of analysts looking at the data. The goal of the discussions and input from others was to create the most

accurate and complete written portrayal of what participants said and did. Not all of the participant's gestures were included in the transcript, because the transcript was analyzed in conjunction with the video data where all of the gestures could be seen first hand by observers.

By including others in viewing data, I ensured that details regarding the interaction were seen from numerous points of view; this prevented me from making a premature analysis of the interaction. Additionally, this process added to the reliability of my methodology because others could view all of the same data that I had access to, and they could question or confirm my analysis. In turn, based on the observations of others, I refined my transcripts and sharpened my analysis. I repeated this process numerous times depending on the length of the clip and the time it took observers to make a complete analysis depicting the participants' perspectives most accurately. As do most CA analysts, I included a video link where each excerpt in chapter 4 can be viewed so that any reader can also make their own analysis of the data (See List of Excerpts, p. ix, for video link).

Another feature of CA data analysis that I followed was obtaining and describing the interaction from the perspective of the participant. Attaining this perspective is yet another way for CA analysts to ensure internal validity, that is, finding in the data what is truly there and not what one thinks should be there. For instance I did not consider participants' social identity categorizations to be relevant to the interpretation of the data unless the participants themselves oriented to these categorical features in their talk. For instance, unless participant 'A' said, "I am a

woman" or oriented to gender in some other specific way in their talk, the fact that 'A' is a woman is assumed not to be relevant in the analysis. A second dimension of obtaining the participant's perspective was to examine every 'trivial' detail repeatedly in reference to the talk, gestures, and gaze (Goodwin, 1980) of the participants throughout the interaction. Making a claim about what a participant was doing (complaining, joking, telling a story, etc.) came from looking only at the data and how participants interpreted those actions. If a participant asked a syntactic question such as 'how are you?' I could make no claims regarding the actions this question implicated without first referencing the turns that came before, the turns that came after, and other interactional factors. Even when the reason behind a turn of talk appeared to be obvious and trivial, I did not assume that my interpretation of that talk was how the participants interpreted that talk. The situatedness of turns—what came before and what came after—was always taken into account in order to accurately portray the participants' perspective. Furthermore, as I conducted my analysis, I aimed to avoid pre-existing theories and ideas about what conversations should look like, how a task should be performed, and what constitutes learning. If I had used such theories, I would have portrayed my (the researcher's) perspective and definitions as opposed to the participants'.

4. Analysis and Results

4.1. Introduction

As a language teacher, I have used role-play tasks in classes with low-level students. My goal was to introduce students to common expressions and conversational techniques that could benefit them in their everyday interactions outside of class. Research that I had done on RP task types and ESL curriculum design suggested that students, especially adult immigrants, benefit from this task type, because they gain confidence in communicating with other English speakers, which "can lead to more rapid and effective occupational and social settlement" (Magos & Politi, 2008, p. 97). Language used in ESL classrooms is often very limited, teacher-fronted, and lacking in more common colloquial expressions (Lee & McChesney, 2000). Therefore, students hear a narrower range of speech in the target language than they would outside of the classroom. For example, discourse markers such as "oh" and "well" are rarely used in classroom speech (Hellermann & Vergun, 2007), but widely used by native English speakers. Therefore, researchers have suggested that one way to introduce language learners to more of the conversational aspects and functions of everyday speech is through role-play tasks.

From the perspective of ESL curriculum design, teachers know that low-level adult immigrants need language that will help them access services and convey basic personal information (i.e. name, phone number, address, etc) to formal institutions (i.e. work, hospitals, police, schools, pharmacies, etc) in the new country (Magos & Politi, 2008). For instance, students may need to find work, which entails filling out

applications and interviewing, or they may need other basic survival skills such as accessing emergency services or explaining symptoms to a doctor.

With all of this research to support my assumption that role-play scripts are beneficial in an English language class, I decided to implement these task types frequently in my own classes. Yet, as the teacher, I was unable to observe pairs closely to see their areas of focus, their difficulties and their organizational techniques. I could not tell if my modeling of the task or instructions had influenced the students at all in the way they chose to engage in and construct the task. Likewise, I was unaware of how to improve my task design or if it needed improvement. As a participant in the class, there were many things that I had no control over or awareness of, which meant that I had little evidence to go on in order to make a claim that these tasks were effective or beneficial to the students. However, looking at this task type from a research perspective provided the opportunity to see how students actually oriented to role-plays and teacher instructions.

In the following data, I explore one teacher's implementation of role-play greeting tasks on five different occasions and the methods that pairs of students used to carry out her instructions. The first discussion (4.2) focuses on the importance of greetings as a social action and then on their sequential structure in a dialogic template. After which, I explore how the teacher designed each script and the relevant actions in these sequences of talk from the perspective of a native English speaker (section 4.3). This first perspective provides context for how these common expressions and sequences of actions are used and interpreted by native speakers.

Later, I reference how or if the teacher emphasized this perspective and how language learning students interpreted it. Section 4.4 illustrates how the teacher modeled the scripts, the visual resources she used (i.e. whiteboard, books, gestures), her organization for presenting material, and aspects of the task the teacher emphasized and chose to focus on. Section 4.5 describes numerous recurrent actions performed by students in each of the ten pairs. Thus, while I analyzed and transcribed each of the ten pairs' interactions, I present only representative clips as evidence for how students carried out the task with their partners. From these analyses, my intent is to summarize the methods that students used to organize their actions in role-play pair tasks and determine whether or not these methods reflected the teacher's goals and instructions.

4.2. Greeting Sequences

One of the most important and frequent daily conversational routines is a greeting because it is at the forefront and is often a preliminary to other types of speech acts. That is, if a person goes in for a job interview, the first words uttered are a greeting, after which may come an introduction and then interview questions. Hence, greetings are often the first speech act that a person learns in a new language. Many people, even when traveling to a foreign country for a week, will reference a guidebook in order to learn how to offer a basic greeting in that foreign country's language. The primary way in any language of initiating a conversation with others, greetings are also one of the most important and easiest social acts to use to immerse oneself into a language community (Goffman, 1971).

From a conversation analytic perspective, greetings can constitute one of the shortest turn-taking sequences (i.e. hi, hi). In English, basic two-turn sequences, adjacency pairs, are a type of sequence in which a first turn implicates a second turn. Adjacency pairs make up a number of social acts: greeting / response; invitation / response; command / response; question / answer. In these sequences for common actions, the absence of a second turn after a typical first is marked (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990) and oriented to by the speaker of the first turn. Therefore, not only are greetings one of the preliminaries to other types of talk, but they are also a simple conversational tool for involving another speaker. Consequently, adjacency pairs constitute the principle task type for pair work in a language-learning classroom and can be found in each of the four task types observed in the data. However, whereas task types such as QA, TPR, and VC tasks often instruct students to engage in simple two part adjacency pairs, RP tasks involve students in more extended discourse, stringing together several connected adjacency pairs that are dependent on one another. In Figure 4.1 below, I present a hypothetical QA and RP task sequence.

QA:	RP:
A: Do you like broccoli?	A: How are you?
B: Yes I do.	B: I'm not well.
A: Do you like lettuce?	A: What's wrong?
B: No I don't.	B: I have the flu.
	A: Oh, I hope you feel better soon.
	B: Thanks.

Figure 4.1
Sample Hypothetical QA and RP Tasks

In Figure 4.1, the QA sample questions are independent of one another. While the adjacency pair parts “do you like . . .” and “yes I do” must come in this order to make sense, changing the order of the two adjacency pairs would be inconsequential as they are independent of one another. In the context of the task, the students may be instructed to ask if their partners like *broccoli* before *lettuce*, but it has no bearing on the meaning of the interaction nor does it constitute a conversation. However, in the RP sample, each first pair part makes only one of the other given turns in the script relevant as a next turn. The three adjacency pairs, while complete in and of themselves, only make sense when constructed in the order given above. To change the order of the discourse would make the interaction unclear. In the context of the task, the RP adjacency pairs provide a way for students to practice a short conversation that they may encounter outside of the classroom, whereas the goal of a QA task appears to be to practice grammatical form and vocabulary.

4.3. Script Design

As mentioned the RP scripts were designed and described by the teacher as short conversations. Figure 4.2 shows the scripts designed by the teacher, and figure 4.3 shows the script that the teacher borrowed from an ESL literacy textbook (Nishio, 1998) and used on two separate occasions.

1.	11.4.02 1. A: How are you? 2. B: Not so good. 3. A: What's the matter? 4. B: My _____ hurts. 5. A: Oh, I'm sorry about that.
2.	11.7.02 1. A: How are you? 2. B: Not so good. 3. A: What's the matter? 4. B: My _____ hurts. 5. A: Maybe you need a _____. 6. B: Maybe you're right.
3.	2.17.03 1. A: How are you? 2. B: Not so good. 3. A: What's the matter? 4. B: I have a ____ ache. 5. A: Oh, I'm sorry.

Figure 4.2 Teacher Designed Scripts

4.	5.15.03 1. A: How are you? 2. B: I don't feel well 3. A: What's the matter? 4. B: My _____ hurts. 5. A: Oh, I'm sorry.
5.	5.22.03 1. A: How are you? 2. B: I don't feel well 3. A: What's the matter? 4. B: My _____ hurts. 5. A: Oh, I'm sorry.

Figure 4.3 Textbook Scripts (Nishio, 1998)

4.3.1 Basic Sequential Structure of Scripts

In Figures 4.2 and 4.3, we see that the scripts vary in their turn length. Scripts

1, 3, 4, and 5 are all 5-turn scripts, whereas script 2 is a 6-turn script. Many basic greetings are two turns long (A: hi B: hi), but some can be three lines or longer. (A: hi, how are you? B: I'm fine, how are you A: I'm fine, etc) (Schegloff, 2007). In my collection, the scripts provided by the teacher included a negative response by the greetings recipient, (*not so good, I don't feel well*). As a native-speaker of English, the teacher recognized that a negative response to a greeting implicates a second adjacency pair or an inquiry as to why the greetings recipient is "not so good" (Sacks, 1975). In the level A classes that I observed, learners typically practiced basic greeting sequences in the first few weeks of class. However, longer greeting sequences that included more information regarding a person's troubles were practiced later in the quarter, especially when they involved a more complex turn-taking sequence including two or even three adjacency pairs.

Interestingly, there are slight differences amongst the scripts that affect the turn-taking sequence of the conversation. In scripts 1, 3, 4, and 5, there are five turns: the initial greeting and response (the first and second line), the inquiry about the response and an explanation (the third and fourth line), and then a third closing turn by the initial speaker (the fifth line). Script 2 is a six turn script and although it follows a similar pattern with the first two adjacency pairs, it does not close with a third line after the second adjacency pair, instead, it has a third adjacency pair of giving advice and then accepting the advice. In the other four scripts, the 'sequence closing third' (Schegloff, 2007) is meant to express sympathy and ends the script (it did not require a second pair part), whereas in the fifth line of script 2, the speaker gives advice, which

makes relevant the other speaker either accepting or rejecting that advice, creating a sixth line or the second part of an adjacency pair.

4.3.2 First adjacency pair—greeting / response

The language that the teacher chose to present tends to define or at least imply a certain level of formality or informality between the two speakers. In each script "how are you?" is the greeting. More common greetings, "hi" and "hello," were not used in the greeting sequence part of these RP tasks. Instead, the teacher demonstrated that "how are you?" can function as a greeting on its own.[3] In three out of the four scripts, the reply to the greeting was "not so good," and the reply in the fourth script was "I don't feel well." The latter response is a complete sentence, whereas the former is a fragment with no explicit subject. The more informal response, "not so good" appeared in three out of the five scripts, which could highlight the teacher's preference for a more casual conversation. In addition, "not so good" was a reply that the teacher created herself, whereas, "I don't feel well" was taken directly from a script in the ESL literacy book used in the classroom. Thus, the teacher almost assuredly designed three of the scripts to be more casual in nature.

The two responses also differed in how much they reveal about the specific trouble. The response, "not so good," does not hint at what the possible trouble could be and could refer to any sort of problem ranging from "I failed my math test" to "my car won't start." On the other hand "I don't feel well" gives the impression that the person talking is in some type of physical or emotional pain. It thus limits the person's description of the trouble to some mental or physical ailment. Thus, "not so good" is a

more versatile response when engaging in a troubles telling (Jefferson, 1988), as it can be used as a preliminary to a variety of problems.

4.3.3 Second adjacency pair—inquiry about trouble / troubles telling

In all of the scripts, the third line was the same, "what's the matter?" This question exemplifies how to respond when someone has answered in a negative way to a greeting. In other words, it demonstrates that in English a greeting sequence is not complete when someone answers negatively. Rather, it is polite and expected that the greeter show concern for the recipient by inquiring about the recipients troubles through a question such as "what's the matter?" This first part of the adjacency pair then expects that the second part will explain the trouble.

The fourth line of the script was notable in that it is not complete. In three out of the four scripts the sentence "my _____ hurts" and in one script the sentence "I have a ____ ache" is provided as the answer or second pair part to the question, "what's the matter?" In this line, the recipient is expected to report on their troubles and for the purpose of this task fill in the blank with a body part such as *neck* or *back*. The answers that the teacher provided for the students to practice were very direct and explicit. In three out of the five-line scripts, this was the only line in which students could choose an answer. Hence, students had to decide on something to say and lie in most cases in order to fill in the blank spot. In other words, there was no expectation that the student's head actually hurt.

4.3.4 Final closing turn—"Oh, I'm sorry about that"

In four out of five scripts, the teacher finished the script with a "sequence

closing third" (Schegloff, 2007), "Oh, I'm sorry (about that)." This expression includes a discourse marker, "oh" which is a colloquial spoken term, or "change-of-state token" (Heritage, 1984). This 'oh' suggests that the speaker finds former talk to be informative. For instance, it is an outward sign used to display an internal action such as remembering or discovering. In the script line, "oh" is used both to display the receipt of the news and it is a preliminary to more talk by the speaker "that is richer in content and more overtly directed to a recipient," (p. 336) such as 'I'm sorry'. In one script, the teacher expanded this line to include "about that," which was a more explicit remark on what the speaker is sorry "about," that is, what the previous speaker reported as their trouble or problem, "my ____ hurts."

The teacher's inclusion of this final closing line in three of the scripts demonstrates that in English one appropriate way to respond to a recipient's troubles is to express sympathy. The teacher also exposed learners to an alternative use of the expression "I'm sorry" (Kasper, 1997b). In many cases "I'm sorry" expresses regret and/or admits guilt on the part of the speaker, but in this instance, "I'm sorry" in no way implicates the speaker's inclusion in or cause of the other person's troubles. Rather, "I'm sorry" is simply meant as a polite expression that conveys sympathy.

4.3.5 Third adjacency pair—Giving advice / accepting advice

In script 2, instead of conveying sympathy through a final closing turn, the teacher designed a third adjacency pair. In the fifth line, the turn "maybe you need a _____" is an alternative response to "oh I'm sorry." While the latter expresses sympathy, the former gives advice. The teacher provided a frame for a complete

sentence, but again left a blank slot where the speaker puts in a possible solution to the previous speaker's troubles. This blank slot suggests a place for learners to be creative to the extent that their answer in some way relates to or is a logical solution to the other's troubles. For instance, if the speaker before chose to say "my tooth hurts," the next speaker could say, "maybe you need a dentist." The beginning of the third adjacency pair depended on the previous speaker's answer concerning their troubles, which is not in the script, and thus created a much more complex action for the first speaker.

This additional third adjacency pair implicates an asymmetrical relationship between the speakers and has the potential to cause problems or be taken the wrong way (Waring, 2007). For instance, a speaker offering advice presumes to understand the other person's troubles and is attempting to fix the problem. This action could be interpreted to mean that the speaker giving advice has more knowledge than the troubles teller, which could result in a power struggle between the two speakers or a rejection of the advice being offered (Heritage & Sefi, 1990). While giving advice does not always result in a power struggle, it is up to the advice giver to judge what type of response the troubles teller may need, whether that is sympathy, comfort, or advice. In the script provided by the teacher, the troubles teller accepts the advice with the line, "maybe you're right." This polite acceptance is appropriate whether or not the recipient plans to follow through on the advice and is also a way to avoid a power struggle.

Therefore, through expanding a basic two-turn greeting into three adjacency pairs, the teacher created not just a series of questions as would be seen in a QA task, but a mini-conversation with adjacency pairs that were connected to and dependent on one another. RP tasks held the potential to provide students with more knowledge about English native-speaker interactions, and more specifically, further conversational techniques to engage another speaker and polite ways of responding to and inquiring about someone's troubles.

4.4. Teacher Instructions

In the last section I reviewed the actions implicated by each turn and the spoken genre of each script designed by the teacher. However, it is only in reviewing how the teacher presented these scripts to the students that we can learn what the teacher's goals may have been and how she expected students to orient to each script. Although actions performed and implicated by the design of the scripts indicated that emphasis was on pragmatic and conversational awareness, in the teacher's presentation of the material, she oriented to the tasks more as vocabulary and pronunciation practice. Largely, this can be attributed to the beginning level of the students. Beginning or level A students have very limited language proficiency in English; thus it is expected that the primary goal in any task is to learn and practice vocabulary and pronunciation. In addition, many adult language learners prefer that tasks center around the grammatical aspects of the language including accurate morphology and phonology (Ellis, 2002; Speilmann & Radnofsky, 2001). While scripted conversations provide an ideal opportunity for students to practice an

everyday conversation with focus on native-speaker timing, intonation, and affect, these goals were not emphasized in the teacher's modeling and instructions and most students oriented instead to form and accuracy.

