UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

A PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION STUDY OF THE FEASIBILITY OF ENHANCING STUDENT-TEACHER SUPERVISION PROCEDURES USING FLANDERS' INTERACTION ANALYSIS CATEGORIES.

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation concerns the procedure of teacher supervision as presently conducted at the University of Cape Town's School of Education, and suggests ways in which this can be improved. It is argued that teacher education should be situated in the paradigm of Action Research, and within that, in the approach known as Participant Observation.

The language of the classroom is chosen as the means whereby classroom practices can be investigated. A detailed account is provided of a full sequence of clinical supervision, and use is made of complete lesson and subsequent interview transcriptions in this account. The methodological techniques of participant observation, interviews, 'triangulation' procedures and fieldnotes to supplement the analysis of transcripts and interviews, are used. In addition, three different ways of analysing classroom language are described, viz. discourse analysis, insightful observation and coding schemes, and their appropriacy for teacher supervision purposes assessed.

Finally, conclusions are drawn regarding an effective model for teacher supervision. It is suggested that FIAC (Flanders' Interaction Analysis Categories) be used in combination with lesson transcriptions, and stress is laid on the need for teacher trainees and trainers to observe at all times the criteria for participant observation. Suggestions are put forward concerning possible implementation of recommendations made, and the need for future research in this area is emphasised.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CHANGING NATURE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Although there has been a vast quantity of research undertaken in education, it appears to have had surprisingly little relevance for practising or beginning teachers, who generally have

> ... an uncomplicated view of causality, an intuitive rather than a rational approach to classroom events, an unwillingness to consider alternative teaching practices, and a limited technical vocabulary. (Edwards and Furlong 1978:1)

One reason for this may be the tendency for educational research in the past to have conceptualized the classroom as "... a black box for researchers, providing merely a vehicle for input-output research designs or a captive audience for psychometric testing programmes" (Delamont and Hamilton 1976:4). It is therefore not surprising that in the eyes of many teachers, the results of such research seem unrelated to many of their needs and problems, and far removed from the realities and tensions of the classroom. Perhaps, as Nixon (1981:5) suggests, this is because

> much educational research, both in principle and practice, remains an activity indulged in by those <u>outside</u> the classroom for the benefit of those <u>outside</u> the classroom.

In consequence, teachers are seldom regarded as the producers of original research, but as the consumers. That this is a major problem with research on teaching is noted by Zahorik (1984), who

observes that this approach ignores the experiential knowledge of practising teachers, who, not surprisingly, have beliefs and convictions about what is both right and practicable in teaching. He emphasizes that teachers "... are not machines that can use with flawless precision whatever techniques research has certified" (op cit:35), and suggests that traditional methods of research in education ignore the teaching styles and beliefs of experienced teachers at their peril.

An investigation into some of the assumptions underlying traditional educational research illustrates to some extent why such research is often perceived by teachers as being in some way unrelated to the concerns of the classroom.

The primary concerns of the traditional research model in education are those of "... controlled and objective measurement, classification, and interpretation of data in relation to hypotheses and theories" (Morphet 1983:93). The belief that research can be, or is, "... an objective, value-free science ..." (Walters 1983:102), presumes both that variables can be rigorously isolated and controlled, and that the effect of the bias and/or presence of the researcher can be considered as in some way external to the research. The much vaunted reliability and validity of results derived from such studies, while historically powerful, are now being challenged on both these claims by authors as diverse as Freire (1970), Habermas (1974, 1979), Kemmis (1983) and Bleicher (1980), to name but a few.

A related assumption underpinning much educational research is its adherence to a view of society as consisting of stable functional structures which can be isolated, investigated and ultimately codified in some form which would allow others in different contexts to extrapolate from the results. That this is a misguided assumption is convincingly demonstrated by Freer (1984) in his discussion of the fundamentally different approaches to education that exist in South African schools. In (White) Afrikaans schools, which largely adhere to the Fundamental Pedagogics-inspired doctrine of Christian National Education, the ethos of the school is, in the main, prescriptive and authoritarian. This is seen in contrast to the (White) English-speaking schools which "... operate from a largely non-prescriptive and empirical viewpoint" (op cit: 224), and could thus be expected to react to new theories, developments, materials etcetera in a way perhaps not anticipated in a study designed with Afrikaans schools in mind.[1] Urban/rural, cultural and language differences over the whole population will also obviously play an important role in determining the generalizability of results.

Action research as an approach offers a way in which the teaching profession can rid itself of "... the paternalism of traditional research within education" (Nixon 1981:9), as it is essentially classroom-centred.

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1 It should be noted that the difference between the two types of school are ideological in nature rather than influenced by language. Because schools in the "White" system are divided along language lines, however, they have been identified as such by Freer.

Typically, classroom-centred research lacks an overall conceptual framework: rather than having consensus about what to look for in its data, its field is defined by its choice of where to seek its data (Allwright 1983). It represents a retreat from prescription to description, and from technique to process (op cit) and as such offers practising and pre-service teachers a more accessible way into research, by means of which they can reflect upon and investigate their own practice. As Gaies (1983:206) points out, this approach to research

> ... does not lead to empirically validated applications; rather, it is directed more at clarifying those factors which must ultimately be taken into account in any attempt to examine the effects of particular classroom treatments.

Morphet (1983) suggests that Action Research has as its primary focus the presence of the researcher within the situation under investigation. It attempts to account for the impact of the researcher's physical presence as well as to make explicit as far as possible the subjective bias which is believed to be inevitable.[1] It is thus openly subjective, but endeavours to turn this 'weakness' into a strength by acknowledging and investigating its effect.

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1 As Walker and Adelman (1975:81) point out, "... in some ways ... (we) ... know too much about classrooms, having spent many thousands of hours in them as both pupils and students." They conclude that what we know about classrooms is inevitably biased, and forms a partial view of events within the classroom.

Unlike traditional educational research which uses predetermined research designs (in the sense that the research design is determined prior to the study), action research views research design as an area to be determined by the researcher, in accordance with the progress of the research itself (Werdelin 1979). This flexibility enables the researcher to capitalize on feedback gained through the continuous evaluation of the whole process of change during the research period. Protagonists of the action research approach believe that a major flaw in traditional approaches to research design is their lack of flexibility, which leads as a consequence to ambiguity in the interpretation of results. To what extent, for example, is it possible to be certain that results are not a function of inappropriate research design rather than an indication of the strength of the underlying theory?

Combined with a more flexible approach to research design, action research employs a wide range of instruments and methods of obtaining data. As Freer (1984:220) points out,

> ... besides observations, interviews, anecdotal reports and document analysis, it does not spurn many of the more traditional testing and cross-checking methods of conventional social science research.

Although its results are not usually judged by statistics, in that the process of the research is seen as equal in importance to the results, the choice of an action research approach does

not preclude the use of statistical techniques as an aid in sorting data. Indeed, Morphet (1983:96) suggests that while the move in educational research from the "... systems-oriented product - measurement approach" to more ethnomethodological approaches such as action research has stimulated the "... development of research strategies which do not depend upon measurement for their rationale ...", the move has not entailed complete rejection of traditional quantitative methods. According to leCompte and Goetz (1984:37), the

> ... growth of educational ethnography as a subfield of anthropology and education ... and dissatisfaction with the limitations of traditional quantitative designs ... have contributed to the increasingly common phenomenon of incorporating an ethnographic component into evaluative research.

Fetterman (1984:21) likewise comments on the "... recent interaction of ethnographic and quantitative research methodologies ..." which, he suggests, "... results in an inevitable diffusion of techniques, methods and values."

Despite the capacity of action research to make use of many traditionally acceptable methodologies, a major hindrance to its academic respectability has been its fundamental divergence from the way in which research has customarily been defined. Following Werdelin (1979), any comprehensive, traditional definition of research in any field would include the following

elements:
Firstly, research should aim at providing new knowledge, and reaching some definite conclusion. Studies which aim to make explicit our understandings of a situation are often, therefore, not regarded as 'scientific', nor as 'real' research. Action research, for example, which "... serves primarily to sharpen perceptions, stimulate discussion and encourage questioning ..." (Nixon 1981:9) and has as one of its fundamental aims the questioning of answers rather than the answering of questions (Hamilton 1983), does not, at least superficially, appear to meet the demands of this criterion.

Secondly, the new knowledge provided should possess universal validity in that its findings should be generalizable. That this criterion should be regarded as grounds for doubting ethnomethodological approaches to research is surprising, given that the more traditional methods deal quite explicitly with samples of a population, attempt to control for variables and then generalize for whole populations as though they could be controlled under the same experimental conditions as the sample. As Freer (1984:221) notes, even more traditional methods of research

> ... conducted under the most rigorous of conditions and employing sophisticated statistical analyses [are] still often open to prejudice in [their] sampling procedures, choice of statistical tools and techniques of analysis. Above all, however, such research

> methodology in its attempts to isolate variables may be reporting an unrealistic scenario with little practical applicability.

Far from being a criterion for research that in some way undermines the status of action research, therefore, it can be regarded as a strength, in that action research consciously strives to make the limits of generalizability explicit.

The third of Werdelin's three "elements" concerns the relationship of research to an underlying theory or theories. She argues that "Investigations aiming at isolating facts without entering into a theory are nearly always classified as pre-scientific" (1979:31). Action research, however, reverses the traditional theory - to - research sequence of traditional methodologies, and maintains that it is possible for theories to become barriers to analysis. As Gaies (1983:214) points out,

> Quantitative research requires the pre-selection of variables to be observed and measured - but in this field many variables remain to be discovered.

One of the advantages of action research in this respect is the tendency for data to be gathered in raw form. LeCompte and Goetz (1984) note that the preservation of data in raw form allows for later re-processing, for example to establish reliability coefficients or for the generation of new theories or hypotheses. In this way it is not as vulnerable to the strength of a pre-

determined theory, and can also be regarded as having a greater creative potential for the generation of new theories. Furthermore, as Rochford (1983:38) suggests,

> Educational knowledge is uncertain, and its theories unstable. The conclusions made at the end of a thesis or other piece of research are always tentative, and are never superior to the hypothesis, axioms, observations, data and assumptions on which they are based.

Given the tentative nature of conclusions and uncertainty of educational knowledge, it follows that research which might conclude by generating a theory should not be judged inferior to that which begins with a theory. This is especially so in the light of Rochford's statement that "... the status of educational theory can be, at best, only moderate to weak." (op cit:39)

While the principles of action research are clear, the term itself can lead to some confusion, as it is used to describe a wide range of research activities. Werdelin (1979) suggests that action research should not be regarded as a well-defined activity, but rather as a set of methods. In essence, there are four broad categories of research which can be considered to be within the action research paradigm:

i) Diagnostic action research is closely centred around the researcher, who enters a situation, diagnoses and identi-

fies processes and problems, and makes recommendations to the organization requesting the study. In this approach, the recommendations are not implemented by the researcher, who can thus be regarded as an indirect agent for change.

ii) Participant action research, on the other hand, involves the decision-makers in the process throughout the research project, and thereby encourages them to identify more closely with any recommendations arising from the project. This close identification of the decision-makers, or researchers, in the research activity narrows the gap and blurs the distinction between researcher and respondent/s, and thus can generate new insights and feelings of involvement for all involved in the project.

iii) Projects in which the researcher is both data collector and agent for change fall into the category of empirical action research. This involves extensive documentation both on the features of the project and on the effects of any actions taken. Because of the subjective nature of the documentation, this approach (exemplified in diary studies, for example) often suffers from limited generalizability, and is both circumstantial and idiosyncratic. Such drawbacks are readily acknowledged by action researchers, however, and attempts are made to overcome them by the use of meticulous definition and explicit reference to the micro-level nature of such research.

iv) In the fourth approach, experimental action research, the researcher attempts to pinpoint a situation which will enable him or her to have experimental control, and thereby to study the effects of any actions taken fairly systematically. This element of control in many ways represents a compromise in terms of the principles of action research: care is taken, however, to monitor and report on the effects of the control, and to view it as an integral part of the research process.

As can be seen, each of the above processes involves particular constraints and areas of concern, and is appropriate in different contexts and for different purposes. Of the four approaches, it is participant action research, with its emphasis on the close collaboration between decision-makers and informants, which offers the least contrived and most flexible model of research and practice for teacher-training. Arguments in support of this statement are put forward in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, where teacher trainers and trainees are situated within the paradigm of participant action research.

Whatever approach one chooses, however, the principles of action research offer a real alternative to those of traditional educational research. Rather than relying on experimental research in artificial conditions, action research can help to clarify for educators the

> value of descriptive research conducted in natural settings ... where the purpose of the research activity is to understand rather than to judge (Wolcott 1984:177,8).

As Morphet (1983:100) suggests, "... the direct criticism of practice through systematic reflection is an important source of insights."

Ericson and Ellett (1982:74) convincingly argue in support of the claim of action research to be a more appropriate model for educational research as follows:

> In the end, educational research is very much one of the moral sciences. The phenomena of education - dependent on the human capacity for self-definition - ensure that the activities of education and the institutions we have created to sustain those activities must be researched from within the web of interpretation.

It is the existence of this "web of interpretation", this network of perspectives and beliefs about education, that makes traditional approaches to educational research so inadequate. Action research, which accepts and values the complexities that abound in "... the functioning of the real world" (Cohen and Manion 1980:174), is particularly suited to entering the "web"

with the minimum of disturbance and distortion. This argument is developed in Chapter Two, in which it is suggested that the procedure of teacher supervision is essentially a participant action research activity.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND THE TEACHER/TEACHER EDUCATOR

According to Allwright (1983), teacher-education provided the motivation for the growth in popularity of classroom-centred research during the 1950's. At this time, the aim of such research was fairly limited: that is, to meet the perceived need to provide student teachers with adequate feedback on their teaching, rather than to transform or even assess the purposes, contexts and underlying ideologies of education. The provision of adequate feedback can, however, only be achieved if there is clear understanding about what constitutes effective teaching. The method developed at this time for obtaining this understanding, classroom observation schedules, proved to be too limited to cope with the full complexity of the classroom,[1] however, and researchers began to "... retreat from prescription to description, and from technique to process" (op cit: 196).

Action research in many ways represents a consequence of this return to a more holistic view of the classroom, and a fundamental rethinking of the nature of research. For teacher education, this has important implications. The traditional task of teacher educators, albeit crudely stated, is as follows: to expose student teachers to different philosophies and methodologies of teaching, to analyse critically their practice teaching attempts and to certify, at the end of the period of training, those

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1 That the "failure" of classroom observation schedules represents a failure of approach rather than method is a contention discussed in some detail later in this dissertation. Briefly, it is held that the use of schedules to provide answers is misguided: their value lies in their capacity for providing genuine classroom data in close to raw form, and thus for generating questions.

deemed competent to teach. In this process, teacher educators have traditionally remained on the outside. As Kemmis (1983:81) suggests, they have seen themselves merely as "... agents in the enlightenment of others...", and have therefore distanced themselves from any real responsibility for, or involvement in, the process of learning experienced by their students. Habermas (1974 in Kemmis 1983:81) pinpoints the fallacy of this assumption as follows:

> The vindicating superiority of those who do the enlightening over those who are to be enlightened is theoretically unavoidable, but at the same time it is fictive and requires self-correction: in a process of enlightenment there can be only participants.

It can thus be seen that the position of teacher educators, particularly those involved in the supervision of students' teaching, who, while attempting to bring about change in the teaching observed, remain outside the real process of change itself, is one that lends itself to distortion, and is ultimately untenable. Walters (1983:107) suggests that in order to "... bridge the traditional gulf between the researcher [supervisor] and 'the researched' [student teacher]...", the following features, derived from the Action Research paradigm, should be incorporated into the procedure of supervision.

Firstly, any problems should be identified <u>jointly</u> by supervisor and student-teacher. This would remove much of the trepidation

felt by student-teachers, who customarily wait for their criticism-sessions in order to learn how the lesson had gone or, as it is often interpreted, what had gone wrong, almost as though they had not been there themselves. Further, the educational value in this process of joint identification should be maximised: there should be a commitment on both parts to the learning process. It follows logically, then, that control of this process should be jointly negotiated - in the context of practice-teaching under discussion, this means, for example, that student-teachers should "... have the freedom to cast as problematic those aspects of teaching and of classroom interaction which are of personal and professional interest and concern to them." (Rudduck 1985:288) In practical terms, this emphasis on supervisor involvement means that supervisors would have to see fewer students, more often. The present practice at the University of Cape Town, for example, of "observing" student-teacher's lessons only five times over nine weeks of teaching practice[1] clearly precludes the possibility of real involvement.

In essence, then, it should be accepted that supervisors cannot

> ... interpret the necessary independence of mind of the critic in terms of a division of labour, with their own

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1 At the University of Cape Town in 1986, for example, students were seen twice in the first teaching-practice block of four weeks, and three times in the second block of five weeks. Students were seen more often "only if there was a problem", according to the co-ordinator of the School of Education's teaching practice programme. This is readily acknowledged by the department concerned to be far from ideal, however.

> roles as "outsiders" being defined and procedurally guaranteed by institutional and theoretical separation from the [student-teachers] whose work they study. (Kemmis 1983:80)

In order to overcome this traditional duality of roles between supervisor and supervised and, indeed, to make sense of the often chaotic impression gained of classroom lessons by both student-teachers and supervisors, some common way of looking at the classroom must be found. Such a "common way" should ideally both help to objectify the teaching process (thereby enabling participants to generalize on data and reach consensus on interpretations) and to meet the need for shared concepts by providing a theoretical framework and pedagogic metalanguage.

That some objectification of teaching is necessary is demonstrated by the inconsistency of supervisor's impressions of lessons. In a study conducted by Gitlin et al (1985) which investigated the relationship between supervisors' stated beliefs about the aims of education and the issues they identified during teaching practice sessions, some startling but not altogether unexpected findings emerged. It was found, for example, that while supervisors professed to holding a wide range of beliefs about education, with priority given to affective and cognitive concerns rather than managerial, in practice they concentrated on the latter, which in fact comprised 71.8% of identified issues. Further, they concluded by suggesting that "... discipline issues are not only given priority in initial supervisory conferences,

but are dominant throughout the tenure of supervision."(op cit:57). That managerial/discipline-related issues should play such a dominant role is perhaps not surprising, given the authoritarian nature of much formal schooling. What is surprising, however, is the covert nature of its role in terms of the stated aims of supervisors and, indeed, of teacher-training courses. One explanation for this might be that discipline-related issues and incidents are highly visible and thus attract a disproportionate amount of attention, while more fundamental issues are less visible, at least superficially, and are therefore often overlooked. It seems highly probable that visibility is related to the supervisor's degree of involvement, and that the greater this degree, the greater the likelihood of more subtle aspects being noticed.

One of the dangers of focussing on discipline-related issues is the implication that classroom management is the sole responsibility of the teacher, rather than a joint management, as emphasized by Mehan (1979), Allwright (1984) and others. Although, as pointed out by Hunter (1980), teacher-training courses are usually progressive with regard to content, emphasizing "... the participatory elements of discovery learning ..." (op cit:227), the process of teacher-training is often both authoritarian and paternalistic. Hunter suggests that although the progressive content is examined formally, it is not acted out in teaching practice supervision. The provision of a common framework designed to highlight classroom processes, develop shared concepts and, ultimately, a professional culture could help to heal

this rift. Lasley and Applegate (1982:6) suggest that "... a common set of specialized skills and understandings ..." is lacking in most teacher training institutions: as a result, they hypothesize,

> Prospective teachers cling to apprenticeship learning and, as a consequence, they acquiesce to the folklore of current practice rather than challenging it.(Lasley and Applegate 1982:6)

Furthermore, the provision of a means of describing precisely what happens in a classroom would enable a lesson to be recalled as more than simply a set of "... general impressions and a memory of any lively incidents" (Sinclair and Brazil 1982:5), and would enable both student-teacher and supervisor to review the lesson in perspective.

The chapters which follow in this dissertation concern three major ways in which classroom processes have traditionally been examined. Although they all focus on the language of the classroom as a means of examining these processes, the emphasis is on their appropriacy and efficacy in the student teacher/supervisor relationship, rather than primarily on the language itself.

CHAPTER THREE

EXAMINING CLASSROOM PROCESSES THROUGH LANGUAGE

While it is true that a partial study of a process or context will inevitably result in a partial understanding of that process or context, any attempt to achieve inclusiveness in studying the processes or context of the classroom is ultimately, as Hamilton (1983:151) concludes, an "unattainable ideal". Indeed, the overwhelming complexity of the classroom - far from the simplistic view of teaching and learning as a process of cause and effect - forces the researcher to look for a focus, and to use that focus as a way into making sense of the context.

One way of viewing teaching and learning is to see it as, essentially, a continuously interactive process. If, as has been suggested, classroom interaction is the "... sine qua non of classroom pedagogy ..." (Allwright 1984:159) and "... the process whereby everything that happens in the classroom gets to happen the way it does ..." (op cit:169), it is obviously essential that teacher trainees and trainers should pay more than lip-service to a rigorous study thereof. A major criticism, however, of any study of classroom interaction is that it is essentially empiricist in nature, in that it neglects theory by focussing on appearances, rather than on the underlying forces shaping those appearances. As Hammersley (1980) points out, the implicit assumption underpinning most studies of classroom interaction is that the participants are free to define their own roles within their own realities - it follows, then, that recommendations arising from such studies are likely to concentrate on reform at the expense of fundamental change. It seems crucial, therefore,

that any study of interaction be undertaken with the reform/fundamental change distinction made explicit.

Although the perception of learning and teaching as an interactive process represents, in a sense, a narrowing of focus, it raises the question of what kind of interaction should be considered. For example, different kinds of interaction include the interaction between a school and the society in which it finds itself, between members of the staff of a school, between curricula and teachers, teachers and pupils, pupils and pupils, pupils and texts, learning aids and so on. Clearly, further narrowing of focus is necessary: in this case, where the emphasis is on teacher education, it is feasible to concentrate on teacher-pupil interaction. Again however, problems arise, as the type of interaction even within this selected relationship is highly varied and complex. For example, is the interaction to be studied only that occurring within the formally constituted classroom, does it include informal encounters prior to or after a lesson, or non-verbal spatial interactions?

One of the most distinctive features of classroom interaction is the amount and kind of talk that takes place within it. As Edwards and Furlong (1978:10) point out, in the majority of classrooms, particularly in secondary schools, "... there is likely to be a predominance of talk as a public performance." Indeed, Sacks (1963) goes so far as to recommend that talk should be social science's primary phenomenon: the point is well taken for education, as

> Basic rules for 'experiencing, interpreting and telling about the world' are learned in many contexts. Those learned and acted on in classrooms may be critical because the practices they generate are repeated so often and questioned so rarely.(Edwards 1980:250)

The need for critical examination of classroom interaction is further emphasized by Hammersley (1977:83), who comments that most pupils "... have learned a form of interaction in which authority and knowledge are bound together." In a society largely characterized by authoritarian structures, such a focus could yield valuable insights.

The study of the language of the classroom is therefore the study of a kind of interaction that is unique to the classroom, and central to its processes. This centrality is widely recognised (Sinclair and Brazil, 1982, Wragg, 1974, Delamont, 1984, Hills, 1979, and others), and yet surprisingly little attention is paid to it in teacher-training courses, particularly in the sense of language as dealing with "... the way learning is negotiated, rather than with the orderly exploration of the world of knowledge" (Sinclair and Brazil 1982:4). One possible explanation for this neglect is the high degree of subject specialization of education department staff members and students. Language issues, while often appearing on supervisor's assessment forms, are generally held to be the preserve of language specialists and not a major area of concern for supervisors and lecturers of

other subjects. It seems likely that this attitude stems largely from lack of knowledge about, and/or confidence in, the main approaches to studying classroom language, and not from a belief that language in the classroom is unimportant. It is therefore clearly necessary, when recommending an approach for investigating classroom practices through the study of the language of the classroom, that the purpose of the study is at all times evident, and that the approach itself is not too detailed in linguistic terms.

Broadly speaking, there are three main traditions of studying classrooms; systematic observation, ethnographic observation and sociolinguistic studies. It has been suggested that these represent a "... fundamental difference of approach to the study of humans and human society ...", and that these differences "... cannot be done away with by calling for interdisciplinary rapprochements" (Delamont and Hamilton 1984:6). While this may be true regarding their use as research tools, it is hoped that the following discussion and examples on their use in teacher training will demonstrate how a "... phenomenological understanding as well as a behavioural description ..." (op cit:20) could be incorporated into the teacher supervision procedure, and that, for this purpose, the three traditions need not be seen as mutually exclusive.

According to Stubbs and Robinson (1979), three major approaches to the study of classroom language have emerged over the last few decades. These correspond methodologically, although crudely,

with the three traditions of studying classrooms in general mentioned above, viz: insightful observation (ethnographic observation), the use of coding schemes (systemic observation) and discourse analysis (sociolinguistic studies).

In essence, insightful observation, exemplified by the work of Barnes (1971; 1976; 1977), aims to make connections between classroom dialogue and learning processes. In other words, it attempts to "... explore the relationships between communication and learning in school" (Barnes 1976:20). The descriptive system proposed by Barnes concentrates on two aspects of classroom interaction; the participation of pupils and the teacher's questioning techniques. It offers no definite guidelines or predetermined structure, however, and as such can be described as a form of Action Research. In the teacher training situation, however, where one supervisor's assessment is treated as equivalent to another's, at least in terms of its ranking function, some more definite framework is clearly necessary. For the purposes of research, therefore, insightful observation can be regarded as a viable approach: for teacher-training, with its added burden of certification, it would appear to be problematic.

