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INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE OF INUIT AND NON-INUIT TEACHERS OF NUNAVIK

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ABSTRACT

This study combines qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches in a microanalytic examination of discourse features found in the instructional interactions of six Inuit first language, two Inuit second language, and six non-Inuit second language teachers of Inuit children in northern Quebec. In particular, the study analyzes the discourse features that contribute to the formulation of differing forms of communicative competence required for successful performance in the classrooms of Inuit versus non-Inuit teachers as well as the potential effects of these differences on the classroom participation of Inuit students. The quantitative results are integrated with findings taken from participant observation and ethnographic interviews conducted with all teacher participants. The study attempts to separate those effects that might be due to second language pedagogy from those likely to be the result of underlying cultural differences. Variation in discourse organization due to teaching experience is also examined. The study is situated within a dialogical framework of discourse organization whereby participants socially construct meanings and interpretations of talk through communicative interaction. Results of the study have implications for theories of syncretism and adapted pedagogy in minority educational contexts, demonstrating how instructional interactions can be influenced by and adapted toward the learner, resulting in teaching practices that reflect an amalgamation of cultures.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude utilise une combinaison d'approches méthodologiques qualitative et quantitative dans l'examen microanalytique des caractéristiques de discours documentées dans les interactions d'enseignement de six professeurs Inuit enseignant en langage maternelle, deux professeurs Inuit enseignant en langage seconde, et six professeurs non-Inuit enseignant en langage seconde, tous étant professeurs d'enfants Inuit dans le nord du Québec. L'étude analyse spécifiquement les caractéristiques du discours de classe qui contribuent à la formulation de différentes formes de compétence communicative nécessaire pour bien performer dans les salles de classe avec professeurs Inuit versus non-Inuit, ainsi que les effets possibles de ces différences sur la participation en classe des élèves Inuit. Aux résultats quantitatifs s'ajoutent des résultats obtenus par l'observation de participants et des entrevues ethnographiques avec tous les professeurs qui ont participé à l'étude. Un des buts de cette étude est de différencier les variations dans l'organisation du discours qui pourraient être dus à la pédagogie dans une langue seconde de ceux qui résultent de différences culturelles sous-jacentes. Les résultats de cette étude appuient la notion de cadres de discours dialogiques dont les participants dans une interaction développent un sens et interprètent les conversations à un niveau social, se servant du contexte associé à la communication. Cette étude a aussi des implications pour les théories sur le syncrétisme et la pédagogie adaptée à des contextes éducatifs minoritaires, démontrant comment les interactions d'enseignement peuvent être influencées par et adaptées à l'étudiant, menant à des pratiques d'enseignements qui reflètent une fusion de cultures.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In January of 1990 I made my first visit to one of the Inuit community schools described in this research. At the entry to this particular school, there are glass cases containing numerous beautiful Inuit carvings of various styles and sizes made by community members. When I exclaimed my appreciation for these remarkable carvings to my Inuk companion, a pedagogical counsellor for Inuktitut language in the school, she replied, "Yes they are very beautiful, but they don't make the school more Inuit". Given the nature of the study I was about to carry out, I was particularly struck by her remark. While it was not the intent of that study to try to understand such perceptions of schooling in Nunavik, her comment remained with me throughout the process of my previous research (Eriks-Brophy, 1992) and continued to influence the formulation of the central research questions that characterize the present study.

Situating the Study Within Definitions of 'Minority' versus 'Majority' Culture

The comment made by the Inuk[1] pedagogical counsellor raises a number of questions about how a local community school within an Inuit community comprised of an overwhelmingly Inuit population might not represent Inuit cultural values. Implicit in her comment is the question of which cultural group assumes the minority versus the majority position within Inuit communities in general and within Inuit community schools in particular.

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[1] 'Inuit' is the term used by the Aboriginal peoples of the region of Arctic Quebec known as Nunavik to refer to themselves. It becomes 'Inuk' in the singular.

This issue is of central importance to the present research.

Traditional definitions of majority versus minority culture are typically determined by simple demographic statistics. According to such definitions, the culture described as the 'majority' culture is that which is representative of the largest percentage of the population as a whole, while the 'minority' culture is that which represents a smaller number of members within that society (See Darder, 1991; Giroux, 1981; McLaren, 1989; and Sleeter and Grant, 1994 for discussion). According to such divisions, culture is defined as a neutral category that embodies the knowledge, beliefs, morals, customs, capacities, and habits acquired by members of a particular group (Darder, 1991).

Such neutral definitions of culture as well as the attribution of majority and minority status through demographics alone ignores the importance of power relations both in definitions of culture as well as in the determination of minority versus majority cultural status. More current visions of the definition of 'majority' and 'minority' group relations are based on the notion that culture cannot exist in a vacuum, but rather represents a social system characterised by tension and stratification (Darder, 1991). According to such dynamic definitions, the majority culture represents the dominant group in society, a group that claims ownership and control over power and determines what constitutes 'truth' in society (Darder, 1991; Foucault, 1977; Giroux, 1981). In contrast, the minority cultural group is typically distinguished from the majority through physical, racial, or cultural traits that are often disapproved of by the dominant group, relegating the minority group to a position of relative powerlessness within the society as a whole. Thus the term 'minority culture' often also contains connotations of subordination, discrimination, and oppression (Cushner, McClelland, & Safford, 1992; Darder, 1991; Foucault, 1977; Giroux, 1981; McLaren, 1989).

Both the traditional and dynamic definitions of majority and minority groups become

problematic in the context of the Inuit territory of Northern Quebec known as Nunavik. Within

Nunavik, the Inuit culture represents the 'majority' in terms of the overall percentage of the

population, while individuals of other cultural groups embody only a very small minority.

Nevertheless, within the provincial and national context, the Inuit are one among a number of

other Aboriginal cultural groups that hold minority cultural status within Quebec and Canada.

Furthermore, in the schools of Nunavik, positions of power and authority are still frequently

held by non-Inuit members of the dominant Canadian society. In this way the values, beliefs,

communication patterns and desired pedagogical practices promoted within the walls of the

school are often more representative of non-Inuit society than those of the culture that exists

and thrives outside of those walls. In this sense, Inuit teachers and children often find

themselves in the uncomfortable position of being members of a local majority in a context

where the primary policies, routines, and practices are dictated by a more powerful minority

and are not necessarily representative of Inuit cultural practices. It is this situation that

constitutes the fuller context of the remark made to me by the Inuk pedagogical counsellor.

In order to avoid any confusion that might be generated by these potentially conflicting

definitions of majority versus minority culture, in the present study the term 'majority culture'

will be used to refer to the values, beliefs, interaction patterns, expectations, and orientations

of Anglophone Canadians, a cultural group which might be described as dominant within

Canadian society. While recognizing the majority status of Inuit within Nunavik, the term

'minority culture' will nevertheless be used to describe the attitudes, values, beliefs, norms of

communicative behaviour and social roles of the Inuit cultural community.

Antecedents and Goals of This Research

My previous research (Eriks-Brophy, 1992) documented the discourse structure of instructional interactions in Inuit first language teachers' classrooms, describing how these teachers organized classroom talk in ways that differed substantially from those reported in the literature for mainstream teachers. That study described the various interactional features related to the development of communicative competence required in order for Inuit students to participate successfully in interactions with their Inuit teachers. This form of competence was shown to contrast markedly with that described in the literature as essential for successful participation in mainstream classrooms. The organization of teaching in Inuit teachers' classrooms was found to have been strongly influenced by their cultural values and discourse patterns, resulting in the transformation of educational practices within these classrooms toward forms of interaction reminiscent of those traditionally found elsewhere in Inuit society. Thus the findings of my previous research did not help to clarify the reaction of the Inuk pedagogical counsellor described earlier. Indeed the results of the study might even be interpreted as contradictory to her perceptions.

The present study, which builds on my previous research, goes farther in explaining the Inuk pedagogical counsellor's reaction toward her local community school. It involves the same communities and in many cases the same students as those who participated in the earlier research while also including a number of additional classrooms. The study combines both quantitative and qualitative research approaches in order to compare and contrast the discourse and interaction patterns used to organize instruction in second language classrooms of teachers teaching Inuit children in Nunavik schools at the grade three level.

Specifically, the goals of the present study were to determine whether the instructional discourse and interaction patterns used by non-Inuit second language teachers differed from those documented for Inuit first language teachers, and if so, in what ways and with what effects. The study examined the particular discourse features that contributed to the formulation of the forms of competence required for successful participation in instructional interactions with non-Inuit teachers, as well as the effects of differences between the new and the previously acquired forms of competence on the classroom participation of Inuit students. Throughout the study, an attempt was made to separate those effects that might be due to second language teaching from those likely to be the result of underlying cultural differences by including two Inuit second language teachers. These two Inuit teachers represented the only Inuit second language teachers in the Kativik School Board at the time of the research. The findings regarding specific discourse features are compared to those reported in the literature for mainstream teachers, and particularly those reported by Mehan in his classic 1979 study entitled Learning Lessons as well as the results of Inuit first language teachers from my previous research (Eriks-Brophy, 1992).

The inclusion of data from these studies provides specific points of comparison for both Inuit and non-Inuit first language teachers in order to sort out differences in discourse and interaction across groups that might be due to cultural variables versus those that might be due to the influence of second language pedagogical practices. Individual differences related to findings in classrooms of particular teachers are also reported. This microanalysis of discourse in these classrooms is integrated with findings taken from ethnographic interviews conducted with all teacher participants as well as classroom observations. The study is situated in a dialogical framework of discourse organization whereby participants socially construct meanings and interpretations of talk through communicative interaction

within particular contexts. Principal issues addressed in this thesis thus revolve around the examination of the roles of language, culture and teaching experience in the organization of educational interactions with Inuit children, and addresses issues of how socio-culturally patterned language differences may impact on language learning processes.

The Organization of the Thesis

In order to accomplish these goals, the presentation of research related to these issues will be organized within the thesis in the following manner. In the next three chapters, the study of instructional discourse in Inuit community schools will be situated within three bodies of literature, namely monological versus dialogical theories of communicative interaction, the description of the organization of discourse in first and second language classrooms, and current issues in minority and particularly in Aboriginal education. Chapter 2 will present monological versus dialogical perspectives on discourse and their implications for the interpretation of communication and interaction. This description provides the theoretical framework within which the results of the study will be interpreted. In Chapter 3 the discourse organization of mainstream classrooms and second language classrooms will be presented. This chapter situates the study within the forms of instructional discourse typical of first and second language classrooms. Cultural variations in discourse organization in minority classrooms with particular emphasis on the classrooms of Aboriginal students will be described in the fourth chapter. This chapter allows results from this study to be compared to findings regarding the organization of discourse in classrooms with other students representing other minority groups. The social context particular to education in Inuit communities of Nunavik is described in Chapter 5. This chapter provides the socio-cultural

and historical background for the findings reported in later chapters. This is followed by a description of the combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies utilised in the present study which are framed within instructional discourse analysis and educational ethnography. The next three chapters contain the results of the analysis of discourse and interaction integrated with the interview and observational components of the research and organized according to three major themes found in the data. In the final chapter, the practical and theoretical implications of these findings are discussed and elaborated, leading toward more comprehensive explanations for cultural misunderstandings as well as the evolution of syncretic teaching practices and the development of culturally responsive pedagogy. Finally, future directions for research in educational settings based on the dialogical framework described in the thesis are presented.

Chapter 2

DISCOURSE AS TALK AND INTERACTION

Traditionally, linguistic theory has emphasized the development of a model of language and language structure through the examination of discrete linguistic units in isolated utterances (Hatch, 1992; Holquist, 1990; Lantolf, 1993). While this emphasis has given enormous insights into individual linguistic systems, it does little to explain how the meaning and structure of an utterance is related to those which precede or follow it in a speech event (Bloom, 1993; Brown & Yule, 1983; Edwards, 1989; Ehlich, 1993; Hatch, 1992; Lantolf, 1993). The examination of discourse provides a larger framework through which the relations and interdependencies of utterances in continuous stretches of language may be examined. Within this framework, discourse is defined as situated, connected verbal activity (Brown & Yule, 1983; Hatch, 1992; Linell, 1995). Such a focus on discourse ties language structure to communication and context, permitting consideration of both linguistic and extra-linguistic variables as important factors influencing communication (Berko-Gleason, 1993; Bloom, 1993; Linell, 1995; McCarthy, 1991; Spinelli & Ripich, 1985; van Dijk, 1985a, 1985b).

In this thesis, a dialogical framework will be applied to the examination of instructional discourse, illustrating how differing social and cultural contexts give rise to variation in discourse organization. Some background information regarding monological versus dialogical perspectives on communication and interaction will be necessary in order to illustrate the implications of this perspective for communication within the educational setting. This chapter will present two perspectives on discourse and discourse analysis, referred to as monologism and dialogism. From a monological perspective, language, discourse, knowledge

and meaning are interpreted as individualistic products of human intention. Viewed from this perspective, communication is a form of information processing that takes place in the minds of participants in an interaction, and discourse is reducible to sequences of individual verbal contributions (See Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Lantolf, 1993; Linell, 1995; Volosinov, 1973 for discussion). Dialogism, on the other hand, views these processes as fundamentally social, interactional, and highly contextualized in nature. Discourse is seen as a social practice embedded within a context in which participants jointly and collaboratively construct meaning and interaction. Viewed from this perspective, the individual contributions of participants in communicative exchanges can only be understood in terms of their relation to other utterances in the dialogue (See Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Lantolf, 1993; Linell, 1995; Shotter, 1993; Volosinov, 1973 for discussion).

In the first sections of this chapter, monological and dialogical perspectives on language and communication will be compared and contrasted. The concepts of competence and miscommunication viewed from within a monological and a dialogical framework will be described. Social constructionism, heteroglossia, discourse genres, syncretism, and the concept of context will then be related to the dialogical perspective of discourse. Finally, the importance of discourse analysis and the implications of monological versus dialogical perspectives for the examination of discourse will be briefly outlined.

Monologism

Language as a Code

Monologism, the predominant theoretical perspective in linguistics and language studies, is based on a perspective of language as a "stable, normative, closed system of

linguistic signs which operates according to its own self-contained laws, irrespective of

individual consciousness or creativity" (Morris, 1994, p. 25). This perspective of language as

an internalized symbol system is equivalent to what Linell (1995) calls a "code model" of

language, where:

> [a]ll essential parts of the whole language system are assumed to be internalized by the individual speakers, thus constituting their 'linguistic competence'. Language provides the individual speaker with the words and constructions, and as a consequence, he or she can deploy these linguistic units and rules in cognition and communication. Language, conceptualized as structure (rather than practice) necessarily comes "before" linguistic practices. Indeed, communication is seen as the "use of language", the logic is that the code, that which is used, must exist before it can be used (p. 25).

Thus according to this perspective language is viewed as a system of linguistic rules used to

organize and construct lexical units in the communicative process.

Communication as Passive Decoding

Within monological theories, primary focus is given to language structure, with little

emphasis on the interactive use of language in context. Communication is considered to be

made up of a series of independent contributions by individual speakers, while understanding

is reducible to the act of decoding a series of individual communicative intentions. Within this

framework, interlocutors function essentially as information processors. This is to say that

speakers and listeners are individual agents who have different and separate roles in the

expressing and the recovering of communicative intentions as described in traditional 'sender-

receiver' models of communication. Utterances are not open to active responses on the part

of the listener but are instead understood passively in the form of self-contained meanings

representing "[a] normative ideal of totally shared understanding resulting from identical

semantic representations" (Linell, 1995, p. 213). According to this theory, then, discourse is

essentially composed of consecutive monologues by individual speakers divorced from their

cultural and social contexts, an idea that is now disputed (See Bakhtin, 1981; Goodwin &

Duranti, 1992; Lantolf, 1993; Linell, 1995; Morris, 1994; Morson, 1981; Volosinov, 1973 for

discussion).

Competence from a Monological Perspective

Competence, a term first defined by Chomsky (1957), refers to the language users'

intuitive inner knowledge of the abstract system of rules and the organizational features of

language, otherwise known as 'grammar'. According to Chomsky's definition, this linguistic

knowledge cannot be determined directly, and can only be deduced from linguistic

performance, the actual usage of language as demonstrated by participants in communicative

interactions (Chomsky, 1957; Owens, 1996; McCormick, 1990). Hymes (1957), criticized

Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence as insufficient since it did not represent the ways in

which language is actually used by speakers in society. Hymes proposed that in addition to

linguistic competence, appropriate language use involved knowledge of the social rules of

language, a form of competence he called 'communicative competence'. As Hymes (1972)

points out,

> We have to account for the fact that a normal child acquires knowledge of
> sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she
> acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk
> about with whom, where, and in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to
> accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events, and to
> evaluate their accomplishment by others (p. 277).

From a monological perspective, both linguistic and communicative competence are

viewed as interdependent skills representing the state of internalized knowledge of language

rules acquired and used by a speaker (See Linell, 1995; Mehan, Hertweck, & Meihls ,1986;

Owens, 1996 for discussion). Thus, while recognizing the importance of social factors in communication, competence in monological perspective presents linguistic knowledge as a form of individualized attribute, the personal possession of a language user.

Monological Perspectives on Miscommunication and Misunderstanding

According to the monological framework described above, communication is essentially composed of independent discourse contributions by individual participants in a dialogue. Within this discourse model, miscommunication and misunderstandings are viewed as problems that stem from the acts or characteristics of one of these participants (See Coupland, Wiemann & Giles, 1991; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Mehan et al., 1986 for discussion). These problems are attributable to performance errors by individuals and are essentially reducible to difficulties in information processing (Linell, 1995). Communicative difficulties from the monological or 'personological' (Mehan et al., 1986) perspective are seen as residing in individuals and can essentially be reduced to a lack of linguistic and/or communicative competence on the part of a participant in an interaction. This lack of competence is viewed as the result of short or long-term constraints on an individual's internalized language system (For discussion see Linell, 1995; Mehan et al., 1986; Owens, 1996; Morris, 1990). The monological tendency is to represent such sequences of discourse as examples of 'things going wrong' in communication which can be seen in the evaluative nature of the metaphors typically used to describe this phenomenon, including 'communication breakdown', 'communication failure', 'inadequate communication', 'problematic talk', as well as the terms 'miscommunication' and 'misunderstanding' themselves (Coupland, Wiemann & Giles, 1991).

Dialogism

Language as Social Interaction

In contrast, dialogism, as proposed by Bakhtin (1981), Linell (1995), Volosinov[1] (1973), Shotter (1992), Morson (1981), Lantolf (1993) and others views language and discourse as active, reciprocal and collaborative verbal activities that emerge as a result of the interaction between speakers and contexts. From this perspective,

> [t]he language used in communication is of a social-interactional origin, both in its historical genesis and in the child's socialization; furthermore, it is socially traded down, distributed, negotiated, and recreated in interaction...A dialogue is a *joint* construction; it is something which participants (to varying degrees) posses, experience, and do together (Linell, 1995, p. 55, emphasis in original).

According to this perspective, language is no longer the personal possession of the speaker, but instead originates through the co-construction of meaning among participants as they engage in social interaction. Thus, in particular contexts, language itself and the discourses that emerge through language use are viewed as fundamentally social and interactional processes.

Communication as Dialogical

Individual discourse contributions in this framework are 'dialogical' (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Volosinov, 1973) in the sense that they are both responsive to prior contexts as well as contributing to new contexts. Linell (1995, p. 196) refers to this same concept in terms of the simultaneously 'responsive' and 'initiative' nature of discourse, where each discourse

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[1]Some authors consider Bahktin and Volosinov to be the same person (see for example Cazden (1992), Morson (1981), and Morris (1990) for discussion).

contribution has a "retroactive link to prior contributions and a proactive link to the range of possibly following contributions". Communicative interaction is shaped by this dialogical relationship between utterances resulting in what Morson (1981, p. 3) calls a "two sided act". Thus each utterance or turn by an interlocutor is dependent on those turns or utterances that preceded it, resulting in sequentially and hierarchically organized discourse. Sequential organization in discourse refers to the temporal aspect of discourse structures as they flow from beginning to end. Hierarchical organization refers to the various discourse components that combine to form an interaction (Mehan, 1979). Discourse is thus a form of locally produced communicative interaction where utterances derive at least part of their meaning from their position in the communicative chain and therefore cannot be understood in isolation and without reference to their position in a discourse sequence (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Linell, 1995; Lantolf, 1993).

According to Bakhtin (1981; 1986), discourses are events in which new meanings are produced through the constantly changing interrelationships between speakers. Within the communicative process, interlocutors guide and mutually influence each others' contributions to the ongoing discourse. Conversational discourse is frequently characterized by a symmetrical participation among interlocutors in the "reciprocal and mutual...shaping of the discourse" (Linell, 1995, p. 47). Thus discourse topics are jointly constructed and collaboratively managed among participants in an interaction as they engage in the negotiation and co-construction of verbal interaction through the processes of "responsive understanding" (Volosinov, 1973) and the "open orientation to the listener" (Bakhtin, 1981) whereby:

> [t]he listener and his response are regularly taken into account when it comes to everyday dialogue and rhetoric, but every other sort of discourse as well is oriented toward an understanding that is "responsive"- although this orientation is not

particularized as an independent act and is not compositionally marked (p. 280).

In this sense, understanding an utterance involves the active interpretation and treatment of prior utterances in the sequence. Dialogue therefore consists of interlocutors displaying and demonstrating their understandings and interpretations of the ongoing discourse through their utterances (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Linell, 1995; Lantolf, 1993; Morson, 1981). Discourse, in this perspective, "involves a complex back-and-forth process of negotiation both between speaker and hearer, and between what has already been said and what is currently being said" (Shotter, 1993, p. 27). Thus discourse is both locally produced and socially constructed among participants through communicative interaction in a particular context.

Discourse as Socially Constructed

The social constructionist perspective focuses on how members of a particular discourse community create and influence the communicative events in which they participate. Thus social constructionism interprets social worlds, social processes and social problems within a framework where participants mutually co-construct shared meanings of an event or an interaction (Linell, 1995; Miller & Holstein, 1993a, 1993b; Shotter, 1993). Within this framework, discourse is viewed as "a product of social interaction, a collective achievement" (Linell, 1995, p. 164).

Fundamental to the social constructionist framework is what Shotter (1993) calls the "dialectical emphasis upon *both* the contingency *and* the creativity of human interaction" as a result of which "...not only do we constitute (make) and reconstitute (remake) our social worlds, but we are also ourselves made and remade by them in the process" (p. 13, emphasis in original). Thus discourse contributions are seen as shared linguistic and cultural connections and understandings simultaneously constructed through and shaped by

communicative interactions. Emphasis is placed on the ways in which interactants construct

and assign meaning and intention through discourse and social interaction within a given

context.

Discourse, Context and Power

Within dialogic theory, sequential discourse contributions constantly shape and are

shaped by features of context. According to Goodwin and Duranti (1992):

> [i]nstead of viewing context as a set of variables that statically surround strips of talk,
> context and talk are now argued to stand in a mutually reflexive relationship to each
> other, with talk, and the interpretive work it generates, shaping context as much as
> context shapes talk (p. 31).

This interpretation of context goes beyond concrete situational aspects and takes into account

cultural settings, speech situations, knowledge of language, communicative routines and

organization, and the background knowledge and assumptions of interlocutors (Brown & Yule,

1983; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Gumperz, 1992; Linell, 1995).

Within the dialogical perspective, context provides the underlying organization for the

understanding of communicative interaction. Any given piece of discourse must therefore be

viewed as being embedded within a matrix of different contexts (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984;

Gumperz, 1992; Linell, 1995). These contexts are used by interlocutors as shared resources

in the communicative process, providing a 'frame' for the appropriate interpretation of the

interaction (Goffman, 1974; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Linell, 1995). Thus communication in

context can be seen as a "process of inference" (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992, p.27) whereby

interactants continually infer and negotiate appropriate interpretations of communicative

interactions. Such negotiation and inference is necessary since discourse contexts are only

rarely completely shared by interlocutors in any given communicative interaction (Bakhtin,

1981; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Linell, 1995; Shotter, 1992).

The concept of context within the dialogical perspective of discourse can nevertheless not be interpreted as a neutral sphere within communicative exchanges, since all discourse contexts are influenced by inherent power structures and socio-historical forces that exist throughout society (Bakhtin, 1981; Cazden, 1988; Darder, 1991; Foucault, 1977, 1981; Lindstrom, 1992; McLaren, 1989; Mehan et al., 1986). Communicative practices interact with certain non-discursive socio-historical, economic, and cultural conditions that form the 'macro-context' (Mehan et al., 1986) for all communicative interaction. These macro-contexts serve to constrain and delimit the socially negotiated properties of discourse while protecting, promoting, and maintaining the established relations of power in society.

According to Foucault's (1972, 1979, 1981) analysis, power relations are always present in and are inextricable from discourse. Discourses are formed through rules known as 'discursive practices', that are defined as:

> a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function (Foucault, 1972, p. 117).

Within certain contexts, discursive practices function to exert power and constraint on discourse and discourse structure. These practices establish certain discourses, those produced by the culture of power, as dominant within society. Dominant discourses work to establish truth conditions or 'regimes of truth' that essentially control "the way in which knowledge is put to work, valorised, distributed, and attributed, in society" (Foucault, 1981, p. 55). Regimes of truth depend on social and political support for their transmission and diffusion and are reinforced and renewed by institutional processes and practices that essentially determine which statements become true and which become false within an

interaction. Discursive practices also impose limits to the qualifications, rights, and

opportunities of participants' individual speaking roles, determining who in a discourse might

speak with authority and who must be silent. Finally, discursive practices serve to restrict

access to the dominant discourse for certain participants, thus justifying and perpetuating the

status quo. Discursive practices, then, link discourse to power relations, demonstrating how

"the forms of discourse are both constituted by, and ensure the reproduction of the social

system through forms of selection, exclusion, and domination" (Young, 1981, p.48).

While the exercise of power is inherent within discourse, there is also the possibility of

using discourse as a form of resistance and opposition to the existing institutional power

relationships in society. Thus, according to Foucault (1979):

> [d]iscourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any
> more than silences are. We must make allowances for the complex and unstable
> processes whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but
> also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an
> opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also
> undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart (pp. 100-
> 101).

In this sense, discourse becomes symbolic of the rejection of domination, representing a form

of confrontation with and opposition against the existent power relations in society. From this

perspective, discourse becomes an enactment of struggle, a form of contestation with the

power to liberate and transform society.

Discourse Genres

Through their embeddedness in contexts and communicative activities and through

their association with particular communicative spheres, sequences of discourse can be

described as representing general discourse types also known as 'speech genres' (Bakhtin,

1981; 1986; Linell, 1995). Speech genres are forms of discourse that have developed into

socially routinized forms of interaction in terms of their content, style, and compositional

structure, thus simultaneously organizing discourse and imposing certain restrictions upon

individual speakers' participation within these communicative routines (Bakhtin, 1986).

Discourse genres can thus be interpreted as language practices that are the embodiment of

social knowledge and social action.   Examples of discourse genres encompass oral as well

as written forms, including such communicative interactions as greetings, partings, narrations,

conversations between family members and friends, literate and scientific discourses (Lantolf,

1993).

Discourse Genres as Shared Resources

Speech or discourse genres are associated with clearly defined social contexts, and

frequently involve characteristic social roles, participation frameworks and topical

organization. However, discourse genres do not function as templates in which participants

mechanically follow predetermined rules and patterns of interaction. Participation in discourse

genres, like all other forms of dialogic interaction, involves creative and responsive interaction

among interlocutors within a particular discourse context. Discourse genres are thus more

appropriately interpreted as a form of shared resource used by interlocutors involved in

particular communicative encounters, a form of social action (Bakhtin, 1986; Goodwin &

Duranti, 1992; Lantolf, 1993; Linell, 1995). According to Bakhtin (1986):

> [s]peech genres organize our speech in almost the same way as grammatical
> (syntactical) forms do. We learn to cast our speech in generic forms and, when
> hearing others' speech, we guess its genre from the very first words; we predict a
> certain length (that is approximate length of the speech whole) and a certain
> compositional structure; we foresee the end; that is from the very beginning we have a
> sense of the speech whole, which is only later differentiated during the speech
> process. If speech genres did not exist and we had not mastered them, if we had to
> originate them during the speech process and construct each utterance at will for the
> first time, speech communication would be almost impossible (p. 78).

Institutional Discourse as a Discourse Genre

A particular discourse genre of primary interest for the purposes of the present study is the genre known as institutional discourse. Institutional discourse is "characterized not only by specific purposes (problems to which they represent routinized solutions), by particular social and interactional roles for participants, by characteristic topics and special vocabularies (and other linguistic features), but they are co-constituted also by particular patterns of turn-taking, topic progression, and internal coherence, as well as by particular relevance criteria" (Linell, 1995, p. 154). Such discourse genres are also clearly influenced by the power relations that exist among participants (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Lantolf, 1993). Common examples of communicative interactions for which clear institutional discourse genres have been described include among others doctor-patient interactions, police interrogations, court trials, speech therapy sessions, and classroom lessons. A more specific description of the characteristic features of the institutional discourse structure known as instructional discourse will be presented in Chapter 3.

The Cultural Variation of Discourse Genres

As has already been discussed, there can be no single hermetic context for discourse. All forms of discourse are open to the influences of situation, culture, history and are subject to contextually-specific norms (Bakhtin, 1981; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Lantolf, 1993; Linell, 1995; Miller & Holstein, 1993a). Like all forms of discursive activity, discourse genres are influenced and shaped by the political, economic, linguistic and cultural conditions that form their macro-contexts. Thus as Bakhtin (1986) points out:

> [t]he wealth and diversity of speech genres are boundless because the various possibilities of human activity are inexhaustible, and because each sphere of activity contains an entire repertoire of speech genres that differentiate and grow as the particular sphere develops and becomes more complex (p. 60).

Communicative practices then, are influenced by the cultural values surrounding

communication and socialization that exist in a particular society, and are interpreted by some

researchers, among others Moerman (1988), Cazden (1988), Heath (1983), Ochs (1988),

Ochs and Schieffelin (1995), Stubbs (1983), Crago (1982) and Eriks-Brophy and Crago

(1993, 1994); Rogoff (1990) and Lantolf (1993) as strong expressions of culture. Indeed, as

stated in Lantolf (1993 p. 52) "all speech genres are, in fact, constrained by one's culture".

Communicative Competence in Dialogical Perspective

Within a dialogical perspective, becoming competent in the use of language is

fundamentally linked to social rather than to formal linguistic processes. Rather than viewing

competence as the internalization of the grammatical and semantic properties of language

that is reflected in linguistic performance, competence in dialogical terms involves the

internalization and transformation of social interaction into the command of a repertoire of

discourse genres. In order to be competent, one must demonstrate not only knowledge of the

rules of language but also the ability to apply these rules appropriately and strategically

across a variety of discourse contexts through maximising the situational and contextual

factors available within the interaction. Thus Bakhtin (1986) describes the concept of

competence (although the term itself is not used) in the following manner:

> Many people who have an excellent command of language often feel quite helpless in
> certain spheres of communication precisely because they do not have a practical
> command of the generic forms used in the given spheres. Frequently a person who
> has an excellent command of speech in some areas of cultural communication, who is
> able to read a scholarly paper or engage in a scholarly discussion, who speaks very
> well on social questions, is silent or very awkward in social conversation. Here it is not
> a matter of impoverished vocabulary or of style, taken abstractly: this is entirely a
> matter of the inability to command a repertoire of genres of social conversation (p. 80).

Competence according to this perspective also involves what Cazden (1992, p. 198) calls,

"intraindividual conflict among the voices internalized from a heteroglossic and stratified society". In other words, the concept of competence entails not only the internalization of socially organized ways and styles of speaking but also the selection from among these heteroglossic forms the discourse genre most appropriate to the processes of communication and expression within a specific discourse context.

Miscommunication in Dialogical Perspective

Like competence, miscommunication and misunderstanding viewed from a dialogical perspective are also fundamentally social and interactional rather than personological in nature (Linell, 1995; Mehan et al., 1986; Tannen, (1985). Thus, a dialogical perspective on miscommunication and misunderstanding recognizes the important role of social and institutional discourse practices that are enacted in all social encounters (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Linell, 1995; Mehan et al., 1986). These social processes are seen as being inherent to all communicative interactions and stem from the interplay between available contextual resources and the discourse contributions of individuals involved in dialogical communication (Coupland, Wiemann, & Giles, 1991; Linell, 1995; Shotter, 1992; Tannen, 1985). Thus when participants bring differing backgrounds, experiences, assumptions and expectations to the dialogue, the interaction might take a new and unpredictable form, giving rise to the potential for miscommunication and misunderstanding.

As described above, communication in dialogical perspective is an active, creative process whereby participants' contributions to a communicative interaction are responsively oriented and meaning is constructed and evaluated through this reciprocal relationship between the speaker and the listener (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Linell, 1995; Volosinov, 1973). An essential aspect of a dialogic description of the communicative process involves a listener

who is actively formulating a response to a speaker through imagining and reflecting an understanding of the speaker's intention (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Linell, 1994; Morris, 1994). In other words, interlocutors use their perception and assumptions regarding how other participants in the interaction will respond in order to frame their discourse contributions. Aspects of discourse context including socio-cultural variables, knowledge of speech genres, and the background experiences and assumptions of interlocutors act as resources in the shaping of communicative interaction. However, discourse contexts are not often completely shared by interlocutors, nor are they neutral environments for communication to take place (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Linell, 1995, Shotter, 1992). Thus, as Shotter (1992, p. 15) points out, "although we all may draw upon resources (to an extent) held in common, every voice, every way of speaking, embodies a different evaluative stance, a different way of being or position in the world, with differential access to such resources". These contextual resources that influence all communicative interaction can therefore either be enabling and facilitative of discourse or they can be constraining or even disabling to communication in any given situation (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Shotter, 1992).

Heteroglossia

All communicative situations have the potential to give rise to language variation as a result of cultural, historical, and contextual influences. These influences on the organization of discourse genre can result in the transformation and evolution of the genre into new forms, or it can result in conflict between various discourse genres within communicative events. This struggle between the "multiplicity of social voices and their links and interrelationships" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 263) against the unifying forces of language seeking to impose a single, unitary, and dominant voice on discourse and discourse genres is referred to in Bakhtin's

theory as heteroglossia. According to Bakhtin (1981), there always exists in language a struggle between what he calls 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' forces. Centripetal forces of language aim to centralize and unify meaning in order to provide the shared basis of knowledge necessary for social life. Working against these centralizing forces are oppositional or centrifugal forces that represent:

> the internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behaviours, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles or passing fashions, languages that serve the specific socio-political purposes of the day, even of the hour...this internal stratification present in every language at any given moment of its historical existence (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 262-263).

The concept of heteroglossia entails also the clash of antagonistic, oppositional social forces through discourse, reflecting the struggle between official and unofficial discourses [or, in Foucault's terms, the dominant and non-dominant discourses] in society and the implicit relationships of power between them. The unifying centripetal forces in discourse struggle to overcome the heteroglossic nature of all language in an attempt to maintain domination and control over officially recognized discourse genres against the pressures of alternative forms. Thus the centripetal forces of heteroglossia are used by the dominant social group to impose its ideological perspectives and vision of truth on all members of society in a similar manner to Foucault's context of dominant discourses described above. Alongside these unifying, dominant forces, the centrifugal forces present in language strive to decentralize and fragment ideological thought into multiple socio-linguistic points of view, thus resisting and opposing this ideological dominance. In this way,

> all languages of heteroglossia, whatever the principle underlying them and making each unique, are specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings, and values. As such they may be juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another and be interrelated dialogically. As such they encounter one another and co-exist in the consciousness of real people...these

languages have a real life, they struggle to evolve in an environment of social heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981 p. 291-292).

The forces present in heteroglossia govern the operation of meaning within social, cultural and historical contexts, and ensure that language always remains a dynamic, evolving, and transformable social force giving rise to the potential for new and distinctive forms of discourse (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Cazden, 1992; Linell, 1995; Shotter, 1993). Thus miscommunication in dialogical perspective might be viewed as an expression of the dynamic, creative tensions that exist in heteroglossia, the struggle between multiple voices or multiple competencies in the process of expression, between socio-cultural and situational contexts, or between dominant and non-dominant discourse genres. Miscommunication stemming from such unshared understandings might be seen as a "resource for carrying the dialogue further, in order to develop and elaborate individual and shared understandings" (Linell, 1995, p. 213). Rather than representing examples of failed communication, discourse-based misunderstandings might be viewed as a catalyst for the transformation of discourse genres and the emergence of syncretic forms of competence.

Syncretism

The notion of syncretism as proposed by Duranti and Ochs (1996) refers to the merging or blending of cultural traditions as a result of the contact between diverse cultural traditions. The concept is similar to Bakhtin's (1981, 1984) notion of hybridization, referring to the mixing of different linguistic consciousnesses in discourse as a result of the tensions present in heteroglossia. According to Duranti & Ochs (1996) when these different cultural systems come into contact, it rarely occurs that one system completely replaces the other. Instead, the blending of culturally diverse values, practices, beliefs, and institutions tends to

take place in such a way that the influences of the distinct traditions remain traceable to their socio-historical contexts and emerge in certain aspects of the practices and strategies used by participants in syncretic activities. By extension, the notion of syncretism implies that, rather than representing variation in cultural practices as divisive forces causing difficulty and struggle, such cultural variation might instead lead to syncretic action where differing cultural practices can merge within a single activity or a single context. Indeed, in the areas of language and communication, the development of syncretism might be seen as an expression or a product of the forces and tensions of heteroglossia present in all social interaction.

An important argument put forward by Duranti and Ochs (1996) in their elaboration of syncretism is that language may not always act as a clear indicator of culture. In other words, there may be a dissociation between language and culture in interaction such that use of a particular language may not always be tied to the cultural world view or the communicative conduct typically associated with that language. Thus, "multiculturalism may in fact pervade the use of what appears as a single code. In the Samoan American community, for example, one may use English in a distinctly Samoan manner or Samoan in a manner appropriate to mainstream American interactions" (Duranti & Ochs, 1996, p.1). In a similar manner, McAlpine, Eriks-Brophy, and Crago (1996) discuss the potential dissociation between language and culture in the creation of identity through their documentation of the teaching beliefs of three primary level teachers of Mohawk students.

Implications of Monological versus Dialogical Theories for Discourse Analysis

The formal analysis of talk and interaction through discourse analysis represents a search for the links and interdependencies between the social, cognitive and linguistic

systems that underlie the use of language in communication (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Ehlich, 1993; Hatch, 1992; McCarthy, 1991; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Stubbs, 1983). This search can be guided by either monological or dialogical theories of communication, each stemming from differing underlying assumptions and leading to differing implications for the understanding of how discourse is arranged and constructed by participants involved in communicative interaction.

Monologism, the dominant approach used in linguistics and the language sciences, views discourse as secondary to theories of language structure and individual linguistic competence (See Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Linell, 1995; Volosinov, 1973 for discussion). This analytic paradigm typically focuses on utterances in isolation, based often on invented rather than actual examples (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Hatch, 1992; Linell, 1995; McCarthy, 1991). On the other hand, in a dialogical approach to discourse, the focus of analysis shifts from the sentence in isolation to the communicative interaction itself, utilizing the natural talk of everyday situations in order to reveal the competencies and practices that speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible socially organized interaction. From this perspective, utterances are viewed as indicators of social practice that must be examined in association within their sequential and hierarchical organization and in terms of contextual factors. Such a description permits the shared assumptions and interpretations of participants in a conversational exchange to be reconstructed (Bloom, 1993; Brown & Yule, 1983; McCarthy, 1991; van Dijk, 1985a, 1985b). As Moerman (1988:xi) points out, examining talk within its social context "has some promise of precisely locating and describing how the world of talk works, how the experienced moments of social life are constructed, how the ongoing operation of the social order is organized".

As Linell (1995, p. 198) points out, dialogical approaches to discourse analysis are

more "a matter of theory (a theoretical framework, a general epistemology) than a set of

specific empirical methods". Thus, while emphasis on the analysis of utterances within their

contexts and the sequences in which they occur are two cornerstone assumptions of

dialogical theory, there is no single methodological approach to the analysis of discourse

based on dialogical perspectives. The dialogical paradigm has its basis in a variety of

linguistic approaches to the analysis of talk in discourse research that have evolved in the

disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, each with its own distinct theoretical

perspectives and presuppositions about the nature of language, discourse and interaction.

Despite differing conceptual frameworks and methods, however, all of these approaches aim

to describe the procedures by which participants in conversations produce their own language

behaviour and understand and deal with the language behaviour of others using authentic

dialogue and face to face interaction as their source for explanation and description.

Important research traditions in discourse analysis that have influenced dialogism include the

approach known as conversational analysis (eg. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Brown & Yule,

1983; Coulthard, 1977; Goffman, 1974, 1981; Jefferson, Sacks, & Schegloff, 1974; Sacks,

1972) developed within the context of phenomenological sociology, as well as

ethnomethodology, a research approach that has its basis in ethnography and sociolinguistics

(eg. Cicourel, 1973; Garfinkel, 1967; Gumperz, 1992; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes,

1962; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Approaches based on speech-act theory and

presupposition theory including the work of Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Levinson

(1983), as well as other approaches less easily classifiable and represented by the work of

Goodwin (1981), Goodwin and Duranti (1992) and Stubbs (1983) have all been extremely

influential in promoting dialogical perspectives of discourse and discourse analysis.

While coding practices aimed at quantification have a tendency to decontextualize

utterances and therefore detract from essential properties of interaction and context, empirical methods in accordance with the principles of dialogism attempt to code linguistic units in their local context, emphasizing such aspects as participation, dominance, and coherence within the communicative interaction (Linell, 1995). A dialogical approach to discourse analysis therefore often requires the combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods and often includes ethnographic descriptions of how interactants use language to create and maintain relations in a certain context (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Hatch, 1992; Linell, 1995; McCarthy, 1991). Sociocultural and ethnomethodological paradigms designed to examine how members of a society negotiate a common context in building the events in which they participate have therefore contributed greatly to dialogical perspectives on discourse and discourse analysis. In these approaches, emphasis is placed on the elaboration and description of the organized features of language and communicative interactions within their social and cultural contexts (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Hatch, 1992; McCarthy, 1991; Moerman, 1988; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Stubbs, 1983). .

The results of discourse analysis often describe the communicative practices that occur in everyday face to face interactions as the products of the underlying knowledge, beliefs, and values surrounding communication in a particular culture or society, illustrating how communication is co-constructed and mutually shaped through interaction. However, the analysis of discourse within a dialogical framework is also useful in providing greater understanding and insight into the conflicts and the potential for conflict that might arise in and through communicative interactions (Banks, Gee, & Baker, 1991; Coupland, Wiemann & Giles, 1991; Shotter, 1993; van Dijk, 1985b). An examination of those situations when participants are not succeeding in mutually constructing understanding and when meanings must be continually negotiated through discourse has the potential to illustrate those aspects

of the communicative context that directly contribute to or create instances of

miscommunication, as well as revealing the socio-political processes and relations of power at

work in the communicative process.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined monological and dialogical perspectives on discourse and

discourse analysis in order to highlight the significant differences in assumptions underlying

the two approaches to viewing and analyzing language. Concepts including competence,

miscommunication, and misunderstanding have been presented according to these two

perspectives in order to highlight their varying interpretations of these phenomena. The

concept of discourse genres used as shared resources among interlocutors as well as forms

of discourse used to oppose existing power relations were outlined. The struggle of voices

present in heteroglossia and the potential for cultural, historical, and contextual influences on

language in social interaction to result in new discourse genres and syncretic communicative

practices were discussed. These concepts form the underlying theoretical framework for the

presentation and description of the discourse and interaction patterns found in the educational

context of the Inuit schools of Nunavik which is the focus of this work. In the chapter that

follows, the institutional discourse genre known as instructional discourse will be presented.

Dialogical theory will again be applied to this description of the particular forms of discourse

organization found in classrooms.

Chapter 3

INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE IN FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS: CHARACTERISTICS OF RECITATION STYLE TEACHING, COMMUNICATIVE APPROACHES AND INSTRUCTIONAL CONVERSATIONS

Learning to use language appropriately in social situations is an important aspect of the language development of all children (Berko Gleason, 1993; Lahey, 1988; Owens, 1996; Prutting, 1982). One significant part of this overall development involves the appropriate use of the language of the classroom, a form of knowledge that has been called classroom communicative competence (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Wilkinson, 1982). The development of classroom communicative competence is based on the acquisition of certain socially and culturally distinctive discourse genres, both spoken and written, required in order to get along in the varied environments of the school. This form of competence is specific to schools and, while it must be learned, it is not specifically taught (Geekie & Raban, 1994).

A variety of participation structures can be found in classroom interactions. Among these, the form of discourse and interaction that takes place between teachers and the class as a whole, known as teacher-led or recitation style lessons, has received the most attention from researchers across a variety of cultures. In this particular participation structure, teachers exercise a maximum of control over the organization of discourse structure and interactional patterns (Geekie & Raban, 1994; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Since all academic, social, and procedural tasks and their evaluation are embedded within the discourse in which teachers and students engage in classrooms, competence with the instructional discourse genre utilized in teacher-led lessons in particular is essential for

involvement and participation in the learning interactions that take place in schools (Cazden, 1988; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1982; Mehan, 1979; Tattershall & Creaghead, 1985; Willes, 1983).

This chapter will describe the organization of discourse and interaction found in first and second language classrooms utilizing a dialogical framework. It will begin by describing recitation-style instructional discourse, the institutional discourse genre associated with teacher-led lessons, emphasizing its similarities and differences with other forms of conversational interaction. The chapter then goes on to summarize results of research that has examined the organization of discourse and interaction patterns within recitation style discourse, the form of interaction typically found in teacher-led lessons in mainstream classrooms. The elements of classroom competence required by students in order to interact effectively in lessons based on such discourse frameworks will be described. The organization of discourse in both traditional and communicatively oriented second language classrooms will also be briefly outlined. Finally, an alternative educational discourse structure known as instructional conversation will be described and contrasted with traditional recitation style teaching interactions.

Instructional Discourse in Dialogical Perspective

Institutional discourse genres are forms of routinized, task-oriented discourse linked to clearly defined social situations and communicative activities and designed to accomplish particular social functions. These forms of discourse have developed norms, routines, and interactional patterns often involving a professional and one or a number of lay persons in

highly routinized social roles and participation frameworks (Linell, 1995). Recitation style instructional discourse is a particular genre of institutional discourse that forms the communicative context for the academic, social and cultural work that goes on within teacher-led lessons in classrooms. In many of its characteristics, instructional discourse as a discourse genre adheres to the same basic principles of socially constructed interaction described in the previous chapter. Thus like other forms of discourse, instructional exchanges are dialogical, socially organized communicative activities in which meaning is co-constructed by the participants in an interaction within a particular situational context (Cazden, 1988; Green, Weade, & Graham, 1988; Lantolf, 1993; Mehan, 1979). As communicative partners, teachers and students are responsive to each other's communicative behaviour as they work together to achieve goals, relate experiences, and meet curricular demands in the context of the classroom. Like all discourse genres, educational communicative exchanges are both sequentially and hierarchically organized (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979).

On the other hand, recitation style instructional interactions depend on particular and characteristic discourse structures and patterns that have been described as being rigidly organized (Cazden, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). This discourse style differs from conversational discourse genres in terms of the 'entitlements' of participants (Linell, 1995: 53) and the asymmetries of participation and knowledge that are characteristic of this particular form of communicative interaction. These differences will be described below.

Entitlements of Participants

An essential difference between instructional discourse and more conversational exchanges is in the area of the entitlements of interactants with respect to the nature of their participation in the communicative exchange. Within conversational exchanges, individual

participants are free to use their turns in the dialogue to contribute new information to the interaction or to elicit responses from their interlocutor(s) that serve to test, clarify, or verify their understanding of the topic at hand. This responsive aspect of discourse allows participants to jointly construct dialogue, adding new information and assigning interpretations and meanings to prior utterances encountered in the discourse in order to prepare responses appropriate to their particular situational context (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Linell, 1995; Volosinov, 1973).

Within the classroom setting, the roles of teachers and students and their associated entitlements in the communicative process are more restricted, with teachers typically establishing and maintaining control of all aspects of the conversation within teacher-directed lessons (Cazden, 1988; Coulthard, 1977; Goodlad, 1984; Willes, 1981). Indeed it has been estimated that teacher talk comprises two thirds of the total talk that occurs in classrooms (Cazden, 1988; Gamoran & Nystrand, 1991; Goodlad, 1984; Mehan, 1979). Within mainstream classroom exchanges, teachers hold a central and authoritative position as conversational partners and interactants with students, establishing and maintaining control of all central decisions regarding what, when, where and how students will learn in the classroom. Student-teacher talk forms the basis of educational exchanges in these classrooms, while peer interaction and peer talk are often less encouraged within teacher-led lessons (Cazden, 1988; Goodlad, 1984). In their position as initiators of exchanges in instructional discourse, teachers typically solicit information from students in the form of questions and requests for action that call for an obligatory response on the part of students (Cazden, 1988; Green, Weade, & Graham, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Other frequent discourse categories used to monitor and control talk within the teacher talk register include checking or confirming student understandings, summarizing, editing and

correcting student responses, and specifying discourse topics (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979;

Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Stubbs, 1976). Stubbs (1976) accentuates the difference in

entitlements among participants in instructional interactions by pointing out that the discourse

categories outlined above are rarely found in the language of student respondents within the

classroom. As Cazden (1988) points out:

> [i]n school lessons, teachers give directions and the children non-verbally carry them
> out; teachers ask questions and children answer them, frequently with only a word or
> phrase...With the exception of reciprocal teaching, these roles are not reversible.
> Children never give directions to teachers, and rarely even ask them questions except
> to request permission.

Thus classroom participation for students in mainstream classrooms centers primarily

on individual verbal performance whereby students actively provide responses to teacher-

initiated sequences in order to display an understanding of teacher-elicited information

(Cazden, 1988; Goodlad, 1984; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). This student

performance is then overtly evaluated by the teacher in front of the group (Cazden, 1988;

Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). This teacher dominance of the discourse context

leaves little room for pupils to actively participate in the negotiation of meaning within

instructional sequences (Cazden, 1988; Geekie & Raban 1994; Goodlad, 1984; Mehan,

1979). While students do have opportunities to contribute novel ideas or new information to

the topic of discussion or to test their understandings and interpretations of prior utterances,

these opportunities are more restricted than is typical for conversational interactions, and the

successful integration of these utterances into the overall discourse requires complex skills

that are specific to the classroom situation (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979). These skills will be

described in more detail in a later section . As Geekie and Raban (1994, p. 158) point out,

"evidence suggests that talk in educational settings is dominated by adults and leaves little

room for the child to do such things as initiating conversations, asking questions or making

comments".

Asymmetrical Participation Structure

In conversational situations, exchanges are typically balanced among participants, with no one member dominating or controlling the exchange. All interactants potentially have relatively equal opportunities to participate in and contribute to the ongoing dialogue. Topics of conversation are jointly constructed through the parallel participation of interactants as they mutually and reciprocally shape the overall discourse (Linell, 1995; Tannen, 1984). While the rules for participation in these conversational exchanges can be quite complex, appropriate participation in the social situation of the classroom are further complicated through the fact that classroom discourse typically involves many interactive layers that may be embedded within a variety of participation structures. Each of these participation structures has a set of associated rules that determine and constrain student participation. Teachers control which of these participation structures will be used at any given time in the classroom (Bloome & Knott, 1985; Cazden, 1988; Philips, 1983).