4.4.1 Presentation of Task Content

Even before the teacher designed and presented the scripts, she reviewed and discussed the language that would eventually be in the script. She discussed this language explicitly and reviewed the meanings of words out of context. For example, she had students name various body parts and define them, prior to using them in a sentence. This language then became relevant and was a focus in the scripts.

In order to highlight the teacher's most frequent actions and her general presentation methods, I transcribed and analyzed carefully and in detail the teacher's instructions during each of the five class sessions. Interestingly, she followed a very similar presentation model in each class. Her general framework for presenting the material consisted of four main parts: 1. Writing the script onto the whiteboard, 2. Practicing the script with the group of students, 3. Practicing the script with individual students, 4. Summarizing the instructions for the task. On average, the teacher spent five to six minutes on her presentation model before instructing the students to begin the task on their own. First, she presented the language for the task by writing the script onto the whiteboard line by line. The top line represented the first speaker's turn and the indented line below represented the next speaker's turn and so forth (see Figure 4.4). Many students also copied the scripts into their personal notebooks. In excerpt 4.1, the teacher said each word as she wrote it. This act of writing down what

was being spoken accounts for the pauses after each word in lines 67, 68, and 70. Once the entire phrase was written down, she said the whole phrase in full as in line 68, “how are you.”

1. Teacher wrote dialogue on WB (5.15.03).

(4.1)

64. T: I’m sorry. okay ((puts down her paper on the desk)) let
65. me write it on the board.
66. (1)
67. T: ((picks up pen and writes on WB)) how (.) are (.) how
68. are (.) you. how are you. let me put use a different color.
69. (3)
70. T: ((writes on WB)) I (.) don’t (1) feel (.) well. I don’t
71. feel well. well means good. I don’t feel well. I don’t feel
72. well.
73. (12)
74. T: ((writes on WB)) what’s the matter. what’s the matter.

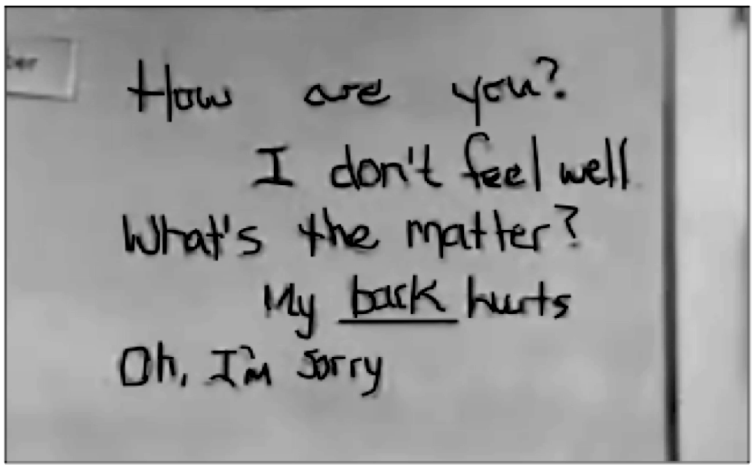


Figure 4.4
Script 4 and 5 on Whiteboard

2. Once the entire script was on the WB, she asked the group of students to repeat each line after her. For instance, on 5.22.03 she told students to listen and repeat (line 1).

(4.2)

```
1. T: okay, so listen ((places hand on ear)) and repeat ((moves
2. hand in front of self))
3. (1)
4. T: how are you.
5. Ss: how are you.
6. T: I don't feel well.
7. Ss: I don't feel well.
8. T: what's the matter.
9. Ss: what's the matter.
10. T: my ba[ck hurts.
11. Ss:     [my back hurts.
12. T: oh, I'm sorry.
13. Ss: oh, I'm sorry.
14. T: good.
```

3. The teacher then chose students to practice the script with her. On average, she practiced with six to seven students individually (5.15.03).

(4.3)

```
137. Q: how are you.
138. T: I don't feel well.
139. Q: what's the matter.
140. T: my neck hurts.
141. Q: oh, I'm sorry.
142. T: good. Ariza ((motions with hand to A))
143. A: how are you.
144. T: I don't feel well.
145. A: what's the mat-?
146. T: what's the matter, good. uhuh what's the matter. my
147. chest hurts.
148. A: oh, I'm sorry.
```

4. Finally, the teacher summarized instructions for the task. Excerpt 4.4 shows the teacher directing students to practice the script together, assign each other roles, and use different vocabulary in line 4 of the script. Along with her verbal instructions, she used hand gestures. As she said a script line, she extended a hand toward a student, and then as she said the next script line "not so good" she moved her hand back to herself. In this way, she exemplified the sequential turn taking structure of the role-plays (2.17.03).

(4.4)

```
178. T: okay, now practice together ((moves R hand back and
179. forward)), ay and bee. how are you ((extends hand towards
180. S)). not so good. ((moves hand back towards self)). what's
181. the matter. ((moves hand toward S)). I have a headache
182. ((places fingers of both hands on temple)). I have a
183. toothache ((places R hand on side of mouth)). I have a
184. backache. ((places L hand on back)). ((turns around,
185. away from students and walks towards the WB)).
```

It is not possible for the teacher to have presented the material in the exact same way on five different occasions, and I do not claim that she did. However, she followed a very similar framework for modeling the task, addressed similar issues pertaining to vocabulary use and pronunciation practice, and presented the material using the same organizational patterns and visual resources on each of the five occasions. Thus, my aim in detailing her presentation methods was to establish that in five different classes, the teacher organized her presentation in similar ways and expressed similar goals through her modeling of the task. While the teacher never explicitly stated, "the goals for this task are . . ." her presentation, instructions, and modeling of the task displayed how she expected students to do the task and what their focus would be as they engaged with their partner.

4.4.1.1 Vocabulary practice

In reviewing the transcripts and video of her instructions to each class, I identified several ways in which the teacher both indirectly and directly stressed the importance of vocabulary practice. Indirectly, vocabulary was stressed in the design of the script. In line four the teacher left a blank spot, "my ____ hurts" or "I have a ___

ache," which showed graphically to learners a place for them to use a recently learned vocabulary word such as the noun "neck" in order to complete the sentence. The teacher modeled how to fill in this blank in the course of giving instructions for the script. She first listed the body part vocabulary on the whiteboard. She read the scripts with the students and when she began the fourth line of the script, she said "my" and then modeled how to search for a word in the list of vocabulary by pausing and looking at the board, and then choosing "head." She said the full script line, "my head hurts" and simultaneously touched her head. This verbal and physical action of saying and touching the body part provided students with a visual cue in order to help match the word with the location on the body. Third, when the teacher presented the script, she directly stated that students should use different vocabulary words as they engaged in the task. Previously in excerpt 4.4, the teacher repeated the fourth line of script, inserting a different vocabulary word into the blank spot each time. She did the same thing on another session date as she summarized the instructions for the task.

(4.5)

```
142. T: practice the conversation. my head hurts. my stomach
143. hurts. my:: back hurts.
```

Her specific focus on this script line isolated it from the rest of the script, took it out of the sequence, emphasized vocabulary, and took the focus off the turn taking. This modeling also emphasized that students would have to repeat the script multiple times in order to use a variety of different vocabulary in line 4.

At other times, the teacher defined words in the script. For instance, in excerpt 4.6, the teacher was in the middle of saying the line "oh, I'm sorry" and writing it onto

the whiteboard, when a student said, “matter” with rising intonation (line 27). The teacher oriented to the student’s action as a request for a definition of the word “matter.” She stopped writing, looked at the student and repeated the word she provided in line three of the script, along with a one-word definition (line 28). The student interjected the synonym “problem” into the original script line and said “what’s the problem” with rising intonation, possibly requesting confirmation. The teacher oriented to the student’s previous line as a confirmation check and confirmed that the student’s candidate substitution of the word “problem” for “matter” in the line “what’s the matter” was correct. The teacher said, “uhum” in line 30, and then said the whole phrase using each word separately, “what’s the problem, what’s the matter” (excerpt 4.6, line 32) thus confirming that both words were acceptable in the sentence.

(4.6)

```
23.T: and then the friend says oh::: (1) I'm (1) s- (1) oh I'm
24.sorry ((writes on whiteboard))
25.(1)
26.T: I'm sorry.
27.S: matter?
28.T: matter, problem
29.S: problem.
30.T: uhum.
31.S: what's the problem?
32.T: what's the problem, what's the matter. the same. okay?
```

The teacher was careful to avoid meta-talk or long explanations, and used only one word to define the word “matter.” I frequently viewed teachers using this method when answering students’ questions in ESOL Lab School classes. In beginning level classes, teachers took into consideration that students could not understand long explanations and certain vocabulary. Though her explanation was brief, this example

demonstrated that the teacher expected students to ask questions pertaining to vocabulary prior to beginning the task. So, students became accustomed to asking questions on the meaning of the script prior to saying it.

4.4.1.2 Pronunciation

Accurate pronunciation was also a goal that the teacher addressed indirectly through her modeling of the task. The teacher frequently used the modeling technique of saying a line of script and then asking students to repeat the same line. If the teacher heard the students pronounce a word incorrectly, she repeated the previous line while repairing the target word and then asked the students to repeat the word with the repaired pronunciation. Another common modeling technique involved practicing the script with one student. In class session 11.4.02 the teacher directed Zoya to practice it with her (see excerpt 4.7).

In line 98 Zoya responded to the teacher's previous line with, "my head harts." The teacher then broke out of the script and repeated the final word in Zoya's previous phrase, saying "hurts hurts" in order to emphasize the pronunciation of the word "hurts." Zoya repeated the word using her first pronunciation, which overlapped the teacher attempting to repair Zoya's pronunciation a second time by repeating "hurts" (line 101). After a third repair, and a one second pause, the teacher completed the script line.

(4.7)

```
93.T: okay. Zoya what's the matter. ((points at Zoya)) or
94.excuse me ((points to WB)). how are you.
95.(2)
96.Z: oh, um n- not so good.
97.T: what's the matter.
98.Z: my head harts. ((touches head))
99.T: hurts hurts
100. Z: [ harts
101. T: [ hurts hurts
102. Z: harts
103. T: hurts
104. (1)
105. T: ((turns to look at WB)) oh, I'm sorry about that ((turns
106. to look at Z))
```

The teacher engaged in other-repair with Zoya in order to emphasize the correct pronunciation of the word "hurts." By inserting a sequence of correction into the middle of the script to address a pronunciation issue, the teacher indirectly stressed that one goal for this task was accurate pronunciation. She also modeled how to do other-repair work, which students could then use to help their partner and address problems that arose in their own pair tasks.

4.4.1.3. Modeling of task—Role allocations

At least half of the overall time involved in the presentation of the RP script tasks was modeling (how "to do" the task) by the teacher. She rarely used meta-language, and mainly used it for task management purposes, ("non-script talk"). While this language was still task related, it did not represent the specific focus of the task, unlike "script talk." This language was often presented as tools or resources that students could use to begin or progress through a task, assign roles, or do repairs. The teacher did not require students to use non-script talk, but used it herself while modeling how to do the task. One example of non-script talk was role allocation.

The teacher used a variety of methods to assign roles. First, she wrote the letter role assignments next to each line of script on the whiteboard. Then she referenced these letter role assignments as she practiced the scripts with students, directing them to each line. Sometimes, though, she only used the student's name or non-verbal gestures such as pointing to assign a role. Example 1 (excerpt 4.8) shows the teacher's talk as she wrote either 'A' or 'B' next to each line of script on the WB. These letters were meant to represent the first speaker (A) and the second speaker (B) (See Figure 4.5). Examples 2-4 below represent ways that the teacher engaged in role assignments with individual students. And example 5 shows the teacher assigning roles to two students.

1. The teacher wrote the letter roles for each line of script on the WB 11.4.02. This graphic display of what the teacher considered 'roles' provided a clear and accessible resource for students.

(4.8)

30.T: ((picks up WB pen)) so:: ay ((writing on WB)) bee, ay,
31.bee, ay ((writes either A or B next to each line))

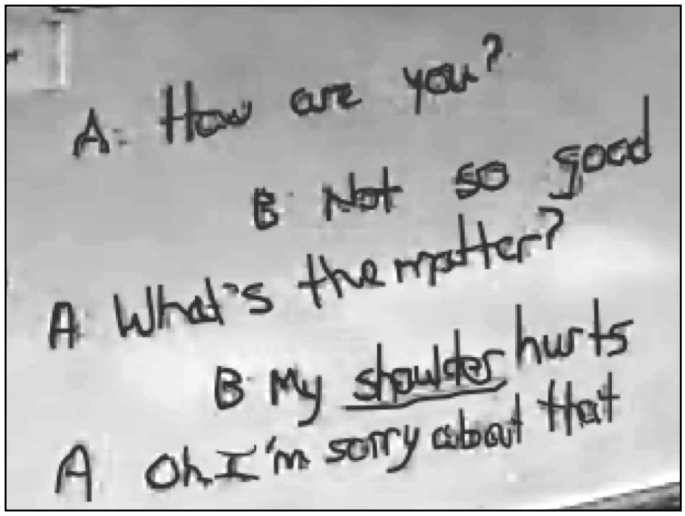


Figure 4.5
Role Assignments for Script 1

2. The teacher directed a student to ask her the questions, implying that the student was speaker A. She said the student's name and in addition, pointed at the student and at the location of the student's script line on the WB (5.15.03).

(4.9)

```
99.  T: Vasco ask me ((points at V and then at WB))
100. V: how are you.
101. T: I don't feel well.
```

3. The teacher addressed the student by name and assigned her role A, by saying "ay" and pointing to the student. Then the teacher said "bee" and pointed to herself implying that she would be speaker B (11.7.02).

(4.10)

```
50. T: Lyudmilla ay ((points to L)) bee ((points to herself))
51. L: how are you.
52. T: not so good.
```

4. The teacher addressed the student by name and asked the student the first line of script. In this case, the teacher self-initiated as speaker A, which implied that the student whom she addressed was speaker B (11.7.02).

(4.11)

```
125. T: Zee how are you ((points to Z)).
126. Z: not so good.
127. T: what's the matter.
```

5. The teacher used only the role letters (A or B) and non-verbal gestures such as pointing, to assign the student and herself the speaker roles (2.17.03).

(4.12)

```
116. T: ah:: okay, ay ((points to a student)) and bee ((points
117. to herself))
118. S: how are you.
119. T: not so good.
```

6. The teacher also had two students practice together in front of the class. In this case, the teacher pointed to each student as she assigned them either A or B roles (2.17.03).

(4.13)

```
141. T: good. okay. ay ((points to Ada)) and bee ((points to
142. Fen))
143. A: how are you.
```

This collection shows the many ways that the teacher allocated roles. She repeated these techniques numerous times in her modeling of the task and in the transcript it appears that the role allocation was a primary component of the script (the initial opening line for the task).[4] Due to its frequent use by the teacher, I found that looking for this action in student pair interactions was an essential and extremely

relevant detail that provided evidence for how students chose to orient to the script and how closely they followed the teacher's modeling of the task.

4.4.2. Development of Interpersonal Competence vs. Language Support

Although the script designs indicated that a possible goal in these greeting sequences was improved interpersonal competence, the teacher placed little emphasis on this aspect as she presented the instructions and task content to the students. While giving instructions each class session, she did reference the script as a "conversation" and on several occasions, even suggested that this was a conversation between "friends." These statements, while subtle, provided insight into one of the teacher's possible goals. It is likely that the teacher saw the conversational benefits and potential for this type of task. Students talk to one another, engage in more eye contact, and use more colloquial language. However, she did not stress these goals to the extent that she stressed pronunciation and vocabulary. For the teacher, while a conversational format for an interactive pair task had benefits beyond practicing new lexical items and reading each line accurately, goals such as eye contact, native-like intonation, and improvisation were secondary. Instead, the teacher provided a large amount of language support for the students, recognizing perhaps, the students' beginning level and need to see the words and phrases visually. Thus, providing the printed version of the script gave students an accessible resource to consult as they engaged in the task. Seeing whether or not students relied on this resource and used the language support provided by the teacher is a focus in following sections.

The teacher embodied the task as she presented it, thus providing insight into the goals of the task and techniques for learners on how to accomplish the task. However, as the teacher modeled the task with different students, the way she performed the task with one student was subtly different from how she performed it with another student. Thus, what the teacher did was provide a general framework for how she wanted students to do the task. But, as a participant in the room, she could not know how pairs of students followed that framework or accomplished the task. The next section explores the differences in how each pair carried out the teacher instructions, engaged one another, used classroom resources, and interpreted the script.

4.5. Student methods for carrying out teacher instructions

In this section I present data that demonstrate how the classroom participants carried out the teacher instructions and which goals (their own or the teacher's) they oriented to in their interactions. I made the case earlier that the teacher, in establishing the scripts framework, emphasized vocabulary, pronunciation, role allocations and reliance on the print resource as goals for the task. It is only in closely observing the pairs' interactions that it is possible to identify if students oriented to these goals or not. Much of the observed phenomena are discussed in the following sections entitled script line timing (4.5.1), unscripted responses (4.5.2), turn management—alterations in script sequencing (4.5.3), and task management (4.5.4).

In later sections 4.5.3 and 4.5.4, I look at how pairs co-constructed the turn sequence of the script and the tactics they used to repair the turn-taking system by

altering the script sequence. Additionally, I examine how students managed one another and the task through non-script talk and show how their use of this talk informed their partner about the progression, direction, and completion of the task. Initially, I explore the mechanisms that individual students used to say a script line or unscripted response and how their actions, both verbal and non-verbal, informed their co-participant about their orientation to the task and teacher instructions (sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2).