Coding schemes entail a highly structured approach to classroom language analysis; in many ways, they represent a return to more traditional research methodologies. In essence, their use involves the categorizing and measurement of observable behaviour, and the utilization of prespecified categories created by largely

arbitrary boundaries. Clearly, this is problematic in terms of the criteria for both Action Research and more traditional research methodologies, in that the structure is predetermined, and yet researcher bias is present (in the sense that bias must have entered into the initial establishment of the categories). However, if the aim of the procedure is teacher education rather than primarily research, it can be argued that coding schemes could be used as "... training instruments, to give information back directly to the people being observed" (Delamont and Hamilton 1984:20).

The third approach, discourse analysis, is concerned "... first and foremost with the inherent organization of language as a self-contained system" (Stubbs 1975:3), and with demonstrating "... how general cultural norms of speech behaviour are displayed in the fine details of talk" (op cit:1). While this fine-grained analysis of classroom language is possible for linguists and within the grasp of many teachers of language, it is doubtful whether it would be feasible for supervisors (or student-teachers) of, for example, Geography or Biology to master the field quickly or thoroughly enough to be practicable in this context. The passing of data "... through interrelated levels of discourse organization ..." as advocated by Stubbs (op cit:4), would almost certainly be perceived, and understandably so, as having too abstract a relationship to teaching and learning strategies and classroom practices. As a result, techniques of discourse analysis, even those developed with the classroom in

mind, are clearly not suitable for general across the curriculum teacher-education purposes.

The preceding discussion is, of course, far too brief to demonstrate at all convincingly which approach is believed to be most suitable in terms of providing a means whereby both student-teacher and supervisor can investigate classroom practices in a genuinely collaborative manner. Further discussion of the three approaches outlined above, together with practical demonstrations of their appropriacy for teacher-education, is conducted in the following chapters of this dissertation. Before continuing with the discussion, however, it is necessary to describe the methodological procedure followed in this project.

In his discussion on teacher induction pilot schemes in Liverpool and Northumberland, Bolam (1977) outlines eight steps which he believes are crucial in the process of supervision. Briefly, these steps are as follows:

i) establishing a good supervisor/student-teacher relationship
ii) joint planning of a lesson or teaching sequence
iii) joint planning of the supervisor's observation strategy
iv) observation of teaching
v) separate analysis of the lesson and record of observation
vi) planning of the supervision interview
vii) supervision interview
viii) renewed planning of the next phase in the light of this experience.

in general, these steps were followed, as demonstrated below: what Bolam omits, however, is any mention of pupil participation in this process. If, however, as Allwright (1983) suggests, we are striving to understand rather than to confirm our prejudices, there is clearly a need to include a third point of view: this can be achieved by making use of the triangulation procedure: that is, by collecting "... observations/accounts of a situation from a variety of angles or perspectives, and then comparing and contrasting them" (Elliott 1981:101). In this project, pupils were interviewed on their understanding and experience of various interactions. As is shown in Chapter 4, these insights played a vital role in the process of supervision.

In attempting to establish a "good" relationship between the supervisor and the student-teachers[1] (by "good" was understood a relationship characterized by trust and shared aims), meetings were set up on a group and individual basis prior to the period of practice teaching. The meetings therefore focussed on discussion about the way it was hoped the supervision would proceed, and on the aims of the project. Briefly, these aims were:

* to make the supervisory relationship a genuinely collaborative one, involving shared planning and assessement

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1 The four students concerned were all Secondary Teachers' Diploma candidates, and had been assigned to the same school. Their teaching subjects were English, Guidance, Mathematics, Science and Geography.

* to enlist pupils' insights, as far as possible, in order to arrive at a more balanced assessment of the lessons
* to use the language of the lessons (via transcriptions of recordings) as the basis for discussions
* to explore, even if only superficially, various methods of studying the language of the classroom as a means of enhancing teacher education supervision procedures.

The opportunity was also taken during the meetings to ask for permisssion not only to record lessons, but to use the transcriptions of lessons and interviews in future research. This permission was granted, with the proviso that strict confidentiality and anonymity be maintained: for this reason, the student whose teaching and supervision sessions are used here remains nameless throughout, being referred to simply as "the student-teacher". For the purpose of background information, however, the following details are supplied: he is a "White" male, English-speaking, with an average-to-good academic record at the University of Cape Town. At the time of the project, he was twenty-two years old, and had no previous teaching experience. He is an out-going, relaxed and confident person, not given to self-analysis, and somewhat prone to project his thoughts and feelings onto others, as illustrated in chapter 4. His teaching subjects are English and Guidance.

Once the students were at "their" school, detailed discussion of lesson plans and content took place, joint decisions were made on which lessons could be recorded by the supervisor and provisional

plans were made for dates and times of immediate and follow-up interviews.

The next (fourth) step involved the actual observation of lessons which, as had been agreed, were tape-recorded. In addition, notes were made during the lesson, and on the basis of these, pupils were interviewed immediately after the lesson wherever possible. Later, although still on the same day, students were interviewed, and impressions of the lesson/s were shared.

Immediately following this, the lesson was transcribed by the supervisor: this was done in full in order to reduce observer bias and maintain a complete data-base for research purposes, and to enable the student-teachers and supervisor to review the entire lesson before choosing those sections they wished to discuss.

The planning of the 'supervisory conference' forms the sixth step in Bolam's sequence: in this project the scope was widened to include interviews with pupils. These proved to be difficult to arrange, however, as the school was at that time involved in a number of mass protest meetings and short-term boycotts. This break in routine made the timetable somewhat unpredictable, and the general climate had the effect of making individual pupils reluctant to be identified or to participate in the project. The few interviews that were conducted were therefore not recorded, and have thus been treated with some caution in this study. The

interviews with the student-teachers were a great deal easier to arrange, and consisted in the main of confirming arrangements made at the beginning of the project.

The seventh step, the interview itself, was felt to be extremely valuable by both supervisor and students. These interviews were recorded and transcribed in full and, as will be demonstrated, bear witness to the value of having a complete transcription or record of a lesson at hand for ready reference during discussion.

The eighth step involved general discussion on how the sequence of events had helped both supervisor and student-teacher to experience the sequence of events in a genuinely collaborative manner, to what extent the students felt that they had benefitted, and how the sequence could be streamlined and/or improved in future.

The research procedure as outlined above includes the two main ways suggested by Allwright (1983) of researching classroom language: that is, it involves using techniques of both observation and introspection. According to LeCompte and Goetz (1984), both of these methods fall into the category of research tool which they call interactive; methods in this category include participant observation, key informant interviewing, career histories and surveys. Non-interactive strategies, on the other hand, include (inter alia), "interaction analysis protocols" which can "... range in structure from informal sociograms devised on the

spot by the observer to standardized behavioral rating systems ..." (op cit: 50,1) such as that of Flanders (1970).

Although these two categories are often seen as incompatible, it is possible that for teacher-training purposes they can be combined. Indeed, as Bolam (1977:24) comments, in his experience many supervisors have "... responded favourably to the suggestion that their judgements can be strengthened by the use of various structured appraisal schedules." In this project, such schedules were not used directly[1], although suggestions are put forward in Chapter 6 for introducing their use.

It has been suggested, then, that teacher education, in particular the procedures and relationships involved in the supervision of teaching practice, falls naturally under the umbrella of Action Research. Before continuing with a discussion of the means whereby classroom practices can be investigated in a genuinely collaborative manner, however, a description is provided in chapter four of the actual process of supervision conducted in this project.

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1 It was felt to be unreasonable to expect this small group to be prepared to spend the time necessary for a thorough grounding in the use of frameworks for studying classroom language. If, however, this time became part of the general course, and all students were expected to do it as a matter of course, the situation would change considerably.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CLINICAL SUPERVISION PROCEDURE

In this chapter, an adaptation of the clinical supervision procedure propounded by Bolam (1977) and discussed in the preceding section, is described. The data selected for analysis consist of two transcriptions; one of a lesson (Appendix A), the other of the subsequent interview (Appendix B), as well as accounts of immediate follow-up discussions with the pupils and student-teacher concerned. In the selection and analysis of the data, the following criteria were borne in mind:

* that the aim of the project was to investigate a procedure of supervision, rather than the teaching "competence" of the student: in other words, the intention behind the analysis was not to assess the lesson, but to investigate the extent to which the presence of the lesson transcription assisted the student to examine his own classroom practices.
* that in order to assess this extent, the aim when selecting the data should be to provide a complete sequence of events rather than short exerpts from different lessons, interviews and discussions.

Consequently, although the same procedure was followed for each of the student-teachers and for each of their lessons, only one lesson sequence was chosen for analysis. This sequence is illustrated below:

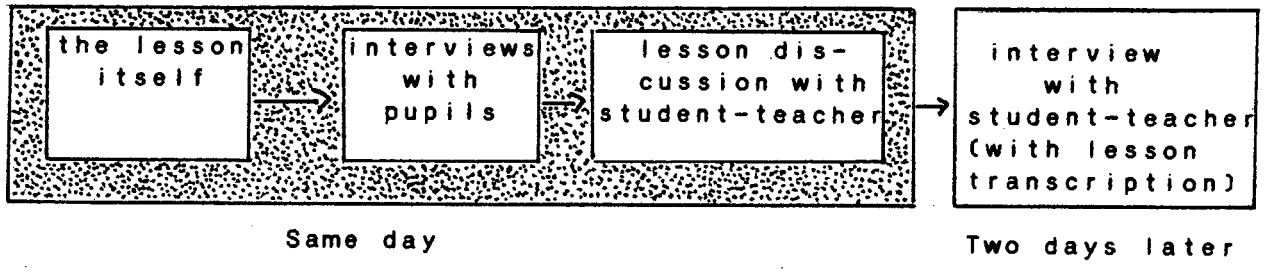

Fig. 1: Sequence of supervision procedure

The choice of lesson sequence was relatively arbitrary, although strongly influenced by the very obvious and striking change in the level of self-awareness of the student-teacher. It is therefore not claimed that the lesson sequence is typical, nor that the conclusions drawn from it are widely generalizable. What is claimed, however, is that this kind of student growth is unlikely to occur to the same extent with traditional teaching supervision procedures - indeed, it is suggested that, had the complete procedure not been followed, the student-teacher would have received only the "same day" lesson discussion, as illustrated in Figure 1.

The lesson selected was given to a class of twenty-seven English-speaking standard eight pupils, regarded as academically promising by the school principal. The student-teacher had taught this class two or three times before - these lessons had not been supervised, as it had been agreed that the class and student-teacher should have an opportunity to establish a working relationship before any supervision took place.

During the lesson, the supervisor sat, as unobtrusively as possible, at the back of the classroom. The lesson was tape-recorded, and as far as possible, field notes were tallied with the counter on the machine. Quite fortuitously, the student-teacher finished his lesson a few minutes early, and the supervisor was therefore able to discuss the lesson[1] immediately

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1 As has been mentioned, the discussions with pupils were not tape-recorded, and no notes were made during the discussion. It should therefore be pointed out that any description of such discussions is only as accurate as the memory of the participant observer (the supervisor).

with various pupils; these groups and individuals had been identified during the lesson. For example, the student-teacher had appeared to ignore, deliberately, a group of five pupils who were crammed into two smallish desks. When he finally attempted to draw them into the lesson, however, he met with little success, as the following transcript[2] demonstrates:

Lesson Transcription Extract

Line	Speaker	Transcription
176	Teacher	Right hands right up ... let's try and see.
177		One, two, three ... okay, so it's about half
178		the class. What about the other half the
179		class? Those guys in the corner over there uh
180		how d'you feel about the newspaper?
181	Pupils	Inaudible.
182	T	D'you mind talking a little bit louder, other-
183		wise I can't conduct the lesson?
184	P's	Silence.
185	T	Don't be afraid to say what you think of the
186		newspaper. I'm not a reporter and I don't own
187		a newspaper in fact I don't even know any
188		reporters.
189	P5	Nothing wrong.
190	T	Nothing wrong with it okay but then why don't
191		you read it?
192	P5	Don't buy it. (laughter)
193	T	Fair enough, this is fair enough - no, there's
194		nothing funny about that. Now why don't you
195		buy it?
196	P5	Silence.
197	T	Um d'you find it (pause) alien? Doesn't fit
198		in with your lifestyle?

In the informal interview with this group of pupils, the participant observer (hereafter referred to as the supervisor), introduced herself to them, and attempted to put them at their ease by

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2 See Appendix A for the complete lesson transcription.

explaining why she had tape-recorded the lesson, and why she wanted to speak to them in particular. The reasons given in this regard were that they had not seemed to be involved in the lesson in any real sense, and that they had appeared to be reluctant to respond when the student-teacher attempted to draw them in.

After this explanation, the group laughed somewhat uneasily, and then one pupil (p.5) volunteered the following information; that they did in fact read newspapers, especially the Cape Times, but they did not say this to the student-teacher because then they would have been expected to give reasons, and they had not wanted to give any. At this point another pupil said that he did not think the student-teacher really wanted to hear from them, but he declined to elaborate on this point. The supervisor then asked the group what they had thought the student-teacher had meant when he asked them if they found newspapers "alien" (line 197). They did not seem to recall this word at all: when asked what they had understood by "lifestyle"(line 198), one pupil (p.5) laughed and said he did not remember thinking anything about it, that "it was all just words".

In subsequent discussion with the student-teacher about the same incident, the student-teacher expressed in quite strong terms his resentment of this group of pupils, describing them as "typical dropouts". He said that he had assumed that they did not read any newspapers, but that he had sincerely wanted to know why this was so. He felt that he had been encouraging and open with them, and that any difficulties were a consequence of their "trying to

be difficult". As Habermas (1979:3) points out, however, genuine communication can only take place if " ... participants suppose that the validity claims they reciprocally raise are justified." That the "validity claims" in this exchange are <u>not</u> justified is demonstrated as follows: the first claim, that something was uttered understandably, was clearly not met - in fact, the student-teacher's choice of the word "alien" (line 197) can be interpreted as a deliberate (although perhaps subconscious) attempt to confuse the issue. Secondly, that the hearer/s were given something to understand is a claim that is not justified, as the misunderstanding that formed the basis for this exchange surely mitigated against the possibility of such an understanding taking place. The third claim, that the speaker communicated in such a manner that s/he was trusted by the hearer/s, was quite obviously not met in this instance, as shown in the discussion with the pupils described above. The fourth and final claim, that the motivation behind the communication was to come to an understanding, was patently not met, in that the student teacher quite explicity stated that it was his intention in this exchange to "clear that off" (line 410 Interview transcription) and not to engage in genuine communication. When the supervisor reported the gist of her discussion with the group, however, viz. that they did read newspapers, but that they believed that he was not really interested in what they had to say, the student-teacher seemed genuinely surprised. He became rather defensive at this point, and turned the discussion onto other aspects of the lesson.

After the lesson had been transcribed, however, it was possible to examine the sequence in more detail. The relevant section of the interview[1], based on a discussion of the lesson transcription, is shown below:

Interview Transcription Extract

Line	Speaker	Transcription
368	S *	Okay let's go down to um here
369	S-t**	Okay
370	S	let's just read this section um from here to
371		here
372	S-t	Right
373	S	(pause while reading) okay um would you like
374		to make any comment here?
375	S-t	Um this particular bit didn't really strike me
376		in any way, no you go on
377	S	Okay um I'm interested in your question "d'you
378		find it alien?" um did you did you just feel
379		you wanted to move on?
380	S-t	Ja I think I did um I think I probably just
381		got through my questions okay um and through
382		my lesson plan {and
383	S	{Did you?
384	S-t	Ja well if I'd gone through the three ques-
385		tions and got the answers to them then I could
386		have got through, so in other words I was
387		short for time and I like wanted to get on to
388		something.
389	S	Right. And you didn't feel like staying with
390		this group to find out exactly what or why
391		they didn't buy newspapers.
392	S-t	Uh well I did carry on with that didn't I, I
393		didn't sort of probe but I carried on with the
394		theme. Are you saying why didn't I probe?
395	S	Mmm.
396	S-t	Uh good question. I think, if I remember
397		correctly and I think we spoke about this that
398		group of boys sitting there had already
399		(pause) kind of posed themselves as some, an
400		object in my way you know what I mean they all
401		sat together and I didn't uh d'you remember

1 See Appendix B for the complete interview transcription.

402		whether they'd sort of um (pause) maybe it was
403		in another class they'd brought out homework
404		or something oh no that was in another class
405		but I just saw them all sitting together and I
406		realised um that they were kind of on their
407		own track more than wanting to carry on with
408		the lesson. And when I tried to probe them
409		and nothing came of it like immediately then I
410		just wanted to clear that off. Uh I think
411		that's what happened as far as I can remember.
412	S	Yes it's understandable you probably just
413		thought well you're not actually going to get
414		anything out of {it uh you've done your bit
415	S-t	{Ja
416	S	you'll move {on
417	S-t	{Right. And in my own way, ja.
418	S	Okay so you gave them an answer, they accepted
419		it, you've made your bargain {uh look I'll
420	S-t	{Ja
421	S	give you something you accept it and I'll get
422		off your back, just say yes.
423	S-t	Right um that actually puts it very concisely.
424	S	What do you feel about that interaction now?
425	S-t	Now um {uh
426	S	{Yes thinking about it now.
427	S-t	Uh I get the same feeling of anger maybe uh
428		they felt that too ja. Um what do you think?
429	S	Uh I was wondering um you see the anger as a
430		problem {maybe
431	S-t	{Ja right that's right
432	S	Well maybe you could think about why you were
433		angry uh who you were angry with.
434	S-t	Who uh the group I {think ja but um with me as
435	S	{Oh
436	S-t	well I think like I wasn't succeeding and um
437		uh.
438	S	Did you blame them for what you thought was
439		your lack of success?
440	S-t	Ja right right maybe I was um pushing my
441		feeling onto them. Ja okay I get it now it
442		was really probably me. Shit, it's amazing.
443		I see it now, I ran out of things to say um
444		and questions my questions were vague um so I
445		sort of covered up. Ja. (Pause).
446	S	Mmm I know the feeling uh maybe it's natural
447		but uh um we should be careful not to project
448		our anger {uh
449	S-t	{Ja right okay.

* = Supervisor ** = Student-Teacher

In this extract it is clear that the student moves from one level of self-awareness to another. His first offhand comment, "... this particular bit didn't strike me in any way" (line 375) forms a marked contrast to his later "... maybe I was um pushing my feeling onto them" (line 440/1) and "I see it now, I ran out of things to say um and questions my questions were vague um so I sort of covered up" (lines 443-445). His very obvious feelings of anger are vividly illustrated in his description of the group as "... an object in my way ..." (line 400)[1] which "... I just wanted to clear that off" (line 410) as quickly as possible, "... and in my own way" (line 417). He also acknowledges that his use of "alien" (lesson transcription line 197) was really a device to force an answer, any answer, which would free him: as he puts it, "... I like wanted to get on to something" (line 387).

The realization of his own role in the "failure" of the lesson is a gradual process and recurrent theme in the interview. This realization was notably absent in the consultation following the lesson which, it is argued, was similar to the average "supervisory conference" experienced by most student-teachers during their teaching practice sessions. In other words, had the student-teacher not been confronted with a transcription of this section of his lesson, he would in all likelihood not have undergone this process of self-examination and realization. It was only when the student found himself faced with the transcription

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1 This element of power and control is evident in other sections of the lesson transcription as well: for example, note line 183, where he attempts to persuade them to talk louder so that "I can conduct the lesson."

that he was forced to acknowledge what had really occurred at that point in the lesson. Inherent in this confrontation and acknowledgement is, of course, a potential loss of confidence and self-esteem which, if crudely handled, could be traumatic for many students. Clearly, the whole procedure demands careful and supportive treatment, and this important aspect should not be overlooked in the design and implementation of such a procedure. For example, in this interview the supervisor attempts to reflect feelings rather than pass judgements, as can be seen in the following extracts from the interview transcription.

Line	Speaker	Transcription
259	S-t	You know um it's difficult but I think I felt
260		that they didn't want to answer yes I felt I
261		felt angry for some reason. Because they were
262		um um (pause)
263	S	You felt they could but they didn't want to,
264		so you were angry?
265	S-t	I hadn't realised the anger it runs through
266		(pause) can I think about {that
267	S	{of course

Line	Speaker	Transcription
27	S-t	Ja, that's what I thought. Uh the point is
28		why did I speak at the same time? Looking at
29		it here it seems as though I'm sort of
30		breaking in.
31	S	You think you were interrupting?
32	S-t	Ja - yes, I sort of took over. I don't
33		remember doing that, though.
34	S	That's a bit disconcerting! (both laugh)

Line	Speaker	Transcription
427	S-t	Uh I get the same feeling of anger maybe uh
428		they felt that too ja. Um what do you think?
429	S	Uh I was wondering um you see the anger as a
430		problem {maybe
431	S-t	{Ja right that's right

This kind of response, which involves a restatement, of rather than a comment on, the student's remarks, corresponds to the type of supervision which Gebhard (1984) calls "non-directive". As he suggests, however, it is possible that too great an emphasis on this style of supervision, particularly with pre-service or beginning teachers, could have the effect of causing anxiety and ultimate alienation. In this interview, a number of different supervisory styles were employed as demonstrated below.

In the following extract, the dominant style could be called "collaborative" supervision, as it incorporates a "... problem-solving process that requires a sharing of ideas between the teacher and the supervisor" (op cit: 505):

Line	Speaker	Transcription
60	S	What were your three questions?
61	S-t	What were they?
62	S	Mmm
63	S-t	Are you asking me because you don't know?
64	S	Yes
65	S-t	Uh (pause)
66	S	You see you say {here
67	S-t	{I actually don't remember
68		right now.
69	S	Um (reads) "Okay today I've got three
70		questions again for you to write in your books
71		please and the first one is has anyone got a
72		book" okay fine - um {um
73	S-t	{Right okay mmm

74	S	now - you write on the board you see um
75	S-t	Ja I think I understand the question here um
76		what is the mass media used for?
77	S	What do we use the mass media for? Is that
78		your first question?
79	S-t	Ja that's the first question. What purposes
80		do the mass media does the mass media serve?

Where the supervisor suggests "... a variety of alternatives to what the teacher has done in the classroom ..." (op cit:504), the style is called "alternative" supervision. This is a fairly common form, although the emphasis is possibly not customarily on a "variety of alternatives", but on one alternative. An instance of this in the interview is as follows:

Line	Speaker	Transcription
306	S	So if you had to re-ask that question what
307		would you say?
308	S-t	Well I'd probably use the word attitude okay
309		I'd say for instance um now that would also be
310		quite difficult to phrase I was thinking of
311		something like uh what kind of attitude would
312		you take towards the article. Because that's
313		what I'm trying to elicit you know uh
314		cautious attitude.
315	S	Mmm. You you could even maybe simplify it by
316		saying what would you think when you read that
317		article {and if they said didn't answer uh try
318	S-t	{Ja
319	S	would you believe the article?
320	S-t	In other words direct it.
321	S	Mmm.

Gebhard's fourth model of supervision, "directive" supervision, is characterized by the supervisor's provision of model teaching behaviours, and assessment of the teacher's competence in terms of his/her mastery of these models. This supervisory style is present in this interview, although only obliquely, as shown below:

Line	Speaker	Transcription
223	S	Now can you see that by these questions you
224		are not actually asking them, you're firstly
225		not asking one {person
226	S-t	{Ja okay
227	S	and secondly it's a difficult question to
228		answer
229	S-t	Ja it's not directed.
230	S	Ja they don't quite know what was expected.
231	S-t	Okay let me just think about that.

It would obviously be highly contrived to seek to conduct supervision entirely through one style. Freeman (1982) suggests that the supervisory model used should itself be a response to the student-teacher's perceived needs: for example, an "alternative" approach could be appropriate when a student-teacher wants to know <u>how</u> to teach, or a non-directive approach when the concerns are more obviously in the affective domain. Clearly, however, there is a need for supervisors to make explicit their supervisory behaviours, and to apply these appropriately and sensitively.

Returning to the interview, it is evident that quite a large proportion of the time was concerned with questioning skills. Even a cursory glance at the complete lesson transcription will reveal the problems experienced by the student-teacher in this regard. An illustration of the difficulties involved is reproduced below:

Lesson Transcription Extract

Line	Speaker	Transcription
205	T	Okay what about television?
206		How many people don't watch television? Don't
207		see one hand. One hand? You don't watch
208		television? Okay do you not have a television
209		set?
210	P6	Well (pause) I {do
211	T	{You do have one okay now why
212		don't you watch television?
213	P6	Um um it does not interest {me
214		{Doesn't interest
215		you okay {nothing
216	P6	{Um I uh if I've got nothing else to
217		do I just sit there by the TV {but ....
218	T	{Ja there's
219		nothing that actually draws you to the tele-
220		vision set. Why would you say that or why
221		would you say that what's the reason for that?
222	P6	I wouldn't say it's not educational but um it's
223		it's different um half the time it's um there's
224		nothing educational um {but
225		{Okay so you're looking
226		for educational value?
227	P6	I mean {um
228	T	{Or very little?
229	P6	Yes.
230	T	Ja very little educational value. Okay.