The participation of students in teacher-led exchanges is typically maintained by the teacher in the classroom through use of highly routinized turn allocation procedures that identify and regulate speakers within classroom interactions. Student participation in the classroom is typically controlled by the teacher through use of a turn allocation mechanism that specifies who among the participants has access to the floor at any given time (Cazden, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Thus, in addition to the highly stratified roles of participants in educational exchanges, participation in teacher-led exchanges is typically more asymmetrical than is the case for other forms of communicative

exchanges. Cazden (1988) summarizes the entitlement and participation asymmetries typical

of instructional discourse in the following manner:

> [i]n typical classrooms, the most important asymmetry in the rights and obligations of
> teacher and students is over the right to speak. To describe the difference in the
> bluntest terms, teachers have the right to speak at any time and to any person, they
> can fill any silence or interrupt any speaker; they can speak to a student anywhere in
> the room and in any volume or tone of voice. And no one has any right to object (p.
> 54).

Asymmetry of Knowledge

The notion of asymmetry in the conversational exchange can also be extended to the

knowledge that participants bring to the interaction within the classroom setting. As previously

stated, the bulk of classroom discourse consists of teacher eliciting information about a

particular topic from students (Cazden, 1988; Goodlad, 1984; Hatch, 1992; Mehan, 1979;

Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). These elicitations often take the form of 'test' or 'display'

questions, whereby students are required to provide specific responses within the exchange

that are already known to the teacher (Cazden 1986; Hatch, 1992; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair &

Coulthard, 1975). This form of communicative exchange is frequently found in the language

directed by caregivers to young children in the process of language acquisition in certain

cultures (Ferguson, 1964; Sachs, 1993; Snow, 1977) but is otherwise atypical of

conversational exchanges. The asymmetry of knowledge present in recitation style discourse

also stems from asymmetries of power between teachers and students, whereby one

participant, namely the teacher, is entitled to make value judgements regarding the

correctness or appropriateness of discourse contributions made by individual students in the

dialogue. This aspect of instructional discourse structure is rarely a part of conversational

interactions. This issue is addressed in greater detail in the section on IRE exchanges that

follows.

According to Edwards and Mercer (1987), recitation style discourse format is used by teachers to initiate children into the 'preexisting culture of thought and language', which constitutes one of the primary goals of schooling. In these exchanges, teachers exercise control and guidance over children through discourse, aiding them to transform externally controlled activities into internalized social processes (Geekie & Raban, 1994; Vygotsky, 1978). For this reason, the asymmetry of knowledge in the classroom context and the resulting teacher-dominance over classroom talk may be an inevitable part of recitation-style classroom instruction. In the sections that follow, the specific patterns and control mechanisms used in the organization of discourse characteristic of recitation style teaching in classrooms of mainstream teachers will be outlined.

The Organization of Discourse in Teacher-Led Lessons in Mainstream Classrooms: Characteristics of Recitation-style Teaching

The Three Phases of Lesson Organization

The sequential organization of lessons in mainstream classes is said to consist of three phases, namely the opening phase, the instructional phase and the closing phase. Each phase serves a specific function within the overall organization of the instructional interaction, and together these three phases make up the classroom event known as the lesson (Mehan, 1979). Mehan (1979) provides an analysis of the various teacher acts associated with each lesson phase.

In the **opening phase**, teachers provide students with basic information regarding what will occur during the instructional phase. Physical rearrangement of furniture and participants typically occurs at this time. Since the opening phase typically involves a brief

description of the instructional activity that will take place as well as the necessary preparations for such an activity, it is usually composed primarily of directive and informative interactional sequences (Mehan, 1979). Directives call for participants to prepare for the lesson by taking such action as sharpening pencils, opening books, and rearranging physical objects in the classroom. Informatives consist of new information, opinion, or ideas passed on to participants.

The **instructional phase** is described as the heart of the lesson, involving the exchange of academic information, opinion, interpretation, and analysis (Mehan, 1979). Since the objective of this phase of lesson structure is to elicit information from students, the majority of teacher acts found within this phase are elicitations. According to Mehan's (1979) analysis of teacher initiation acts within the instructional phase of lesson organization, elicitations made up the bulk of the three teacher acts, while informatives and directives were much less common.

The **closing phase** of the lesson summarizes what has been accomplished in the lesson and often contains directives to prepare students for follow up activities such as seat work or home work. The teacher acts found within this phase are again primarily informatives and directives.

IRE Routines: The Building Blocks of Recitation-Style Discourse

In addition to its sequential organization, the discourse of the classroom is also hierarchically organized. Each utterance by a speaker is dependent on and embedded within the utterances of other participants in the exchange (Cazden, 1988; Linell, 1995; Mehan, 1979). The instructional phase of recitation style discourse is characterized by a particular

organizational discourse structure known as the Initiation-Response-Evaluation or IRE routine. In IRE routines, students are called upon to display their knowledge through responding to teacher-initiated dialogue and questions. Student responses to these elicitations are then typically either positively or negatively evaluated by the teacher for accuracy, form, and appropriateness. Interactions in which the expected reply is not obtained following the teacher elicitation act result in extended sequences which continue until the desired response is obtained (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Mehan (1979, p.65) calls these larger organizational units "topically related sets". This form of discourse, widely reported on in the educational literature, is clearly distinguishable as 'classroom talk', and is reported to be the most common pattern of mainstream classroom discourse at all grade levels (Cazden, 1988; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). In Mehan's analysis of discourse organization, the majority of all teacher-initiated sequences conformed to the IRE and extended sequence pattern of discourse organization.

The information available in the evaluative or corrective feedback provided by the teacher allows the learner to confirm, disconfirm, or modify their existing knowledge (Cazden, 1988; Chaudron, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Thus the evaluation component of the IRE routine plays an important role in the negotiation of meaning within IRE and extended sequences, and is seen to be a necessary component of instructional discourse. Indeed, as Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) explain,

> feedback is an essential element in an exchange within the classroom. Having given their reply children want to know whether it was the right one. So important is feedback that if it doesn't occur we feel confident in saying that the teacher has deliberately withheld it for some strategic purpose. It is deviant to withhold feedback continually, and we have a tape of one lesson where a teacher, new to a class, and trying to suggest to them that there aren't always right answers, does withhold feedback and eventually reduces the children to silence - they cannot see the point of

his questions.... F[eedback] is a compulsory element (p. 51).

This automatic right of the teacher to impose judgement on the language behaviour of students is an essential characteristic of IRE and extended sequences, and establishes the role of the teacher as one of orchestrator, regulator and evaluator of classroom communication. Thus the predominant IRE discourse structure essentially gives the teacher the last word in almost every elicitation sequence (Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975).

Research examining the forms of feedback provided to learners in classroom exchanges show that these may take a variety of forms. General descriptors such as 'explicit' versus 'implicit' and 'positive' versus 'negative' are often used to categorize such discourse units (Annett, 1969; Chaudron, 1988; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Types of corrective feedback typically provided by mainstream teachers include acceptance of the student response, negation of the response, repetition of student response with or without emphasis on or changing of the error, reformulations, expansions or recasts of the student response, explanations of student errors, prompts, clues, repetition of the original elicitation, simplification of the original elicitation, and teacher models (Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman, & Smith, 1966; Green & Harker, 1982; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Such evaluations take a pedagogical focus, and are typically based on the content, accuracy and/or interpretation of student responses to teacher elicitations (Hatch, 1992; van Lier, 1988).

Nomination Format

The orderly flow of interaction within IRE exchanges is accomplished in the classroom through the regulation of talk by the teacher. This regulatory role helps to maintain the social order of the classroom and establishes the teacher as the authority and primary conversational partner of students in the classroom (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979). The rules

of turn allocation are typically incorporated into the interactional sequence in such a way that, inherent to the formulation of each teacher-initiated elicitation is not only the form of the desired response but also the desired respondent(s) (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Mehan (1979) describes how these respondents are generally selected in one of three ways. In **individual nominations**, the teacher explicitly selects the respondent either verbally [by calling on the student by name] or non-verbally [through eye gaze, head nods, or other such gestures]. In the **invitation to bid** (or hands up) format, the teacher invites potential respondents to raise their hands in order to be selected as respondents. In the **invitation to respond** (or group response) format, respondents are allowed to state their knowledge directly in the context of a choral response without being required to be nominated as speakers or to raise their hands. According to Mehan's (1979) analysis, individual nominations made up the majority of turn allocation forms in the classroom, followed by group nominations and bids.

The rules of turn allocation in operation within a particular instructional sequence are rarely explicitly explained or formulated by the teacher. It is generally only through violations of the appropriate rule that students become aware that an error in nomination format has taken place, since such errors are generally followed by negative evaluations and/or non-acceptance of the response on the part of the teacher (Mehan, 1979). Changes in nomination format occur frequently and without overt signals within the context of individual lessons. Thus students must quickly analyze the flow of the interaction-in-progress based on subtle clues in order to interact appropriately within the lesson. This appropriate performance in educational exchanges requires a great deal of interpretation and awareness on the part of the student (Cazden, 1988; Gumperz, 1981; Mehan, 1979).

Student Initiations and Teacher Response to Student Initiations

As discussed previously, the communicative role of students in recitation style lessons is typically one of responding to teacher-elicited information. However, students can have an influence on the overall course of the lesson through contributing new information to the instructional sequence, a skill that is a highly valued in mainstream classrooms (Cazden, 1988; Heath, 1983; Mehan, 1979). According to Mehan's (1979) analysis, the successful introduction of student-initiated topics into the flow of the educational sequence requires three components skills on the part of the student. First, attempts to insert information into the ongoing sequence of discourse must be correctly timed in order to be seen as contributions to rather than interruptions of the lesson. Thus students must first locate an appropriate boundary in order to insert the new information. Second, these contributions must then be recognized and picked up by the other participants, most importantly the teacher. Finally, student contributions must be seen as being relevant to the ongoing discussion in order to be incorporated into the discourse of the lesson. Thus the student comment must introduce new information into the lesson and must be perceived as being interesting or original (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979). Through these requirements, student-initiated sequences are filtered through the teacher before being allowed to influence the conversation of the group.

Mehan (1979) describes how attempts on the part of students to introduce new information into lessons generally result in four different types of teacher responses that depend to a large extent on students' facility with the prerequisite component skills described above. When all components are successfully integrated, student comments are likely to be incorporated into the sequence and become part of the lesson topic. Student comments may

also be simply acknowledged by the teacher without further comment and without being incorporated. This generally occurs when their originality or interest is not seen as being directly related to the topic at hand. In these situations the teacher generally recognizes that a comment has been made without any change in the original agenda of the lesson. When more serious violations occur, teachers tend to either ignore or overtly reprimand student initiations during the lesson. Ignoring and reprimanding student initiations occur most often in mainstream classrooms when the student has not followed the required rules for gaining access to the floor, and the comment is therefore interpreted as an interruption rather than a contribution to the discourse topic (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975).

Peer Interactions

The predominant pattern of classroom organization found in recitation-style teacher-led lessons is one in which the teacher relates to the group as a whole and in which peer to peer interaction is peripheral to the overall exchange and is frequently discouraged (Cazden, 1986; Goodlad, 1984; Mehan, 1979). The degree to which teachers tolerate and/or encourage forms of peer interaction within teacher-led lessons appears to be extremely variable both within and across cultural groups (See for example Cooper, Marquis, & Ayers-Lopez, 1982; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Green, Weade, & Graham, 1988; Philips, 1983). In general, however, those teachers who see their role in the classroom as authoritarian and controlling of children's learning and behaviour are less likely to allow students to interact with each other in a lesson than those who see their role as a facilitator and a guide for student learning (Cazden, 1988; Eriks-Brophy & Crago, 1994; Goodlad, 1984; Green, Weade, & Graham, 1988; Philips, 1983). In these situations, peer interactions are used to complement teacher input in the classroom, and students are given more freedom and opportunity to negotiate meanings and

understandings through the direct sharing of ideas.

The Impact of Experience on Discourse Organization

Scardamalia and Bereiter (1989) describe three stages of development in the growth of teacher expertise: the survival stage in which the teacher focuses primarily on discipline, the mastery stage, in which teachers focus on their own teaching performance, and the impact stage, in which the teacher's attention shifts to the students' performance. This analysis indicates that the variable of teacher experience and expertise has an impact on the organization of interactions in the three phases of lesson structure, with inexperienced teachers focusing more attention on the controlling and disciplining of students than more experienced teachers. According to this analysis, a minimum of five years of teaching experience is necessary in order for teacher to begin to reach the impact stage of teacher expertise.

Classroom Competence for Mainstream Students

The development of competence in mainstream classrooms requires the understanding of a complex integration of form and content. In order to function successfully in classrooms, students must know the rules of discourse in operation within a particular setting, lesson, or participation structure. Children demonstrate their competence with this form of discourse through appropriate responses and behaviours in the classroom (Cazden, 1988; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1985; Mehan, 1979). Competent participation in instructional conversations therefore necessitates not only academic knowledge but also

familiarity with complex discourse and interactional skills on the part of the student. A further component of the school socialization of students involves accepting the authority of the teacher in the classroom and learning to behave and respond appropriately within the boundaries of teacher expectations (Cazden, 1988; Geekie & Raban, 1994; Goodlad, 1984). The students' ability to successfully participate and collaborate in the carrying-out of the teacher's conversational agenda is an important factor in determining their success as learners in the classroom.

Successful instructional interactions between teachers and students requires more than mastering the structures and rules involved for appropriate participation in classroom talk. What is also needed is the "negotiation of a shared framework of relations" (Bridges, Sinha, and Walkerdine, 1981, p. 121), the basis upon which all communicative interactions are built. This shared frame of reference develops over time, providing students with important presuppositional information that allows them to understand more easily how to respond appropriately to the demands and intentions of their teacher. Thus, "classroom discourse functions to establish joint understandings between teachers and pupils, shared frames of reference and conception, in which the basic process...is one of introducing pupils into the conceptual world of the teacher and, through her, of the educational community (Edwards & Mercer, 1987; p. 157). For this reason, appropriate participation in educational exchanges vary in different classrooms and with different teachers (Bloome & Knott, 1985; Cazden, 1988; Edwards & Mercer, 1987; Geekie and Raban, 1994). Students bring with them expectations of how to behave in classrooms that are based on previous experience both in other classrooms and in the ways of talking that stem from their home communities. These expectations may be challenged or confirmed by the interactions that go on in a particular classroom (Edwards & Mercer, 1987; Green & Harker, 1982).

Interactions between teachers and students proceed smoothly when accurate responses are successfully integrated into an appropriate response format. Misinterpretations on any of these interactional planes can result in perceived inappropriate social behaviour, lack of access to the floor, and probable negative evaluations of student on the part of the teacher. Classroom rules of discourse and procedure, which are specific to the educational setting, are seldom explicitly formulated or explained (Cazden, 1988; Geekie & Raban, 1994; Mehan, 1979; Willes, 1983). Students must be able to infer and abstract appropriate ways of engaging in classroom discourse within the context of constantly changing classroom situations. Thus, "children learn to become competent participants in classroom discourse in the same way that they learn other games played according to rules outside of the classroom, that is with minimal explanation" (Geekie & Raban, 1994, p. 154).

Home and School Similarities in Discourse Organization

The complex skills inherent to the development of classroom competence require considerable time and experience to perfect, even for those children who come from majority culture backgrounds. Mehan's (1979) study showed that it was only toward the end of first grade that the children involved in his research became adept at integrating the interactional and academic skills required for successful participation in classroom discourse. This is a significant finding, since mainstream children typically already have some experience with the forms of discourse and interaction found in classrooms as a result of their home socialization experiences. Early language socialization studies of mainstream caregiver-child interactions have documented that from a very young age mainstream children are familiarized with IRE-type exchanges and are asked many test questions by their caregivers (Bloom, Rocissano & Hood, 1976; Brinton & Fujiki, 1982; Bruner, 1981; Heath, 1982, 1983; Snow, 1977). From

birth, most mainstream children are brought up to act as communicative partners with adults

who encourage and value talkativeness and the verbal display of knowledge (Bruner, 1981;

Cole, 1992; Kaye & Charney, 1980; Snow, 1977, 1984), roles that are also encouraged at

school (Geekie & Raban, 1994; Heath, 1982a; 1982b; 1983; Maclure & French, 1981; Philips,

1983). Thus models of mainstream classroom competence based on the integration of

appropriate interactional and academic skills within the culture of the classroom can be

interpreted as comprising an extension and reflection of the wider view of socially-appropriate

speech and interaction patterns constituting communicative competence for mainstream

children. Important cultural values in mainstream society, including for example

independence, scholastic achievement, and competition are directly reflected and promoted in

the mainstream classroom through the organization of instructional discourse such that it

promotes these valued behaviours (Goodlad, 1984; Goodz, 1994; Heath, 1983; Mehan, 1979;

Mehan et al., 1986).

Discourse Organization in Second Language Classrooms

One of the principal areas of research in second language [L2] discourse has

been the question of whether the organization of teacher talk in L2 classrooms differs in any

systematic ways from that found in first language [L1] classrooms, therefore constituting a

distinct sociolinguistic register. Based on an extensive review of the L2 literature, Chaudron

(1988) concludes that the forms of discourse in L2 classrooms are not qualitatively different

from those found in L1 classrooms, and that the basic characteristics of recitation style

discourse organization as described above in terms of the entitlements of participants, the

asymmetry of participation structure, and the asymmetry of knowledge appear to apply equally

well to both L1 and L2 classrooms. Distinctions between first and second language

instructional discourse appear to stem primarily from differences in language focus rather than

in overall discourse organization (Allwright, 1988; Chaudron, 1988; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980;

Riley, 1985; Swain, 1985). While research in L2 classrooms has revealed teacher

modifications of the instructional discourse addressed to second language learners in the

areas of speech rate (Wesche & Ready, 1985), prosody (Wesche & Ready, 1985; Chaudron,

1982), phonology (Chaudron, 1982; Henzl, 1973), vocabulary (Chaudron, 1982; Henzl, 1973),

and syntax (Henzl, 1973; Kliefgen, 1985; Long & Sato, 1983; Pica & Long, 1986) these

modifications do not appear to distinguish the overall organization of instructional interactions

from those forms and patterns of discourse typically found in L1 classrooms [See Wesche,

1994) and Chapter 3 of Chaudron (1988) for a detailed review of these L2 teacher

modifications].

Nevertheless, there does appear to be some variation across teachers and

educational contexts [which include foreign language, second language, and

bilingual/immersion classrooms] in regard to a number of specific features of recitation-style

discourse organization in L2 classrooms. These include the distribution of teacher acts, the

nomination of students for speaking turns, the forms of corrective feedback provided to

learners within elicitation sequences, and the use of peer interaction in L2 classrooms

(Allwright, 1988; Chaudron, 1988; Faneslow, 1977; Hatch, 1992; Naiman, Frohlich, Stern &

Todesco, 1978; Riley, 1985). Prior to describing the particularities of these instructional

discourse features in L2 contexts in the next sections, however, two brief caveats should be

noted.

First, the bulk of past research into L2 instructional discourse has been conducted in

classrooms using what might be described as traditional, structure-based approaches to

second language instruction. Such traditional approaches to L2 teaching tend to utilize

primarily recitation style teacher-student discourse organization as described in the sections

above, and often emphasize language form over natural communication. More recently,

however, the emphasis in second language classrooms has shifted toward more

communicative and collaborative approaches to language teaching. In communicative

classrooms, students are provided with more natural opportunities for learning language

through meaningful, content-based activities and are encouraged to work together to achieve

common goals through authentic verbal interaction (Allen, Frohlich and Spada, 1985;

Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Johnson, 1983; Littlewood, 1981; Nunan, 1992; Scarcella &

Oxford, 1992; Widdowson, 1978). Emphasis in these approaches is primarily on the

communication of message content through the L2 as opposed to the linguistic form of the

utterance itself. In these classrooms, the role of the teacher shifts from that of an authority

and manager of teacher-student oriented interaction to a facilitator of group interaction,

providing students with authentic input as well as the opportunity to utilize this input through

collaborative interactions among teachers and peers (Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Johnson,

1983; Nunan, 1992; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992). The student in the communicative classroom

becomes an active participant and information seeker, a role that allows the student to

exercise an increased amount of control and influence of the overall direction of lessons

(Freeman, 1992; Hatch, 1978; Long, 1981; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Swain, 1985; Spada &

Frohlich, 1995). The communicative approach to L2 teaching thus might be seen as

representing a deliberate attempt by the teacher to reduce the asymmetries and restrictions

on instructional exchanges, allowing students to negotiate and clarify ideas through engaging

in spontaneous interactions in the classroom with both teachers and peers.

Second, as is the case for L1 classrooms, a wide variety of approaches and

observational frameworks have been used to analyze teacher-student interaction and the provision of feedback in L2 classrooms [See for Spada and Frohlich's (1995) Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) Observation scheme, Fanselow's (1977b) Foci for Observing Communications Used in Settings (FOCUS) observation instrument, and Moskowitz's (1971) Foreign Language Interaction (FLint) model]. This variability in L2 research approaches as well as differences in program orientation and program types makes comparisons across studies difficult (Chaudron, 1988).

The Distribution of Teacher versus Student Talk in Second Language Classrooms

As noted above, teachers tend to dominate classroom talk in L1 classrooms at a rate of two thirds teacher speech to one third student speech (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979). Research conducted in L2 classrooms tends to support similar conclusions regarding the overall distribution of teacher versus student talk in the classroom (Bialystok, Frohlich & Howard, 1978; Chaudron, 1988; Legaretta, 1977; Scarcella & Oxford, 1994; Wintergerst, 1994). This finding appears to be consistent across the majority of program types and grade levels, with a number of exceptions [See for example Ramirez, Yuen, Ramey, and Merino's (1986) study of teachers' use of Spanish in kindergarten and grade 1 English immersion classrooms and Wintergerst's (1994) examination of 12 ESL lessons]. Evidence from learner outcome studies in L2 classrooms supports the conclusion that the degree to which students are provided with opportunities to speak in the L2 is an important predictor of L2 acquisition (Long, 1981; Seliger, 1977; Wintergerst, 1994). By dominating the overall classroom talk and restricting the discourse contributions of learners, the teacher also restricts the degree of participation and the range of communicative acts that the learner might be encouraged to

utilise in the development of L2 proficiency (Chaudron, 1988; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; van Lier, 1988).

The Distribution of Teacher Acts

The degree to which students are given an active role in the overall instructional interaction is highly variable across L2 contexts and appears to be influenced by such factors as teacher experience, the language proficiency of the students, and program type. Bialystok et al. (1978) describe the almost complete domination of all speech acts by teachers in a study conducted in grade 6 core French classrooms, where almost all initiating moves were made by the teacher with virtually no moves in which teachers responded to students. In contrast, results from grade 6 immersion classrooms also studied by Bialystok et al. (1978) reveal a reduced proportion of teacher compared to student elicitations and an increase in the proportion of responding moves on the part of teachers. Similar findings are noted by Chaudron (1988) who reports on a study of eight Spanish-English grade 1-3 bilingual classrooms as well as Wintergerst's (1994) examination of teacher-student interactions in 6 beginning and 6 advanced level L2 classrooms. Thus there appears to be a great deal of variability in the results of studies that have examined the distribution of teacher acts in L2 classrooms. Chaudron (1988) points out that this variability is likely the result of the differing theoretical frameworks and coding instruments used in the various analyses, in addition to the different program types that formed the context of these studies.

The distribution of three particular teacher acts, namely elicitations, informatives, and directives has been the focus of a number of research studies carried out in various L2 contexts (Long & Sato, 1983; Pica & Long, 1986), since the distribution of these forms have a significant impact on the overall organization of instructional discourse and the degree to

which student participation is encouraged or restricted in the interaction. Based on an examination of the results of a large number of L2 classroom studies, Chaudron (1988) reported a general tendency for L2 teachers to use more elicitation sequences than L1 teachers in their instructional interactions, with a corresponding decrease in the frequency of informatives and directives in L2 classrooms. The distribution of these teacher acts appears to be influenced by the level of language proficiency of the L2 learners, with a decrease in the frequency of elicitations and a corresponding increase in informatives and directives in classrooms of advanced L2 learners as well as classrooms of mixed L2 and native speakers (Long & Sato, 1983). Furthermore, this trend appears to be even more evident in classrooms of experienced teachers as well as in classrooms where teachers are very familiar with the class (Chaudron, 1988).

Turn Allocation

Examinations of turn allocation found in L2 classrooms show that these are organized along similar lines to those previously described for L1 classrooms (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; van Lier, 1988). Second language teachers organize and control the participation of students through use of individual nominations, invitations to respond, and invitations to bid in ways described above for L1 classrooms. A review of the literature on turn allocation did not reveal any studies examining the specific distribution of these three turn allocation formats in L2 classrooms. However, in a theoretical discussion of issues in turn allocation in L2 learning, van Lier (1988) points out that there may be greater flexibility in terms of learner participation in L2 as compared to L1 classrooms. Based on his own observations and experience, van Lier (1988) proposes that students in L2 classrooms

may have increased opportunities to self-select speaking turns than do students in L1

classrooms. No specific studies are cited to support this claim.

Corrective Feedback

The use of corrective feedback has been extensively examined in L2 classrooms,

since through such feedback L2 learners are informed not only of the correctness of their

content knowledge and the appropriateness of their classroom behaviour, but also of the

accuracy of their L2 language production and comprehension (Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992;

Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; van Lier, 1988). Indeed, as Chaudron (1988,

p. 132) points out, "aside from general instruction, the primary role of language teachers is

often considered to be the provision of both error correction, a form of negative feedback, and

positive sanctions or approval of learners' productions". Thus the information available

through teacher feedback in the L2 classroom is seen as being particularly important to the

development of L2 language competence, since it allows learners to either confirm or modify

the appropriateness of their application of acquired rules of the L2 (Chaudron, 1988; Lyster &

Ranta, 1997).

While in L1 classrooms positive or negative evaluations are provided by the teacher

based primarily on the accuracy of students' interpretation of the content of the elicitation, in

many L2 classrooms language and language form become specific topics of conversation and

objects of teacher evaluation and feedback (Chaudron, 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan &

Tucker, 1980; Hatch, 1992; Hendrickson, 1978; Lightbown & Spada, 1990). Test questions,

described above as being used by teachers to check whether students have learned the

necessary lesson content or have the necessary background to understand new lesson topics

content, take on the specific purpose of checking on understanding of vocabulary, syntactic

production, and other issues related to language form in many L2 classrooms (Chaudron,

1988; Freeman, 1992; Hatch, 1992; Linell, 1995; Riley, 1985; van Lier, 1988).

A wide variety of approaches have been utilized to examine the multiple dimensions

and functions of corrective feedback in L2 classrooms. These examinations have focused on

such issues as the frequency and form of corrective feedback provided to students, variables

influencing the treatment of learners' errors, and the differential treatment of error in form-

oriented versus content-oriented classrooms [See for example Allwright and Bailey, 1991;

Chaudron, 1988; Faneslow, 1977; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980; Lightbown &

Spada, 1990]. The variety and complexity of the issues surrounding corrective feedback in L2

classrooms can be summed up through use of Hendrickson's (1978) "framing questions"

which continue to guide current research into the treatment of error in L2 classrooms

(Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; Lyster & Ranta, 1997). These questions are

formulated as follows:

(1)   Should learner errors be corrected?
(2)   If so, when should learner errors be corrected?
(3)   Which learner errors should be corrected?
(4)   How should learner errors be corrected?
(5)   Who should correct learner errors?

Of particular interest to the present discussion are questions 2, 4 and 5, which will be

discussed in more detail in the sections that follow.

When should learner errors be corrected?

Research into the 'when' of error correction in L2 classrooms seems to point to the

general conclusion that "classroom teachers will likely correct learners' errors either when

they pertain to the pedagogical focus of the lesson or when they significantly inhibit

communication" (Chaudron, 1988, p. 136). This implies that error correction should not

constitute a major proportion of L2 teachers talk in those classrooms where emphasis is

placed on communicative activities and subject matter instruction (Chaudron, 1986;

Courchêne, 1980; Faneslow, 1977).

Results of studies conducted in a number of elementary bilingual education or

immersion contexts, however, indicate a wide range of variability in error correction rate

related to language form regardless of the focus of the lesson itself (Hamayan and Tucker,

1980; Lyster and Ranta, 1997; Nystrom, 1983). While far from being conclusive, the results of

these studies seem to indicate that teachers of younger children may be less likely to ignore

errors related to language form regardless of the pedagogical focus of the lesson. Nystrom

(1983) and Chaudron (1988) point out that individual teaching style is an important variable in

the frequency with which errors are treated in L2 classrooms.

How should learner errors be corrected? Types of feedback in L2 classrooms

The type of corrective feedback provided to L2 learners represents another major

focus in research on error correction in L2 classrooms. This research indicates that explicit

error correction occurs less frequently than does indirect or implicit teacher feedback in L2

classrooms (Chaudron, 1977; 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980). As was noted

above in regard to the frequency of error treatment involving younger learners, there is also

an increased tendency for teachers of younger L2 students to explicitly rather than implicitly

correct student errors (Chaudron, 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980).

Several researchers (see for example Allwright & Bailey, 1988; Chaudron, 1977, 1988;

and Long, 1977) have developed taxonomies of the various forms of feedback provided to

learners in L2 classrooms as well as the decision-making process that governs the provision

of such feedback. These feedback types and features are similar to those utilized in L1

evaluative sequences and can be divided along similar lines in terms of their positivity or

negativity and their explicitness or implicitness (Allwright & Bailey, 1991, Chaudron, 1977,

1988; Gaies, 1983). Within this typology, a recent study by Lyster and Ranta (1997) reported on the distribution of six common forms of corrective feedback used by the four French immersion teachers who formed the subjects of their study. According to their results, **recasts** [reformulations of all or part of a student's utterance, minus the error] were the most common type of feedback provided to learners, followed by in order of frequency by **elicitations** [techniques such as prompts, sentence completions, and teacher questions used to directly elicit correct forms] , **clarification requests** [indications that the student utterance has been misunderstood by the teacher and that a repetition or reformulation is required], **metalinguistic feedback** [comments, questions, information related to the well-formedness of the student utterance without providing the explicit form], **explicit corrections** [explicit provision of the correct form] and **repetitions** [repetition in isolation of the student's erroneous utterance, in most cases using intonation to highlight the error]. Interestingly, while recasts were the most common form of teacher corrective feedback found in the teacher discourse, according to Lyster and Ranta (1997) these were also the least effective of the analyzed strategies at eliciting student 'uptake' through which the conversational turn was returned to the student. Clarification requests, metalinguistic feedback, and repetition were found to be the most effective strategies for the elicitation of student uptake and self-repair.

Who should correct learner errors?

Not surprisingly, teachers are the most common source of feedback to students in both L1 and L2 classrooms (Chaudron, 1977, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Hendrickson, 1978; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992). However, the effectiveness of teacher treatment of error has been called into question in a number of studies and discussions of corrective feedback in L2 classrooms (Chaudron, 1977, 1988; Hendrickson, 1978; Long, 1977; Long & Porter, 1985; Pica &

Doughty, 1985; van Lier, 1988). These studies imply that more learning may take place when the learners themselves take a more active role in the treatment of error, either through self-correction or peer correction. Enlisting learner involvement in the correction of errors has been found to result in increased interaction, exchange of information and negotiation of meaning through the L2 than does teacher provision of corrective feedback according to certain authors (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; Freeman, 1992; Hendrickson, 1978; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992). Thus these findings bring into question the notion that teacher provision of corrective feedback leads to increased L2 learning for students, and point to the important role of the learner in the provision of corrective feedback in L2 classrooms.

Communicative Competence in L2 Classrooms

Canale and Swain (1980) were among the first to describe a model of communicative competence in a second language as being composed of three essential elements: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, and discourse competence. **Grammatical competence** involves the ability to understand and to utilize the linguistic aspects of the target language including morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and phonology with native-like proficiency. **Sociolinguistic competence** refers to the acquisition of rules and norms regarding appropriate timing and application of speech acts associated with the second language within a particular situation. Appropriate use of language across a variety of discourse contexts and through use of a variety of interactional styles through the second language is referred to as **discourse competence**. Discourse competence also requires the ability of the L2 user to appropriately and strategically apply these other forms of competence within a particular situation through maximising the situational and contextual factors available

within the interaction (Scarcella & Oxford, 1992). Aside from grammatical competence, the elements used to describe competence in L2 classrooms are similar to those described for L1 language users. A problem arises, however, when specific variables involved in competent performance in the L2 contrast to a greater or lesser extent with those already acquired in the L1. The importance of considering culturally-based predispositions regarding appropriate participation in instructional discourse in L2 classrooms and the ways in which such cultural differences have the potential to lead to problems in communication between teachers and students in L2 classrooms is highlighted in studies conducted by Sato (1982, 1990) and Findlay (1995). These studies show that students' cultural orientation may be an important factor in students' willingness to make use of practice opportunities provided to them in the L2 classroom through such discourse features as responding individually to test questions, bidding for turns, and initiating and self-selecting as speakers in classroom interactions. Allwright and Bailey (1991), Hatch (1992), Sato (1990) and Findlay (1995) point to the need for more research into the relationship between cultural variables and the participation structures and interaction patterns found in L2 classrooms.

Furthermore, L2 students may not have developed the levels of discourse (as opposed to grammatical) proficiency necessary in order to succeed in the context of the classroom. According to Cummins (1981, 1989), L2 students often demonstrate well developed conversational skills within informal communication situations that mask their limited proficiency with the skills necessary for the decontextualized language tasks associated with academic learning. While conversational proficiency might be achieved in the relatively short period of 2 years by the L2 student according to Cummins, academic proficiency develops more gradually, often taking between 5 to 7 years to be acquired. Cummins describes the danger of utilizing the notion of conversational discourse competence

as an indication of overall language proficiency in the L2, and claims that the result of this lack of distinction between various forms of discourse proficiency can be seen in the disproportionate numbers of L2 students placed in remedial or special education contexts in schools. This distinction highlights the importance of factors related to discourse contexts in determining communicative competence.

Discourse Organization in the Communicative Classroom

According to many critics, "the (traditional) second language classroom offers very little opportunity to the learner to communicate in the target language or to hear it used for communicative purposes by others (Long, 1983, p. 219)". For this reason, since the 1970s, research on teaching and learning in L2 classrooms has placed an increased emphasis on the role of the learner in L2 development (Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Oller & Richards, 1973). In addition to issues related to peer interaction in error correction, questions raised in this research include the learning strategies of L2 learners, factors influencing L2 learners' classroom behaviours, and the relationship between learner strategies and behaviours and learning outcomes (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Johnson, 1992; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992).

A number of studies have examined the forms of discourse and interaction that occur between teachers and learners as they engage in language tasks in the communicative language classroom (Allen et al., 1985; Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Cathcart, 1986; Freeman, 1992; Frohlich, Spada, & Allen, 1985; Hatch, 1992; Johnson, 1983; Porter, 1986). These studies show that there may be more freedom for negotiation, clarification, topic initiation, and turn-taking as well as an increased variety of communicative functions in communicative language classrooms, and particularly those utilizing group activities, as compared to teacher-

directed lessons organized around recitation discourse forms. Thus Hatch (1992) points out

that L2 teachers using a communicative as opposed to a recitation-style approach to

language teaching may be more encouraging of student talk and interaction in the classroom,

providing students with more opportunities to ask questions, to verify their comprehension of

the ongoing discourse more freely, and respond to each other more openly than is the case

for more traditional recitation style instructional contexts. She hypothesizes that interactions

in the communicative language classroom may differ from the "seemingly endless teacher

questions-student responds-teacher evaluates exchange cycles" typical of traditional L2

classrooms (Hatch, 1992, p. 99). Such an alternative arrangement of the organization of

discourse in the second language is described by Lantolf (1993) in the following manner:

> Clearly, the dialogical construction of meaning ... cannot be achieved if the teacher
> worries about "how many words are being learned and how to teach the future tense of
> the modal auxiliaries" (Di Pietro, 1987:25)...The primary responsibility of the teacher is
> not to put words in the learners' mouths, as it were, but to provide opportunities for
> them to engage each other interactionally in the dialogic construction of meaning out of
> which an identity or voice may emerge. (p. 54).

While both Hatch (1992) and Lantolf (1993) raise the possibility that discourse

organization in the communicative language classroom might reveal a different discourse

structure from that described above for recitation style teacher-led lessons, no specific

studies are cited to support this hypothesis. However, segments of transcripts taken from a

study conducted by Freeman (1992) illustrate how instructional discourse in one particular L2

classroom was organized around inquiry and response exchanges between teacher and

students, thus representing a variation on the traditional IRE discourse structure found in

many first language and traditional second language classrooms. Of particular interest in the

description of this classroom provided by Freeman is the emphasis placed on peer

interactions and the facilitative rather than authoritarian role of the teacher in the construction

of meaning in the classroom. According to Freeman (1992),

> [a]n important counterbalance to the attention to form is the ongoing emphasis on meaning. It is crucial that the language be anchored in the students' reality, to sustain interest and more importantly to decipher its accuracy (p. 73).

Students in the classroom observed by Freeman were left free to negotiate shared understandings in and through the second language. As a result of this emphasis on the negotiation of meaning, learners came to recognize the importance of language form and accuracy in the sharing of ideas. This organization of discourse has implications for the provision of corrective and evaluative feedback to learners.

Corrective Feedback in Communicative Classrooms

The emphasis on linguistic correctness previously described as a characteristic of traditional L2 classroom interactions contrasts with the primarily 'ideological' criterion applied to contributions in conversational exchanges and therefore represents an atypical conversational situation according to a number of L2 researchers. These researchers have brought into question the efficacy and the desirability of constantly correcting L2 production errors in furthering the goals of communicative interaction (Chaudron, 1988; Freeman, 1992; Hatch, 1992; van Lier, 1988). As a result, in communicative approaches to L2 language teaching, stress is placed on the provision of timely and constructive feedback to learners rather than a continual emphasis on language form. According to this approach, learners L2 'errors' actually represent developmental trends in L2 language acquisition that can be corrected through constructive, supportive feedback rather than being seen as deficiencies that require direct error correction (Chaudron, 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980; Hatch, 1992; Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Swain, 1985). Furthermore, such corrective feedback is provided by the teacher with the goal of aiding students to recognize and correct their own errors rather than emphasizing accuracy in linguistic form. In

this approach, not all learner errors are corrected, and the frequency and focus of learner feedback depends primarily on the overall goal of the lesson (Freeman, 1992; Hatch, 1978; Long, 1981; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Swain, 1985; Spada & Frohlich, 1995). According to the communicative perspective, language development is facilitated when students are taught in a comfortable atmosphere that values and encourages students' efforts to communicate through the second language rather than emphasizing language form and the correction of errors of form (Cummins, 1994; Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Spada & Frohlich, 1995).

The classroom described by Freeman (1992) illustrates the potential impact of relinquishing teacher authority and control over classroom talk and interaction in order to encourage the understanding of language and instructional content through open negotiation among all participants in L2 classrooms. Such an approach demonstrates how changes in the organization of interaction might influence the social context of learning, resulting in forms of discourse that differ substantially from those found in more traditional classrooms. Such alternative forms of discourse organization hinted at by Hatch (1992) and Lantolf (1993) and found in the classroom of the second language teacher described by Freeman (1992) are highly reminiscent of a form of instructional discourse known as instructional conversations. This form of discourse organization is described in the section that follows.

An Alternative to Recitation Style Teaching:
Instructional Conversations

A form of discourse structure known as the instructional conversation stands in contrast to the highly routinized and scripted recitation style teaching that typically

characterizes the discourse between teachers and students in mainstream and traditional L2 classrooms. Instead, instructional conversations closely resemble the interactive and dialogic forms of discourse characteristic of more conversational exchanges as described in Chapter 2 and in the classroom portrayed in the Freeman (1992) study. Instructional conversations are collaborative dialogues that take place between teachers and students in classrooms. They are "instructional in intent-they are designed to promote learning- and conversational in quality-they appear to be natural and spontaneous language interactions, free from the didactic characteristics normally associated with formal teaching" (Goldenberg, 1991, p. 3). Through instructional conversations, students and teachers work together to build meaning and understanding based on shared ideas and experiences. Students have an active role in the development and progression of these conversations, while the role of teachers is to respond to and build on student interests and communicative intents. Thus both teachers and students are responsive participants in the dialogue, extending and elaborating on the discourse contributions of all participants. These co-constructed and cooperative interactions between teachers and students build on the students' zone of proximal development (Vygostsky, 1978), transforming teachers and students into a "community of learners" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1991, p. 3) involved in the joint construction of dialogue and activity through the questioning and sharing of ideas. Within such a framework, classroom lessons have the potential to take on a truly dialogic quality.

Instructional conversations differ from recitation style teaching in two fundamental aspects; first in their underlying assumptions regarding the ways in which teaching and learning take place, and second, in the resulting roles that teachers play in these processes. As previously described, recitation style teaching assumes that what is to be learned by the student is some form of knowledge or skill that is already possessed by the teacher. The role

of the teacher is to transmit this knowledge or information to the student through step-by-step

instructions, opportunities for practice, and checking for understanding and correctness

(Goldenberg, 1991; Kohonen, 1992). According to this model, teachers explicitly teach

through planning, organizing, and delivering instruction. In instructional conversations, on the

other hand, students themselves have an important role to play in the construction and

acquisition of new knowledge and understandings of the world. Rather than acting as

transmitters of knowledge, teacher become facilitators in the learning process, encouraging

students to express their ideas and guiding them towards higher levels of comprehension and

expression. While teachers continue to carefully plan and organize instruction, the emphasis

in teaching is primarily on guiding the process of interaction rather than the delivery of

instruction. Thus in instructional conversations, the asymmetrical participation structure and

asymmetry in entitlements of participants typical of recitation style discourse are redistributed

more equitably across all communicative partners. The asymmetry of knowledge among

participants is also reduced, since teachers and parents organize their interactions with

children based on the assumption that "the child may have something to say beyond the

known answers in the head of the adult" (Tharp and Gallimore, 1991. p. 3)

While it appears that instructional conversations are spontaneous interactions that

take place between teachers and students, they are nevertheless carefully planned by the

teacher and are directed toward a specific goal or learning objective (Goldenberg, 1991).

Teachers must be knowledgeable about the subject matter and the possible ideas under

discussion, as well as the cognitive and linguistic levels of the students participating in the

interaction. Thus a familiarity with the levels of learning as well as the backgrounds of

students aids teachers in incorporating this knowledge into the instructional process

(Goldenberg, 1991; Rueda, Goldenberg, & Gallimore, 1992).

Instructional conversations are characterized by a thematic focus that allows students to build upon relevant schemata, background, and experiences and incorporate these into the overall discussion. General participation is encouraged by the teacher, with students self-selecting speaking turns in order to volunteer discourse contributions. The result is reported to be a positive, open atmosphere where students are challenged to negotiate and construct their own meanings, influencing the direction of the discourse through multiple, interactive turn taking that builds upon and extends previous turns. Teachers are responsive to statements, opinions, and arguments put forward by students, acting as collaborators rather than evaluators of classroom exchanges, probing and expanding on these contributions as necessary in order to promote more complex language and expression. While traditional IRE discourse structure might occur within such conversations, it takes a less prominent role as a mechanism for the organization of teacher-student talk (Echevarria & McDonough, 1993; Goldenberg, 1991; Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). Thus, in instructional conversations, teachers seek to draw out and develop student interpretation of class material in an environment where individual risk-taking and self-exploration are encouraged and promoted through authentic classroom dialogue. Such authentic questioning and incorporation of student contributions into lessons is reported to have potentially positive and enriching outcomes for both teachers and students as they engage in substantive, high quality educational conversations in both first and second language classrooms (Echevarria & McDonough, 1993; Goldenberg, 1991; Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991).

Conclusion

Traditional recitation-style discourse in both first and second language classrooms is increasingly being criticized for its promotion of decontextualized, superficial information as well as for its tendency to limit student participation and to maintain traditional teacher-student roles in the classroom (Cazden, 1988; Goodlad, 1984; Hatch, 1993; Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). In recitation-style discourse organization, students' contributions of ideas, feelings, and opinions to lesson topics are not easily incorporated into the context of classroom conversations. In this sense, student ideas are not often 'taken seriously' (Gamoran & Nystrand, 1991) in classroom interaction. In contrast, instructional conversations and discourse organization revolving around communicative and collaborative language activities provide an alternative to traditional recitation style discourse organization for both L1 and L2 classrooms. Through conversational, reciprocal communicative exchanges in the classroom, students are encouraged to think critically and originally about information, to develop themselves as learners, to become actively engaged in the learning process, and to take greater responsibility for their own and their peers' learning.

While instructional conversations appear to present more cooperative and essentially dialogic alternatives to traditional recitation style discourse organization, this discourse form has not been widely researched or reported on in the literature, and appears to remain a relatively rare phenomenon in both L1 and L2 classrooms. Instead, recitation style discourse structures as described in this chapter continue to proliferate in the educational exchanges that take place between teachers and students in most first language and many second language contexts (Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Yamauchi, 1994). In particular, examinations of discourse and interaction between mainstream teachers and language minority students

reveal that teachers of minority children rarely involve their students in instructional

conversations, due to a belief that these students require the drill, review and repetition typical

of recitation-style teaching (Goldenberg, 1991; Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991).

In the chapter that follows, the forms of discourse and instructional interactions that have

been documented in classrooms of minority culture students with their minority and majority

culture teachers will be described, and their connection with explanations of

miscommunication and minority school failure will be outlined.

Chapter 4

THE DISCOURSE OF TEACHER-LED LESSONS IN CLASSROOMS OF MINORITY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

As previously stated, cultural values regarding language socialization and communication can directly impact on communicative practices and the organization of discourse genres (Crago, 1988; Heath, 1983; Lantolf, 1993; Moerman, 1988; Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin, 1979; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Like other forms of discourse, the language of teaching and learning is influenced and shaped by the varying social and cultural contexts in which communication takes place (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Hatch, 1992; Linell, 1995; Volosinov, 1973). Thus the discourse of classroom interactions is best interpreted as a culturally variable discourse genre (Cazden, 1988; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Eriks-Brophy & Crago, 1994).

Those few studies that have examined the instructional discourse and interaction patterns in classrooms of minority teachers have demonstrated that these are often organized in ways that differ substantially from those documented in mainstream classrooms (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Eriks-Brophy, 1992; Lipka, 1991; Philips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Furthermore, through their previous communicative interactions, minority children may have developed different forms of communicative and classroom competence than those described in the mainstream model. Such cultural differences in communication norms between teachers and students regarding appropriate participation in classroom exchanges have the potential to result in situations of miscommunication that have serious implications for teachers' judgements of students' academic and classroom competence (Au & Jordan, 1981; Erickson, 1986, 1987; Findlay, 1995; Heath, 1983; Mehan et al. 1986; Philips, 1983; Scollon

and Scollon, 1981; Trueba, 1988; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1987). Instructional discourse practices, then, constitute one important institutional process through which educational opportunities as well as educational obstacles can be created and reinforced in classrooms (Cazden, 1988; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Eriks-Brophy, 1992; Findlay, 1995; Mehan et al., 1986; Philips, 1983).

This chapter will begin by applying the dialogical framework outlined in Chapter 2 to theories of minority school failure and miscommunication in classroom interaction. Factors seen to contribute to the educational achievement of minority students as a result of minority education initiatives will be described. Among these factors, the important role of instructional discourse in the construction of success or failure of student-teacher interactions will be outlined through a description of the characteristics of the organization of discourse and interaction found in classrooms of teachers outside of the mainstream culture, with particular emphasis on Aboriginal teachers.

Extending Monologism, Dialogism and Social Constructionism to Theories of Minority School Failure

The basic purpose of the school as an educational institution is purported to be the objective and apolitical transmission of knowledge. This view of schooling proposes that educational achievement and advancement are natural consequences of the knowledge and skills of individual students, an essentially personological perspective commonly referred to as meritocracy (Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1989; Mehan et al., 1986). By extension, the causes of educational difficulties are therefore seen as residing primarily in qualities and characteristics inherent to individual students and their behaviour in schools [See, for example, Sue & Padilla

(1986); Mehan et al., (1986); and McGroarty (1986) for further discussion of the

personological approach to educational achievement and educational failure].

Traditional theories of minority school failure have attempted to account for the

difficulties experienced by children representing certain minority groups in educational settings

through emphasis on such fundamentally personological views of deficiency (Cummins, 1989;

Mehan et al, 1986). These explanations of minority school failure typically ignore the ways in

which interactional encounters between students and teachers and the institutional practices

associated with these encounters can play a significant role in constructing differential

educational opportunities for students. Also ignored in such explanations is the ways in which

educational encounters have the potential to result in inappropriate educational judgements

and the misclassification of minority students in schools (Cummins, 1989; Darder, 1991;

McLaren, 1989; Mehan et al., 1986; Sue and Padilla, 1986).

Historically, three broad perspectives have been proposed to explain the reduced

levels of academic performance often attributed to children representing various minority

cultures. These theories have traditionally been referred to as the genetic inferiority

perspective, the cultural deficit perspective, and the cultural mismatch or cultural discontinuity

perspective [See Cummins, 1989; Erickson, 1987; Sue & Padilla, 1986; and McGroarty, 1986

for an overview of these perspectives]. Each of these theories represent fundamentally

personological approaches to the problems of minority school failure while nevertheless

having as their basis widely differing underlying assumptions and implications for educational

policy and the organization of programming for minority children. In the sections that follow,

each of these traditional perspectives on minority school failure will be briefly outlined. Finally,

a model of minority school failure based on social constructionism and critical theory known as

the contextual interaction perspective will be described. This approach to explaining minority

school failure takes into account the interaction of a variety of socio-historical factors and the role of institutional processes and practices in explaining differential educational achievement for minority children (Darder, 1991; Giroux, 1981; Mehan et al., 1986; Sue and Padilla, 1986).

The Genetic Inferiority Perspective

According to what has historically been called the genetic inferiority perspective, certain racial or ethnic populations are viewed as incapable of attaining the same levels of achievement as other groups due to genetic inferiority (Coleman, 1966; Eysenck, 1977; Jensen, 1969, 1976; Loehlin, Lindzey, & Spuhler, 1975). In this hereditary-based explanation, certain cultural groups (most typically Blacks, Native Americans, Asians and Hispanics) are deemed as having only a limited potential for intellectual growth as compared to the dominant culture (typically the White Middle Class). The difficulties experienced by minority children are thus seen as a result of deficiencies located entirely within the minority child and his genetic make-up. From this perspective, little can be done to alter the differences in educational achievement between those groups considered to be inferior and those seen as superior, since these differences are dictated by hereditary factors. Educators and others are therefore essentially powerless to improve the academic achievement of certain minority children represented in their classrooms, since these children can only advance as far as their natural endowment allows.

While this perspective represents a blatantly racist outlook on minority populations that should by now have been put to rest as a misguided and fallacious approach to the interpretation of minority educational difficulties, similar racially-based explanations and classifications of the adversities and conflicts experienced by minority populations in wider society represent a disturbing tendency that appears currently to be on the rise on a global

scale. [See the June 1996 theme issue of the Anthropology and Education Quarterly entitled 'Racial and Ethnic Exclusion in Education and Society' for a recent discussion of this worrisome trend].