4.5.1 Script Line Timing

The following data show speakers using different conversational mechanisms to either find their script line or to engage in a vocabulary selection to finish their script line. Phenomena that involve speakers searching for their script line occurred in almost every line of script, while phenomena that occurred as a result of speakers searching for a vocabulary word was seen frequently in script line 4, "my ____ hurts" or "I have a ____ache." These actions were seen at least once in every pair interaction and were notable and consistent phenomena.

The following representative examples demonstrate how the students performed the timing of the script. All of the data presented below reflect ways of delaying one's script line. However, some examples reflect a way of delaying a line in order *to find* the full script line, while others delay a line as a way of displaying to their partner that they are selecting a vocabulary item from a list in order *to complete* their script line.

Delaying one's line is different from not taking a turn. When a speaker does not take a turn, there is a pause or notable silence after the previous speaker. In delaying one's line, a speaker takes the turn without pausing, and vocalizes that they are either searching for what they will say or how they will say it.

Example 1: No response	Example 2: Delay
A: how are you? (2) A: how are you? ((points to B)) B: I'm fine.	A: how are you? B: um::: I::'m okay.

Figure 4.6
Example Turn Sequences

In Figure 4.6, the first example shows a notable pause after the first question, "how are you." As previously mentioned, when a speaker does not complete the second part of an adjacency pair, it is notable.[5] Speaker A orients to this silence as atypical, and repeats the question and points at B in order to elicit a response from B. In the second example, speaker B responds immediately after A asks, "how are you." Speaker B does not respond with the answer, "I'm okay," but responds first with a delaying device (Mori & Hasegawa, in press) or placement holder "um," which allows time for B to decide how to answer.[6] The delay example above is designed from the perspective of native English speaker interactions and could represent a social act such as apprehension, dishonesty, or a preliminary to a dispreferred response[7] (Pomerantz, 1984). However, in the context of a language-learning task, the data show that students delayed the second part of an adjacency pair as a way of taking time to find a

script line or a vocabulary word. Evidence in the data suggests that neither partner oriented to the delay as an action representing apprehension or a dispreferred response, as they might have done outside of the classroom.

4.5.1.1 Script Turn Delay

This section describes two different interactional phenomena that students at the data collection site used in order to delay saying their script line: non-lexical turn holders such as 'uh' and 'um' and repetition of the previous speaker's script line. These phenomena were seen in all ten pair interactions. The following excerpts were taken from the 5.15.03 class session in which two pairs performed script 4, the 5-turn script (see Figure 4.3). After observing the teacher's instructions for 5.15.03, it is possible to see that not all of the phenomena observed in the students' interactions occurred in the teacher's presentation of the task. Students, thus, relied on their own interactional and turn-taking tools to complete the task.

A. Non-lexical turn holders

In excerpt 4.14, the student reading speaker B lines used non-lexical turn holders to delay saying her script line. In this sequence, the pair was performing the full script together for the eighth time. Qui, seated on Ariza's left, began by reading the first line of the script from her notebook (line 46). Ariza looked down at her notebook and looked up as she said the next line of script, "I don't feel well." Qui showed that she had memorized a part of the script and kept her gaze directed on Ariza as she said the third turn (line 48). In response, Ariza looked down at her notebook and began her turn with a placement holder, "um" and elongated it. In

addition, she elongated the final vowel of the first word "my" in the script line ("my ___ hurts"). After, she simultaneously placed her hands on her shoulders and said "shoulder" with slight rising intonation, possibly indicating that she was unsure of the vocabulary word "shoulder." Ariza completed her script line, saying "hurt," but was overlapped with an extended discourse marker, "oh" by Qui. Once the overlap was complete, Qui finished her final script line "oh, I'm sorry" and then laughed.

(4.14)

```
46.Q: how are you. ((reads from NB))
47.A: I don't feel well.
48.Q: what's the matter.
49.A: um:: my:: shoulder¿ ((places hands on shoulders))
50.   [hurt
51.Q: [oh:::: I'm sorry. ahuhuhuhuhuh
```

Both speakers showed strong orientation to the printed script. When a participant was talking or when her partner was talking, each had a tendency to look more frequently at the printed script than at her partner. Even though the speakers' body language indicated their orientation to their partner, to some degree each speaker's eye gaze was directed mostly at the script. One of the interesting features of Ariza's second turn in line 49 was her use of a non-lexical placement holder or "delaying device" (Mori & Hasegawa, in press), "um." By lengthening this placement holder, she took her turn, but delayed saying her line. A possible explanation for her delay is that she was looking for the next script line. Evidence related to her eye gaze on the printed script could reflect that she was scanning or searching for the next script line (Davila, 2006). In other words, even after numerous repetitions of the script, Ariza did not have the interaction memorized, nor did she choose to make up her own

response to the question, "what's the matter?" Instead she looked to the printed script and searched for the teacher-assigned line. By elongating "um" Ariza gave herself time to locate the script line, while letting her partner know that she was taking her turn and maintaining it. Thus, while the pair followed the script and eventually completed the task, the written script lines changed once they were spoken simply due to the interactional factor of the task.

B. Repetition of Previous Script line

A second way that learners displayed delay to their partner was through repeating the prior speaker's line of script before saying their own script line. Vasco and Oro were performing the same script in the same class session as the previous pair, Qui and Ariza. In this interaction Vasco self-selected as speaker A and used the role allocation technique modeled by the teacher of saying his partner's name and the first script line while looking in his notebook (excerpt 4.15, line 10). Oro looked at the script on the whiteboard, which happened to be on the right hand side of both Vasco and Oro and then said, "I" with slight elongation. He paused briefly and then looked back at Vasco as he completed the line, "don't feel well," (lines 11-12).

(4.15)

```
10. V: .hhh (.) Oro, how are you. ((looks in NB))
11. O: ((looks at WB)) I: (.)((gaze shifts to V)) don't feel
12. well.
```

Vasco, still looking in his notebook, said the third script line (excerpt 4.16, line 14). Oro repeated Vasco's previous line, and then began his own script line saying "my." After a micropause, Oro repeated "my" and looked in his notebook. Finally, after

another second pause, Oro touched his head, saying “hand” twice; the second time with higher pitch, possibly indicating a self-repair.

(4.16)

```
13. V: .hh .hh what's the matter. ((looks in NB))
14. O: what's the matter. my (.) my ((looks in NB)) (1) ((touches
15. head)) hand ↑hand
```

In excerpt 4.17, line 16, there is a pause, after which Oro used an elongated non-lexical placement holder, “uh” in line 17. Vasco meanwhile, looked to his right at the whiteboard and away from Oro, as Oro finished the last word “hurts” in the line “my ___ hurts.”

(4.17)

```
16. (1)
17. O: uh::
18. V: ((gaze shifts to his right))
19. O: hurts.
20. (1)
21. O: hurt[ s
22. V:     [ oh:: I'm sorry. ((looks in NB))
```

Figure 4.7
Vasco looks at Whiteboard

Instead of orienting to Vasco's question—excerpt 4.16, line 13—as an inquiry into his state of being, Oro repeated the whole phrase before saying the next line in the script. Repeating the previous speaker's line often occurs during conversational repair sequences in which a speaker repairs a part of the previous phrase with different intonation or emphasis on a particular word (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977). Alternatively, in beginning level English classes, it was common to see learners repeat part of what the previous speaker said simply to let their partner know that they heard them, otherwise known as a "receipt token" (Heritage, 1984).[8] However, in these scripts this action of repeating just prior talk occurred numerous times, and neither partner oriented to it as repair or a receipt token. Interactional evidence stems from the participant's physical orientation to the printed resource, the notebook. For example, in the course of repeating Vasco's previous line, Oro looked in his notebook and not at his partner, which suggested that he was locating his script line. In addition, Vasco did not orient to Oro's repetition as repair, because he did not try to make a repair as often happens after other-initiated repair. Instead, Vasco remained silent and waited for Oro to say the next line of script. In line 22, Vasco turned away from Oro and oriented his attention to the whiteboard.

Oro's repetition of the previous script line indicated that he did not have the script memorized. Saying the previous line "what's the matter" was a tool that helped him locate that line in the script, along with the next line. Due to each partner's strong orientation to following the script and to the turn-taking order, the participants used interactional mechanisms in order to take their turn and maintain it while giving

themselves time to orient to the script. The action of repeating the previous speaker's line fulfilled a similar function as non-lexical turn holders: the second speaker could take a turn while also locating a script line.

4.5.1.2 Vocabulary Selection Delay[9]

This section identifies two other ways of delaying saying one's script line. Whereas the previous delay examples occurred in every line of script, the following examples of delay were specific to one script line. Seen throughout the data, students showed many delays while completing the fourth turn in the teacher-assigned scripts (my ____ hurts; I have a ____ ache). This data show the speaker using the script line itself as a placement holder, gazing at the printed script, and pausing immediately preceding the blank slot in "my ___ hurts."

A. Vowel lengthening in the word "my"

Excerpt 4.18 shows Mai and Zee performing script 1 (5-turns). Mai initiated the script with the first script line and looked at Zee. Zee looked at the whiteboard in front of him and said the next line, "not so good." Mai used a placement holder "uh" and elongated it while looking at the whiteboard (line 14). She then looked back at Zee and said the next line, "what's the matter." Zee began to say the next script line, but lengthened the first word "my" before completing the phrase "back hurts" and placing his hand on his back (line 16). Mai looked at Zee and completed the script with, "oh, I'm sorry about that."

(4.18)

```
12. M: how are you?
13. Z: ((gaze on WB)) not so good
14. M: uh::: ((gaze on WB, then shifts gaze to Z)) what's the
15. matter
16. Z: my:::: back hurts ((places hand on back))
17. M: oh, I'm sorry about that
```

In line 16, Zee lengthened the word "my," the first word in the script line "my ___ hurts." In the teacher's script, "my" preceded the blank spot that students had to fill in with a vocabulary word. While the use of non-lexical placement holders may resemble the use of lexical placement holders, there is a slight difference in their delay function. Above, in line 14, Mai used a non-lexical placement holder and looked at the whiteboard in order to find her full script line. Once found, she shifted her gaze back to Zee and said the third script line, (line 14-15). However, in line 16, Zee used part of the script to delay choosing a vocabulary word to place in the blank slot. Thus, Zee was not having trouble locating the script line, but completing it.

The blank space in "my ____ hurts" indicated the location where a student had to insert a vocabulary item from a pre-set list provided by the teacher. The list was on the whiteboard before the task began (see Figure 4.8) and could be referenced by students at any point during the task. The students were instructed to select one of the words in order to complete their script line. Zee, after some verbalized hesitation, chose 'back' to complete his line.

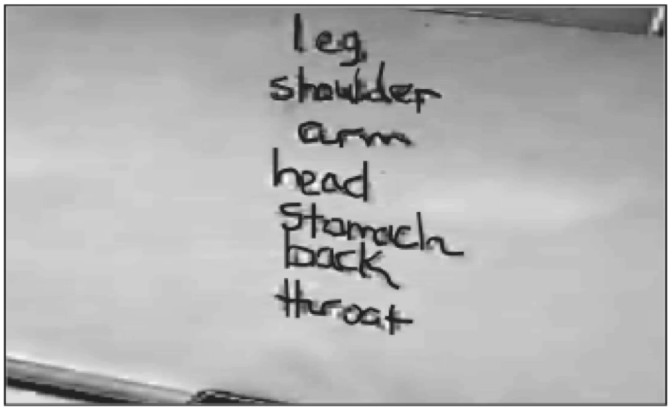


Figure 4.8
Vocabulary List on Whiteboard

Though what Zee produced was from a practical, limited set of items, it showed a focus on activating possibly new words. The blank spaces indicated a specific place where students orientated to lexicon and structure.

B. Gaze and Pausing

A non-verbal way that students delayed saying their turn was by shifting their gaze from their partner to a printed resource containing the script, such as a notebook or the whiteboard. While in some cases, students read the script directly out of their notebooks and rarely looked at their partner, most students shifted their gaze continually from the print resource to their partner. In excerpt 4.19, Vasco restarted the script while looking at his notebook (line 31). Oro responded with "I don't feel well" while looking at Vasco. Vasco, continuing to look in his notebook, said the third script line (line 33), and Oro responded immediately by saying and elongating the first word of the script line, "my," (line 34). However, Oro moved his gaze from Vasco to his notebook before completing his line, which accounted for the micropause in line

34. Once Oro found what he needed in his notebook, he looked up at Vasco and restarted the full script line (34-35).

(4.19)

```
31. V: um how are you. ((looks in NB))
32. O: I don't feel well.
33. V: .hh what's the matter. ((looks in NB))
34. O: my::: ((looks in NB)) (.) ((gaze shifts to V)) my leg leg
35. hurts. ((touches R leg))
36. (1)
37. V: oh, I'm sorry. ((gaze shifts to O))
```

Similar to Zee, Oro elongated the word, "my" which vocalized his action of selecting a vocabulary word to put in the blank spot in the line "my __ hurts." Simultaneously, he looked in his notebook and scanned the words (see Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9
Vasco and Oro looking at the script in NBs

While lengthening the word "my" was the vocal display of doing a vocabulary word selection, scanning his notebook was the physical display of selecting a vocabulary word. Both were signals to Vasco that Oro was taking his turn but delaying his script line to select a vocabulary word. In addition, although there is a pause in line

34, neither speaker oriented to the pause as a turn transition space (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974)—a place for Vasco to take a turn—instead Vasco waited for Oro to complete the line. From a syntactic standpoint, the pause did not occur after a complete turn constructional unit (TCU), but after an elongation of the lexical item "my." Because this lexical item was not a complete syntactic unit, the partner was able to anticipate that the current speaker would continue and complete the line. In addition, because the pair could reference the printed script, Vasco knew that the line was not complete. Thus, Vasco heard the elongation and pause as the current speaker's delayed turn, not as a space to take a turn. Additional evidence from the video suggested that Vasco was oriented to where Oro was gazing and that this too prevented Vasco from taking a turn, (Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 1996).[10] Once Oro selected the vocabulary word, he looked up at Vasco and restarted the full script line.

4.5.1.3 Printed Resource and Student Gaze

As mentioned, pauses and long turn holders were shown to occur preceding script lines, most notably when speakers said line four of the script. The beginning level of the students, the design of the script, and the teacher's modeling of the task seemed to account for why students used turn holders and pauses in the turn slot following the question, "what's the matter." One possible explanation for script-line searches may have to do with the fact that the teacher provided a written version of the script on the whiteboard. Providing a written script for students has a number of consequences for how students engage in the task. Evidence from the data suggests that many students did not memorize the script, but instead relied heavily on the

printed script and their ability to reference it at any time during the task. Students showed through body language that they wanted to orient to their partner and maintain eye contact, but at the same time, students needed to reference the print resource, such as a notebook or the whiteboard. When they constantly shifted their gaze between the script and their partner, students lost their place in the script and engaged in different conversational mechanisms such as delaying devices in order to hold their turn while finding their script line or a particular word. Additionally, the visual representation of the script and the students' constant reference to the location of words and turns created the appearance that another goal or prevalent aspect of this task was to practice reading. Although the script was presented both in print and verbally, the printed version was more permanent and accessible, and thus students depended less on the oral rehearsal of the script.

4.5.1.4 Teacher Modeling and Delay Mechanisms

In addition to the visual display of the script, how the teacher modeled the script and task influenced students' orientation to the task. In turn 4 of the script, the teacher drew a line signifying a blank spot where the students needed to fill in a recently learned vocabulary word. In modeling the task with students, the teacher used the mechanism of lengthening the word 'my', scanning the printed resource, and pausing. Hence, in the selection of vocabulary, the students used several of the teacher's delay mechanisms in their own task, which demonstrated how strongly students relied on the teacher's modeling of the task. Because line four in the script had a potential to vary, it allowed choice for speakers, and both the teacher and

students waited to decide on which word to use only when they reached this line. This delay slowed the response time and indicated that the speaker was not truthfully reporting on a problem as they answered the question.

In non-classroom conversations, the recipient of the question "how are you" must decide what type of answer to give based on how they are feeling, how well they are acquainted with the interlocutor and how much time they wish to spend discussing their state of being. If the recipient answers positively "good" or neutral "fine," the greeting sequence can be completed quickly. However, if a recipient answers negatively, "not so good," then this talk initiates a diagnostic sequence from the greeter (Sacks, 1975). If the recipient of the greeting answers negatively, it suggests that they have a problem or trouble that they are willing and able to discuss with the greeter. In other words, they have decided that the greeter is someone to whom they can confide their troubles and is someone who will inquire further about their troubles with a diagnostic question such as "what's the matter?" The recipient can then articulate their troubles and give more explicit details about their first response, "not so good."

However, in these scripted troubles tellings, participants would usually not have a problem to report and needed to make one up. In viewing how the teacher resolved this problem, the students too used delay mechanisms to select a problem, slowing down their response time to the question, "what's the matter." The need for delaying devices can thus be attributed to the design of the script (i.e. the blank line), the need to supply a virtual ailment in the blank line, and the teacher's modeling of

how to accomplish this action. Moreover, the students' general orientation to the task as a script rather than a conversation could be attributed both to their beginning level and the fact that they are in a classroom orienting to the expected behaviors of that environment.