Immediately following the lesson, P6 was interviewed. She was asked whether she in fact did not watch television, and she replied that really she watched quite a lot of it. She continued that the problem was that her parents were strict about when she watched it, that she had to do her homework and chores before anything else, and that the only time she was really free to watch was after eight-thirty and that the programmes shown at that time did not really interest her. When asked if she thought she had conveyed this to the teacher, she replied that she had not, as the student-teacher had interrupted her so that she was

unable to make her point. After further discussion, it emerged that what she was attempting to say was this: that there was educational material on SABC TV, but that it was screened at the wrong times, both too early and too late, and that most school children were unable to watch television at those times. Clearly, this point was not made in the lesson: if one examines the interaction above, one is left with the impression that she does not watch much television, because there is little of educational value on offer.

In the initial post-lesson discussion between the student-teacher and supervisor, the student-teacher was asked to reflect on his interaction with this pupil - it should be emphasized that no transcription was available at this stage. At first, he seemed enthusiastic about what he perceived as the only significant contribution from a pupil throughout the lesson. When asked whether he himself watched much television, he replied that he did not, as what was screened was largely "trash", that there was not much of any real educational value "on the box". The supervisor then asked whether it was possible that he had in reality merely used the pupil as a mouthpiece for his own views, rather than encouraged her to develop her line of thought. The student-teacher replied that this was possible, but not probable. The supervisor then reported her conversation with the pupil: this was received with surprise and many reservations, and the student-teacher suggested that the pupil was using hindsight and a desire to please the supervisor, by giving her misleading information. The supervisor agreed that this was possible, and

it was decided to return to this interaction once the lesson transcription was available, that is, during the follow-up interview. Such an impasse is difficult to resolve in a collaborative manner: in this case the supervisor could have exerted her authority and forced the issue, although it remains doubtful whether the student would have accepted, in himself, such an interpretation.

The interview extracts shown below illustrate clearly how this acceptance occurred when the student was faced with a record of the actual interaction.

Line	Speaker	Transcription
511	S	You see like uh what have you learned from TV
512		you've told them that it has very little
513		educational {value
514	S-t	{Ja okay uh which is my own opinion
515		of it or it's like it's a distorted opinion of
516		that girl's I mean I gleaned that from her {uh
517	S	{Ja
518		I think you're right but uh there was
519		something else she was trying to say uh{ that
520	S-t	{It
521		didn't come out ja I can see that here I
522		wasn't really speaking with her uh over her
523		really.
524	S	Mmm the other day you weren't convinced of
525		that have you thought about it since?
526	S-t	Ja I mean there it is uh everytime she says
527		"but" I jump in right
528	S	Mmm. Yes. What d'you think about that now?
529	S-t	Well it doesn't exactly thrill me but like I
530		said let's see next time.

Line	Speaker	Transcription
458	S	Um if you read this look look here
459	S-t	Ja
460	S	The pupil says uh from just above "I wouldn't
461		say it's ...
462	S-t	Ja
463	S	not educational but um it's different um half
464		the time it's um" you know it's all dragged
465		out slowly "it's um there's nothing edu-
466		cational um" and then you say "Okay so you're
467		looking for education and you find that SATV's
468		got no educational value" she says "I mean um"
469		and you interrupt with {"Or very little" and
470	S-t	{ Right
471	S	she says "Yes" um thinking now of our previous
472		conversation would you say that that's what
473		what you wanted her to say or what she really
474		thought?
475	S-t	Ja I mean I offered her something and she
476		accepted {it
477	S	{Mmm 'cos then you say "Ja very little
478		educational value".
479	S-t	Mmm yes I see right I've done it I can see
480		right I've done it all my own way and like I
481		acted like it was them.

It is evident from the above that the student has come to terms with his own part in the communicative difficulties of this exchange and has, moreover, gained new insight into a style of teaching that is not only counter-productive but very often positively alienating.

In this chapter, it has been suggested that the use of a lesson transcription can greatly enhance teaching supervision. This was demonstrated by means of extracts from both the lesson and interview transcriptions, and from reports of interviews held with pupils. In the following chapter, three major approaches to the study of classroom language, using a transcription, are described and assessed in the context of teacher-education.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPROACHES TO THE ANALYSIS OF CLASSROOM LANGUAGE, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER-TRAINING

In chapter three, it was suggested that there are three main approaches to the study of classroom language, viz. insightful observation, systematic observation and discourse analysis. In this chapter, these approaches are examined in some detail, and their potential in the context of the supervision of student-teaching assessed.

Discourse Analysis

The system chosen for analysis is that of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). It is a descriptive system and represents a linguistic approach to the analysis of classroom language; as such it involves an attempt to negotiate the relationships between the grammatical and functional properties of utterances (Hammersley 1981), and between linguistic and pedagogical considerations. In any discussion of their work, however, and in particular when the context is, as now, the classroom, it is important to note that the primary purpose of their system is not pedagogical. Indeed, their choice of the classroom as the language environment for their system was not primarily motivated by a desire or intention to improve teaching practice: it represented, in their view

> ... a more simple type of spoken discourse, one which has more overt structure than 'desultory' conversation, where one participant has acknowledged responsibility for the direction of the discourse, for deciding who shall speak when, and for introducing and ending topics (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975:6).

Details of the descriptive system are clearly set out by the authors themselves (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Coulthard, 1980, Sinclair and Brazil 1982) and discussed by others (for example, Gatherer and Jeffs (eds) 1980, Stubbs 1975, 1983, Stubbs and Robinson 1979). In essence, the system postulates that classroom language can be categorized into five ranks: lesson, transaction, exchange, move and act. These ranks are hierarchical in that, for example, a lesson can consist of a number of transactions, a transaction of a number of exchanges, but not vice-versa. It therefore represents an attempt to handle the structural complexity of classroom discourse. Before continuing with a discussion of the potential of this system for teacher-training, however, it might be helpful to reflect on its application to the data, as shown below.

Line	Speaker	Transcription (Lesson)
		Okay what about television?
206		How many people don't watch television? Don't
207		see one hand. One hand? You don't watch
208		television? Okay do you not have a television
209		set?
210	P6	Well (pause) I {do
211	T	{You do have one okay now why
212		don't you watch television?
213	P6	Um um it does not interest {me
214		{Doesn't interest
215		you okay {nothing
216	P6	{Um I uh if I've got nothing else to
217		do I just sit there by the TV {but ....
218	T	{Ja there's
219		nothing that actually draws you to the tele-
220		vision set. Why would you say that or why
221		would you say that what's the reason for that?
222	P6	I wouldn't say it's not educational but um it's
223		it's different um half the time it's um there's
224		nothing educational um {but
225		{Okay so you're looking
226		for educational value?
227	P6	I mean {um

228	T	Or very little?
229	P6	Yes.
230	T	Ja very little educational value. Okay.

EXCHANGE TYPE	INITIATION	ACT	RESPONSE	ACT	FEEDBACK	ACT
Boundary	1. Okay	m				
Teacher elicit	2. What about television	el				
	3. how many people don't watch television	el				
	4. don't see one hand	p	5. (pupil raises hand)	b		
	6. one hand	cu				
	7. you don't watch television	el				
	8. okay do you not have a television set	el	9. Well I do	rep	10. you do have one okay	acc
Teacher elicit	11. now why don't you watch television	el	12. it does not interest me	rep	13. doesn't interest you okay	acc
Teacher elicit	14. nothing	el	15. if I've got nothing else to do I just sit there by the TV but	rep	16. Ja there's nothing that actually draws you to the television set	acc
Teacher elicit	17. why would you say that or why would you say that what's the reason for that	el	18. I wouldn't say it's not educational but it's different half the time it's there's nothing educational but	rep	19. Okay	acc
Teacher elicit	20. so you're looking for educational value	el	21. I mean	rep		
Teacher elicit	22. or very little	el	23. Yes	rep	24. ja very little educational value	e

KEY :
- b: Can be verbal or non-verbal, such as "Miss, Miss", a raised hand. Its function is to indicate a willingness to contribute.
- cu: Realised by items such as "only one person", "don't all shout at once". Its function is to evoke an appropriate bid.
- e: Realised by statements and tag questions that comment on the quality of the reply/interaction, repetition of pupil's reply, either positive or negative.
- el: Its function is to elicit a linguistic response.
- p: Its function is stronger than el, in that the teacher is demanding a response.
- rep: Its function is to provide an appropriate linguistic response.

APPLICATION OF SINCLAIR AND COULTHARD (1975) SYSTEM

Such an analysis, worthwhile and illuminating in many respects though it may be, is not a great deal (if at all) more useful for teacher-education purposes than a standard transcription, while being considerably more time-consuming and demanding to draw up. On theoretical grounds, too, it is arguable whether in fact its use could be considered appropriate for teacher-education. Firstly, it contains "... no rational grounds for deviance" (Hammersley 1981:50), in that any deviation from the pattern of teacher control of discourse is perceived as resulting in meaninglessness. In its conception of classroom interaction as a process of rule-following, it ignores the possibility of its also being a process of decision-making: pupils are expected to conform simply because other behaviours are regarded as inappropriate. The interpretative leap from inappropriacy to meaninglessness is logical, given, as Stubbs (1983:134) points out, that "... actions only have meaning within a framework", and that this framework makes no allowance for such actions. This flaw in the system is a serious one: according to Edwards and Furlong (1978:48), "... competence will include knowing what to do to speak inappropriately", and any system purporting to be able to cope with classroom language data should be capable of tapping such competence. Furthermore, any practitioner or observer familiar with the classroom will attest to the significant proportion of time spent in classrooms on managerial issues - surely an indication of the prevalence of "deviance", and for the need for a system to be powerful enough to cope with such occurrences.

Secondly, the system is unable to handle either monologue or silence - as Coulthard (1980) himself suggests, it is most useful at the point of speaker change. Discussions with many groups of student-teachers have indicated, however, that these two aspects are particularly problematic: indeed, it can be suggested that, especially in the case of beginning teachers, silences, or the fear thereof, often precipitate long monologues, which lead to silence and to the establishment of a cycle. Given this situation, it is essential that a system chosen for use in teacher-training be able to deal with these aspects.

Thirdly, while it is acknowledged that the system can yield valuable insights which might lead to the provision of a substantive framework for discussions of educational interest, any conclusions about effective teaching or learning strategies involve interpretations in order to arrive at pedagogical theories from descriptions of language. As Ellis (1984:63) concludes, "... there are no clear principles guiding the jump from description to evaluation; an educational component is missing."

Finally, and to return to more practical concerns, the time and degree of linguistic sophistication necessary for reliable utilization of the system render it inappropriate for general across-the-curriculum teacher-training purposes.

Insightful Observation

A very different approach is evident in the work of Barnes (1969, 1976), who emphasizes that in order to understand the

relationships between communication and learning, an analysis of the strategies used rather than of the linguistic forms or discourse structures is required. It can thus be seen that, in Barnes's work, the interpretative leap involves two stages; one from the data to inferred psychological processes, the other from these processes to pedagogical principles. Barnes and Todd (1981) postulate three levels of analysis: form, discourse and strategy, and conclude that that of strategy is by far the most positive type of analysis. An illustration of the application of an analysis of this kind is given below: the same extract is used for this analysis as for that using the Sinclair and Coulthard system, in order to facilitate comparisons.

Speaker	Dialogue	Commentary
Teacher	Okay what about television how many people don't watch television?	The teacher begins this sequence by introducing a new topic - television - and then asking a direct question.
	Don't see one hand	Although on the surface an observation, this functions both as an instruction and a rebuke to the effect that the pupils are not responding appropriately, and should do so.
	one hand	This utterance functions as a check that the pupil is responding to the question, and as a request for more pupils to respond.
	you don't watch television	Here the teacher is both checking that the pupil has understood the question, and ensuring that all the pupils are aware of it as well.
	okay	The teacher confirms that the pupil has answered the question.

	do you not have a TV set	The teacher is suggesting why the pupil does not watch television.
Pupil	well I do	The pupil rejects the teacher's suggestion.
Teacher	you do have one okay now why don't you watch TV	The teacher returns to the original question, this time asking the pupil for reasons.
Pupil	it does not interest me	The pupil begins to answer the question, but is interrupted.
Teacher	doesn't interest you okay nothing	The teacher repeats and accepts the pupil's statement. The teacher probes for more information.
Pupil	if I've got nothing to do I just sit there by the TV but	Rather than giving a direct answer to the teacher's question, the pupil begins to explain the circumstances in which she does watch TV. Again, however, she is interrupted by the teacher.
Teacher	Ja there's nothing that actually draws you to the TV set Why would you say that or why would you say that what's the reason for that	The teacher accepts and restates the pupil's remark, while repeating his earlier emphasis on "nothing". The teacher asks a somewhat ambiguous question: it is not clear to what "that" refers, his own remark or the pupil's previous reply.
Pupil	I wouldn't say it's not educational but it's different half the time it's there's nothing educational but	The pupil's hesitancy is clearly illustrated by her somewhat disjointed speech. She is again interrupted.
Teacher	okay so you're looking for educational value	The teacher accepts the pupil's reply. The teacher uses the pupil's reply to focus on a particular aspect: that he perceives this as logical is shown by his use of "so".
Pupil	I mean	Here the pupil is clearly intending to reject or modify the teacher's assumption, but is interrupted before she can develop her argument.
Teacher	or very little	The teacher responds to the impending rejection or modification by qualifying the assumption implicit in his statement

		interests the pupil is educational value.
Pupil	yes	Here the pupil gives an affirmative answer to the teacher's question "so you're looking for educational value". That this answer represents a strategy by which the pupil can opt out of the situation is clear, as the pupil abandons her attempt to modify the teacher's assumption, and simply accepts it.
Teacher	ja very little educational value	The teacher accepts the pupil's reply and sanctions his assumption though repetition.

The highly impressionistic nature of the observations made above bear witness to the degree of reliance placed on the observer's personal intuition and experience. Interpretations are a stage removed from the linguistic data, and particularly susceptible to the observer's educational philosophy. In the work of Barnes, for example, the educational precept pervading analysis is that active pupil participation and use of own knowledge and experience is eminently desirable, and that teachers should use questions to stimulate thought rather than to elicit formal information: all data will be looked at and commented on from this perspective. In this sense, the Barnes-type approach of insightful observation fails to meet the criteria for Action Research, as it takes as its starting point educational theory and analyses data in terms of this theory, rather than allowing the data to generate the theory.

The use of insightful observation in teacher-training is questionable on many grounds. Firstly, it would necessitate a uniformity on theoretical grounds across a number of supervisors.

Any attempt to gain this uniformity would in all likelihood prove not only futile but also undesirable, as lack of uniformity, while frustrating for many student-teachers looking for the "perfect" teaching method, at least ensures a lack of prescription and a certain amount of freedom in which to experiment.

Secondly, insightful observation of this type is a time-consuming and fairly laborious method of analysis which, for all its painstaking detail, does not provide much more information for beginning teachers than a standard transcription and verbal analysis. Indeed, it is suggested that the procedure of clinical supervision followed in this project captures the essential spirit of insightful observation, while incorporating both a strong interactive component and remaining true to the principles of Action Research.

Thus far, it has been suggested that the above two approaches, illuminating and worthwhile though they may be in their own rights, would serve only to complicate matters and confuse issues for student-teachers and supervisors. What is needed, it is argued, is a simple yet powerful analytic tool which is primarily pedagogic rather than linguistic in nature, and which can be applied to the language data (the transcription) economically in terms of time and training. Such a system, it is suggested, is Flanders' (1970) Interaction Analysis Categories (FIAC).

Systematic Observation

Before continuing with a discussion of FIAC, however, it is necessary to make explicit the position taken with regard to this approach and the principles guiding participant observation and Action Research in general, and to reconcile the apparent contradictions. It is recognised, for example, that the use of a prespecified coding system involves acceptance of the fact that the variables to be observed and coded have been pre-selected: a clear reversal of Action Research's adherence to the research first, theory second, approach. Moreover, the use of such a scheme inevitably results in what can be called tunnel vision, in that it can only cope with overt, observable behaviour; intentions, global concepts and thought processes are largely ignored. Research using such a scheme therefore conforms more closely to traditional educational research than to Action Research.

That these are serious criticisms is acknowledged. It should be emphasized at this point, however, that the use of FIAC is being proposed as an additional aid in the process of supervision, and not as the sole means. Perhaps a more serious drawback to its use in teacher-education is the possibility that, as Delamont (1984) suggests, the arbitrary boundaries used to create the categories can inculcate lasting bias, particularly in the case of student-teachers. It is for this reason that students and supervisors should be warned (and helped) to view the system critically, and should be encouraged to adapt or modify it where necessary. Such a process, indeed, might in the end prove more

valuable than the system itself - as Allwright (1983:198) suggests, it is this kind of process that "... should act to stimulate productive thinking about classroom processes", surely the ultimate aim of any teacher-education course.

A practical problem often raised against the use of classroom observation systems is the time involved in their mastery. Here a distinction must be clearly drawn between the use of the systems for teacher-education and their use for research purposes. If the motivation for using a system of observation is to inform the participants involved, as is the case in teacher-education, the system can be a great deal simpler and more easily learned than if it were to be used for research purposes. One of the reasons for the complexity of many established systems is that they attempt to be generalizable to other settings, and not to be guilty of what Delamont (1984:19) calls "... the a priori reductionism ..." of prespecified coding systems. When used as a tool by means of which supervisor and student can review a lesson, however, such concerns become largely irrelevant.

The FIAC system is comprised of ten categories which are designed to handle classroom talk by both teacher and pupils. Its selection for this project was influenced by its wide use in teacher-training (Wragg, 1974, Furst, 1967, Moskowitz, 1967), its relative adaptability for different contexts and needs, and its simplicity, which makes it both easy to learn and to use.

Briefly, the ten categories making up the system are divided as follows: seven are devoted to teacher-talk, two for pupil-talk, and one for silence and/or confusion. The emphasis is thus clearly on teacher-talk, a reflection of Flanders' "rule of two thirds": that two-thirds of any lesson is composed of talk, two-thirds of this talk is conducted by the teacher, and that two-thirds of teacher-talk involves the imparting of information. Unlike the Sinclair and Coulthard approach, FIAC does not concentrate on features of the interactive use of language, but focusses on the topic of the talk, particularly on who controls it and on how often and to what extent pupil contributions are used; in many ways, this focus is similar to that of Barnes.

The procedures for using FIAC are straightforward, and are described in detail by Flanders (1970), Amidon and Flanders (1967) and Wragg (1974), amongst others. Essentially, the procedure is as follows: the observer records, at three second intervals, the category number which represents the activity just observed. These numbers are recorded sequentially, as shown below in the table resulting from the application of the system to the lesson under discussion.[1]

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1 It should be noted that the coding in this instance was not performed in 'real-time', but from the tape-recording of the lesson. As was mentioned previously, the FIAC system was not used in this project, and the coding above was performed in order to illustrate the system.

Minutes	Tally Across																			
01	5	5	5	5	5	10	4	4	4	10	10	4	4	6	6	5	6	6	6	7
02	7	7	10	4	4	4	4	8	8	3	3	4	10	10	3	3	3	3	5	10
03	10	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	10	10	6	6	4	10	10	2	2
04	4	4	8	3	5	4	10	10	5	5	5	5	5	5	10	10	4	4	4	4
05	4	4	4	4	4	5	3	3	10	10	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
06	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
07	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	10	10	4	4	4	4	4	8	8	8	3	3	4
08	10	5	4	4	4	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
09	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	10	10	10	10
10	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	10	5
11	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	8	8	6	4	4	8	8	3	5	5	5
12	9	9	4	8	8	4	8	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
13	5	10	10	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
14	10	10	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	10	10	10	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
15	10	10	6	6	8	8	8	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	10	5	5	5	5	5
16	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
17	5	5	5	5	5	5	10	10	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4
18	10	10	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
19	4	10	4	10	10	6	5	5	5	10	5	4	10	7	7	10	1	1	2	2
20	2	9	3	4	8	10	10	3	7	4	10	3	4	4	8	3	4	4	4	4
21	10	10	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	3	4	9	3	9	9	3	3	4	4	9
22	9	9	3	3	9	8	3	4	4	3	5	5	10	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
23	5	4	4	4	9	3	9	9	3	4	3	5	5	4	5	4	3	9	3	9
24	3	4	3	5	4	9	4	9	3	4	3	3	4	9	3	3	9	3	4	10
25	4	10	5	5	5	5	5	5												

Fig. 1: Lesson Observation Sheet

Much insight can be derived from a close inspection of these tallies: for example, the total of each category can be given as a percentage of the whole, so that the student-teacher can see at a glance his/her dominant teaching style, how much praise and/or encouragement has been used, and so on. For instance, the percentages of the tallies given above are as follows:

CATEGORY			NO. OF TALLIES	PERCENTAGE
Teacher-talk	1.	Accepting and clarifying feeling of pupil in non-threatening manner.	2	0,4
	2.	Praising or encouraging pupil action or behaviour.	5	1,0
	3.	Clarifying, using or developing ideas of pupils.	43	8,8
	4.	Asking questions about content or procedure with the intention that a pupil answer.	80	16,4
	5.	Lecturing, giving facts or opinions, asking rhetorical questions.	246	50,4
	6.	Giving directions, commands or orders.	13	2,7
	7.	Making statements intended to change pupils' behaviour from non-acceptable to acceptable pattern, justifying authority.	6	1,2
Pupil-talk	8.	Talk by pupils in response to teacher.	19	3,9
	9.	Talk initiated by pupils.	19	3,9
	10.	Silence or confusion	55	11,3
		Total:	488	100

Such percentages should serve to raise some interesting questions: why, for example, are only 3,9% of the tallies taken up with pupil responses to questions, when 16,4% of the tallies concern questions asked with the intent that pupils answer? The high percentage (50,4) devoted to lecturing is also note-worthy, particularly in the context of this particular lesson, a Guidance

lesson on the media, as is the extremely low percentage (3,9) of instances of talk initiated by pupils.

An analysis of the actual sequence of events can serve to throw more light on the process of the lesson: this is achieved by the compilation of a 10 x 10 matrix.[1] The numbers are then taken in pairs, and put into the appropriate cell, as shown below in the matrix compiled from the tallies in Figure 1.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
3	0	0	14	13	8	0	1	0	6	1
4	0	0	6	39	4	1	0	9	6	15
5	0	0	1	13	216	2	0	0	1	12
6	0	0	0	2	2	6	1	1	0	1
7	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	2
8	0	0	8	1	0	1	0	8	0	1
9	0	0	11	2	0	0	0	1	5	0
10	1	1	3	8	15	3	1	0	0	23

Fig. 2: 10 X 10 matrix showing sequence of 488 tallies (487 sequences) in 100 cells.

A number of interesting observations can be made from this representation of the lesson, which differ from those made from Figure 1. For instance, only 5 sequences are recorded in the 9 X 9 cell, bearing witness to the low-frequency of extended talk initiated by students: in other words, only 5 times in 487 sequences was pupil-talk followed by pupil-talk. In contrast,

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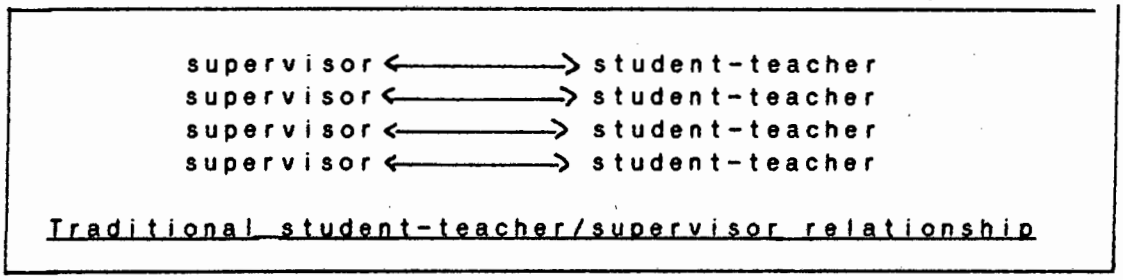
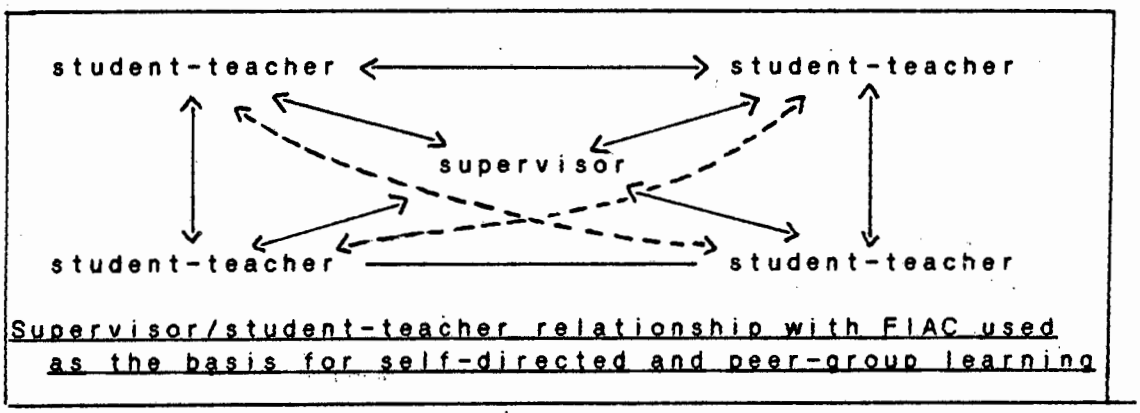
1 A comprehensive guide to compiling such a matrix can be found in Amidon and Flanders (1967).

teacher-talk followed by teacher-talk occurred 216 times, as seen in the 5 X 5 cell. Above all, this kind of flow chart can serve to highlight the predominant styles of teaching adopted by the student-teacher: it should not, however, be used to make inferences about the quality of the teaching, as it lacks context and represents an extreme form of reductionism. It could, on the other hand, form a useful tool for student-teachers, in that they could quite easily use such matrices as spot summaries of a number of lessons, in the light of all the other cues available to them. Indeed, this potential use of the system as a focus for self-directed and peer-group learning is perhaps one of its greatest, and most overlooked, strengths. The very simplicity of the system, which often results in criticism from educational theorists, is a positive factor in a context in which the users themselves are neither sophisticated nor experienced. Since student-teachers placed at a school for a period of several weeks quickly form themselves into a tightly-knit group, and take great interest in each other's lessons as well as their own, it seems likely that constructive and fruitful use could be made of the FIAC system of analysis in this context. Besides affording students an opportunity to investigate their teaching in a systematic, yet flexible and supportive manner, this use of the system could considerably lighten the load of the supervisor, who would then become one participant in a network of support and investigation, rather than one half of every pair of participants. Represented schematically, the situation could look as follows:



Traditional student-teacher/supervisor relationship



Supervisor/student-teacher relationship with FIAC used as the basis for self-directed and peer-group learning

In this manner, it is argued, the supervisory relationship would be considerably enhanced, and would provide an environment in which genuine collaboration could take place. It would, moreover, make it possible for supervisors to improve the quality of their supervision, without substantially adding to their time.