The Cultural Deficit Perspective

The cultural deficit perspective attributes reduced academic achievement of minority populations to inherent cultural deficiencies (Bloom, 1964; Lewis, 1966; Miller, 1958; Moynihan, 1965). According to this theory, the minority group member's deficient culture and lack of cultural competence represents an insurmountable barrier to the potential for advancement and success within the dominant society. From this viewpoint, cultural minorities are typically described as underprivileged, deprived, pathological, or even deviant. Within the educational framework, those subscribing to this perspective come to expect reduced academic achievement as a natural characteristic of minority children. According to this perspective, since minority children have been deprived of experiences and opportunities, lack motivation and self-esteem, and are underprivileged, it is not surprising that they do not succeed in school. This perspective leads to one principal approach to dealing with the problem of educational failure among ethnic minorities, that of training minority children to become less deficient. Historically, this has led to the development of early intervention initiatives including the Head Start Program, DISTAR, and other compensatory education classes that sought to remediate and prevent cultural deficiencies seen as impeding the success of minority children in schools. The strengths, competencies, and skills that minority children brought to the school through experiences with their cultures, communities and families were ignored in this predominantly assimilationist approach to improving academic achievement. [See Cummins (1989), Sue & Padilla (1986), Mehan et al. (1986), Darder,

(1991) and McGroarty (1986) for further discussion].

The Cultural Discontinuity Perspective

The cultural discontinuity perspective seeks to explain differential achievement of minority children based on the assumption that a mismatch exists between the skills possessed by certain minority populations and those required for advancement in the dominant society (Au & Jordan, 1981; Diaz, Moll, & Mehan, 1986; Erickson, 1986; 1987; Heath, 1983; Tharp, 1989; Trueba, 1988; Weisner, Gallimore, & Jordan, 1988). Within the educational context, mismatches between student competencies and teacher expectations create conflict in the classroom leading to differential treatment of minority culture students by their majority culture teachers. A large number of studies examining home-school discontinuities across a variety of cultures have documented how such communicative differences have the potential to disrupt the smooth functioning of classroom interactions, frequently leading to deficiency interpretations of student behaviour by the teacher (Au, 1980; Erickson, 1987; Findlay, 1995; Heath, 1983; Philips, 1983; Scollon and Scollon, 1981; Trueba, 1988; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1987).

One of the major contributions of discontinuity theory has been to demonstrate the ways in which cultural differences in communicative practices can impact on school performance, thus giving some insights into how schools perpetuate racial inequalities. However, the theory has also been criticized for its tendency to focus on micro-ethnographies of communicative interaction while decontextualizing these from macro-issues related to the social, political, cultural and historical contexts in which these interactions take place (Darder, 1991; Ogbu, 1982, 1987a, 1987b; McLaren, 1989). According to these criticisms, simply contrasting home and school patterns of interaction does not provide sufficient explanations

for why certain minority groups continue to fail academically while others do not, since such explanations do not take into account important issues related to power differentials that exist between dominant and subordinate groups that are also played out in the social dynamics of classroom interactions. Such explanations are also unable to explain inter-group variation in educational performance and achievement levels (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988). As is the case with the cultural deficit perspective, solutions for minority school failure based on cultural discontinuity theory tend to place a great deal of emphasis on the acculturation of the minority group member toward the ways of interacting found in the dominant society, while continuing to assert the superiority of one culture over another. Thus the interactive context of schooling is seen as invariant while its fit with the forms of interaction typical of the minority child's home situation is what creates the mismatch (Cummins, 1989; Mehan et al., 1986; Ogbu, 1987; Sue & Padilla, 1986).

The Contextual Interaction Perspective

The theories presented above have been criticized for not adequately taking into account the interactive nature of educational encounters and the ways in which institutional practices themselves impact on the educational performance of minority children, and might therefore be rejected as insufficient to explain differential school performance among language minority children. In contrast, the contextual interaction perspective as described by, among others Cummins (1989), Cortes (1986), Diaz et al., (1986), Moll and Diaz (1987), Sue & Padilla (1986), McGroarty (1986), and Delgado-Gaitan (1988) attempts to deal with some of the limitations of the previously-described theories by redefining the nature of educational difficulties primarily in interactional terms. According to this perspective, educational performance is a function of the interaction of a multitude of social, cultural,

communicative, institutional and historical processes within the context of the immediate

environments of learning that collectively either facilitate or impede the educational exchanges

that take place between minority culture children and teachers representing the dominant

society. The contextual interaction perspective is compatible with the principles of social

constructionism and dialogic interaction outlined previously, and represents a global and

compelling explanation for the differential performance of minority children in schools.

According to this perspective,

> ...disability is not inherent in students' acts. Rather, disability, educationally speaking,
> is constituted by educational practices enacted as a routine part of organizational life.
> Students present behaviour that becomes defined as educationally anomalous by an
> educational scheme of interpretation, thereby attaching the designation "disability" to
> students' behaviour. That is to say, disability is grounded in students' behaviour, but
> requires the categories that the educational system brings to the interaction, including
> expectations for academic performance, norms for appropriate classroom conduct,
> views on the family and community life, and perceptions of parent-child relations
> (Mehan et. al, 1986, p. 160).

Thus, according to this perspective, academic failure is not necessarily a consequence of

minority students' lack of talent, knowledge, or skill, but is instead primarily viewed as a

consequence of institutional interactions that do not permit students to capitalize on previously

developed skills and resources within instructional interactions (Cortes, 1986; Cummins,

1989; Darder, 1991; Mehan et al. 1986; McLaren, 1989; Moll & Diaz, 1987).

The contextual interaction perspective also addresses the ways in which power issues

are played out in the context of the classroom. Critical theorists, among others McLaren

(1989, p. 163) point out that "schooling must always be analyzed as a cultural and historical

process, in which select groups are positioned within asymmetrical relations of power on the

basis of specific races, class, and gender groupings". From the perspective of critical

theorists, schooling is not an apolitical and value-neutral process but is instead seen as tied to

the interests, perceptions, and experiences of the dominant culture and serves to transmit,

reproduce and maintain existing power relations and institutional structures (Darder, 1991;

Giroux, 1981; McLaren, 1989; Mehan et al., 1986). The meritocratic practices inherent to

schooling act as a smokescreen for the undemocratic and hegemonic social processes that

permeate the educational system. Bowles and Gintes (1976) describe how these meritocratic

practices perpetuate the underachievement of minority culture children in the following

manner:

> [s]chools legitimate inequality through the ostensibly meritocratic manner by which they
> reward and promote students, and allocate them to distinct positions in the
> occupational hierarchy. They create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial, and
> sexual identification among students which allow them to relate "properly" to their
> eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process (p.
> 11).

Those students viewed as 'meriting reward' in the form of educational achievement and

advancement are those who possess the values, knowledge and skills prized by the dominant

society. This knowledge represents a form of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

As described by McLaren (1989, p. 190), cultural capital represents "ways of talking, acting,

modes of style, moving, socializing, forms of knowledge, language practices, and values" that

consequently provides access to economic and social advancement within the dominant

society.

According to critical theory, a number of specific educational practices including,

among others, intelligence testing and other forms of assessment, tracking and ability

grouping, the content of the educational curriculum, teacher expectations, and the

organization of instructional practices have all contributed to the social construction of minority

school failure and the cycle of underachievement of minority children in schools (Cummins,

1989; Darder, 1991; Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; McLaren, 1989). In other words, certain minority

students are disabled not as a result of their own abilities, but as a direct consequence of their

interactions with educators in classrooms. As Mehan et al. (1986) point out,

> [s]tudents are sorted and stratified in such a way that differential educational
> opportunities are made available to them, a fact that is consistent with reproduction
> models of a role of schooling. However, this stratifying is not always based on
> students' measured abilities or on their background characteristics. Although the
> importance of these attributes cannot be underestimated, we must realize that schools
> are also places where cultural capital matters (p. 171).

Thus one aspect of cultural capital of particular importance to success in educational settings

in dominant society is a familiarity with the cultural practices regarding the discourse and

interaction patterns through which instruction in mainstream classrooms is organized and on

the basis of which appropriate participation in these interactions is evaluated. These

communicative encounters between teachers and students in classrooms are a routine part of

the organization of schooling through which educational opportunities as well as educational

obstacles are created and reinforced. As described in Chapter 3, knowledge and competence

with the rules of classroom discourse and interaction gives access to learning, while the price

for violation can be both social and academic, resulting in miscommunication,

misinterpretation of student behaviour, and differential access to learning.

Dialogical Perspectives on Miscommunication Between Minority Culture Students and Majority Culture Teachers in the Classroom

Personological interpretations also abound in explanations of miscommunication

between teachers and students in the classroom, situations that often occur when minority

students enter classrooms taught by teachers from a different cultural background. In these

situations, the minority group member, typically the student, is often judged negatively by the

majority group member, typically the teacher. Through locating the source of

miscommunication within the child, such personological interpretations direct attention away

from the underlying cultural and social barriers that may be the true source of many communicative misunderstandings. As Goodwin & Duranti (1992), Linell (1995), and Mehan et al. (1986) among others have pointed out, this perspective also ignores the ways in which interactions between individuals can be either facilitated or hindered by the educational and societal contexts in which they take place.

A dialogical perspective on miscommunication in the classroom focuses on the ways that cultural differences in communication norms, structures, and patterns between teachers and students interact in the social construction of miscommunication. According to this explanation, when the forms of communicative competence required for successful participation in the classroom is at odds with those frames of interaction developed through previous home and educational experiences, misunderstandings between teachers and students can occur. As has been previously outlined, the discourse context provides a frame of reference and a form of shared resource in the communicative process, aiding interactants in constructing appropriate interpretations of interactions and influencing what is accomplished through such interactions (Goffman, 1974; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Linell, 1995). Cultural differences in the organization of communication between teachers and students as well as differences in beliefs and values regarding communication may predispose interactants toward misunderstandings when they do not share the common resources necessary for the negotiation of meaning and the appropriate resolution of communicative difficulties.

The Role of Power Relations in Classroom Miscommunication

Classroom miscommunication for minority students has important implications for student learning as a result of the disproportionate power that teachers hold over children in

the context of the classroom (Darder, 1991; McCabe, 1995; McLaren, 1989). Instances of miscommunication can have serious consequences for students' educational success since, for many minority children, the imbalance of power that characterizes the relationship of professional adults and children is compounded by power differentials based on culture, race, language, and socioeconomic status. In such a context, communicative misunderstandings can represent a form of institutional discrimination that has the potential to result in serious misjudgments of students' academic and communicative competence.

Instances of institutional discrimination on the part of educators against minority children are generally unintentional, and stem from a set of unquestioned assumptions regarding communication and interaction that reflect the values and priorities of the dominant culture (Adler, 1993; Cummins, 1989; Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1989). Through the position of authority accorded to the teacher within the classroom, certain communicative practices are legitimized and others rejected, thus establishing the 'truth regimes' (Foucault, 1981) that define what is appropriate communicative and interactional behaviour for students and establish the majority culture's institutional discourse genre as dominant within the classroom (Foucault, 1981; Giroux, 1985; McLaren, 1989). Through this language domination, the forms of knowledge and competence that minority students bring to school based on their previous socialization experiences can be marginalized and invalidated in the interactions that take place in classrooms (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Cummins, 1989; Darder, 1991; Findlay, 1995; McLaren, 1989). As Darder (1991, p. 38) succinctly states, "[l]anguage domination silences student voices and seriously curtails their active participation in school life".

Transforming Schooling: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy for Minority Students

Dialogical interpretations of classroom miscommunication emphasize the social construction of knowledge through interaction not only to scrutinize the processes of schooling that serve to legitimize the constructions of reality associated with the dominant culture and to delegitimize alternative perspectives, but also to demonstrate how such processes might be challenged and changed in order to reconstruct schooling in ways that overcome traditional hegemonistic practices (Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1989). This process "begins with the assumption that the stories that schools, teachers, and students construct can form the basis for a variety of approaches to teaching and learning in which hope and power play integral roles" (McLaren, 1989, p. 231). Educational initiatives in the instruction of minority students through adaptations of classroom processes, curriculum, and educational policy have come to be known as culturally relevant or culturally responsive pedagogy.

The transformation of education into a collaborative enterprise that permits minority students to experience schooling as a process of empowerment and to develop what Darder (1991, p. 47) calls a "bicultural voice" requires a context where educators recognize, affirm and incorporate students' language, culture, and experience into the school environment (Adler, 1993; Cummins, 1989; Darder, 1991; Garcia, 1988; Giroux, 1985; McLaren, 1989). The term 'voice' in this sense refers to the "cultural grammar and background knowledge that individuals use to interpret and articulate experience" (McLaren, 1989, p. 230).

A variety of attributes associated with successful educational programs for minority students have been delineated in the literature. These program attributes include a positive school climate with high expectations of academic performance for language minority children, clearly stated academic goals and objectives accompanied by consistent monitoring of

program outcomes, high staff morale and leadership, a commitment to staff development and pre-service training for teachers in the understanding cultural differences as well as the importance of the socio-political realities of these differences, active encouragement of parental and familial involvement in educational process, and the valorization of students' home languages and cultures through curriculum adaptations as well as through hiring teachers who are themselves members of minority cultures (Cummins, 1989; Garcia, 1988; Henze & Lucas, 1993; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Osborne, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1994).

A number of factors related more closely to specific instructional practices found in classrooms of effective teachers of language minority children have also been identified. Such classroom practices are seen as providing a framework for contributing to the development of culturally relevant pedagogy for language minority students. These practices include, among others, an emphasis on the development of content knowledge and language meaning [process] over language structure [product] in the classroom, the promotion of active student involvement and engagement in learning, and the teaching of content that is culturally relevant to minority students and that fosters their cultural identity and self-esteem. Teaching strategies that incorporate group work, indirect forms of student control, relaxed pacing, the use of home participation structures, and a reduced emphasis on individual performance are also described as components of culturally relevant classroom management and interactional strategies (Adler; 1993; Au; 1993; Au & Jordan, 1981; Carrasquillo & Rodriguez, 1996; Cazden, 1988; Cummins, 1989; Delpit, 1988; Garcia, 1988; Heath, 1983; Lucas, Henze & Donato, 1990; Osborne, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1994; Trueba, 1987, 1989; Trueba & Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; Weisner, Gallimore & Jordan, 1988). Examples of such adaptations based on the home skills and competencies of non-mainstream children that have had a

direct impact on classroom interaction and educational outcomes include the work conducted

in Appalachian communities by Heath (1983), the Kamehameha Early Education (KEEP)

Project in Hawaii (Tharp et al., 1984), and the Rock Point Demonstration School in New

Mexico (Holm & Holm, 1990).

Another salient feature in the examination of effective instructional interactions

between minority students and their teachers appears to be an emphasis on the promotion of

bilingualism and biculturalism in the classroom through activities that take advantage of

students' home language and cultural background (Adler, 1993; Cummins, 1989; Garcia,

1988; Sleeter & Grant, 1994). Through such practices, the values and norms of the local

culture are promoted and retained along with those of the school. Thus the inclusion of

students' first language(s) in the school program and within classroom interactions appears to

be an important variable in the development of positive educational opportunities for language

minority students. It might therefore be supposed that, in order to be effective, teachers of

minority students must necessarily come from the same cultural background as the students

they teach. While certain authors have proposed such a solution to the remediation of trends

in educational failure among minority students (Cajete, 1994; Kleinfeld, 1975; Wolcott, 1974),

others argue instead that effective education for minority language children cannot hinge

solely on shared cultural and linguistic background. Indeed, studies of bilingual education

programs where minority students were acquiring a socially dominant second language

demonstrate low frequencies of L1 language used by teachers in the classroom even when

teachers and teachers and teacher aides were bilingual (Bruck & Schultz, 1977; Legaretta,

1977; Strong, 1986; Wong-Fillmore, 1980). Furthermore, the use of the L1 in many of the

classrooms studied was restricted to a limited repertoire of classroom functions, including

directives, clarifications, and explanations (Guthrie, 1984; Legaretta, 1977; Wong-Fillmore,

1980). Thus these studies indicate that only strong administrative and program emphasis on native language use in the classroom impact on the general tendency of the L2 to dominate classroom interaction.

Rather than an emphasis on the need for a shared cultural and linguistic background between teachers and students, other researchers and educators argue for the empowerment of language minority students through the educational process itself. Such an approach is based on the combination of culturally relevant teaching practices and open discussion of the forms of overt and covert racism that continue to be present in schools and in schooling. Within this framework, the knowledge, skills, and practices necessary to function successfully in the dominant society are explicitly discussed and taught as part of the educational curriculum, as well as the cultural assumptions upon which schools, classrooms, and society in general operate (Cazden, 1988; Cummins, 1989; Delpit, 1988; Gal, 1989; Giroux, 1989; Osborne, 1996; McLaren, 1989).

Such educational processes also provide teachers with starting points through which to reflect upon and to improve their pedagogical practices with minority students, leading to the potential transformation of schooling. Such a transformation is seen as having its origins in the context of individual classrooms by means of a process of 'cultural negotiation' within instructional interactions (Darder, 1991 p. 56). Such cultural negotiation in the development of biculturalism represents an affirmative response to the tensions and conflicts often present in situations of cross-cultural contact, and has the potential to result in the development of syncretic teaching practices. Such practices allow students to capitalize on previously-developed communicative competencies while also familiarizing them with the discourse patterns and practices and the written and spoken language codes that comprise the cultural capital needed for success in the educational environment of the dominant culture without

loss of identity and self esteem (Adler, 1993; Darder, 1991; Delpit, 1988; Garcia, 1988; McLaren, 1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1994).

As a necessary part of this process, Darder (1991) emphasizes the importance of recognizing the role of language as a powerful transmitter of culture. This involves the recognition that the patterns of discourse and interaction that occur in classroom lessons are political and cultural as well as linguistic phenomena, and are not neutral. It also implies an awareness on the part of teachers that alternative ways of socializing children as communicators that exist in other cultures have the potential to impact on students' ability to participate in the institutional processes and practices of schooling in the dominant culture, including the ability to take part in the recitation style of discourse that typically characterizes instructional interactions in the classrooms of many mainstream teachers.

Discourse in Classrooms of Minority Teachers

Results of cross-linguistic studies in a variety of cultures have shown that cultural groups may differ from the mainstream model in their ways of viewing the roles of children within their society, and, correspondingly, in the ways that children are socialized to use language in order to take their place as competent members of their community. This extensive literature has documented how cultural values including the avoidance of competition, the importance of face, individualism versus group orientation, and the maintenance of appropriate interactional hierarchies influence the organization of communicative behaviour (Boggs, 1985; Blount, 1972; Crago, 1988; Demuth, 1986; Heath, 1983; Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Philips, 1983; Schieffelin, 1979; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986).

Few empirical studies have specifically examined the organization of instructional discourse found in classrooms taught by teachers representing minority cultures. Furthermore, the majority of these studies are based on individual case examples and do not include large numbers of teachers. Nevertheless, a few available studies have documented that differing cultural values regarding communication and interaction may also result in alternative ways of organizing instructional interactions (Au and Jordan, 1981; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Eriks-Brophy, 1992; Eriks-Brophy & Crago, 1994; Lipka, 1991; Lucas & Borders, 1994; Osborne, 1991; Walsh, 1991). The incorporation of cultural values and predispositions into the educational setting appears to result in the reorganization of discourse structures in ways that often differ significantly from those documented for mainstream classrooms. Some of these studies have interpreted culturally-distinctive speech or narrative styles as well as more specific aspects of instructional interactions including eye gaze patterns, the organization of turn-taking, back channel signalling, the importance of silence, and gaining access to the floor in terms of the impact of cultural values on the organization of instructional communicative practices (Au, 1980; Au and Jordan, 1981; Cazden, 1988; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Eriks-Brophy & Crago, 1994; Findlay, 1995; Heath, 1983; Lipka, 1991; Michaels, 1981; Philips, 1983).

Aboriginal Teachers

Ethnographic examinations of the organization of educational exchanges and interactions between Aboriginal teachers and students in the classroom are of particular interest to the present discussion. Those few studies that have been carried out in these settings have documented cultural differences in the organization of participant structures and discourse patterns between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers. Examples of such

research include studies conducted by Erickson and Mohatt (1982) and Lipka (1991) in classrooms taught by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers, Walsh's (1991) and Malin's (1990) examination of intercultural communication in classrooms of Australian Aboriginal students with their non-Aboriginal teachers, and Philips' (1983) examination of the classroom interaction patterns between Aboriginal students in classrooms taught by non-Aboriginal teachers.

A number of common features emerged from the findings of these researchers. First, the Aboriginal teachers in these studies did not tend to structure their interactions around typical IRE sequences in which individual students were nominated to respond to teacher elicitations. Furthermore, the structures used to organize student participation in these classrooms centered primarily around group responses rather than individual verbal displays of knowledge. Differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers have also been found in the ways in which peer initiations and interactions were viewed in the classroom. Overt social control of behaviour and the singling out of individuals for praise or reprimand rarely occurred in classrooms taught by Aboriginal teachers, while peer interactions were highly valued and encouraged. These differences were interpreted by the researchers as being tied to the incorporation of underlying cultural values and belief systems regarding appropriate communicative practices into educational exchanges.

As part of their research, Erickson and Mohatt (1982), Walsh (1991), Malin (1990) and Philips (1983) examined the instructional interactions that took place between a small number of majority culture teachers teaching North American and Australian Aboriginal students. In these classrooms, cultural differences between teachers' and students' expectations regarding the organization of verbal interactions in the classroom often went unrecognized by teachers from the majority culture. Such cultural differences had the potential to disrupt the

smooth functioning of classroom interactions, frequently leading to deficiency interpretations of Aboriginal student behaviour. According to Walsh (1991), such adverse effects on the educational performance of Aboriginal children were particularly apparent when instructional interactions were organized primarily around typical recitation style discourse patterns and practices, since these forms of interaction were unfamiliar to students. Walsh (1991) claims that the problems of miscommunication are only partially alleviated through the hiring of Aboriginal teachers, since these teachers have often been acculturated to mainstream interactional models and values as a result of teacher training experiences in mainstream institutions.

Inuit Instructional Discourse

A previous study of the discourse and interaction patterns found in first language classrooms of Inuit teachers of Nunavik conducted by Eriks-Brophy (1992) also documented differences in the organization of instructional discourse features between these classrooms and those typically described for mainstream teachers. These differences were interpreted as reflecting the incorporation of culturally congruous ways of interacting with children and the promotion of appropriate cultural values regarding social interactions in Inuit classroom conversations.

As was the case with other Aboriginal teachers, discourse in these classrooms was not found to be organized around the IRE discourse structures typically reported for mainstream classroom interactions. Instead, the Inuit teachers tended to engage in longer interactional sequences that focused on group participation and in which overt evaluation of student responses was typically absent unless some form of error occurred. Teacher-initiated sequences in Inuit classrooms were formatted primarily through use of the invitation to reply (or group response) format, and students often treated individual nominations as invitations to

reply. A great deal of overlap in both teacher and student utterances was a characteristic of the instructional discourse used in these classrooms.

Students in Inuit classrooms were able to interject comments, informatives, and elicitations towards both their peers and their teachers relatively freely within the context of teacher-directed lessons, and were not reprimanded by their teachers for initiating such comments. Instead, student contributions were consciously promoted and highly valued by all of the Inuit teachers. Lessons were generally conducted with students and teachers seated in a circle on the floor, and entailed frequent peer to peer conversations. Analyses of these conversations showed that they were usually centered around topics related to the lesson in progress. Competent academic performance in these classrooms consisted primarily of successful integration into the peer group and behaviour respectful of group membership.

Conclusion

The discussion of instructional discourse in classrooms of minority teachers and students serves as a backdrop to the understanding of children's socialization into different schooling processes and the ways in which children's learning and experience in one context and one educational setting either prepares or fails to prepare them for appropriate participation in other educational settings. Issues involving the similarities and differences between and across teachers and classrooms are necessarily very complex. However, Green and Harker (1982, p. 207) point out that, through their educational experiences, children learn "different ways of going to school and different requirements for becoming a member of the classroom society". This proposition will be explored further in Chapter 7 where results of research examining the organization of discourse and interaction patterns in

the classrooms of non-Inuit teachers in comparison to Inuit teachers teaching the same

groups of students will be presented.

Chapter 5

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF INUIT EDUCATION

Ethnographic examinations of classroom interaction and discourse patterns have frequently been criticized for failing to contextualize results within their historical and cultural frameworks (Foley, 1991; Ogbu, 1982; Suarez-Orozco, 1988). This chapter will provide background information regarding the geographical location of the five Inuit communities in which the research was carried out, and will give an overview of the historical and social contexts of schooling in Nunavik. Aspects of Inuit culture relevant to the interpretation of the results will also be briefly outlined[1].

Geographical and Demographic Context

Nunavik, the Inuit name for the territory of Northern Quebec lying north of the 55th parallel, covers approximately one third of the province of Quebec's total land mass. The majority of this territory lies above the tree line, where the climate in the region is harsh and vegetation is sparse. Snow begins to fall in September and often continues into June. Winter temperatures average -20 degrees C, with strong winds and frequent storms. Ice breakup on the large bodies of water occurs between late June and August. Summer is short and cool, with temperatures averaging 11 degrees C.

The Inuit population of Nunavik numbers approximately 7,500. It is distributed into

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[1] This chapter contains contextual information parts of which have also been presented in Eriks-Brophy (1992). The information has been updated and expanded to include two additional communities not included in the 1992 study.

fourteen remote communities located along the coasts of Hudson Bay and Ungava Bay. These communities vary in size from approximately 150 (Aupaluk) to 1500 (Kuujjuaq) people. Approximately 50% of the Inuit population of these villages is under the age of 15. The present research took place in the communities of Kangirsuk, Quaqtaq, Salluit, Inukjuak and Kangiqsualujjuaq. Kangirsuk, meaning 'bay' in Inuktitut, is located on a bay of the Payne River, approximately ten miles from its mouth on the west coast of Ungava Bay. At the time the study was carried out, Kangirsuk had a permanent population of approximately 375 Inuit and 8 non-Inuit. Quaqtaq, meaning 'which seems to be frozen' in Inuktitut, lies on a peninsula jutting out into the Straits of Hudson forming the east coast of Ungava's Diana Bay. The permanent population of Quaqtaq was approximately 250 Inuit and 6 non-Inuit at the time of the study. Salluit, meaning 'skinny people' in Inuktitut, is the northern-most Inuit community of Nunavik, lying at the tip of the Ungava Peninsula. Salluit had a permanent population of approximately 650 Inuit and 20 non-Inuit at the time of the study. Kangiqsualujjuaq, meaning 'very big bay' in Inuktitut, is located along the eastern coast of Ungava Bay and had a permanent population of approximately 380 Inuit and 5 non-Inuit at the time of the study. Inukjuak, meaning 'big person' in Inuktitut, is located on the eastern coast of Hudson Bay and had a permanent population of approximately 1062 Inuit and 11 non-Inuit at the time of the study. Kangirsuk is approximately 1000 miles north of Montreal, Quaqtaq is about 100 miles north of Kangirsuk, and Kangiqsujuaq is approximately 150 miles north of Quaqtaq. Kangiqsualujjuaq is the only Inuit community of Nunavik lying on the eastern shore of Ungava Bay, approximately 100 miles east of Kuujjuaq. Inukjuak lies approximately 1400 miles north of Montreal on the Hudson Bay coast while Salluit is approximately 260 miles north of Inukjuaq. The geographical location of the Inuit communities of Nunavik is illustrated in Figure 1.
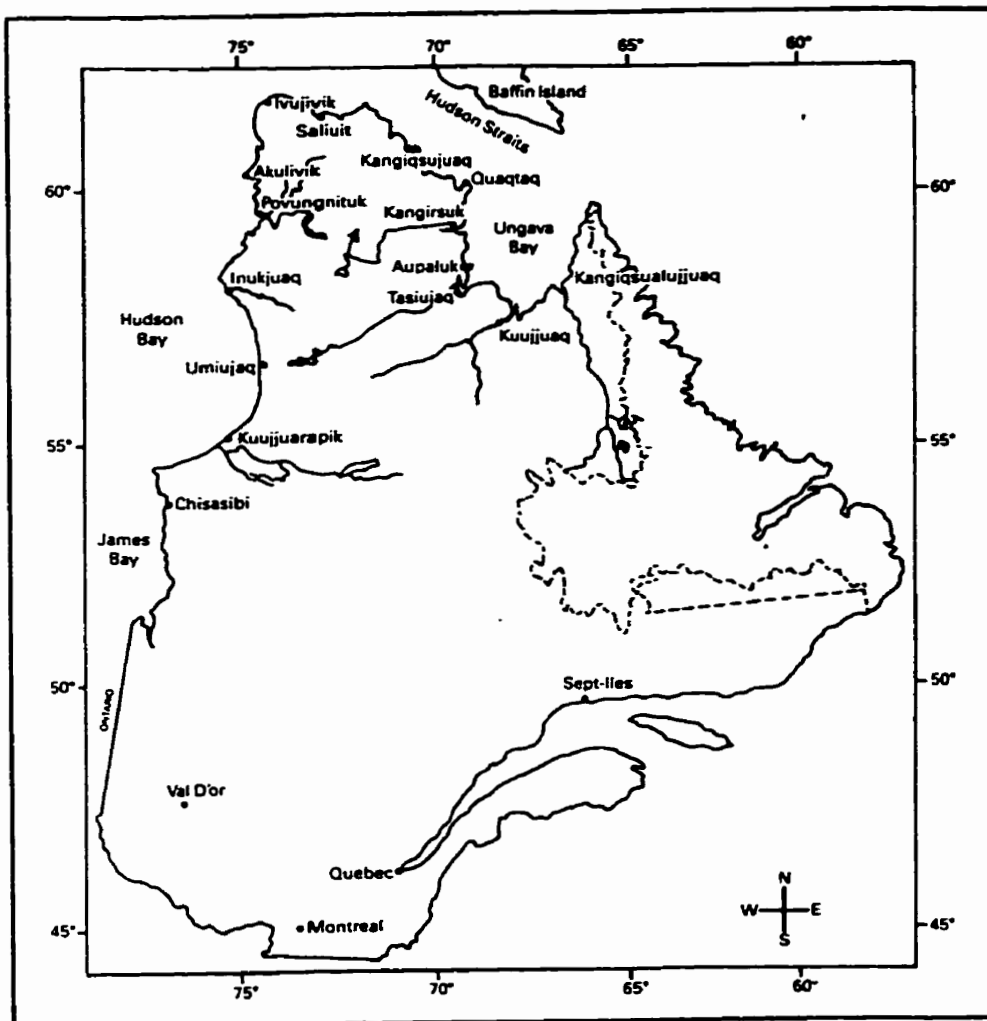
Figure 1. Geographical location of the Inuit communities of Nunavik.

The Inuit of Nunavik continue to rely on traditional subsistence activities in addition to cash wage employment. The Hunter Support Program established through funds from the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement ensures that hunting, fishing and trapping are common activities in all the villages of Nunavik. Thus both traditional and wage-based forms

of employment exist side by side in the Nunavik communities. Cash wage jobs in Inuit communities include teachers, secretaries, interpreters, social and community health workers, drivers, mechanics, janitors, store clerks and cashiers, Air Inuit agents, and members of the local municipal council.

The Inuit communities of Nunavik are accessible from the south and to each other only by air. While there are no roads to connect the villages, residents sometimes travel between communities by ski-doo in winter and by boat after the breakup of the ice on the Hudson and Ungava Bays. The Inuit live in southern-style houses which are generally furnished in southern Canadian style. The construction of the houses that presently exist in the settlements was completed in the late 1980s, however due to the rapidly expanding population of these villages and an increasing tendency toward single family housing, new homes are continually being constructed during the spring and summer months. Each community has an Inuit Cooperative store, a school, a nursing station, an airport, a community office, and at least one church, Anglican or Pentecostal, offering services in Inuktitut. Some of the villages also have a Northern Store, a variety of small convenience stores, a community centre, and a hockey arena.

Each community also has a local FM radio station that broadcasts messages, music and religious programming throughout the day. All community members, both young and old, listen to the FM radio station whose broadcasting is almost exclusively in Inuktitut. Residents call in with local announcements and activities, and issues of interest to residents are frequently discussed and debated on the radio. The Nunavik communities have received televised programming from the CBC Northern Service since 1982, and, over the last five years, also receive a number of U.S. channels that vary across the different communities. Since January, 1992, all the communities also receive a channel that broadcasts programs of

local interest exclusively in the Aboriginal languages of the Canadian North. In many Inuit

homes, both the radio and television are turned on upon waking and turned off only at the end

of the day. Video and electronic games are other common family pastimes.

Inuit Culture and Values

The Inuit way of life is based on the Thule culture which dates from 900 A.D.

Traditionally, the Inuit were a nomadic people with a seasonally-based existence, relying

principally on seal and caribou for subsistence and living in igloos and tents.

Camp groups composed of a few extended families living in close contact typically shared

goods and materials resulting in an integrated social network bonded by real, adoptive, and

fictive kinship ties (Crago, 1988). This sense of identity and belonging, an awareness of the

importance of kinship relations and behaving appropriately and responsibly as a member of

the cultural group continue to be important values in present day Inuit society. Other

important Inuit values include cooperation, the avoidance of conflict and competition, treating

others with respect, obeying parents and elders, non-interference in the thinking and

behaviour of others, and avoiding talkativeness and standing out from the group (Eriks-

Brophy, 1992; Crago, 1988).

A number of these values can be seen as underlying the language socialization of Inuit

children as described by Crago (1988), who examined parent-child interactions in the

unicultural, unilingual homes of four young children in two Nunavik communities. Crago

documented how children were rarely engaged as communicative partners by their adult

caregivers and were expected instead to learn without extensive talk through listening and

observing adults. Parents did not engage children in labelling routines or ask them to recount experiences or events to others. Further, children were particularly unaccustomed to answering test questions, as this implied a certain disrespect towards the adult on the part of the child. Instead, children were given many directives in the home, and proper performance of these directives was considered by Inuit adults to be an indication that the child was learning language. Verbal displays of knowledge were discouraged, and even frowned upon in the homes of children with older parents.

Inuit children have typically lived in large extended family situations comprised of multi-age groupings, and frequently have older siblings as caregivers. Instead of direct interaction with adults, Inuit children were encouraged to interact verbally with their adolescent caregivers, siblings and peers. An exception to this finding were repetition routines that occurred between adults and children involving kinship terms used in order to greet adults with proper respect. Crago described a hierarchy of silence that exists in Inuit social interactions such that an older person, for instance a mother, will relate less directly to her young child when a sibling caregiver is present.

The communities of Nunavik are experiencing rapid growth and change. The traditional extended family living situation is gradually being replaced by small nuclear families, many of which are multilingual and multicultural as a result of cross-cultural marriages. More and more of these young families are living in single-family homes and apartments. This change in the organization of the family has impacted on communicative patterns, with parents adapting and changing traditional communicative roles for children in the home. Some parents feel an increased need to expose their children to varying forms of communicative interaction, including labelling routines, test questions, and other forms of talk that they feel might better prepare their child for the demands of schooling (Crago, Annahatak,

& Ninguiruvik, 1993).

The Current Status of Inuktitut in Nunavik

The primary language of communication in all the communities of Nunavik is Inuktitut. There are two primary dialects of Inuktitut spoken in Nunavik, the Hudson Bay and the Ungava Bay dialects. A 1992 survey of language use in these communities estimated that 95 percent of the Inuit population of Nunavik learned one of the two dialects of Inuktitut as their first language, while approximately 45 percent of Inuit residents reported they had no knowledge of any language other than Inuktitut (Dorais, 1992a; 1992b). Inuktitut continues to be the primary language used in the home, the community, and in traditional Inuit activities. Use of the syllabic system of written Inuktitut, first developed by missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century for producing written forms of the Bible, is also wide-spread in the Nunavik communities. While no statistics exist regarding literacy in Inuktitut in Nunavik communities, the Inuit of Nunavik appear to be very literate in their first language. Community newspapers, magazine articles, and notices are written in Inuktitut syllabics. Signs identifying community buildings and offices are written first in Inuktitut, followed by English and French.

Inuktitut has been described as one of the few Native North American languages with a chance of long-term survival (Foster, 1982; Taylor & Wright, 1989). Nevertheless, exposure to the dominant culture of Canada and its two official languages is an inescapable reality for the Inuit of Nunavik. English and French are commonly used languages of wider communication in the communities, and English in particular appears to be gaining prominence and prestige at a rapid rate. A knowledge of both Inuktitut and either English or French is often required to obtain cash wage jobs and to communicate in the workplace, a

significant concern given that employment opportunities in northern communities are severely

limited. While it is not generally conceded by the residents of Nunavik that the status of

Inuktitut is threatened by the use of a second language, factors identified as potentially

contributing to language loss indicate that a gradual shift toward the use of the second

language may be taking place which may eventually threaten the primary status of Inuktitut in

Nunavik. These factors include the increased use of second language and mixed language

among the younger generation, the status given to the second language in terms of

educational and employment opportunities, greater exposure to the influences of the second

language through increased access to electronic media, and the relative accessibility to

southern culture through air travel (Blair & Fredeen, 1995; Crago & Genesee, 1996; Crago,

Annahatak & Ninguiruvik, 1993; Cummins, 1989; Eriks-Brophy, 1992; Fishman, 1991; Taylor,

1990; Taylor, Crago & McAlpine, 1993, Taylor, Wright, Ruggiero & Aitchison, 1992; Wright,

Taylor, Ruggiero & Macarthur, 1996).

An area of particular concern is the attitudes of community members regarding the

respective roles of the family and the school in the teaching and learning of Inuktitut, English

and French. A language survey conducted by Taylor, White, Ruggiero and Aitchison (1992)

in one of the larger Inuit communities of Nunavik pointed out that residents felt the teaching of

Inuktitut to be primarily a family responsibility, while the teaching of English and French was

felt to be the primary focus of schooling. The authors conclude that differing messages

regarding language use in the family, the community and the school have the potential to

result in culture and identity conflicts for Inuit children, with associated feelings of confusion,

frustration, and apathy. Further, the authors speculate that, unless community council,

education committee and school board members work actively together in order to promote

the use of Inuktitut in community activities as well as in the workplace, and with particular

emphasis on the youth, a situation of subtractive bilingualism whereby English and French

would gradually replace Inuktitut as the language of prestige and wider communication might

be the eventual outcome. Much research in the area of bilingual language development

among minority culture children has demonstrated that situations of subtractive bilingualism

typically extend not only to loss of the heritage language, but also eventually to the loss of the

heritage culture as a whole (Cummins, 1989; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988; Wong

Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Mougeon, Brent-Palmer, Bélanger, & Cichocki, 1980; Wright,

Taylor, Ruggiero, Macarthur & Elijassiapik, 1994; Wright, Taylor, Ruggiero & Macarthur,

1996).

Inuit teachers interviewed as part of a previous study examining the instructional

discourse of Inuit teachers teaching in Inuktitut in classrooms of Nunavik (Eriks-Brophy, 1992)

emphasized their awareness of the pivotal role of the school in maintaining Inuktitut as a

strong, vibrant, and prestigious language in the community. Many of these teachers focused

on the teaching of difficult and often obscure vocabulary items to their kindergarten and first

grade students in order to encourage them to appreciate the complexity and richness of their

language. As one experienced Inuit teacher commented upon viewing a videotaped lesson

about the names of insects that took place in a first grade classroom:

> These words for insects are not heard much. She's teaching the Inuktitut language,
> the real language. It's worth spending the time to teach these words. It keeps the
> children thinking. They are busy learning the language. When she teaches the
> children she uses hard words that are not used much any more. The children need to
> know these words. To us now, the Inuktitut language is very poor. The teachers need
> to teach the children the correct ways of saying things. We need to tell them, "Say if
> like this" and "Talk like this" since our language is getting weaker. It's very important to
> use the proper words to make the language strong [Inuk teacher cited in Eriks-Brophy,
> 1992, p. 154].

A number of the parents of children videotaped as part of the study expressed in

various ways the perception that their children had been "given to the school" starting at a

very young age. By this they meant that the school was taking responsibility for much of the education that had traditionally taken place in the home. Some of these parents expressed concern about the quality and strength of the Inuktitut language being used in the classroom, since they felt that to a greater and greater extent this critical and highly-valued aspect of their child's development was falling within the domain of the school.

A Brief History of Education in Nunavik

This parental perception of giving their children away to the school is reminiscent of the past educational history of many Inuit adults, who, as young children, were sent to residential schools in southern communities and only returned to their homes and families during the summer months. The history of schooling in the Nunavik communities themselves is relatively brief. While regular contact with the Inuit of Nunavik through trading and whaling dates from as early as the mid-nineteenth century, the first school in Western Ungava Bay was established in Quaqtaq only in 1947. This school was operated from a small mission that was established by Father Steinman. The Department of Indian Affairs built the first federal school in the region in 1960 in Kangirsuk, a place frequently visited by the then still primarily nomadic Inuit for the purpose of purchasing supplies, trading furs, and collecting social welfare at a trading post that was had previously been established there. In 1967 a second school was opened in Kangirsuk, run by the Provincial Direction Général du Nord du Québec (DGNQ). This school offered French language instruction as well as kindergarten classes taught in Inuktitut by Inuit teachers.

The establishment of schools in the Ungava Bay region had a profound effect on the lifestyle of the Inuit. Children as young as five years of age were lodged in a residence

adjoining the school, separated from their families from fall until spring in order to attend school. Gradually, the families of these children began to abandon their nomadic way of life in order to remain close to their children. At first, these families lived in tents and igloos in the settlement that grew up around the schools. In the mid-1960's the federal government began the construction of permanent housing for the Inuit of the Ungava Bay region.

The federal and provincial schools operated in parallel until the signing of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement in 1975. This important land claims settlement provided financial compensation for Inuit territories utilized in the construction of one of the world's largest hydro-electric projects. A significant consequence of this agreement was the establishment of regional and municipal organizations with legal powers to control the education and health care services in Nunavik, which led to the creation of the Kativik School Board in 1976.

The Kativik School Board

Since the signing of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, the education of Inuit in northern Québec has come under the control of the Inuit-controlled Kativik School Board. This governing body, composed of an Inuk Director General, as well as Inuit and non-Inuit educators and counsellors oversees the functioning of 12 of the 14 schools located in the communities of Nunavik. Local commissioners from each community sit on the Board of Directors, and each community elects members to their local education committees whose mandate is to represent community interests within the school.

Inuit Teacher Training

The training of Inuit teachers in Nunavik is accomplished through a joint teacher training program administered by Kativik School Board and McGill University. Courses are developed by means of a collaborative process between Inuit and non-Inuit representatives of the two educational institutions and are taught in the communities by Inuit teachers in Inuktitut. After having completed a total of 45 credits, Inuit teachers obtain a teaching certificate in Native and Northern Education that permits them to teach in their local community school. The program also offers a BEd program consisting of an additional 60 credits. To date 70 Inuit teachers have graduated from the certificate program and 8 from the BEd program.

The majority of Inuit teachers begin teaching in their local school upon completion of two introductory teacher training courses. These teachers continue their studies toward the certificate while receiving the majority of their actual training on the job. The local education committees are directly involved in the hiring and the dismissal of all Inuit and non-Inuit teachers employed in their community schools.

The Schools of Nunavik

The schools located in the Nunavik communities are modern buildings well-equipped with learning tools and materials. All schools have a well-stocked library containing a variety of books in all of the three languages represented in Nunavik, one or more full-sized gymnasia, computer laboratories, home economics and shop rooms, and areas devoted to the teaching of Inuit culture. The schools are decorated with student artwork as well as art and sculpture produced by adults in the community. Photographs from a previous era depicting Inuit engaging in traditional activities hang on the walls alongside modern pictures of

community activities and posters of children representing a variety of Canadian Aboriginal cultures.

At the time of the present research, the Sautjuit School in Kangirsuk had a school population of 115 students with 9 Inuit teachers including part-time staff and counsellors, an Inuk centre director, and 10 non-Inuit teaching staff members including the principal and a counsellor. The Uviliq School in Quaqtaq had a student population of 68, with 9 Inuit full and part-time teachers and counsellors, an Inuk centre director, an Inuk principal and 9 non-Inuit teaching staff members. The Satuumavik School in Kangiqsualujuaq had a student population of 150, with 10 Inuit full and part-time teachers and counsellors and 11 non-Inuit teachers, an Inuk centre director and a non-Inuit principal. The Ikusik school in Salluit had a school population of 272 students, with 10 Inuit full and part-time teachers and counsellors, an Inuk principal and an Inuk centre director, and 15 non-Inuit teachers. The Innalik school in Inukjuak had a school population of 406 students, with a non-Inuit principal, an Inuk vice principal, an Inuk centre director, 17 Inuit full and part-time teachers and counsellors, and 18 non-Inuit teachers.

Language Policy

The mandate of the Kativik School Board is to "develop a curriculum which embraces native traditions, culture, and language and to prepare students for active participation in the modern world" (Annual Report of the Kativik School Board, 1985, p. 11). This goal is promoted for Inuit children through educational policies that stress the development of balanced bilingualism beginning at the junior elementary level, where fluency in both Inuktitut and the second language are emphasized. While the implementation of this language policy varies

slightly across the communities of Nunavik, in three of the four communities where the present research was undertaken children from kindergarten through grade two are educated exclusively in Inuktitut by Inuit teachers. At the grade three level, students begin to be taught in either English or French, usually by teachers of Euro-Canadian extraction. Within the curriculum, 5.5 of a total of 23.5 hours of instruction per week continue to be taught in the native language during religion (1 hour per week), physical education (2 hours per week), and Inuktitut language and culture courses (2.5 hours per week). Parents are entitled to chose between English and French as the language of instruction for their children at the grade three level.

In one of the communities involved in this research a slightly different language policy was in effect. In this school, teaching in the second language began in grade two rather than in grade three. In addition, students in first grade received one half hour per day of exposure to the second language by the Inuk grade two classroom teacher. The stated goal of this policy was to ease the transition between instruction in first and second language for the students.

The Kativik School Board Second Language Curriculum

All programs and associated materials used in the classroom for both first and second language instruction are developed by the Kativik School Board and are based on the Ministère d'Education du Québec (MEQ) provincial curriculum guidelines. Certain learning objectives within these guidelines have been adapted and modified in order to better meet the needs of Inuit students in Nunavik. The Kativik School Board programs include Inuit cultural content and utilize materials and activities familiar to the children as the basis for instruction. Teachers are free to supplement the KSB programs with teacher-made materials and

activities drawn from other sources.

The general objectives regarding English as a language of instruction as outlined at the beginning of the English Primary Handbook (Kativik School Board, 1994a) are as follows:

1.   The students will develop a positive attitude toward the learning of English, viewing it as a base for their own future development, and not as a language that is better than or detracts from the first language.

2.   The students will recognize that language learning leads to meaningful interactions with peers and others.

3.   The students will develop an appreciation of the use and potential of the English language.

While not stated in the Annuaire Primaire Français (Kativik School Board, 1994b), it is assumed that similar objectives apply to the development of French as a second language.

In order to accomplish these objectives, the Kativik School Board has developed complete second language teaching programs in both English and French for use by the teachers. These programs emphasize the development of the second language through theme-related activities on such topics as the weather, the colours, feelings, family, school, animals, body parts, clothing, toys, and special celebrations. At the third grade level students are expected to understand and to use simple vocabulary, basic sentence patterns and common expressions, and develop skill in reading in the second language through language experience and story telling activities, songs, chants, and games. Resource books, teacher's guide and activity books, readers, picture dictionaries, printing books and other student texts have been developed by the Kativik School Board in association with the Kativik English as a Second Language [KESL] and Kativik French as a Second Language [KFSL] teaching programs. In addition, topics covered in other subject areas including science and social studies promote the further development of students' language skills and vocabulary knowledge by encouraging holistic approaches to teaching.

Non-Inuit Teacher Turnover

The Kativik School Board estimates the turnover of southern teachers at approximately 30% per year. On average, teachers spend between one and two years working in Nunavik community schools. A number of factors contribute to the high turnover of teachers in Nunavik. First, some teachers experience culture shock and a difficulty in adjusting to life in isolated northern villages. Further, the organization of teacher certification in Québec, whereby teachers need two years of teaching experience in order to obtain a permanent teaching certificate, also contributes significantly to this problem. Many of the teachers who apply to the KSB are newly graduated from southern teacher-training programs and are at an entry level in terms of their teaching experience. Upon reception of their permanent teaching certificate, these teachers are better equipped to seek employment in an increasingly competitive job market in the field of education and so leave the Inuit communities. Finally, relatively few of the teachers hired by the KSB are trained in second language teaching methods. Only two of a total sample of twenty seven non-Inuit second language teachers interviewed as part of a recent study in Nunavik schools of the Kativik School Board had any second language training, and none had any cross-cultural training (Spada & Lightbown, 1997). Many teachers feel ill-prepared to deal with the actual situations they frequently encounter in the classroom, which may include multi-level classrooms of students with a limited knowledge of the second language.

The schools of Nunavik are in a process of constant development and change. More and more Inuit are taking their place as teachers and administrators both within the local schools and at the school board level. Community members and education committees are taking an active role in determining the future directions of schooling in Nunavik. The Kativik School Board has recently re-evaluated its language and educational policies in order to

determine how it may best achieve the goal of balanced bilingualism set out in its mandate.

Rationale for the Study

One of the principal dilemmas currently faced by the Kativik School Board is how to organize teaching in such a way that it enables students to function competently in both Inuit culture and the southern culture with which they are increasingly coming into contact. An answer to this complex question involves an understanding of the ways in which Inuit children are prepared to deal with the differing expectations and requirements of these two cultures through their educational experiences. The present research documents the communicative style and interaction patterns found in Inuit and non-Inuit teachers' classrooms and the degree to which these different ways of going to school either facilitate or interfere with learning in these two educational contexts.

A previous study examining the discourse and interaction patterns of Inuit teachers and their students at the kindergarten and grade one levels described the cultural practices surrounding communication in these classrooms (Eriks-Brophy, 1992; Eriks-Brophy & Crago, 1994). A comparison between the teaching practices of the Inuit teachers and those of the mainstream model allowed certain hypotheses to be made regarding areas of potential conflict for Inuit children when they arrived in classrooms taught by non-Inuit teachers. However, this comparison said little about the actual educational situation of Inuit students in classrooms taught by non-Inuit teachers.

In the present study, these same students are followed into their grade three classrooms, allowing informative comparisons to be made between Inuit and non-Inuit teachers teaching the same children in the same communities. Specific comparisons are

made between instructional discourse features found in classrooms of non-Inuit and Inuit first language teachers, non-Inuit and Inuit second language teachers, experienced Inuit and experienced non-Inuit teachers, inexperienced Inuit and inexperienced non-Inuit teachers, and experienced and inexperienced non-Inuit teachers. The forms of discourse that occur in the classrooms of the non-Inuit teachers documented in the study are also compared to Mehan's (1979) documentation of the instructional discourse found in the classroom of a mainstream teacher in order to determine the similarities and differences between these different groups of majority culture teachers.

The goal of these comparisons is to examine the impact of cultural beliefs and the effect of teaching experience on classroom practices and educational discourse structure across the various teacher comparison groups and their implications for the instructional interactions of the students enroled in these classrooms. Two underlying hypotheses form the basis of the study:

(1) that substantial differences between the discourse patterns and practices of these different groups of teachers would be found which would have consequences for Inuit children learning in the context of these classrooms, and

(2) that while some of these interactional differences might result from teaching in a second language, the majority of these differences in discourse and interaction structures would be likely to reflect underlying differences in cultural values and beliefs regarding the education of children and the role of the teacher in the educational process.