4.5.1.5 Students' regulation of task timing

In brief, the students did not orient to native speaker timing or orientation practices when performing the script. They rarely made eye contact with their interlocutor, they answered questions slowly, paused, read the lines, and generally did not ask or answer questions in a quick and automatic way. The previous examples discussed in section 4.5.1 indicate that students' timing in saying the script displays that they were orienting to the script as a reading task. For instance, had the students engaged in this same conversation outside of class, questions would have been asked quickly, answers would have been given without much hesitation if any, and we would not have seen the same need to delay answering a question. On the other hand, for students with limited English abilities, learning and using these phrases and words for the first time may require a slower, more regulated pace. As mentioned, the student pairs displayed an orientation to the script as something to read for practice. Thus, when a person is reading something for the first time in a new language, their timing in constructing a turn at talk and establishing a rhythm will occur more slowly and will not be automatic. Students in the ESOL Lab School classes recognized that the lines in the script were not truthful inquiries and answers between 'friends'. Instead, the participants showed that as language students in a classroom environment reading the

script, pausing, making mistakes, restarting, and addressing pronunciation and word choice errors was part of their role in this local context. Thus, orienting to the script as a reading task allowed students to fulfill their role as students and aided them in establishing their own timing and mechanisms for saying the script.

4.5.2 Automatic Unscripted Responses within Scripted Dialogue

In the previous data students showed a strong orientation to the RP tasks as printed script. They chose to follow the script lines assigned by the teacher, but could many times not say them as they were written and needed to use certain conversational mechanisms to slow down or lengthen their turn when speaking. Referencing their notebooks or the whiteboard guided them through each line and when choosing vocabulary. From this data, it appears that students were unfamiliar with the language in the script and were encountering certain expressions and words for the first time—at least in printed form. Thus, students slowed down because the language in the script was new to them.

However, in this section 4.5.2 I present several occasions in the data when participants used their own language to answer the script questions automatically, truthfully, and quickly. Thus, this data aims to contradict the possible claim that students slowed down their response time because they were unfamiliar with the script language. In fact, the next excerpts show that if students were asked these questions outside of class as part of a social act, they would probably understand them and respond without hesitation. This suggests that perhaps students were strongly influenced by the printed resource, the teacher's instructions and the classroom

environment. The first set of data excerpts (section 4.5.2.1) shows a student in one instance, answering automatically and fluently to a scripted question, and in a second instance reading the script and looking for her answer to the same scripted question. In the second example (section 4.5.2.2), the speaker giving unscripted responses did so throughout the pair's interaction, and expanded on his answers as if they were truthful. Thus, in the first section, a student who consistently said the script lines as the teacher assigned did so in spite of evidence that she knew how to answer the script questions in an automatic, native-like way. The second example examines a student's many unscripted responses and his orientation the task as a conversation he might have had outside of class. Hence, my goal in this section is to clarify that while many students understood the language in the task, most chose to slow down their responses while saying the script because they were orienting to the task as reading practice.

4.5.2.1 Fen's automatic unscripted response

In analyzing the following excerpts, it first appears that the speaker giving a non-scripted response considered the question "how are you" to be a meaningful greeting, one to which she could respond with automaticity and relevance. However, after closer examination it appears that this automaticity was short-lived; the speaker repaired her answer quickly in order to reorient to the script. The examples from the following data occurred in the second part of an adjacency pair after the question "how are you"—a basic question that most learners in level A classes were familiar with by mid-quarter (the time of these interactions). The following excerpts came from two different class sessions one week a part from each other with the same pair.

11.4.02	11.7.02
A: how are you? B: not so good. A: what's the matter? B: my _____ hurts A: oh, I'm sorry about that	A: how are you? B: not so good. A: what's the matter. B: my ____ hurts. A: maybe you need a _____. B: maybe you're right.

Figure 4.10
Scripts for Lyudmilla and Fen

4.5.2.1.1 Automaticity in responding to "how are you?"

In excerpt 4.20 Fen responded to the first question in an automatic and truthful way, using an unscripted response. Her orientation to the question, 'how are you' as a truthful greeting demonstrated her familiarity with this question, and her quick response showed that she was comfortable and fluent in answering it. Preceding this excerpt, the pair had just completed the script once together. Here, Lyudmilla reinitiated the script by self-selecting as speaker A and saying script line 1, "how are you." Fen answered "I good," and shifted her gaze from her paper to Lyudmilla. She quickly displayed an orientation to her error by saying, "ah no," looking at Lyudmilla, and laughing. Lyudmilla also smiled at Fen's response and oriented to Fen's automatic, but non-script line as humorous. Fen resumed the task and her turn by using non-lexical turn holders (line 19-20) as she searched for the script line. She said "eh um um not so um dead" while looking at her paper, after which she shifted her gaze to Lyudmilla (line 20). Lyudmilla responded by initiating a repair on the last

word of Fen's response, saying "good" quietly. Fen repeated the final word again as "dead," and did not use Lyudmilla's repair candidate.

(4.20)

17. L: how are you.
18. F: ((looking at paper)) I good. ah no ((looks at L))
19. ahuhuhu ahuhuhuhuh ↑huheheheheh .hhuhuhuh ahuhu ahuhuh eh
20. um um not so um dead. ((looks at L))
21. L: °(good)°
22. F: dead
23. (2)
24. F: [( )
25. L: [not so good. ((points to F's paper and then to WB))

After a two second pause Fen and Lyudmilla overlapped in lines 24 and 25, and in the video, it was only possible to hear Lyudmilla say "not so good," which was a second attempt to repair Fen's script line.

Fen's initial response to Lyudmilla's question, "I good" in line 18, while ungrammatical, was an automatic, understandable, and preferred second pair part to the greeting, "how are you" (Pomerantz, 1984). However, in the context of the task, it was not the teacher-assigned script line. Students practice common greetings like "how are you" in and outside of the classroom regularly. It was thus not surprising to see that beginning level students had developed an automatic and native-like fluency to answering this question. While Fen and Lyudmilla both knew that Fen's answer was acceptable in the context of a greeting sequence, both showed through laughter and repair that Fen's answer was incorrect in the context of the task.

A positive ("good") or neutral ("fine") response to "how are you" typically ends the greeting sequence, because the original greeter is not expected to inquire as to why the recipient is "good" or "fine" (Sacks, 1975). However, with the teacher

assigned task, both Fen and Lyudmilla recognized that the script was not over, requiring Fen change her answer to the script line in order to progress in the task. Prior to restarting the task, Fen and Lyudmilla laughed at Fen's mistake, and because Fen recognized that it was still her turn, she quickly reoriented to the task and said a candidate script line (line 20). Even though Fen made an error in saying the script line, neither she nor Lyudmilla oriented to this error as they did Fen's last error (laughter). In the previous error (line 18), Fen quickly recognized that although her answer "I good" was correct outside of the task, it was incorrect within the task and the laughter by both students was a way of commenting on this irony. However, in the next error, Fen's saying "not so dead" as opposed to "not so good" was simply a pronunciation or lexical error within the task. Regardless of why she made the error, it was still related to the task and its goals. In making her script line error, Fen did not recognize it as an error, and Lyudmilla initiated a repair with the correct script line. Had the pair oriented to this as a real conversation, Fen's first answer would have been accepted by Lyudmilla, and other-initiated other repair would have been considered presumptuous. But because the pair was oriented to the greeting sequence as a language-learning task in a classroom environment, truthful or automatic responses were dispreferred and other-initiated other-repair was expected, as demonstrated in the teacher's instructions (see Excerpt 4.3).

4.5.2.1.2 Coordinating orientations to peer and script

This second example took place a week later with the same pair, Fen and Lyudmilla (excerpt 4.21). In this interaction, the students performed script 2, which

featured a third adjacency pair, offering and accepting advice (see Figure 4.2).

Lyudmilla began the task by turning towards Fen and saying the first line of the script, “how are you.” Fen immediately turned towards Lyudmilla and moved her chair closer to Lyudmilla, but did not respond verbally.

(4.21)

1. L: ((turns towards F)) how are you?
2. F: ((turns towards L and moves chair closer))

Figure 4.11
Gaze and body alignment

During a five-second pause (excerpt 4.22, line 3), Fen looked down at her paper, placed her left hand fingers on her paper and moved them down the page. Then, Fen vocalized her turn with a number of quick non-lexical turn holders. After, she said, “how are you” quietly twice while looking at her paper (lines 4 and 5).

(4.22)

3. (5)
4. F: ((scans NB)) eh >uhuhuhuhuhuh< °how are you° ((looking
5. in NB)) uh °how are you° um: (+) um: n:: n:ota so good.

Figure 4.12
Fen scanning paper

Fen's repetitions of Lyudmilla's previous question, as discussed in section 4.5.1 (timing), were examples of conversational mechanisms speakers used in order to take their turn, but delay saying their script line. Fen also repeated the previous line quietly, saying it privately to herself and then followed it with a combination of acts that included scanning her paper, using non-lexical placement holders, and pausing. Finally Fen said the second script line, but hesitantly. She restarted the first word and elongated the first consonant and then finally said the full line, "n:ota so good," carefully pronouncing each word (line 5).

Comparing the two interactions provides a glimpse into the pair's orientation to the script language. In this second example, Fen relied less on her automatic responses to questions she was familiar with and oriented much more to the location of words and lines in the script before taking her turn. Interestingly, Fen's body language indicated that she was orienting to the task and to her partner. And although

there is a five-second pause between when Lyudmilla asked the question, “how are you” and when Fen vocalized her turn, Lyudmilla did not repeat the line.

It is unusual to see such a long pause after the first part of an adjacency pair. Typically the first speaker repeats their line, says the other speaker’s name, or points to the other speaker in order to indicate that a response is required. Yet this did not happen in Fen and Lyudmilla’s interaction. A possible explanation for this is that despite not verbalizing her turn, Fen showed through body gesture and non-verbal cues that it was her turn, but was in the process of orienting herself to the script. Lyudmilla oriented to Fen’s gestures and permitted the silence as Fen oriented to the script. Therefore, there existed not only a tension between what students could say automatically and what students needed to say to complete the script, but also a tension between a need to orient to their partner and a need to reference the printed resource (Kratzer, 2008). In the case above, Fen displayed her knowledge of what it means to work in a pair by orienting to her partner through body gestures and her knowledge of how to progress in a task by simultaneously focusing on the printed script.

Although Fen’s actions demonstrate an awareness of how to work in a pair effectively, this limited her ability to focus on the meaning of the language. In conversations outside of a classroom task, repeating a speaker’s question, pausing, or using other delaying devices in the course of a greeting can be considered unusual. Evidence from the data demonstrates that beginning level learners at the data collection site develop the language skills needed to answer the script questions

automatically after several weeks of class. Yet, when students knew that they were playing a part in a language-learning script and had access to a visual reference, their language knowledge of the questions was superseded by their orientation to the script. Students concentrated more on the order and location of phrases in the script than the fact that the answer to the question already came naturally to them.

One possible explanation for this is that the teacher and students recognized their roles and responsibilities in this institutional environment. Thus, while the participants may have recognized the scripts as conversations, their notions about how to engage in conversations were suspended, because they needed to orient to the text on the whiteboard as a language-learning task, not a conversation. The context changed how the participants approached and used the language. For non-native English speakers, engaging in greetings with others in English may be second nature outside of the classroom. They know that the first line of the script, "how are you" initiates a greeting and engages another person in a greeting exchange. But the participants did not orient to it as such because, in the classroom, the teacher's talk, her presentation of the language, and her modeling of the turn-taking sequence changed the student's perception of how to engage in a greeting. So, students used the script as a language-learning opportunity wherein they read from their notebooks while practicing vocabulary and pronunciation. In essence, they were 'doing a greeting' more so in the frame of a teacher assigned task, than in the context of a social act. This orientation to the script as a task and the design of the script itself created tension between what learners knew and could say automatically, and what

they needed to know and do to accomplish the task. So, instead of responding with accurate timing and intonation, the students oriented to the greetings as a turn to be practiced. They paused, looked at the script, searched for their line, and answered with hesitancy, occasionally engaging in repair.

At the data collection site, about one-fifth of class time was devoted to pair work so students learned very quickly how to orient themselves to a partner and to the teacher instructions for task work. A student not only heard the language content of the day whether that was body part names or greetings, but also repeatedly heard language pertaining to doing the task: "work together, your partner, teacher, student, okay, now, ask, answer, show, repeat, change, next, then, after." All of this pre-task (role allocation) and post-task (ending a task) talk, along with task management talk (repairs and role switches) became a part of how students did tasks together and was immediately associated with the classroom environment (Hellermann, 2008). Due to this undercurrent of task-oriented talk in the classroom, it was almost impossible for most students to see the task as anything but a language-learning task. Therefore, when a teacher introduced a task based on a real conversation that students would hear daily and most commonly outside of the classroom, their orientation to their roles in a classroom environment sometimes overrode their orientation to the script as a conversation and both the students and teacher performed the script as a task.

In essence, the examples above provide evidence that support the claim that students slowed down their responses while saying a script, not because they did not know or understand the language, but because they oriented to saying the script

accurately as demonstrated by the teacher. Even when students knew and understood the language, they relied heavily on how the teacher modeled the script and the script's visual representation, rather than on their own responses to actions by their peers. The classroom environment and students' roles in that environment caused students to regard the script as a task, which means that students spent a greater amount of time managing the timing and repair of their own script lines.

4.5.2.2 TaiHuan's Unscripted and Expanded Responses

This section illustrates the only example in the observed data set of a student giving unscripted responses and expansions on his answers throughout the entire task. Whereas most students in the pairs that I observed oriented to the script as a reading task, I saw one student in a pair who continually oriented to his partner's script questions as truthful inquiries warranting truthful responses. This unique orientation to the task was most likely due to the speaker's comfort in using conversational English. The participant's unscripted, but relevant responses demonstrated confidence in his abilities as an English.

Excerpt 4.23 shows Ming self-selecting as speaker A. In lines 1 and 2, Ming and TaiHuan both oriented to the printed script and said the first full adjacency pair. After a micropause, Ming said the next script line "what's the matter" while looking at the whiteboard (line 4). TaiHuan began with a delaying device, "uh::," paused for a second and then responded with an ailment not given by the teacher, "because I eyes so tired" while pointing at his eyes. After a one second pause (line 6)—a possible transition relevance place for Ming—TaiHuan made a repair initiation, repeating,

"eye" while pointing to his eyes and continued to explain his trouble. After another micropause, TaiHuan repeated part of his answer (line 9), but never said the assigned script line, "my ___ hurts." TaiHuan's "tired" in line 11 was overlapped by Ming's scripted response of "maybe you need a doctor" (line 12), as she looked at the whiteboard.

(4.23)

```
1. M: ((looks at WB)) how are you. ((looks at T))
2. T: um:: ((looks at WB)) not so good ((shakes head))
3. (.)
4. M: what's the matter. ((looking at WB))
5. T: uh:: (1) because I eyes ((points to eyes)) so tired.
6. (1)
7. T: eye ((points to eyes)) tired, you know? eye.
8. (.)
9. T: so tired. tired.
10. (.)
11. T: ti[ red.
12. M:   [maybe you need doctor ((looking at WB))
```

TaiHuan's response in line 5 shows that he was orienting to the previous question, "what's the matter" as a true inquiry into his health. He oriented to the *cause* of the troubled state and began his response with "because." Neither TaiHuan nor Ming oriented to this answer as incorrect. However, the pause in line 6 may have represented a non-response from Ming as she waited for TaiHuan to self-repair his answer to the assigned script line. After several repetitions of his previous answer, and several more TRP's in which Ming did not take a turn, it became obvious that neither TaiHuan nor Ming were going to repair TaiHuan's initial response. From TaiHuan's perspective, the lack of uptake by Ming in potential TRP's made TaiHuan's repetitions in lines 7, 9, and 11 relevant. Ming, however, appeared to be waiting for TaiHuan to

self-repair, when she did not see TaiHuan do this, she continued with her assigned script line (line 12).

One explanation for TaiHuan's unscripted responses is that he was more comfortable conversing in English. Perhaps he deviated from the script as a way to practice his own conversational language skills. One piece of evidence that suggests TaiHuan's higher comfort level in using English was his use of the expression, "you know?" This discourse marker is often used in native speaker conversations when looking for backchannel cues or confirmation from an interlocutor. This type of unscripted talk is unusual to hear in beginning level language classes (Hellermann & Vergun, 2007). Its use demonstrates that TaiHuan used or heard more conversational English outside of class. Ming however, did not show in her actions that she oriented to TaiHuan's response as unscripted or that she understood it. She continued with her own assigned script line while reading from the whiteboard.

Later in their interaction (excerpt 4.24), TaiHuan took the role of speaker A and began the sequence of adjacency pairs. In line 46, Ming responded to the second question (what's the matter?) with, "my throat hurt" and touched her neck. TaiHuan responded with a change of state token "oh," which verbally demonstrated his orientation to[11] Ming's condition (sore throat). After a brief pause, he continued by stating, "drinking hot uh water" (line 47). In a non-language learning task, when a person says that his/her throat hurt, TaiHuan's response would most likely be interpreted as the cause of the sore throat. That is, the person's throat is sore because they drank hot water, not that hot water will cure a sore throat. However, Ming

oriented to it as a substitute for the first part of the third adjacency pair, "maybe you need a ____" and finished the sequence by responding with, "maybe you're right" (line 49). Whether Ming oriented to TaiHuan's response as advice or simply as the turn before her own, is unclear. It seems that her intention was simply to finish the task. Even though the pair did finish the task in line 49, TaiHuan began an expansion by giving instructions (line 54-66) on how to follow through on his earlier advice to Ming. Thus, this expansion demonstrates that TaiHuan oriented to Ming's stated "problem" as real.