In conclusion, then, the use of FIAC is proposed as a basis for discussion between supervisor and student-teacher, and as an extension of the normal "... repertoire of appraisal techniques" (Wragg 1974:86). Its use is relatively simple and independent of sophisticated linguistic knowledge, while still focussing on the vehicle of instruction and interaction in the classroom, language. Suggestions for its implementation, in conjunction with the clinical supervisory approach, are contained in chapter six.

CHAPTER SIX

PROPOSALS FOR IMPLEMENTATION AND CONCLUSION

Ideally, assessing the potential of the proposed procedure to enhance the process of teacher supervision should entail the employment of what Denzin (1970 in Cohen and Manion 1980) calls "methodological" triangulation, where either a) the same method on different occasions, or b) different methods on the same object of study, are used. In the project under discussion, this could be achieved by dividing the participating student teachers and supervisors into three groups. Group 1 would continue with the procedure of teacher supervision as presently conducted, Group 2 would, in addition, use transcriptions, much as described in Chapter 4, and Group 3 would follow the transcription plus FIAC approach outlined below.

Such a comparitive approach could, however, involve a level and degree of organization far beyond that of the present proposals, and would moreover entail both support and active participation from all members of the training institution. This kind of support and participation, it is suggested, might be granted more readily after the proposals have been "tested" in a pilot project. The proposals which follow should therefore be seen in the light of a small-scale, but nonetheless authentic, attempt to test the feasibility of approaching teacher supervision in a more collaborative manner, true to the principles of action research.

The group chosen to participate in the pilot project should preferably be small in numbers, so that feedback and insights can be gained on an individual basis. Furthermore, the group, for

practical reasons, should have been formed for some purpose other than the project, and should meet regularly for extended periods, ideally at least two-and-a-half hours. The reason for this is simply that it is highly unlikely that a group of students would be prepared to spend the time necessary for a thorough grounding in the use of transcriptions and FIAC, in a context in which it is not a mainstream activity. In order for it to be made acceptable to the students, therefore, it would be necessary to knit the project into the content matter of an already existing course. Such a step should not be too difficult, given that it constitutes, in nature and intent, an inquiry into the very essence of teaching itself.[1]

Supervisors participating in the project should ideally be volunteers, and should commit themselves as group members on the same basis as the student-teachers.

The table below sets out a possible procedure for the pilot project.

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1 At the University of Cape Town, for example, small tutorial groups meet weekly over the academic year to discuss a broad range of topics under the heading "The Effective Teacher". Such a group, or groups, would appear to be particularly appropriate for this purpose.

SESSION	ACTIVITY	PURPOSE	ESTIMATED TIME
A	1. Whole group to view recording of a lesson extract.(1)	To lay a common foundation for future discussion.	12 min
	2. Discuss extract in general terms.	To focus attention on aspects of teaching.	20 min
	3. Give transcriptions(2) of lesson extract to each member of the group. Allow time for reading of transcription.	To introduce group to the principles and conventions of transcribing. To enable group to make interpretations from a transcription.	25 min
	4. Divide groups into smaller groupings(3) of three or four. Replay lesson extract.	To facilitate small-group discussion, and to reinforce the connections between the actual lesson extract and the transcription.	15 min
	5. Encourage groups to quantify (or categorise) the extract in any way they wish.	To stimulate thinking in terms of broad categories.	30 min
	6. Report-back from each group, and general discussion on similarities and differences between the groups.	To highlight the different ways in which people observe events, and to bring out the need for shared concepts and a common metalanguage.	50 min
	7. Brief introduction to the FIAC system. Why and how developed.	To make explicit the link between what they have been doing, and the FIAC system.	10 min
	8. Hand-out copies of FIAC categories: to be read at home. Emphasize that all should be familiar with the categories by the next session.	To prepare the ground for Session B.	5 min

B	1. Discussion on the categories. Check on degree of familiarity.	To provide a link between Sessions A and B. To emphasize the principles and procedure underlying the system.	45 min
	2. Give out coding sheets and explain procedure.	To facilitate Step 3.	10 min
	3. Play first minute of original extract: groups to code while listening/watching. Tutor can help by tapping on a desk every three seconds.	To acquire coding skills, and to become familiar with the 3-second coding interval.	
	4. Discuss coding: categories, difficulties, etc.	To check on category interpretations and degree of familiarity.	50 min
	5. Play second minute of extract.	To practise coding skills.	
	6. Discuss coding.	As above for Step 4.	
	7. Repeat procedure until students have acquired an acceptable level(4) of tallying skill.	To ensure a reasonable degree of reliability and uniformity of interpretations.	
	8. Discuss ways of using tallies to gain insight: gross tallies, percentage proportions, 10 x 10 sequence matrices.	To introduce the group to the ways in which FIAC can be used in "real-life" situations.	25 min
	9. Ask groups to manipulate the tallies as discussed above, and to make interpretations in preparation for Session C.	To set the scene for Session C, and to give the group an opportunity to practise sorting the tallies.	10 min
C	1. Discuss numbers, percentages and sequences from Session B. General discussion on implications.	To consolidate Session B, and to provide a forum for discussion on the advantages/disadvantages of the system.	40 min
	2. Play video-recording of a short extract from a different lesson. To be coded in "real-time" with no interruptions.	To provide a more coherent passage for coding, and another opportunity to practise.	15 min

	3. Small groups to discuss tallies, and to perform calculations.	To provide practice and a check on coding consistency.	40 min
	4. Report-back and general discussion. If there are areas of high disagreement, replay extract and repeat steps 3 and 4.	To check on the degree of reliability, and to provide an opportunity for consensus to be reached.	40 min
	5. Prepare groups for Session D: visit to a school to observe lessons(5). Outline the general procedure for the visit.	Preparation for Session D. Out-	15 min
D	1. Students taken to a school, and divided into their original small groups.	To facilitate the procedure.	one whole morning
	2. Each group to observe one lesson, which is tape-recorded. Coding to be performed on a 10-minute section of the lesson.(6)	To provide an opportunity to practise coding skills in an authentic context.	
	3. Small groups to meet after the lesson to discuss tallies and perform calculations. One (or two) members chosen from each group to transcribe the coded lesson extract from the tape recording: to be used in Session E.	To give groups an immediate opportunity to reflect on the lesson, and to discuss tallies and calculation techniques. To facilitate the transcribing of the lesson.	
E	1. Small groups to discuss coding insights in the light of the transcription, and the advantages /disadvantages of each source of information.	To enable groups to assess their coding with the aid of a transcription. To encourage them to weigh the relative merits of each.	50 min
	2. Report-backs to whole group, covering their feelings about the entire procedure.	To pool insights and experiences.	45 min

	3. General discussion on the implications of the procedure for practice-teaching and supervision.	To provide feedback and insights for the project tutors, and to suggest ways in which this could be implemented in the teacher-training course.	45 min

NOTES

1. The lesson extract should be chosen carefully, as it should ideally demonstrate a range of activities. If the range is too restricted, the ten categories the FIAC system will not be utilized, thus detracting from the value of the exercise. It is suggested that the extract be of approximately 10 minutes duration, as this should allow for a coherent section without being too unwieldy.

2. It is suggested that the transcription be as simple yet accurate as possible, with the emphasis on clarity rather than linguistic sophistication.

3. Supervisors should be spread over the groups, and encouraged to contribute whever possible, but not to dominate.

4. Wragg (1977) suggests that a Scott coefficient of 0,7 is sufficient in this context, which is significantly lower than that required for research. It is not anticipated, however, that correlation coefficients will be necessary for this pilot project.

5. It will be necessary to organize this carefully with schools beforehand. When lessons are to be recorded, it is obviously essential to gain the teacher's permission and, ideally, sympathy.

6. The section to be coded must be synchronized with the counter on the tape-recorder, so that the ensuing transcription can be used in conjunction with the coded tallies.

Because of the unambiguous position taken by proponents of action research on the determination of project aims and design by the participants themselves, no clear framework has been suggested in this dissertation for the process of teacher supervision itself. It is hoped, however, that the guidelines offered in the table

above will indeed "extend the repertoire" of those involved in teacher supervision, and help to give student-teachers "... a measure of control and a certain degree of release from their traditional dependence on tutors and supervising teachers" (Wragg 1974:73).

According to Zeichner (1983:3), there are four major paradigms of teacher education, each "... held together by a set of common assumptions that distinguishes the basic goals of one general approach from another." It follows logically that a preference for one paradigm over others will be reflected in the kind of teacher supervision adopted by a teacher training institution.

Behaviourist teacher education, for example, which prespecifies certain specific and observable skills of teaching to be taught in teacher-training courses, relies heavily on performance at a predetermined level of mastery. Bone (1980) suggests that such a competency-based approach, supported by behaviourist psychology and a drive for accountability, is now the predominant and established method of teacher education in America. It seems likely that such an approach to teacher education would encourage the style of supervision which Gebhard (1984) calls "directive" supervision where, as discussed in Chapter 4, the student is provided with model teaching behaviours, and assessed in terms of his/her mastery of these models. While this approach clearly simplifies the task of supervisors and indeed of teacher education in general, its validity rests on the assumption that models and definitions of "good" teaching are available, and if

they are, that they can be unambiguously transmitted across contexts and purposes. Such an assumption, it is argued, is untenable, and an approach based on it doomed at best to sterility, and at worst to futility.

Personalistic teacher education, the second of Zeichner's paradigms for teacher education, equates competence in teaching with psychological maturity. It does not, however, clearly define what constitutes either "competence" or, for that matter, "psychological maturity". A further problem of this approach is the tacit acceptance of an educational or social context as a given : personal growth within the system is encouraged, rather than a commitment to social change. Supervisors working within this paradigm would tend to adopt the role of counsellor, and to concentrate on the impact of the teaching situation upon the individual rather than on the effects of the individual on his/her pupils. Such an approach, and such a supervisory style, while perhaps acceptable in a truly open society, is highly questionable in other contexts, particularly in those where the need for fundamental change is, however slowly and belatedly, being recognised.

Zeichner's third paradigm, that of traditional-craft teacher education, lays stress on the trial-and-error nature of teaching. Teacher education is thus viewed primarily as a process of apprenticeship, where "... ideally the supervisor is an outstanding practitioner who might serve as a personal fund of

knowledge ..." (Erdman 1983:29), without necessarily being able to make explicit what it is that distinguishes good teaching from bad. For supervisors, the task is primarily to "... assist preservice teachers in translating tacit knowledge into discursive forms" (op cit:30). Such an intuitive approach places the supervisor firmly in the role of mentor, and implies a dependence on the part of the student-teacher that clearly mitigates against the shared responsibility and decision-making that forms the basis of the action-research approach.

Inquiry-oriented teacher education, while incorporating many of the more acceptable features of the above three paradigms, lays stress on promoting inquiry about teaching and its contexts. Although it values technical skill in teaching, this is held to be a means to an end, rather than an end in itself as is the case with Behaviourist teacher education. As Zeichner suggests, "... the process of critical inquiry is viewed as a necessary supplement to the ability to carry out the tasks themselves" (op cit:6). Like Personalistic teacher education, the inquiry-oriented approach stresses the importance of the student-teacher being an active agent in his/her preparation, but it sees the motivation not primarily in terms of personal growth. Rather, it holds that a deep personal involvement will lead to a greater awareness of and ability to control both actions and constraints within and surrounding education. The essential task of teacher education is thus to

> ... develop prospective teachers' capacities for reflective action, and to help them examine the moral, ethical and polical issues, as well as the instrumental issues, that are embedded in their overlying thinking and practice (Zeichner 1983:7).

It thus demands of all involved in teacher education, and indeed of all teachers, that they be enquirers into the processes of education. As Kemmis (1983) argues, any educational research regarding itself as critical must involve a participatory element: this is particularly so in teacher education, where subjects and researchers are inextricably intertwined. Indeed, Kemmis suggests that

> the antidote to [the] reification of educational actors and educational situations (itself concretely realised in the abstracted quality of much educational theorizing and in the sharp disassociation of conventional educational researchers from teachers in the division of labour between them) is concrete engagement in the task of educational transformation (op cit: 82).

In Chapters 1 and 2, the principles guiding Action Research were outlined, and the main differences between these and those guiding traditional educational research discussed. The major implications for teacher supervision flowing from the situating

of teacher education firmly within the action research paradigm are that supervisors should be aware of the characteristics of participatory research; in particular, that

* the aims of the supervision procedure should be determined by both supervisor and student, that both participants are the decision-makers
* the design of the procedure should be jointly determined (for example, how many and which lessons should be seen, on which aspect/s should focus fall)
* the emphasis throughout the procedure should be on process rather than assessment: it might well be that the current dual task of the supervisor, that of mentor and assessor, is unworkable and ultimately incompatible
* the supervisor, in order to enter fully into the procedure, has to abandon the role of objective observer.

These implications, it is recognised, are acknowledged and acted on by many practising supervisors. It is believed, however, that the characteristics, demands and types of action research should be formally recognised by teacher training institutions and made explicit for all involved in teacher education.

The aim of this research has been two-fold: to stress the importance of teacher-education being taken seriously as a research activity which falls within the Action Research paradigm, and to suggest ways in which both supervisors and student-teachers can become participant observers in that process of teacher education

called supervision. It is hoped that this dual aim has been at least partially realised, and that the suggestions contained herein for providing those involved with a type of inquiry will, at the very least, serve to stimulate productive thinking about the nature of the supervision procedure.

APPENDIX A : LESSON TRANSCRIPTION

Line	Speaker	Transcription
1	Teacher	Okay today I've got three questions again for
2	(T)	you to write in your books please um first one
3		is (pause) has every has everybody got a book?
4		Has got a book?
5	Pupils	Yes/No
6	T	Don't have one? Okay we'll get you some paper.
7		Okay uh I'd like you to answer some of these
8		questions please (pause) c'mon you people are
9		so clever I think this is a very good lesson.
10		(pause) What - what purposes do the mass
11		media serve - what do we use the mass media
12		for?
13	P1	For advertising
14	T	Um okay advertising yes and what does adver-
15		tising do?
16	P1	Inaudible
17	T	Informs yes it informs us about whatever the
18		advertiser wants us to know okay so its
19		(writes on board) information about various
20		things, about current events, advertising,
21		products to buy um just things that are
22		happening okay that we'd like to know - we
23		don't have to know them but we'd like to
24		know them. Okay - anything else?
26	P2	Inaudible
27	T	Sorry you'll have to shout a bit louder. Yes?
28	P2	Silence
29	T	Don't don't be shy - okay what about watching
30		television?
31	P2	Dallas
32	T	Dallas what's - that's not information is it?
33	P2	Silence
34	T	It's (pause). Okay, it is information in a way
35		but it's a different kind of information
36		(writes on board). Okay, what do, what about
37		people who try to tell us something, who try
38		to convince us of something in other words
39		they're not just informing us, they're
40		{persuading us (pause) that's right, ja,
41	P3	{persuasion
42	T	persuasion (writes). Now that um purpose over
43		there (points at board) um might be seen as the
44		result of the fact that these people certain
45		certain bias right, okay, they believe some-
46		thing very strongly, and they try to convince
47		us to believe the same way, okay, it happens in
48		advertising, that's a very strong persuasion
49		point okay the advertiser's trying to tell us
50		how much better his product is. Okay we might
52		know differently - we might know that Punch

53		doesn't wash as white as Omo, or whatever,
54		but Punch will always tell us it washes
55		much whiter and much cleaner tra-la-la than
56		Omo. Okay right - let's go onto the next
57		question (writes on board.)
58		Okay does someone nod their head then? What
59		what's one possible disadvantage?
60	P2	Um the adverts will be um misleading {um
61	T	{Okay it
62		could be misleading. Okay but what about
63		(pause) that's that's just in advertising okay
64		what about um what's written in the newspaper
65		or television? It's very ... wouldn't you say
66		it's impersonal? In other words it's not um
67		speaking to us as an individual but as a group,
68		as a mass okay so it can afford to be inacurate
69		sometimes okay 'cos we can't even go and say oh
70		so-and-so said to me you know and go and say to
71		him listen why did you say that, we could in the
72		form of writing letters to the press saying um
73		you know. How come you claim so-and-so (pause)
74		many people died and we only find out now that
75		less people died okay so we can, but it's it's
76		more of a problem to get to communicate with the
77		massmedia (writes on board). What about when you
78		read the newspaper and you reading say for in-
79		stance about the situation in South West Africa
80		at the moment and they using words there that
81		are difficult to understand you've heard them
82		before but they, they don't seem to make sense
83		in the context or if you're reading about horse-
84		racing and they're talking about lengths and
85		things that you associate with human beings'
86		feet and things like that or (pause) in the news
87		when they're talking, reporting the weather and
88		they're talking climatology and cells and things
89		like that, you don't do Geography okay seems
90		that there's a jargon you know what jargon means?
91	P's	Yes
92	T	Uh wait a bit, what kind of language?
93	P's	Slang, slang
94	T	Ja it's not quite slang it's more of a specialised
95		language
96	P4	Unclear
97	T	Sorry?
98	P4	It's unclear
99	T	Unclean?
100	P4	Clear
100	T	Oh unclear yes that's right 'cos you can re-
101		late it to the general person, okay - it's
102		specialized only to a group of people like for
103		instance um psychiatrists who have certain
104		jargon in which they speak and nobody else can
105		understand them okay so its (writes on board)
106		specialized and I'll put in brackets removed,

107		okay in other words it's sort of alien to us.
108		Okay um and then we mentioned the other one
109		just now, the other problem that the mass
110		media seems to be biassed and in quite impor-
111		tant areas, okay it doesn't always seem to
112		quite present the true account if, if there
113		certainly is one. Okay so (writes on board)
114		bias, okay we spoke about it last week remem-
115		ber in regard to communication we spoke about
116		prejudice. Remember one of the big problems
117		with communication. Um, right, third ques-
118		tion. (Writes on board) What sort of things
119		concerning the mass media are disadvantages?
120		Okay, with mass media. Okay um some sugges-
121		tions?
122	P's	Silence
123	T	I see blank faces. Yes?
124	P1	We can find out more um what's going {on
125	T	{We can
126		find out more about what's going on around us.
127		Okay, um, ja, I think (pause) what I was get-
128		ting at was in the light of the disadvantages
129		okay it might have been better (pause) but
130		I'll definitely put that down as an answer,
131		maybe I wasn't clear there. Okay. If I
132	T	should uh to read out of the newspaper,
133		okay, and let's say it's about an accident or
134		some kind of um problem that occurred, and
135		it's very dangerous as to how this is inter-
136		preted and you actually at that place when it
137		happened. Now you read this article and you
138		see that it's incorrect, okay what would you
139		do? How would you read that article? I hear
140		someone talking somewhere, can't hear what
141		you're saying. Perhaps you'd be very cau-
142		tious, okay because you'll see that the first
143		taxi to there is incorrect he's the person the
144		reporter says there were four cars there and
145		you saw three definitely, you're very sure of
146		the fact you saw three okay so you'll be a
147		little bit cautious now I think the first rule
148		is um concerning the mass media okay is to be
149		curious okay I'll put down curious (writes)
150		okay um what about let's say that you were
151		there, okay, and a friend of yours was also
152		there and then you had this article to read.
153		And you find out that your friend who you know
154		and trust very well also says there were four
155		cars there. But you persist and say that
156		there were definitely only three cars there.
157		Okay would you just disbelieve your friend
158		immediately? (Pause). Everybody's very du-
159		bious, they're not quite sure whether they
160		must trust their friend or not. Okay? What's
161		what what would happen if you sort of open

162		your mind a little bit more and say um oh now
163		hang on a minute maybe that press reporter
164		isn't so wrong after all maybe there was just
165		a bit of confusion okay and I only saw three
166		cars because the other car was behind it or
167		something like that okay? So what I'm trying
168		to get at is that um to take other people's
169		um views into account, other people's
170		opinions, okay I'll puit it as, as alternative
171		opinions. (Writes). Um okay? Right, now let
172		me see how many of you actually read the
173		newspapers?
174	P's	Silence
175	T	Not one? (laughter)
176		Right hands right up ... let's try and see.
177		One, two, three ... okay, so it's about half
178		the class. What about the other half the
179		class? Those guys in the corner over there uh
180		how d'you feel about the newspaper?
181	P's	Inaudible.
182	T	D'you mind talking a little bit louder, other-
183		wise I can't conduct the lesson?
184	P's	Silence.
185	T	Don't be afraid to say what you think of the
186		newspaper. I'm not a reporter and I don't own
187		a newspaper in fact I don't even know any
188		reporters.
189	P5	Nothing wrong.
190	T	Nothing wrong with it okay but then why don't
191		you read it?
192	P5	Don't buy it. (laughter)
193	T	Fair enough, this is fair enough - no, there's
194		nothing funny about that. Now why don't you
195		buy it?
196	P5	Silence.
197	T	Um d'you find it (pause) alien? Doesn't fit
198		in with your lifestyle?
199	P5	I think so.
200	T	You think so. Okay. What about some of the
201		other guys' answers? Or someone else?
202		Someone who feels like saying something about
203		why they don't get the newspaper? (Pause)
204		This class was far more active last week
205		what's happening? Okay what about television?
206		How many people don't watch television? Don't
207		see one hand. One hand? You don't watch
208		television? Okay do you not have a television
209		set?
210	P6	Well (pause) I {do
211	T	{You do have one okay now why
212		don't you watch television?
213	P6	Um um it does not interest {me
214		{Doesn't interest
215		you okay {nothing
216	P6	{Um I uh if I've got nothing else to

217		do I just sit there by the TV {but ....
218	T	{Ja there's
219		nothing that actually draws you to the tele-
220		vision set. Why would you say that or why
221		would you say that what's the reason for that?
222	P6	I wouldn't say it's not educational but um it's
223		it's different um half the time it's um there's
224		nothing educational um {but
225		{Okay so you're looking
226		for educational value?
227	P6	I mean {um
228	T	{Or very little?
229	P6	Yes.
230	T	Ja very little educational value. Okay.