Research on the cultural aspects of discourse and interaction as well as on second language learning points to the need to develop integrated theories that address the complex and interlocking power issues that arise in situations of contact between minority and majority culture teachers and students. The present study thus focuses specifically on second language learning in an Aboriginal cultural context through a dialogical framework, addressing issues of language, culture, experience and the impact of the learner on the organization of

teaching in classrooms of Inuit students. The insights gleaned from this culturally-based analysis of discourse and interaction are related to theories of second language teaching and learning as well as issues related to power and cultural dominance as addressed by critical theorists, issues of concern for theories of minority education and the development of culturally responsive pedagogical practices. In this way, the study is designed to contribute to current educational theory and approaches to language learning in situations of contact between two disparate language and cultures.

Chapter 6

METHOD

This study combines the tools of both quantitative and ethnographic research approaches in order to compare and contrast the discourse practices and their underlying belief systems across two groups of teachers teaching Inuit children in five communities of Nunavik. In this chapter, a brief summary of the applications of ethnographic approaches to educational research will be presented, along with the research strategies inherent to this type of research. Following this discussion, the method of data collection and analysis used in the present study of classroom interactions of Inuit and non-Inuit teachers as well as the measures taken to ensure the validity and the reliability of the findings will be outlined and discussed.

Ethnographic Research Strategies

Ethnography is a qualitative, descriptive, interpretive approach to research in which the researcher observes and describes certain behavioural, social or linguistic scenes and circumstances in order to recreate the shared knowledge, beliefs, practices, and behaviour of a cultural group (Agar, 1986; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Lancy, 1993; Patton, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Wolcott, 1995). Ethnography has its disciplinary roots in anthropology. Thus the centrality of culture as an analytic concept informs the clarity of much ethnographic research (Agar, 1986; Geertz, 1983; Wolcott, 1995). The goal of ethnographic research is to describe the actions and behaviours of a particular group of participants within a particular setting and to provide an interpretive account of these actions

though the interaction of emic (or insider) and etic (or outsider) perspectives of the phenomena under study (Agar, 1986; Garcia, 1992; Pike, 1964; Silverman, 1993; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Ethnographic research approaches differ from those used in quantitative research principally in their reliance on context to describe and interpret observations of social interaction within a particular society (Agar, 1986; Crago, 1988; 1992; Erickson, 1986; Lancy, 1993; Patton, 1990; Wolcott, 1995). Ethnographic research strategies are empirical and naturalistic rather than experimental, allowing the researcher to acquire first-hand knowledge of events as they take place in natural contexts and without intentional manipulation of variables. Contextualized, "thick" descriptions (Geertz, 1983) achieved through the utilization of multiple data sources are used to generate hypotheses and understandings of the complex inter-relationships between observed phenomena and the various beliefs and behaviours that represent the world view of the participants being observed. Such data sources include but are not limited to participant observation, formal and informal interviews, field notes, diaries, and the collection of documents relevant to the research question (Agar, 1988; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Lancy, 1993; Patton, 1990; Silverman, 1993; Watson-Gegeo, 1988).

Ethnographic research that is theoretically grounded allows underlying social processes to be uncovered, described, and understood. Thus ethnography relies on a particular theoretical framework in order to aid the researcher in formulating appropriate research questions, guiding the research process, and determining what constitutes evidence relevant to the research. As Watson-Gegeo (1988, p. 578) points out, ethnographers do not typically arrive at their research questions with a "blank slate".

Ethnographic research approaches can be complementary to quantitative studies. Indeed, the use of rich observational data and the intensive analysis of transcripts in

conjunction with more quantitative analyses can often make these accounts more

comprehensible and provide greater insights and an expanded perspective than either

quantitative or qualitative analyses alone, depending on the scope of the research question

being addressed (Chaudron, 1986; Finch, 1985; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Rogoff, Mistry,

Goncu and Mosier, 1993). Ethnographic data analysis relies on the ongoing examination and

classification of data throughout the research process in order to achieve its accuracy and

ecological validity. Themes and categories of analysis are abstracted from the various layers

of data collected, and hypotheses are generated as part of the ongoing data collection

process. These hypotheses are verified or rejected by means of discrepant case analysis,

negative case selection, and the lamination of schemas within the multiple layers of data

collected, as described in Goetz and LeCompte (1984). The use of a successive data

collection schedule allows additional examples within the data set to be identified in order to

confirm or to reject the proposed hypothesis. For a detailed discussion of ethnographic

research assumptions and procedures see for example Agar (1986), Crago and Cole (1991),

Fetterman (1986), Glesne & Peshkin, (1988), Goetz and LeCompte (1984), Silverman (1993),

Strauss and Corbin (1990), Patton (1990) and Wolcott (1995).

Ethnography in Educational Research

Ethnographic methodology and other qualitative research approaches have been

widely used in educational research in order to document the social organization and structure

of teaching events within both first and second language classroom contexts. Ethnographic

research approaches in educational settings have also been used to describe, among other

things, teacher behaviour, the organization of interaction among learners and teachers, the

relationship of instructional interactions to academic achievement, learning strategies, and issues related to educational policy (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Cazden, Carrasco, Guzman, & Erickson, 1980; Wilkinson, 1982; Goodlad, 1984; Erickson, 1986; Finch, 1985; Freeman, 1992; Garcia, 1992; Johnson, 1992; Lancy, 1993; Spindler, 1981; Spindler & Spindler, 1987; Watson-Gegeo, 1988; van Lier, 1988). The ultimate goal of such research is to develop a theory of the social, cognitive, and cultural organization of interaction within the classroom environment which can then be applied to the understanding of variation in these interactive processes found both within and across classrooms, as well as the ways in which these patterns and process change and evolve over time (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Erickson, 1983; Finch, 1985; Garcia, 1992; Green, 1983; Green & Harker, 1988; Green & Wallat, 1981; Watson-Gegeo, 1988).

In particular, the examination of instructional exchanges through the analysis of discourse allows a detailed picture of the intrinsic patterns and rule-governed processes of the forms of communicative interaction that occur in classrooms to be described, as well as the interaction of these processes with the expectations brought to the interaction by the students themselves. A variety of approaches to the analysis of instructional discourse have been proposed that have ranged from structural to propositional analyses of discourse organization (Bredo, Henry & McDermott, 1988; Green & Harker, 1988; Green & Wallat, 1981; Taylor & Cameron, 1987; Watson-Gegeo, 1988). Of particular interest to the present study are those approaches that have focused on the inherent sequential and organizational features of the discourse patterns and practices used by teachers and students when conversing in the classroom, as outlined by Mehan (1979), Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), and Cazden (1988). For a detailed discussion of the uses of ethnography in L1 and L2 educational research, see for example Allwright & Bailey (1991), Wilkinson (1982), Erickson

(1986), Garcia (1992), Johnson (1992), Lancy (1993), Watson-Gegeo (1988) and van Lier

(1988).

The Instructional Discourse of Inuit and non-Inuit
Teachers of Nunavik

Data for the present study examining the discourse and interaction patterns of six non-

Inuit and two Inuit second language teachers of Inuit grade three students in Nunavik

classrooms were collected over a period of three academic years, from 1992 to 1995. These

teachers represent the first main comparison group of the study, which is subdivided into non-

Inuit L2 and Inuit L2 teachers. The data from the classrooms of these teachers are compared

to the results of a previous study of discourse organization used by six Inuit L1 teachers in

kindergarten and first grade classrooms collected over two academic years between 1989

and 1991 (Eriks-Brophy, 1992). These teachers represent the second main comparison

group of the study. The processes used in subject selection, data collection and data analysis

for the present study are outlined in the sections below. These methodological processes

stem from and resemble those used in the previous study. Relevant details regarding the

Inuit L1 teachers who participated in that study can be found in Appendix A. The data

collection schedule, physical location, and a detailed description of all participants in the

earlier study can be found in Eriks-Brophy (1992).

People Involved in the Study

Teachers

Teacher selection. Over the three academic years that this research was conducted,

six non-Inuit and two Inuit second language teachers of third grade[1] classrooms were

videotaped as they interacted with their Inuit students during teacher-led oral language

lessons conducted in either English or French. These teachers varied in age, teaching

experience, and formal training in second language instruction, as described below.

All teachers, both Inuit and non-Inuit, teaching in either English or French at the grade

three level with the Kativik School Board were invited to take part in the study. In particular,

those teachers teaching the students previously videotaped in Inuit teachers' classrooms as

part of the earlier study were approached directly and asked to participate. These teachers

are Teacher 1, Teacher 2, Teacher 3 and Teacher 4 in the descriptions below. Tracing the

students involved in the earlier study into their second language classrooms resulted in a

group of primarily inexperienced teachers who were new to the North. Teacher 5 and

Teacher 6 were therefore selected through a process of "informed subject selection"

(Erickson, 1986) as a result of their prolonged experience and success in teaching Inuit

children in consultation with representatives of the Kativik School Board. The participation of

these two teachers allowed for an examination of the sorts of accommodations that non-Inuit

teachers might make in their interactions as a result of greater experience working with Inuit

children that might have an influence on the organization of discourse in the classroom.

Teacher 7 and Teacher 8 represent the only two Inuit teaching in second language in the

Kativik School Board over the time period during which the study was carried out. These

teachers were included in the study in order to interpret potential differences in discourse

patterns that might be due to factors such as grade level and second language teaching in the

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[1] With the exception of Teacher 8 who taught a grade two class, as described in Chapter 5. All of these classrooms represent a transition experience for the students, where the language of instruction has shifted from Inuktitut to the second language, either English or French.

comparisons made between the non-Inuit teachers in the present study and the Inuit teachers from the previous study.

Non Inuit L2 teacher characteristics. A brief description of each teacher-participant, providing details regarding age, teaching experience, language of instruction and length of experience teaching Inuit children is outlined below. These and other details regarding educational history and teacher training are summarized in Table 1.

Teacher 1 was a 25 year old non-Inuit teacher of English who was videotaped during the first year of the study. She had obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in social sciences at a Canadian university and went on to complete a one year Bachelor of Education program in primary education. Teacher 1 had also completed one year of a post-secondary degree in a field outside of education. Prior to being hired by the Kativik School Board Teacher 1 had worked occasionally as a supply teacher in the south, but was in her first year of full-time teaching at the time of taping. Teacher 1 taught a multi-level class divided between grades 3 and 4. Teacher 1 had applied to a variety of school boards across the Canadian north out of a desire to work with Native children. She had no formal training in second language teaching.

Teacher 2 was a 25 year old non-Inuit teacher of French who was videotaped during the first year of the study. She had completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in primary and early childhood education at a Canadian university and had worked as an occasional supply teacher for one year in the south prior to being hired by the Kativik School Board. Teacher 2 taught a multi-level class divided between grades 3 and 4. Teacher 2 was in her second year of teaching Inuit children at the time of taping, having taught at a higher grade level the previous year. Teacher 2 also came to the north out of a desire to experience a new culture

and to work with Native children. After being hired by the Kativik School Board Teacher 2

sought out as much information as possible about Inuit culture in order to prepare herself for

this new experience. Teacher 2 had no formal training in second language teaching.

Teacher 3 was a 22 year old non-Inuit teacher of English who was videotaped during

the first year of the study. She had completed a Bachelor of Education degree from a

Canadian university and was in her first year of teaching at the time of taping. Teacher 3

taught a multi-level class divided between grade 3 and grade 5, as there were no students at

the grade 4 level in English in the school during the academic year in which the taping took

place. Teacher 1 had not had any formal training in second language teaching, but was very

familiar with Whole Language teaching approaches, as this philosophy was extensively

promoted at the university where she completed her degree.

Teacher 4 was a 39 year old non-Inuit teacher of French who was videotaped during

the first year of the study. She had completed a Bachelor of Arts degree at a Canadian

university. Teacher 4 had taught for one year as a French second language teacher in a

southern school prior to being hired by the Kativik School Board. She was in her twelfth year

of teaching Inuit children at the time of taping. Teacher 4 had a multi-level class of grade 3

and 4 students and had been teaching at this level for six years at the time of taping. Teacher

4 had lived in the community for 10 years and had taught a variety of multi-level groupings at

the primary and secondary grade levels within the school. She had no formal training in

second language teaching.

Teacher 5 was a 35 year old non-Inuit teacher of French who was videotaped during

the first year of the study. She had completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in early childhood

and elementary education at a Canadian university but had no formal training in second

language teaching. Teacher 5 had no prior teaching experience at the time she was hired by the Kativik School Board. She was in her thirteenth year of teaching Inuit children at the time of taping, and had lived in the same community throughout this time. The majority of Teacher 5's teaching experience was at the grade three level. She was also instrumental in the development of the primary level Kativik French as a Second Language (KFL) program.

Teacher 6 was a thirty one year old non-Inuit teacher of French who was videotaped during the first year of the study. Teacher 6 had completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in early childhood and elementary education at a Canadian university. She had worked as a supply teacher for one year in southern schools at a variety of grade levels, and was in her eighth year of teaching Inuit children in the same community. Teacher 6 had a multi-level class of grade 3 and 4 students, and had taught at this grade level for five years. Teacher 6 had no formal training in second language teaching.

Inuit L2 teacher characteristics. Teacher 7 was a 40 year old Inuk teacher of English who was videotaped during the first year of the study. She had completed formal schooling up to grade 7 and had completed 24 of the 45 credits required for the Kativik School Board teaching certificate. Teacher 7 was in her fourth year of teaching at the time of taping but had worked as a teacher assistant for three years approximately 15 years previously in another community. She began working for the Kativik School Board three years prior to the taping, teaching Inuktitut language in both the primary and secondary grades for two years and grade 1 for one year. The year Teacher 7 was videotaped represented her first year of teaching experience in the second language. She had no formal training in second language teaching.

Teacher 8 was a 45 year old Inuk teacher of English who was videotaped during the

third year of the study. Teacher 8 completed formal schooling to grade 9. She obtained her teaching certificate through the Kativik School Board teacher training program and had worked in her community school as an Inuktitut language teacher for both the primary and secondary sector for 9 years. She then moved to the south and worked for 11 years on the development of Inuktitut language and culture programming with the Kativik School Board. Three years prior to the taping Teacher 8 returned to her home community and worked as a teacher of Inuktitut language for grades three to seven for one year. In November of the year prior to the taping Teacher 8 was asked to take over the teaching of the grade two English classroom, however she describes her approach to teaching as bilingual. The year Teacher 8 was videotaped represented her second year of teaching experience in the second language. She had no formal training in second language teaching.

A criterion of five years of teaching experience was used to distinguish between experienced and inexperienced teachers in the study. This cut-off is similar to that used by Scardamalia and Bereiter (1989) in their description of the three stages of development in the growth of teacher expertise. Based on this criterion, non-Inuit Teachers 1, 2, and 3 are considered to be inexperienced teachers and Teachers 4, 5 and 6 represent the experienced teacher grouping. Within the Inuit L1 teacher grouping (see Appendix A), Teachers 1, 2 and 5 represent the inexperienced teachers, and Teachers 3, 4, and 6 the experienced teachers. Both of the Inuit L2 teachers are considered to be experienced teachers based on this criterion.

Researcher

At the time of taping the researcher was a 37 year old former teacher with ten years of teaching experience primarily with Native children in both northern and southern communities who had also been involved in teacher training with various Canadian Aboriginal boards of

education, including the Kativik School Board. All field notes and videotapes were made by the researcher. Teacher interviews and videotape review interviews were also conducted by the researcher.

Table 1

Teacher Characteristics

Teacher	Cultural Background	Language of Instruction	Years of Teaching Experience	Years of Experience in Nunavik
Non-Inuit L2				
Teacher 1	WMC	English	first year	first year
Teacher 2	WMC	French	second year	first year
Teacher 3	WMC	English	first year	first year
Teacher 4	WMC	French	13th year	10
Teacher 5	WMC	French	13th year	13
Teacher 6	WMC	French	9th year	8
Inuit L2				
Teacher 7	Inuk	English	4th year	lifetime
Teacher 8	Inuk	English	13th year	lifetime

Physical Location

The schools in which the present research was conducted were relatively modern buildings that were centrally located in their respective communities. Classrooms were large, bright and colourful and contained modern furniture and equipment. The majority of the classrooms had rugs or carpeted areas where certain lessons were often conducted with

students and teachers seated on the floor. Either English or French teaching materials were prominently displayed, and several classrooms contained extensive libraries in the second language. Many of the classrooms had common objects labelled on cards in the second language and charts of sentence patterns in the second language on the walls. Many of the teachers had established activity centres that were used by students when they had completed their class work. Classroom rules delineating appropriate behaviour in school and various reward systems using stars or stickers to encourage academic performance were prominently displayed in some of the non-Inuit teachers' classrooms.

Data Collection

Data collected for the study was obtained from a variety of sources. Primary data consisted of videotapes of classroom interactions between teachers and students, formal and informal interviews, extensive participant observation and field notes. Secondary data was made up of commentary on the primary data by various participants. These two levels of data were collected in order to provide the multi-layered data base required for reliability and validity in ethnographic research, as described later in this chapter.

Data Collection Schedule

Data for the study were collected on three trips that are summarized in Table 2. During all of these trips, videotapes were made, participant observations were carried out, and formal interviews with teacher participants were conducted. Teachers were also encouraged to review their videotapes with the researcher. Comments made by teachers during these sessions were recorded as secondary data. During the third trip, an additional body of data was collected when Teacher 8 viewed and commented on extracts from videotapes of the other second language teacher participants. Analyzed data were presented

to the two non-Inuit pedagogical counsellors in charge of English and French as a second language at the Kativik School Board. Their comments and observations were also included as secondary data in the study.

Table 2

Data Collection Schedule

Date	Data Collected	Teacher
November 18- November 26, 1992	●Videotapes ●Interviews ●Participant Observations	Teacher 1 Teacher 2
January 22- February 3, 1993	●Videotapes ●Interviews ●Participant Observations ●Secondary Data	Teacher 3 Teacher 4 Teacher 5 Teacher 6 Teacher 7
May 9- May 12, 1995	●Videotapes ●Interview ●Participant Observation ●Secondary Data	Teacher 8

Ethical Considerations

Teachers who agreed to participate in the study were contacted by the primary researcher and dates for videotaping were agreed upon. During each of the three trips, meetings with the education committees in the various communities were held in order to discuss the study. All education committees approached as part of the study agreed that their schools would participate in the research. Upon approval by the education committee, consent forms written in Inuktitut informing parents of the study and its purpose were sent to the homes of students in the focal classrooms. In several communities, announcements were

also made over the local community radio station informing residents of the study. All parents of children in all target classrooms gave written consent allowing their children to be videotaped prior to beginning any filming. All teachers and teacher aides signed written consent forms that outlined the purposes of the study and informed them of their right to withdraw from the study at any time, to view and request copies of any videotapes made as part of the study, and to have portions of videotapes erased for reasons of confidentiality. All teachers also consented to allowing portions of their videotapes to be shown to other teachers for teaching or for research purposes. The majority of teachers reviewed their videotapes with the researcher and sometimes with the class as a whole. A number of teachers requested copies of their tapes. Only one of the teachers requested that part of a videotape be erased.

Data Sources

Videotapes

A total of approximately 31 hours of videotape was made in the eight classrooms involved in the research. Table 3 shows the breakdown of videotapes made for each teacher. Taping dates were arranged in advance with each teacher, and consisted of taping all activities that occurred during the full morning or afternoon of the teaching day, with the exception of any activities that involved leaving the classroom (e.g. recess, tooth brushing time, physical education). The time, date, and a running clock of filming time were recorded on each videotape. All of the videotapes were made by the researcher.

At the outset of the taping sessions both teachers and students demonstrated some shyness about the camera. These feelings were generally short lived, however, and both teachers and students soon went about their daily classroom activities with little attention to

the camera. Furthermore, many of the students were already familiar with the researcher and the research process as a result of having participated in the previous study. The researcher also spent either a morning or afternoon or a full teaching day observing in the focal classroom prior to the day the filming would take place. This allowed both teachers and students to adjust to having an observer in the classroom before being filmed.

Table 3

Summary of Videotapes According to Teacher

Tape Number	Teacher	Date
TE1TAPE01	Teacher 1	November 23, 1992
TE1TAPEG02	Teacher 1	November 24, 1992
TE2TAPE01	Teacher 2	November 24, 1992
TE2TAPE02	Teacher 2	November 25, 1992
TE3TAPE01	Teacher 3	January 29, 1993
TE3TAPE02	Teacher 3	February 1, 1993
TE4TAPE01	Teacher 4	January 29, 1993
TE4TAPE02	Teacher 4	February 1, 1993
TE5TAPE01	Teacher 5	February 2, 1993
TE6TAPE01	Teacher 6	January 26, 1993
TE7TAPE01	Teacher 7	January 26, 1993
TE7TAPE02	Teacher 7	January 27, 1993
TE8TAPE01	Teacher 8	May 10, 1995
TE8TAPE02	Teacher 8	May 11, 1995

Neither the teachers nor the students exhibited any long-term uneasiness or discomfort about being filmed, and teachers generally did not feel that the presence of the

researcher and the camera in the classroom had disrupted the class or caused the students to behave differently. Some teachers made such comments as "Remember, you are being videotaped", or "Let's try to do our best for the camera". These comments were made to encourage the students to speak up or to behave during the filming, and did not appear to have influenced typical teacher-student interactions.

Videotape selection criteria. One teacher-directed oral language lesson was selected for each teacher for transcription and coding. Selection of a bracketed segment followed the same criteria established in the previous study. These selection criteria were as follows:

1. that the lesson conform to the linear lesson structure outlined by Mehan (1979) consisting of an opening phase, an instructional phase, and a closing phase

2. that the sequence be defined on the teacher's lesson plan as an oral language lesson.

Use of these criteria allowed for maximum comparability across lessons and across language teaching contexts. The length of the bracketed sequence varied slightly for each teacher, with a minimum required length of 20 minutes. In certain cases (Teacher 2, Teacher 5, Teacher 6, and Teacher 7) two shorter oral language lessons were combined in order to obtain the minimum required length. In these cases, both segments met the selection criteria as outlined above.

Videotape transcriptions. Transcriptions of videotaped segments included all talk that went on in the classroom during the selected sequence. The bracketed segments were transcribed according to CHAT format [Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts], the standardized conventions of the CHILDES database system (MacWhinney & Snow, 1990). Gestural and other non-verbal acts and behaviours were transcribed as necessary in order to

follow the instructional sequence. Ambient noise, overlapping talk, and student movement often made transcription difficult. All transcriptions were verified by the researcher in conjunction with the original transcriber upon completion of a bracketed sequence. Two Inuit transcribers translated the Inuktitut utterances made by students and/or teachers on the tapes as necessary. A brief description of the sequences transcribed for each teacher can be found in Appendix B.

Participant Observation and Fieldnotes

Participant observations and fieldnotes were kept in all classrooms and concentrated on the activities and interactions that occurred both during and between formal lessons. Information obtained through informal interviews and pertinent comments made by teachers, counsellors, and transcribers were also recorded in the notes.

Interviews

Teachers were asked to respond to a set of pre-established interview questions concerning their personal teaching and educational histories, their experience and preparation for teaching Inuit children, as well as their educational philosophies and beliefs. The Inuit teachers responded to a similar set of interview questions in the earlier study. The goal of these interviews was to uncover the values and beliefs underlying the interaction patterns and teaching practices observed in the classroom of each teacher. Teachers were given the choice as to whether they wanted their interviews tape recorded or not. Those formal interviews that were tape recorded were transcribed in their entirety, while handwritten interview notes were transcribed as completely as possible. The formal interviews took place in a variety of different settings including the teacher's classroom after school, the teacher's home, or the home where the researcher was staying. The interviews took approximately two hours to complete. Some of the teachers spoke at even greater length during the interview

situation. A list of the questions used in the formal interview can be found in Appendix C.

Informal interviews consisting of questions asked of Inuit and non-Inuit teachers, principals, counsellors, and parents were recorded either on audio tape or as field notes. Such questions typically stemmed from situations that presented themselves either on the tapes or during activities that were unclear to the researcher. These informal interviews took place both inside and outside the school setting, either during or after school hours.

Recall Interviews

Recall interviews consisted of comments about videotaped sequences made by teachers regarding their own teaching practices, as well comments made by Teacher 8, one of the Inuit L2 teachers who viewed and commented on selected videotaped sequences of some of the other teacher participants. These comments constituted secondary data for the study. The comments made by these participants were used to clarify teaching strategies, methods, and belief systems underlying classroom interaction patterns, as well as to better understand the basis for the differences in school socialization practices and the organization of discourse found between the comparison groups of Inuit and non-Inuit teachers.

Both quantitative and qualitative results of the study were presented to the two second language pedagogical counsellors of the Kativik School Board, both of whom had extensive experience working with second language teachers of Inuit children. Their comments on the research as well as their interpretations of the findings were incorporated into the refinement of coding categories for the analysis and interpretation of interview and participant observation data.

Artifacts

Wherever possible, xerox copies of teachers' manuals, student work sheets, and

teaching materials used in lessons were made. These samples of teaching materials were used as needed as point of reference during the transcription and analysis of the videotaped data.

Tape Logs

Tape logs of each videotaped session were made by the researcher in order to record and outline the date and time of filming, the overall mood of the class, the people present, the teaching activities that occurred in the classroom during taping, and any particular equipment or filming difficulties encountered. Comments on the taping session as well as a diagram of the layout of each classroom were also recorded on the tape log form. A sample tape log can be found in Appendix D.

Apparatus

A Panasonic PV-604-K Omni Movie VHS video camera with internal microphone and zoom lens was used to record the videotapes used in the study. This equipment had a built-in time generator which was used to record running time on all videotapes. A Sony TCM-5000 EV audio cassette recorder was used to record the formal interviews of some participants.

Coding and Analysis of Data

This section describes the coding system used to analyze the videotaped data as well as the generation of themes and categories used in the analysis of the interview and fieldnote data. The means by which the reliability and validity of the coded data were established is also described.

Transcript Analysis

CLAN data analysis. Transcribed videotaped sequences were coded and analyzed

using the automated CLAN [Computerized Language Analysis] programs of the CHILDES

data base system (MacWhinney & Snow, 1990). Transcripts were analyzed for the following

discourse features: overall distribution of talk between teachers and students, frequency and

format of teacher initiation acts and nomination format, frequency and form of evaluation and

correction, frequency of student initiation acts, teacher response to student initiation acts,

peer exchanges, and the overall organization of discourse structure in terms of IRE

sequences and extended sequences.

This analysis allowed specific comparisons of discourse features to be made across

the following divisions of comparison groups: Inuit first language/non-Inuit second language

teachers, Inuit second language/non-Inuit second language teachers, Inuit first language/Inuit

second language teachers, experienced Inuit/experienced non-Inuit teachers, inexperienced

Inuit/inexperienced non-Inuit teachers, experienced/inexperienced non-Inuit teachers.

Individual differences between teachers within these comparison groups were also analyzed.

The forms of discourse that occurred in the classrooms of the non-Inuit teachers documented

in the study were compared to previously documented analyses of instructional discourse in

mainstream teachers' classrooms from the literature, and particularly to Mehan's (1979)

results in order to determine the similarities and differences between these two groups of

majority culture teachers.

Graphical analysis. The CLAN analysis of transcript data resulted in the calculation

of overall frequencies of various aspects of instructional discourse as outlined in the section

above. Proportions of these discourse features were calculated and compared across the comparison groups through presentation in the form of charts and graphs. This procedure is similar to the process of functional pattern analysis as described in Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu and Mosier (1993), whereby small sample size and rich observational data are balanced through the intensive analysis of transcript material. As stated in Rogoff et al. (1993, p. 31), "this contrasts with research that involves statistical methods with large samples, in which most of the variation observed is regarded as random and relegated to the error term". In such an analysis, each relevant example within a case must be accounted for rather than attributing such anomalies to random error within the sample itself. Data represented in the form of figures are presented in the results chapters. The specific frequency data associated with these figures are presented in the form of tables in Appendix E.

Coding categories. The coding system used for analysis of instructional discourse features using the CHILDES database system was based on the coding system developed for the previous study (Eriks-Brophy, 1992). The coding categories in that study were derived from the work of Mehan (1979), Ervin-Tripp and Wong Fillmore (1988) as well as discourse features observed in the results of studies examining Aboriginal classroom interactions including Erickson and Mohatt (1982), Philips (1978), and Lipka (1991). This basic set of coding categories was revised and expanded in both studies through addition of categories stemming from the data itself in order to capture the particularities of the interactions that occurred in classrooms of Inuit students.

The CHAT transcription format for this study involved three main components, namely the file headers, the main speaker tier, and the dependent tiers. In the present study, speaker utterances were transcribed on the main speaker tiers. Dependent tiers followed the main speaker tier and contained coding, situational, and descriptive information of interest to the

researcher. The organization of obligatory and optional coding tiers can be found in the coding manual developed for the study presented in Appendix F, which includes a complete description and examples of each coding category. An excerpt from a coded transcript can be found in Appendix G. For details regarding the organization of transcripts and coding using the CHILDES database, see MacWhinney (1993).

Fieldnote and Interview Analysis

Fieldnote and interview data were coded using categories stemming from the previous research project as described in Eriks-Brophy (1992) as well as various new categories that stemmed from the researcher's own teaching experience with Aboriginal children, concepts and labels derived from the literature, discussion with the two highly experienced KSB pedagogical counsellors, and non-Inuit teachers' own stated concepts regarding teaching and learning. The notes and interview responses were broken down into relevant properties and dimensions for the purpose of identifying and interpreting major themes in the data through the processes of open and axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Open coding breaks data down into properties and dimensions for purposes of examination, comparison, and conceptualization. These general categories were broken down into a number of sub-categories that related either to the teacher, the students, or the lesson. A list of these broad open categories and their related subcategories can be found in Appendix H. These general categories were then related back together through the process of axial coding whereby open categories are reformulated and reconnected into more specific themes that reflect the interrelatedness of the data. Through the axial coding process, three main themes were identified in the interview and fieldnote data: the importance of speaking the second language, the fostering of independence and individualism, and promoting respect for teacher authority.

Verification of Findings

Discrepant Case Analysis

Throughout the data collection process, various hypotheses were formulated and tested by means of discrepant case analysis (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). Schemas were developed and tested through use of classroom observations, a successive data collection schedule and informal interviews in order to confirm or reject the validity of the hypotheses.

Establishing Reliability and Validity

The criteria used to establish reliability and validity in the present research are based on those outlined by Goetz and LeCompte (1984) for ethnographic research and closely resemble those used in the Eriks-Brophy (1992) study.

External reliability. In order to account for external reliability, the status of the researcher, the participants, the data sources, and the contexts in which the data were collected have been clearly identified. The derivation of categories and themes used in the analysis of the data are fully referenced and methods used for data reduction and analysis are described. Coding categories, themes, and examples of coded transcripts are provided in Appendices.

Internal reliability. Internal reliability has been accounted for through the use of mechanical recording of data through the use of videotapes, a multi-layered data base, and the inclusion of the Kativik School Board Pedagogical counsellors as well as a number of expert teachers in the collection of secondary data in the lamination process. Reliability in coding of transcript data was achieved through calculating Cohen's Kappa values for inter-rater agreement for two of the three obligatory tiers (%cat, %exi) and one of the optional coding tiers (%nom) across three independent coders based on a five minute segment of

classroom interaction from a videotape that was similar to but not a part of the present study.

Cohen's Kappa is a descriptive statistic used in calculating the proportion of observed

agreements that corrects for the percentage of agreement that would be expected strictly by

chance if coders were assigning codes indiscriminately. The specifics for calculating this

statistic as well as a number of examples and refinements of its use are described in

Bakeman and Gottman (1986) and in Lampert and Ervin-Tripp (1993). According to Bakeman

and Gottman (1986), as a general rule of thumb, kappas of .40 to .60 are considered fair, .60

to .75 as good, and over .75 as excellent. The overall percentage of inter-rater agreement

across the three coders, the associated Cohen's Kappa values, and rating of the derived K

values for the three main coding tiers used in the analysis are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Coding Reliability Using Cohen's Kappa

Coding Tier	Percentage of Agreement across 3 Independent Coders	Cohen's K Value	Rating
%cat	84.97	.7718	excellent
%exi	87.14	.7385	good
%nom	87.27	.8548	excellent

External validity. Control of four types of effects, namely selection effects, setting

effects, historical effects, and construct effects, are typically used to control for external

validity in ethnographic research. In the present study, selection effects were reduced by

following the students filmed as part of the previous study into their second language

classrooms, and by taping both English and French teachers of these children in the same

communities. Setting effects were accounted for by selecting a variety of second language

classrooms in different Inuit communities in which to videotape and through the use of

extensive participant observation in all of these instructional settings. Historical effects

relevant to the communities involved in the research have been outlined in the chapter on the

socio-cultural context of Inuit education. Construct effects have been reduced through the

derivation of coding categories based on prior research in the area of discourse analysis and

Aboriginal education and through consultation with experienced Inuit and non-Inuit teachers

and pedagogical counsellors in the refinement of the coding categories developed as part of

the previous study.

Internal validity. Internal validity was established through accounting for three types

of effects: observer effects, selection effects, and maturation effects. Observer effects were

minimized through consultation and inclusion of participants who were experienced teachers

of Inuit children, through the use of a consultative process in the development of descriptive

categories for analysis of interview and participant observation data, and through extensive

contact with a number of teachers of Inuit children with differing educational backgrounds and

experiences and in a number of different situations. Selection effects were reduced through

gathering data in a variety of different classrooms and through applying strict criteria for

selection of videotaped sequences for transcription and analysis that were comparable across

the two studies. History effects were reduced through collecting data in the majority of the

classrooms at an equivalent point in the academic year[2].

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[2]Teacher 8 represents an exception in this respect, as she was filmed during a different academic year than the other teacher participants, as well as at a different point in the academic year (year-end as opposed to mid-year). Teacher 8 was not teaching in a second language context at the time the other participants were filmed. The point in the academic year during which Teacher 8 was filmed was determined as a result of travel constraints on the part of the researcher.

A Caveat

In her discussion of the language socialization practices found within Inuit culture,

Crago (1991, p. 4) evokes the following caution:

> All cultures vary in their ways of socializing their children through language. However, no culture is a monolith. Variation exists in communities, families, and individuals. Language socialization practices are not the unique holding of any one culture. Within a culture, language socialization varies according to whom, how, when, and where.

This caveat applies equally well to educational research, where individual differences

between teachers, schools, and educational contexts must be taken into account in the

presentation and discussion of research findings. In their discussions of the results of the

present study, both Inuit and non-Inuit teachers and pedagogical counsellors alike spoke of

the danger of proposing that there existed an "Inuit" and a "non-Inuit" way of teaching that

could completely capture and characterize the teaching styles of the individual teachers

represented in the research. Certainly such a description would risk oversimplifying the

current situation of language teaching in Nunavik. Instead, the descriptions of differences in

teaching styles and discourse organization between the two groups of Inuit and non-Inuit

teachers taken as a whole might be more effectively seen as representing a continuum of

educational practices, while the instructional practices of individual teachers might fall at any

point along this continuum. Indeed, considerations of and explanations for individual

differences between teachers in discourse organization and interactional style form an

important focus of the present research, and will be presented in some detail in the chapters

that follow.

Chapter 7

DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHING BETWEEN INUIT AND NON-INUIT TEACHERS OF NUNAVIK: ISSUES OF TEACHER CONTROL, AUTHORITY AND FIRST LANGUAGE USE IN THE CLASSROOM

In this chapter, fundamental differences in perspective regarding the goals and the organization of teaching across the three comparison groups of Inuit first language [L1], Inuit second language [L2], and non-Inuit second language teachers [L2] will be illustrated. The presentation of these results will be organized around two central themes: the organization and control of talk in the classroom and the emphasis placed on speaking the second language in classroom exchanges. Both of these themes are directly related to issues of teacher control of instructional interactions in the classroom. These differing perceptions of teaching and teacher authority will be illustrated through reference to both quantitative and qualitative results.

The first part of this chapter will describe the ways in which Inuit and non-Inuit teachers organized and controlled instructional discourse in order to either emphasize or de-emphasize these differing goals related to teacher control and authority over student talk and behaviour in the classroom. Descriptions of the overall distribution of talk in the classroom, the overall organization of instructional interactions, the frequency of student initiations within the instructional interaction, teachers' response to these student initiations, and the frequency of usage of various teacher initiation acts will be presented as part of this first theme. As has been previously described, several of these discourse features have been found to be susceptible to cultural variation, thus affecting the organization of educational exchanges across cultures. In the second part of this chapter, the ways in which Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers either promoted or restricted the use of the students' first language, Inuktitut, in

classroom exchanges will be described. This control over student talk constituted further evidence of the imposition of teacher authority and control over instructional interactions.

Teachers' Stated Perceptions of Their Role in the Classroom

As described in Eriks-Brophy (1992), Inuit L1 teachers considered their primary role in the classroom to be the facilitation of student exchanges. As part of their interviews, the Inuit L1 teachers were asked what they considered to be the most important thing to be taught in the classroom. These Inuit L1 teachers responded with such comments as:

That my students should know how to get along and help each other.

That my students learn to cooperate.

That my students respect each other.

[Interviews, Inuit L1 Teachers from Eriks-Brophy (1992) p. 140-141]

On the other hand, when asked the same question, the non-Inuit second language [L2] teachers typically referred to two major themes, namely developing a respect for the authority of the teacher and developing proficiency in the second language as particularly important in teaching. The first of these themes can be seen in the interview extracts that follow.

To listen to the teacher. This needs to be taught. Also the respect of others, to listen to others.

Respect for the teacher. Respect for the teacher and for others.

[Interviews, non-Inuit L2 Teachers]

Establishing Respect for Authority through Lesson Structure

One of the primary ways in which non-Inuit teachers encouraged student respect for teacher authority was in their ways of organizing and controlling the talk that occurred in the classroom. These ways of managing talk will be described in the sections that follow, where primarily quantitative data will be used to illustrate differences in the organization of discourse between Inuit L1, Inuit L2, and non-Inuit L2 teachers. The presentation of discourse features found to contribute to differences in overall lesson structure is organized into four major categories: the overall distribution of talk in the classroom, the organization of teacher talk, teacher initiation acts, and teacher versus student-initiated sequences. Each of these discourse features will be described in turn.

The Overall Distribution of Talk

As was previously noted, within both L1 and L2 classrooms, teacher talk typically comprises approximately two-thirds and student talk one third of the overall talk occurring in the classroom (Chaudron, 1988; Legaretta, 1977; Mehan, 1979). The breakdown of talk in the classrooms of Inuit and non-Inuit teachers of Inuit children in Nunavik is presented in Figure 2. As can be seen from the figure, the non-Inuit teachers dominated the talk that took place in the classroom to a slightly greater extent than did either of the two groups of Inuit teachers. In the classrooms of the Inuit L1 teachers, the talk was almost equally shared between teachers and students, while the percentage of teacher talk in the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers fell between that of the Inuit L1 and the non-Inuit L2 teachers.
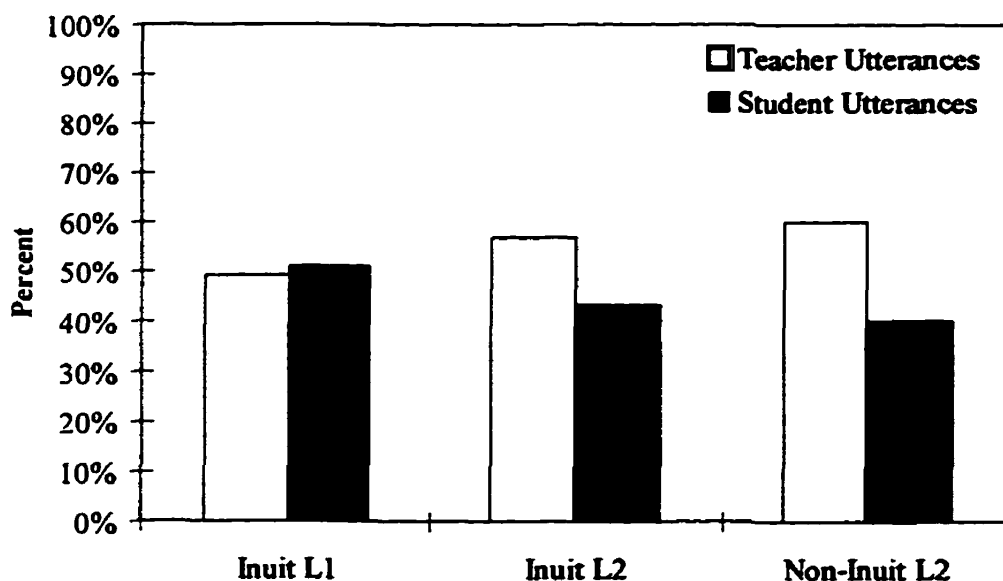
Figure 2. Percentage of talk of teachers and students in the classroom.

The overall distribution of talk within the classrooms of the teachers of Inuit children as a whole differs somewhat from the two-thirds teacher talk to one-third student talk ratio typically reported for traditional mainstream L1 and L2 classrooms. Within these classrooms, students had more opportunity to talk than in other classrooms described in the literature.

The Organization of Teacher Talk

A breakdown of the overall organization of sequences of discourse across the three comparison groups for the fourteen teacher-directed lessons is illustrated in Figure 3. Non-Inuit teachers differed from both groups of Inuit teachers in terms of the distribution of the majority of these discourse sequences in the overall organization of their lessons. Each of these discourse sequences will be described in the sections that follow.

Opening Sequences

The category label "Managing the Activity" was used to code utterances related to the phase of lesson structure known as the opening sequence (see Figure 3). The opening phase of a lesson as described by Mehan (1979) typically serves to provide students with information about what will occur during the instructional phase of the lesson and how the lesson will take place. The opening phase in mainstream classrooms typically consists of extended monologues by the teacher, used in order to orient the students toward the teacher-established lesson topic as well as to physically organize students and materials for the activity.
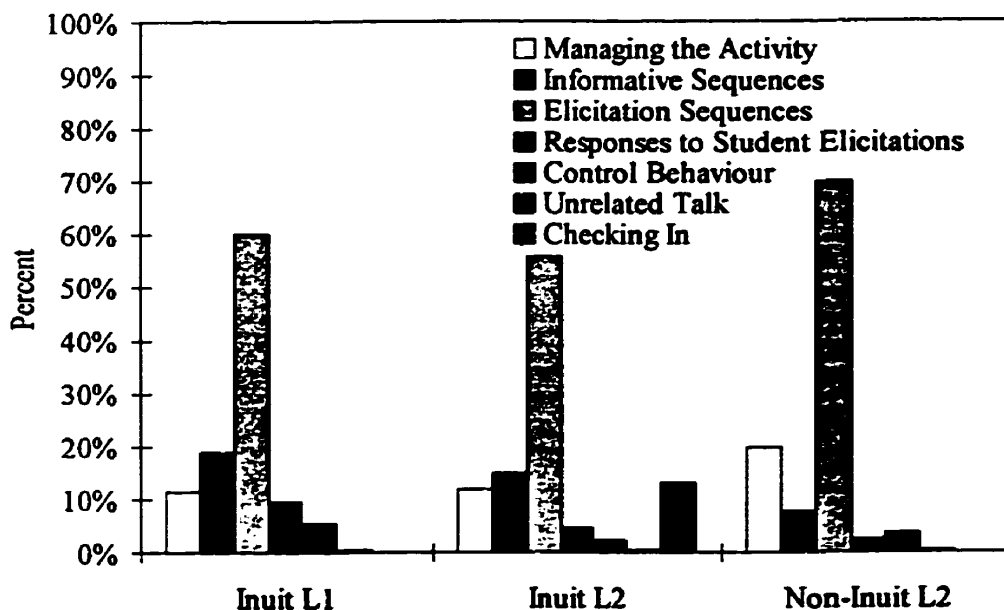
Figure 3. Percentage of teacher discourse sequences in teacher-directed lessons.

The non-Inuit teachers spent almost twice as much time as Inuit L1 teachers in organizing, discussing, and managing the activity to be taught. The lessons taught by the non-Inuit teachers as well as the lesson of one of the two Inuit L2 teachers (Teacher 8)

typically contained extensive opening sequences. In contrast, as reported in Eriks-Brophy

(1992), lessons in Inuit L1 classrooms did not generally begin with any form of teacher

monologue. These teachers typically provided only brief information about what the class

would be doing or discussing in the course of the lesson. In the Inuit L1 classrooms, these

opening segments consisted primarily of teachers informing students where to place

themselves physically in order to begin the lesson. Three representative examples of opening

phases from an Inuit L1, an Inuit L2 and a non-Inuit teachers' classroom clearly demonstrate

the difference in the opening phase of lesson structure across the three comparison groups.

Teacher:	We're going to be over here.
Teacher:	Come on over now.
Teacher:	Richard, Richard, you come here.
Teacher:	Rhoda, you too.
Student:	What are we going to do?
Teacher:	Form a circle.
Teacher:	Come on, Jaaji.
Teacher:	What's this? [lesson begins]

[Inuit L1 classroom (in translation) from Eriks-Brophy (1992) p. 102]

Teacher:	Yesterday we were learning about... What were we learning about?
Student:	Fruit salad.
Teacher:	Aah [Inuktitut=yes] # fruits.
Teacher:	Fruits.
Students:	Fruits.
Teacher:	Aah [Inuktitut=yes]. Okay # for today we'll learn about +...
Students:	Vegetables.
Teacher:	Ok, vegetables [lesson begins].

[Inuit L2 classroom]

Teacher:	Ok...là j'aurai besoin de deux paniers. [Ok...now I'll need two baskets].
Teacher:	Est-ce que il y'a des paniers comme ca qu'on peut...pourquoi ils sont là, les bouts de papier? Bon, on va enlever le papier et on va laisser le dernier

à Johanne.
[Are there any baskets like this that we can...why are these here, these bits of paper? All right, we'll take the paper out and leave it for Johanne].

Teacher: Bien...parce que là on va aller à la pêche [very animated voice].
[All right...because now we're going fishing].

Students: Oui!
[Yes!].

Teacher: On va aller à la pêche ce matin.
[We're going fishing this morning].

Student: C'est quoi ça?
[What's that for?].

Teacher: Ah...tu n'as jamais pêché toi, Peter?
Je vais vous montrer ça comment on va à la pêche.
[Ah... you've never been fishing Peter? I'll show you how we'll go fishing].

[Teacher continues to talk about what students will do for three more minutes while she organizes materials and gets ready to begin the lesson].

[non-Inuit L2 classroom]

The Instructional Phase

Mehan (1979) has described the instructional phase as the heart of a lesson, involving the presentation and exchange of academic information, opinion, interpretation, and analysis. The main goal of the teacher during the instructional phase is to organize instructional sequences in order to impart and to elicit particular information from students. The remaining five categories from Figure 3 were used to code the sequences of discourse found within the instructional phase of lesson structure across the comparison groups.

Informative sequences. For the purposes of the present study, informative sequences were defined as consisting of authentic exchanges of information between teachers and students occurring within the context of the lesson and related to the lesson topic, in contrast to the IRE sequences involving the elicitation of known information that typically characterize instructional interactions. As illustrated in Figure 3, the non-Inuit

teachers used fewer informative sequences in their interactions with their students than did

either group of Inuit teachers. Inuit L2 teachers used approximately twice the number of

informative sequences as non-Inuit L2 teachers, while the highest frequency of use of

informative sequences occurred in the classrooms of the Inuit L1 teachers.

Teacher responses to student elicitations. Non-Inuit L2 teachers also responded

less frequently to student elicitations than did either group of Inuit teachers. The highest

frequency of use of these discourse sequences again occurred in the classrooms of the Inuit

L1 teachers. An example of a representative student elicitation sequence that resulted in an

informative sequence taken from the lesson of one of the Inuit L2 teachers follows. Angle

brackets in the examples indicate overlapping talk.

Student:	[In Inuktitut=What was it?].
Teacher:	This is what you were feeling.
Student:	Ah cool!
Teacher:	A round rock.
Student:	<Let me see it>.
Student:	<Ah cool>.
	[Students lean over the desk to get a better look at the rock].

[Inuit L2 classroom]

Elicitation sequences. The majority of the instructional time across all three groups

of teachers was spent on teacher elicitation of information from students regarding lesson

topics through some form of elicitation sequence (see Figure 3). Elicitation sequences made

up of bulk of all interactions within the instructional phase, and constituted 53% of the overall

teacher discourse in the classroom described by Mehan (1979). In Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and non-

Inuit L2 classrooms, the use of elicitation sequences exceeded that reported by Mehan,

particularly in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers. Although the overall frequency of use of elicitation sequences did not differ substantially across the three groups of teachers of Inuit children, there were nevertheless important differences in the distribution of three basic varieties of elicitation sequences: IRE routines, IRe routines, and IR routines. These three forms of elicitation sequences will be described in more detail in Chapter 8.

Control behaviour. Sequences used in order to control student behaviour within the instructional interaction were found in the lessons of all the teachers. The frequency of the sequences was similar across all three groups of teachers, with Inuit L1 teachers initiating more of these sequences than the other two comparison groups. Despite the quantitative similarity across the comparison groups, there was a major qualitative difference in the use of these sequences between Inuit and non-Inuit teachers. Within the classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers, sequences to control behaviour were typically overtly directed at individual students who were seen by the teacher as misbehaving or not attending during the lesson. In contrast, as discussed in Eriks-Brophy (1992), in Inuit L1 classrooms these types of sequences were typically addressed to the group as a whole and were not used to spotlight the behaviour of individual students. As the following examples demonstrate, Inuit L2 teachers resembled the Inuit L1 teachers in this regard.

Teacher:	[in Inuktitut= you guys are not listening].
Teacher:	Okay. Everybody sit properly. No fooling around.
Teacher:	Can you all get rid of this...everything else that's on the table?
Teacher:	[in Inuktitut= you guys are not behaving too well and I'm not too happy about it so now we are going to stop over here].

[Inuit L2 classrooms]

Teacher:	Bobby! I want you to be quiet.
Teacher:	Eva, tu regardes ici. [Eva, look over here]. Eva, taima taima [in Inuktitut=that's enough], okay?
Teacher:	Open your mouth Robert [=looking for gum]. You too. Open up, Frankie. Ok Robert, put it in your pocket
Teacher:	Sit up Jaani please.

[non-Inuit L2 classrooms]

Checking in. The category labelled "Checking In" in Figure 3 was used to code

instructional sequences originally described by Erickson and Mohatt (1982) which were

frequently found in the two classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers, and particularly in the classroom

of Teacher 8. In these sequences, the teacher interacted briefly with individual students

within the overall framework of the lesson, but nevertheless outside the public arena and at a

lowered voice level from that used in full-group interactions. For a discussion of "checking in"

in the Inuit L1 study, see Eriks-Brophy (1992, p. 101). Two representative examples of

checking in that took place within the context of the overall lesson in each of the two Inuit L2

teachers' classrooms serve to illustrate these discourse sequences. Interestingly, these

checking in sequences were often conducted in Inuktitut by both of the teachers. No

examples of checking in were found in the non-Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms.

In the first example, taken from the classroom of Teacher 7, the student involved in the

exchange had arrived late for class. Teacher 7 then took time within the framework of the

lesson in progress in order to interact briefly with the newly-arrived student.

Teacher:	Good morning Annie.
Student:	Good morning.
Teacher:	How are you?
Student:	I'm fine.
Teacher:	That's good.
Teacher:	[in Inuktitut=What did you eat this morning?].
Student:	[in Inuktitut=Toast (in very soft voice)].
Teacher:	[in Inuktitut=Toast]?
Student:	[in Inuktitut=Yes].

[Inuit L2 classroom]

In the example taken from the classroom of Teacher 8, the students were working on a lesson involving the five senses. Each object used in the activity was classified by the students according to the sense used to identify it during the activity. These objects were then recorded on a work sheet next to the appropriate category. During her lesson, Teacher 8 regularly circulated among the students to check their work sheets, making sure that each one was recording the object in the appropriate place.