(4.24)

```
46. M: my throat hurt ((touches neck))
47. T: oh:: (.) drinking hot uh water
48. (2)
49. M: ((looks at WB, then in book)) maybe::[ you're right.((looks
50. at T))
51. T:                                       [ ya ((nods head))
52. you're right. maybe you are right. ya drinking hot water.
53. (.)
54. T: uh or drinking (.) um: hot orange (.) juice. orange juice.
55. (.)
56. T: orange.
57. (.)
58. T: orange juice. jeece.
59. (1)
60. T: ((NL)) jeece. orange juice. one time, drinking. the orange
61. juice. but ah but if I orange juice no good ((waves hand)).
62. ya
63. M: [ (hot)
64. T: [ ya one time put in uh: microwave, to one minute, ((holds
65. up one finger)) (hot) then drinking a lot of hot (.) orange
66. juice. this (is) good.
```

Again, in line 47, TaiHuan did not say the assigned script line, "maybe you need a___," but instead provided his own answer. In addition, as in the previous excerpt (4.23), there is a pause after TaiHuan's advice, before Ming supplied the last script line. Based on Ming's actions—looking at the whiteboard and then in her

notebook (line 49)—it appears that she was orienting herself to the script. In section 4.5.1, students sometimes repeated the previous speaker's script line prior to saying their own as a way of locating their place in the script. However, in this instance, Ming was not able to use TaiHuan's answer in line 47 as a tool to position herself in the script's sequence, but instead took extra time referencing the script in order to find her line. The remainder of the transcript illustrates the amount of time that TaiHuan expanded on his original advice from line 47, and depicts that he was in fact very comfortable speaking English. Lines 54-66 show that TaiHuan preferred to use his own language, as opposed to teacher assigned language, that he preferred to use the task's framework to construct a sincere conversation, and that he was capable of expanding and detailing his explanations.

By analyzing the sequential organization of Ming and TaiHuan's interaction, it is possible to see that Ming oriented to the script as something to practice and say correctly, while TaiHuan oriented to the interaction as a series of truthful inquiries and statements. His unscripted responses and expansions on the script demonstrate TaiHuan's orientation to the interaction as a conversation. Interestingly, Ming did not orient to TaiHuan's unscripted responses as "wrong," and she participated only once and minimally in TaiHuan's expansion (excerpt 4.24, line 63). Instead, after an unscripted response, Ming continued with the script and said her own script line. Thus, it is unclear whether Ming understood TaiHuan's responses or not. It may be that she simply used the sequential structure of the task, waited until TaiHuan was done, and then continued with her assigned script line. Her lack of participation in TaiHuan's

final expansion was most likely due to her viewing the task as over in line 49.

Despite Ming and TaiHuan's different orientations to the task and how each interpreted the teacher's instructions, the pair completed the task. It may be that TaiHuan thought that he was performing the role expected of him by the teacher. Even though the teacher never explicitly told students to provide their own answers to the script questions or to expand on script lines, TaiHuan perhaps viewed these actions as part of the task. Evidence for this pertains to the fact that Ming and TaiHuan's very different goals and methods for carrying out the task did not prevent them from completing the task together. They both remained task-oriented and followed the general framework of the script.

Whereas Fen's unscripted, automatic response was oriented to as a one-time 'mistake' in the task (section 4.5.2.1), TaiHuan used the task as a venue for practicing as much unscripted language as possible (section 4.5.2.2). Fen's example illustrated that many students probably already knew and understood the script language and could give automatic responses to the script questions, but chose not to in the context of a task. TaiHuan's example showed a student who was comfortable with and confident in his language abilities as an English speaker and chose his own answers over scripted answers as a way to develop his conversational competence.

Both examples reflected the participant's goals for the task, and despite having very different orientations and expectations, both sets of pairs completed the task successfully. Students followed the teacher's general framework for the task and whether or not they adhered strictly to the script's exact language was irrelevant to the

completion of the task.

4.5.3. Turn Management—Alterations in script sequence

The scripts presented by the teacher in the data set have a fixed number of turns—four of the scripts have five turns and one script has six turns. However, students did not always say the script word for word as seen in previous sections, nor did they limit their turns to the number of turns in the script. In section 4.5.1, I described turn-construction for the script: how students delayed a script line in order to reference the printed resource and find a line or a particular word. Although students still took their turn, referencing the printed resource caused certain actions such as pausing, non-lexical placement holders, lexical elongations, and repetition of previous script lines that created a longer turn and changed the original script line. And in 4.5.2 we saw how most beginning students chose to orient to the task as reading practice and relied on the teacher's goal of accuracy in saying the assigned script lines, despite having the ability to answer the script questions automatically.

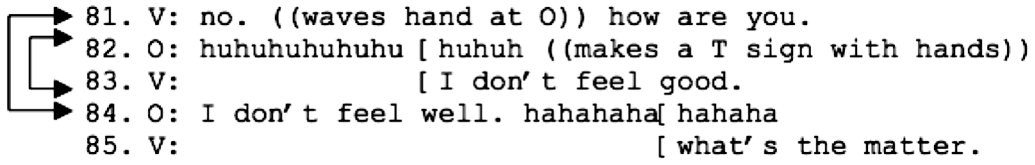
The following excerpts show sequential organization: how students aided their partner in completing a script line and how this action changed the turn taking order. In other words, if a student did not see an appropriate orientation by their partner to the script turn order, the student would attempt to manage the turn taking by providing their partner with a possible next turn. That is, a speaker provided either the next line of script for their partner or provided their partner with a possible vocabulary word to fill in the blank spot. This action expanded the teacher-assigned script. These extra turns constituted a way of managing the turn-taking order for both partners so that the

pair could complete the script and progress in the task. In section 4.5.3.1 a student provided a full script line for his partner after hearing an unscripted response from the previous speaker. In section 4.5.3.2 a student helped her partner complete a script line by providing her with a possible candidate vocabulary word in the fourth line of script, "my ___ hurts/I have a ___ache."

4.5.3.1. Partner provides next script line

Excerpt 4.25 shows Oro responding with an unscripted response and Vasco providing Oro with a possible next script line. Each had taken turns beginning the script, and at this point Vasco restarted the script again and said, "how are you" to Oro. Oro responded by laughing (line 82) and making a 'T' sign with his hands, which Vasco then overlapped with the next line in the script, "I don't feel good." Oro responded in line 84 by repairing Vasco's offered candidate next turn and said, "I don't feel well" and then continued to laugh. Vasco treated Oro's line in 84 as an appropriate scripted response to his previous question in line 81, which provided Vasco with an opportunity to continue the script and say his next script line.

(4.25)



Oro's response in line 82 is significant, because in place of saying the next script line, he laughed and attempted to stop the task by requesting a timeout. Vasco ignored Oro's non-verbal request and treated Oro's response in 82 as a trouble source. Vasco

then provided the appropriate scripted response in line 83. Strangely enough, Vasco did not say the correct script line ("I don't feel well") in 83, and used 'good' instead of 'well.' Oro oriented to this as a mistake and made the repair in line 84. However, Vasco showed that he was only oriented to the turn order of the script and thus saw Oro's full script line in line 84 as a completion of the adjacency pair and not as a repair on his own candidate script line from line 83. As Oro continued to laugh, Vasco picked up the script where he had left off and said his own script line.

To understand why Oro deviated from the script and laughed, it is necessary to look at previous excerpts of talk from Vasco and Oro's interaction. Prior to excerpt 4.25, Oro was speaker A. In excerpt 4.26, line 73 he said the third script line. There was a one second pause and then Vasco responded with "my back hurts" in line 75. Oro completed the script sequence in line 76, and then got Vasco's attention and gaze by touching his shoulder. Oro made a T-sign with his hands in this earlier sequence too, symbolizing "timeout" or a request to stop the task. Vasco coughed and looked at Oro as Oro continued to make the T-sign. After a second pause, Vasco responded "no" to Oro's request to stop the task, waved his hand at Oro to initiate a continuation of the task and then restarted the script as speaker A with "how are you."

(4.26)

```
73. O:    [what's the matter.
74. (1)
75. V: my (back) hurts.
76. O: oh, I'm sorry. ((touches V's shoulder and makes a T sign
77. with his hands)).
78. V: ((coughs and looks at O))
79. O: ((continues to make a T sign and moves closer to V))
80. (1)
81. V: no. ((waves hand at O)) how are you.
```

From excerpt 4.25 we saw that Oro's response to "how are you" was laughter and a second non-verbal request to stop the task. Now, it is possible to see that Oro's laughter was an artifact from the prior sequence of actions and talk. In line 76, Oro said the last line of script and attempted to stop the task through non-verbal gestures. However, Vasco responded 'no' to Oro's request in line 81, demonstrating that he had seen Oro's non-verbal gesture, but did not want to stop the task. This was the tenth time that this same pair had said this script together in three minutes. Vasco, however, seemed to be concerned with progressing in the task and stopping the task only when the teacher told them to, while Oro, after having repeated the script so many times showed that he was ready to stop and take a break. Vasco already knew that his continuation of the script was a dispreferred response to Oro's request, yet Vasco showed that he was willing to read all of the script lines by himself, unless Oro assumed the speaker B role.

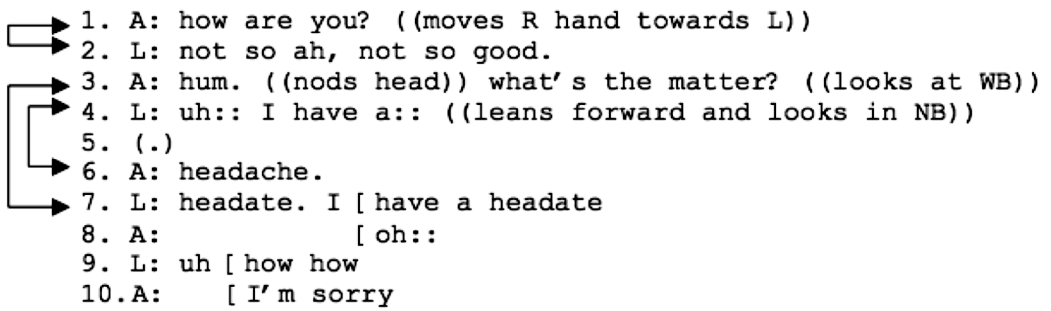
4.5.3.2. Partner provides candidate word

In the previous excerpt (4.25) Vasco did not hear an appropriate scripted response from Oro, nor did he wait for one. Instead he provided it in order to initiate a repair and continue the teacher assigned script turn order. In the following excerpt (4.27), Ada heard Ly begin the assigned script line, but instead of waiting for Ly to complete it on her own, Ada offered Ly a possible candidate word in order to finish the line. In their pair interactions, both Vasco and Ada took it upon themselves to manage the turn-taking order either when they saw their partner give unscripted responses or when they saw their partner struggling. Regardless of the reason for

managing the turn order, both participants consequently changed the turn-taking order by expanding it and adding additional unscripted turns.

In excerpt 4.27, Ada and Ly said the first adjacency pair in the scripted dialogue (line 1-2). In line 3, Ada nodded her head and said, "hum" and then said the third script line, "what's the matter?" while looking at the whiteboard. Ly took her turn beginning with a non-lexical turn holder "uh::" and elongated it prior to beginning her script line, "I have a::," which was the beginning of the second part of the adjacency pair "what's the matter." At this point, Ly leaned forward to look at her notebook and paused (lines 4-5). Ada took advantage of the pause as an opportunity to offer Ly a possible word, "headache" to put in the script line slot, "I have a ____ ache." Ly accepted this word choice in line 7 by repeating it and then repeated the full script line using Ada's word choice. Ly's full script line was overlapped with the beginning of Ada's next script line, the discourse marker, "oh::" (line 8). Ly tried to restart the script with the first script line in line 9, "uh how how," but was overlapped by Ada finishing the last line of the script, "I'm sorry."

(4.27)



Interestingly, Ly's orientation to Ada's line 4 as a trouble source changed the turn sequence order. To explain, Ly's response in line 4 had the potential to be the second part of the adjacency pair to Ly's question "what's the matter." Ly began this second pair part, but did not complete it, because Ada completed it for her in line 6, treating it as a trouble source. Instead, Ada treated Ly's repetition of the candidate repair word in line 7 as the appropriate second pair part to her question in line 3. In fact, Ada did not wait for Ly to repeat the whole phrase and overlapped Ly in line 8. Ada treated Ly's "headate" in line 7 as adequate for a completion of the script line, "I have a ___ ache."

4.5.3.3. Expanded Script Sequence

While the scripts provided by the teacher and practiced by the students in excerpts 4.25 and 4.27 are only five turns long (see Figure 4.13), students showed that an expansion of the turn order was necessary in order to manage problems when saying the script. In excerpt 4.25, when Vasco provided the full next line for his partner, he was orienting to his partner's unscripted response. Due to the Vasco's strong orientation to finishing the script as the teacher assigned he needed a way to repair the script turn order or continue the task. One way to do this, as modeled by the teacher, was to engage in other-repair. This action, however, required an expansion of the script's turn order (see Figure 4.14).

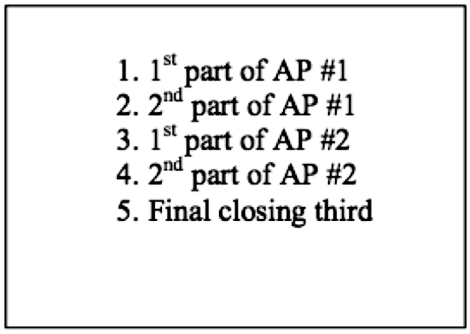


Figure 4.13
Teacher assigned 5-turn script

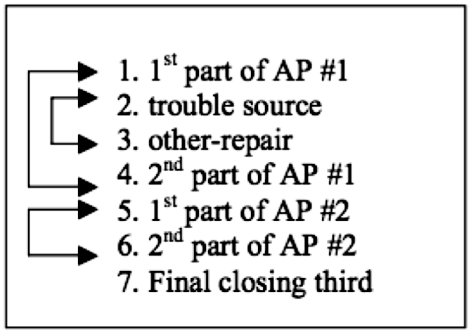


Figure 4.14
Expansion of 5-turn script

(AP= adjacency pair)

The teacher modeled this turn management technique previously when she repaired a student's pronunciation of a script word (see excerpt 4.13). She demonstrated that sometimes expanding the script was necessary in order to address a trouble source and was an expected action when co-constructing and completing a task with a partner. The examples from the data of pair interactions indicate that students relied on this technique and were successful in using it to reorient their partner to the correct script lines and complete the script.

In comparing both excerpts 4.25 and 4.27, it is possible to see that there is a slight difference in how the student's oriented to their partner's unscripted or delayed response. In excerpt 4.25, Oro laughed, which in no way could be confused with the next script line that he was assigned as speaker B, "I don't feel well." Therefore, even before Oro was done laughing, Vasco viewed Oro's laughter as a trouble source and provided the next possible script line. However, in excerpt 4.27, Ly began the scripted response in line 4, and it had the potential to be a complete script line. But, due to Ly's

delay mechanisms—elongation of lexical items and non-lexical turn holders, and pause—Ada viewed Ly's line as a trouble source and inserted a candidate word. Thus, Ada waited for a moment to see if Ly would complete the line, but Vasco did not wait for Oro, as Oro showed no sign of continuing the script.

Excerpt 4.27 is similar to examples of delay seen in section 4.5.1. For instance, Ly used non-lexical turn holders to take her turn but delay saying her script line, and then elongated the lexical item "a" prior to completing the blank spot with a vocabulary word. She also leaned forward to reference her notebook and paused briefly. Thus, she used nearly all of the verbal and non-verbal cues mentioned in section 4.5.1 to demonstrate that she was engaging in delay in order to select a vocabulary word to complete her line "I have a ____ ache." In section 4.5.1 partners oriented to these delay mechanisms and non-verbal cues and waited for the speaker to complete the line. Why then did Ada not pick up on these delay signals or treat them as such? Potentially, it is due to Ly's response in line 2 when she engaged in self-repair.

After Ly's first self-repair in line 2, Ada responded, not with the next script line, but initially with "hum" similar in its tone to third turn feedback provided by a teacher in an IRF (initiation, response, feedback) sequence. In these sequences, the teacher asks the student a question, the student responds, and then the teacher provides either positive or negative feedback which confirms whether the student's response was correct or not. In the above sequence, Ada initiated the beginning of the script; Ly provided an answer with self-repair, and then Ada provided feedback in the form of

"hum" and nodding her head. Thus, Ada showed that she was comfortable with the script and was oriented to the correct script line order and responses. It was only after this, that Ada said the next line of script. This type of sequence established Ada in the role of "teacher" or expert in the task, demonstrating her knowledge of how to say each line of script. It set up a sequential precedent for Ada to offer a possible candidate word while Ly was completing her line. Thus, when Ada heard the pause in line 5 she oriented to it as an opportunity to help Ly finish her script line. Ly accepted this response from Ada and chose to use it as her solution to the blank slot in her line of script.