APPENDIX B : INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTION

Line	Speaker	Transcription
1	Supervisor (S)	Uh how would you like to start (name deleted) the discussion um have you had time to go through the transcription?
2	Student-Teacher (S-t)	Ja I did look at it, it's sort of embarrassing the mistakes in my grammar ... do I really speak like that?
3	S	I should maybe have shown you some of my own lesson transcriptions uh spoken language always looks funny written.
4	S-t	I hope so this is awful (laughs) but anyway I looked I read it and I saw some things I saw them but I don't remember them is this uh transcription?
5	S	Yes
6	S-t	Is it accurate?
7	S	Yes, I think so if you like we can read it and listen to the tape?
8	S-t	No I believe you (laughs). It's just uh shall I start?
9	S	Fine, go ahead.
10	S-t	Well okay right um now where was that part uh here and uh um here.
11	S	Hold on a minute (pause) oh, I'm with you.
12	S-t	Um what are the brackets? I'm not clear there.
13	S	Sorry uh I've put brackets to show when two people are speaking at the same time.
14	S-t	Ja, that's what I thought. Uh the point is why did I speak at the same time? Looking at it here it seems as though I'm sort of breaking in.
15	S	You think you were interrupting?
16	S-t	Ja - yes, I sort of took over. I don't remember doing that, though.
17	S	That's a bit disconcerting! (both laugh) Look, let's play that section on the tape um I have it ready let me hang on I'll just find the place. (plays section of recording).
18	S-t	Right okay I did interrupt but I think I thought at that point that he had finished. I don't know, I think that's why I did it there.
19	S	Mmm. What about here? This section?
20	S-t	Let's see uh ja that's awful I can't believe it I talk right carry on right over it.
21	S	Do you think that's a problem?
22	S-t	Yes - ja. What do you think?
23	S	Uh look it is a problem because the result is that you you dominate the lesson and the pupils are really passive but uh I think it's okay if you see it's a problem and check yourself after this I mean it's really

51		correctable if you recognise it.
52	S-t	Ja. Maybe next time it'll be better (laughs)
53		next time no brackets!
54	S	Maybe (laughs).
55	S-t	Okay right what do you notice?
56	S	Uh - okay (laughs) where am I oh uh my first
57		con- confusion is uh really looking at the
58		whole lesson uh {uh
59	S-t	{Ja
60	S	What were your three questions?
61	S-t	What were they?
62	S	Mmm
63	S-t	Are you asking me because you don't know?
64	S	Yes
65	S-t	Uh (pause)
66	S	You see you say {here
67	S-t	{I actually don't remember
68		right now.
69	S	Um (reads) "Okay today I've got three
70		questions again for you to write in your books
71		please and the first one is has anyone got a
72		book" okay fine - um {um
73	S-t	{Right okay mmm
74	S	now - you write on the board you see um
75	S-t	Ja I think I understand the question here um
76		what is the mass media used for?
77	S	What do we use the mass media for? Is that
78		your first question?
79	S-t	Ja that's the first question. What purposes
80		do the mass media does the mass media serve?
81	S	Yes that question seems clear um what are the
82		others?
83	S-t	Um if I went through {it
84	S	{Well let's do that mmm
85	S-t	Okay (begins reading through transcription)
86	S	As we go through I'd like to ask a few
87		questions um, you probably have your own too.
88	S-t	Ja right then there were questions to that um
89		ja.
90	S	Shall we look at the questions? Um what did
91		you actually want them to say? What were you
92		expecting?
93	S-t	There? For that question? Um (pause)
94		information mostly okay entertainment and
95		there was one more uh uh I had the answers
96		written {down uh
97	S	{Mmm maybe we could turn this around
98		(pause) what (pause) answers did you get from
99		them?
100	S-t	Uh information I didn't get {uh
101	S	{Where did you get
102		information?
103	S-t	Um no sorry advert{ising okay advertising I got
104	S	{Mmm
105	S-t	Now you've written inaudible over there um I

106		think possibly they said informs because I
107		repeated it there (pause) okay they might have
108		said something else.
109	S	So they said informs um that's your second
110		point, information?
111	S-t	Ja, okay and then someone said oh hang on uh
112		somebody says Dallas right {okay and then I ask
113	S	{Mmm
114	S-t	I can't quite oh um that's not information and
115		then uh (pause) this seems strange uh (pause)
116	S	Is that where you were going to draw out the
117		entertainment {aspect?
118	S-t	{entertainment ja um yes I see I
119		didn't quite make the (pause) I don't know,
120		let me see. No wait um {(pause)
121	S	{You see "now that
122		purpose over there" you point to the {board,
123	S-t	{Ja
124	S	back to your advert{ising
125	S-t	{Ja
126	S	What (pause)
127	S-t	Um I leave the entertaining aspect without
128		having discussed it. So in other words I
129		didn't embroider, I didn't draw out that that
130		watching Dallas, what kind of information
131		(pause) Ja.
132	S	Is that what you think?
133	S-t	Ja, ja, it feels like that I didn't see it
134		like that before.
135	S	Mmm. Really we're trying to find out the
136		match between what you wanted and what they
137		gave {you
138	S-t	{Mmm (laughs) between like between what I
139		wanted and what I thought they gave had given
140		me (pause) {Ja
141	S	{not evaluating critically in terms
142		of you should have or was that worthwhile, but
143		is that what you wanted, did you get {it
144	S	{or did I
145		think I got it, did I assume I got it. Right,
146		I see what's going on. Right, okay um (pause)
147		here, look here where I say "let's go on to
148		the next question" um yes what are possible
149		disadvantages (pause)
150	S	What about "what's written in newspapers,
151		wouldn't you say it's impersonal"
152	S-t	Why did I say that? (laughs)
153	S	I don't quite understand your shift {from from
154	S-t	{Ja
155	S	disadvantages of mass {media to this whole spiel
156	S-t	{Ja
157	S	about {impersonal
157	S-t	{being impersonal. Um now that you make
158		that connection I think that possibly I was
159		meaning that's a disadvantage of mass media

160		the fact that it's impersonal. Can't react to
161		it. Didn't we go into into a discuss{ion
162	S	{Mmm
163	S-t	about writing to television?
164	S	Yes, yes, the discussion is here um what do
165		you think about the link here?
166	S-t	Mmm not explicit um yes the link the link
167		strange it seemed clear to me then.
168	S	Yes, that's understandable. Think about this
169		link perhaps in relation to your whole lesson
170		(pause)
171	S-t	Um um do I often do that?
172	S	What do you think (pause) it's your {decision
173	S-t	{Ja I
174		guess so. I need to think um that's quite um
175		fundamental, it's a problem.
176	S	Yes, but if you do think it's characteristic
177		of your teaching do you think um you could
178		improve there? Uh that's if you think it's a
179		prob{lem
180	S-t	{Yes um yes if I concentrate on links um
181		being explicit um could we concentrate on that
182		next time, it is a problem, is does seem so.
183	S	Sure.
		GAP
184	S	Why did you answer for them there and there?
185		"Now you read this article and you see it's
186		incorrect okay what would you do? How would
187		you read that article? I hear someone
188		talking somewhere can't hear what you're
189		saying."
190	S-t	Right
191	S	Then you go on uh "Perhaps you'd be very
192		cautious okay." Now what I want to know is
193		why did you answer for them?
194	S-t	(Pause) Was there a pause there? Between
195		"saying" and "perhaps"?
196	S	Yes
197	S-t	Perhaps it was because there was a pause that
198		I answered. I think (pause) remember the
199		other day you mentioned that if people don't
200		answer I tend to fill in with words okay fill
201		in with words and answer for them.
202	S	Mmm. What, do you think, what d'you think
203		about your questioning right there?
204	S-t	My questioni{ng? (Pause)
205		{Mmm "Okay what would you
206		do? How would you read that article?" What
207		did you want them to say?
208	S-t	Ja I can see it is very vague and I probably
209		didn't know at that stage what I wanted what
210		line of answer, didn't know specifically.
211		What I would imagine I wanted was for them to
212		say um we would be very cautious um by the
213		very fact that I've repeated it.

214	S	What d'you mean repeated {it?
215	S-t	{Uh well um mentioned
216		it the word cautious not repeated it mentioned
217		it. I mean repeated my {thoughts
218	S	{Yes. So you wanted
219		them to say something about they'd view it
220		with suspicion or something.
221	S-t	Ja, ja, they wouldn't sort of blindly believe
222		it.
223	S	Now can you see that by these questions you
224		are not actually asking them, you're firstly
225		not asking one {person
226	S-t	{Ja okay
227	S	and secondly it's a difficult question to
228		answer.
229	S-t	Ja it's not directed.
230	S	Ja they don't quite know what was expected.
231	S-t	Okay let me just think about that. I'm just
232		trying to take it from the pupils' perspective
233		(pause) um I mentioned that it was incorrect
234		okay or that they saw it was incorrect and I
235		think that at the time would have justified
236		asking them whether whether they should be
237		cautious or not (pause) but the thing is I
238		assumed immediately that they had experienced
239		that, like they'd read a paper or seen an
240		article recently and known that it was
241		incorrect.
242	S	Yes, maybe your assumption was justifiable um
243		do you think that your question brought
244		brought that out?
245	S-t	(Pause) Um (Pause)
246	S	Why do you think they didn't answer?
247	S-t	(Pause) They did answer though but very
248		inaudibly 'cos I say here "I hear someone
249		talking somewhere" okay so someone did answer
250		but it's just as bad that they answered
251		inaudibly.
252	S	Mmm. Are you sure they were answering you?
253	S-t	No.
254	S	Mmm. Anyway it wasn't directed to you
255		otherwise you would have homed {in
256	S-t	{Okay right.
257		So in other words um um why?
258	S	Maybe you felt they didn't understand you?
259	S-t	You know um it's difficult but I think I felt
260		that they didn't want to answer yes I felt I
261		felt angry for some reason. Because they were
262		um um (pause)
263	S	You felt they could but they didn't want to,
264		so you were angry?
265	S-t	I hadn't realised the anger it runs through
266		(pause) can I think about {that
267	S	{of course
268	S-t	(Silence +/- 10 secs.) Okay. (Pause) Let's go on.

269	S	You don't you don't think that they didn't
270		understand the question?
271	S-t	Not at the moment no. Um do you feel that
272		they might not have understood it?
273	S	Uh - yes.
274	S-t	You do.
275	S	I think that because you say "How would you
276		read that {article?"
277	S-t	{Mmm ja I see what you mean it's
278		very {vague
279	S	{I'ts difficult to know {what
280	S-t	{It encompasses
281		quite a few levels of understanding ja sure.
282	S	You know if you then focus down uh try and ask
283		the question {now
284	S-t	{In fact I went down and then I
285		went back up again 'cos I say um "Now you read
286		this article and you see that it's incorrect
287		what would you do?" that's like going down I
288		think um {um
289	S	{And then you carried straight on you
290		said okay "What would you do? How would you
291		read that {article"
292	S-t	{Ja that's what I mean I went down
293		and then I went up again when I said how would
294		you read the article that's like going up
295		again.
296	S	So your question is in fact only the second
297		one
298	S-t	The middle one
299	S	Oh "How would you read that article". 'Cos
300		you say "Now you read this article and you see
301		it's incorrect okay what would you do? How
302		would you read {that article?"
303	S-t	{Ja that comes across as my
304		question I see what you mean that emphasizes
305		the question. Okay right I get that.
306	S	So if you had to re-ask that question what
307		would you say?
308	S-t	Well I'd probably use the word attitude okay
309		I'd say for instance um now that would also be
310		quite difficult to phrase I was thinking of
311		something like uh what kind of attitude would
312		you take towards the article. Because that's
313		what I'm trying to elicit you know uh
314		cautious attitude.
315	S	Mmm. You you could even maybe simplify it by
316		saying what would you think when you read that
317		article {and if they said didn't answer uh try
318	S-t	{Ja
319	S	would you believe the article?
320	S-t	In other words direct it.
321	S	Mmm.

322	S	And then you go on to say "perhaps you'd be
323		very cautious okay because you see that the
324		first fact to there is incorrect "and so forth
325		and here uh the next {part "now I think the
326	S-t	{Mmm
327	S	first rule is uh concerning the mass media
328		okay is to be curious okay I'll put that
329		down curious." My confusion {is you are now
330	S-t	{Yes
331	S	writing on the board as though it had been
332		given{ by the class
333	S-t	{Right in other words I gave it and I
334		wrote it down instead of, as though they gave
335		it to me.
336	S	You see that
337	S-t	Right
338	S	Okay what about down here "would you just
339		disbelieve your friend immediately? Every-
340		body's very dubious" okay so you waited a bit
341		there then you said "Everybody's very dubious
342		they're not quite sure whether they must trust
343		their friend or not" uh but you haven't
344		actually um found that {out uh you
345	S-t	{Mmm
346	S	don't know whether they're dubious about the
347		question or about what you're talking {about
348	S-t	{Ja I
349		see what you mean. That's actually very con-
350		fusing I'm not quite sure of what I've said
351		there and why I said it in fact if I didn't
352		know you could prove it I wouldn't believe it.
353		(both laugh).
354	S	Right. Um "would you just disbelieve your
355		friend immediately" um presumably you're
356		wanting them to say no.
357	S-t	Ja
358	S	'Cos if your friend says it's so as well you
359		might begin to doubt yourself. I think what
360		you're trying to get them to say is your whole
361		perception would be dis{torted
362	S-t	{Ja what I probably
363		wanted them to understand there was that you
364		must be um sceptical of everything, of all
365		accounts.
366	S	Ja
367		GAP
368	S	Okay let's go down to um here
369	S-t	Okay
370	S	let's just read this section um from here to
371		here
372	S-t	Right
373	S	(pause while reading) okay um would you like
374		to make any comment here?
375	S-t	Um this particular bit didn't really strike me
376		in any way, no you go on

377	S	Okay um I'm interested in your question "d'you
378		find it alien?" um did you did you just feel
379		you wanted to move on?
380	S-t	Ja I think I did um I think I probably just
381		got through my questions okay um and through
382		my lesson plan {and
383	S	{Did you?
384	S-t	Ja well if I'd gone through the three ques-
385		tions and got the answers to them then I could
386		have got through, so in other words I was
387		short for time and I like wanted to get on to
388		something.
389	S	Right. And you didn't feel like staying with
390		this group to find out exactly what or why
391		they didn't buy newspapers.
392	S-t	Uh well I did carry on with that didn't I, I
393		didn't sort of probe but I carried on with the
394		theme. Are you saying why didn't I probe?
395	S	Mmm.
396	S-t	Uh good question. I think, if I remember
397		correctly and I think we spoke about this that
398		group of boys sitting there had already
399		(pause) kind of posed themselves as some, an
400		object in my way you know what I mean they all
401		sat together and I didn't uh d'you remember
402		whether they'd sort of um (pause) maybe it was
403		in another class they'd brought out homework
404		or something oh no that was in another class
405		but I just saw them all sitting together and I
406		realised um that they were kind of on their
407		own track more than wanting to carry on with
408		the lesson. And when I tried to probe them
409		and nothing came of it like immediately then I
410		just wanted to clear that off. Uh I think
411		that's what happened as far as I can remember.
412	S	Yes it's understandable you probably just
413		thought well you're not actually going to get
414		anything out of {it uh you've done your bit
415	S-t	{Ja
416	S	you'll move {on
417	S-t	{Right. And in my own way, ja.
418	S	Okay so you gave them an answer, they accepted
419		it, you've made your bargain {uh look I'll
420	S-t	{Ja
421	S	give you something you accept it and I'll get
422		off your back, just say yes.
423	S-t	Right um that actually puts it very concisely.
424	S	What do you feel about that interaction now?
425	S-t	Now um {uh
426	S	{Yes thinking about it now.
427	S-t	Uh I get the same feeling of anger maybe uh
428		they felt that too ja. Um what do you think?
429	S	Uh I was wondering um you see the anger as a
430		problem {maybe
431	S-t	{Ja right that's right

432	S	Well maybe you could think about why you were
433		angry uh who you were angry with.
434	S-t	Who uh the group I {think ja but um with me as
435	S	{Oh
436	S-t	well I think like I wasn't succeeding and um
437		uh.
438	S	Did you blame them for what you thought was
439		your lack of success?
440	S-t	Ja right right maybe I was um pushing my
441		feeling onto them. Ja okay I get it now it
442		was really probably me. Shit, it's amazing.
443		I see it now, I ran out of things to say um
444		and questions my questions were vague um so I
445		sort of covered up. Ja. (Pause).
446	S	Mmm I know the feeling uh maybe it's natural
447		but uh um we should be careful not to project
448		our anger {uh
449	S-t	{Ja right okay.
450	S	Mmm. Okay you carry on with "What about some
451		of the other guys' answers? Or someone else?
452		Someone who feels like saying something about
453		why they don't get the newspaper?" D'you
454		detect a slightly desparate note creeping in
455		uh <u>please</u> somebody say some{thing
456	S-t	{I think I was just
457		uh fishing (laughs)
458	S	Um if you read this look look here
459	S-t	Ja
460	S	The pupil says uh from just above "I wouldn't
461		say it's
462	S-t	Ja
463	S	not educational but um it's different um half
464		the time it's um" you know it's all dragged
465		out slowly "it's um there's nothing edu-
466		cational um" and then you say "Okay so you're
467		looking for education and you find that SATV's
468		got no educational value" she says "I mean um"
469		and you interrupt with {"Or very little" and
470	S-t	{Right
471	S	she says "Yes" um thinking now of our previous
472		conversation would you say that that's what
473		what you wanted her to say or what she really
474		thought?
475	S-t	Ja I mean I offered her something and she
476		accepted {it
477	S	{Mmm 'cos then you say "Ja very little
478		educational value".
479	S-t	Mmm yes I see right I've done it I can see
480		right I've done it all my own way and like I
481		acted like it was them. So let me look back
482		I've done newspapers and I established on my
483		own that it was alien mmm.
484	S	Yes uh what was the point you were trying to
485		make uh why did you ask them about newspapers?

486	S-t	I think ja okay I probably wanted them to uh
487		explain to me exactly what I've explained to
488		them in other words the fact that they uh at
489		their stage of life find the uh newspaper
490		difficult to um get on with
491	S	Uh why?
492	S-t	Because they're not really interested in
493		what's going on
494	S	Uh uh but what's the point of all that?
495	S-t	You mean why am I telling them this or why am
496		I trying to get it out of them
497	S	Mmm
498	S-t	I can only think that I wanted them to think I
499		wanted them to realize you know to articulate
500		why they don't read the paper uh oh and can
501		you go further and say what's the point of
502		that
503	S	Mmm
504	S-t	Uh uh I think I'd just got onto something
505		blindly and uh {um
506	S	{Mmm I see that uh so you sys-
507		tematically work your way through various
508		kinds of mass media but what do you do with
509		any of the bits?
510	S-t	(Silence)
511	S	You see like uh what have you learned from TV
512		you've told them that it has very little
513		educational {value
514	S-t	{Ja okay uh which is my own opinion
515		of it or it's like it's a distorted opinion of
516		that girl's I mean I gleaned that from her {uh
517	S	{Ja
518		I think you're right but uh there was
519		something else she was trying to say uh {that
520	S-t	{It
521		didn't come out ja I can see that here I
522		wasn't really speaking with her uh over her
523		really.
524	S	Mmm the other day you weren't convinced of
525		that have you thought about it since?
526	S-t	Ja I mean there it is uh everytime she says
527		"but" I jump in right
528	S	Mmm. Yes. What d'you think about that now?
529	S-t	Well it doesn't exactly thrill me but like I
530		said let's see next time.
531	S	Right. Now uh with the rest of your lesson um
532	S-t	The magazines about magazines ja I think I had
533		about five minutes left
534	S	Mmm
535	S-t	Mmm Fair Lady ja I tell them what they're about
536		um
537	S	Mmm a few titles {um uh
538	S-t	{Ja just a list

539	S	Mmm could we look at this a pupil says
540		"Seventeen" and you say "Seventeen I've never
541		heard of that can you tell me a bit about it"
542		etcetera. This bit about combining music and
543		fashion.
544	S-t	Okay but hang on I've just realised something
545		uh when I was going through {this um I might
546	S	{Mmm
547	S-t	have been reinforced by that person whoever
548		was telling me acknowledging whatever I was
549		saying uh they might have been nodding their
550		head and that's why I was carrying on in other
551		words I didn't just cut myself off from {them
552	S	{No
553	S-t	but I was just as I suggested they like nodded
554		their head and I like carried on I not saying
555		- I don't remember it happening this is just
556		how it seems
557	S	No I'm quite sure it did and I uh look they'll
558		nod their heads anyway you're the teacher no
559		why I'm interested is having said I've never
560		heard of it {you
561	S-t	{Right then I go on to tell them
562		what's in it okay ja and that sort of goes on
563		to the end. Ja.
564	S	Mmm. Take it and read it through again now
565		that we've discussed it with you.
566	S-t	Ja I will it's uh very interesting although
567		now just having gone through this I like re-
568		member quite a lot of it you know um like
569		where I did go wrong.
570	S	Uh do you feel you went wrong?
571	S-t	Ja yes more than before it's ah right there.
572	S	Mmm.

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Paper 1

Cross-Cultural Teacher-Pupil Interaction

Paper 2

Interlanguage and Error Analysis

Paper 3

Communicative Language Testing and Validity

PAPER 1

CROSS-CULTURAL TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION

Formal education in South Africa has traditionally been characterized by division: division of pupils by colour and language, division of staff along similar lines, and division of financial resources on an unequal basis. This rigid compartmentalization is slowly beginning to change, however, particularly as concerns teachers: "White" teachers, for example, may now occupy permanent and promotion posts in "Coloured" schools.[1] As a result of its perception of the future needs of education in South Africa, the Faculty of Education at the University of Cape Town believes that its students should be prepared for teaching in a variety of contexts, and therefore arranges for the students to experience as many teaching situations as possible. In 1983, for example, groups of students taught in Cape Education Department, Department of Internal Affairs and Department of Education and Training schools in the Peninsula; and further afield, in schools in Boputhatswana, Namibia and Kwa-Zulu.

Follow up discussions with the groups of students and their supervisors raised some interesting issues - foremost of which was an intense preoccupation with language. Serious concern was expressed over the frequency of misinterpretations, on both the pupils' and teacher's part. This was felt to be most acute when the medium of instruction was a second language for the class i.e. in "Black" schools. This concern was expressed as follows:-

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1 Black teachers may still not teach in White Government schools: the official reason for this appears to be that the White system does not suffer from a lack of suitably qualified teachers.

> Language was by far the most difficult barrier, and every teacher found him/herself consciously teaching English most of the time (Kwa-Zulu group, Deduct 1983:4).
>
> and
>
> The language difficulty in the schools provided us with an enormous challenge ... at the Kolin High School, pupils are streamed according to language ability rather than intelligence (Namibia group, Deduct 1983:4).

Customarily, gender, ethnicity and class are accepted as the parameters within which we create our social identities (Gumperz: 1982a). The study of language as interactional discourse, however, has cast doubt over the assumption that these parameters are constants that can be taken for granted, and suggests that they are, in fact, communicatively produced. It follows then, that in order to

> understand issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social, political and ethnic division we need to gain insights into the communicative processes by which they arise (op cit: 1).

Much of the research conducted into the language of the classroom (e.g. Flanders, 1970; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Bellack, 1966; Barnes, 1976; Stubbs, 1979) has been in connection with

linguistically and culturally homogenous groups. In the Southern African context, this has resulted in an alarming paucity of findings that might provide insights for those involved in teaching through the medium of a second or foreign language, or in cross-cultural communication, whatever its nature.

In a society characterized, as suggested, by division of groups on arbitrary lines, it is not surprising that difficulties should arise when two groups normally strictly segregated, are thrown together. This paper attempts to highlight some of the problems encountered by White English-speaking student teachers when teaching Black pupils through the medium of English. For the purpose of convenience, the paper is divided into broad sections, namely:

1. Language in the classroom
2. Frameworks for studying classroom language
3. Interactional sociolinguistics
4. Analysis of transcriptions
5. Implications and conclusions
6. Appendices A and B (transcriptions).

1. <u>LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSROOM</u>:

Teaching has been described as a "linguistic process in a cultural setting" (Gage, 1974, in Politzer et al, 1981:172). This "linguistic process" has many other characteristic features. The participants in the classroom, for instance, have clearly defined and contrasting roles to

play; while this is true of other situations, such as the courtroom or a doctor's consulting room, a crucial difference with regard to the classroom is that exchanges are almost always between adult and child, possessor of knowledge and - in the typical classroom - recipient of knowledge. An interesting description of the language role of the teacher is as follows:-

> A classroom teacher is a skilled verbal artist, able through little other than his conversation to control a large group of pupils, manage them, and take them systematically through a curriculum, all at the same time (Sinclair and Brazil 1982:2).

It seems obvious that the less recourse the pupils have to other learning aids such as books, laboratories and appropriate experience, the more dependent they will be on these "verbal skills" supposedly possessed by the teacher. This hypothesis is borne out by the experience of the 1983 Bophuthatswana teaching practice group, who suggest that "... in a resource vacuum, the teacher becomes the chief resource" (Deduct 1983:4).

In Black schools, therefore, the teacher carries an impossible load - not only is s/he the "chief resource", but also <u>the language</u> by means of which s/he is expected to control, manage and teach the pupils, is not his/her first language. It is not surprising, then, that in practice lessons are conducted in both English and the vernacular,

thereby perpetuating the second language status of English.[1]

Faced with classes accustomed to receiving explanations, instructions and questions in the vernacular, the student-teachers (none of whom were fluent in the vernacular of the pupils) found themselves unable to guage whether lack of response meant content difficulties or language problems, and began to understand the temptation of rote learning and teaching.

The language of the pupils is also subject to many constraints. According to Barnes (1976), pupils are expected to learn what kinds of things teachers say and do, how to interpret teachers' remarks, and what they are expected to say and do in return. This traditional perspective on a pupil's language role falls into the category of deficiency explanations, where the pupil is perceived as a receiver and decoder of messages, and is rated as more or less efficient. Consequently, pupils are assessed (and here many stereotypes of black pupils come to mind) as being lacking in intelligence, motivation, appropriate cultural experience, a suitable language code and so forth. These explanations are in direct contrast to interactive explanations which involve a two-way interpretative process, thereby including the message giver as well. As Labov (1969) points out,

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1 For many Black pupils, lessons consist largely of translations from textbook to vernacular, and examinations are dreaded "English-only" encounters.

deficiency explanations are particularly dangerous, because they divert attention from the real defects of educational systems to the largely imaginary ones of the pupils. Whatever perspective one adopts on the language role of the pupil, however, the fact remains that pupils " .... have only very restricted opportunities to participate in the language of the classroom " (Sinclair and Brazil 1982:59).