Teacher:	[to group in louder voice] We heard whistling.
Teacher:	Whis...
Teacher:	[to individual student in Inuktitut in lowered voice level=Beside the ear].

[Inuit L2 classroom]

This checking in sequence was repeated four consecutive times for four individual students as the teacher circulated around the classroom. The relatively high frequency of checking in found in the classroom of Teacher 8 may be related to the fact that this was the only lesson where students were asked to fill in a work sheet as part of the activity. None of the other lessons analysed within the context of the present study involved any form of writing activity by the students.

Unrelated talk. All sequences of unrelated talk involving teachers and students that occurred within the context of the teacher-directed lessons were coded as part of the overall analysis. These sequences were rare in all the lessons analysed.

Teacher Initiation Acts

As described by Mehan (1979), the elicitation of information from students during the instructional phase of the lesson is usually accomplished through the use of three different teacher initiation acts: elicitations, informatives, and directives. The distribution of teacher initiation acts utilized by Inuit L1 and L2, non-Inuit and Mehan's mainstream teacher is summarized in Figure 4. Note that in this section, the category 'informative' refers to utterances representing teacher initiation acts as opposed to Figure 3 where 'informative' referred to sequences of interaction between teachers and students in the classroom.
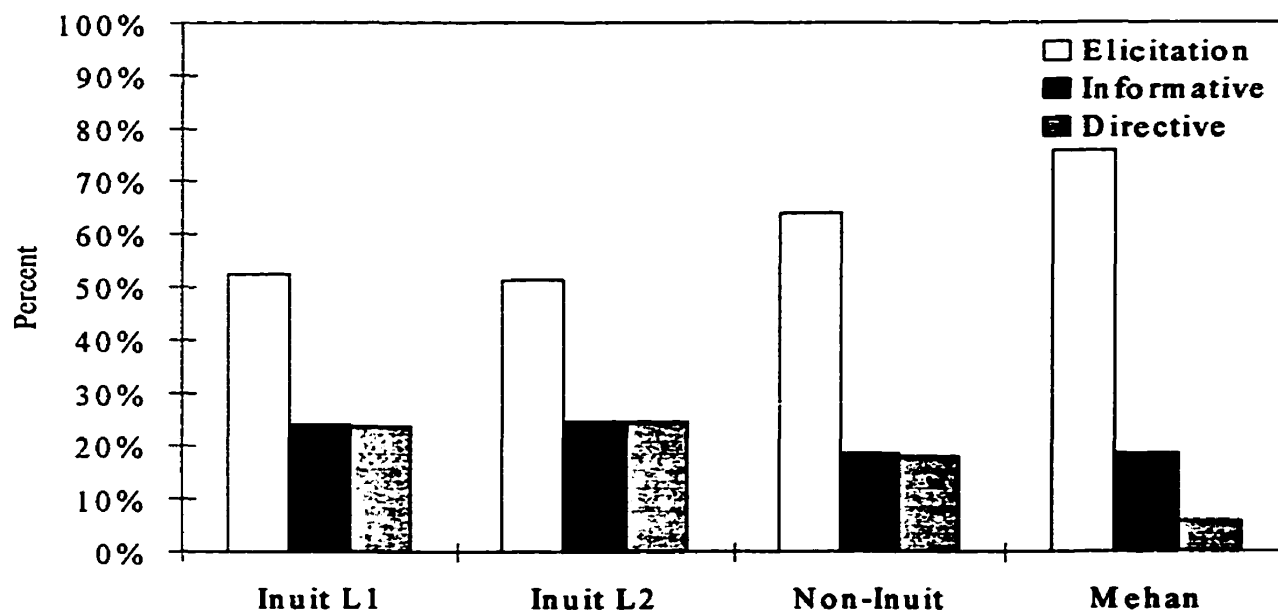
Figure 4. Percentage of three types of teacher initiation acts.

Elicitations made up approximately 75% of the teacher initiation acts that occurred in Mehan's mainstream classroom, while informatives and directives were much less common. Within both the Inuit L1 and L2 classrooms, on the other hand, elicitation acts made up only about 50% of all teacher initiation acts, with informatives and directives making up an equal percentage of the remaining talk (see Figure 4). In the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2

teachers, the frequency of use of elicitations fell between the Inuit teachers and the teacher described by Mehan (1979), while their use of informatives paralleled that of Mehan's teacher. Interestingly, the use of directives by the non-Inuit teachers more closely resembled the frequency of this initiation act by both groups of Inuit teachers than by Mehan's teacher. The frequent of use of directives in adult-child interactions in Inuit homes has been described by Crago (1988) and Hough-Eyamie (1993) as an appropriate form of interaction between adults and children in the language socialization of Inuit children.

The category of teacher elicitations was subdivided into verbal and non-verbal forms due to a relatively high frequency of instances of non-verbal interaction found in the organization of interaction in Inuit L1 classrooms (see Eriks-Brophy, 1992, p. 148 for a discussion of non-verbal interaction in Inuit L1 classrooms). The use of verbal versus non-verbal forms of elicitation across the three teacher groupings is summarized in Figure 5.
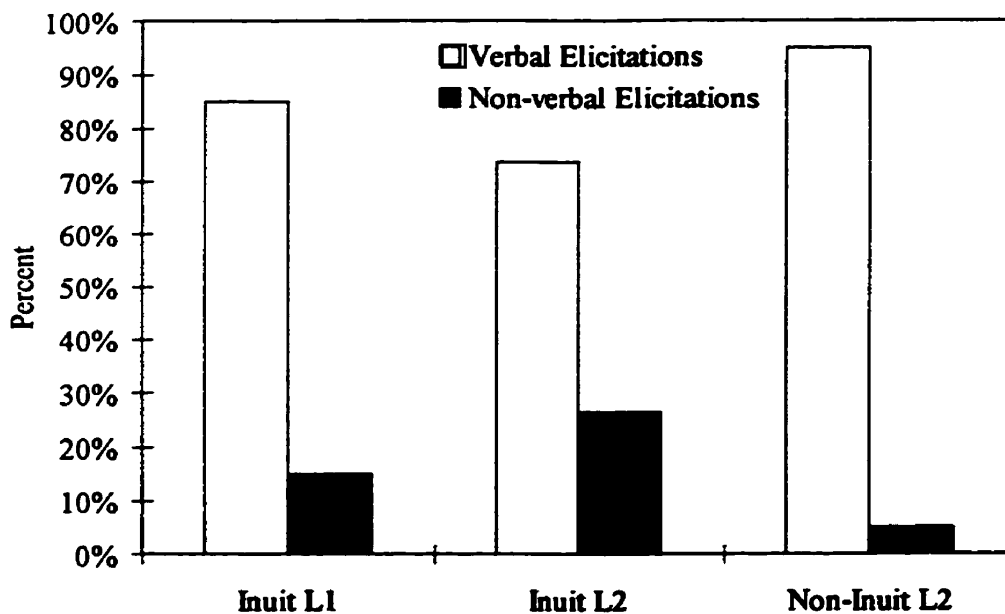
Figure 5. Percentage of verbal versus non-verbal elicitations.

While both groups of Inuit teachers used examples of non-verbal forms of interaction within

their elicitation sequences with students, little use of such nonverbal elicitation strategies was noted in the classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers. The majority of the non-verbal elicitations in the non-Inuit L2 classrooms can be attributed to Teacher 5, one of the experienced non-Inuit teachers.

Student Talk in the Classroom

A comparison of the amount of student talk directed at peers versus the talk directed at the teacher provides an indication of the freedom given students to interact within instructional sequences. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 6 for the three teacher groupings.
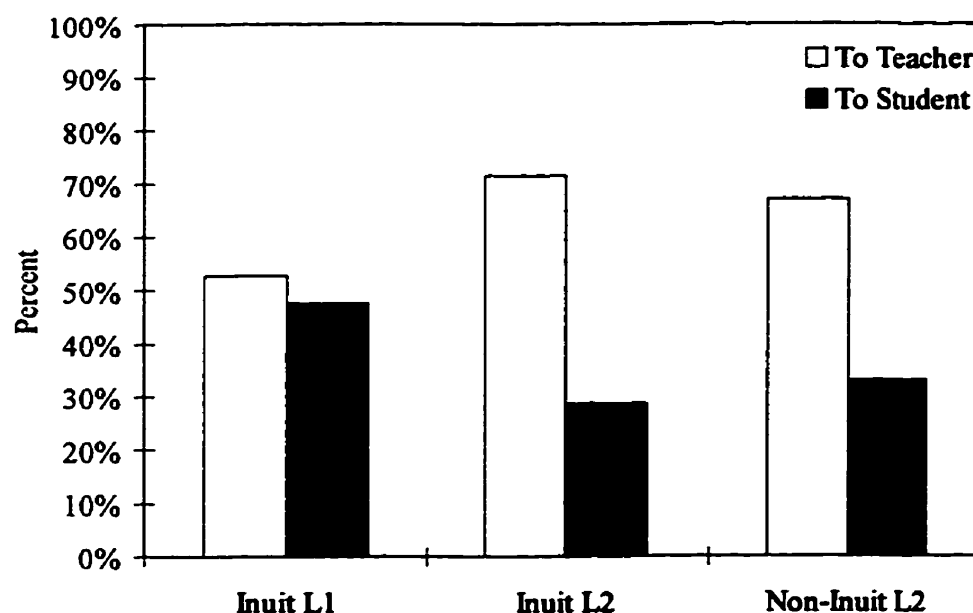
Figure 6. Percentage of student initiation acts directed to teachers versus peers.

Students in the Inuit L1 classrooms spent more time interacting with each other than in any of the other classrooms. Approximately half of all student talk in Inuit L1 classrooms was directed to the teacher and half to other students, indicating the degree to which peer interactions were tolerated in these classrooms. The majority of student talk in the

classrooms of both the Inuit L2 and the non-Inuit L2 teachers was directed to the teacher rather than toward peers.

Teacher versus Student-Initiated Sequences

A comparison of the frequency of teacher-initiated versus student-initiated sequences within lessons provides a further indication of the degree to which teachers dominate the overall classroom talk and simultaneously restrict the participation of students in the classrooms (Cazden, 1988; Chaudron, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; van Lier, 1988). The distribution of these sequences also serves to illustrate the predominant communicative roles attributed to students within lessons as either the respondents to teacher-elicited information or as initiators of classroom talk. The distribution of teacher-initiated versus student-initiated sequences in classrooms of Inuit students is illustrated in Figure 7.
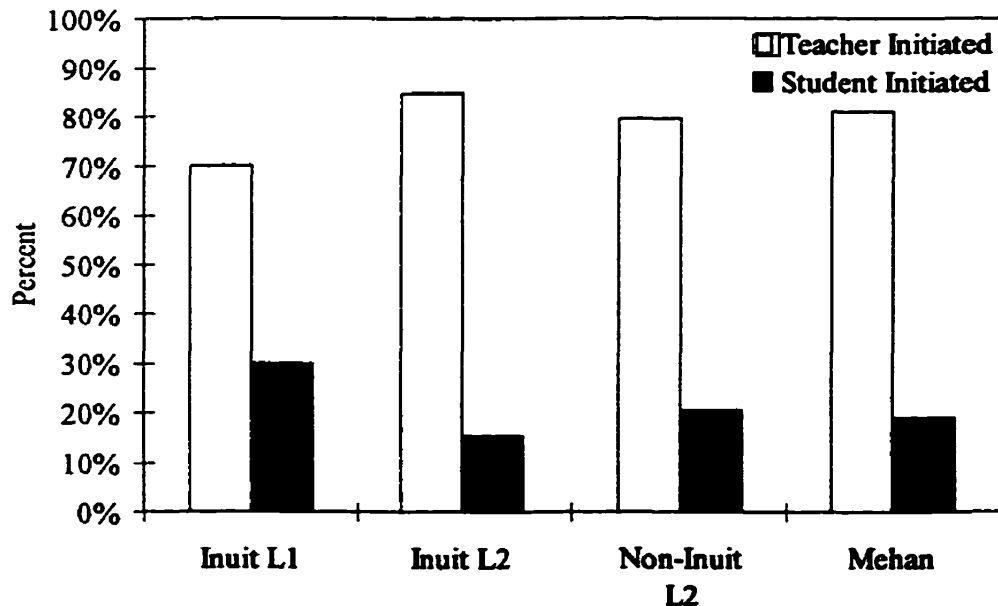
Figure 7. Percentage of teacher versus student-initiated sequences.

Students in the classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers initiated substantially more sequences within

teacher-directed lessons than did students in any of the other teacher groupings. The distributions of teacher versus student-initiated sequences in the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers, the non-Inuit L2 teachers and Mehan's teacher were very similar.

Teacher Response to Student Initiations

Teacher responses to student attempts to introduce novel information into instructional interactions serve as an indication of the extent to which students are permitted to influence the course of teacher-directed lessons and provide further evidence for the degree to which teachers exert their authority and their agenda over instructional interactions (Cazden, 1988; Heath, 1983; Mehan, 1979). Since the introduction of new information into instructional interaction also depends to some extent on students' facility with a number of complex prerequisite skills required to gaining access to the floor, students' success in having their contributions become part of the overall discourse might also be seen as indicative of an important component in the elaboration of the various skills inherent to classroom competence for students (Mehan, 1979).

Overall patterns of teacher responses to student initiations across the four teacher groupings illustrated in Figure 8 show that, with the exception of reprimands, the patterns of teacher response to student initiation in the classrooms of the Inuit L1 teachers and Mehan's teacher were very similar. In the sections below, each of these teacher responses to student initiations and described and examples are provided.

Incorporation of student initiations. The highest frequency of incorporation of student initiations was found in the classrooms of the Inuit L1 teachers. Both the Inuit L2 and the non-Inuit teachers incorporated student initiations into the overall discussion at a much lower rate than did either the Inuit L1 teachers or Mehan's teacher.
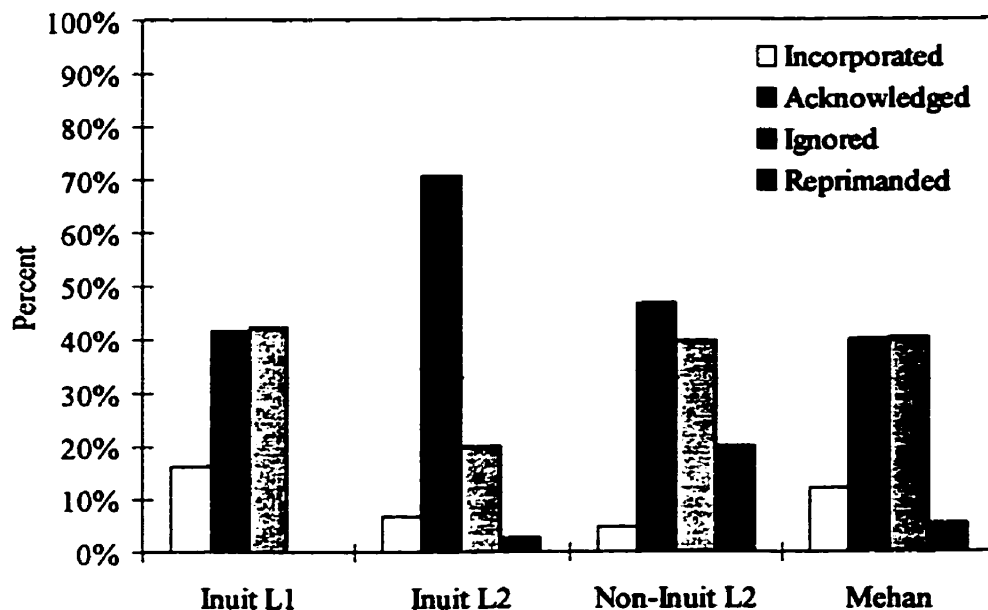
Figure 8. Percentage of teacher responses to student initiations.

Several examples of teacher incorporation of student initiations taken from the Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 classrooms are presented below. The utterance representing the incorporated student initiation is highlighted. [For examples of incorporated student initiations in classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers see Eriks-Brophy (1992, p. 132)].

Teacher:	I'll just draw the legs # and the arms [Writing on blackboard].
Teacher:	Humpty.
Students:	Dumpty.
Student1:	**Sat on a wall.**
Teacher:	Humpty Dumpty.
Student1:	Humpty Dumpty ... had a great fall.
Teacher:	We can see Humpty Dumpty.
Students:	All the kings horses ...
Teacher:	And all the king's men...
Students:	Couldn't put Humpty together again.

[Inuit L2 classroom]

Teacher:	Qu'est ce que c'est?
	[What's this?].
Student:	[Teacher's name] **chat ... umm ... non... chat... um...**
	[cat...umm..no..cat...um..]

[Student is gesturing with hands to indicate a cat and dog as she tries to think of the words].

Students: Meow meow.
Student: Chien! Chien (growling).
              [Dog! Dog (growling)].
              [Student makes noises to suggest that the dog could hurt the cat].
Teacher: Oui!
              [Yes!].
Teacher: Les chats... le chien il court toujours après le chat, eh?
              [Cats..the dog always runs after the cat, right?].
Teacher: Le chat, il a peur du chien.
              [The cat is afraid of the dog].
Teacher: Les chats ont souvent peur des chiens.
              [Cats are often afraid of dogs].

Student1:   Eighteen.
              [Student adds up her points].
Teacher: Close enough.
Student2:   **Eighteen eighteen!**
              [Waves her point cards in the air].
Teacher: You have eighteen too?
Student2:   Yes.
Teacher: And you have eighteen?
Teacher: It's a tie!
Student1:   [nods].
Teacher: We'll have to play again.

[non-Inuit L2 classrooms]

An interesting example of a nonverbal student initiation that resulted in a change in the overall organization of the activity was observed in the lesson of Teacher 7, one of the Inuit L2 teachers. The initial sequence involved the teacher asking students to read a set of word cards. Pictures of these same words had been used in an earlier part of the same lesson. After reading a number of the word cards as a group, one student began spontaneously to point to the corresponding picture card on the floor, turning the reading activity into a reading and matching activity. The teacher followed the lead of this student, incorporating the picture identification task into the overall activity by placing the word cards beside the proper picture as it was identified by the students.

Another example of an incorporation that affected the structure of the overall activity occurred in the classroom of Teacher 2, a non-Inuit L2 teacher. In the course of this lesson, the students began teasing their teacher, trying to make her believe she had made an error in identifying the animal picture cards used in the lesson. Teacher 2 then began to intentionally make errors in the naming of the animals, encouraging the students to correct her. This example is reminiscent of one found in the classroom of one of the Inuit L1 teachers as described in Eriks-Brophy (1992, p. 143-144) where teasing was used in a similar manner.

Acknowledgement of student initiations. The frequency of acknowledgement of student initiations was similar across all groups of teachers with the exception of the Inuit L2 teachers who used this strategy substantially more often than any other group and any other type (see Figure 8). Several examples of acknowledgements of student initiations taken from Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 classrooms are presented below (the acknowledged student initiation is highlighted). Angle brackets in the examples indicate overlapping talk. [For examples of incorporations and acknowledgements of student initiations taken from the Inuit L1 corpus, see Eriks-Brophy (1992, pp. 132 and 135)].

Teacher:	[In Inuktitut=it's perfume].
Student1:	**This is a paper.**
Teacher:	A paper with what?
Student2:	<A paper>.
Students:	<[In Inuktitut= With perfume]>.
Teacher:	[In Inuktitut= With perfume] yes.
Teacher:	[In Inuktitut= What do you call it?]
Student3:	<Can we taste?>.
Student4:	<Smell>.
Student3:	**[In Inuktitut= Are we going to taste something?].**
Teacher:	Yeah you will taste later but not right now okay?

Teacher:	That means the fly is way up high ...okay?
Student:	**[In Inuktitut= we did this yesterday].**
Teacher:	[In Inuktitut= yes] ...okay.

[Inuit L2 classrooms]

Student:	**Regarde** [holding up a picture card of a pot of glue]. [Look].
Teacher:	Ah, oui, toi aussi, tu as la colle. [Oh yes, you have glue also].
Teacher:	Deux, on a deux fois la colle. [Two, we have glue twice].
Teacher:	On va les mettre ensemble. [We'll put them together].

[non-Inuit L2 classroom]

Ignoring student initiations . Teacher rates of ignoring student initiations were approximately equivalent across all groups of teachers with the exception of the Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms where the ignoring of student initiations was used substantially less often as a strategy than in any of the other teacher groups (see Figure 8). Examples of student initiations that were ignored by the Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers are presented below (with the ignored student initiation highlighted).

Teacher:	[in Inuktitut= did that smell nice?].
Teacher:	Good or not good?
Students:	Good.
Teacher:	Yeah?
Student:	**I smell with my nose.**
Teacher:	Was it good or not good?

Teacher:	Is everybody finished?
Students:	Yeah.
Student1:	Yeah.
Student2:	**[in Inuktitut= Are we going to have our eyes open?].**
Student3:	[to Student 2 in Inuktitut= Yes].
Student:	**[in Inuktitut=I made a funny drawing of a mouth].**
Teacher:	Ok, is everybody finished?

[Inuit L2 classrooms]

Teacher:	On va faire numéro treize. [We'll do number thirteen].
Student1:	Numéro treize.

	[Number thirteen].
Student2:	Numéro treize.
	[Number thirteen].
Student3:	**Numéro douze...facile.**
	[Number twelve...easy].
Teacher:	Ok, on va regarder les mots encore, par exemple.
	[Ok, so we're going to look at the words again].
Student:	Hey [teacher's name].
Teacher:	[Looks over at student].
Student:	**Moi aussi... comme ça.**
	[Pointing at an object in a book].
	[I have one like that].
Teacher:	Toute le monde a son livre?
	[Does everyone have their book?].

[non-Inuit L2 classrooms]

Reprimanding student initiations. A major area of difference between the teacher groupings occurred in the relative frequency of reprimands of student initiations (see Figure 8). Student initiations were reprimanded in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers at a much higher rate than in any of the other comparison groups, including Mehan's teacher. These reprimands often appeared to result from students not following the implicit rule of remaining on topic within the instructional exchange. Nevertheless, what might be seen as similar off-topic contributions in the classrooms of Inuit L1 and L2 teachers typically resulted in teachers ignoring rather than overtly reprimanding the student talk. While students' limited ability to speak the second language resulted in a reduction in the overall frequency of initiations made in the both the classrooms of the Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers (see Figure 7 above), the patterns of teacher response to student initiations were different across the two classroom contexts, indicating that non-Inuit L2 teachers appeared to have greater restrictions on what constituted appropriate contributions to classroom talk. Furthermore, as can be seen from the examples below, the majority of instances of reprimands that occurred

in the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers were directed at the group as a whole and were

never overtly addressed toward individual students. In contrast, in the classrooms of non-

Inuit L2 teachers individual students were often singled out for reprimands in front of the

group. Some examples of teacher reprimands of student initiations taken from Inuit and non-

Inuit L2 classrooms are presented below.

[Students have been playing a game involving naming body parts on the floor next to the aquarium. One student suddenly notices that all the fish in the classroom aquarium are dead].

Student: **Eh aie the fish!**
Teacher: Shhh! [sharply with fingers to mouth and looking directly at the student]. Be quiet Jaani.

Teacher: Bon, alors ça c'est le chat.
           [Ok, so this is the cat].
Student: **Meow.**
Teacher: Ok, Jonathan, c'est assez là.
           [All right Jonathan, that's enough now].

Teacher: Pinceau, pinceau.
           [Paintbrush, paintbrush].
Teacher: On cherche le pinceau.
           [We're looking for the paintbrush].
Student: **Je ne l'ai pas.**
           [I don't have it].
Teacher: Ssshh, Anita.

[non-Inuit L2 classrooms]
Teacher: Everybody close your eyes now.
Student: **[in Inuktitut = I think we are going to touch something this time.]**
Teacher: Shh shh shh shh [gesturing and nodding head around the classroom with fingers in front of mouth].
Teacher: Close your eyes. Close your eyes every body.

Teacher: Everybody open your eyes now for a minute.
Student: **[in Inuktitut = Are we going to take something?].**
Teacher: Shh shh shh [gestures around classroom with fingers in front of mouth].
Teacher: Now close your eyes again every body.
           Close your eyes again.

[Inuit L2 classrooms]

Summary

Results of the comparisons across Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and non-Inuit teachers presented above serve to illustrate two essentially different perspectives regarding the role of the teacher in the classroom, namely the teacher as the authority in the classroom versus the teacher as a facilitator of student interaction and learning. These different roles were promoted by the teachers in the degree to which teachers controlled the talk and dominated the instructional interaction in the classroom, the extent to which teacher acts involving elicitation of known information from students through the use of test questions were used, as well as the degree to which student contributions were permitted to influence the overall focus of the lesson through the incorporation of student initiations into instructional discourse and the amount of peer interaction and student to student talk permitted in the classroom. A second means by which teachers either reinforced or reduced their control and authority over student talk and interaction in the classroom can be observed in the degree to which Inuktitut, the first language of the students and some of the teachers, was either promoted or restricted in the classroom. Teacher and student use of Inuktitut across the teacher groupings within teacher-led lessons will be presented in the sections that follow.

Establishing Respect for Authority through Emphasis on Speaking the Second Language

Both Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers emphasized the development of second language proficiency as one of their primary teaching goals in the classroom. This emphasis on building a solid oral language base in the second language can be seen in the following extracts of the

responses provided by the non-Inuit L2 teachers during their interviews to the question "What is the most important thing that needs to be taught in class?":

> The English language. Obviously.

> To be able to speak and understand the second language. To be able to use the vocabulary and language structures taught in class. The most important thing is oral language. Math and reading are important also, but my evaluation is primarily based on oral participation.

> The oral language. Focus on the oral vocabulary is important. To be able to pronounce the words correctly. Also the reading and written language. They need to be able to read, but comprehension and the oral is the important thing. Then I begin as quickly as possible to teach the alphabet, and move from the oral to the reading and then the writing. It's important that they get a good start in the oral. Then they can learn to read, and to find out things for themselves. This opens up a whole new world to them. But first they need to get the tools. They need to be able to express themselves. At the beginning this means teaching a lot of vocabulary that might be boring. But later they get better.

> The oral language. But this is also the most difficult for them.

> [Interviews, non-Inuit L2 teachers]

The Inuit L2 teachers also expressed the opinion that the development of proficiency in the second language was an important teaching goal, however their responses were tempered by their perceived need to continue to build competence in the first language of the students. Thus as one of the two Inuit L2 teachers stated in response to the same question,

> They need to learn in the second language, but it's not necessary to lose the Inuktitut language. They need to be good in both. I want them to do better than me when I was in school.

This attitude led to marked differences in both teacher and student use of Inuktitut in the classroom across the two groups of teachers.

Teacher and Student Use of the First Language in the Classroom

Inuit L2 Teachers' Use of Inuktitut

Both of the Inuit L2 teachers used Inuktitut in order to explain new concepts to students. These explanations were then often repeated in English in a close translation of the Inuktitut. Teacher 8, in particular, often used Inuktitut in directives, informatives, and to point out and to correct student errors, while Teacher 7 used exclusively Inuktitut in her check-in sequences with students. This bilingual approach to teaching was described by Teacher 8 in the following way:

I teach first in Inuktitut and then we continue the work in English. They need to know the Inuktitut words also. They don't know a lot of these words in Inuktitut. There are differences in the Inuktitut and English words, but the children haven't been exposed to them. I make sure they know the Inuktitut word before I teach them each new English term. Some of their Inuktitut is very low level. That is part of my job also. I want them to get the proper pronunciation in Inuktitut, to speak proper Inuktitut is one thing I expect from them. This is the last year they'll have an Inuk teacher. From now on they will have one hour of Inuktitut a day if they are lucky. So this is the last year that they can get this.

[Interviews, Inuit L2 teachers]

The percentage of overall teacher talk conducted in English versus Inuktitut in the classrooms of the two Inuit L2 teachers represented in Figure 9 shows that Teacher 8 used Inuktitut in approximately one quarter of the total teacher utterances found in her classroom. The use of the L1 in the classroom of Teacher 7 was much more limited than that used by Teacher 8. The use of the L1 in the classrooms of Teachers 7 and 8 was distributed across a wide range of communicative acts in the classroom, as shown in Figure 10.
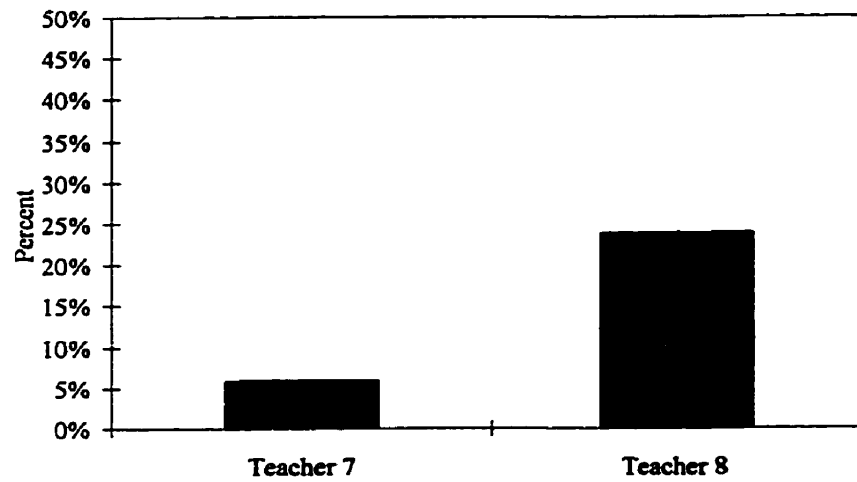
Figure 9. Percentage of Total Inuit L2 Teacher Utterances in Inuktitut
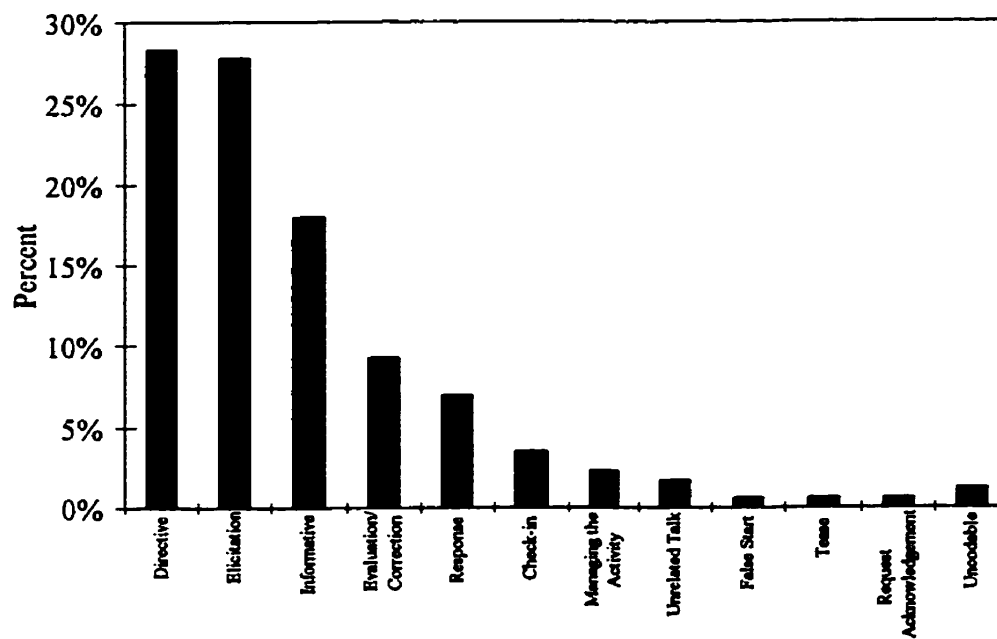
Figure 10. Percentage of L1 Utterances Across Various Communicative Functions in the

classrooms of Teacher 7 and Teacher 8.

Non-Inuit L2 Teachers' Use of Inuktitut

The non-Inuit L2 teachers did not encourage the use of Inuktitut in the classroom and only rarely used Inuktitut in their teaching. Less than one percent (15/1768 utterances or 0.85%) of the total teacher utterances in classrooms of non-Inuit teachers contained any Inuktitut. While the overall percentage of Inuktitut used by teachers in these classrooms was very low, some important individual differences were also observed among teachers in this regard. For instance, Teacher 5, one of the experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers, consciously attempted to incorporate the use of Inuktitut in her teaching as a teaching strategy. Thus 11 of the total 15 non-Inuit teacher utterances recorded in Inuktitut are attributable to this teacher. These utterances account for a total of 2.90% of her overall classroom talk. This teacher stated that she often went to the Inuktitut language teacher to find out the Inuktitut terminology for certain concepts and vocabulary prior to introducing these in the classroom. She then tried to incorporate this basic Inuktitut vocabulary into her explanations of lesson content. While Teacher 5 stated in her interview that she felt this was an effective way of helping the children learn, she also commented that there were certain disadvantages to using Inuktitut in teaching.

> I use Inuktitut in teaching. I write the new words in Inuktitut for them. Since it's new vocabulary, this helps them, especially for the slower kids. But this is also a vicious circle. Often the kids will speak to me in Inuktitut and ask for things in Inuktitut since they know I understand. I need to push them sometimes to speak in French.

[Interviews, non-Inuit teachers]

Student Use of Inuktitut in the Classroom

Students of both Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers used Inuktitut to speak to their teachers and peers in the classroom, however the frequency of student use of the L1 varied

across these differing classroom contexts (see Figure 11). Students in the
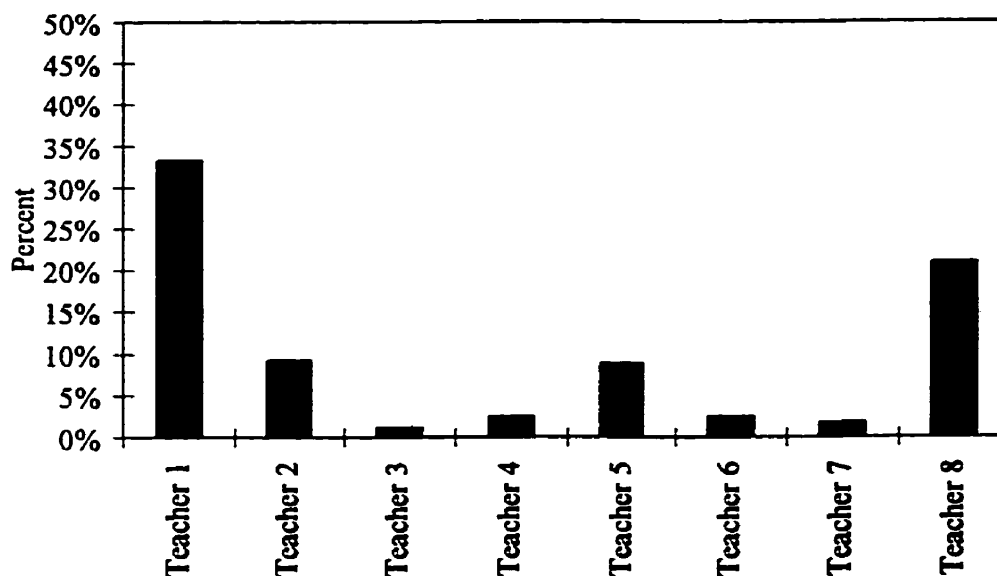
Figure 11. Percentage of student L1 use in the classrooms of individual teachers

classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers were never reprimanded for their use of the first language in classroom interactions with either teachers or peers. On the other hand, the majority of the non-Inuit teachers expressed concern in their interviews about student use of the L1 in the classroom. Some of these teachers stated that they believed students deliberately used Inuktitut in order to make off-topic remarks to peers and might even be using their first language to make negative comments to each other about the lesson or to make fun of them. Many of these teachers felt that such conversations among students undermined teacher authority and threatened classroom discipline. Two of the three inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers were especially intolerant of students speaking to each other in their first language, and consistently reprimanded L1 use in class. One of these teachers reprimanded her students for using the first language in the classroom by saying, "Inuktitut is only for at home and at recess, not in school".

This attitude toward student use of their first language led to numerous examples of communicative misunderstandings in the classroom setting. Ironically, as the following example shows, translations of these peer interactions in the mother tongue revealed that they were in fact rarely off-topic and often involved 'encouraging talk' directed toward other students rather than criticisms of teachers or lesson topics. In the example that follows, one student, Bobby, experienced difficulty and discomfort in responding individually to the teacher's elicitation. Other students in the class tried to encourage Bobby to continue to participate in the sequence. These students' encouraging talk was consistently reprimanded by the teacher.

Teacher:	Bobby, what is it?
Bobby:	[Sits and looks at the teacher, unsmiling].
Teacher:	[Points at her nose].
Bobby:	[In Inuktitut =I forget].
Teacher:	Try.
Alacie:	[In Inuktitut =Try to say it].
Teacher:	Sssh! [holds fingers to lips and speaks sharply to Alacie].
Teacher:	It is a ...
Bobby:	[Hides his face with his arms].
Jaani:	[In Inuktitut=Don't give up].
Teacher:	Sssh! [again holding fingers to lips and speaking more sharply].
Teacher:	[to Bobby, in an annoyed tone of voice]
	Come on, the X team needs your help.
	What is it?
	What is this? (rubbing her nose)
	Nnn... (prompting)
Bobby:	Nose.
Teacher:	Nose. Good, Bobby.
Teacher:	Put your card down.
Student:	[In Inuktitut= Look where I put it, Bobby].
Teacher:	Sssh. Let Bobby put it wherever he wants.
Bobby:	[Hesitates].
Teacher:	Come on... quickly.
Student:	[In Inuktitut= Put it here].
Teacher:	Okay, good.

[non-Inuit L2 classroom]

Unfortunately, Bobby and one of the other two students involved in this sequence were

subsequently asked by the teacher to remove themselves from the lesson as a result of their perceived inappropriate behaviour. Apparently both teacher and students had become frustrated by the lack of communication that occurred in the lesson. This example in particular illustrates the potential for miscommunication between teachers and students when the teacher does not understand and therefore does not accept the first language of the students in the classroom. Following their exclusion from the lesson, these two students openly refused to participate in any further classroom tasks for the remainder of that morning's activities, even when explicitly invited to do so by the teacher.

In contrast, Teacher 2, one of the inexperienced non-Inuit French teachers, commented that she occasionally permitted her students to use Inuktitut amongst themselves in order that they might help each other to better understand certain lesson topics. This teacher taught a combined classroom containing two grade levels, and she stated that she sometimes allowed the students in the higher grade to explain new concepts and vocabulary to the younger students in their first language. She commented in her interview that this approach was, nevertheless, problematic to her since she could not be sure what the students were actually talking about.

> I let them use Inuktitut sometimes to explain things, to help the others to understand. Last year I tried to insist that they use more French, but it's natural that they should speak in Inuktitut. They need to speak Inuktitut sometimes in class, but I don't let them use English. I sometimes feel bad when they speak in Inuktitut and I don't know what they're saying. I sometimes worry that they are talking about me or criticizing me or the lesson. I would like to understand them better.

Thus although some limited use of the L1 was permitted in the classroom of Teacher 2, she nevertheless attempted to control and regulate its function and the situations in which its use was permitted within her classroom interactions.

The highest frequency of use of the L1 can be found in the classroom of Teacher 1

(see Figure 11 above). In fact, the overall frequency of student use of Inuktitut in this

classroom was higher than that found in either of the two Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms.

Interestingly, Teacher 1 was also the most consistent of all the non-Inuit L2 teachers to

reprimand student L1 use in the classroom. In comparison, in the classroom of Teacher 5,

one of the experienced non-Inuit teachers who consciously promoted L1 use in teaching and

learning, the overall percentage of actual L1 use was substantially lower.

Using the first language in initiations to the teacher. Figure 12 shows the

frequency of student initiations made in Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 classrooms as a function of

language. Student initiations in the classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers were often made in

Inuktitut, while such initiations in the L1 were less frequent in the classrooms of the non-Inuit
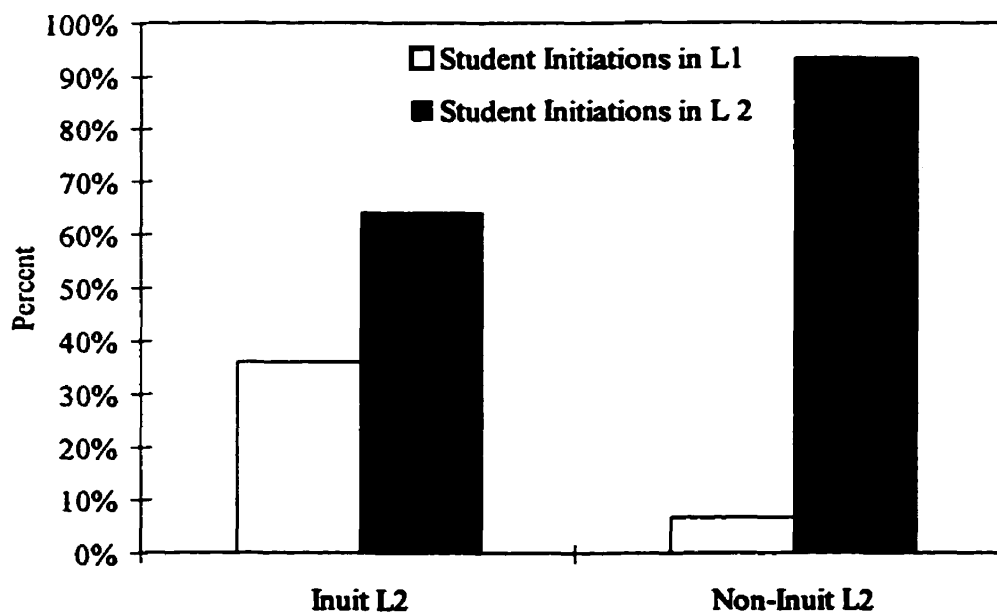
teachers.

Figure 12. Percentage of student initiations to teachers as a function of language

Initiations in the L1 also resulted in differential treatment by the Inuit and non-Inuit L2

teachers. Student initiations that were made in Inuktitut rather than in the second language

but that were on-topic were often expanded in either the L1 or the L2 and built upon by the

Inuit L2 teachers. Examples of Inuit L2 teacher responses to on-topic initiations made in

Inuktitut are shown below. Utterances representing the student initiation are highlighted.

Student:	**[Teacher's name] # [in Inuktitut= This is smooth].**
Teacher:	Huh?
Student:	[in Inuktitut= This is very smooth].
Student:	[in Inuktitut= Let me see].
Teacher:	It's smooth huh? [Teacher rubs rock in her hand].
Teacher:	This is smooth. [Teacher turns to show the rest of the class].
Teacher:	This is smooth.
	[Students lean over desk to look at the rocks and talk simultaneously].
Teacher:	They are both smooth.

Teacher:	What was it?
Student:	[In Inuktitut= a raisin].
Teacher:	[In Inuktitut= a raisin].
Teacher:	What's that in English?
Student:	**Yuk. [In Inuktitut=I don't like raisins].**
Teacher:	[In Inuktitut= You don't like raisins?].
Students:	[In Inuktitut= No!].
Teacher:	Who likes raisins?
Students:	Me! [putting up hands].
Teacher:	One two three... [Counting the students who have hands up].

[Inuit L2 classrooms]

In contrast, in all non-Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms except those of Teacher 2 and

Teacher 5, student initiations made in Inuktitut were consistently either ignored or

reprimanded. Thus, as one teacher stated in her interview, "It's not to the students'

advantage if we speak or respond to students when they talk in Inuktitut. I always pretend I

don't understand even if I do". As the following examples demonstrate, since many of the

non-Inuit L2 were genuinely unable to understand what the students were saying, they were

usually unaware that many of these student initiations were actually related to the activity in

progress.

Teacher:	Jaani, what is this?
Jaani:	It is ...
Student:	**[In Inuktitut=I think it was my turn].**
Teacher:	Sh-sh, I want you to listen. Listen to Jaani.
	[Teacher has been placing students in a circle on the floor to play a Tick-Tack-Toe game. Each student has been placed according to whether they have an X or an O to mark their correct responses during the game].
Teacher:	Ok, you have to say...
Student:	**[In Inuktitut- Hey, I have an O also].**
Teacher:	Sh-h-h! You have to say it in a sentence, ok?
	[Later in the game].
Student:	**[In Inuktitut= The O's are going to win].**
Teacher:	Shhh!

[non-Inuit L2 classrooms]

Summary

Both of the Inuit L2 teachers insisted on the importance of the maintenance of the

students' first language as an important teaching goal. These teachers used Inuktitut in their

teaching, however the amount of their L1 use varied substantially. Teacher use of Inuktitut in

instructional exchanges covered a wide range of communicative functions in these

classrooms. Inuktitut was also often used by the students in their interactions with both

teachers and peers in Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms. These L1 interactions were not

discouraged by either of the Inuit L2 teachers, and in fact student initiations in the L1 were

frequently translated and built upon by the teachers.

In contrast, while there was some individual differences in non-Inuit L2 teachers'

perceptions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of L1 use in instructional

exchanges, the majority of the non-Inuit L2 teachers did not promote student use of Inuktitut in

the classroom, and in the classroom of certain teachers students were consistently reprimanded for speaking in Inuktitut with their peers. Student initiations made to non-Inuit L2 teachers in the L1 were often either ignored or overtly reprimanded by these teachers. Student use of the L1 in the classroom also led numerous instances of miscommunication in some classrooms, since many of the teachers misinterpreted these student exchanges as a direct threat to their authority and control over the classroom talk.

Conclusion

This chapter has integrated results from the analysis of a number of discourse features related to issues of teacher control and authority with interview responses and examples from transcripts taken from the classrooms of Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers. Results of the analyses conducted in these classrooms were contrasted with results from Mehan's (1979) study examining similar discourse features in a number of lessons taught by an experienced mainstream teacher whenever possible. A brief summary of these findings organized according to teacher grouping will be provided below in order to emphasize the trends in these data.

In Inuit L1 classrooms, the overall distribution of talk in Inuit L1 classrooms was almost equally divided between teachers and students. Teachers avoided the use of extensive monologues in their interactions and did not spend a great deal of the lesson time in orienting students to the teachers agenda through talk during the opening phase of lesson instruction. Informative sequences consisting of the exchange of unknown information between teachers and students as well as teacher responses to student requests for information occurred comparatively frequently in these classrooms. These responses to student elicitations often

led to authentic exchanges of information between teachers and students in the classroom. Only approximately half of the teacher initiation acts that occurred during the instructional phase of the lesson in Inuit L1 classrooms were composed of elicitation sequences, with the remaining teacher initiation acts equally divided between directives and informatives. The organization of teacher acts in these classrooms did not resemble the results reported by Mehan (1979) for the mainstream L1 teacher he observed. Elicitation of information from students in these classrooms was accomplished non-verbally in some cases. This use of nonverbal communication was interpreted by Eriks-Brophy (1992) as an important strategy used by Inuit teachers to de-emphasize their authoritarian roles as orchestrators of classroom interaction, while simultaneously socializing students to utilize learning strategies involving observation and listening to others that remain traditional participation structures for children in wider Inuit society. Students in the classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers were able to interject comments, informatives and elicitations towards both their teachers and their peers and to contribute information to the ongoing lesson with relative freedom within teacher-led lessons, permitting them to more easily influence the direction of classroom exchanges. Student initiations were acknowledged or ignored by the teacher with approximately equal frequency by the Inuit L1 teachers, who closely resembled Mehan's teacher in this respect. The highest percentage of incorporations of student initiations were found in the classrooms of these teachers, while no instances of teacher reprimands of student initiations were found in the data. Students were also permitted to interact relatively freely with their peers within the context of the teacher-directed lesson.

In contrast, the non-Inuit L2 teachers dominated the overall classroom talk at a similar rate to the two thirds to one third teacher-student ratio reported in the literature for other mainstream teachers. Teachers tended to utilize extensive teacher monologues to orient

students to the lesson at hand, thereby clearly imposing their own agenda on the interaction. Students rarely elicited information from teachers, and also had more limited opportunities to influence the course of the lesson by having their contributions incorporated into the discourse of the lesson. A higher percentage of student initiations were instead overtly reprimanded by these teachers than in any of the other teacher groupings. These reprimands were also typically directed at individual group members. The bulk of the instructional phase of lesson structure was composed of teachers eliciting information from students in the form of test questions. The use of teacher elicitation sequences in these classrooms allowed teachers to exert direct control over lesson topics while simultaneously limiting student opportunities to speak in the classroom. Informative sequences were less frequent in these classrooms than in the Inuit L1 classrooms, but closely resembled the use of informatives reported by Mehan (1979), while the frequency of use of directives in these classrooms was higher than that reported for Mehan's teacher. The majority of the non-Inuit teachers did not permit students to speak Inuktitut in the classroom, and student initiations made in the L1 to either teacher or peers were either ignored or, more often, overtly reprimanded by these teachers. Teachers' misinterpretations of student use of the L1 as a threat to control and authority in the classrooms led to instances of miscommunication between teachers and students in these classrooms. Students were given only relatively limited opportunities to communicate and interact in authentic exchanges with teachers and peers through the L2 in these classrooms.

Inuit L2 teachers closely resembled the Inuit L1 teachers in certain discourse features while falling between the Inuit L1 and the non-Inuit teachers (including Mehan's teacher) in regards to the distribution of their use of other discourse features. These Inuit L2 teachers controlled the overall talk in the classroom to a greater extent than did Inuit L1 teachers, but to

a lesser extent than in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers and Mehan's teacher. The distribution of student talk directed to the teacher versus toward peers closely resembled that found in the classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers while the percentage of teacher-initiated as compared to student-initiated sequences in these classrooms was higher than in any of the other teacher groupings, including Mehan's teacher. Teacher response to student elicitation of information fell also between that found in the Inuit L1 and the non-Inuit L2 teacher groupings. While the chances of having student initiations incorporated into the classroom talk were reduced in these classrooms, teachers used acknowledgements at a much higher frequency than any other type and any other group. A few instances of teacher reprimands of student initiations were observed in these classrooms. These reprimands were directed at the group as a whole and never at individual students.

On the other hand, the overall organization of sequences of discourse within the lesson as well as the distribution of teacher initiation acts in the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers closely resembled that found in the Inuit L1 classrooms. As in the Inuit L1 classrooms, Inuit L2 teachers spent only approximately half of the lesson time on the elicitation of information from students, while informatives and directives were again equally distributed across the remaining fifty percent of the interaction. An even higher frequency of use of non-verbal elicitation was also observed in these classrooms than in Inuit L1 classrooms. Opening sequences in these classrooms varied between the two Inuit L2 teachers, with those in the classroom of Teacher 7 closely resembling the opening phase as described for Inuit L1 teachers and those in the classroom of Teacher 8 more closely resembling those found in the non-Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms.

Both Inuit L2 teachers insisted on the importance of the maintenance of the L1 as an important teaching goal. While both teachers used Inuktitut in their teaching, there was a

great deal of individual variation in their actual L1 use in the classroom. Furthermore, the use of Inuktitut covered a wide range of communicative functions in these classrooms, and Inuktitut was also often used by the students in their interactions with both teachers and peers. These L1 interactions were not discouraged by either of the Inuit L2 teachers, and in fact student initiations in the L1 were frequently translated and built upon by the teachers.