Due to the language-learning focus of the task, students rarely oriented to the irony involved in providing someone with a trouble to report on or an answer regarding their state of being. In a non-language learning task, speakers would find it unusual to answer the second part of an adjacency pair for their interlocutor unless for instance they were joking around. However, in the context of the classroom and the students' orientation to the script as a task, students who provided a word or a next line for their partner were helpful and performing good pair interaction behaviors. Because students knew that they were not answering the question 'how are you?' or reporting on their state of being truthfully, they simply oriented to the script turns as lines to read in a particular order as accurately as possible. This orientation then provided opportunities for students to engage in other-repair, which was seen as helpful by other classroom participants.

4.5.4. Task Management Talk

Previous sections (4.5.1, 4.5.2, and 4.5.3) have focused on the script itself and how students oriented to the script language, turn construction, and the sequence turn order. In most of the above cases, both students in each pair were oriented to the practices involved in beginning and performing the script together. That is, students understood where to start the script, when to take their turn, how to construct turns and how to locate information (script lines and vocabulary) needed to complete the script. In performing these actions each student relied on their partner to orient to their verbal and non-verbal cues such as gaze, pointing, delaying devices, previous turns, and slight shifts in body alignment. These actions conveyed information about who was doing what, what was being done, and who would do what next.

In this section, I discuss the actions that students used to manage the progression and ending of a task. Task management practices involve the use of language and techniques beyond the task content and became necessary when students were unsure of what they needed to do or how the task should progress. It was not unusual to see task management techniques in nearly every task as students needed ways to begin the task, assign roles, switch roles, and end the task. As mentioned, these techniques and actions became an integral part of most pair tasks and were necessary in order to accomplish the task as the teacher assigned (Hellermann, 2008). Students learned many of these techniques from the teacher who modeled them prior to the task (see Section 4.4.1.3). Because many students learn quickly or are already familiar with the types of words and non-verbal cues used in order to accomplish task

management actions, this talk usually took up very little time in the course of a task. However, when one student in a pair was not oriented to these actions, the pair spent a greater amount of task time discussing how to do the task or resolving miscommunications about what to do next.

In the data I collected of pairs performing script sequences, I observed many pairs engaging in explicit role allocation and talk related to closing a task. In section 4.5.4.1, I discuss some of the common ways that students assigned and switched roles. In section 4.5.4.2, I discuss how the pairs in the data set decided when to end the task. Because the teacher never specifically told students how many times to perform the script, pairs often had to decide when to end the task on their own.

4.5.4.1. Role Allocation

One of the more interesting elements in these scripted tasks was the way participants switched roles midway through task. Explicit role allocation occurred in six out of the 10 pairs observed. The other four pairs did not need to use explicit allocation techniques as both partners seemed to be in sync with the timing and turn order of the script.

The scripts were designed for one student to read speaker A lines and the other student to read speaker B lines (see Figure 4.5). The students used numerous techniques to accomplish role switches, which resembled the techniques used by the teacher when modeling the task. To recall, the teacher verbally assigned herself the role of speaker A by saying "ay" and pointing at herself and assigned a student or the whole classroom of students as speaker B by pointing and saying "bee." The students

relied on these tools and used them frequently in their own pair tasks to manage role taking. However, unlike the teacher, the students used these role allocations in the middle of the task, but not to open the task. In fact, in all ten of the pair interactions, one student in the pair self-selected as speaker A and opened the task with the first script line, "how are you" also known as a "direct launch" (Hellermann, 2008). Thus, student role allocations were used to switch roles midway through the task. In the first excerpt (4.28), I provide an example of how students used an explicit role allocation to resolve the timing and turn order of the task. Later, in excerpt 4.29, I show a pair whose use of the teacher modeled role allocations did not work and the miscommunication that arose due to each student's different orientation to the task.

4.5.4.1.1. Role allocation using teacher's model

In excerpt 4.28, lines 8 and 10, Ada said the last line of scripted dialogue, "oh I'm sorry," and Ly overlapped her with "uh how how" in line 9. Ly oriented to the overlap with Ada by repeating Ada's last line and laughing. In order to restart the script sequence with Ly as speaker A, Ada said "you" in line 12 and pointed at Ly and at the whiteboard (the location of the script). Ly oriented to Ada's actions in line 12 as a role allocation and responded quickly by reading the first speaker A script line (13).

(4.28)

```
8. A:             [ oh::
9. L: uh [ how how
10.A:    [ I'm sorry
11.L: I'm sor[ ry huhuh
12.A:        [ you ((points towards L and then at WB))
13.L: how how are you?
```

Ly originally tried to restart the script as speaker A in line 9, but she found that this was not an appropriate place to do so in the sequence, because Ada was still in the process of finishing her role as speaker A. In fact, Ly's attempted restart was overlapped by Ada's last line. From line 11, it is possible to discern that Ly oriented to the overlap in line 9 and 10 as a mistake on her part. By repeating the overlapped part of Ada's last line, "I'm sorry," Ly provided a receipt token that she had heard Ada's line 10. Ly even laughed a little bit, probably in response to her early restart of the script.

Ada seemed to orient to the turn sequence and events differently. She was in the process of completing her final line as speaker A in lines 8 and 10. She herself did not orient to the overlap as Ly had and did not try to repeat her lines or engage in repair. She may not have even heard the overlap. Thus, from Ada's viewpoint, the script was finished in line 10. Line 11 was then an appropriate TRP for Ly to restart or stop the script. However, Ada heard Ly repeat Ada's previous line, "I'm sorry" and laugh. Once Ada realized that Ly was not restarting the script, she overlapped Ly's repair in line 11 with an explicit role allocation. She said the second person pronoun 'you' and pointed at Ly and the whiteboard (line 12) to indicate to Ly that she should now restart the script as speaker A, which Ly did in line 13.

Ada's explicit role allocation happened quickly and with little effort on Ada's part. In many ways, this allocation resembled the tactics previously modeled by the teacher when giving instructions (pointing and using the second person pronoun 'you') as the teacher did in line 29-32 in excerpt 4.29.

(4.29)

```
29.  T: one more time ((holds up one finger)). I am ((points to
30.  right side of page))
31.  (1)
32.  T: and you are ((points to left side of page)) okay.
33.  how are you ((motions with hands))
34.  Ss: I don't feel well.
```

In the above excerpt, the teacher directed the students to say speaker B lines, while she said speaker A lines. She held up a piece of paper with the script on it and pointed to the right side of the page saying, "I am," referring to speaker A. Then she pointed to the left side of the page while saying, "and you are" (line 32) referring to speaker B. In this instance, the teacher did not use the speaker roles 'A' and 'B' to assign roles, but instead used the basic first and second person pronouns along with their respective 'be' verbs to direct students to their roles for the task. The students oriented to the teacher's use of the second person pronoun 'you' to mean all of the students and quickly oriented to their speaker role for the task with the teacher. Once the teacher read the first line of script, she motioned to the group of students with her hands, and the students responded with the second script line, (line 33-34).

Ly, too, oriented to the allocation quickly. Due to both students' willingness to continue the script and switch roles, Ada's role allocation was successful and efficient. In fact, the only reason Ada even needed to explicitly assign a role allocation was because the pair overlapped and Ly oriented to the overlap in line 11. Ly already demonstrated in line 9 that she was willing to switch roles and that she knew it was her turn to be speaker A. She simply did not restart the script at an appropriate place in the turn sequence. Due to Ly's misstep in the timing of the script restart and her

orientation to the overlap in line 11, Ada found it necessary to explicitly tell Ly to restart the script. Thus, Ada's role allocation had less to do with which role Ly should take and more to do with when Ly should begin her new role as speaker A. As seen in the transcript, Ada did not say, "you A," she said only, "you," indicating that, at this moment, Ly could assume the role of speaker A. The explicit role allocation became a way of repairing the pair's orientation to the timing of the script turn sequence.

4.5.4.1.2 Pair uses alternative role allocation method

While in excerpt 4.28 Ada's explicit role allocation was successful and quick; at other times it took several attempts and different tactics to orient a partner to switching roles. In this next pair interaction (excerpt 4.30), Ming and TaiHuan were not oriented to the task in the same way and thus role switching using the teacher's model was not successful.

In Ming and TaiHuan's interaction, the pair had just completed the 6-turn script once with Ming as speaker A and TaiHuan as speaker B. Because the script was six turns long and TaiHuan was speaker B, he said the sixth and final line (line 17). That being the case, in talk-in-interaction, the default is that the next turn would be for Ming (Sacks, 1992; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) at which point she could restart the script. However, Ming added an additional seventh, non-script turn in line 18, "thank you," which opened the floor to TaiHuan and provided a slot for his possible next turn. There was a five second pause as Ming waited for TaiHuan to take the next turn, but he did not. So, in order to restart the script sequence with TaiHuan (in the white hat) as speaker A, Ming (in the striped shirt) (see Figure 4.15) attempted

a non-verbal role allocation—touching TaiHuan's shoulder (line 20).

(4.30)

```
17. T: maybe you're right. ((points towards M))
18. M: thank you
19. (5)
20. M: ((touches T's shoulder))
```

Figure 4.15
Ming's non-verbal role allocation

TaiHuan did not orient to Ming's non-verbal action as a role allocation, but as a summons and said, "hum" with rising intonation indicating a query for the summons (excerpt 4. 31, line 21). In line 22, Ming tried telling him what role to be (A), which she produces as "you egg." Again, TaiHuan oriented to Ming's statement by repeating, "hum" displaying his non-understanding of Ming's physical and verbal actions (line 23). Ming told him what to do as speaker A in line 24, "you ak," and pointed at him and then at herself, attempting to tell him that he should ask her the questions. She attempted explicit role allocation again in line 26 and explained that TaiHuan should say speaker A lines in line 30.

(4.31)

21. T: ((leans towards M)) hum¿
22. M: you (egg)
23. T: hum¿
24. M: you ((points to T)) ak ((points to herself))
25. T: ache?
26. M: you ay ((points to T))
27. (2)
28. M: ay, ((points to herself))
29. T: ay? ((leans towards M))
30. M: you, you say ay.

Figure 4.16
Ming's Verbal Role Allocation

When TaiHuan still did not orient to these turns as role allocations, Ming provided him with the first line of the script, "how are you" (excerpt 4.32, line 32). As evidenced in TaiHuan's response in line 33, "how are you what," this role allocation also did not work. Ming responded by laughing, and then TaiHuan used his native language, Chinese, to translate "how are you." Ming responded in Chinese, "I know, but you should say how are you," indicating that she understood the meaning of 'how are you', but that TaiHuan should now be asking her this question. In other words, the pair resorted to their shared language (Chinese) to switch roles in the script task. In

line 38, TaiHuan displayed new understanding through change of state tokens (Heritage, 1984), “oh::oh::::” and then said the first line of the script. Ming responded with the second line of script in line 39.

(4.32)

31. (1)
32. M: how are you? ((motions hand up))
33. T: how are you what. ((looks at M))
34. M: heehee[h
35. T: [how are you. ((Chinese: *how are you*))
36. M: ((Chinese: *I know but you should say how are you*))
37. ((points to WB))
38. T: >oh oh::::< so um ( ) how ↑ar::e you. ((points to M))
39. M: not so good. ((looking at WB))

In excerpt 4.30, line 17, TaiHuan said the sixth and final turn in the script “maybe you’re right.” The two participants could have stopped the task at this point. However, the data show that Ming, at least, oriented to this as a script for practice, and attempted to get TaiHuan to restart the script. Ming was orienting to a typical phenomenon of pair task work: switching roles. But, her partner TaiHuan oriented to the turns in the script more as sincere inquiries into his state of being and did not orient to the script as a task that must be repeated with a role switch. As seen in line 33 after Ming provided TaiHuan with his script line, TaiHuan’s response, “how are you what” was a repair initiation not oriented to the task, but to the action. TaiHuan was not orienting to this as a script to repeat, but as an actual conversation, as was shown previously in section 4.5.2.2, excerpts 4.24 and 4.25, when he responded with unscripted talk to scripted questions and expanded on his answers.

In an earlier section (4.5.2) on unscripted talk during scripted tasks, TaiHuan's orientation to the task reflected his abilities. However, the pair's different orientation to and expectations for the task caused an unusually long miscommunication about the task's progression. Whereas TaiHuan was interested in expansions and unscripted talk, Ming placed importance on switching roles and completing the task as assigned. Hence, the miscommunication arose when Ming tried to use teacher-like task management talk in order to assign a role to TaiHuan, who was more oriented to Ming's talk as conversational. Thus, after several strategies Ming was only able to clarify her actions and talk to TaiHuan when she communicated with him in their shared first language.

In the previous example of a role switch (see section 4.5.4.1.1), the students used the teacher's model of explicit role allocation to resolve a timing issue. In the second example, involving Ming and TaiHuan (4.5.4.1.2), a student's use of the teacher's model resulted in miscommunication. The two different outcomes can be attributed to how students oriented to the task. The students were successful in the first instance because they shared a common orientation to the task—both were oriented to it as a script for practice—and thus task management talk was effective. But in the second example, the two students had different orientations to the task—one was oriented to it as a script for practice while the other oriented to it as a conversation—and thus task management talk was ineffective. The pair had to rely on alternative resources to progress in the task and communicate effectively with their partner.

4.5.4.2. Task Closings

Previously (4.5.4.1), I discussed role allocation, a way that students manage a task's sequential organization and progression by assigning roles to one another both verbally and non-verbally. In the first example (4.5.4.1.1), I showed how role allocation was a useful resource in order to repair the timing of the pair's turn-taking order. In the later example (4.5.4.1.2), role allocation was less successful and more time consuming because the students were oriented to the task in different ways.

This next section looks at the methods students used to end a task. While the teacher modeled task management techniques for role switching, in the data I collected I never saw a teacher model or explain how to stop a pair task. Many times teachers told the students how long the task should be (i.e. five to ten minutes) or to complete a workbook page together or a set number of questions, implying that the task would be over once the students have exhausted the material. These actions, however, are different from modeling how to end a task and what language and non-verbal techniques to use in order to mutually agree with a partner on an appropriate stopping point. Therefore, ending a task was one of the few task management techniques that students usually needed to work out for themselves.

Students did not always need to engage in a task closing, just as students did not always need to engage in explicit role allocation. For instance, a task often closed before the pair was 'officially' done with the task content because the teacher redirected their focus and attention back to her and the front of the classroom (Hellermann & Cole, in press). In these cases, neither student needed to initiate the

task closing as they both focused on the teacher's voice and consequently disengaged from their pair work and the task. And as mentioned, sometimes the amount of task content dictated the end of a task. That is, students ran out of material to perform and then mutually agreed through body movements and post-task talk (i.e. thank you, okay, finish) that the task was complete. At other times, however, the students were told to repeat the task content multiple times—how many times was unclear to both of them—at which point it was up to the pair to decide whether to continue until the teacher stopped them or until one of them initiated a task closing.

Students had many methods for initiating a task closing, but usually a closing was only successful when both students in the pair showed their mutually readiness to stop. The methods used by students at the data collection site included post-task talk, body posturing that oriented them away from their partner (Hellermann, 2008) and gestures that included repositioning their personal belongings (i.e. notebook, bag, glasses, coat, etc.). Many times, students relied only on non-verbal cues such as turning away from one another and positioning themselves to face the front of the room, another partner, or their own notebook. In such cases where there was no post-task closing talk, the task closed with the last line of task material and a non-verbal orientation away from their partner. At other times students began unrelated task talk (i.e. asking each other personal questions, talking in their native language, etc.), which also accomplished the action of closing a task. Hence, in most task closings there was a verbal and/or non-verbal mutual orientation to the closing of a task.

In the following excerpts, the pairs engaged in task closings that involved both body posturing and verbal post-task talk. In each pair one student initiated the task closing. In the first example (excerpt 4.33), the student that initiated the task closing did so in an additional turn once the script was complete, while in the second example (excerpt 4.34), the student initiating the task closing did so in place of a script line and without the mutual orientation from his partner.

4.5.4.2.1 Coordinated non-verbal disengagement

Excerpt 4.33, shows Qui and Ariza, completing the script for the final time. Ariza self-selected as speaker A and began with the first script line (line 77). The pair completed the first two adjacency pairs of the 5-turn script (lines 78-83). In line 84, Ariza responded with an incomplete script line, "I'm sorry," and left out the discourse marker, "oh." In the next line (85) Qui laughed, said "thank you" and continued laughing. She also adjusted her glasses and repositioned herself to face the whiteboard, away from Ariza. Ariza immediately shifted herself away from Qui and repositioned her notebook.

(4.33)

77.A: [how are you.
78.Q: I don't feel well.
79.(3)
80.A: um:: what is what's the matter. ((reads from NB))
81.Q: my:: leg
82.(.)
83.hurty ((reads from NB))
84.A: I'm sorry.
85.Q: ahuhuhuhuh thank you ahuhuhuh ((adjusts glasses, turns to
86.face the WB))
87.A: ((shifts her posture to face the front of the room and
88.rearranges her NB))

In line 85, the pair could have ended the task with both students non-verbally orienting away from one another, or one of them could have reinitiated the script with the first script line. Instead, Qui chose to take a turn and used it to initiate a task closing through post-task talk and repositioning away from her partner. For pairs in language-learning classrooms, how does saying 'thank you' initiate a task closing? In Ming and TaiHuan's interaction (excerpt 4.30, line 20), Ming also said 'thank you' after TaiHuan's final script line, yet this did not initiate a task closing. The difference was in how the pairs showed their orientation to 'thank you' in their subsequent turns and their body gestures. For instance, in Ming and TaiHuan's interaction (excerpt 4.30), there was a long pause after Ming said 'thank you' which suggested that TaiHuan did orient to it as a task closing. However, Ming did not, because as previously shown she then allocated the speaker A role to TaiHuan. Her 'thank you' in line 20 was a way of initiating a restart of the script. So, in Qui and Ariza's interaction, why did 'thank you' signify a task closing and not a role allocation? From looking at both Qui and Ariza's body language, it is possible to see that both immediately displayed the outward signs of disengagement: body posturing, adjusting personal belongings, and turning away from their partner. In addition, Ariza did not respond verbally, only non-verbally with her disengagement practices, which suggests that she heard Qui's 'thank you' as a task closing. Further video of Qui and Ariza, after this excerpt, showed the two students working individually without speaking until the teacher refocused attention to the front of the room. Thus, the post-task talk was secondary when accompanied by physical gestures signaling a completion to the

task and was oriented to by both partners as a task completion.