These "restricted opportunities" refer not only to the time allocated to pupils, but to the types of interaction available. Allwright's research on what he calls the "four modes of participation in interaction management" (Allwright 1984:160) illustrates this point clearly. Briefly, the four modes are: compliance (doing what is expected or required), direction, navigation (attempting to "... steer a course between, round, or over the obstacles that the lesson represents for the participants") and negotiation (attempting to reach decisions by consensus). In the data studied, Allwright found that direction (on the part of the teacher) and compliance (on the part of the pupils) accounted for the great majority of interactions, navigation for approximately 20% of learners' turns in some classes, and that negotiation occurred only very rarely. In an analysis undertaken by Politzer et al (1981) of twenty English lessons given by twenty different teachers to determine the distribution of the main classroom discourse functions (Informing, Eliciting, Evaluating, Replying, based on Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) it was found that replying to teachers was

the dominant pupil activity, accounting for well over 90% of all pupil moves. Teacher replying, on the other hand, was the least frequent category of all, accounting for less than 1% of all the teaching moves, corresponding to the low frequency of pupil elicits. When one adds to this the large size of the average class in Black schools, it is evident that the individual pupil has very little opportunity to participate verbally in the learning process. Making this problem more acute, of course, are the difficulties of communicating in a second language in the limited time available.

Another important determinant of successful/unsuccessful communication in the classroom is the manner in which the conditions in the classroom are established - for example, is the environment competitive or supportive? McDermott and Hood (1981 in Chick, 1983a) suggest that group work and projects tend to generate an atmosphere of co-operation and negotiation, in terms of both pupil-pupil and pupil-teacher interactions, whereas individual questioning or punitive testing often contributes to an atmosphere of hostility and competition. In Black classrooms, however, group work is seldom used - perhaps due mainly to class size and inadequate teacher-training. In the comment section of a questionnaire given to Zulu-speaking matriculation pupils on the last day of a literature Winter School (Hammersdale,

July 1983)[1], the most favourable comments concerned the experience of group-work, which was described as: 'new', 'we could learn from each other' and perhaps most revealing, 'we didn't have to be scared to speak to the teacher.'

A different approach to the study of classroom language is suggested by Vivian Zamel (1981), who advocates a cybernetic model for the language used in the second or foreign language classroom. Although, as she points out, cybernetics has already been applied generally to the teaching-learning process, especially in the 1950's, its application to language teaching has, she feels, largely been ignored. This is felt to be particularly ironic in view of the fact that:

> Since so much of the interaction taking place within the language learning situation depends upon the two-way messages between teachers and students, cybernetics provides a model which can help us formulate and evaluate the information we feed back to our students (Zamel 1981:139).

Crucial to the theory is the concept of entropy. This phenomenon, especially in the second language situation,

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1 The Winter School was held over five days, and was attended by matriculants and teachers from the majority of secondary schools in the Hammersdale area, Kwa-Zulu. The tutors on the School were UCT Higher Education Diploma students who were taking TESOL as one of their teaching subject courses.

underlines the importance of transmitting messages as clearly as possible, and of including redundant material. The latter contradicts much traditional theory, and raises a question mark over the .

brevity = simplicity = clarity

school of thought. Redundancy in this sense does not mean too much information, but implies the provision of enough information on which to base a choice, and to create a climate of confidence by supplying known and/or predictable information. This, as Zamel points out, is not provided with mere repetition. Redundancy can be achieved through the use of different channels of information, provided of course, that the extra information is relevant, and not merely distracting.

One of the means by which redundant information can be sifted and evaluated, is intonation.

> By observing the teacher's choices of tone, we see the moment-by-moment decisions he makes about what needs to be proclaimed as new and what can be taken as already negotiated (Sinclair and Brazil 1982:112).

Pupils who do not have access to the teacher's intonation conventions (and vice-versa) will be unable to take

advantage of this potentially revealing aspect of language use. Intonation in this sense is a member of the group of surface features of message form which Gumperz has labelled "contextualization cues". As he suggests,

> .... when a listener does not react to a cue or is unaware of its function, interpretation may differ and misunderstanding may occur (Gumperz 1982b:132).

Because of the indirect ways in which these cues function, the task of analysis becomes a major one, and as Gumperz suggests, new kinds of discovery methods are needed to identify differences in the perception of cues. Once predictions can be made regarding strategies of interpretation that are potentially available to speakers from certain cultural or linguistic backgrounds, the task will become possible. In effect, this entails the collection of data based on large and varied records of interaction, and the application of these to the classroom context.

2. FRAMEWORKS FOR STUDYING CLASSROOM LANGUAGE

Many useful techniques of formal classroom observation (interaction analysis) have been devised, the best-known of which are those of Flanders, Bellack, and Sinclair and Coulthard. In general, what are the advantages of such techniques?

Firstly, the process of labelling and categorising in some way what is said in the classroom helps to objectify the teaching process. The value of this especially in teacher-training is obvious, if only as a sensitising process.

Secondly, interaction analysis fulfills a very basic pedogogic need - the need for shared concepts, which should ultimately lead to shared interpretations and insights into the language of the classroom. The drawback is that these "shared concepts" will be specific to the interaction analysis system adopted, and so until consensus is reached as to the best system, concepts and interpretations will remain varied and thus lose much of their power. Further,

> Systems developed for the analysis of classroom interaction may be self-defeating when it comes to interpreting the results, if the categories used in the analysis have relevance only to learning-teaching events (Edmondson 1980:274).

In this regard, Edmondson (whose discussion centres on the evaluation of various foreign language teaching procedures) suggests that an alternative would be to analyse the target language, and then seek to discover what is different in classroom discourse, and where the crucial differences lie.

In general, interaction analysis systems attempt to categorize the utterances of pupils and teachers in such a way

that the function becomes clear. What is not so clear, however, is the context in which the interaction takes place. From the cross-cultural perspective of this paper, these frameworks appear to have little insight to offer. They do not, for example, make allowance or have built-in mechanisms for the kinds of variables taken into account in the following formula for computing the "weightiness of a face-threatening act".

> Wx = D(S,H) + (H,S) + Rx where
> W = the weightiness of the face-threatening act (FTA)
> D = the social distance between S (speaker) and H (hearer)
> P = the power that H has over S
> Rx = the degree to which the FTAx is rated an imposition in that culture (Brown and Levinson 1975:81)

Although it is questionable whether a verbal encounter of any kind can ever be reduced to figures without distortion, the above formula does succeed in highlighting often overlooked dimensions of any verbal encounter. Before attempting to analyse any encounter then, the following questions should be raised and considered.

- How serious (or 'weighty') is the encounter?
- What is the likelihood of the speaker's being penalised in some way for producing what the hearer feels is an inappropriate or incorrect response?

- Is the speaker from a different social, cultural or racial group from the hearer - and if so, what is the difference?
- Does the hearer have the power to insist on or expect a certain response from the speaker - and what is the extent of his/her power?
- Does the encounter itself run counter to the cultural norms of the speaker or hearer?

In other words, what is of paramount importance in any encounter, but often ignored in analysis frameworks, is

> ... not merely <u>what</u> is happening (the activity), but also <u>who</u> each (of the participants) is at each moment in the unfolding of the interaction (Chick 1983b:7).

The situation repeatedly experienced by the student-teachers - that of having their questions seemingly ignored - illustrates the potential to cause tension in the cross-cultural classroom of failing to recognise the strangeness of the encounter itself. Gowlett's research on the relationships between White employers and Black employees suggests that the pupils' unwillingness to respond might merely be the application of their own cultural norms whereby one does not respond vocally to the summons or request of a superior, but reacts to it nevertheless in thought or action (Gowlett, 1977).

In the cross-cultural context, then, what is needed is not a framework which enables gross (albeit interesting) calculations to be made on the amount of time the teacher allocates to him/herself or his/her pupils, or the type of interaction engaged in. Rather, detailed analysis on discourse lines would be more appropriate - given (and here lies the rub) that there is an established body of cross-cultural comparisons of rules of speaking.

3. INTERACTIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Much of the available conversational data derive from verbal interaction in socially and linguistically homogenous groups, and have only limited applicability to cross-cultural situations. The main assumptions underlying research in this area are:

- that conversational involvement exists
- that the participants are co-operating
- that interpretative conventions are shared (Gumperz: 1982b)

These assumptions, although tenable in many classroom situations, are questionable in the context of this paper. Given the large size of most classes in Black schools, the disadvantage of communicating through an imperfectly acquired second language and the traditional teacher-talk teaching style, for example, it is doubtful whether conversational involvement does exist, except in the sense of

chorussed responses. One of the student-teacher groups mentions this phenomenon as follows:

> Disconcerted at first by the barricade of 'yes' 'no' responses to our questions, we soon began to realise that this barricade was born partly of fear of being wrong, and a kind of passive resistance to the teacher's insistence (Deduct 1983:3).

Questionable, too, is the assumption that interpretive conventions are shared. A shared interpretation, according to Gumperz (1982b:118), "... relies on shared understanding of a limited or closed set of options that can be chosen." This "shared understanding" can only be achieved by prolonged interactive encounters which would enable the participants to make accurate predictions, thereby facilitating interpretations.

Miller and Steinberg (1975, in Berger and Bradac 1982:11) have suggested that there are three levels at which one communicates:

- the cultural level, where cultural norms and expectations are shared
- the sociological level, where group membership and social roles are emphasized, and behaviour is often based on stereotypes

- the psychological level, where knowledge of the interviewer as an individual becomes significant.

Although it is possible for all three levels to be operative in one transaction, the classroom situation, because of the high premium laid on the respective roles of teacher and pupil, seldom if ever attains the level of psychological knowledge. In the cross-cultural teaching situation under discussion, it was apparent that very few norms or expectations were shared on the cultural level: only the second level, that of sociological knowledge, with its reliance on group membership and stereotypes, could truly be said to be significant. The implications of this are serious, as unsuccessful encounters often strengthen stereotypes, thus perpetuating the cycle. Furthermore, stressful inter-cultural encounters are usually accounted for in psychological rather than sociological or cultural terms, as logically they should be. This results in stereotypes of the other person as uncooperative, stupid, callous, (Chick, 1983a) which in turn become self-perpetuating, viz. the common perception of Black pupils as "passive," "unresponsive", etcetera. An illustration of this is the experience of the student-teachers, who, having had their existing stereotypes of Black pupils confirmed by the scarcity of responses, especially sustained ones, abandoned any attempt to obtain meaningful responses and resorted to lecture-based teaching.

Their own failure to facilitate a sustained encounter[1] was seldom taken into account, partly because they were primed with an already existing stereotype - expectation fulfilment at its most seductive - and partly because they lacked analytic tools by means of which they could reflect upon their own practice. As Nessa Wolfson has pointed out, however,

> If true communication is to take place among people who come from differing cultural backgrounds .... we must have cross-cultural comparisons of rules of speaking (1981:123).

The Contrastive Hypothesis theory of second-language acquisition, which purports to account for and predict areas of difficulty in second language learning on the basis of similarity or contrast with the first language, has had least resistance at the level of Phonology. Gumperz (1982a) suggests the following conceptual conflations of variations in the three basic phonological dimensions of frequency, amplitude and duration:

- intonation
- changes in loudness
- stress

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1 It would be useful at this stage for the reader to look at the transcript of lesson 1 in the Appendix.

- other variations in vowel length
- phrasing
- overall shifts in speech register

It seems plausible that these aspects of language could be clarified for students, and likely areas of difficulty pinpointed. The aim of doing so would not be to facilitate large convergent shifts because, although interpersonal convergence is generally favourably received, the extent to which this is true is influenced by the listener's perception of the speaker's motive for thus approximating his/her speech. The patronising speech sometimes adopted by Whites when speaking to Black people, for example, is often perceived as insulting, or ".... as though they had been perceived as childlike, or even sub-human " (Giles and Smith, 1979:55). This is a particularly sensitive area in Black schools, where the pupils are extremely resentful about what they view as an inferior education system, patronising in intent and effect. Any attempt on the part of a White teacher to simplify the language used might well be treated with suspicion and the attempt, however well-meaning, result only in further alienation. An honest attempt to understand potential areas of misinterpretation, however, might be a means towards a solution of this problem.

J.J. Gumperz focusses on:

> ... creating a new tradition of conversational analysis which concentrates directly on verbal strategies of speaker/listener co-ordination as revealed in turn-taking and other practices of conversational management (Gumperz 1982b:4).

His emphasis throughout the book is on "learned, automatically produced and closely co-ordinated verbal and non-verbal signals" (op.cit:141). Many of Gumperz' insights are used by Chick (1983a and b), in his analyses of intra- and intercultural encounters involving speakers of English and Zulu. Although his research involved interviewing and questioning post-graduate students, his findings nevertheless contribute to an understanding of the problems encountered in cross-cultural classrooms in general, and of those experienced by the student-teachers in the practice-teaching situation in particular.

According to a survey conducted by Chick and associates at the University of Natal, significant differences in attitudes and tolerances occur between the two groups. Fifty percent of the South African English speakers (White) in the survey group felt that Zulu-English speakers fail to take the opportunity to speak when given a turn, and 30% felt that Zulu-English speakers fail to produce a whole coherent idea in conversation. In contrast, 69% of the Zulu-English respondents maintained that they are interrupted by South-

African English speakers before they have completed their point. This phenomenon is clearly illustrated in the transcript of Lesson 1 (See Appendix A) from which the following excerpts are taken.

Line 7	Pupil	Just a few months	but
8	Teacher		Is it very beautiful?

where the pupil is interrupted by the teacher, and

Line 14	Pupil	Yes it's look beautiful (pause, about 2 secs)
15		Where I come from it's not (pause, 3 secs)
16	Teacher	Is it not like this? (shows picture)

where the teacher interprets the pause as a breaking-in point, and perhaps, most devastating:

Line 19	Teacher	Is it (pause, about 2 secs) what is it like?	
20	Pupil	Like this	and
21	Teacher		This? (indicates picture)
22		So this is in Lesotho. (addressing class).	

Here the teacher shows a complete lack of interest in the pupil's contribution, and switches her attention back to the class and the security of her lesson-plan. It is possible that this tendency to fill pauses is not in this case entirely cultural in origin, as lack of experience in classroom management and control often results in fear of

silences. This tendency to talk at all costs might therefore be due in part to inexperience. However, running counter to this explanation is Chick's finding that, when asked to choose from three descriptions of the behaviour of members of their own group when meeting for the first time at a social gathering, 60% of the South African English speakers said they would be uncomfortable with even short silences, while only 15% of the Zulu-English speakers chose this option (Chick, 1983b).

These findings have led Chick to hypothesize that Zulu-English speakers:

- speak more slowly than South African English speakers
- are more tolerant of short pauses, and therefore do not interpret them as interruption points
- are generally more tolerant of extended monologue.

These insights, backed by video-taped, audio-taped, and/or transcribed lessons, would be of value to teachers in training, as well as anyone involved in cross-cultural education. Of interest here is the finding that a source of irritation to both Black and White speakers of English is the volume at which the other group speaks in different social circumstances (Gowlett, 1977). According to this research, Blacks speak almost inaudibly as a sign of respect, with the result that Whites complain that they cannot hear

what is being said. In contrast, Blacks often have difficulty in hearing what Whites are saying at social gatherings. It is possible that this, together with prosodic differences, might account for many of the difficulties experienced by the student-teachers in establishing and maintaining spoken discourse.

Another area which can cause misunderstanding is that of the negative question, which was characteristic of one student-teacher in particular who tended to ask questions in the following style:

- Don't you understand?
- Didn't you do this question for homework?

At the time both she and the supervisor were mystified by the positive answers when it was obvious that the class hadn't understood, or hadn't done the question. Gowlett advocates caution with the use of negative questions, as in many Black languages (such as Sotho), the use of yes and no is opposite to that of English. If this were brought to students' attention, it might reduce the amount of frustration experienced by both teachers and pupils in a cross-cultural teaching situation.

Outlined above, then, are several areas for possible future inclusion in a teacher-training course. As has already been

suggested, however, the need for more detailed and contextually appropriate research is urgent.

4. ANALYSIS OF TRANSCRIPTIONS

One view of interaction analysis is that it

> deals with the way learning is negotiated, rather than with the orderly exploration of the world of knowledge (Sinclair and Brazil 1982:4).

Seen in these terms, the language of the classroom is given a new perspective - it is not what is learned that is important but how language can facilitate or retard the acquisition of knowledge. The extent to which exchanges between teacher and class contribute to alienation or co-operation becomes of vital importance. What is essential, then, from this perspective,

> ... is not the misunderstanding as such but the fact that, in spite of repeated attempts, both speakers utterly fail in their efforts to negotiate a common frame in terms of which to decide on what is being focussed on and where the argument is going at any one time (Gumperz 1982b:185).

The transcription of Lesson 1 (see Appendix A) clearly

illustrates this point. It achieves little in terms of the understanding of the lesson content, as shown in the last line of the transcription:

| Line 22 | Teacher | So this is in Lesotho. |

which was never, anyway, in doubt. The control in this interaction is retained throughout by the teacher, in the sense that she expects the pupil to conform to her implied evaluation of Lesotho as beautiful. Most of her "moves" are controlling ones, which can be defined as:

> ... moves which the performer arranges for the observer (or hearer), presumably to benefit the performer (Goffman, 1969, in Preston 1981:110).

Since social distance increases the likelihood of controlling moves being interpreted as such (Preston, 1981), it is essential that in a situation with built-in social distance,such as that of the cross-cultural classroom under discussion, efforts be made to avoid the creation of opportunities for such interpretations.

4.1 Lesson 1 : Lesotho (Geography)

It is apparent from the transcription that the student-teacher did not expect any of the pupils to have been to Lesotho, and was thus unprepared for the resulting interaction. This assumption perhaps rests on the fact (as the

student teacher suggested after reading the transcription), that she subconsciously thought that she, as a White, had more mobility, and assumed that most Black pupils would not have had the opportunity to travel. Thus, in line 4 we see the high pitched "really?" -really↗, asking for confirmation of an unexpected answer, perhaps checking whether the pupil had understood the question. All too clearly, however, the high pitch indicates an incredulity,[1] which perhaps contributed to the asynchrony evident in the rest of the transcription.

The laughter from the class in line 9 was prolonged, and obviously disconcerted the teacher. After failing to discover the reason from the class - indeed, her "what's funny?" in line 11 caused more laughter - she returns to her original point, and asks the same question, this time in statement form (line 13), thereby contradicting the pupil's "No" in line 12. In other words the teacher is implying that the pupil's opinion is not as valid as that of others. Notice the teacher's use of "apparently" in line 13, which is an attempt at distancing herself from that opinion, and putting the responsibility for it onto other, undefined people. The denigration of the value of the pupil's opinion is possibly a ploy to regain control of the interaction through asserting dominance.

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1 The extent to which these intonation conversations are valid and/or meaningful in the pupils' mother tongue is admittedly debatable.

by the student-teachers at the level of spoken discourse. Only when a definition (line 16) is given of the word poverty does the teacher realise with any confidence what the word is. This difficulty with pronounciation is mutual, as can be seen in line 10, when the teacher in fact guesses correctly, but is misunderstood by the pupils.

Although this series of exchanges is accompanied by a good deal of laughter from the class, lines 18 - 23 capture the feelings of uncertainty and embarrassment experienced by the teacher. This particular student-teacher was sensitive to the potential for hostility present in mis-communication, but by apologising, in effect she widens the rift between herself and the class, by emphasizing "me" and "you" (lines 22,23), and placing what she clearly perceives to be the "blame" on herself.

Not surprisingly, this pupil (P1) did not volunteer any more information - nor did the student-teacher ask him any more questions. The pattern established here continued throughout the lesson. Not only did this mean that both class and teacher became progressively less confident of attaining mutual understanding, but also very little was achieved in terms of the understanding of the lesson content. It is this kind of wastage, both of time and relationships, that is so prevalent in the cross-cultural teaching situation - and it is precisely this wastage that is the issue at stake.

5. IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The rapid expansion of all levels of Black Education has resulted in an acute shortage of qualified Black teachers. At the same time, White Education is experiencing a teacher surplus, especially in the urban areas. It seems inevitable, given this situation, that White teachers will more readily be given permission to teach in Black government schools in the Republic, as is already the case in the "homelands". That White teachers are not equipped to teach in such a context is evidenced by the confusion and frustration experienced by the student-teachers in a similar context. The need is great, therefore, to establish a theoretically sound and appropriate course for these teachers, whether situated in the teacher-training course itself, or as an in-service programme. That such a course should be necessary at all is of course a measure of the "interactional accomplishment of discrimination in South Africa" (Chick, 1983b, title).

In conclusion, it would seem both desirable and feasible to include the following in teacher-training programmes such as the Higher Education Diploma:

* the extension of teaching-practice opportunities to enable more students to gain appropriate experience
* basic training in the use of appropriate classroom

interaction analysis techniques

- the provision of opportunities so that the insights gained from the above may be shared with other student-teachers
- the inclusion of a compulsory TESOL-type component, for all students, in the H.E.D. curriculum, in recognition of the fact that language difficulties are not restricted to the language classroom. Areas which would be covered might include Tannen's (1984) useful description of the eight levels of differences on which cross-cultural communications can falter, namely (i) when to talk; (ii) what to say; (iii) pacing and pausing; (iv) listenership; (v) indirectness; (vi) intonation; (vii) formulaicity; (viii) cohesion and coherence.

While it is not supposed that this paper fulfills in any concrete way the requirements of such a programme, it is hoped that it does to some extent pin-point a few problem areas, and make constructive suggestions for future research. As Mathick (1979:191) suggests;

> While it is not feasible nor even desirable to train all school personnel in a multi-ethnic community to become linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, or ethnographers, it does seem rather urgent - in view of the fact that the mono-cultural classroom is fast ceasing to exist - that our teachers begin to receive <u>meaningful</u> training

in basic ethnographic techniques, in the ways of gaining insight into another culture so that they can acquire the necessary cross-cultural understanding that can equip them to cope with the problems of the multi-ethnic classroom and the multi-ethnic community.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION: LESSON 1: GEOGRAPHY LESSON ON LESOTHO

This extract formed part of an hour-long lesson on three short stories from the prescribed literature course. The pupils were matriculants attending a Literature Winter School at Hammarsdale in July 1983. The transcription begins after the student-teacher had displayed a black and white photograph of a mountain range with a stream in the foreground.

1.	T	Has anybody been to Lesotho, or come from Lesotho?
2.	P	Yes
3.	T	Really?
4.	P	Yes
5.	T	Did you live there?
6.	P	Just a few months but
7.	T	is it very beautiful?
8.	P	Yes (laughter from class) it's look beautiful
9.	T	What's funny (more laughter)
10.	P	No... (pause, about 3 seconds)
11.	T	Apparently it's very beautiful
12.	P	Yes it's look beautiful (pause about 2 secs), Where I come from
13.		it's not... (pause, about 3 seconds)
14.	T	It is not like this (indicates picture)
15.	P	It's look like this one (points at picture) but
16.	T	Is it (pause, about
17.		2 seconds) what is it like?
18.	P	like this and
19.	T	This? So this is in Lesotho.

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION: LESSON 2: POVERTY

This extract occurred near the beginning of an hour-long lesson during the Literature Winter School at Hammarsdale in July 1983. The pupils were matriculants, and had read and prepared the questions in the short story under discussion:

1. T	Who might be a (pause, about 1 second)
2.	Who might be a what (emphasized) to him?
3. P1	(inaudible)
4. T	Sorry, there would be some what?
5.	Power? (pause, about 2 seconds)
6.	What did you say?
7. P1	Poverty
8. T	What?
9. P's	Poverty
10.T	Oh, poverty
11.P's	Poverty
12.T	Sorry
13.P1	Poverty
14.T	Providence?
15.P1	Poverty
16.P2	Shortage of food
17.T	Oh, poverty (emphasized), shortage of food, yes
18.	So he would (pause, about 2 seconds) yes
19.	Sorry (laughs)
20.	I think (laughs)
21.	I've got to (pause about 3 seconds)

22.	You're wonderful at understanding me (emphasized)
23.	I'm not so good at understanding you (emphasized) (laughs)

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PAPER 2

INTERLANGUAGE AND ERROR ANALYSIS

In South Africa, where so much of the institutionalised educational process is conducted through the medium of a language other than the learner's own, it is imperative that some way is found of checking on the language understood and used by learners. In a simplistic sense, interlanguage can be referred to as a learner's language, and so an investigation of an interlanguage is in fact an investigation of the language system used by the learner. This is particularly important as the attitude of many language teachers to the errors in their pupils' English is that the errors are due to failure or a deficit of some kind. That this is not necessarily so is one of the positive aspects of the interlanguage debate. The problematic area of error analysis, vital for the establishment of the position of the learner on the interlanguage continuum and therefore a blueprint for remedial action, is one which has never been satisfactorily resolved.

This paper is an attempt to highlight some of the theories concerning interlanguage, and some of the controversy surrounding the collection of errors.