These findings illustrate the differing perceptions held by Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers of Nunavik in regard to their roles as either facilitators or controllers of student talk, interaction and learning in the classroom. Furthermore, the results of the analysis of discourse features utilized in instructional interactions in these classrooms point to the ways in which discourse organization and emphasis on L2 language use were organized in order to promote these differing roles. Differences in the areas of discourse organization analyzed as part of the theme of control and authority over student talk as well as emphasis on the use of the L2 across the three groups of teachers of Inuit children have important implications for the effectiveness of teacher-student interactions in the classroom. Through examples taken from the data, the potential for differences in these areas to result in situations of miscommunication and misunderstanding between non-Inuit teachers and their Inuit students were illustrated.

Chapter 8

PROMOTING INDIVIDUALISM VERSUS COLLECTIVITY THROUGH DISCOURSE ORGANIZATION

A second major theme that emerged from the analysis of discourse and interaction patterns in classrooms of Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers concerned differences in cultural values and teaching behaviours related to the promotion of individualism versus collectivity within the instructional context. In this chapter, the differing ways in which Inuit and non-Inuit teachers expressed these cultural values in their interviews and organized their interactions in order to emphasize these different cultural orientations will be described. The chapter begins by documenting the emphasis on oral performance as a form of communicative competence for successful participation in the non-Inuit L2 classrooms versus the emphasis on appropriate orientation toward the group as indicative of competence in the Inuit teachers' classrooms. These sections serve as an introduction to the description of organizational differences in turn allocation format promoted in the instructional interactions of the teachers, and the organization of elicitation sequences and the forms of evaluation utilised within these elicitation sequences. Instances of discourse-based miscommunication that occurred in these classrooms and had their basis in the organization of discourse structure in the classrooms will be presented to illustrate this underlying theme.

Individual Oral Participation Versus Appropriate Group Membership in Descriptions of Successful Learning and Successful Learners in Classrooms

One of primary the ways in which non-Inuit L2 teachers encouraged the development of individualism was through their emphasis on individual oral participation as a measure of successful learning in the classroom. These teachers' evaluations of student competence often depended heavily on students' ability to participate actively in the lesson and to use the language structures and vocabulary taught in class. Extracts from the non-Inuit L2 teacher interviews in response to the question, "How do you know when students are learning well in the classroom?" illustrate this emphasis on oral language use and individual participation as a central evaluative measure.

> Oral participation is essential for me. I can tell if they get it if they use the language they have been taught in class. I do a lot of informal evaluation. I do oral drills and review past material to see if they understand it and can do it easily. I also sometimes make incorrect statements to see if they will correct me.
> My evaluation is based mostly on oral participation and comprehension. I also like to use a dictation as a good indication of how they're doing for writing.

> I give tests for each lesson I do. These are based on individual work in different subjects. I make them up myself. I mostly test oral comprehension and expression. Written comprehension and expression are tested three times each year. Based on these tests it's very clear what the kids learned and didn't learn during the year.

> When they talk and are able to talk on their own. When they use the second language to communicate with me and with others. It's not just the vocabulary but how they use it in class. I also sometimes give tests in reading, comprehension, and dictation.

> [Interviews, non-Inuit L2 teachers]

In contrast, the Inuit L2 teachers used different criteria for evaluating student performance in the classroom. These teachers relied less on oral participation and expression and commented primarily on students' ability to listen to others and work well within the context of the group as essential characteristics for successful learning. Extracts

from the Inuit L2 teacher interviews illustrate their somewhat different perspective regarding

the question, "How do you know when students are learning well in the classroom?":

> When they listen and pay attention. Also when they can cooperate, work well with
> others, and try hard to do their school work. When they learn quickly and know how to
> behave in the group.

> When they learn fast and get it right away. Learning to speak in English is also
> important. Also to follow the dictation, to be able to look and find the information they
> need. To read and to spell the words without looking.

> [Interviews, Inuit L2 teachers]

An orientation toward peers, cooperation, the equality of all participants, and the ability to work

well as part of a group and to help others were characteristics that were also mentioned by

Inuit L1 teachers in their descriptions of appropriate learning and successful students in the

classroom [see Eriks-Brophy, 1992, pp. 144-148 for discussion].

Individual Oral Participation versus Group membership in Descriptions of "Top Students" in the Classroom

Differences in perspective pertaining to group versus individual orientation between

Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers were also noted in interview responses regarding teacher

descriptions of the characteristics of "top students" in the classroom. Inuit L2 teacher

responded to the question in the following manner:

> For me it's cooperation. That they help each other. Also it's very important that they
> feel the same in the classroom.

> Being sensitive to each other is important. Respecting each other's feelings, and
> socializing them to each other. They need to learn to communicate, to associate with
> each other and live with each other. Before they didn't get along well as a group. To
> live with each other is the most important thing.

> [Interviews, Inuit L2 teachers]

One of the two Inuit L2 teachers commented that encouraging cooperation among students

was an essential value to emphasize in the classroom since the students "don't always do this

well". In reviewing their own videotapes, both of the Inuit L2 teachers commented on the

degree to which they felt the students had helped each other within the context of the activity

as a measure of their own success in teaching. Inuit L2 teachers also emphasized the

importance of a good knowledge of both Inuktitut and English or French as characteristics of

good students, as can be seen in the extract from one of the Inuit L2 teachers:

> That they read well, and can speak well in both English and in Inuktitut. Also that they
> are able to follow the dictation, to find the words on the wall.

> [Interview, Inuk L2 teacher]

As was noted in Eriks-Brophy (1992), the Inuit L1 teachers were reluctant to respond

to questions regarding the best or the worst students in their classrooms, preferring to keep all

participants equal rather than singling out individuals for praise, evaluation or correction in

front of the group. They often used indirect responses in replying to these questions,

referring to students' living situations or family problems to account for difficulties in learning or

problematic classroom behaviour. A similar attitude toward the importance of respecting the

equality of all participants can be seen in the following Inuit L2 teachers' comments. These

teachers also utilized indirect approaches to respond to questions regarding the best and the

worst students in their classroom.

> If only one is learning well I have failed as a teacher. I don't want them to go along in
> their own stream, I want them to help each other out. That's what I want. All the kids
> on the same level. Some will be smarter or know better, but I never point this out to
> the rest. I don't make a fuss of them in front of the class any more than the others.

> Kids learn really fast when they work together. But I am careful about who works with
> who. I use the good students to work with the others, to be able to learn from each
> other. But I am careful about what I say. I never tell the good students that they are
> the best. All the kids should feel the same. Even the slowest kids. I never tell them
> that so they will feel bad. I say only good things about all the kids.

> [Interviews, Inuit L2 teachers]

In contrast, the ability of individual students to speak well in the second language and to participate actively in oral activities in the classroom were among the most frequently mentioned characteristics of top students by the non-Inuit L2 teacher participants. Their emphasis on independence and the ability to work on one's own can be seen in the interview extracts that follow:

> The ones who speak up, who use the English language structures I've taught them. They follow the pattern from things they've been taught. Those are the kids who do well in my class. When they speak up and participate a lot and use the language and structures, the vocabulary they've been taught. It's the oral work. The work is so oral and participatory.

> The very vocal kids, the ones who participate well. They use the language and the structures, the vocabulary they've been taught. They also use skills that they've never been taught.

> That they are independent and curious. That they ask for information in the second language and use the second language. That they have self-esteem and a sense of humour.

> Someone who has good skills in English and who enjoys learning English. Students who are enthusiastic, who take pleasure and interest in learning and finding things out, who participate. Someone who goes on things that he hasn't been taught. And who has good attendance.

> For me the most important thing is participation. Also attitude is important, and effort. That the student tries to help himself and asks questions to get the answer. Behaviour in class is also important. Evaluations, grades, participation, how they do in class, how they behave.

> [Interviews, non-Inuit L2 teachers]

Qualities and characteristics of top students that were mentioned by the more experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers were more reminiscent of the Inuit L2 teachers' responses and included such elements as motivation, attitude, effort, in-class behaviour and self esteem, as can be seen in the following extracts:

> A hard worker. Someone who tries hard and doesn't give up. Someone who is always wanting to learn, who wants to know more and learn more. Who comes and asks me questions in order to learn things, who asks for more work or more reading or who

asks if I will read with them. I usually have at least one student like this each year. It happens a lot to me.

Someone who works well and learns easily. Also kids who are helpful, who try hard and are always in a good mood. I look at the academics but also how they are in the classroom. If they are helpful and work well with others. That they are responsible and can figure things out on their own. That they can help themselves and not be dependent on the teacher.

[Interviews, experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers]

"Cheating" versus "Helping Each Other"

Being able to work independently was also mentioned by several of the non-Inuit L2 teacher participants as among the most important things that students had to learn at school. The perceived inability to work independently was explicitly mentioned by a number of the teachers as a particularly undesirable yet common quality in Inuit students. Other frequent comments made by non-Inuit teachers in their interviews included their perception that Inuit children engaged in too much peer interaction and moved around too freely in the classroom rather than concentrating on their assignments. This behaviour was interpreted by a number of the teachers as evidence for students' inability to "do their own work". In many of the non-Inuit teachers' classrooms, students were required to sit at their desks and complete their seat work without interacting with other students. Students who looked at other students' papers were sometimes accused of 'cheating', not only by certain of the non-Inuit L2 teachers but also, occasionally, by their classmates. One of the non-Inuit teachers commented on discouraging 'cheating' in the classroom as one of the principal values she tried to promote in her students. According to this teacher, cheating was equivalent to "looking at other kids' work. If they are able to do the work on their own and they still look, then this is cheating". Other non-Inuit L2 teachers made the following comments regarding the importance of

developing independent work habits in their students:

> It's important for me to teach them how to get organized, and to figure things out on their own. They need to learn to rely on themselves and help themselves before asking the teacher. They need to know how to do their own work.

> The learning centers are to encourage the students to do independent work. To teach them to work on their own. Some of these kids move around a lot. They are always moving around and looking at other kid's work, not doing their own.

> [Interviews, non-Inuit L2 teachers]

On the other hand, both the Inuit L1 and L2 teachers often encouraged students to work together to complete assignments in the classroom. Particularly in the Inuit L1 classrooms, it was not uncommon to see several students working together on one work sheet or colouring the same picture. This way of working together was considered an appropriate learning strategy and was not seen as 'cheating' by the Inuit teachers. The difference in perspective between Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers on this issue can be seen in the following comments regarding "cheating" from one of the Inuit L2 teachers:

> When I have kids working and one wants to copy the other I tell them it's ok. I let them do this because one maybe doesn't know his work and then the others could help to teach him. I teach them and leave them on their own to learn from each other.

> [Interviews, Inuit L2 teachers]

Misevaluations of Student Performance and Competence Based on Emphasis on Independence and Individual Oral Participation

As shown in the interview extracts cited above, non-Inuit L2 teachers tended to base their evaluation of students on independence and individual oral participation in the classroom. Inuit L1 and L2 teachers, on the other hand, emphasized cooperation, working with others, and listening to peer models. These differing requirements pertaining to successful participation in the classroom between non-Inuit teachers and Inuit L1 and L2

teachers resulted in several examples of misinterpretations of student behaviour and

misevaluations of student performance which had a direct impact on teachers' perceptions of

the academic competence of the students concerned. A perceived lack of responsiveness

and verbal interaction in the classroom was frequently mentioned in interviews with both

experienced and inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers as a negative feature of teaching Inuit

children.

> When I came here, I found not having any materials in the classroom for teaching was
> very hard. Also to teach kids who don't react and who are so slow to respond. I often
> feel like I'm alone in the class and have to reinvent the world.
>
> [Interview, non-Inuit L2 teacher]

Furthermore, many of these teachers interpreted students' reluctance and unwillingness to

engage individually in oral exchanges as evidence of inattention, as a form of disrespect or

uncooperative behaviour, or as a lack of language proficiency or knowledge of the subject

matter on the part of the student. As one of the non-Inuit teachers stated, "I find the kids here

are slow. They just don't talk. They are really slow to learn." Further discussion of this issue

with the teacher concerned revealed that this evaluation was applied primarily to those

students who did not actively participate in individual oral interactions with the teacher.

This teachers' reaction to the students in her classroom was not unique and

epitomizes an underlying cultural difference in perspective between Inuit and non-Inuit

teachers' views on appropriate communicative roles for children in the classroom. This

fundamental difference between Inuit and non-Inuit perceptions of appropriate student

participation and classroom performance is summarized in two statements presented below,

the first taken from an interview with one of the inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers and the

second a statement made during Crago's (1988) study by one of the Inuit cultural experts who

participated in the Eriks-Brophy (1992) as well as in the present study .

I was used to teaching really keen kids who talked a lot. These kids don't talk much in class or about themselves. At first I didn't really know how to approach them. The first day I was here I really struggled to keep the talk going even for an hour. This was a difference I needed to adjust to. Now I've learned how to get more information from them, but I still can't get them to "chat". They talk more now, but they still don't volunteer much. You have to work to pursue a conversation, and keep prodding them to get anything, even a one word answer. But they're getting better at this now, and I just keep working on it.

[Interview, non-Inuit L2 teacher]

These Qallunnaat [non-Inuit] teachers never seem to learn that well-raised Inuit children should not be talking up in class. They should be learning by looking and listening.

[Participant observation during Crago (1988) study, Inuit L2 teacher]

This difference in perspective regarding appropriate speaking roles for children between Inuit and non-Inuit teachers illustrates the potential for misjudgments of Inuit students' academic competence and achievement when such evaluations are based primarily or exclusively on students' individual oral performance in classroom interactions.

Promoting Individualism versus Collectivity Through Turn Allocation Format

One of the primary means by which an individual versus a collective orientation in the classroom was encouraged was through emphasis on individual versus group responses in the organization of turn allocation in the classroom. Turn allocation format was one of the ways in which teachers utilized discourse organization within the instructional interaction in order to promote different perspectives regarding appropriate participation for learners in their classrooms.

A comparison of the distribution of turn allocation formats used in the teacher initiation

acts can be found in Figure 13. Non-Inuit teachers closely resembled Mehan's teacher in their use of individual versus group nomination formats.
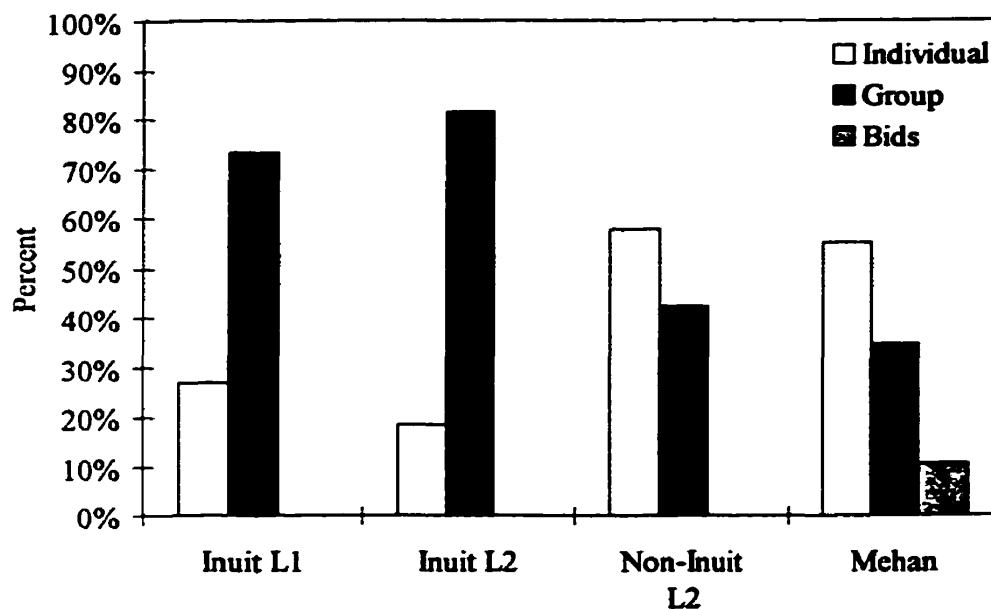
Figure 13. Percentage of three types of nomination format.

The non-Inuit teachers differed strikingly from both the Inuit L1 and L2 teachers, who used predominantly group nominations to elicit responses from students. Interestingly, no instances of the invitation to bid nomination format were found in the data from any of the teachers of Inuit children.

Inuit L2 teachers were even more pronounced in their avoidance of individual nominations as a response format in the classroom than were Inuit L1 teachers (see Figure 13). One of the Inuit L2 teachers made the following comment regarding the use of individual as opposed to group nominations in instructional exchanges:

> I wouldn't ask children to answer alone until they are ready. They will let us know when they are ready. Before that it's better in the group. Each kid should be the same. No one should be better than another. They all need to try.

[Interviews, Inuit L2 teachers]

In response to a question regarding the use of individual responses in the classrooms of the

non-Inuit teachers, this same teacher commented in the following manner:

> I find that the Qallunnaat [non-Inuit] teachers need to be in control all the time. They
> guide the students along every part of the way. This way of talking doesn't allow the
> kids to think for themselves and to explore their creativity. It encourages them to be
> competitive, not creative.
>
> [Interviews, Inuit L2 teachers]'

This opinion is reminiscent of that expressed by one of the Inuit L1 teachers in the previous

study, who, when asked about the use of group responses, commented that this way of

interacting was preferable in order to encourage children "to think and use their imagination".

Through an emphasis on group responses in both Inuit L1 and L2 classrooms,

teachers enabled students to serve as models for each other by providing peers with correct

responses to teacher elicitations while at the same time avoiding drawing attention to

individuals within the interaction. This organization of interaction through the use of group as

opposed to individual responses in the classrooms of the Inuit L1 and L2 teachers served to

promote the cooperation and equality of all student participants in classroom interactions.

The emphasis on individual responses in the classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers, on

the other hand, served to spotlight the performance of students in front of their peers. One

direct effect of the emphasis on individual verbal performance on student participation in the

classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers was an increase in the number of student responses

that contained hesitations, false starts, and disfluencies. A total of 12.31% of student's oral

responses in non-Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms contained some form of false start. Within the

Inuit L2 classrooms, false starts and hesitations were noted in only 0.95% of students' oral

responses , while 2.70% of student's oral responses in classrooms of Inuit L1 classrooms

contained some form of false start. The hesitations and disfluencies noted in the classrooms

of the non-Inuit L2 teachers can therefore not be attributed solely to unfamiliarity with the L2, but appeared instead to stem from students' discomfort with the spotlighting effect of the emphasis on individual nominations in the classroom.

In certain classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers, students appeared to have developed a strategy of using false starts as a way of holding the floor while they listened for prompts from other students guiding them toward the correct response to the teacher's elicitation. In these sequences, students seemed to have realized that not providing the complete response when it was not officially their turn would not result in a reprimand from the teacher. Single syllable prompts by other students often aided nominated students to come up with the proper response without loss of the floor or loss of face, as in the following sequence:

Teacher:	Peter [pointing to a picture].
Peter:	La...la...la...
Student:	Radi... [softly].
Peter:	La radio.
Teacher:	La radio, bravo Peter.

This form of student prompting is reminiscent of the sorts of interactions that occurred in the Inuit L1 classrooms, where students were encouraged by the teacher to listen to the responses of their classmates in order to come up with the correct answer (see Eriks-Brophy, 1992, pp. 109-114 for discussion). Sequences where students continued to help each other in ways that were nevertheless adapted to non-Inuit teachers' styles of nominating students were most common in the classrooms of two of the more experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers.

Miscommunication in the Classroom Based on Errors in Turn Allocation Format

Students' lack of familiarity with the emphasis placed on individual participation contributed to numerous instances of miscommunication between Inuit students and their non-Inuit teachers. Relying on turn-taking patterns established through their interactions in Inuit L1

classrooms, students often continued to give group responses in situations where individual

nominations were required by the teachers. While such group responses to individual

nominations were not commented on or reprimanded in the classrooms of the Inuit L1 and L2

teachers, similar behaviour in classrooms of some of the non-Inuit teachers frequently led to

overt reprimands of students by their non-Inuit teachers. Thus behaviour that was explicitly

encouraged in Inuit L1 and L2 classrooms became a source for miscommunication and

misevaluation in non-Inuit L2 classrooms. There were 82 examples of overt student

reprimands that resulted from perceived violations of teacher-imposed turn allocation rules in

the transcripts of the non-Inuit L2 teachers. A number of examples serve to illustrate this

frequent discourse-based misunderstanding.

Teacher:	Qu'est-ce que c'est, Annie? [What is it, Annie?].
Student:	Efface. [Eraser].
Teacher:	Shh-shh, faut que Annie le fasse. [Shh-shh, Annie has to do it]. [Teacher motions to student to be quiet, putting fingers to lips while frowning.]
Annie:	C'est une efface. [It's an eraser].
Teacher:	Oui, c'est une efface. [Yes, it's an eraser].

Teacher:	Jaaji, what are these?
Teacher:	They are ...
Jaaji:	They are um ...
Student:	Legs.
Teacher:	Ss-shhh [directed pointedly at the other student, with finger to lips, frowning].
Jaaji:	A...leg.
Teacher:	Legs (exaggerating the s sound).
Jaaji:	Legs.
Teacher:	Legs-s, good, good.

Teacher:	One two three four five. [Counting spaces on a game board].

Student:	It's a skate [pointing at a space on the board].
Teacher:	Shh, it's not your turn.

[non-Inuit L2 classrooms]

The students in the examples cited above were described by their non-Inuit teachers as

"talking out of turn", a form of student behaviour that was interpreted by many teachers as a

form of disrespect both to the nominated student as well as to the position of authority held by

the teacher in the classroom. No instances of such reprimands occurred in the classrooms of

the Inuit L1 and 2 teachers, and these teachers never described violations of turn-taking rules

as constituting a problem in their classrooms.

Competition in the Classroom

A further effect of the emphasis on individualism and independence promoted in the

non-Inuit teachers' classrooms was the encouragement of a competitive atmosphere among

students. The inexperienced non-Inuit teachers in particular often used activities to promote

oral participation and strategies for behaviour control that fostered competition among

students. As one of the inexperienced teachers commented, "I use the idea of a contest to

get the kids to work and to behave. If you want them to work, turn it into a contest. This idea

of Inuit as non-competitive just isn't true".

Many of the non-Inuit teachers used team games that had clear winners or losers to

promote active student participation in the classroom. Members of the winning team or

individual participants would sometimes receive small prizes for their performance in these

types of activities. During participant observations it was noted that other students would

sometimes become angry if they were not first to finish or if their team didn't win, leading to

accusations of "cheating" among peers. Another effect of this competition was to discourage students from helping each other, as can be seen in the following transcript extract:

Teacher: What is this, Alec? [pointing to her nose].
Alec   :   [In Inuktitut= Face].
Teacher: How do you say it in English?
Student: [In Inuktitut= Don't tell him].

Inuit L1 and L2 teachers also often used team games and group activities. However, in these classrooms the element of competitiveness was not emphasized as part of the activity. Teachers and students were more concerned with participation in the activity itself than with the accumulation of points or the final outcome or score. Team games were often terminated before a winner could be determined, and often neither teacher nor students commented on which group had won or lost at the end of the game. As one of the Inuit L2 teachers commented, "I like games as long as they promote learning. But games should not be for competition. This way of teaching doesn't promote creativity and learning".

Inuit children appeared to have little experience with the concept of competition as part of learning prior to the introduction of this notion in the classrooms of the non-Inuit teachers. This can be seen from a description provided by one of the inexperienced non-Inuit teachers of a situation that occurred early on in her teaching experience with Inuit children. This teacher commented that at the beginning of the year she had noticed that her students did not seem to have grasped the notion that the teams in the various games she was using in her teaching were supposed to be competing.

All the kids yelled out the answers, even if it wasn't their team's turn. They were giving points away to the others. Finally I just let them go and they had just as much fun and were still learning.

By the time this research was conducted, the children in this teachers' classroom had become quite familiar with the sorts of competitive games used in this classroom.

Some of the more experienced non-Inuit teachers expressed a certain awareness that

the fostering of competition in students was inconsistent with Inuit culture. Instead, a number

of these teachers organized their activities according to cooperative learning principles that

stressed non-competitive interactions among students. Cooperative learning as an effective

organizational framework for the teaching of Inuit students has been actively promoted by the

Kativik School Board both through extensive teacher in-service sessions and the

development of courses in cooperative learning for teacher of Inuit children. As one

experienced non-Inuit L2 teacher stated,

> I hate competitiveness. Inuit are not really competitive. They have respect for each
> other and will help each other without competitiveness and without judging each other.
> Cooperative learning is a good approach to use here. I try to do a lot of group work,
> but not one group against the other. This is really not in their culture.

[Interview, non-Inuit L2 teachers]

Nevertheless, the majority of non-Inuit teachers used such approaches as point

systems and school money to encourage student participation and good behaviour in the

classroom. The accumulation of points then typically led to some form of reward for the

individual student. The number of points each student had earned was often openly recorded

on a chart on the wall or on the blackboard, as in the following example:

> I use a system of school money based on math and vocabulary. I also give student
> points for their work. They always have homework and lessons to study. I keep a
> record of their points on the board. They can get 10 points a day for the work they do.
> Then I give them rewards and surprises like dinner at my house.

[Interview, non-Inuit L2 teachers]

A number of the Inuit teachers involved in the present as well as the previous study

commented on reward systems for controlling and encouraging students as inappropriate for

Inuit children, since they encouraged competition and possessiveness. Some of the Inuit

teachers stated that they felt that this way of promoting participation and learning undermined

some of the most important values promoted in wider Inuit society, including the fostering of cooperation, the equality of participants, and the importance of taking responsibility for the group.

Initiation-Response-Evaluation Sequences and Their Variations

As described in Chapter 3, Initiation-Response-Evaluation or IRE routines are reportedly the most pervasive discourse structure used to organize elicitation sequences in classrooms at all grade levels. In the previous chapter it was shown that the overall frequency of use of elicitation-type sequences did not differ substantially across the three groups of teachers, and made up of bulk of teacher-student interactions within the instructional phase of the analyzed lessons in all classrooms. Nevertheless, important differences in the distribution of these elicitation sequences across three basic varieties: IRE routines, IRe routines, and IR routines emerged from the present analysis. The categories of IR and IRe routines were proposed in Eriks-Brophy (1992) as descriptive categories based on the results of instructional discourse analysis in Inuit L1 classrooms. Their use in other research studies examining the organization of instructional discourse in different cultural contexts has not been discussed. These three differing forms of elicitation sequences clearly illustrate the ways in which discourse in the classroom might be organized in order to promote individual performance or to orient the student toward the group. In the sections that follow, each of these discourse structures will be described and illustrated through examples taken from the transcripts in order to highlight their underlying organizational differences. Following this, the distribution of these forms of elicitation sequences across the groups of teachers will be described.

IRE Routines

Typical IRE and extended IRE discourse structures were found in the data from all of the teacher groupings. Within these IRE routines, teachers provided explicit positive evaluation or direct correction of student responses. Interactions between Inuit and non-Inuit teachers and students were also maintained by means of extended IRE sequences. These sequences involved some form of elaboration of the student response in order to arrive at a more acceptable answer, followed by an overt evaluation by the teacher. All groups of teachers used similar strategies to those described in Chapter 3 as typical for mainstream teachers in their extended sequences order to arrive at these desired responses, including modifications, expansions, teacher models, prompts, repetitions, requests for clarification or acknowledgement, explanations of errors, clues, and simplifications of the original elicitation (Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman, & Smith, 1966; Green & Harker, 1982; Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; van Lier, 1988). Examples of IRE routines and extended sequences taken from non-Inuit L2 and Inuit L2 classrooms illustrate the similarities in IRE discourse structure across the comparison groups.

Teacher: Charlie, what is this?
Student: It is # it is a # it is a eye.
Teacher: Good Charlie, good.
Teacher: Jaani, what is it?
Student: It is a ear.
Teacher: Good.
Teacher: Mary, what is this?
Student: It is # um # hair.
Teacher: No, no, what is this? [Teacher points to face].
Student: Face.
Teacher: It is a face.
Student: It is a face.
Teacher: Very good, Mary.

Teacher: Tu vas me dire, Jean Guy. Qu'est ce que c'est?
            [You're going to tell me, Jean Guy. What is this one?].
Student: Le bol.

	[A bowl].
Teacher:	Le bol, oui!
	[A bowl, yes!].
Teacher:	Peter, Peter, celui-ci.
	[Peter, Peter, this one].
Student:	Le sel.
	[Salt].
Teacher:	Bravo!

Teacher:	Bon, Daisy, qu'est-ce que c'est?
	[Ok, Daisy, what's this one?].
Student:	C'est une règle.
	[It's a ruler].
Teacher:	Oui. C'est une règle.
	[Yes. It's a ruler].
	Alors, cherche le règle, rè, rè, règle.
	[So look for the ruler, ru, ru, ruler].
Teacher:	Ah! Daisy, elle a les deux. Parfait! C'est beau.
	[Ah! Daisy has both of them. Perfect. That's very good].
Teacher:	Monica. Qu'est-ce que c'est?
	[Monica. What's this one?].
Student:	Efface. C'est un efface.
	[Eraser. It's an eraser].
Teacher:	C'est une efface. Parfait, Monica.
	[It's an eraser (modelling correct article).
	Perfect, Monica].

[non-Inuit L2 classrooms]

[Teacher walks over to a hanging picture of an ear].

Teacher:	[In Inuktitut= what about this one?].
Students:	I hear with my ears.
Teacher:	Very good.
	I hear with my ears.
Teacher:	[In Inuktitut= what about this one?] [pointing to the hanging nose]
Students:	I smell with my nose.
Teacher:	Very good.
Students:	Nose.
Teacher:	Nose ...very good.

[Inuit L2 classroom]

As these examples show, overt evaluation in sequences of discourse functioned in a

similar manner across the groups with the exception that, as was described above, neither

Inuit L1 nor Inuit L2 teachers typically addressed their elicitations to individual students and

therefore they rarely accompanied their evaluations with any form of praise or correction for individuals.

IR Routines

The Eriks-Brophy (1992) study identified a form of discourse organization that characterized a large percentage of elicitation sequences in Inuit L1 teachers' classrooms. This discourse sequence was labelled an IR routine. In IR routines, the teacher typically initiated an elicitation sequence and the students called out the answer as a group. These group responses were not overtly evaluated for correctness after each elicitation, as is typically the case for IRE routines. Instead, the correctness of student responses was implicitly signalled through the continuation of the teacher-student dialogue. Examples of Inuit IR routines taken from Inuit L2 classrooms serve to illustrate this form of discourse organization [for examples of IR routines in Inuit L1 classrooms see Eriks-Brophy (1992, pp. 115-116)].

Teacher:	What was that? What did you feel?
Students:	<A book>.
Student:	<Hands>.
Teacher:	Was your book light or heavy? Light or heavy?
Students:	<Light>.
	<Heavy>.
Teacher:	Light or heavy? [Teacher points to one side of the classroom].
Students:	Heavy.
Teacher:	Your book was heavy because it was this book. [Teacher holds up small, thick book].

	[Teacher holds up picture card].
Students:	Carrot.
	[Teacher holds up next card].
Students:	Onion.
	[Teacher holds up next card].
Students:	Potato.
	[Teacher holds up next card].
Student:	Celery

Students: Celery.

[Inuit L2 classrooms]

While numerous examples of IR routines were found in the data taken from Inuit L1 and L2 classrooms, such forms of interaction were rare in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers.

IRe Routines

As described in Eriks-Brophy (1992), variations in Inuit IR sequences occurred when the group did not produce the desired response, or when only a few members or even a single individual in the group produced the correct response. In these situations, more overt teacher intervention into the flow of student responses was required, which usually took a similar form to the elaborations of student responses described in the section on extended IRE routines above. These discourse sequences were referred to in the previous study as IRe routines as a result of the use of these less explicit forms of evaluation and feedback. Thus an important difference between extended IRE and IRe routines was the lack of overt evaluation of the final student response by the teachers within IRe sequences. Examples of typical IRe routines taken from the classrooms of the Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers illustrate this discourse form. [For a discussion and examples taken from the Inuit L1 classrooms, see Eriks-Brophy (1992 p. 119-124)].

Teacher:	What does this say?
Student:	Tongue.
Teacher:	Huh?
Student:	Tongue?
Teacher:	Tongue..tongue?
Teacher:	What do...[in Inuktitut= What does that say?]
Student:	<Taste>.
Student:	<I>...

Students: I taste with my tongue.
Teacher: I taste with my tongue.
Teacher: Right?
Students: I taste with my tongue.
Teacher: I taste with my tongue.

                [Teacher puts down a card to elicit the word 'old' from students but
                students do not respond]
Teacher: Look, she ninety-nine years old [long pause here while
                waits for the students to get the idea]
Student: Old.
Students: Old.
Teacher: Ninety nine is very old. Okay?
                [Teachers puts down another card].

                [Inuit L2 classrooms]

Teacher: Ok you have twelve..but you still have...
Student1:   Thirteen.
Teacher: Five plus four is thirteen?
Student2:   No.
Student1:   Five plus four...
Teacher: Is ...
Students: Nine.
Teacher: So nine plus eight is...

                [non-Inuit L2 classroom]

Additional examples of IRe routines taken from the Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 classrooms will

be presented below in the section on indirect forms of student evaluation.

The Distribution of IRE, IRe and IR Sequences in Classrooms of Inuit and non-Inuit Teachers

The frequency of elicitation sequences in the instructional discourse of teachers of Inuit

children was described in Chapter 7 as exceeding that reported by Mehan (1979). In that study

no distinctions were made between various different types of elicitation sequences used in the

classroom. The breakdown of teacher elicitation sequences into IRE/Extended, IRe/Extended

and IR sequences as a function of overall teacher discourse sequences across the teacher

comparison groups is shown in Figure 14.
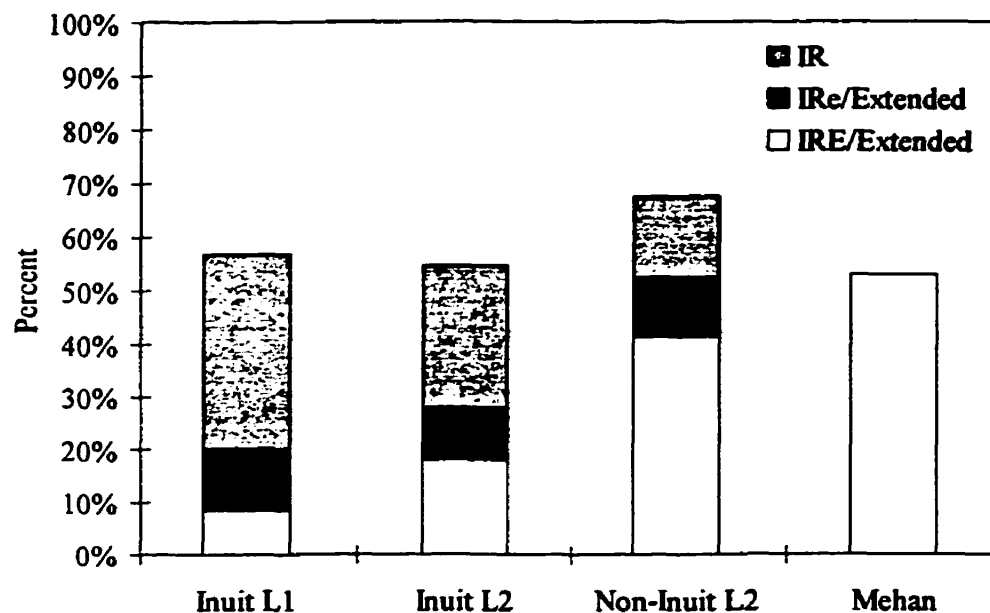
Figure 14. Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR Routines as a function of overall teacher discourse sequences.

While examples of these three different types of elicitation sequences were found in the data taken from the classrooms of all teachers of Inuit children, the overall patterns of their use of IRE, IRe, and IR routines varied across the three different classroom contexts. This pattern of use is represented in Figure 15.

Traditional IRE sequences predominated in the elicitation sequences of non-Inuit L2 teachers while relatively few examples of IR sequences occurred in these classrooms. The opposite pattern was found in the classroom of Inuit L1 teachers, where the majority of elicitation sequences were organized according to IR elicitation structures, with relatively few examples of IRE forms of discourse. The distribution of IR versus IRE discourse organization in classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers fell between the other two groups. The frequency of use of IRe elicitation sequences was similar across the three groups of teachers. These results
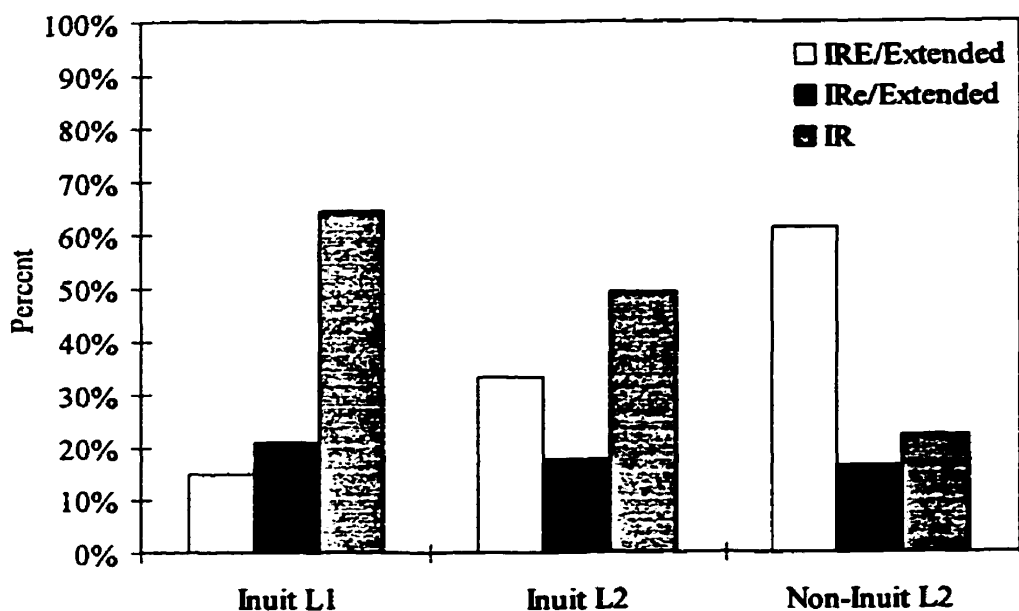
Figure 15. Percentage of use of IRE, IRe, and IR routines as a function of total teacher elicitation sequences.

imply that there was a higher percentage of overt student evaluation in classrooms of non-Inuit as compared to Inuit L1 and L2 teachers. Examples of teachers' use of direct versus indirect evaluation strategies within elicitation sequences will be described in the section that follows.

Forms of Evaluation and Correction in IRE and IRe Routines

As is clear from the above examples, a primary difference between IRE, IRe, and IR routines centers around the manner in which the evaluative and corrective aspect of teacher feedback is handled within the discourse structure. Inuit and non-Inuit teachers differed not only in their frequency of use of the IRE, IRe, and IR elicitation routines in the classroom, but also in the directness or indirectness with which evaluation and learner feedback were formulated within these sequences.

Evaluation as a Function of Teacher Initiation Acts

The percentage of evaluation as a function of the total teacher initiation acts across the three comparison groups is shown in Figure 16. More of the teacher initiation acts found in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers were evaluated than in the Inuit L1 and L2 teachers' classrooms, where the frequency of evaluation was almost exactly equivalent. Since the tendency in Inuit L1 and L2 classrooms was to continue the teacher-student interaction and not to intervene into the discourse through teacher evaluation when students answered correctly, positive evaluations of student responses occurred less frequently in these classrooms than forms of feedback intended to point out and correct learner errors. Indeed, instances of student praise were rare in both Inuit L1 and Inuit L2 teachers classrooms, and typically occurred only at the end of the lesson through such comments as "You are very good now" or "You know this very well now" addressed to the class as a whole. In contrast, non-Inuit L2 teachers used both praising and corrective feedback in their interactions with students. These evaluative and corrective sequences were typically directed at individual students in front of the group.
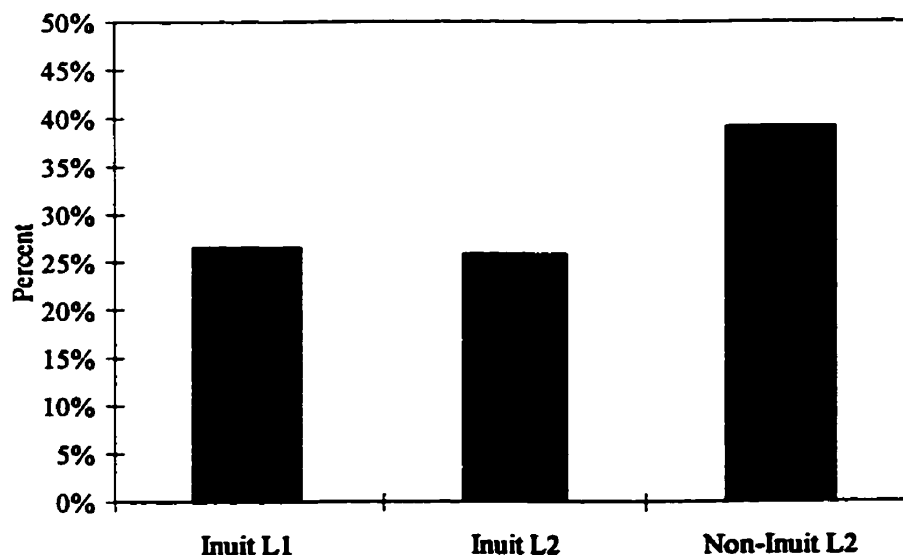
Figure 16. Percentage of teacher initiation acts evaluated.

Direct and Indirect Evaluation and Correction Strategies

A variety of forms of evaluation and correction of student utterances were found within the IRE and IRe discourse structures described above. These strategies have been divided into direct and indirect forms. Such statements as "Very good", "No" or "No, it's not that", followed by overt teacher correction of the student's error were considered to be overt evaluations and corrections. Repetitions, recasts (including modifications and expansions of student utterances and teacher models), requests for clarification or acknowledgement, and nonverbal feedback are considered to be more indirect forms of evaluation (Owens, 1995; Lyster and Ranta, 1997). The distribution of direct versus indirect evaluations used across the three comparison groups is summarized in Figure 17.
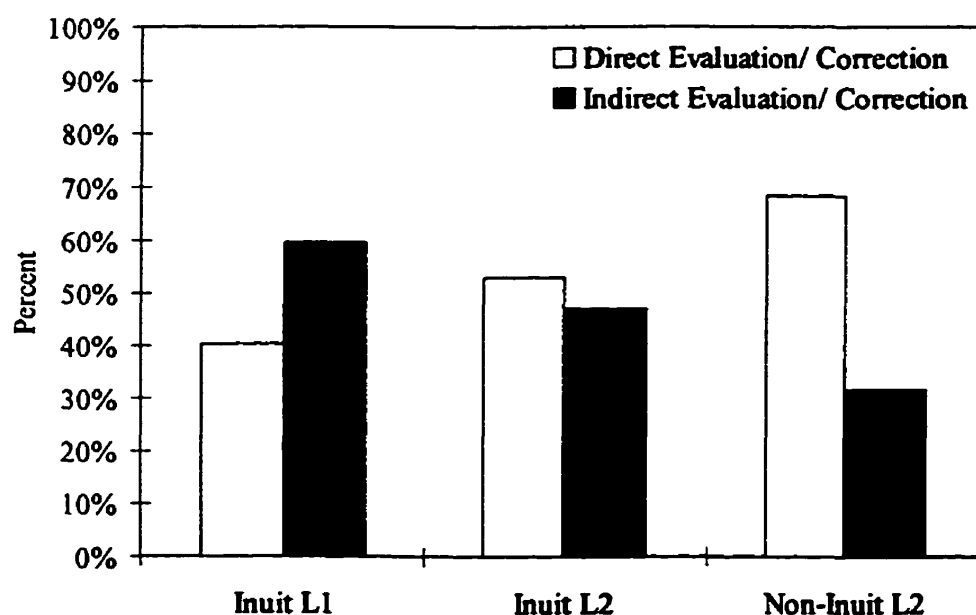
Figure 17. Percentage of direct versus indirect evaluation and correction.

While Inuit L1 teachers used indirect forms of evaluative and corrective feedback more frequently than direct forms, non-Inuit teachers used predominantly direct forms of evaluation and correction within their elicitation sequences, and at almost twice the frequency of indirect

forms of learner feedback. Inuit L2 teachers used direct and indirect forms of feedback with approximately equal frequency, again falling between the other two groups in the distribution of evaluative and corrective feedback strategies in the classroom. As was discussed previously, a number of these corrections and evaluations were made in Inuktitut rather than English in the Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms. As was also the case in the Inuit L1 teachers' classrooms, both direct and indirect forms of corrective feedback were typically addressed to the group as a whole rather than to individuals in the Inuit L2 classrooms.

The distribution of various types of teacher corrective feedback strategies used in the L1 and L2 classrooms of the Inuit and non-Inuit teachers is shown in Figure 18. Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers demonstrated a greater variety of indirect feedback strategies than did the Inuit L1 teachers, who relied on repetition, recasts, and requests for acknowledgements in their interactions with students.[See Eriks-Brophy, 1992, pp. 121-129 for a discussion of issues of error correction and examples of various forms of learner feedback in Inuit L1
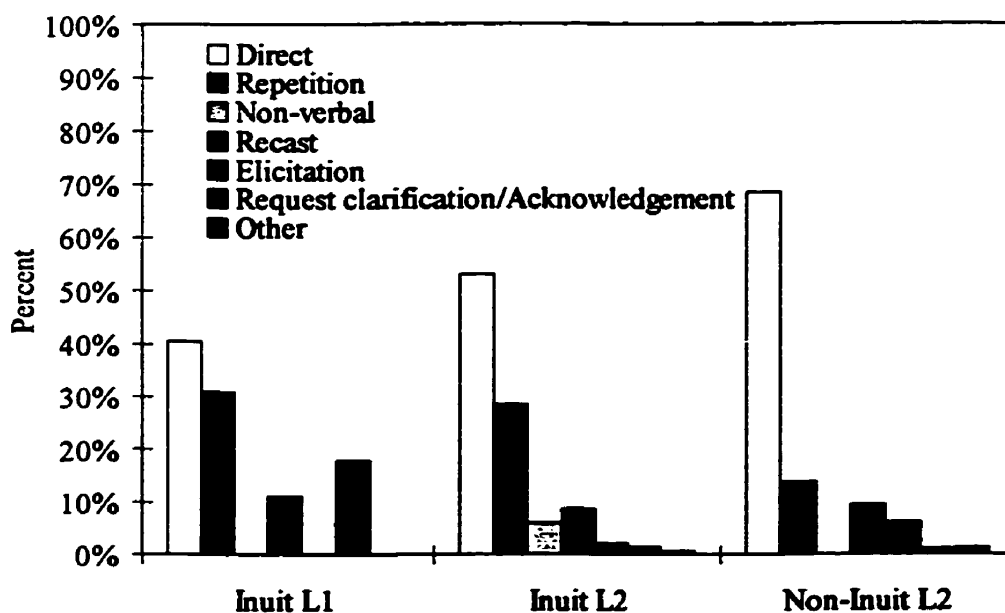
Figure 18. Percentage of forms of evaluative and corrective feedback in Inuit L1, Inuit L2, and non-Inuit L2 classrooms.

teachers' classrooms]. The reliance on repetition of student utterances as an indirect

feedback strategy in the classrooms of the Inuit L1 and L2 teachers was higher than in the

classrooms of non-Inuit teachers. The importance of repetition as a common and culturally

appropriate form of adult-child interaction was described by both Crago (1988) and Hough-

Eyamie (1993) for Inuit caregiver-child interactions and by Eriks-Brophy (1992) for teacher-

student interactions.

Various examples taken from the Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers illustrate differences

between direct and indirect use evaluation and correction strategies, as well as the forms of

non-verbal correction and evaluation that occurred in the classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers.

Teacher pauses, gestures and head nods, as well as looking up at the group and engaging in

eye contact were the principal non-verbal means through which teachers indicated student

errors. While the use of similar forms of non-verbal feedback were observed in the

classrooms of the Inuit L1 teachers, this particular form of corrective feedback was not found

in the specific lessons that were coded and analyzed as part of the Eriks-Brophy (1992) study.

Teacher:	Ok, say breakfast again.
Students:	Breakfast.
Teacher:	No. Ok # unna hai breaktast tast nngungitu unna.
	[= No. Ok this one look it's not breaktast it's not tast this one]
Teacher:	Breakfast lagiaqaqusi [=You have to say breakfast].

[Direct correction, Inuit L2 classroom]

Teacher:	Ida, regardes l'ecran. Qu'est-ce que c'est?
	[Ida, look at the screen. What is that?]
Ida:	C'est un homme.
	[It's a man].
Teacher:	Non. C'est Jean.
	[No. It's Jean].

Teacher:	Qui a 'crayon'?
	[Who has 'pencil'?].
	[Student hesitantly shows a card to the teacher].
Teacher:	Mets le ici.

	[Put it here].
Teacher:	Non. C'est pas ça, okay.
	[No. It's not that, okay.
Teacher:	C'est pas crayon, ça, c'est craie.
	[That's not pencil, it's chalk].
Student:	Ça c'est loup.
	[That's a wolf].
Teacher:	Mais non! Ca c'est un chat...(pointing).. ça c'est un loup.
	[No! That's a cat...that's a wolf].
Teacher:	Take your points.
	[Student picks points card].
Teacher:	How many did you get?
Student:	Nine.
Teacher:	No.
Teacher:	It's six, it's not nine.

[Direct correction, non-Inuit L2 classrooms]

Teacher:	Est-ce que c'est le crayon, ça?
	[Does that say pencil?].
Students:	Oui.
	[Yes].
	[Teacher points to letters at end of card].
Teacher:	Est-ce que ça c'est 'on'?
	[Does that say 'on'?].
Students:	Non.
	[No].
Teacher:	C'est 'ai'.
	[That's 'ai'].
Teacher:	C'est la craie. Est-ce que c'est la craie que je veux?
	[That says chalk. Do I want the chalk?].
Students:	Non.
	[No].
Teacher:	Non, ça marche pas.
	[No. That doesn't work].
Teacher:	Soixante-dix-huit... vingt-quatre.
	[Seventy eight...twenty four].
	[Teacher is writing numbers on the blackboard].
Teacher:	Quel est le plus grand?
	[Which one is bigger?].
Students:	Vingt-quatre.
	[Twenty four].
Teacher:	Le plus grand.

[Bigger].

Student:	Ahh ...
Student:	Sept ... sept <huit>.
	[Seven...seven eight].
Students:	<Sept> huit.
	[Seven...eight].
Teacher:	Sept oranges, huit blancs, c'est soixante-dix-huit.
	[Seven orange, eight white, that's seventy eight]
	[Teacher is referring to the place value rods being used in the lesson].

Student:	Jeans.
Teacher:	Jeans.
Teacher:	What colour are the jeans?
Student:	(no response)
Teacher:	Are they brown?
Student:	Blue.
Teacher:	Blue?
Student:	I see a blue jeans.
Teacher:	Ok, this one is hard.
Teacher:	It's a **pair** of jeans, right? [Teacher reaches over and touches student's knee.]
Teacher:	So we say I see a pair of blue jeans.

[Indirect correction, non-Inuit L2 classrooms]

Student:	Fruit salad.
Teacher:	Aah [=acknowledgement] # fruits.
Teacher:	<Fruits>.
Students:	<Fruits>.
Students:	Fruits.
Teacher:	[Teacher makes slight inbreath as acknowledgement and nods head briefly].

	[Teacher shows card].
Students:	Tomato.
Teacher:	[Pauses and looks up].
Student:	Po<tato>.
Students:	<Potato>.
Teacher:	<Potato>.