4.5.4.2.2 Student waits for Teacher's task closing

Qui initiated the task closing with a task closing remark, "thank you," and both students signaled the task closing through their mutual disengagement and body alignment away from one another. This example was typical of many task closings and was a common behavior that students oriented to when engaging in pair work (Hellermann, 2008).

Earlier in section 4.5.3.1, Oro tried to stop the task by making a 'T' sign with his hands and Vasco responded with "no," signifying that he wanted to continue the task. After Vasco provided Oro with the speaker B lines, Oro then continued the task as speaker B. In order to see how the pair finally managed to stop the task, I examined later excerpts from their interaction.

In excerpt 4.34, Oro once again tried to end the task with unscripted talk and gestures and was again unsuccessful. In line 91, Vasco asked the first script line of the 5-turn script, "how are you." Instead of responding with the scripted, "I don't feel well," Oro responded by laughing, verbalizing "timeout" and provided a non-verbal gesture of a "T" sign (lines 92-93). Vasco did not respond to this request as he did the previous one in excerpt 4.25, and there was a pause in line 94 before Oro supplied his scripted line (95). Vasco then continued the script while looking in his notebook and then at the whiteboard.

(4.34)

```
91. V: how are y[ ou.
92. O:          [ hahahahtimeout huhuh ((makes a "T" shape with
93. hands))
94. (.)
95. O: ((moves hands from V to O)) I don't feel well.
96. V: .hh (.) what's the matter. ((looks in NB and then looks
97. at WB))
```

Oro made a 'T' sign with his hands (lines 107-108)

Figure 4.17
Oro requests timeout

As in a previous excerpt, Oro responded with unscripted laughter, and in this excerpt added "timeout." In fact, his laughter overlapped Vasco's question in line 92. Oro then added a hand gesture in the shape of a 'T' and said "timeout." Both of these actions suggest that Oro wanted to stop the task or at least pause it. Vasco showed no orientation to Oro's request, but simply continued to look in his notebook. After not receiving a response from Vasco or a mutual orientation to stopping the task, Oro continued with his next script line, at which point Vasco said his next assigned script line. Thus, Vasco did not respond to Oro's unscripted response as he did previously in excerpt 4.25. In excerpt 4.25, once Vasco saw Oro laughing, he provided Oro with the

next script line; in excerpt 4.34 he did not. There was only a slight pause between Oro's request and Oro's saying of the next assigned script line. It is uncertain why Vasco did not respond in this instance, as he did the last, but his non-orientation to Oro's request caused Oro to once again continue the task.

If the students were oriented to this script as a real conversation, Oro's turn in line 92 would be an unusual response to the question "how are you." Even in this case, where it is clear that the students were oriented to the script as a task, Oro's timing for such a request was highly unusual, as Vasco had already restarted the script. As mentioned, most task closings occurred once the task content was exhausted, or in these script sequences, once the script was completed, as in Qui and Ariza's closing. However, Vasco already restarted the script, thus, he immediately displayed to Oro that he was continuing the task, not stopping. Therefore, Oro's second attempt to stop the task was unsuccessful, because Vasco was not mutually oriented to stopping the task. It was only after the pair had completed the entire script one more time after this excerpt that both partners oriented to stopping the task. In fact, Vasco in particular seemed to be waiting for the teacher to tell them to stop the task, and his gaze and orientation to the teacher displayed his awareness of her presence and directions.

In this next sequence (excerpt 4.35), we see that the pair once again completed the entire script as Vasco said the final line, "oh I'm sorry" (line 113). In addition, he looked up at the teacher as she moved to the front of the room. The teacher then said "okay::," and Oro engaged in disengagement practices such as shifting his posture towards the front of the room and moving his books around. Vasco too moved his

books and readjusted his body alignment to face the front of the room.

(4.35)

```
113. V: oh, I'm sorry. ((looks at Teacher at front of room))
114. .hhhum
115. (.)
116. T: okay::
117. O: ((puts RH up, turns towards the front of the classroom
118. and shifts books))
119. V: ((begins moving books))
```

From this final excerpt, it is possible to discern that Vasco saw and followed the teacher's whereabouts in the classroom and oriented to her moving to the front of the classroom as a sign that she would soon ask for the class's attention. He looked up and, from the pause in line 115, we see that he also did not restart the script as he did on previous occasions. Consequently, the teacher began a ritual of getting student's attention. She said "okay," a verbal marker frequently used in classroom settings that signals the need for students to stop what they are doing, pay attention to the teacher, and prepare for a new activity (Hellermann, 2008). Oro showed that he was ready to stop the task much earlier than the teacher and demonstrated that he was comfortable stopping the task on his own terms and in his own way. Vasco, however, displayed that he preferred to continue practicing the script until the teacher stopped them. Due to each partner's different expectations for when to close a task, Oro was unsuccessful in his attempts to close the task earlier without the mutual agreement from Vasco.

Prior to the RP tasks, the teacher did not give any explicit instructions to students on how to stop the task, so it was common to see pairs repeat the script together multiple times. In addition, her instructions in section 4.4, excerpt 4.4 and 4.5, implied that students would need to repeat the script together as a way of using

different vocabulary in the blank spots she left in the script. So, she probably assumed that the students would repeat the task multiple times until she stopped them or they decided to stop on their own. Because task closings were never explicitly stated in the instructions for the task, students inferred from the teacher's instructions how many times they should read the script, and stopped the task by conferring with their partner on an appropriate place to do so.

It appears that due to the nature of the script, students recognized the importance of repeating the script multiple times with their partner, not only to switch roles but also to practice various vocabulary words each time. Thus, for the script sequences at least, the students repeated it until they became bored with it or until the teacher stopped them. However, the method for successfully closing a task required several key factors. First, both partners had to be mutually oriented to stopping the task. Second, the most important indicator that a partner wanted to stop a task was their body language and disengagement practices, not necessarily the language that they used. These non-verbal gestures were also especially helpful when the students did not have the language to close the task linguistically. And last, the person who initiated the task closing needed to decide on an appropriate place in the turn sequence to request an end to the task. When these factors were met, the task closings were successful, but when one of them was not met, miscommunications arose and task closings were less successful.

Thus, task management talk and gestures were essential to the timing and completion of the task. Role allocations tended to be important for the timing and

continuation of the script when both partners were oriented to the task as a script for practice. In addition, task closings required mutual orientation by both partners and accurate timing in order to be successful. When partners oriented to the task differently, task management talk was less successful and section 4.5.4.1.2 showed that the students resorted to alternative methods (using native language) to resolve the role allocation, while excerpt 4.5.4.2.2 showed that mutual orientation to task management talk was relevant to a successful task closing.

Because teachers cannot be explicit about every aspect of beginning, progressing in, and ending a task, students are required to manage many of these aspects of tasks themselves. In addition, even if teachers were to make their instructions more explicit, CA data analysis demonstrates that this "does not simply imply that they will be followed more accurately; rather, instructions and their results remain embedded in the classroom course of action" (Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004, p. 509). Thus, the majority of the time, task management talk was a tool and resource students used to help each other orient to each other's current roles and actions.

4.6 Chapter Summary

In chapter 4 I provided a detailed account of my data set and three different perspectives on the scripted role-plays—a native English speaker, the teacher, and the students. I first analyzed each script's sequential structure and discussed the projected social action for each line from a native speaker's perspective. This basis of comparison provided a way to show how the scripts were used and oriented to

differently by participants in an institutional setting such as a language-learning classroom. The scripts interested me because they had great potential as language-learning tools. They could expose students to more colloquial language, alternative meanings to common expressions (i.e., I'm sorry), ways to engage in a troubles telling, and common ways of responding to someone's troubles (i.e., offer sympathy or advice). I then focused on the degree to which these elements were emphasized in a classroom language-learning task.

Next, I discussed how the teacher presented and modeled the scripts. In her modeling of the task, I uncovered her goals by identifying her most frequently emphasized aspects of the scripts. In each instance when the teacher modeled the script, she emphasized proper turn-taking (speaker A and B lines), accurate pronunciation of the script's lexical items, and practice of new lexical items. The teacher did not focus much on the conversational potential of the scripts such as timing, intonation, and eye contact, but I made no predictions about what aspects the students would focus on in their own readings of the scripts. The majority of my data consisted of the most common actions by student pairs: orientations to the script, turn-taking procedures, gaze on printed resource and partner, variations in script lines, and task management techniques.

Students focused primarily on vocabulary and pronunciation practice, similar to the teacher. Despite the scripts potential as a useful conversational tool outside of the classroom, inside the classroom students remained oriented to the script as a task and saw it as something to practice. One possible explanation is that students found

this environment to be a safe place to practice language skills with peers—they could read the script numerous times until they had achieved a certain level of automaticity.

I organized my data from student pairs into four main sections: timing, unscripted talk, turn management, and task management. In section 4.5.1, I examined each individual line and detected recurrent patterns in how students said the lines. Before students said a script line they often engaged in conversational mechanisms and non-verbal gestures to delay saying the line. They used non-lexical placement holders such as 'um' and 'uh' or repeated the previous speaker's line as they referenced a printed resource prior to saying their line. Or, students said the script line, paused, looked at the printed script, and then elongated a lexical item (i.e., 'a' or 'my') prior to filling the blank spot in the script lines "my ___ hurts" and " I have a ___ ache." The written design of the script and the blank spot left in line 4 perpetuated many of these delay mechanisms because students needed time to select a 'trouble' to report on. Interestingly the partner did not take a turn during this time, but waited for the current speaker to finish the full line.

My analysis of section 4.5.1 indicated that students oriented to the script as reading practice. Despite students' knowledge of the conversational style of this script, students did not memorize lines, attempt to deviate from the script, or maintain eye contact with their partner, as might have been the case had students oriented to the conversational aspects of the greeting sequences. In the classes I observed the students appeared to develop a dependence on printed resources because the teacher constantly provided written language support. Interestingly, students' orientations to the script as

reading practice created a need for devices such as pausing, delaying, or repairing the script lines as they say them. These alterations to the script lines demonstrated the creative ways that students converted the written script into spoken language. Ironically, though the spoken script did not always resemble the written script, the conversational mechanisms that students used helped them to achieve a higher degree of accuracy.

In section 4.5.2, I demonstrated how students' orientation to reading and accuracy was a result of the teacher's emphasis on these aspects during the modeling of the script. In fact, students choose this orientation, despite having the ability to answer the script questions automatically. In the first example of unscripted talk, the student oriented to it as a mistake and quickly repaired it. In the second example, the student supplied unscripted responses throughout the task as a way of practicing his English conversational skills. Both students displayed their goals for the task: the first student demonstrated that while she was capable of answering the scripted questions unaided by text resources, she chose not to the majority of the time and focused on reading each teacher supplied line as accurately as possible. The second student chose unscripted talk in place of scripted talk the majority of the time as a way of practicing his own language and conversational skills. Although both students oriented to the script differently, both pairs of students completed the task successfully and followed the general framework for the script.

Section 4.5.3 showed how students co-constructed the script together and aided one another in completing the task through turn management. When a student did not

see their partner orient to the script as the teacher assigned, the student took it upon themselves to manage the turns in the script and provided their partner with the next line or word in the script. This action expanded the 5-turn script by two lines in order to address the trouble source. That is, a student would orient to their partner's previous line as a trouble source, and engage in repair by offering them a candidate next line. In both of the examples I provided, it only took students one repair attempt to regain their partner's orientation to the assigned script lines. By using the script as a repair resource, students found a quick and efficient way to address and correct the turn sequence, which then aided in the accurate reading of the script.

Finally, in the last section 4.5.4, I discussed ways that students managed the task as they performed script sequences. The ways that students managed a task while performing a QA and an RP task did not differ to a great extent. In all task types, students performed role allocations and task closings. However, by analyzing students' ritual management techniques when performing a scripted RP task I gained insight into how students chose to orient to the scripts. For instance, explicit role allocation seemed to be less effective when both students were oriented to the task in different ways. Role allocations were a functionary part of classroom tasks, and became a part of performing a task with a partner. However, in scripted role-plays, there was the potential of seeing the script as something more than a task, and more as an actual conversation that someone might have outside of the classroom. Outside of the classroom when people engage in a greeting sequence, it is natural for one person to initiate the greeting, and for the other to reciprocate the greeting—explicit role

allocations are not necessary (i.e., “now ask me how I’m doing”). In the classroom, however, students were accustomed to being told to switch roles and they used specific language to perform this action (i.e., you A; you ask; now you; change, etc). However, I showed how students struggled to use task management talk when one student in a pair was oriented to the script as an actual conversation (section 4.5.4.1.2). For this student, explicit role switching in a conversation was a strange event, therefore, when his partner attempted to use explicit role allocation, he oriented to her talk as social actions such as summons and clarifications. Finally the pair resorted to using their shared language in order to help one another determine the next step in the interaction.

In addition, I explored the ways that students closed a task. Teachers rarely addressed the issue of closing a task as they gave the instructions. Therefore, students needed to rely on their own methods and determine the appropriate timing for closing a task on their own. Interestingly, students tended to repeat the assigned language in the script more than in other task types. A possible cause can be attributed to the teacher instructions and the amount of language content in the scripts. First, the teacher never said to switch partners, but only told students to practice the ‘conversation’ with their partner using different vocabulary words each time. Second, student pairs could complete the entire script once together in about twenty seconds, so pairs realized that they would need to repeat the script multiple times in order to use up the five or ten minutes that the teacher had allotted for the task. Thus, when to stop repeating the script became an issue for many pairs. Certain conditions needed to be

met for successful task closings. First, partners needed to display mutual orientation to closing the task. Second, this orientation was more effective when partners used non-verbal cues such as turning away from their partner. And last, the student initiating the task closing needed to choose an appropriate place in the task to do so.

In general, the data presented in each of the four sections showed a strong orientation by the students to the accurate saying of the script and continuation of the task, whether this required them to slow down, reference the printed script, help their partner, or assign roles. The pairs used creative ways to display to their partner what they were doing, why, and what would happen next. This constant orientation and awareness to the partner and the task showed that students knew their role in a classroom environment. They were constantly reading subtle cues and gestures from other classroom participants and thinking critically about teacher instructions in order to figure out what their role was as a student and as a partner in each new situation. This strong awareness of their role as a student, helped learners take ownership of how they learned the English language and what aspects they wanted to focus on. While most students in the data set demonstrated a need to follow teacher instructions, say the script accurately, and complete the task, some students showed a desire to use the script as conversational practice, while others practiced reading and pronunciation. None of these goals or orientations was better than another, students simply had different expectations for what they hope to learn or gain from a task and different methods for carrying out teacher instructions. Despite individual differences in each learner—learning style, orientation to classroom events and tasks, language ability—

the data show that from a conversation analytic perspective every student engaged in and used many of the same verbal and non-verbal techniques to perform and carry out an RP greeting task.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Findings

Each section in the data analysis showed the mechanisms used by students in a language-learning classroom to orient to teacher assigned role-play scripts and carry out teacher instructions in pair tasks. In section 4.5.1, the data demonstrated that students not only used the teacher's framework for the task, but also took ownership of their own language learning by regulating the timing and pace of their script lines. Section 4.5.2 showed several students' unscripted responses, which displayed one student's current language knowledge and another student's goals for and interpretation of the task. In section 4.5.3 pairs helped one another co-construct a task by altering the script's sequential structure in order to address repair issues. Finally in 4.5.4 I showed how pairs managed the timing, progression, and completion of a task through role allocations and task closing talk.

I found that when students took ownership of their own language learning, they used certain conversational mechanisms in their turn at talk to regulate the timing and accuracy of what they needed to say. Their partners oriented to the speaker's self-regulating techniques and delay mechanisms and allowed the speaker to finish their current turn without interrupting or overlap. At other times, the students either did not or chose not to use the script lines; instead they gave unscripted responses. While in one case, the student and her partner immediately oriented to the unscripted response as a task error, in the other case, the partner accepted the speaker's answers as adequate turns within the script, and continued with her own script lines. Sometimes,

however, if students did not follow the sequential sequence of the script and no self-repair was initiated, their partner would provide help in the form of a candidate next line or word. In so doing, the pair co-constructed the script together, adding additional turn sequences in order to address trouble sources. Thus, other-repair was used specifically to fix the timing or accuracy of the script turn sequences, and pairs oriented to this action as helpful and necessary for the continuation and completion of the script. In addition, pairs found non-script talk or task management talk to be helpful in repairing and regulating role assignments and task closings. Many pairs used the teacher model for assigning roles and they often developed their own efficient methods for closing a task. However, task management talk was successful at reorienting a pair or continuing or closing a task only when certain conditions were met. For example, non-script language used to assign roles or close a task was most effective when both partners were oriented to the task in the same way, showed mutual orientation to and agreed on the direction of the task, and when the person initiating the task management talk did so in an appropriate place in the turn sequence. Thus, while students tended to micromanage their own turns (4.5.1 and 4.5.2), partners helped one another to keep in sync with the turn sequence of the scripts and the progression of the task in general (4.5.3 and 4.5.4).