The term interlanguage (IL) was first introduced by Selinker in 1972 to refer to an intermediate language system, based on the second language learner's attempts to communicate in the target language. It was largely a response to the Constructive Analysis (CA) hypothesis, which is rooted in behaviourism and structuralism, and rests on the assumption that language learning is habit formation, and that the degree of difficulty in

acquiring a new habit is mainly dependent on the degree of difference between the old and the new. Proponents of this hypothesis therefore assume that most of the errors made by a second language learner can be predicted. Ideally, ".... a contrastive analysis is a simple mechanical drawing together of two complete grammars written in similar terms." (Spolsky 1978:252)

Gradually, however, as the feasibility of devising a system by means of which any two languages can be related or compared in every respect was questioned, the strong claim of predictability was modified to the weaker one of accountability. This weaker version, while not denying the significance of interference across languages, favours a posteriori explanations rather than a priori predictions.

Obviously, the concept of interference is a crucial one for CA theorists. Since most of the evidence for interference from the CA standpoint is on the phonological and not syntactic level, a serious question mark is raised over the validity of the CA approach to overall second language acquisition. However, as Ghadessy (1980:93) has suggested, the ultimate weakness of CA in this regard is that

> .... the focus of attention has been to point out the similarities and differences rather than how a person learns a second language.

Second language acquisition has itself long been an area of controversy. Dulay and Burt (1974), Hatch (1978), Ellis (1985), amongst others, discuss this controversy in detail: while it is not the purpose of this paper to explore theories of acquisition in depth, it might be useful at this point to outline briefly the main features of the arguments.

In direct contrast to the CA theory, the L1 Acquisition = L2 Acquisition hypothesis, as its name implies, holds that the learning strategies and acquisition sequence of syntactic structures in second language learning correspond to those of first language learning or development. As has frequently been pointed out, however, longitudinal studies of second language learners need to be conducted and compared with those of children acquiring their first language before this theory of second language acquisition can be validated. The important point for our purpose is that this hypothesis has as one of its basic theoretical assumptions an emphasis on innate mental organisation, itself an area of controversy. This emphasis has important implications for any discussion of interlanguage and error analysis, as it determines the perspective from which errors are to be viewed: as undesirable phenomena which deserve ruthless eradication, or as evidence of learning. The L1 Acquisition = L2 Acquisition theory maintains that since a child's errors are not regarded as deviant, neither should those of the second language learner. Gorbet (1979:27) suggests that

> ... perhaps our permissive attitude towards the development of the child's language reflects a primary concern with the development of his cognitive skill. The adult, on the other hand, has only one job in learning a second language - to break the code.

Krashen's (1981) Monitor Model of L2 performance, too, rejects the view that the first language interferes with second language acquisition - it postulates rather that use of the first language can be seen as a performance strategy, supplying a rule when needed, and monitoring utterances when necessary.

However this may be, the L1 = L2 Acquisition theory has succeeded in placing errors in a potentially more positive light. This perspective is elaborated below in the section on the significance of errors.

To return to interlanguage, Selinker conceived of it as a dynamic system, a continuum, but saw it mainly in terms of restructuring from the native language (NL) to the target language (TL). Many linguists (Corder, Nemser et al) have seen this restructuring aspect as a major weakness, as there is no suggestion that the IL continuum may characteristically be one of increasing complexity or elaboration. Until this characteristic was incorporated into the concept of IL, its theoretical significance remained limited, as movement within the continuum was only that of movement between one fully complex code and another, and therefore there were

> ..... as many IL continua as there were languages involved in the learning situation .... the sequences of restructuring would be different ... the errors predicted by the theory would all be 'transfer' errors ... (Corder 1981:88)

The IL hypothesis at this stage, then, was very weak; it was only when evidence was gathered showing that learners with different NL's produced similar errors, and that therefore similarities could be observed in what had hitherto been thought to be different IL continua, that the hypothesis gained explanatory power. The IL continuum could no longer be seen in terms of restructuring of the NL systems, nor could errors be confidently ascribed to interference from the NL. Rather, it was suspected that second language learners might follow the same sequence of stages as a child acquiring his/her first language (Ghadessy, 1980).

Attempts to integrate the interlanguage debate with established linguistic theory proved problematic, as evidenced by Spolsky's (1978) criticism of interlanguage as a theoretical construct, on the grounds that it

> ... seems to ignore the Sausseurean distinction between langue/parole, or the general distinction between language and idiolect (1978:255).

An answer to Spolsky's criticism of the interlanguage concept is the following comprehensive working definition of the idiosyncratic dialect (or interlanguage) of the second language learner:

> It is regular, systematic, meaningful i.e. it has a grammar, and is, in principle, describable in terms of a set of rules, some sub-set of which is a subset of the rules of the target social dialect. The dialect is unstable .... and is not, so far as we know, a 'lange' in that its conventions are not shared by a social group .... and lastly, many of its sentences present problems of interpretation to any native speaker of the target dialect. (Corder 1981:71)

Indeed, interlanguage can be said to form a category of its own, as Corder (1967) illustrates by the distinction he draws between idiolects and idiosyncratic dialects. Briefly, an idiosyncratic dialect (which includes any interlanguage) is unique to the speaker - some rules belong only to him or her, and are not those of any social dialect. In contrast, an idiolect is classed as a mixture of dialects. According to Corder, suggested classes of idiosyncratic dialects include; poetry, which is deliberately deviant, aphasic speech, which is pathologically deviant, the speech of children acquiring their first language, and the speech of second language learners i.e. their interlanguage. Although crude, these "classes" afford an interesting perspective on interlanguage by categorising other error-ridden systems.

Corder prefers the term "transitional dialect" to Selinker's "interlanguage", as he feels the former emphasizes the unstable and developmental nature of the continuum, whereas the latter gives prominence to the characteristics of the specific first or second language in question.

Nemser (1971), who uses the term "approximative systems" - described by Sah (1981) as being in fact Corder's idea of transitional dialect stripped of its psychological garb - feels that they:

i) have internal coherence, and are not simply corrupt forms of the target or native languages;
ii) are sociolinguistically illegitimate, as they do not form a speech community, although their sociolinguistic significance is not denied.

Here again is an intimation of one of the positive spin-offs of the interlanguage debate; that errors, and indeed the whole process of learning a second or foreign language, should be viewed more positively. The negative aspect of errors lies not in the fact simply that they are incorrect, but that they might hinder communication. This perspective on errors is unavoidable if one accepts Nemser's point that interlanguages are not simply corrupt or inferior forms of the target language, but have internal structure and integrity.

However named, the concept of interlanguage incorporates that of innateness. Corder (1981), while not suggesting that humans are born 'knowing' a language, raises the possibility that the processing of data to which a learner is exposed may be determined by some property of the human mind, irrespective of the nature of this data.

Selinker, too, assumes that successful second language learning involves somehow a reactivation of the latent language structure described by Lenneberg (in Selinker, 1972). He postulates in addition, however, that there "... exists in the brain an already formulated arrangement ...." (1972:212), the first language knowledge of the learner; and therefore he makes reference to 'latent psychological structures' that are activated when the speaker attempts to express known meanings in a language being learned. This emphasis on 'reactivation' leads logically to the often-criticised restructuring component of his theory of interlanguage.

If one accepts that an interlanguage has, as Nemser has suggested, internal structure and integrity, it follows that it must contain some kind of coherent, albeit unstable, grammar. However, as Gorbet has pointed out,

> It should be noted that the 'rules of the learner's 'interlanguage' are not explicit in the sense of textbook grammar rules' they are the underlying

organisational principles which permit the speaker to produce the language form he is using. (1979:24)

To understand how language learning occurs - obviously the ultimate goal of any study of interlanguage - the learning strategies which are reflected in the logic of these 'underlying organisational principles' must be identified and described.

Briefly, two major categories of learning strategies have been posited: linguistic and communication strategy types. Under the banner of linguistic strategies fall the errors caused by:

- interference (from native and/or target language)
- overgeneralisation (incomplete or incorrect application of rules and redundancy reduction)
- slips of the tongue

Communication strategies include:

- message abandonment
- message avoidance, which is characterised by generalisation and/or approximation, often resulting in the inappropriate coinage of words or the use of circumlocution.

For Selinker, the most interesting occurrences in interlanguage performance are the "items, rules and subsystems" (1972:215) which may be fossilized in terms of the following five processes:

- language transfer
- transfer of training
- strategies of learning

- strategies of communication
- overgeneralisation of target language linguistic material.

Such structures, he postulates, tend to remain as potential performance, surfacing in times of stress or as a result of a shift in attention.

An example of the difficulty involved in establishing which of the above processes is responsible for an error is the characteristic use of the Present Continuous Tense by Black South African speakers of English. According to Ghadessy (1980), the Present Continuous Tense has a very limited use in English compared to the Simple Present. Many teachers, however, spend a considerable amount of time on teaching the Present Continuous, using action-/chain drills particularly in the lower classes (Substandards A and B, Standard 1). The prominence given to this verb tense is evident even in courses designed for tertiary educational institutions, where it is pinpointed as a potential problem area. Selinker suggests that if a rule emerges as a result of identifiable training procedures, one is dealing with the process known as transfer-of-training. If, on the other hand, the rule occurs as a result of transference or interference from the native language, one is dealing with the process of language transfer. Lanham (undated publication:10), in his notes on the Present and Present Continuous Tenses, states that "... in Bantu languages we do not make a difference between these two tenses". The example he gives to support this point is that of "I am writing" and "I

write", which in Zulu is one word, "Ngiyabhala", and in Sotho one clause, "Ke a ngola". Since there is no distinction between these two tenses, it is almost impossible to state unambiguously that this often observed confusion between these two tenses in S.A. Black English is due to one process or the other. In this case, perhaps the fossilized error is due originally to language transfer, and later reinforced by transfer-of-training, which, ironically, was presumably designed to prevent this very occurrence.

For the teacher of language, much of the foregoing lacks perceived relevance. This raises the question of the value of studying interlanguage; is it merely "... an attempt to justify the study of errors" (Spolsky 1978:255), or does it have theoretical and/or practical significance in its own right?

Nemser (1971) suggests several reasons for studying what he calls "approximative systems". A direct and systematic examination of learner speech, he feels, has been neglected, and this is necessary in order to evaluate any theory of second language acquisition. Further, since the native and target languages do not come into total contact, approximative system data are essential for establishing the positions of the learner on the interlanguage continuum in order, for instance, to determine how prior learning influences subsequent learning. Lastly, the study of approximative systems has relevance for general linguistic theory, such as the areas of child language acquisition and language disorders.

The study of interlanguage has pedagogic justification, too. Perhaps the most effective way of ascertaining the success of second language teaching programmes is to determine the relationship between 'input' - what is taught or presented - and 'intake', what is actually learned. This could be achieved by investigating the interlanguage, in this sense the above relationship, thereby furnishing a 'map' not only of the learner's errors, but also of his/her achievements. This could guide language teaching principles in a positive manner, and also provide a check on the appropriacy of the ".... sequence of data presentation, the syllabus" (Corder 1981:27).

Ideally, a study of the grammars of interlanguages should not become hampered by either prediction or explanation - it should be a study of what is, not what might be or has been. This could be achieved by the provision of the notion of transitional competence (Sah 1981), the study of which would reveal the systematic nature of many errors, and would, as Selinker (1972:216) suggests, provide an explanation

> .... for the regular reappearance or re-emergence in IL productive performance of linguistic structures which were thought to be eradicated.

Finally, and perhaps of most significance to language teachers, the study of interlanguage entails the assessment of errors. Gorbet (1979) suggests that determining when and when not to

ignore errors is perhaps one of the most difficult challenges of teaching, and that it is sometimes more effective to tolerate errors than to correct them. The study of interlanguage should provide reliable guidelines for meeting this challenge.

It does not follow, then, that the study of interlanguage serves only to make error analysis more 'respectable' - nor is it merely an inbred, theoretical debate. On the contrary, the study of interlanguage, as discussed above, promises new insights into the thorny problems of first and second language acquisition, and as such holds promise for language teaching, especially the field of second or foreign language teaching.

The description of language can take as its starting point natural language or idealised linguistic forms. Noth (1979) suggests that if errors such as those which occur in natural language are taken as the starting point for analysis, more emphasis will be placed on heuristics, while linguistic theory as a starting-point will highlight the problems of semantics. To illustrate this point he cites Chomsky and his theory of transformational grammar, where the focus of interest is on the error-free norm (i.e. the linguistic theory) and not on error-ridden speech acts, which obviously makes no allowance for the analysis of errors.

Perhaps the major significance of errors in second language learning is that they indicate where the learner is at the moment

of testing. Weaver (1982) suggests that errors and growth are inseparable, and advocates a non-punitive approach to errors. For the teacher of a second language, this implies a shift from the usual practice of normative marking, where the learner's work is assessed with reference to a group, and all errors are equally weighted, to criterion - referenced marking, where the emphasis is on the individual's progress, and a more goal-directed approach is adopted to errors - surely a more positive and less discouraging task for both teacher and learner. In this way information about errors becomes less like punishment, and more akin to feedback for both participants. If, as Cohen and Robbins (1976) suggest, the purpose of correction is to measure learning over time, corrections should be more specific (or criterion - referenced); moreover, the learner's errors should be looked at chronologically. This would entail a radical shift in training and perspective for the language teacher, and too, the taking into account of the IL background of the learners and their own explanations for the errors they make.

The theory of error analysis proposes that the system of rules, created by the learner from the language data to which s/he is exposed, enables him or her to use the target language, and that the basic task of any error analysis is the provision of a reliable account of this system, seen as the cause of errors. The highlights the dilemma of many models or techniques of error analysis - the errors "chosen" will be determined by the types of causes assigned to them: a useful illustration of this dilemma is the research and findings of Dulay and Burt in 1974, and the

consequent controversy. After studying the errors made by a group of children learning English as a second language, they concluded that the errors were similar to those made by children learning English as their first language. In fact, they conclude the 87% of the errors made are "developmental" i.e. not due to interference. One major criticism of their research is that they appear to have looked at product rather than process, and have therefore not investigated learning strategies or underlying organisational principles, while still confidently ascribing causes to the errors. Abbott (1980) raises the point that access to the method of classification is not given, so that assessment is well nigh impossible. Sheen (1980) criticizes their research on the grounds that the first language is not always given, which makes it impossible to refute the evidence with regard to interference. The assumption in the research is that if learners with different NL's make the same error, it must be due to factors other than interference from the NL. It is possible, however, that the different NL's could share the same element and that then interference would be the cause - for this to be ascertainable the NL's must be stipulated. This oversight is perhaps due, as suggested above, to an understandable desire to prove one's hypothesis. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that

> .... without the rigour of an agreed analytical instrument, researchers will tend to find in their corpus ample evidence of what they <u>expect</u> to find (Abbott 1980:121).

It appears then, that fundamental problems in error analysis concern the arrangement, collection and interpretation of the data, and the choice of a technique with which to describe a learner's language.

The two main techniques for describing a learner's language are tests (achievement, proficiency, diagnostic and aptitude) and error analysis. Corder (1981) describes these approaches respectively as experimental and clinical, and suggests that of the four types of tests commonly used in the classroom, proficiency tests appear to be the most suitable. They do, however, suffer from serious defects; for instance, they yield a very limited amount of data, and, more seriously, they tell us what the learner does <u>not</u> know about the target language, but little about the learner's heuristic devices. The failure of traditional testing devices to measure in any direct way the degree of underlying competence of the learner means that they are unlikely to provide the data on which a description of the learner's language can be based. Since classroom language in South African schools is almost entirely assessed by means of traditional testing devices such as achievement tests, which apart from the narrowness of their scope often have the additional disadvantage of being contextually inappropriate, it follows that most teachers have no reliable or clear conception of the learner's progress. Before any emphasis can be placed on steering institutions away from this kind of testing, however, a radical shift in teacher-training would have to be effected, as few language teachers

possess or are required to possess the linguistic skills necessary for moving away from established practice in testing.

Error analysis, the second major technique for describing a learner's language, attempts to resolve some of the problems of data collection. It does, however, have serious limitations. For instance, the learner is not always available for consultation and self-correction, and therefore as Corder (1981) points out, surface deviations cannot confidently be assigned to performance failure (such as slips of the tongue) or the features of the interlanguage itself.

Further, the way in which causes are ascribed to errors, as mentioned above, is problematic. Selinker (1972) queries whether it is always possible to determine unambiguously which process underlies observable data; for example, is a particular interlanguage feature a result of language transfer, transfer-of-training, or both?

The accurate description of errors is therefore a separate activity from the task of inferring the sources of the errors. Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) have devised a number of descriptive taxonomies which focus on some observable feature of the error itself, without reference to its underlying cause or source. These taxonomies are discussed more fully below: their conclusions, however, on the strengths and weaknesses of error analysis in general might prove useful at this point.

Briefly, they feel that on the credit side, error analysis has:

- made a significant contribution to the theoretical sensitising of language teachers and, indeed, applied linguistics,
- highlighted the diverse causes of errors, and
- succeeded in placing errors in a more positive light.

On the debit side, however, they feel that most techniques of error analysis:

- confuse error description (product) with error explanation (process)
- lack precision and specificity in their definitions of error categories
- are too simplistic in their categorisation of the causes of learner's errors.

A further weakness of most techniques of error analysis is that they do not concern themselves with the "margin" within which learner's language must fall. Singh, d'Anglejan and Carroll (1982) suggest in this regard that non-native variability - or the learner's interlanguage as evidenced by his or her errors - cannot be assessed without reference to the variability evident in language produced by native speakers. They suggest that either only structures with universal native rejection be classified as errors, or that all interlanguage structures be assigned a 'native confidence index'. Linked to this concept is the acceptability of the structure to the IL speaker himself or

herself, since, according to Singh et al, IL speakers do not necessarily accept structures common to their own production.

The implication for error analysis is that unless variability is considered in conducting tests of IL ability and structure, the result might be that forms are classified as deviant when in fact they fall within the margin of the native speaker's own competence.

In the same vein, Tarone (1982) emphasizes the importance of both the vernacular and superordinate norms of interlanguage as different parts of the learner's overall interlanguage competence. She emphasizes the style-shifting potential of the learner's interlanguage in relation to the efficiency of classroom teaching, and criticizes error analysis, which commonly neglects this aspect of interlanguage.

According to Schachter (1974), techniques of error analysis that do not have a priori predictions suffer from serious limitations. To illustrate this she cites the example of a learner who does not produce the constructions s/he finds difficult, and claims that no amount of error analysis will illustrate or explain this. Although it is recognised that error avoidance is, in an oblique way, evidence of second language competence, error analysis - which traditionally concentrates on errors rather than what Corder (1981) calls 'message adjustment strategies' - is not

designed to highlight this type of problem, and thus is limited in this respect.

Perhaps the most serious limitation of error analysis as a reliable means of eliciting interlanguage is that it does not adequately describe the learner's interlanguage

> in terms of variable rules which capture the context - dependence of the learner's use of his internalised grammar (Ellis 1982:207).

Despite these limitations, error analysis remains the most promising approach to identifying errors, especially for the practising teacher of language who is accustomed to measuring progress by errors. The challenge for applied linguistics is not to scrap error analysis entirely, but to devise more appropriate techniques thereof, which would encourage its constructive and creative use in the identification of the interlanguage or idiolect of the learner in order to establish reference points in his/her growth towards full competence in the target language.

* *

In this section Dulay, Burt and Krashen's (1982) approach to error analysis will be followed; that is, the task of error analysis is to describe the error, not to determine the process responsible for it. Although it is recognised that a true error

analysis should ideally concern itself with both process and product, at present this would appear to be impracticable as there is as yet no consensus on the causes of errors.

According to Dulay, Burt and Krashen, the most effective and commonly used bases for the descriptive classification of errors are:-

- linguistic category
- surface strategy
- comparative analysis
- communicative effect

In this section the classifications based on linguistic category and communicative effect are briefly discussed in terms of their strengths and weaknesses. The choice of the two was governed largely by the fact of their being clear examples of the traditional approach most favoured by teachers (linguistic category) and a promising, although flawed, move towards a more pragmatic treatment of language errors (communicative effect).

1. Error types based on linguistic category:

The major strength of this approach is its potential as an organisational tool, especially when used in conjunction with other taxonomies. It is the approach most favoured by educators as it is highly compatible with the structural approach to language teaching in schools.

The following transcription[1] is of course far too limited to

allow one to generalise with any confidence about the learner's problem areas. Despite this, it is hoped that it will serve as an illustration of the techniques of error analysis based on linguistic categories.

Speaker	Transcription	Line
Judge	Thank-you very much for Mrs Smith about	1
	her explanation	2
	So I'd like to called upon ___ fourth	
	group	3
	Mr Crawford	4
	Where is Mr Crawford?	5
	Up to you Mr Crawford	6
Mr Crawford:	We acquire two rivers and so the areas	7
	among this two rivers	8
	We had always live on ___ areas	9

Line	Error	Linguistic category and error type	Description
1	for	syntax	misuse of preposition
1	about	syntax	misuse of preposition
3	so		misuse of connector

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1 The transcription from which this extract was taken, is from a tape-recorded lesson given by a student-teacher at Umbumbulu, Kwazulu, August 1982.

3	called	morphology	double marking; past tense marked already in auxiliary adding 'ed' to tense already formed
3	-	syntax	omission of article
6	up	syntax	misuse of preposition
7	acquire	morphology	simple past tense incorrect regular past tense: omission of 'ed'
8	among	syntax	misuse of preposition
8	this	syntax	noun phrase misuse of demonstrative pronoun
9	live	morphology	past perfect tense; omission of 'ed'
9	-	syntax	omission of article

On the basis of this analysis, it would seem that the learner's greatest problem area concerns the use of prepositions. However, it is highly questionable whether this is the most serious problem, although it occurs most frequently. Any technique of error analysis which relies on frequencies as a measure of linguistic competence will suffer from this same defect. What is needed is a test of seriousness; it is this aspect, or gap in previous taxonomies, which the Communicative Effect taxonomy proposed by Dulay et al attempts to close.

Error analysis of the linguistic category or comparative analysis type is by now an overworked and outdated field. Its failure to spread into studies of lexis and discourse structures has led to sterility - the unavoidable result of practice lagging behind

theory. The Communicative Effect Taxonomy attempts to bridge this gap by approaching errors from a different perspective: it is the effect of errors on the listener or reader that is seen as important, rather than the errors themselves. In other words, an error is only regarded as significant if it hinders communication. Clearly, this approach presupposes the possibility of predicting which types of errors do in fact interfere with effective communication. Largely following the research conducted by Burt and Kiparsky (1972) and Burt (1975), it has been established that errors affecting overall organisation ("global" errors) significantly hinder communication. Included under global errors are the following:[1]

wrong order of major constituents

e.g: The trains they are sit to comfortable

missing, wrong or misplaced sentence connectors

e.g: You travel by train, you buy cheaper ticket

missing cues to signal obligatory exceptions to pervasive syntatic rules

e.g: and the doctor called me (for 'called on me')[2]

regularisation of pervasive syntactic rules to exceptions

e.g: We amused that movie very much

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1 The illustrations of the types of global error (with the exception of the last, from Dulay et al (1982), come from adult Xhosa speakers, attending night classes in preparation for Std 10 examinations.

2 Verb plus particle or preposition constructions of this type appear to be problematic for Black Second Language Speakers of English, with the result that fixed expressions such as called on, called up, called in, and called out are pervasive errors.

Although the intended meaning of the above examples is recoverable on reflection, there is no doubt that communication is hindered, even if only by the few seconds needed to 'decode' the meaning.

"Local errors", on the other hand, do not usually hinder communication significantly. These include errors in noun and verb inflections, traditionally areas of grave concern for language teachers. Little effort is made in the typical classroom to distinguish between global and local errors, due, perhaps, to the nonlinguistic nature of the training undergone by most teachers of language. The categorising of errors as either "global" or "local" is a welcome advance towards the study of the constraints on discourse sequences, which can and should be studied in their own right. If it is generally agreed that the language syllabus should have as its prime goal the development of strategies for discourse processing, rather than an assembly of items, it must then follow that ways of teaching should shift from teacher-telling and prescribing to learner-interpreting. This would become more meaningful for the learner if s/he was given access to a hierarchy of seriousness of errors.

The distinction between global and local errors differs significantly from that drawn between 'errors' and 'mistakes' or 'lapses' described by Corder (1981). A 'mistake', according to Corder, is merely an error of performance, a slip of the tongue, which does not reflect the speaker's competence. A 'local error'

could, however, be one of competence; it falls under the local umbrella merely because it does not hinder communication in any significant way. In short, the cause of the error is irrelevant in the global/local dichotomy: the deciding factor is its effect on the recipient.

The key to obtaining an index for communicative proficiency in terms of global and local errors is perhaps the proportion of global to local errors. The degree to which a learner's total errors are global errors is then the degree to which global grammar has not been acquired (Dulay, et al: 1982). This would reflect a learner's communicative proficiency index, as opposed to his or her linguistic proficiency index (the local-to-total errors proportion). Although this approach promises to be a useful technique for distinguishing between a learner's ability to communicate efficiently and his or her ability to speak grammatically, it does have serious limitations. For example, these dichotomies ignore the amount of language produced that is error-free, and more seriously, it is not difficult to envisage the situation where a learner makes few errors, but the same global-to-total or local-to-total proportion as a student whose language is error-ridden. Furthermore, both the linguistic category and the communicative effect taxonomies, while useful for studying certain aspects of a learner's interlanguage, become less helpful as the learner progresses towards the target language norm, because both of them operate on a numerical basis.