[Non-verbal correction, Inuit L2 classrooms]

Non-Inuit L2 Teacher Correction of Language Form

As can be seen from a number of the above examples, non-Inuit L2 teachers often

insisted on the use of full sentence responses within elicitation sequences. Several of these teachers stated this as an explicit requirement during the opening sequences of their lessons. Single word utterances or short phrase responses to teacher elicitations were often prompted or re-elicited as full sentences from students before being accepted by the teachers. In some classrooms, the rules regarding full sentence responses were so well established that students would often spontaneously re-formulate their single word responses into full sentences without the necessity for teacher prompting. Additional examples that illustrate the emphasis on the form of student responses taken from the transcripts of the non-Inuit L2 teachers are provided below.

Teacher:	Kitty, what are these?
Student:	Umm ... shoulders.
Teacher:	Shoulders, ok, can you say it in a sentence?
Teacher:	(after brief pause) They are shoulders.
Student:	They are shoulders.
Teacher:	Good, Kitty, good.

Teacher:	Qu'est-ce que c'est? [What's that?].
Student:	Poubelle. [Garbage can].
Teacher:	(nods head at student)
Student:	C'est un poubelle. [It's a garbage can].

Teacher:	Qu'est-ce que c'est, Marie? [What's that, Mary?].
Student:	Efface...c'est une efface. [Eraser...it's an eraser].

Although both Inuit L1 and L2 teachers occasionally corrected student pronunciation, the explicit emphasis on the form of student responses and the necessity for full sentence responses was not observed in Inuit L1 elicitation sequences, and was rare in Inuit L2 classrooms.

Peer Models in IR and IRe Routines

The use of peer models in teacher elicitation sequences was described in the previous study as an important aspect of classroom interactions in Inuit L1 classrooms. In these interactions, student responses to teacher elicitations were often provided by a single student and then repeated by the group. Appropriate participation in the discourse of Inuit classrooms thus depended on students listening to and picking up on such peer models. Inuit L1 teachers also relied on peer models in the correction of student errors, quietly and often subtly guiding students to observe or listen to other students who had produced the correct response. These teachers would occasionally allow such peer-modelled interactions to continue over many turns, and sometimes utilised peer models in order to encourage students to self correct their errors without teacher intervention. Examples of this peer constructed classroom talk can be found in Eriks-Brophy (1992, pp. 118-125). Teachers involved in that study pointed out in their interviews that teaching students to listen and to learn from each other was an essential part of teaching. As one teacher commented:

> Students can't learn by themselves. No one pushes them to learn if they are by themselves, listening only to the teacher and not to each other. Students don't learn on their own. They need the others to learn from.

[Interviews, Inuk L1 teacher cited in Eriks-Brophy, 1992, p. 127]

The Inuit L2 teachers also frequently relied on peer modelling in the construction of classroom talk. In the following example, Teacher 7 helped her students to come to a consensus regarding an appropriate response by permitting them to continue their discourse over several turns without interruption. Eventually all the students repeated the correct response as a group, at which time the teacher repeated and then evaluated the group response.

	[Teacher shows picture].
Student:	Carrots.
Students:	<Carrots>.
	<Celery>.
Teacher:	Ok # what's ...
Students:	<Celery>.
	<Potato>.
	<Carrots>.
Student:	Celery.
Students:	Celery.
Teacher:	Celery, yes.

[Inuk L2 classroom]

In another example taken from the classroom of Teacher 7, a single student appeared

to be leading the other students through the lesson by responding approximately one syllable

ahead of the rest of the group. The other students as well as the teacher then chimed in and

completed the response along with the initiating student. The teacher did not overtly evaluate

this student for her performance in the lesson. No examples of this form of peer modelling

were found in the transcripts of the non-Inuit teachers. While difficult to capture through

written transcription, a segment of the sequence is presented below.

	[Teacher presents picture card].
Student:	To<mato>.
Students:	<Tomato>.
Teacher:	<Tomato>. [Teacher presents next picture card].
Students:	French fries. [Teacher presents next picture card].
Students:	Carrot. [Teacher presents next picture card].
Student:	On<ion>.
Students:	<Onion>.
Teacher:	<Onion>.

[Inuk L2 classroom]

These examples demonstrate the importance attributed to peer interaction and the negotiation

of meaning that occurred in elicitation sequences in both Inuit L1 and Inuit L2 classrooms.

Teacher Participants' Awareness of Cultural Differences in the Organization of Discourse and Interaction in Classrooms

As part of the formal interviews conducted with all participants, the Inuit L2 and the non-Inuit L2 teachers were asked to comment on their knowledge of cultural influences on teaching practice and their awareness of differences between Inuit and non-Inuit ways of organizing instructional interactions gained either as a result of course work associated with their teacher training or through direct experience or observation. Non-Inuit teachers were also asked to comment on their familiarity with Inuit culture.

The two Inuit L2 teachers had been taught for several years by non-Inuit teachers as part of their previous educational histories, and both teachers felt they had a good understanding of the ways in which instructional interactions were organized in classrooms of non-Inuit teachers. One of the two teachers had also participated in a discussion of differences between Inuit and non-Inuit teaching practices as part of a teacher training course provided by the Kativik School Board Inuit teacher training program.

On the other hand, only one of the six non-Inuit teachers had taken a course in cross cultural studies, although this course was not directly related to cultural differences in educational practices. As a result of time constraints, none of the teacher participants had observed in classrooms of Inuit teachers, although several of the inexperienced teachers expressed a willingness and a desire to do so. Only one of the six non-Inuit teacher participants stated that she had a good understanding of the instructional patterns and practices found in Inuit classrooms and the role of culture in the organization of these practices.

When asked about their familiarity with Inuit culture, all six non-Inuit teachers described in different ways their initial feelings of culture shock and isolation upon arrival in

the Inuit community. While the three experienced teachers felt they had developed extensive knowledge and understanding of Inuit culture as a result of their prolonged teaching experience teaching Inuit children, the three inexperienced teachers mentioned the need for additional knowledge of Inuit culture and cultural practices as among the most important information they would like to have to improve their teaching.

> I'd like to know more about the home situations of these kids. Also about Inuit culture and Inuit ways. I'd like to be a fly on the wall of their homes to see what their family life is like. To know who lives where and with who, and what it's like. That would be really helpful.

> [Interview, non-Inuit L2 teacher]

Some of the teachers actively sought out ways of establishing contact with members of the community and learning about Inuit culture through such activities as joining sewing groups, going on ice fishing and ski-doo trips with local community members, visiting and inviting community members to their homes. Other teachers expressed a sense of isolation, loneliness, and a lack of understanding of the community in which they were living, and limited their social interactions primarily to other non-Inuit staff members. While all teachers stated that the Kativik School Board in-service training sessions provided to new teachers prior to their departure to the communities had been helpful, the majority of the non-Inuit teachers expressed the opinion that this information had been insufficient to prepare them for the actual situation of teaching Inuit children in local community schools.

Summary

Emphasis on cooperation and an orientation toward the group were described in Eriks-Brophy (1992) as essential characteristics of the organization of instructional interactions in classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers. Successful participation in the classrooms of these teachers

was described as depending on appropriate group interaction and participation and the ability to capitalize on peer models within instructional interactions. While students were not always required to participate orally in teacher-student exchanges, they were expected to be attentive at all times.

Similar cultural values emphasizing the fostering and development of a collective identity among students were emphasized in the classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers, and were promoted through the use of similar discourse features and organization as those found in the classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers. In these classrooms, the frequent use of group as opposed to individual nominations in elicitation sequences emphasized the importance of students' working together and collaborating in order to helping each other learn. Individual students were not spotlighted for overt praise, correction, or evaluation in front of the group. The majority of teacher elicitation sequences in these classrooms consisted of IR as opposed to IRE routines, such that teachers did not continually intervene into the instructional interaction in order to provide evaluation of student response following each elicitation. Instead, instructional interactions often continued over a number of turns without teacher interruption, allowing for the incorporation of peer models into the construction of the overall discourse. In those situations where more direct teacher intervention was required, evaluations and corrections of student responses were often formulated through indirect as opposed to direct feedback strategies and tended to center on the group as a whole rather directed toward individual students. The repetition of student responses was the most common form of indirect feedback provided to learners in both Inuit L1 and L2 classrooms. The continued emphasis on familiar communicative values and participation structures in Inuit L2 classrooms permitted students to capitalize on their knowledge of teacher expectations as well as on previously acquired forms of interactional competence while developing knowledge and skill in

the second language.

Non-Inuit teachers, on the other hand, tended to organize their instructional interactions in ways that emphasized active individual verbal performance and the overt evaluation of that performance in front of the group. Nominations within elicitation sequences were primarily addressed to specific students, and instructional interactions between teachers and students were primarily organized through IRE exchanges in these classrooms. The most common form of feedback provided to learners within these sequences consisted of the direct evaluation and correction of student responses. Peer as opposed to teacher models of correct responses were rarely found in these interactions, and students who attempted to provide answers for their peers were often overtly reprimanded by their non-Inuit L2 teachers for this behaviour. Hesitations, disfluency, and a reluctance to speak alone were frequently observed characteristics of the student responses found in these classrooms. Competition among learners was encouraged through use of games and contests emphasizing a single winner as well as through reward systems involving preferred activities or small prizes for individual students who were seen as performing according to teacher-imposed standards in the classroom. Teachers also emphasized the need for students to work independently, and students who discussed answers or attempted to work together on seat work were often described as 'cheating' by the teachers.

As a way of highlighting and summarizing the central differences between Inuit and non-Inuit teachers' perspectives on teaching and learning in the classroom, selected interview responses from an Inuk L1 and an inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teacher will presented. The Inuk teacher participated in the Eriks-Brophy (1992) study and the non-Inuit teacher participated in the present study. While the responses of these two teachers provide a striking contrast to each other, each teacher is nevertheless representative of the cultural

group from which she originates.

1.   **What do you think is the most important thing that needs to be taught at school?**

Inuk: Learning the real Inuktitut language. Learning the hard words, the real words to keep our language strong.

Non Inuit: Learning the English language, oral and reading. Also manners. General respect and respect for manners.

2.   **What values do you stress in your teaching?**

Inuk: To keep all the children equal.

Non-Inuit: To have respect for the teacher. Respect for the teacher and for others.

3.   **How do you deal with children who are having trouble learning in the classroom?**

Inuk: I keep them close to me. I work with them and keep them close.

Non-Inuit: I get the specialist to work with them. I also try to give them more attention in class but I don't downgrade the program for them. I give them more attention.

4.   **How do you deal with children who are misbehaving in the classroom?**

Inuk: I try to be close to them to get them to listen and obey. I talk to them and explain how to be better.

Non-Inuit: I use small punishments like putting their name on the board or keeping them in for recess.

5.   **How can you tell if the students are learning well?**

Inuk: When they listen and pay attention.

Non-Inuit: When they speak up and participate a lot and use the English language

structures I have taught them.

6. **What qualities and attributes would you use to describe the more successful student(s) in your class?**

Inuk: That they can cooperate, work well with others, and try hard to do their school work. That they learn quickly.

Non-Inuit: The very vocal kids, the ones who participate well. They use the language and the structures, the vocabulary they've been taught. They also use skills that they've never been taught.

7. **What qualities and attributes would you use to describe the less successful student(s) in your class?**

Inuk: Personal problems affect the kids at school. This may shut their minds. I encourage them. I treat them the same. I explain to them how to be better.

Non-Inuit: The ones that don't listen and don't speak up in class. The ones who don't participate. Also the ones who can't read, and who don't respect the teacher and the students. The unmotivated ones.

Through the examination of the beliefs and opinions regarding teaching and learning expressed in the interviews of these two teachers, it is evident that they have very different goals for their students as well as different beliefs, values and perspectives that underlie their teaching practices. These differences in perspective surrounding education and communication translated into different organizational patterns for instructional interactions in the two classrooms, in similar ways to those that have been described in this and the previous chapter as typical for Inuit L1 and non-Inuit L2 teachers.

While from their interview responses it would appear that these two teachers would have little in common, in fact both of these teachers taught in the same community school, one across the hall from the other. Students spent two years in the classroom of the Inuk

teacher, becoming very familiar with the interaction patterns she used. These ways of organizing talk had their basis in local socialization practices and ways of structuring talk with children, and so could be interpreted as being congruent with prior home experiences revolving around communication. In September of the following year, these same students entered the classroom of the non-Inuit teacher. Not only did this teacher teach in a second language that was virtually unknown to the children, but she also used interaction patterns and ways of structuring discourse which were unfamiliar and which in some cases stood in sharp contrast to their previous educational and home socialization experiences.

For the children in this school, the transition from the Inuk to the non-Inuit teacher involved not only a change in language of instruction but also a change in the interaction patterns and forms of discourse used to organize communication and learning in classroom. These changes had direct implications for the forms of competence required for successful participation across the two educational contexts. As discussed previously, competent performance in classroom interactions depends not only on students' knowledge of the language and content presented to them through instruction, but also on their ability to display this knowledge in appropriate ways in classroom interactions (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979). Thus the skills and behaviours underlying communicative competence in the classroom of the Inuit L1 teacher did not correspond with those required for successful participation in the classroom of the non-Inuit L2 teacher. Indeed, the communicative demands and individual orientation emphasized in interactions with the non-Inuit teacher often contrasted directly with those promoted in students' previous instructional exchanges with their Inuit teachers. While the example provided above is taken from one of the community schools that participated in this research, it is nevertheless quite representative of certain aspects of Inuit children's experiences of schooling.

Conclusion

This chapter has described a number of ways in which Inuit L1 and L2 teachers used discourse and interaction patterns to orient students toward cultural values of group responsibility, cooperation, and collectivity. Variations of these same discourse structures served to emphasize individualism, individual oral performance, and competition in the classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers. These differing orientations were overtly stated by teachers in their descriptions of successful students and successful school performance, and were promoted by the teachers in their organization of discourse features related to individual versus group nomination and elicitation sequences in the classroom. The emphasis on oral participation and individual displays of knowledge promoted through the classroom interactions and discourse organization of the non-Inuit L2 teachers placed Inuit children into new speaking roles as individual respondents in these classrooms. Although these children were unfamiliar with many elements of the participation structures and communicative demands they encountered in these classrooms, a demonstrated competence with these forms of interaction were nevertheless among the principal means through which non-Inuit teachers judged and evaluated the academic performance of their students.

Differences in expectations between non-Inuit teachers and their students regarding appropriate behaviour and participation in classroom interactions were observed to lead to a number of instances of miscommunication between non-Inuit teachers and their Inuit students in the classroom. These problematic interactional sequences were often interpreted by the non-Inuit L2 teachers as indicative of uncooperative behaviour and a lack of independence on the part of students, characteristics emphasized in teachers' definitions of unsuccessful learning and unsuccessful learners in their classrooms. Certain behaviours that were

perceived as inappropriate and that were reprimanded and corrected in classrooms of non-Inuit teachers had their basis in students' previous experiences with the organization of interaction and participation in the Inuit L1 teachers' classrooms. However, the majority of the non-Inuit L2 teachers had little or no knowledge of the ways in which instructional exchanges were organized in the classrooms of Inuit teachers. These teachers therefore appeared to have little awareness that the interactional and communicative difficulties demonstrated by their students in classroom interactions might actually stem from a lack of familiarity and competence on the part of students with their new roles as individual performers in classroom interactions rather than constituting evidence for inadequate learning or uncooperative behaviour.

Chapter 9

DIFFERENCES IN DISCOURSE ORGANIZATION: THE EFFECT OF CULTURE AND EXPERIENCE

While important differences between Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers were noted in many of the discourse features related to the organization of instruction and interaction in classrooms as described in the previous chapters, a number of interesting trends pointing to the importance of examining the influence of teaching experience on the overall organization of instructional interactions were also observed in the data. Furthermore, the group results were not always representative of the patterns and practices of some of the individual teachers who participated in this research. Differences in discourse organization between experienced and inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers found in the data illustrate the potential of the learner and the learners' culture to influence the organization of instructional interactions in classrooms, resulting in syncretic instructional practices that reflect an amalgamation of cultures. Data from the analysis of discourse and the interview responses of three teachers who participated in the present research illustrate several important teacher characteristics that may contribute to the development of syncretic teaching practices among teachers of Inuit children.

In the first part of this chapter, differences related to the organization of discourse and interaction between experienced and inexperienced Inuit and non-Inuit teachers will be presented. An examination of these differences helps to illustrate the impact of the learner on certain of aspects of the organization of communicative interaction in classrooms while simultaneously strengthening cultural explanations for differences in discourse practices presented in previous chapters. The patterns that emerge from this examination thus provide

additional information pertaining to the differentiation of instructional routines more closely related to culture and ethnicity as opposed to those related to second language instructional practices in the organization of instructional interactions.

In the second part of the chapter, a portrait of syncretic teaching practices will be constructed based on individual data taken from the classrooms of three teachers who participated in the research. As previously described, the notion of syncretism proposed by Duranti and Ochs (1996) refers to the merging or blending of cultural practices as a result of contact between diverse cultural traditions which takes place in such a way that the influences of the distinct traditions remain traceable to their socio-historical roots. As will be seen from these descriptions, the syncretic teaching practices developed by these three teachers cannot be explained solely in terms of teachers' teaching experience and contact with the Inuit community, since only one among the group of three experienced non-Inuit teachers evidenced such practices. Furthermore, one of the teachers who demonstrated elements of syncretism in the organization of her instructional interactions with students was an inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teacher.

The Impact of Teaching Experience on the Organization of Lesson Structure

In this section, the impact of teaching experience on discourse features related to the organization of lesson structure will be described across the groups of Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and non-Inuit teachers. These discourse features include the overall organization of talk, the distribution of teacher discourse sequences within lessons, teacher initiation acts, nomination format, IRE routines and their variations, the use of direct versus indirect teacher feedback,

and teacher responses to student initiations. The presentation of these results will focus primarily on comparisons of the organization of discourse features between inexperienced and experienced non-Inuit teachers and the other comparison groups. For a description of differences between inexperienced and inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers in regard to these discourse features, see Eriks-Brophy (1992, pp. 137-141).

The Overall Distribution of Talk

In Chapter 7 it was pointed out that talk in the classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers was almost equally shared between teachers and students, while in the classrooms of non-Inuit L2 and Inuit L2 teachers there was a slightly greater incidence of teacher talk as compared to student talk in the classroom. As shown in Figure 19, there was a tendency toward increased domination of classroom talk by the teacher as a function of experience for the non-Inuit L2 teachers, where the overall distribution of talk between teachers and students closely resembles the distribution reported for Mehan's (1979) experienced teacher. No such tendency as a function of experience is noted for the Inuit L1 teachers, where the talk remained approximately equally divided between teachers and students regardless of the variable of teacher experience. Interestingly, the inexperienced non-Inuit L1 teachers closely resembled the Inuit L2 teachers in the degree to which they dominated the classroom talk.
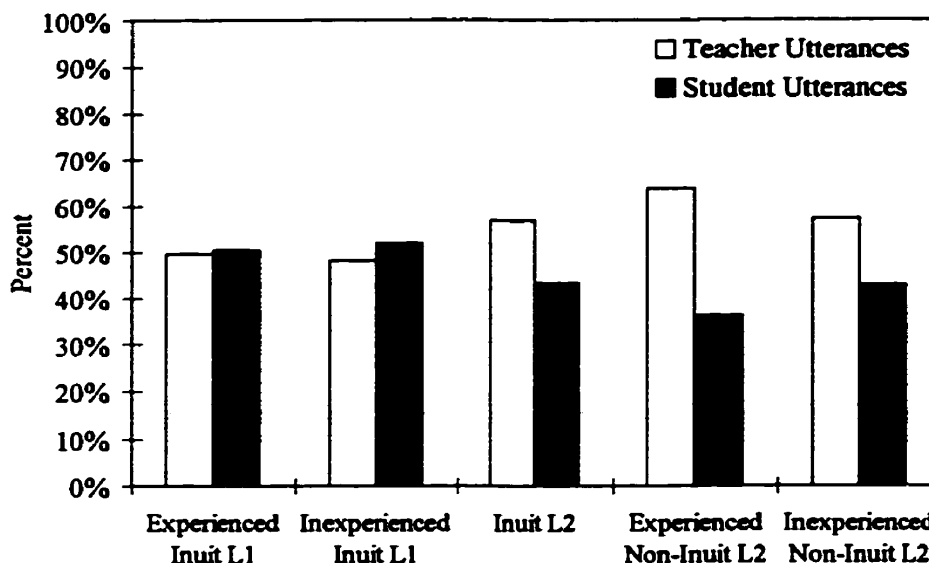
Figure 19. Percentage of teacher and student talk as a function of teacher experience.

Descriptions of Teacher Discourse Sequences in Teacher-Directed Lessons

The effect of teaching experience on the organization and distribution of various discourse sequences within the lesson across the three comparison groups of teachers is illustrated in Figure 20.
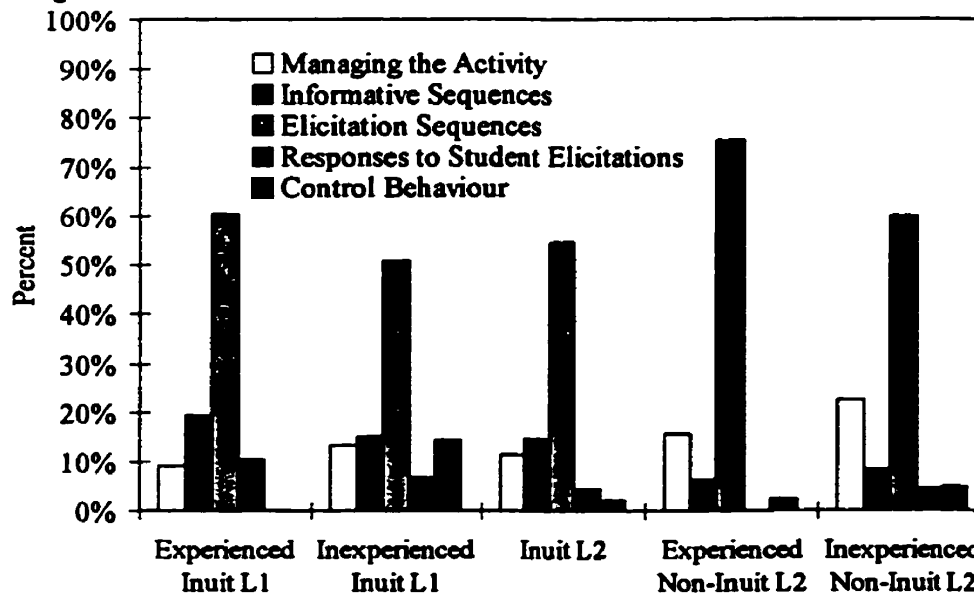
Figure 20. The effect of experience on the percentage of teacher discourse sequences in teacher-directed lessons.

A number of interesting trends related to teaching experience can be observed in these data which will be described below.

Managing the Activity

Inexperienced non-Inuit teachers spent more time than any other group in the organization and orientation of students toward the proposed activity, the phase of lesson organization previously described as the opening phase (see Figure 20). In contrast, experienced Inuit L1 teachers spent little instructional time on this particular aspect of lesson structure. Inexperienced Inuit L1 and experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers were similar in their treatment of this instructional phase. The two Inuit L2 teachers fell between the Inuit L1 and the non-Inuit L2 teachers in their organization of the opening phase of lesson structure.

Informative Sequences

All Inuit teachers regardless of experience and language of instruction used more informative sequences than any of the non-Inuit L2 teachers. Within the Inuit L1 comparison group, informative sequences were used more often by the experienced than by the inexperienced teachers. Inuit L2 teachers again fell between the Inuit L1 and non-Inuit L2 teachers in their overall use of these sequences. Interestingly, within the non-Inuit L2 group, the inexperienced teachers used slightly more informative sequences than did the experienced teachers. The findings regarding the use of informative sequences within the two non-Inuit L2 teachers are highly dependant on the results of Teacher 2 in the inexperienced group, and Teacher 5 in the experienced group, as will be described in the section on syncretic teaching practices later in this chapter.

Elicitation Sequences

There was a trend toward greater use of elicitation sequences among experienced as

opposed to inexperienced teachers, regardless of ethnicity. Experienced non-Inuit L2

teachers used these elicitation sequences more frequently than any of the other groups of

teachers. Experienced Inuit L1 teachers used a higher frequency of elicitation sequences

than the other two groups of Inuit teachers. The inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers

resembled the experienced Inuit L1 teachers in the frequency of use of this discourse

structure overall. Inuit L2 teachers used elicitation sequences somewhat less frequently than

experienced Inuit L1 teachers but slightly more often than inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers.

Response to Student Elicitations

Inuit teachers were generally more responsive to student elicitations than non-Inuit

teachers, with experienced Inuit L1 teachers devoting more instructional time to responding to

students than any of the other groups. This trend is not repeated in the data from the

experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers, where no sequences involving responses to student

elicitations were found. Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers again resembled experienced

Inuit L2 teachers in their frequency of use of these sequences. The findings regarding

teacher response to student elicitation in the classrooms of inexperienced non-Inuit L2

teachers are again based primarily on the results of Teacher 2, as will be described below.

Controlling Student Behaviour

Experienced Inuit L1 teachers rarely initiated sequences in order to control student

behaviour within the lesson. The largest number of instructional sequences devoted to

controlling student behaviour in all three comparison groups is found in the results from the

inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers, who used substantially more of these types of sequences

than any other group. This finding cannot be explained a result of the individual contribution

of any one teacher, as all three inexperienced Inuit teachers were similar in their frequency of

use of these discourse sequences. As was noted previously, however, the sequences related to the control of student behaviour in the Inuit L1 classrooms were addressed to the group as a whole rather than to individual students, while similar sequences in non-Inuit L2 classrooms typically involved reprimands of individuals in front of the group. Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers used slightly more sequences in controlling student behaviour than did experienced teachers, however these sequences were used infrequently in both groups of non-Inuit teachers.

Teacher Initiation Acts

The distribution of teacher initiation acts utilized across the comparison groups is summarized in Figure 21. Elicitations were used more by both groups of non-Inuit teachers than by any of the Inuit groups, with experienced non-Inuit teachers' use of elicitations closely resembling that of Mehan's teacher. Both experienced Inuit L1 and Inuit L2 teachers were similar in their use of elicitations. The fewest elicitations were used by the inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers, while this group of teachers used substantially more directives than any other group. Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers resembled Inuit L2 teachers in their use of directives in the instructional phase of the lesson. All teachers of Inuit children regardless of ethnicity or experience used more directives than did Mehan's teacher. Experienced Inuit L1 and Inuit L2 teachers used more informatives than any of the other groups. The inexperienced Inuit L1, experienced non-Inuit L2, and inexperienced non-Inuit L2 closely resembled Mehan's teacher in their use of this teacher initiation act.
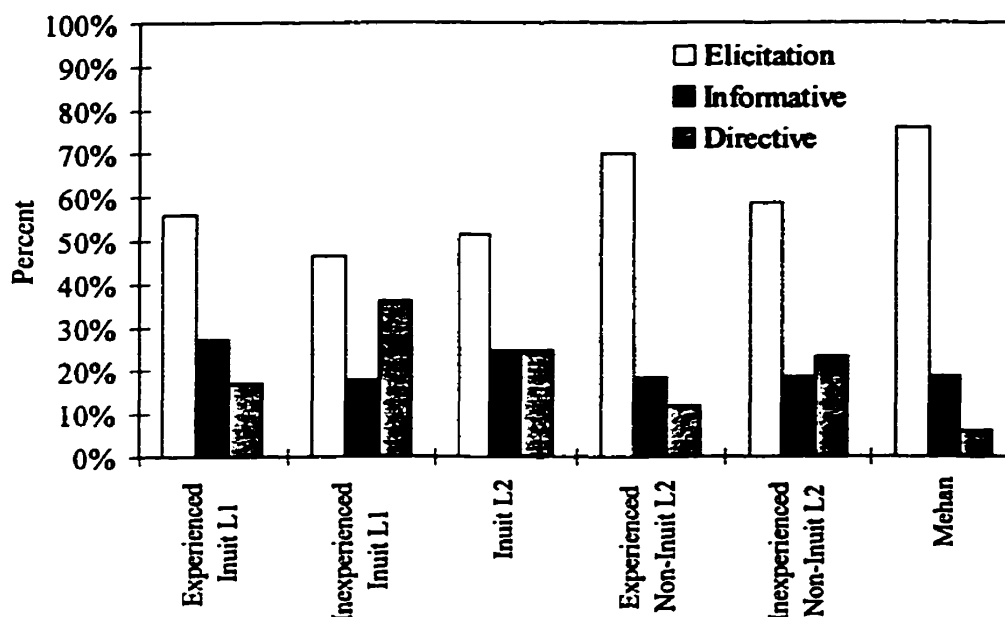
Figure 21. Percentage of teacher initiation acts as a function of teacher experience.

Nomination Format

The use of nomination format across the groups of teachers is summarized in Figure 22. Both experienced Inuit L1 and L2 teachers used very high rates of group nominations in their elicitations to students, while individual nominations were used much less frequently. The elicitations of the inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers were relatively equally distributed between group and individual nominations, with slightly more individual than group nominations found in this group. Interestingly, like the experienced Inuit L1 teachers, experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers used more group than individual nominations. All three of the experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers were similar in their distribution of individual versus group nominations, thus the results are not heavily influenced by any one teacher. Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers, on the other hand, used substantially more individual than group nominations in their elicitations to students, and this at an even higher rate than the combined individual nominations and bids reported for

Mehan's teacher.
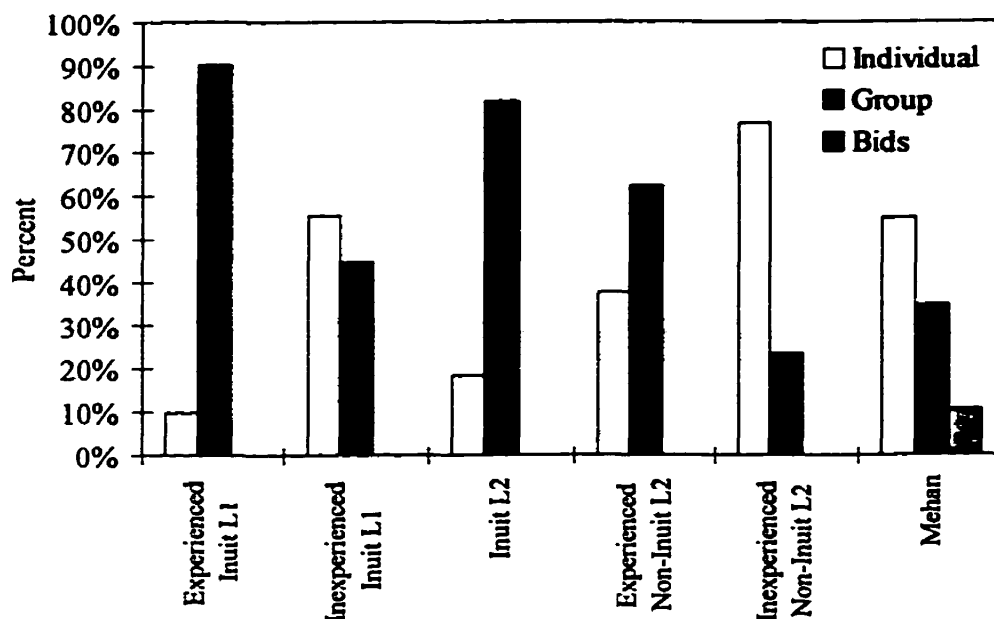
Figure 22. Percentage of three types of nomination format as a function of teacher experience.

Initiation-Response-Evaluation Sequences and Their Variations

Whereas it was reported in chapter 8 that the overall frequency of use of elicitation-type sequences did not differ substantially across the three groups of teachers, important differences in the distribution of these elicitation sequences across three basic varieties were described. The overall distribution of IRE/extended, IRe/extended, and IR routines across the comparison groups as a function of experience is shown in Figure 23. Both groups of non-Inuit teachers used more IRE routines than any of the Inuit teachers, including the Inuit L2 teachers. The use of these IRE routines in the classrooms of experienced non-Inuit teachers closely resembled the frequency of use reported for Mehan's teacher, while inexperienced non-Inuit teachers used this discourse structure substantially more often than any other group and any other type. In contrast, IR routines predominated in the classrooms of both the experienced and inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers. Patterns of use of IRe routines across

groups of Inuit L1 and L2 teachers are relatively similar. Interestingly, the inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers used more IRe sequences than experienced non-Inuit teachers. The use of IR sequences were rare in the classrooms of these teachers, but were more frequent in the classrooms of the experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers.
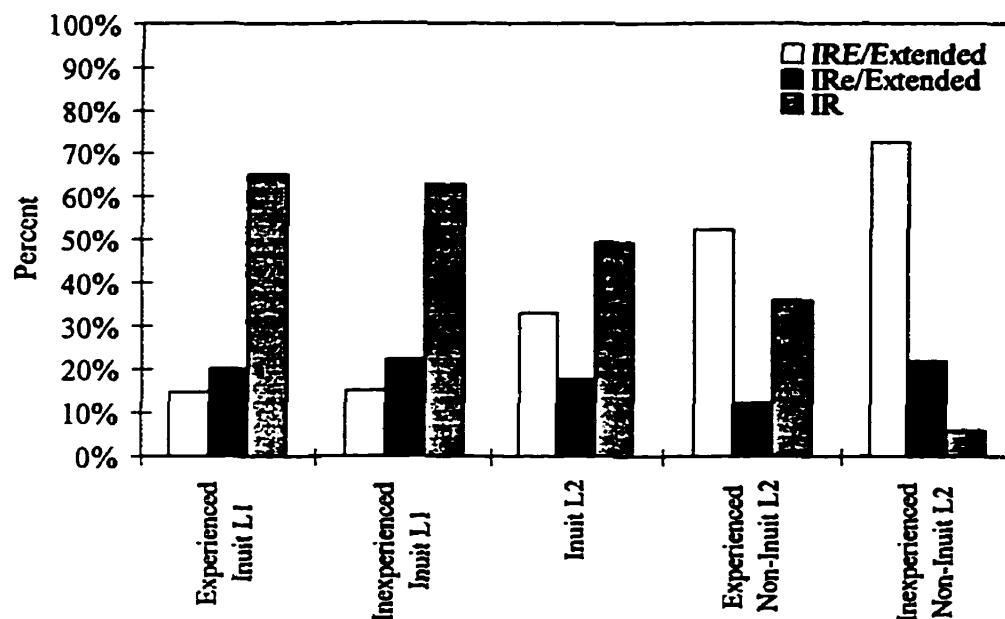
Figure 23. Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR Routines as a function of teacher experience.

Overall patterns of use of elicitation sequences in classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers differed from those found in the classrooms of the Inuit L1 teachers. While IR routines continued to predominate in these classrooms as the most common form of elicitation structure, their use was somewhat less frequent than in either group of Inuit L1 teachers. However, the frequency of use of IRE routines in these classrooms was approximately twice that found in other classrooms of Inuit teachers. The use of IRe routines resembled that found in other classrooms of Inuit teachers.

Evaluation and Correction as Percentage of Teacher Initiation Acts

Both experienced and inexperienced non-Inuit teachers used slightly more sequences

involving evaluation and correction than any of the Inuit teachers (See Figure 24).
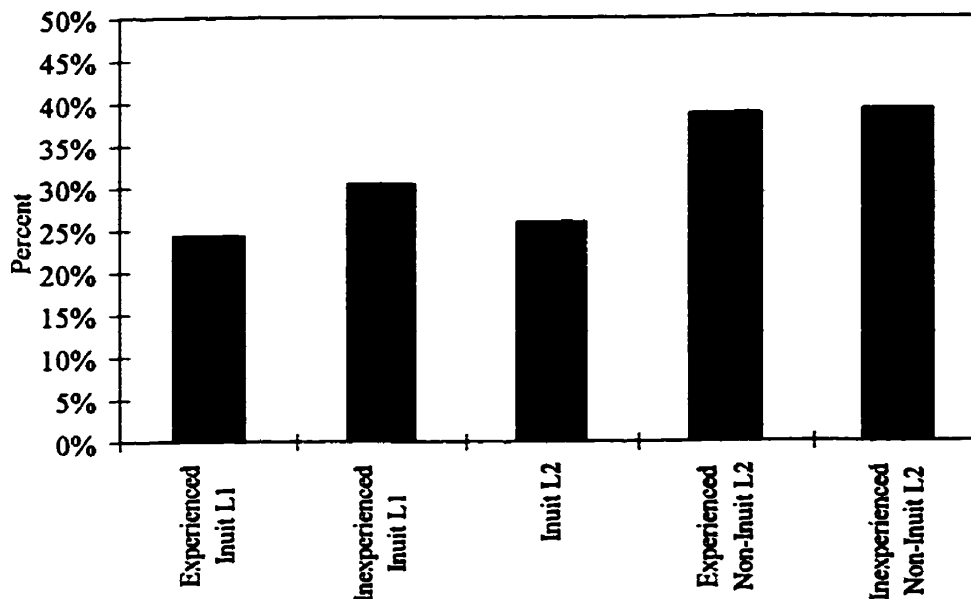
Figure 24. Percentage of evaluation and correction within teacher initiation acts as a function

of teacher experience.

Experienced Inuit L1 and the Inuit L2 teachers were similar in their frequency of use of

evaluation and correction in classroom interactions, and both groups used slightly less

evaluation and correction than the inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers.

Direct versus Indirect Forms of Evaluation and Correction in IRE and IRe routines

In Figure 25, teacher use of direct versus indirect evaluation strategies is represented.

While both experienced and inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers used primarily indirect forms of

correction and evaluation, both experienced and inexperienced non-Inuit teachers used

substantially more direct than indirect forms of evaluation and corrective feedback.
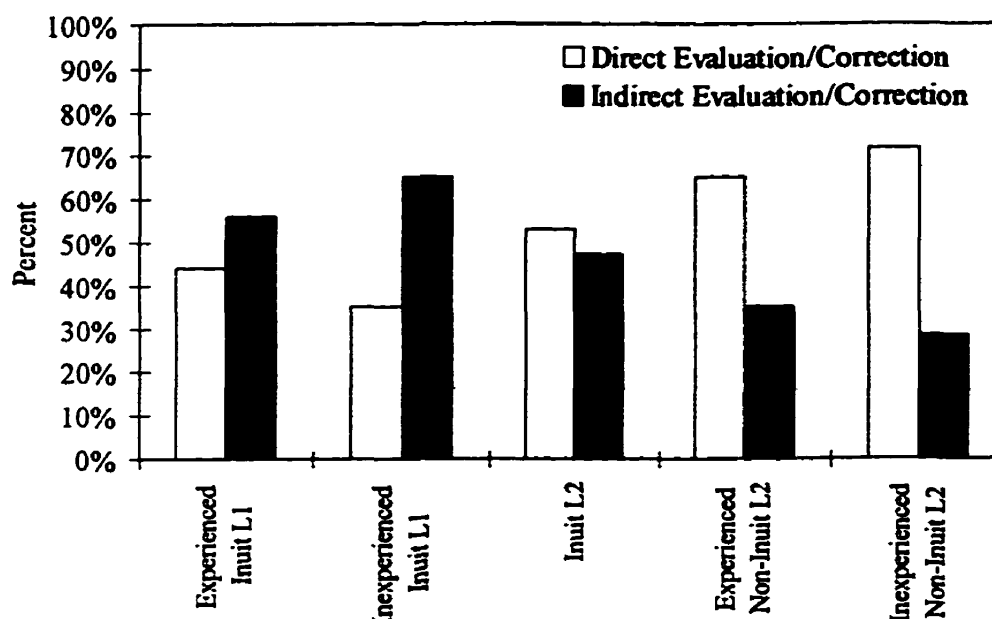
Figure 25. Percentage of direct versus indirect evaluation and correction as a function of teacher experience.

The use of direct and indirect strategies in the evaluation and correction of student responses was approximately equally distributed in classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers.

Distribution of Various Forms of Evaluative and Corrective Feedback

The distribution of various forms of direct and indirect evaluative and corrective feedback used by the different groups of Inuit and non-Inuit teachers is represented in Figure 26. The frequency of use of repetition as an indirect evaluative strategy is approximately equivalent across all three groups of Inuit teachers, and is substantially higher in these groups than in any of the classrooms of non-Inuit teachers. Inexperienced Inuit L1 teacher used repetition as an evaluation strategy almost as frequently as direct evaluations in their interactions with students. Inuit L1 teachers also frequently relied on the use of requests for acknowledgement as an indirect form of teacher feedback to students, in contrast to other

teacher groups.
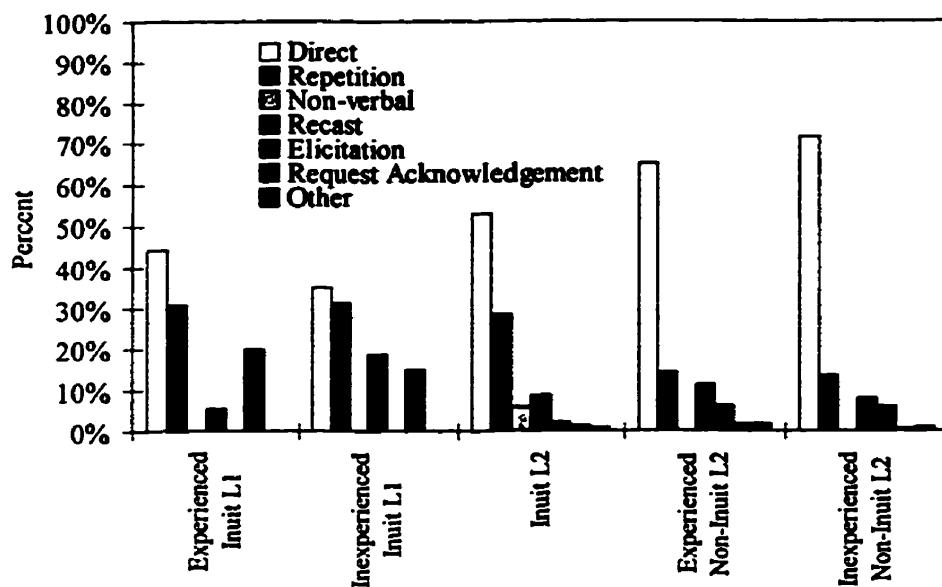
Figure 26. Percentage of various forms of evaluative and corrective feedback as a function of teacher experience.

Student Talk in the Classroom as a Function of Teacher Experience

Teacher versus Student-Initiated Sequences

The frequency of student versus teacher-initiated sequences of interaction across experienced and inexperienced teachers is summarized in Figure 27. The highest frequency of teacher-initiated sequences occurred in the classrooms of experienced non-Inuit and the Inuit L2 teachers. These teachers closely resembled each other as well as Mehan's teacher in the distribution of teacher versus student-initiated sequences in the classroom. The lowest frequency of teacher-initiated sequences occurred in classrooms of inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers.
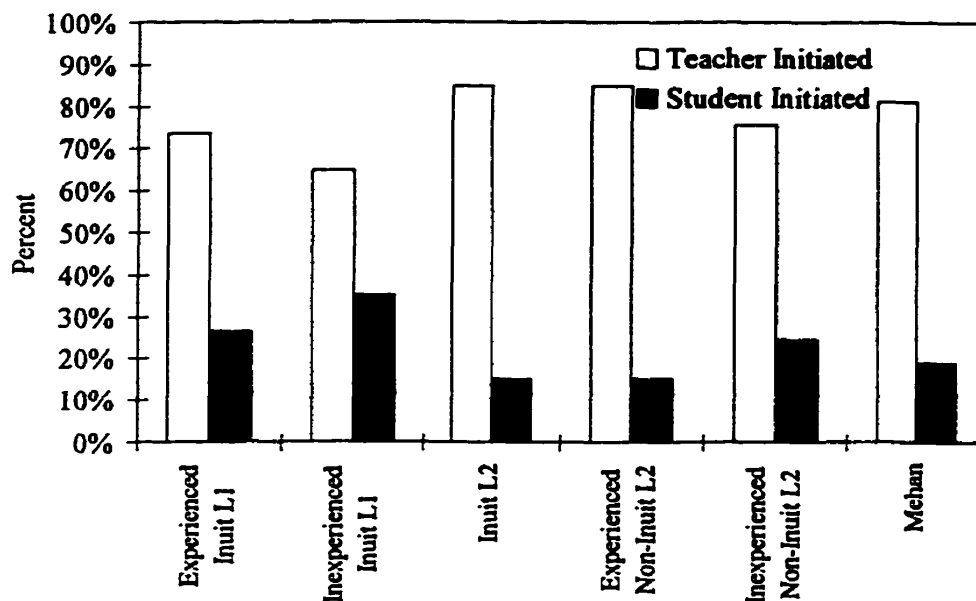
Figure 27. Percentage of teacher versus student-initiated sequences as a function of teacher experience.

Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers more closely resembled experienced Inuit L1 teachers than any other group in the frequency with which students initiated interaction in these classrooms.

Student Initiation Acts Addressed to Teachers versus Peers

The percentage of student initiations addressed to teachers versus peers across the comparison groups is illustrated in Figure 28. Inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers tolerated a greater amount of peer interactions in their classrooms than did all other teacher groups, while experienced non-Inuit teachers were the most controlling of student talk. In general, inexperienced teachers regardless of ethnicity were less controlling of student talk than experienced teachers. The frequency of student to student initiations in Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms fell between that found in the experienced Inuit L1 and experienced non-Inuit L2

classrooms.
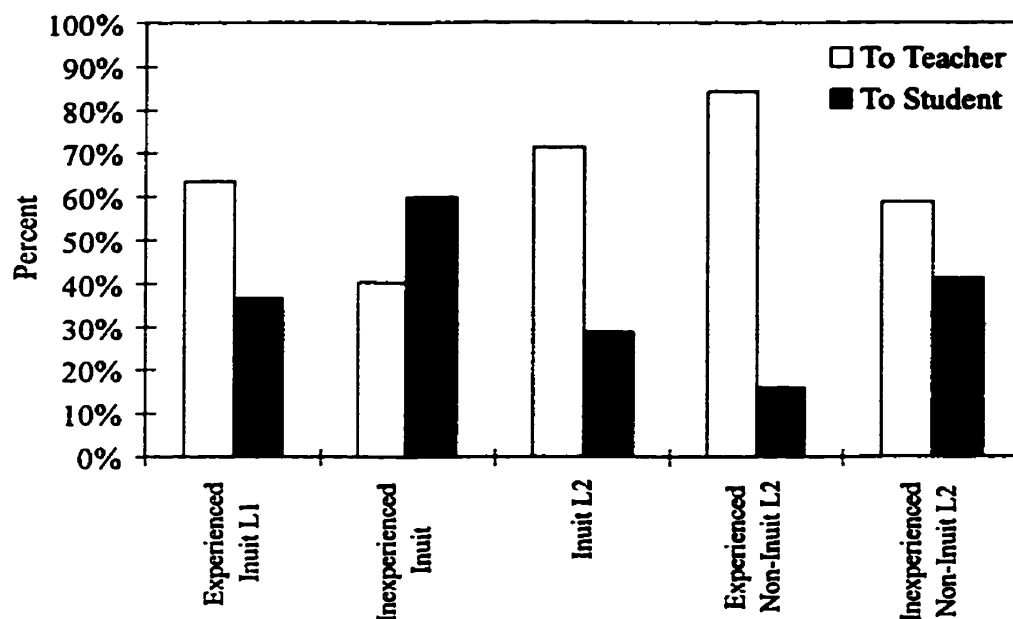
Figure 28. Percentage of student initiation acts directed to teachers versus peers as a function of teacher experience.

Teacher Response to Student Initiations

Experienced Inuit L1 teachers incorporated student initiations at a much higher rate than did any of the other groups, including Mehan's teacher (see Figure 29). All groups of teachers including Mehan's teacher used the acknowledgment strategy at approximately similar rates except Inuit L2 teachers, whose rate of acknowledging student initiations was substantially higher than any other group. The rate of ignoring student initiations was highest in the experienced non-Inuit L2 groups. Reprimands of student initiations were higher in the group of inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers than in any other group, while reprimands in the classrooms of the experienced non-Inuit teachers resembled the frequency reported for Mehan's teacher.
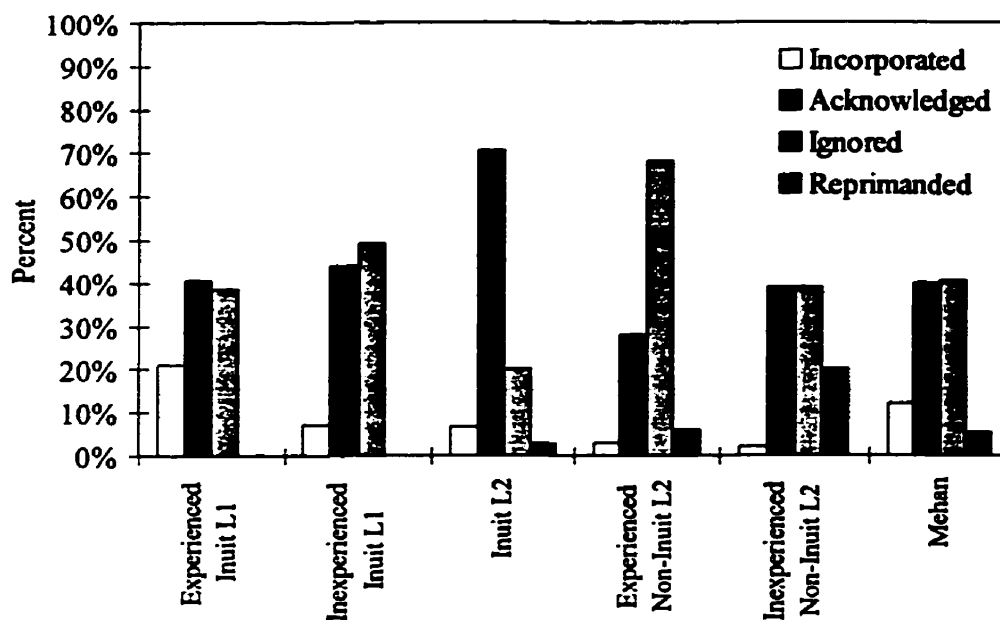
Figure 29. Percentage of teacher responses to student initiations as function of teacher experience.

No reprimands of student initiations occurred in either group of Inuit L1 teachers, however there were a few instances of reprimands in the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers. The patterns of acknowledging and ignoring student initiations in the classrooms of inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers closely resembled that found in the classrooms of the inexperienced Inuit L1 teachers as well as Mehan's teacher.

Summary

The analysis of discourse organization across experienced and inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers revealed a tendency toward increased control of student talk and student initiations as a function of teacher experience. The experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers most closely resembled Mehan's teacher in the degree to which they dominated and controlled the talk in the classroom. No similar trends were noted in the classrooms of inexperienced and

experienced Inuit L1 teachers. While over time the inexperienced non-Inuit teachers may come to resemble both the experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers and Mehan's teacher in the degree to which they impose their authority over classroom interactions, this tendency does not appear to be reflected in the development of experience and expertise by Inuit L1 teachers. Furthermore, while Inuit L1 teachers regardless of experience appear to become more responsive to student contributions and elicitations of information over time, the opposite tendency is noted across the two groups of non-Inuit teachers. Indeed both inexperienced and experienced non-Inuit teachers appear to be particularly unresponsive to student contributions to the overall discourse.