5.2 Discussion

In this section, I consider my original goals for this thesis and then compare this to my data analysis. I knew that teachers, despite giving explicit instructions for how a task should be done, do not always know and cannot know many times, how the

students accomplish or complete the task. Yet their task designs often reflect certain goals that they hope students will accomplish. Many researchers claim to be able to know how students engage in a task with one another. But they often gather their data quantitatively and focus on the end results of the experiment, thus purporting their own viewpoint of what a task should look like and not what the task actually looked like. My intent was to gather data from actual ESL classrooms, not laboratories, and analyze the data using CA methodology in order to capture the participants' perspectives.

5.2.1 Goals of Literature Review and Methodology

Earlier in my literature review I compared quantitative and qualitative studies that looked at learners in a language-learning classroom and how students accomplished tasks based on teacher instructions. I stressed that qualitative studies using a methodology such as conversation analysis provide a more comprehensive overview of the methods, skills and resources that students use during language-learning tasks, than do quantitative studies. I suggested that the reason for this more in-depth coverage of tasks was that qualitative studies do not isolate variables or reproduce classroom-like settings for students. Instead, they look at all of the variables and their complex connections in natural contexts. Quantitative studies tend to purport the researcher's view, make assumptions about what they expect to see in the data, and generalize patterns. However, researchers using qualitative methods, especially CA, aim to present actions and details from the participants' perspective. They only make interpretations on these actions based on evidence from participants' previous, current,

and subsequent talk, gestures and gaze.

In my study I demonstrated how CA was a beneficial tool for describing the way in which students used language in a classroom to carry out tasks. I avoided characterizing students based on external categorization systems such as race and gender, and I presented data and analyses in the context of participants' interactions. I showed that assumptions couldn't be made about what a participant was trying to do or what their actions meant. Instead I collected evidence from the talk-in-interaction to strengthen my claims regarding what students were doing. Approaching the data, I had no idea what to expect. For a long time, even after I had identified recurrent patterns in the data, I still made no assumptions about what these patterns meant. Only after analyzing the video footage repeatedly and constantly keeping in mind what the participants were seeing and hearing, was I able to make some claims about what I saw in the patterns. For each of the analyses I made about students' orientations to the script, I looked for numerous pieces of evidence. I did not rely only on the students' talk to make a claim, but I studied their non-verbal actions including gestures, gaze, and body alignment. I observed the location of printed resources in relation to pairs and how the partners oriented to each other's talk. In fact, partners' reactions or orientations to a previous speaker's turn at talk were one of the most important pieces of evidence that I considered. As the researcher I attempted to look at all of the possible pieces of evidence and each participants' orientation to that evidence before asserting claims about the participants' actions.

Most of the recurrent patterns that I collected pertained to how students said a specific line of script, how students managed turn taking and how students managed the task in general. By including information on how the teacher modeled and presented the task to the students, I observed what student actions correlated with, or appeared to be artifacts of, the teacher's instructions. My analysis showed that while students may have picked up specific conversational mechanisms from the teacher, for the most part they used the teacher instructions as a way to prioritize what their focus and goals should be for the task. So, for example, in response to the teacher's goal of accurately repeating the script lines, students found ways in their talk-in-interaction to display this orientation to accuracy. By using different conversational mechanisms to delay a turn, check the script, elongate lexical and non-lexical items, learners displayed that a high priority was being placed on using the exact language and turn sequence provided by the teacher. Consequently, students' focus on retaining the exact script language and structure brought about a need for creative language and conversational mechanisms. When students made up their own responses and disregarded the script language either intentionally or unintentionally, these conversational mechanisms were not used. Therefore, had the teacher encouraged students to change script lines, make up their own, or even memorize them, I may have observed very different conversational phenomena in the students actions and talk that reflected these goals.

5.2.2 CA's contribution to research on language-learning tasks

Using the tools and methods of CA provided a unique view on classroom

interactions and talk. CA transcription methods helped to capture the many minute details of student pair interactions and the pairs' perspective on these interactions. Additionally, analyzing the language used in the script both from a native speaker's perspective and from the perspective of participants in a language-learning classroom provided insight into the trouble teachers face when trying to authenticate tasks in the classroom. Many teachers and researchers assume that authentic and natural language used outside of the classroom will remain authentic and natural when used as part of a classroom language-learning task. Using CA methods of transcription and analysis, I was able to demonstrate that the classroom context and participants' orientations to that context automatically affect any 'authentic' language used for a task. Students showed that they do not regard the basic greeting 'how are you' as a greeting when using it in a task. Instead, it became the opening line for the task and was oriented to as language practice. Even when TaiHuan used unscripted talk, his partner oriented to his lines as simply the lines before her own, to which she responded with script talk. For Ming, the goal of the task was to say the written language in a particular order, not to orient to the language as actual social actions such as concern and advice. When members of a society use language in their daily interactions they use automatic, ingrained, ritual practices. However, when this same language was brought into the classroom, even the teacher did not use it naturally. The participants paused, read from their notebooks, and used delaying devices, none of which demonstrated an orientation to the language as authentic.

A CA analysis shed light on these important aspects of task design. In fact, it may not be possible to transfer language used outside the classroom into the classroom and have it mean and represent the same thing. This claim applies to many other situations as well. Interactive language use is deictic in nature and is intricately tied to its local context. When co-constructing turns in natural conversation participants rely on their environment and the knowledge of their interlocutor. They trust that their interlocutor will understand references and certain actions so that an explanation will not be necessary for everything that is said. Just so in a classroom, students have rituals for engaging in tasks with a partner and they trust that their partner knows and understands the common practices of role switching, task closings, other-repair, and how to do a task in general. These practices are ingrained in the classroom environment and when 'authentic' non-classroom language is transferred into this environment, it is woven into these other classroom practices causing it to be said and oriented to in a very different way.

In truth, the goal of many tasks is not to get students to say language in the same way as a native speaker, but to give them the tools and resources needed to engage in talk outside of the classroom in order to communicate their needs and thoughts to others. Whether or not grammar, pronunciation, or vocabulary is used precisely is irrelevant, because most people can communicate and understand one another when they really need to.

Thus, a principle goal for language teachers should be to provide students with relevant and meaningful language that they can practice over time in a safe, supportive

environment. Students in the data showed that they did not mind repeating the same language in the scripts over and over again. One possible reason may have been that they needed this repetition and practice to feel comfortable using these phrases and expressions. The classroom afforded them this opportunity.

5.2.3 Pros and cons of RP tasks

Role-play task types usefulness depends on specific participants' goals for the task. In reviewing the data from section 4.5.1 and 4.5.2, it is possible to see some of the potential disadvantages of scripted role-plays if the aim is to practice a conversation. Alternatively, role-play tasks have shown their usefulness for students as a method for practicing pronunciation in context using common English expressions. From the former viewpoint—role-play tasks may limit practice of conversational techniques and development of native-like interactional competencies—if a participant's goal is to develop a more native-like conversational style, then having an enormous amount of language support and being told to focus primarily on accuracy may seem counterintuitive or boring. Therefore, in the data presented in section 4.5.2, TaiHuan may have found that the task was too rigid, had too much language support, and did not provide enough opportunity to focus on interacting with his partner. So his solution may have been to ignore the script and make up his own responses. Many students, however, either could not or would not change their script answers or other aspects of the task even if they were unhappy with the teacher-directed goals. Some teachers may recognize these disadvantages too, which may explain why other teachers at the data collection site rarely, if ever, used role-play tasks.

Conversely, role-play tasks have numerous advantages in beginning level language classes as previously discussed in section 4.1. Some students encountering this script language for the first time probably appreciate having lots of language support provided by the teacher. Reading and practicing an entire script, gives students a glimpse of a natural English conversation and it allows them to practice a common conversation in the comfort of the classroom. Thus, for these students it is not surprising to see a stricter adherence to the accuracy of the script and more attention paid to pronunciation and turn order. In this way students can make mistakes among peers and seek help for unclear words or phrases. They may also repeat the language in the script as many times as necessary. So, for a teacher, recognizing that many of her students are not yet comfortable conversing in English, role-play scripts provide an ideal introduction to conversational English, while emphasizing accurate pronunciation and creating an opportunity to use new vocabulary in context.

5.3 Limitations

One limitation of my thesis is the amount of data that I was able to collect and analyze. First, I only observed one kind of script. While I did come across other script types—"may I borrow"; "what's your address"—I made the choice not to look at these scripts, but instead limited my selection to greeting sequences of four or more lines. This decision allowed for an in-depth observation of ten different pairs of students and their orientation to these specific scripts, but it limited my claims about role-plays in general. Perhaps if I had analyzed other types of role-play scripts, I would have observed students orienting differently to one another and to the task. I also may have

reached different conclusions had I seen other role-play scripts. Typically students first encounter greeting scripts in beginning level language class, and so they learn not only how to say the script, but also how to do this particular task type. Later in the quarter, the teacher may introduce other more complex role-play scripts. At this point, after having practiced greeting RP's, students may orient to the new scripts differently, simply due to their increased familiarity and knowledge of this task type.

The number of script sequences studied is another limitation of this thesis. Although the teacher may have presented the script sequences on more than five occasions, I chose only five because the time limitation for writing my thesis would only allow for a small data set. In each class two pairs of students performed the scripts, a total of ten pair interactions. Studying all of these interactions entailed enormous amounts of transcription time, video observation and in-depth analysis. So, even though the teacher may have used this task type in previous and in later terms, I limited my data selection to three terms: Fall 2002, Winter 2003, and Spring 2003. Thus, further analysis of other class session dates may be needed to see if the teacher changed her presentation style, if she focused on different goals or even if she continued to use this task type.

Another limitation with the data set arises from an absence of greeting scripts designed and instituted by more than one teacher. Because only one teacher used role-plays consistently, all of my data came from her class. Had I been able to find data of role-play scripts performed and used by other teachers, I may have reached different results. Also, I could have compared how each teacher's instructions correlated with

actions by student pairs. A larger pool of data would have strengthened my claim regarding student orientation to the scripts and goals of this task type. So, if I had still found similar conversational data across all student pairs, despite differences in teacher instructions and goals for the task, I would have to refute my claim that teacher instructions affect how students choose to orient to the goals of the task. On the contrary, had I found different conversational mechanisms used by student pairs in each of the different classes, I could have strengthened my claim that teacher's instructions influence students' priorities and expectations for the task.

Finally, although I studied in-depth all five script sequences and the teacher instructions for each one, I did not spend a great deal of time analyzing subtle differences in the teacher's instructions to each class. For the most part, the teacher used a very similar style for giving the instructions for the scripts in each class session. In the brief data samples that I provided when discussing teacher instructions, I tried to emphasize that in all five class sessions the teacher overwhelmingly emphasized the main goals of the script task as pronunciation and vocabulary practice. Unfortunately, I could not analyze her intonation, timing, and other subtle ways in which she modeled the task. Hence, I made a conscious decision to study the most significant and emphasized aspects of her task presentation during each of the five classes.

5.4 Pedagogical implications and applications

The greatest pedagogical implication of this thesis is how teachers present material to a class. My data analysis suggested that what the teacher chose as the focus for the task impacted greatly what students chose to focus on and how they

consequently structured their talk and interaction. For instance, the teacher displayed the scripts visually before engaging in an oral greeting sequence with the students. The visual display of the script, as shown in my data, directed students' gaze away from their partner and to the printed script. Presenting the script visually first, rather than orally, turns the task into reading practice. Students then focused more on the visual display of the script—turn order and location of script lines. So what could teachers wanting to use this task type do to make it more conversational? Due to the students' beginning level teachers would still need to write the script onto the whiteboard and create a visual reference. But, they could emphasize eye contact, intonation and improvisation. The teacher could encourage some students to memorize parts of the script and after practicing several times with a partner try and say as much of the script without looking at the printed script. Perhaps the students would orient to the script more as a conversation, and less as a task. Or perhaps they would engage in alternative gestures and verbal tools. In my own future classes, I might try both approaches. That is using role play scripts and presenting them in the format that this teacher used, and in another class present the scripts orally first. Then I could compare the results or even survey students to see which way they preferred.

5.5 Suggestions for future research

Research opportunities abound with the amount of data remaining to be analyzed at the ESOL Lab School. My study could benefit from a closer observation of both teacher and student intonation as they read and say lines in the role-play tasks. I have observed teacher's overemphasizing and dramatizing different expressions as

they present and explain material to students. For example, in the scripts, the teacher dramatized the expression "oh I'm sorry" and placed stress on the discourse marker "oh." I did not study this aspect closely, so seeing if students also noticed this enunciation of 'oh' or performed it in their own interactions would provide further evidence that students rely heavily on teacher modeling and instructions. Another possible study could involve other script types that use more advanced language or represent different social actions (i.e. asking a favor, invitations, apologies, etc.). How would the teacher present these scripts? How would students orient to or use the scripts differently? Also, because my study focused on beginning level classes, future research would want to see if more advanced English classes use RP tasks. If higher level classes use scripts as pair tasks, one could ask the following questions : Do students rely on the printed script? Do they engage in the same turn construction techniques? And do they orient to the scripts as conversations? Also of importance would be teachers' perception of this particular task type and their choice to use it in their class. Perhaps if I could have interviewed teachers at the data collection site, I could have discovered why one teacher used the scripts consistently, while others did not.

As teachers I think that the more we know about how students actually use the instructions we give them, the more insight we will gain on how to express the goals and aims of each task type that we implement. Also recognizing that the classroom environment naturally affects participants' orientations to language learning and tasks will help us to implement better curriculum. My research has begun the process of

looking at language use in classroom tasks and has provided insight into how language students use teacher-modeled techniques and resources to complete a task with a partner. Finally, I believe that my research can be a catalyst for future studies looking more closely at how participants carry out and interpret teacher instructions in different task types.

NOTES

[1] Coughlan & Duff (1994) pursued this research in an experimental manner.

[2] I consider a 'pair' to be two students who show physical and social orientation to one another. This orientation includes physical proximity, nonverbal actions (facing one another, eye contact, pointing, smiling), and verbal actions that indicate their co-collaboration of the task and how they negotiate their roles (i.e., A: *what is your name?* B: *my name is ____;* A: *I go first, then you*.).

[3] Sacks (1975) would argue that "how are you" can only serve as a greeting substitute. Although the greeting "hi/hi" can precede the question, "how are you," "how are you" cannot precede "hi/hi." Thus, when the greeting sequence "hi/hi" is not part of the initial greeting, "how are you" can stand in as a substitute, which is how the teacher is using it in the scripts.

[4] Using role allocations to open a task is a common action in beginning level ESL classes (Hellermann, 2008).

[5] A non-response from B could underscore any number of possible social actions which can only be discerned from turns of talk that occur after this adjacency pair: B didn't hear the question, B didn't know that A's question was directed at B, B is refusing to respond, B is chewing and could not respond verbally, etc. The fact is, a response is missing and it is notable to speaker A, who must then repeat the question, say B's name, or use any number of elicitation techniques to get a response from B. (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977)

[6] Again, in a native speaker conversation, delaying an answer can represent a number of social acts: B is lying, B needs to give a dispreferred response, B doesn't want to initiate a diagnostics sequence concerning their state of being (Sacks, 1975), B is distracted and is taking time to orient to the question, etc. Again, the fact that B delays the answer is significant because they are deciding "how" to answer.

[7] A dispreferred response is a response that is not the preferred response by the first speaker. In other words, if A asks to borrow $10 from B, A's preferred response from B is 'yes' and the dispreferred response is 'no'. However, when a recipient gives a dispreferred response, it is often much longer than a preferred response, because the recipient uses different devices like delays and hedging to avoid giving a direct 'no' answer that might hurt the asker. Therefore, B's dispreferred response may resemble,

"Well, I'd love to lend you the money, but I um::: don't have any right now." Thus, the answer is still 'no' but given in a much less direct way (Pomerantz, 1984).

[8] Receipt tokens are typically vocalizations such as "oh, yeah, right" that a listener produces to provide the speaker with information about how their talk is being received, (Heritage, 1984). Language learners in tasks also engage in this action, but use non-verbal gestures such as a 'head nod' or a segment of the previous speaker's talk as the vocalization of receipt.

[9] I differentiate vocabulary word selection from word searches, because word searches typically occur when the speaker cannot remember a word (Mori & Hasegawa, in press). In the data, the speaker is not trying to remember a word, but is selecting a word from a given list. Word searches include many of the same 'delaying devices' found in vocabulary selection, but a word search implies the action of recalling or remembering on the part of the speaker, whereas vocabulary selection implies the action of choosing.

[10] I based the fact that Vasco did not take a turn on the syntactic elements of Oro's turn and on Oro's non-verbal gestures, because, "while syntax plays a role in turn construction, syntactic units are always produced with intonation, in particular contexts, embodying specific local actions, and, in face-to-face communication, coordinated with non-verbal behavior" (Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 1996, p. 449).

[11] The discourse marker 'oh' seems to be one of the few verbal displays of someone demonstrating new understanding. It is a stretch to say that a person's use of 'oh' is a window into their cognitive state, because sometimes people use it without actually understanding. However, it is a strong verbal cue to the interlocutor that the listener has oriented to their previous talk as relevant new information. In other words, it is less a way to display a cognitive state, and more of an action used for the benefit of an interlocutor (Heritage, 1984).

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