Nonetheless, there is much that can be salvaged in the field of

error analysis, particularly with regard to teacher-training. It would seem that any promising method of eliciting the interlanguage of the language-learner requires linguistic skills at present not required of nor offered to language teachers in their teacher-training courses. As Tarone suggests,

> ... it is in the foreign language classrooms that learner attention is most consistently directed to the form of the interlanguage, and it is in the foreign language classroom that our research results will eventually be applied in the form of suggestions to teachers, or in the form of teaching materials (1982:81).

In spite of this recognition of the central role of the learner in interpreting theories and materials, it would seem that the gap between applied linguists and teachers of language has grown too wide for teachers to be able to take advantage of, or use effectively, suggestions or materials that might flow from the theorists. The proliferation of various teacher-training method courses in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) might hopefully narrow the gap, although their orientation is not yet pragmatic enough to bridge it completely. Furthermore, the low (or at best, ambivalent,) status accorded to such courses by educational authorities results in many students choosing to take the more traditional English First Language Method Courses in their teacher-training diplomas.

In South Africa, the enforced separation of different ethnolinguistic groups of people has resulted in the minimising of natural language contact, and heavy reliance is therefore placed on schooling to fulfill the needs of a linguistically complex country.[1] This emphasis on schooling heightens the need for feedback to be utilised efficiently, as if one cannot ascertain the state of a leaner's interlanguage, one cannot evaluate either learning outcomes or teaching methods. Failure in this regard simply perpetuates the present state of confusion over the teaching of English as a second or foreign language.

Finally, however, it must be borne in mind that any attempt to test the learner's interlanguage will be as adequate or inadequate as our definition of what it is to know a language. Until further detailed study is undertaken in this regard, and in the Southern African context, it is inevitable that our means of eliciting interlanguage will be limited.

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1 This linguistic complexity is further complicated by the teacher's own competence in English if s/he is not a mother-tongue speaker of English, or by the widespread ignorance of the pupil's mother-tongue on the part of English First Language speakers.

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PAPER 3

COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TESTING AND VALIDITY

After more than a decade now of what Alderson (1985:v) calls "... persuasion by elegant rhetoric ...", the communicative language teaching movement is becoming increasingly concerned to establish the efficacy of its teaching methods and materials. Fundamental concepts in the communicative language movement, however (such as its emphasis on language-in-use, the negotiation of meaning and authenticity of context and purpose) have made attempts at reliable and valid assessment problematic. This paper outlines some of the major concerns and issues facing communicative language testing, and takes as its focus the question of validity, here understood, following Morrow (1981), as the extent to which a test is actually testing what it purports to test, and the extent to which this is what ought to be tested.

Traditionally, language curricula have viewed language "... as a more or less definable inventory of items, the successful teaching of which is supposed to lead on to an ability to use the target language" (Potts 1985:19). Whether structural or functional, such curricula detail and specify a syllabus in advance. The implications of this prior specification for testing are obvious: the challenge for testers is the adequate sampling of the syllabus. As Potts (op cit) suggests, an objective-type curriculum sets up its own internal criteria and then equates achievement on these criteria with the successful learning of language. Essentially, it is not the criteria themselves that are evaluated: the tester's task is to attempt to answer the "how" of testing, and not the "why" and "what" as well, as is the case with communicative language testing.

Perhaps one of the most striking differences between objective-type and communicative curricula is their perspective on assessment, where far from viewing evaluation as some kind of external imposition, the latter sees it as an integral part of the learning process in that evaluation is inherent in the very nature of communicative interaction. It follows, then, that communicative language testing, rejecting as it does the concept that language learning is a "process of accretion" (Morrow 1981:11) has to base its tests on quite different criteria.

Morrow's (1981) point is generally accepted that while traditional, indirect measures of language claim to be highly reliable and valid (as established by statistical techniques), their claim to validity is open to question. His support for more direct performance based tests of communication has not, however, escaped criticism. As Rea (1985) points out, direct testing is, by definition, impossible. She outlines three arguments in support of this position: firstly, 'naturalness' criteria can never be completely satisfied as the testing context is itself artificial - compromises are therefore inevitable. Secondly, direct testing is administratively and financially impractical especially for large-scale testing, and thirdly, since given the constraints of time, the extent to which samples of language use can be included is inevitably restricted, the validity of inferences about testees' communicative competence from these "isolated samples" must be questioned. Indeed, following this argument to its logical conclusion, the best

indication of a testee's communicative competence would be his-/her performance in the situation itself, which is the very thing that testing (insofar as every test can be regarded in some way as a predictor of performance) is trying to predict.

While it is clear that communicative language testing has moved away from the atomistic approach of earlier language tests, what is not clear is the extent to which this move has been proved superior "... in terms either of the amount of information or of the quality of information elicited on these tests in relation to learners' actual communicative abilities in natural performance situations."(Rea 1985:27) A possible explanation for this is the lack of shared assumptions about what constitutes the nature of communicative competence and its relationship to communicative performance. After all, if one is not certain about what it is one is trying to test, it is almost impossible to state, unambiguously, to what extent it has been tested. As Davies (1985:4) suggests,

> The theory of communicative competence appears very powerful, but it may be too powerful as explanation. What, in fact, does communicative competence <u>not</u> explain? If it is in the final analysis not falsifiable, does it have any real explanatory power?

It is not, however, within the scope of this paper to explore the literature on the nature of communicative competence and/or performance. What is of concern here are those features of

communicative language that are generally regarded as constituting problems for communicative language testing.

According to Rea (1985:19), a "... major issue in the current debate on communicative language testing concerns the nature of the theoretical base on which language tests are constructed." In her view, the need for more detailed theoretical insights has led to a distinction between concerns of construct and content validity. Hughes (1981:207) supports this view, and suggests that construct validation studies in particular might help to remedy the "... lack of a demonstrably valid conceptual system on which to base tests of language use". Alderson warns of the "potential conflict" involved in the tension between attempts to improve the theoretical basis of tests and attempts to reflect reality more authentically. He concludes by questioning

> ... whether tests are mirrors of reality, or constructed instruments from what a theory of language is, what language processing and producing are, what language learning is (Alderson 1981:56).

Spolsky (1975) categorizes the history of language testing over the last few decades into three phases: the pre-scientific, the psychometric-structuralist and the psycholinguistic-sociolinguistic.[1] The shift in approaches to testing as seen in these phases

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[1] Morrow (1979) evocatively describes these three phases as, respectively, the Garden of Eden, the Vale of Tears and the Promised Land.

is largely characterized by the increased importance attached to validity. While both reliability and validity are concepts accepted by psychometric testing, the emphasis during this period was on statistical analysis[2] which laid a premium on reliability, often at the expense of validity (Alderson and Hughes 1982).

For many applied linguists (eg Spolsky, Ebel, Morrow), validity represents the central problem for language testing. Indeed, Lado (1978:117) states that "... without validity all other criteria, including reliability, are worthless." Despite the general agreement on the importance of validity to communicative language testing, where it is viewed as both "idol and ideal" (Stevenson 1985:113), it is a concept that is often paid little more than lip-service.

Stevenson argues that this is perhaps a legacy from the psychometric era, when language teachers were seldom trained in the statistical skills necessary for examining tests rigorously or even for interpreting test scores with insight, and partly because even today few language teachers are required to undertake courses in language testing or even Applied Linguistics.

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2 While a move away from reliance on statistics could in the end result in the paradox that measures should not measure (Davies 1985), communicative language testing does represent a shift towards the description of achievement in words rather than numbers thereby reflecting communicative language testing's aim of testing fluency rather than accuracy.

Alderson highlights the centrality of validity - related issues to communicative language testing by suggesting that communicative tests

> ... make clearer the need to break the circularity of most validation procedures ... by appealing to outside criteria because, precisely, of the claim that communicative tests are measures of language in use, 'real' language tests. (1981:64)

The discussion in this paper will centre on the following dimensions of test validity: criterion-referenced validity, content validity, construct validity and face validity. Predictive and concurrent validity are not treated as distinct, and are discussed where appropriate, as are the issues of authenticity and specificity.

CRITERION-REFERENCED VALIDITY

According to Stevenson (1981), criterion-referenced validity concerns the statistical correlation between a set of scores and a comparable set of scores obtained from an external independent source. As Low (1985) points out, however, simply stating that one set of scores correlates with another is not particularly helpful. It gives no indications, for example, about which test is the better, whether either test is suitable for a specific purpose or whether the two tests are substitutable and provides no hints about ways in which either test might be modified and

improved. Davies, too, warns of the misunderstandings that exist regarding the interpretations of correlations, which, he suggests, "... are indicators of shared variance not of equivalent identity" (1981:183). In the same volume, Palmer and Bachman advise caution with the use of correlations as measures of criterion-referenced validity by suggesting that "... a test can exhibit criterion-referenced validity without one's knowing what it measures." (1981:136) Even in the unlikely event of a communicative language test which has been shown to be both valid and reliable, "... a correlation coefficient could only be meaningful to the extent that it confirmed or opposed a pattern that the test designer had previously predicted" (Low 1985:154).

In communicative language testing, a focus of discussion with regard to criterion-referencing has been the extent to which it is possible to move away from the practice of norm-referencing, where the performance of an individual is compared with that of others in a comparable situation, and which presumably involves a comparison with some kind of ideal performance. Norm-referencing in this sense involves judgements which are essentially prescriptive (Alderson 1985), and thus runs counter to a fundamental concept in communicative language teaching and testing - that what is involved is an interactive approach to learning where the emphasis is on the outcomes of a process of inferential judgements arrived at co-operatively (Candlin 1985).

Pollitt (1985) suggests that it is the way in which test scores are interpreted that gives rise to norm-or criterion-referencing.

If a testee's score is used for comparative purposes against the scores achieved by others in the same (or a similar test), norm-referencing will be involved. If, however, a test that attempts to predict the likelihood of a student's experiencing academic problems resulting specifically from inadequate second language proficiency uses as its criterion the end of year academic results, it can be said to be criterion-referenced, although indirectly, and its validity will be dependent on the goodness of fit of the two "scores".[1]

Because of the communicative language movement's emphasis on creativity and interaction, it can be seen that criterion-referenced validity represents a problem. If, as Morrow (1979) claims, communicative testing is in fact criterion-referenced testing, its values must be derived from some notion of an ideal performance: but, as Alderson queries, "... whose performance, which performance is criterial?" (1981:49)

To date it would appear that the major achievements of communicative language testing with regard to criterion-referenced validity are the relinquishing of the ranking functions of tests and the attempt to specify objectives in a rigorous but flexible

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1 The use of such an indirect criterion would of course have its own problems, notably the time factor, as "... the correlation between test performance and subsequent problems would decrease as other factors intervene over time, until in the end there would be no correlation" (Alderson 1981:64). Other problems might be the varying language tolerances and failure rates of different academic subjects - to what extent would these be taken into account?

way. As Clapham (1981:112) suggests, "... if a validated test is criterion-referenced, each canditate's performance will of course be compared with the language specification and not with that of other examinees ...". For this to happen, there must obviously be a comprehensive list of language objectives to which the test is tied. In the Royal Society of Arts' Report on its "Examinations in the Communicative Use of English as a Foreign Language" (In Yeld 1985 Appendix BI 3), for example, it is explicitly stated that the specifications set out

> ... the operations to be tested, the test types on which they must be performed and the degree of skill which must be demonstrated ... these specifications are the yardstick against which the content and the format of each paper is measured: they are an explicit statement of what it is necessary to be able to do ... they represent the criterion in terms of which candidates' performance is evaluated.

Two problems are highlighted by the example above. Firstly, as has been mentioned, the more detailed the specifications, the more likely it is that they are derived from some kind of ideal performance and are therefore to some extent prescriptive. Secondly, the issue of compensation has not been resolved - should "above criterion" performance on one of the tasks in the

oral or writing test allow the candidate to make up for "below criterion" performance on another?

In conclusion then, criterion-referencing, which is at the heart of communicative language testing, poses certain problems of its own. The provision of detailed specifications in advance does, however, represent a major shift away from the dubious but widely established practice of norm-referencing, and as such is to be welcomed.

CONTENT VALIDITY

Content validity refers to the relationship between "... the situation, topic and style" (Low 1985:154) of the tasks that make up the test and those that are likely to be encountered by the testee in the situations for which the test is considered appropriate. The process of investigating content validity is therefore essentially one of sampling: how accurate one's judgement can be about how representative the sample is depends, obviously, on the thoroughness of the description of the language being tested. It is here that communicative language testing faces perhaps its biggest challenge - as Davies (1985) has suggested, communicative competence, by eschewing prescription in favour of description, may in fact be too "powerful" a concept to provide the detailed specifications that would allow a "thorough description." In essence, it is the very nature of the theoretical base of the communicative language movement that has led to

the tensions between content and construct validity. The paradox is, of course, that the closer a test is to reflecting the theory of communicative competence (construct validity), the less likely it is that it will be valid as regards content: the more confident one can be that the test contains a representative sample of what it is supposed to be testing (content validity), the less likely it is that the requirements of construct validity will be satisfied. Communicative language testing is thus in a dilemma as regards content validity, as detailed specifications invariably involve compromise at the theoretical level.

Closely related to both content and construct validity is the issue of authenticity which, although dismissed by Alderson (1981:48) as "somewhat sterile", in many ways encapsulates the communicative language testing dilemma. A genuinely "authentic" test would consist of "... real-life, interactive communicative operations" (Carrol 1980:11) including: the language used in day-to-day discourse, realistic contexts and the use of non-verbal as well as verbal criteria in its rating system. There are however, obvious problems with this: for example, what exactly constitutes "day-to-day discourse"? How can one, especially faced with the demands of large-scale testing, situate a test in a realistic context? Alderson (1981) suggests that the authenticity argument seems to assume that testing has no imperatives or specifications of its own, and argues that while tests themselves constitute authentic situations, it is the relating of the testing situation to a different communicative context that causes problems. Davies (1985) describes communicative language testing's search

for authenticity as being essentially "chimerical" in nature, in that the more it is pursued, the more likely it is to disappear. As Low (1985) points out, furthermore, the closer a test is to replicating a real-life situation (the higher its degree of authenticity), the more blurred become the boundaries between test content and test method. This seriously compromises the establishment of the content validity of a test, and raises the question of whether, in fact, it is possible for a test to be both authentic and valid in terms of content.

CONSTRUCT VALIDITY

It has been suggested above (Rea 1985) that direct testing is, by definition, impossible. The task for testers is therefore more indirect - to suggest what instances might indicate the features one is attempting to measure. Construct validity attempts to measure the extent to which the test can truly be called a measure of what it was designed to assess. The emphasis is not, as is the case with content validity, on the relationship between test items and situations external to the test, but on the relationship between the theory underlying the test and the items purportedly reflecting this theory. It therefore involves the formation and testing of hypotheses: the implication (and challenge) here being that it is as much the tester's view of the nature of language that is being tested as it is the test itself. Indeed, it is through the proliferation of construct validation studies (for example by Palmer and Bachman, 1979, 1981; Lee,

1985; Vollmer, 1979) that a more "demonstrably valid conceptual system" (Hughes 1981:207) may be found and important guidelines for test construction established.

For example, the popular but controversial cloze procedure still remains a problem for testers, particularly with regard to its construct validity. The cloze procedure, which began thirty years ago as a simple technique for investigating the readability of English texts (Soudek and Soudek 1983) is now widely regarded as being capable of testing language production as well (Briere 1975, Oller 1979), despite the fact that the construct validity issue of what exactly it is that cloze measures has not been satisfactorily resolved, nor have the implications of rational versus nth word deletion for the interpretation of cloze test scores. An illustration of the difficulties involved in resolving these problems is Lee's (1985) study of the construct validity of the cloze score, which attempts to discover whether in fact items in a cloze passage all tap "a single underlying dimension" (op cit:138) or not, and concludes, tentatively, that although there does seem to be only one dimension being measured, it is a complex one possibly involving two underlying language abilities that would correspond to an "openness" versus "closedness" opposition.

Another area which, although it is used in test specifications (for example, Weir's "Test in English for Educational Purposes" and the Royal Society of Arts' "Examination in the Communicative Use of English as a Foreign Language"), still needs to be

convincingly demonstrated is the extent to which enabling skills actually relate to language performance. More specifically, it is perhaps through construct validation studies that the "... contribution made to any particular event by any one skill, or even set of skills ..." (Alderson 1981:49) may be established.

Multitrait-multimethod convergent-discriminant (MT-MM C-D) construct validation is a rather complex procedure that attempts to separate method from trait (construct) and thereby assess the extent to which a test is actually measuring what it is intended to. Convergent validity, as its name implies, assesses how well test scores agree, whereas discriminant validity examines the extent to which they differ. In other words, if a test's scores agree with scores from other tests purportedly measuring much the same things it is said to have high convergent validity, and if the scores are markedly distinguishable they have high discriminant validity. In addition to this, however, there is, built into the MT-MM C-D procedure, an awareness of the effect that method can have on test scores - in consequence, a matrix is set up with each method used being applied to a number of traits. Clearly, though, this assumes that it is possible to define what precisely the trait is that is being measured. As Low (1985:158) points out, "... numbers do not, of themselves, provide conceptual labels ..." and concludes that "... there is a subjective, interpretive element at the heart of construct validation." Ultimately, then, this method of construct validation relies on unequivocal and unambiguous delimitations of traits both theo-

retically and practically, which would seem in essence to be a return to a more atomistic view of language and method of testing, and thus to run counter to the language-in-use imperative of communicative language teaching and testing.

While this approach to construct validation represents a long overdue attempt to isolate and assess the real nature of what is supposedly being tested, there are at least three major areas (Low 1985) in which clarification is necessary. Firstly, the MT-MM C-D matrix gives rise to interpretations essentially based on correlations which are susceptible to both the reliability of the test scores and the nature of the relationship between what is claimed to be the same method used in two tests. Secondly, interpretations based on the matrix are related to the number of different skills and methods dealt with. Paradoxically, the amount of information gained when only two of each are used is limited, but increasing the number of traits and methods would compromise the criteria used in establishing the independence of those traits and methods. The third area follows directly on the above - the transference of a specified method used to assess one trait to tests designed to measure other traits is highly problematic, and would inevitably result in distortion.

It is clear that establishing the construct validity of communicative language tests remains an acute problem. At the heart of the problem is the dependence of testers on an adequately defined theory of the nature of language - until this is achieved, con-

struct validation studies should perhaps be viewed primarily as assisting with the establishment of such a coherent theory rather than as validating tests.

FACE VALIDITY

Face validity refers to what a test looks like, and to what, superficially, appears to be measured. For example, question 1 below appears to be more valid than question 2. The danger of face validity in this regard is that this assumption might override or preclude a detailed investigation which might establish whether in fact it is more valid.

Question 1

You and a friend have decided that you want to live in your own accomodation for the final period of your stay in England. You have found a four-bedroomed house which is both comfortable and convenient, but you can't afford the rent at over 200 per month. You decided to advertise in the local paper for 2 other people to share the house (and the bills) with you. The type of ad. you can afford limits you to a maximum of 30 words, one word per space on a standard form. The ad. must include your name and tel. no. ..... Make sure you include all the relevant information. If you want you can do a 'practice' or 'trial' advert on the spare paper below. Only the advert on the form will be marked. (In Yeld 1985 Appendix B11:81)

Question 2

The following sentence is to be rephrased according to the directions that follow it. You should make only those changes that the directions require. Keep the meaning of the revised sentence as close to the meaning of the original sentence as the directions for that sentence permit. When you have thought out a good rephrasing of the original sentence, find in choices (A) through (E) the word or phrase that you have included in your revised sentence, and blacken the corresponding space on your answer sheet.

> "Two things that fill my mind with ever new and increasing wonder and awe - starry skies above me and the moral law within me."
>
> Begin with The starry skies
>
> (A) the mind, with
>
> (B) , and awe
>
> (C) is two of
>
> (D) which fill
>
> (E) , are two
>
> (in Shostak 1984:191)

There is, as Palmer and Bachman (1981) point out, no statistical measure of face validity nor standard procedure for demonstrating whether a test is or is not valid in this respect. For this reason, it has a "seductive appeal" (Stevenson 1985:112) for those who have not been trained in the use of techniques of

statistical analysis and therefore lack confidence in this regard, or, more seriously, are suspicious of what they perceive as the "number-crunching" nature of more technical validities. The high regard which many "metrically-naive" testers (op cit) have for face validity is a cause for concern for many applied linguists, however, especially when face validity is used as a basis for making inferences. It is felt that there is a danger that certain misconceptions will become so firmly entrenched that they will override the "... entire conceptual network of reliability and validity, and their interrelationships ..." (Stevenson 1985:118). Some of these misconceptions are as follows:

* to be valid, tests must appear to be valid[1]
* tests that mirror as closely as possible a criterion situation <u>are</u> that situation. This raises the possibility that scores will no longer be regarded as the basis for inferences from a simulated, sample situation to the criterion situation, but might be treated as actual instances of that situation.
* validation studies are transferable across tests, regardless of populations, conditions, scoring procedures and so forth, simply because two tests appear to be testing the same thing.

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[1] Analogies here outside testing are not hard to find: witness the popular beliefs that in order to be good, an item must be costly, or for a medicine to be beneficial it must taste unpleasant.

Despite these negative aspects, face validity can be harnessed by communicative language testing for its washback effect, and as such it could be a "... major and creative influence for change and development in language teaching" (Davies 1985:7). If, as is so often the case, the test at the end of a period of learning is not perceived as reflecting the teaching that has taken place, it is likely that the teaching will suffer. As Davies points out, "... what the student's gaze (and the public's) is fixed on is the test, no matter how unreconstructed that may be" (op cit:4). The contribution that face validity can make here is obvious - there is little doubt that a test that appears appropriate will be likely to be taken more seriously by candidates - thereby having a positive effect on both predictive and concurrent validity as an added bonus. In this way it is possible for face validity to affect the quality of testing. The danger here is equally obvious, however: face validity should not be allowed to take the place of the more technical validities.

Alderson (1981:125) suggests that face validity forms the basis of the "... major argument advanced for specific tests." Essentially, the argument in this respect revolves around the question of the fairness or validity of giving all students (regardless of background, future purpose, etcetera) the same test, and the inevitable arbitrariness of the level of specificity chosen for a test. At one extreme, the argument for specificity would result in one test for one individual at one point in time for one purpose: this is clearly an untenable position, as such a test could be neither demonstrably reliable nor valid. Furthermore,

such tests would suffer from serious limitations in terms of the generalizability of interpretations or explanations that could be made from them. At the other extreme, there would be one test for all individuals at any time for any purpose, which, besides also being neither reliable nor valid, would make farcical any attempts to draw up language specifications. Weir (1985) suggests that the specificity controversy is a traditional English for Specific Purposes dilemma, and that the solution lies not in the issue of face validity, but in detailed investigations into the degree of difference of the language needs of various groups of students.

Clearly however, face validity does have an important role to play in influencing (but not determining) the appearance of a test. Furthermore, the appeal of this influence to the "metrically-naive" should be capitalized on, and not condemned.

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According to Morrow (1979), since "absolute" validity does not exist in testing, only in terms of specified criteria, it is completely dependent on the authenticity of the criteria. It has been a recurrent theme in this paper that the act of specifying criteria, if taken to its logical extreme, could result in a return to a more atomistic view of the nature of language than that found acceptable by the communicative approach to language teaching and testing. Furthermore, the making of judgements on

the merits of criteria (such as those specified in tests like the Associated Examining Board's "Test in English for Educational Purposes" and the Royal Society of Arts' "Examinations in the Communicative Use of English as a Foreign Language") has proved more problematic than, for example, the developing of new and more "communicative" item-types.

Perhaps a way of beginning to solve the validity problem of communicative language tests is to ascertain what data need to be collected in order to provide a starting-point for analysis. Alderson (1985a) suggests that at least the following data should be obtained:

i) responses to test items, including the scores <u>questions</u> make as well as the scores <u>students</u> achieve (Pollit 1985)

ii) performance on criteria external to the test, which must be at least partially believable, in terms of the following:

- a theory of what communication is, in order to provide a model for comparison
- an explicitly stated relationship to the "real world" - in other words, what can the testees <u>do</u> out there?
- educational criteria. These include, for example, the test's purpose or purposes, and any beneficial influences, such as the washback effect and whether the candidates find the test/s motivating, useful and so forth.

iii) the influence of practical constraints

iv) the measurement criteria used. Obviously, tests need to be reliable within certain bounds - results should not vary greatly by examiner, task sample, administrative procedures, etcetera, although some variation, particularly with subjective assessments, is inevitable.

Collecting the above data should not prove to be impossible, and should, as has been suggested, provide testers with a trustworthy foundation for analysis. Until such time as an acceptable method is found of establishing the validity of communicative language tests, not only will a question mark be raised over the tests, but also over the feasibility in both practical and theoretical terms of teaching language communicatively. For, as Potts has pointed out, if it is believed that

> ... a thorough-going monitoring and evaluating process is impracticable, that would be tantamount to a claim that a communicative curriculum is not feasible, since the possibility of monitoring what is going on is a *sine qua non* for any curriculum, and *a fortiori* for a communicative one (1985:23).

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