An increase in the use of IR routines and an increased tendency toward group versus individual nominations was observed in the classrooms of experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers. On the other hand, the inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers used more IRE sequences than any other group and any other type, while IR sequences were rare in these classrooms. These inexperienced teachers also utilized substantially more individual as compared to group responses in student elicitation sequences than any other group or any other type. The predominance of direct evaluations within elicitation sequences was maintained across both groups of non-Inuit teachers, however, and differences in the distribution of various indirect evaluation strategies as a function of experience were minimal. On the other hand, comparisons between Inuit and non-Inuit teachers as a whole revealed substantial differences in regard to the use of evaluation strategies across the two groups of teachers. General tendencies in the data taken from all teachers of Inuit children also indicate that the frequency of use of directives in classroom interactions is somewhat higher than that reported for Mehan's teacher.

Data from the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers indicate that the organization of

discourse in these classrooms often fell between that reported for Inuit L1 and non-Inuit L2

teachers, most particularly in areas related to the overall control of talk in the classroom. This

can be seen in the results related to the distribution of teacher versus student utterances in

the classroom, the frequency of teacher-initiated sequences and percentage of student talk

directed to the teacher in the classroom, and the patterns of teacher response to student

initiations found in these classrooms. These teachers also used slightly higher rates of IRE

elicitations sequences than did either group of Inuit L1 teachers, with a resulting slight

increase in the frequency of direct as compared to indirect correction and evaluation

strategies in elicitation routines. On the other hand, these teachers closely resembled

experienced Inuit L1 teachers in their patterns of use of nomination format, the use of

informative sequences in teacher initiation acts, and the use of repetition as an indirect

evaluation strategy to the other group of experienced Inuit teachers.

Interestingly, the inexperienced non-Inuit teachers more closely resembled

experienced Inuit L1 teachers than experienced non-Inuit teachers in various discourse

features related to the overall degree of control they exerted over classroom talk and

interaction. This can be seen in results related to the frequency and distribution of student

initiated sequences in the classroom, as well as in teachers' patterns of acknowledging and

ignoring student initiations, and the frequency of use of elicitation sequences within the overall

distribution of teacher discourse sequences in the lesson. The inexperienced non-Inuit L2

teachers resembled Inuit L2 teachers in terms of their use of a number of discourse features

including the overall distribution of teacher versus student utterances in the classroom and

the distribution of informatives and directives in teachers acts. These similarities were not

noted in the classrooms of experienced non-Inuit teachers, who had more in common with

Mehan's teacher than with experienced Inuit teachers in regard to the overall distribution of

talk in the classroom, the use of elicitation sequences in the overall distribution of teacher discourse sequences within the lesson, the use of elicitations in the distribution of teacher acts, and the frequency of reprimands of student initiations found in the classroom.

Syncretic Teaching Practices in Classrooms of Inuit and non-Inuit Teachers

The analysis of the organization of instructional interactions in the classrooms of both experienced non-Inuit L2 and Inuit L2 teachers presented above points to certain areas of discourse organization where blending of mainstream and Inuit instructional practices appears to have taken place. For the experienced non-Inuit teachers, this blending appears to reflect accommodations toward the forms of discourse and interaction typical of those found in classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers. This is seen most particularly in these teachers' use of IR routines as well as the tendency to use more group than individual nominations in turn allocation. No similar tendencies indicative of the development of syncretic teaching practices were noted in the classrooms of inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers. Inuit L2 teachers also exhibited elements of syncretism in their discourse organization, however in this case the direction of these adjustments was toward the forms and patterns of discourse found in the classrooms of non-Inuit teachers. Nevertheless, neither the experienced non-Inuit nor the Inuit L2 teachers exhibited syncretic teaching practices across all areas of discourse organization. Furthermore, findings related to a number of specific discourse features reported above were particularly influenced by the results of a number of individual teachers who presented interesting patterns and trends of discourse organization indicative of syncretic teaching practices. In the sections that follow, data taken from one Inuit L2 [Teacher 8] and two non-Inuit L2 teachers [Teacher 2 and Teacher 5] will be presented. These data are of

particular interest to the discussion of the impact of culture and experience on teaching practices, and illustrate the potential for the blending of cultural traditions and patterns in the development of syncretic teaching practices. These syncretic teaching practices cannot be seen as the inevitable result of teaching experience and cultural contact, however, since only one of the three experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers [Teacher 5] showed evidence of the development of such practices, while one of the three inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers [Teacher 2] used a number of discourse patterns that indicate certain adaptations to Inuit culture. In addition, one of the Inuit L2 teachers [Teacher 8] consciously adopted certain practices in an attempt to breach the gap between typical Inuit and non-Inuit teaching styles, with an expressed goal of helping her students to adjust to these different patterns of classroom interaction. Results indicative of the development of syncretic teaching practices will be presented in the form of profiles of these three teachers' practices and interview responses.

Teacher 8: An Experienced Inuit L2 Teacher

Data collected in the classroom of Teacher 8, an experienced Inuit L2 teacher, differed in a number of ways from that found in the classrooms of the experienced Inuit L1 teachers, as well as that collected in the classroom of Teacher 7 [the other Inuit L2 teacher]. The results of the analysis of discourse organization in the classroom of Teacher 8 illustrate the development of syncretic teaching practices that result from conscious decisions regarding this teachers' perceptions of her role in the classroom as an Inuk second language teacher. For Teacher 8, this role involved two essential aspects: preparing students for the forms of teacher control and authority found in the classrooms of non-Inuit teachers while simultaneously promoting students' feelings of self esteem and self confidence. In the

sections that follow, the ways in which Teacher 8 organized specific aspects of instructional

discourse and interactional routines in order to achieve these complementary goals will be

described.

The Role of the Teacher

Teacher 8 stated several times and in a number of different ways that she believed her

role as a teacher consisted principally of preparing the students for learning in the classrooms

of the non-Inuit teachers. This perspective is illustrated in the interview extract that follows.

> My job is to get them ready for the Qallunaat [non-Inuit] teachers. I try to sensitize the
> kids to the other culture. I prepare them to be in different classroom situations. When
> they are in the Qallunaat classrooms they will have to conform to their ways or they will
> have problems. I've seen too many kids suffer because they didn't know how to
> behave in their [the non-Inuit teachers'] classrooms. I have so much to do to make
> them ready for the Qallunaat teachers if I want them to be successful.

Teacher 8 described her own teaching as "bilingual" in the sense that she not only

prepared the students to use the second language through explicit reference to the first, but

also because she overtly taught the students various routines and values she associated with

interactions in the classrooms of non-Inuit teachers and that she felt had the potential to

contribute to miscommunication and misevaluation in these classrooms if not properly learned

by the students.

At the same time, according to Teacher 8, preparation for entry into non-Inuit teachers'

classrooms also involved promoting student's self esteem and self image in order to lessen

the potential feelings of failure and inadequacy that she felt Inuit students often experienced in

these educational contexts.

> I need to prepare them for the Qallunaat teachers so that they will feel good about
> themselves. The Qallunaat teachers don't know the kids home life. They will attack
> the kids behaviour in school and not know why they behave that way. This makes
> them feel bad about themselves. My job is to make them feel good about themselves.
> Make them strong inside so they won't be knocked down by the Qallunaat teachers. I
> often see this in secondary [school]. The kids feel bad about themselves and their

families.

Preparing Students for Teacher Control and Authority: The Organization of Teacher Talk

The preparation of students for learning in the classrooms of non-Inuit teachers can be seen in Teacher 8's increased control over classroom talk as compared to the other Inuit teachers as well as in initiating students to the orientation toward individual oral performance typical of these classrooms. These tendencies can be found in the data related to the overall distribution of talk, the increased use of IRE routines and an associated increase in the frequency of direct evaluation, and the increased use of individual nomination of students within these elicitation sequences. These tendencies are indicative of Teacher 8's attempt to prepare Inuit children for appropriate participation in their more restricted roles as interactants in instructional exchanges in the classrooms of non-Inuit teachers, as will be illustrated below.

The overall distribution of talk and teacher versus student-initiated sequences.

The percentage of teacher talk in the classrooms of both of the Inuit L2 teachers fell between that of the Inuit L1 and the non-Inuit L2 teachers, as shown in Figure 19 above. Both of the Inuit L2 teachers were similar in the degree to which they dominated the overall classroom talk. Both Inuit L2 teachers also exhibited greater control over the classroom talk in terms of the distribution of teacher versus student-initiated sequences within the transcribed lessons as compared to either group of Inuit L1 teachers, as illustrated in Figure 27 above. Indeed, the percentage of teacher-initiated sequences in the classrooms of the two Inuit L2 teachers was almost exactly equivalent to that found in the classrooms of the experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers and very similar to that reported for Mehan's teacher.

The opening phase of lesson structure. Teacher 8 spent considerably more time in

explaining and orienting students to the lesson than did any of the Inuit L1 teachers, and

closely resembled the non-Inuit L2 teachers in her organization of the opening phase of

lesson structure (see Figure 30). Teacher 8 also differed from Teacher 7 in her treatment of

this organizational phase. As the following extract shows, Teacher 8 used a fairly lengthy

monologue in order to introduce and organize her lesson on the five senses. This monologue

was organized in a similar manner to those previously described for the non-Inuit L2 teachers,

and demonstrates increased teacher control over the opening phase of the lesson.
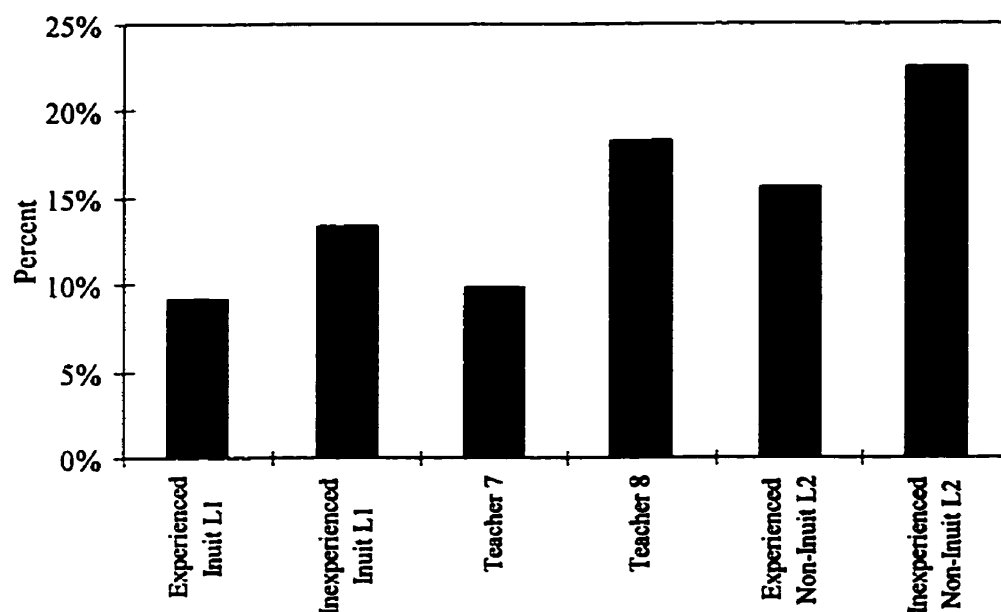
Figure 30. Percentage of utterances pertaining to the opening phase of lesson organization

for Teacher 8 and other teachers.

Teacher:	We're back to the five senses.
Teacher:	The five senses.
Teacher:	We're going to be working on the five senses again. And we're going to be working on it together, so you have to wait for everyone else.
Teacher:	You can write your name. [Teacher picks up a paper from one student's desk and shows the students where to write their names].
Teacher:	Down at the bottom.
Teacher:	We are going to have to work together.
Teacher:	Okay.

Teacher:	[in Inuktitut= We are going to be working on the same thing that we were working on before].
Student:	[In Inuktitut= What do we have to do with these? Do we write on them?].
Teacher:	[In Inuktitut= No, you have to wait for me].
Teacher:	We're gonna be # you're gonna be working # you're gonna be waiting for everybody else.
Teacher:	Okay?
Teacher:	What are the five senses again? [lesson begins]

Initiation-Response-Evaluation Sequences and Their Variations

It was reported above that Inuit L2 teachers differed from the other Inuit teachers in their patterns of use of elicitation sequences in the classroom. The distribution of these sequences for Teacher 8 in relation to the other teacher groupings is shown in Figure 31. Teacher 8 used substantially more IRE type routines than any of the other Inuit teachers, and approached the frequency of use of these discourse structures by experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers. While Teacher 8 resembled the Inuit L1 teachers in the fact that IR routines remained the most frequent form of elicitation sequence found in the classroom, her use of IRE routines closely approximated that of IR routines. Fewer instances of IRe routines were found in this classroom than any of the other Inuit teachers' classrooms. The distribution of elicitation sequences in the classroom of Teacher 8 is therefore unlike that of any of the other Inuit teachers.While Teacher 8 used more direct as opposed to indirect evaluation and correction strategies as a result of the increase in IRE routines found in her classroom, evaluations and corrections of student performance and behaviour were carried out in a manner that was sensitive toward maintaining the 'face' of the students involved. Direct corrections of student responses and behaviour were typically made in ways that did not spotlight students in front of their peers. Teacher 8 frequently circulated around the classroom in order to make individual corrections of students' work and 'checking in' with
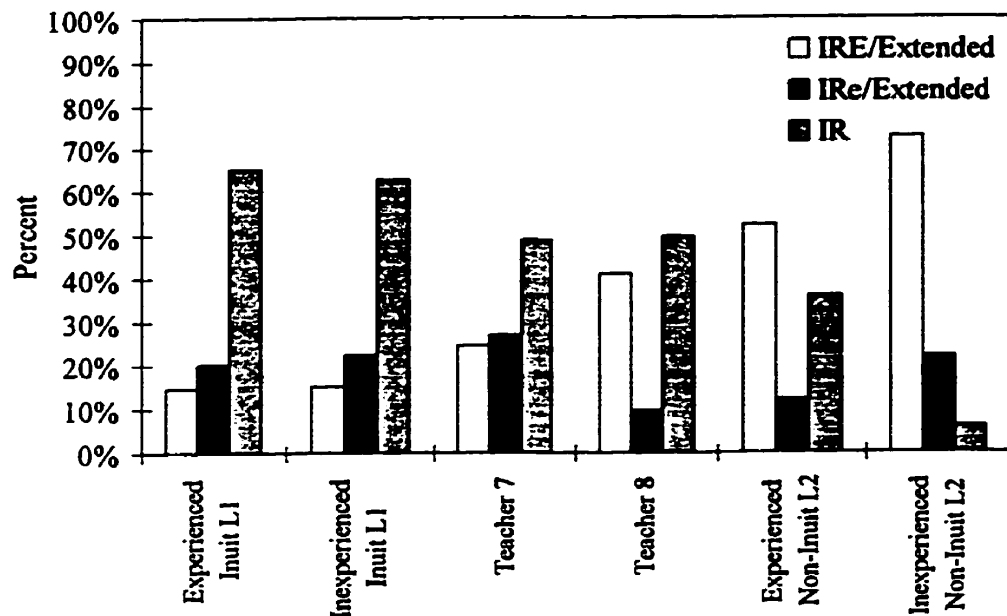
Figure 31. Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR routines for Teacher 8 and other teachers.

individual students outside of the public arena. Teacher 8's sensitivity to issues of correction

and evaluation can be seen in the interview extracts that follow.

We adults, especially teachers, we expect kids to have the same patience, the same tolerance, the same attention span as we adults have. This is so unfair to them. We Inuit seem to understand this better. Sometimes the kids need special attention but what they get is negative attention. We need to see the kids with loving eyes, not to condemn them for their behaviour or who they are.

I find there is too much sending of kids to the office. You see the same ones there every day, over and over again. It's degrading for students to be there every day, every day, every day. I find some teachers look at kids in the wrong way. They aren't compassionate. I have a nephew who has problems at school. I think he does what was done to him. He even reacts negatively to me at school. But he would never act that way at home. It's not right to say a kid is a bad kid, but instead we should say he's going through a stage or having a problem at home.

Nomination Format

Teacher 8 differed from Teacher 7 as well as from the other experienced Inuit L1

teachers in her increased use of individual versus group nominations in the classroom (see

Figure 32). However, as noted above, these individual student responses were only occasionally singled out for overt praise in front of peers in this classroom. Students who continued to provide group responses to individual nominations were not corrected or reprimanded for this behaviour.
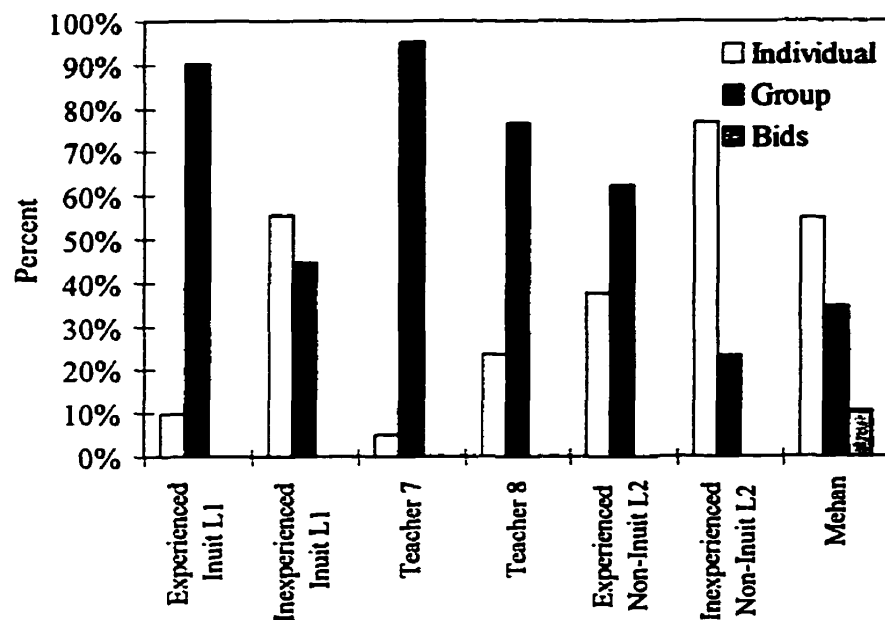
Figure 32. Percentage of nomination format for Teacher 8 and other teachers.

Teacher Response to Student Initiations

Teacher 8 incorporated far fewer student initiations into the classroom talk than did any of the other Inuit teachers, and closely resembled the non-Inuit teachers in this respect (see Figure 33). Furthermore, the only instances of reprimands of student initiations in any of the Inuit data occurred in this classroom. It should be noted that these reprimands involved the teacher 'shushing' students rather than overtly commenting on individual student behaviour. On the other hand, Teacher 8 ignored student initiations at a lower rate than did any of the other teacher groups.
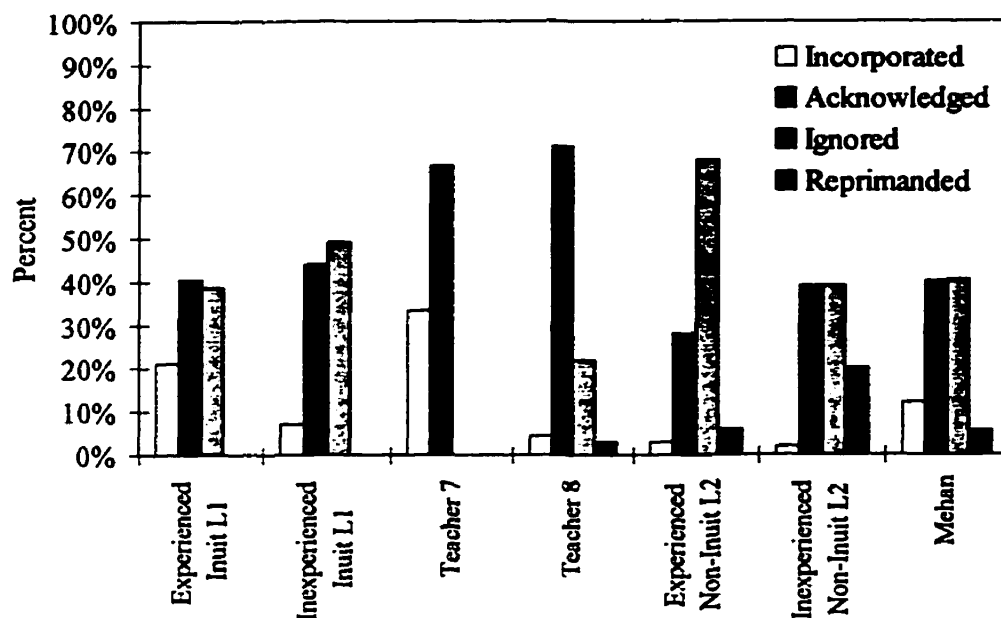
Figure 33. Percentage of teacher response to student initiations for Teacher 8 and other teachers.

Politeness

The potential for differences in politeness routines and expectations regarding manners to cause barriers between non-Inuit teachers and Inuit students and to affect teacher evaluation of student behaviour was discussed in Chapter 7. This problem was specifically addressed by Teacher 8 in her interview. As the following interview extract shows, part of Teacher 8's preparation of students for non-Inuit teachers included the explicit discussion and teaching of politeness routines in the classroom.

> I try to sensitize the kids to the other culture. I tell them, "We Inuit, we don't mind this and that, but in the Qallunaat teacher's classroom, you'll have to conform to their ways or they'll get mad at you. You have to learn to say please and thank you. You have to excuse yourself for burping, farting, slurping your soup. I don't mind if you do those things, but I have to prepare you to be in different classroom situations. If you were Qallunaat and you deliberately did that, then you'd be impolite. I will teach you to be polite. If you are polite, others will like you and you will like yourself better". These are the things I learned in school. These are the things that can put up barriers between teachers and students right away, when people don't know that two cultures have -

different values. Politeness automatically comes when you've been taught. It makes things so much less of a problem. If students are impolite, non-Inuit may consider them to be classless or rude and there will be no chance to be friends.

Teacher 8 explicitly taught her students the typical politeness routines she felt the students would need in order to be seen as being polite and as having good manners by the non-Inuit teachers. She had a list entitled "Polite Expressions" prominently displayed in her classroom, and often insisted that students use these expressions in order to be permitted to do things that were done without comment in the classrooms of other Inuit teachers, including requesting permission to get up from one's seat, to go to the bathroom, or in requesting objects in the classroom. As the following examples from her transcript illustrate, this teacher also explicitly demonstrated and modelled the use of politeness routines in her interactions with the students. These sorts of politeness routines were not observed in the classrooms of any of the other Inuit teachers.

Student:	May I get some water please?
Teacher:	Yes you may go, but come right back because we are waiting for you.
Teacher:	Elizabeth can you say that please?
Student:	I see with my eyes.
Teacher:	Thank you. Very good, Elizabeth.
Teacher:	What have you written down besides 'ourselves'?
Student:	Humpty Dumpty.
Teacher:	Very good. Thank you Darryl.

Sensitivity to the Learner

For Teacher 8, effective teaching also involved a sensitivity to the moods and the feelings of individual students in the classroom. Being aware of students emotions and needs was a central part of teaching for this teacher. This sense of caring and concern for the feelings of individual students is reflected in the interview extract that follows.

We need to be sensitive to the kids moods. Like today, Piita didn't seem like himself. He can do so much better, but I didn't pay the proper attention to him. He could have livened up the whole day if I'd paid proper attention to him, but I didn't. The little things I do can have a lot of influence on the kids. If I'm tired or preoccupied I forget to look at that part, and then the whole classroom suffers for the whole day. We need to be in the proper frame of mind to what the students are feeling. Then we can all have a very nice day.

Summary

Teacher 8 exhibited several forms of discourse organization and interaction in the classroom that more closely resembled those found in the non-Inuit L2 than in Inuit L1 teachers' classrooms. These adaptations toward mainstream pedagogical practices represent conscious attempts on the part of this teacher to prepare her students for future participation in classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers. This teacher intentionally made the differences in the organization of interaction between the two instructional contexts as explicit as possible for her students, providing students with explanations of cultural differences and emphasizing cultural practices typical of mainstream culture including politeness routines and requests for permission to perform various activities. Through such explanations, Teacher 8 hoped to help students to understand more clearly the differences in communicative demands and expectations they would later be confronted with in interactions with non-Inuit teachers. By providing students with some exposure to these routines and practices as well as to the increased orientation toward teacher control and individual verbal performance prior to being confronted by these demands in the classrooms of the non-Inuit teachers, Teacher 8 hoped to aid her students in taking the initial steps toward the development of new forms of classroom competence in an environment where students' sense of identity, confidence and self-esteem were recognized and encouraged and where students' behaviour was understood.

While Teacher 8 consciously aided her students to try out their new roles as communicators without fear of loss of face, she nevertheless continued to encourage

students' development and use of their first language in the classroom and used many of the instructional patterns familiar to students through their interactions in Inuit L1 classrooms. Students in this classroom were never discouraged from using their first language in initiations with the teacher and with peers. Furthermore, Teacher 8 continued to emphasize cooperation and an orientation toward the group as important values that were promoted through classroom interactions. In the classroom of Teacher 8, students were socialized toward new forms of talk and interaction while continuing to be able to capitalise on previously-acquired interactional skills and forms of competence.

Teacher 5: An Experienced non-Inuit L2 Teacher

While Teacher 8 consciously adapted her interactional style toward some of the instructional patterns typical of non-Inuit teachers, Teacher 5 was remarkable in the ways in which she adapted her instructional routines towards those found in the classrooms of the Inuit L1 teachers. Teacher 5 was an experienced teacher of French who had spent 13 years teaching in the same community and was married to an Inuk man. As a result, Teacher 5 had a depth of knowledge and understanding of Inuit culture and society that was unlike that of any of the other non-Inuit teachers involved in the study.

Data taken from the classroom of Teacher 5 differed in a number of ways from that taken from the classrooms of the other experienced non-Inuit teachers. In particular, this teacher's familiarity with the values of Inuit culture led her to orient her instruction toward the group rather than the individual, in a similar manner to Inuit L1 and L2 teachers. Teacher 5 was the only non-Inuit teacher with some knowledge of the ways in which interaction and instruction were organized in classrooms of Inuit teachers. This teacher was also one of the few non-Inuit teachers with some knowledge of Inuktitut, which she utilized in her teaching of

the second language.

Orientation Toward the Group

Unlike the other non-Inuit teachers, statements in the interview with Teacher 5 show

her insight into the importance of a group rather than an individual orientation as an important

Inuit value to be promoted within the context of the school and the classroom. The following

interview extract in response to the question "What is the most important thing to teach at

school?" demonstrates this group focus and is very reminiscent of the responses provided by

the Inuit L1 and L2 teachers

> Cooperation. Also the respect and care for the others and for the teacher, both in
> teaching and in the ways of behaving at school. It's also important for the kids to build
> their self-esteem. For me, discipline, cooperation, and following the rules are
> important. Other goals for the students are to work together, to share ideas and
> materials, to be positive and nice and take care of each other, and to ask for help and
> advice. I encourage the kids to work together to solve problems.

Teacher 5 also recognized the importance of avoiding singling out individual students

from the rest of the group in order to correct their behaviour or their performance. Like the

Inuit L1 and L2 teachers, the strategy used by Teacher 5 was to take students aside and

discuss these problems in a way that avoided drawing attention to them in front of their peers.

This approach avoided the face-loss often associated with the spotlighting of individual

students in the classroom. Teacher 5's attempts to involve students as partners with an

important role in the educational process as well as the importance of the equality of all group

members can be clearly seen in the interview extracts that follow.

> I try not to fight with them in the class. I talk to those who misbehave individually rather
> than in front of the group. I try to deal with them like that. Also sometimes I'll change
> the activity if they are very excited. The idea of cooperation and the challenges of the
> class are also important. The students in the class help me with discipline. That way
> it's not always me who has to tell the others what to do. Also each student has a job
> that they are responsible for. I don't like to give prizes, but I do have little treats from
> time to time that we all share. I also let the kids bring in things, and I ask for their ideas

on different subjects. If you ask for their advice, you'll get it! I integrate these ideas into the program. Like the rules of the class-they help to decide. We discuss various alternatives within a set of allowable ones to deal with problems, and we also brainstorm ideas and put them in an idea box. Then we pull one out and do it.

I meet with each student individually to discuss their goals. Each student has a book with simple individual goals. It is very clear what they have to do. Once the goal is reached I take it out of their book. This helps them to gain self-confidence and self-esteem.

Use of the First Language in Teaching

As discussed in Chapter 7, the majority of the non-Inuit teachers did not permit the students to use their first language in classroom interactions, and had very little knowledge of Inuktitut themselves. In contrast, Teacher 5 had a basic knowledge of Inuktitut that she utilised in her teaching to help students understand new concepts and to learn new vocabulary. As stated by Teacher 5:

I also like to use Inuktitut in teaching. I write the new words in Inuktitut for them. Since it's new vocabulary, this helps them, especially for the slow kids.

Teacher 5 was the only non-Inuit teacher with sufficient knowledge of the first language to be able to capitalize on student initiations made in Inuktitut. As the following example shows, when on topic, these student initiations were either incorporated into the discussion or acknowledged by the teacher in a similar manner to that described for the Inuit L2 teachers. Students in the classroom of Teacher 8 were permitted to speak to both the teacher and to peers in Inuktitut in the classroom without comment or reprimand. The effect of this openness to the use of first language in the classroom is reflected in Teacher 5's responses to student initiations made in Inuktitut in the classroom.

Teacher: Une histoire de
             [A story about]
Student: Toupik [in Inuktitut=tent].
Teacher: De la tente?
             [About a tent?].
Teacher: Ok.

This knowledge of Inuktitut allowed Teacher 5 to incorporate student initiations at a higher rate than any of the other non-Inuit teachers (See Figure 34). Indeed, the only examples of incorporation of student utterances in the experienced non-Inuit discourse data came from the classroom of Teacher 5. Teacher 5 also acknowledged student initiations at a higher rate and ignored student initiations at a somewhat lower rate than did the other experienced non-Inuit teachers.
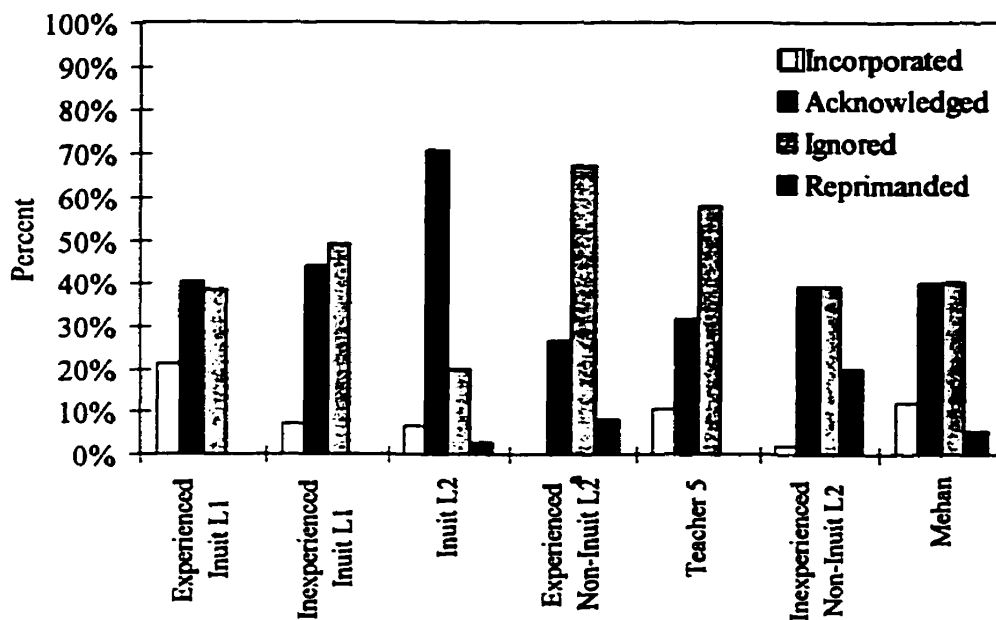
Figure 34. Percent of teacher response to student initiations for Teacher 5 and other teachers. [a] with data from Teacher 5 removed.

Cooperative Learning

Teacher 5 also differed from the other non-Inuit teachers in her organization of the classroom and classroom activities. In the chapter regarding the socio-cultural context of Inuit education, the stress placed on cooperative learning by the Kativik School Board was discussed. The instructional activities in the classroom of Teacher 5 were arranged primarily

around such cooperative learning principles. Traditional transmission-style interactions were rare in this classroom, and, as can be seen in the interview extract that follows, Teacher 5 did not see this style of teaching as particularly appropriate for Inuit children.

> I use a lot of learning centers. They help the kids to develop independence but also allow them to go where their talents lie. Each week I change the centers. This helps to keep up the enthusiasm. Sometimes I put the same one back a few months later. I also use cooperative activities and do group work. I try to get as much variety as possible and I don't teach much in transmission style. The new teachers need to learn this. I use a lot of dramatic expression and songs to develop language.

Student in this classroom spent the first hour of the morning's activities involved in student-centered learning activities. Teacher 5 used this time to work privately with individual students as necessary. Students were very familiar with the routines involved in these activities and were able to complete these centers with little or no teacher direction.

Initiation-Response-Evaluation Sequences and Their Variations

Teacher 5 was remarkable in the predominance of IR as opposed to IRE sequences found in the teacher-directed lesson recorded in her classroom (see Figure 35). While the other experienced non-Inuit teachers used some examples of such sequences in their instructional interactions (14.81% in the classroom of Teacher 4 and 8.11% in the classroom of Teacher 6), the frequency of use of these sequences in the classroom of Teacher 5 resembled that found in both groups of Inuit L1 teachers. Thus the grouped results previously reported for the experienced non-Inuit teachers were heavily influenced by results from the classroom of Teacher 5. The predominance of IR sequences in the classroom of this teacher reflects an accommodation of instructional discourse specific to the Inuit context.
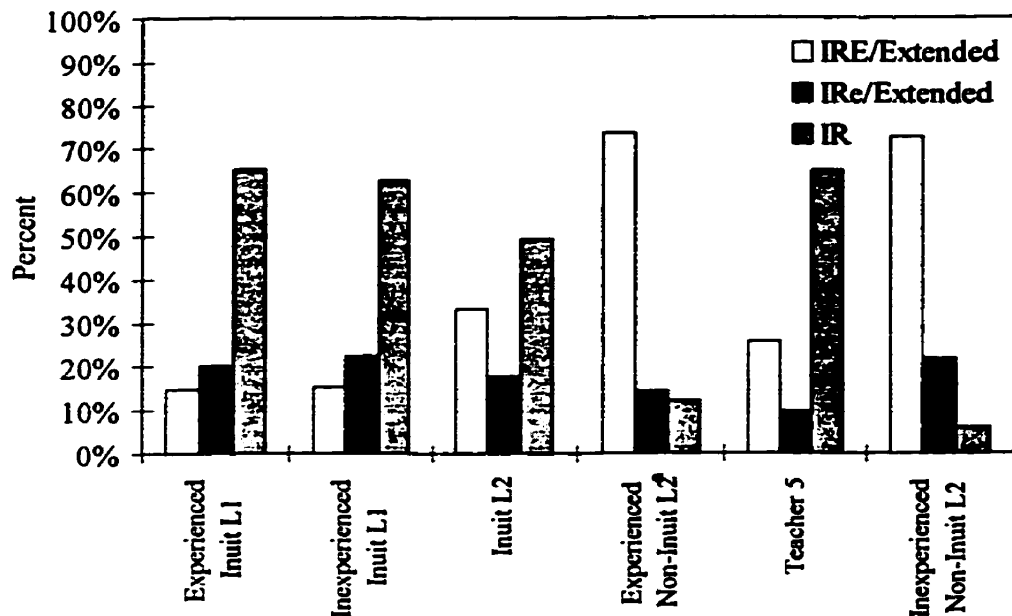
Figure 35. Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR routines for Teacher 5 and other teachers. [a] with data from Teacher 5 removed.

Evaluation and Correction in Teacher Initiation Acts

The frequency of correction and evaluation found in the classroom of Teacher 5 was lower than that reported for any of the teacher groupings, and most closely resembled that found in the classrooms of experienced Inuit L1 teachers (see Figure 36). The frequency with which teacher initiation acts were evaluated in the classroom of Teacher 5 is particularly striking when compared with the frequencies found in the classrooms of the other two experienced non-Inuit teachers [56.0% for Teacher 4 and 57.50% for Teacher 6].
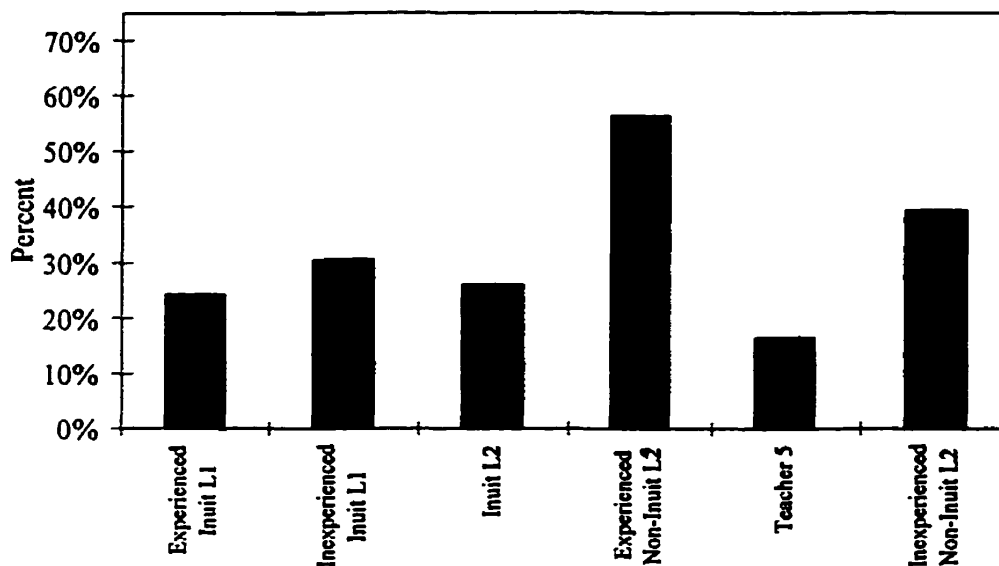
Figure 36. Percentage of evaluation and correction in teacher initiation acts for Teacher 5 and other teachers. [a] with data from Teacher 5 removed.

The Importance of Experience and Cultural Contact

Teacher 5 commented directly on the positive impact of having had experience working with Inuit children as well as the benefits of this experience on student learning during her interview. The interview extract also raises some of the issues previously described in the chapter on the socio-cultural context of Inuit education related to the high turnover of non-Inuit teachers in the communities and its effect on students and student behaviour.

Discipline problems are everywhere. In the second language the kids don't know what is going on. They say bad things in their first language since they assume that the teachers won't understand. Then they get in the habit of talking badly in school. Also we always seem to have new teachers. My son has had a new [=inexperienced] teacher every year for the last four years. Some of them don't plan on staying long, so they don't work very hard. Now my students reach the same level in October that we used to reach in June when I was a new teacher.

Summary

Teacher 5, an experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers, organized her interactions and communicative patterns with her students to more closely resemble those found in the classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers. This reorganization of interaction based on Inuit communicative values in the classroom of Teacher 5 appears to be the result of her knowledge and understanding of Inuit culture and is seen as an unconscious rather than a conscious adaptation on her part. Through her use of cooperative learning activities that encouraged students to work together to accomplish learning goals in the classroom, Teacher 5 encouraged students to continue to develop their group orientation and identity. Teacher 5 also utilized forms of correction and evaluation that avoided spotlighting individual students, allowing them to build the self esteem and confidence that were also described as essential components of learning by Teacher 8. Encouraging students to take responsibility for the establishment of rules regarding discipline and classroom behaviour aided in the reduction of the traditional authoritarian role of the teacher as the controller of all classroom interactions, a role that is reminiscent of that found in Inuit L1 and L2 classrooms.

Teacher 5 was also remarkable in her knowledge and use of Inuktitut in teaching, an ability that allowed students to continue to capitalize on their L1 skills in their initiations and interactions both with the teacher and their peers. Teacher 5 used predominantly IR as opposed to IRE and IRe routines in her organization of elicitation sequences in classroom interaction, closely resembling both groups of Inuit L1 teachers in her use of this discourse form. Teacher 5 was the only non-Inuit teacher to rely primarily on the IR as opposed to the IRE form of discourse organization. The percentage of teacher initiation acts evaluated in this classroom was lower than that found in both groups of Inuit L1 teachers.

The forms of discourse organization and interaction found in the classroom of Teacher

5 reflect syncretic teaching practices stemming from the incorporation of Inuit values and cultural practices into instructional interactions. Her adaptations to recitation style discourse organization reflect an accommodation of instructional discourse that stems directly from the Inuit cultural context and her experience in teaching Inuit children. The discourse adaptations found in the classroom of Teacher 5 illustrate the potential of the learner to impact on and transform the instructional practices of individual teachers.

Teacher 2: An Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 Teacher

While some of the concerns regarding inexperienced teachers in Inuit schools might be well justified, results presented earlier in this chapter point to several areas of discourse organization in which the inexperienced non-Inuit teachers resembled Inuit L2 teachers in their ways of organizing interaction. Of particular interest to this discussion are the results taken from the classroom of Teacher 2. Teacher 2 was an inexperienced teacher of French who was in her second year of teaching experience at the time of the study. In her interview, Teacher 2 stated that she came to the Arctic because she wanted a new experience and had a desire to learn about a new culture. Upon being hired by the Kativik School Board, Teacher 2 stated, "I read everything I could find about Inuit and Inuit culture". The openness and interest in learning about Inuit values and cultural practices expressed by Teacher 2 likely had an impact on her willingness to adapt to the learners she encountered in her classroom. Teacher 2's interview response to the question of the most important things to teach in the classroom reflects her sensitivity toward Inuit values and traditions.

> For me it's important to teach them to respect others, to work with others, and to help each other. If one has trouble, the others should help them. They should listen to everyone in the class, the teacher and the other students. Also to respect the things we have in the classroom. I want them to feel good in class, to feel at ease so they will learn better, and so they will have the desire to learn.

Despite her brief experience teaching Inuit children, Teacher 2 demonstrated various

patterns in her teaching practices that relate to the discussion of syncretism. Of particular

interest to this discussion are the findings related to the use of Inuktitut in the classroom, the

overall distribution of talk between teachers and students, the distribution of elicitation

sequences, the use of evaluation, nomination format and teacher response to student

initiations in the classroom of Teacher 2.

Use of the First Language in Teaching

The comments made by Teacher 2 regarding the use of Inuktitut in the classroom were

similar in many ways to those expressed by Teacher 5. Teacher 2 was the only

inexperienced non-Inuit teacher to recognize the importance of the use of the first language in

classroom interactions. While Teacher 2, a French L2 teacher, discouraged students from

speaking in English in class, she did not comment on students' use of Inuktitut. Like Teacher

5, Teacher 2 used the few words of Inuktitut she knew in order to help the students to learn

the second language. This teacher also made a sincere effort to learn more Inuktitut, as the

following interview extract shows.

> For me one of the hardest parts of living here not to be able to understand Inuktitut. I
> often feel left out. I'm always afraid I'll say the wrong thing. But I'm getting used to it
> now. I understand more what is going on. I learned a bit of Inuktitut. I took a course
> last year and I also ask people to tell me words so I can speak to people. I learn some
> words from my class also, if they say the words over a lot. I can figure out better
> what's being said, even the bad things.

Students in the classroom of Teacher 2 often became very animated in their attempts to teach

their teacher the Inuktitut words for the vocabulary they were learning in French.

The Overall Distribution of Talk

Teacher 2 exhibited the least amount of control over the talk in the classroom of all the

non-Inuit teachers (see Figure 37). The pattern of teacher talk established in this classroom closely resembled that found in the classrooms of the Inuit teachers, where the talk has been described as being fairly evenly distributed between the teachers and students. Teacher 2 specifically mentioned this aspect of teaching Inuit children in the following comment taken from her interview:

I let them talk in class. They need some discipline but some freedom also.
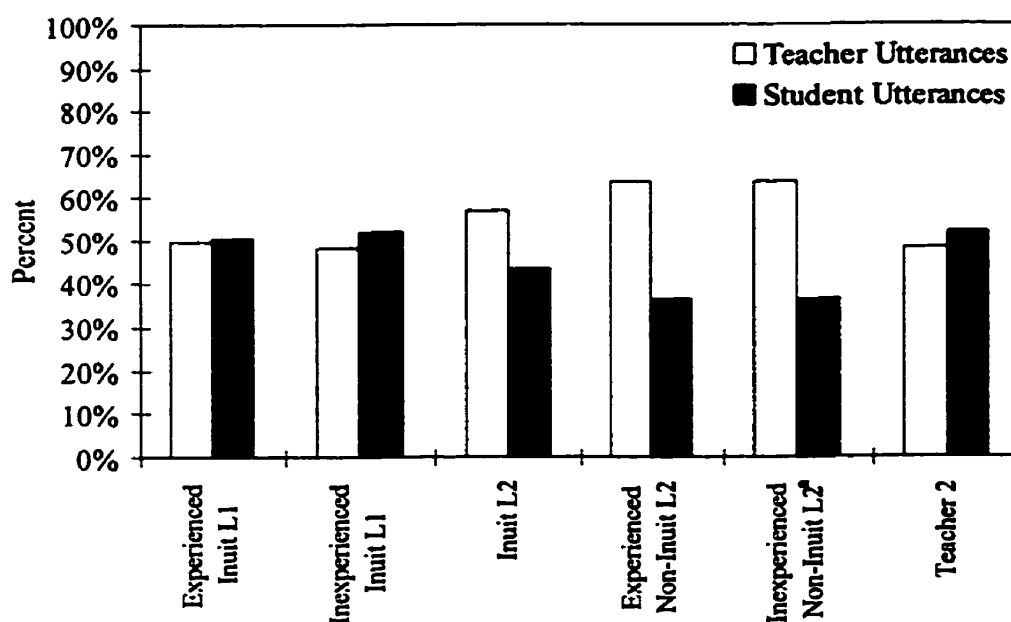
Figure 37. Percentage of teacher versus student utterances in the classroom for Teacher 2 and other teachers. ᵃ with data from Teacher 2 removed.

Initiation-Response-Evaluation Sequences and Their Variations

Like Teacher 5, Teacher 2 was also remarkable in the use of IR sequences in her classroom. The distribution of these sequences in the classroom of Teacher 2 is represented in Figure 38. No such sequences were found in the classrooms of the other inexperienced non-Inuit teachers. Teacher 2 more closely resembled the experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers (with the exception of Teacher 5) than the other inexperienced non-Inuit teachers in her use of

IR routines as elicitation sequences.
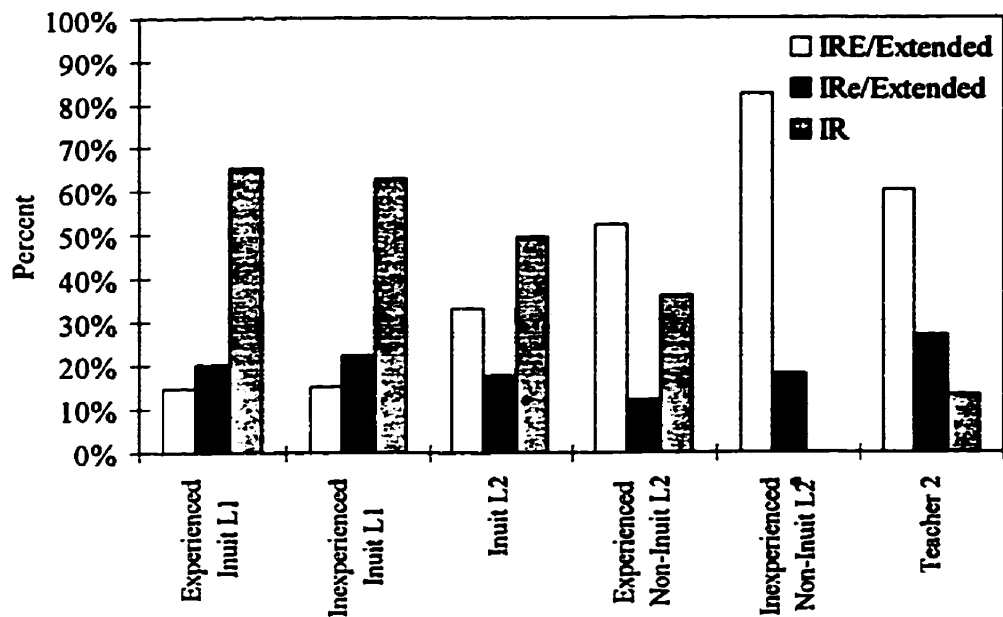
Figure 38. Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR Routines for Teacher 2 and other teachers. [a] with data from Teacher 2 removed.

Forms of evaluation and correction in IRE and IRe routines.

Like the other non-Inuit teachers, Teacher 2 also used more direct than indirect evaluation and correction strategies than did the Inuit L1 teachers (see Figure 39). However, Teacher 2's frequency of use of direct versus indirect evaluation and correction strategies more closely resembled that of the experienced Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teacher grouping than the other inexperienced non-Inuit teachers.
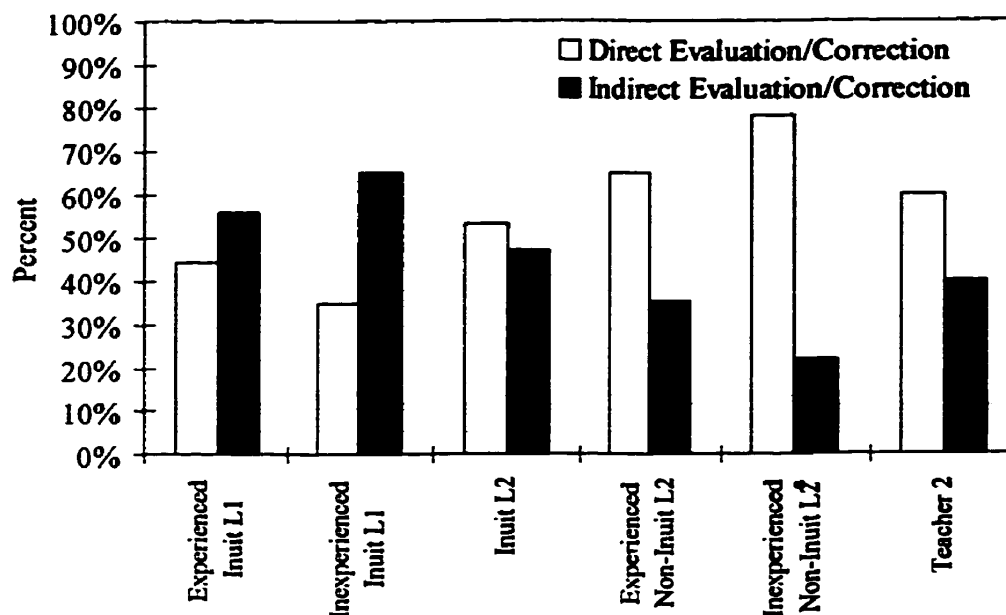
Figure 39. Percentage of direct versus indirect evaluation and correction for Teacher 2 and other teachers. [a] with data from Teacher 2 removed.

Nomination Format

The findings regarding nomination format in the classroom of Teacher 2 also differed from those found in the classrooms of the other inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers (see Figure 40). Teacher 2 used far more group as compared to individual nominations than did either of the other two inexperienced teachers. The distribution of individual versus group nominations in the classroom of Teacher 2 resembled that found in the classrooms of inexperienced Inuit L1 and experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers.
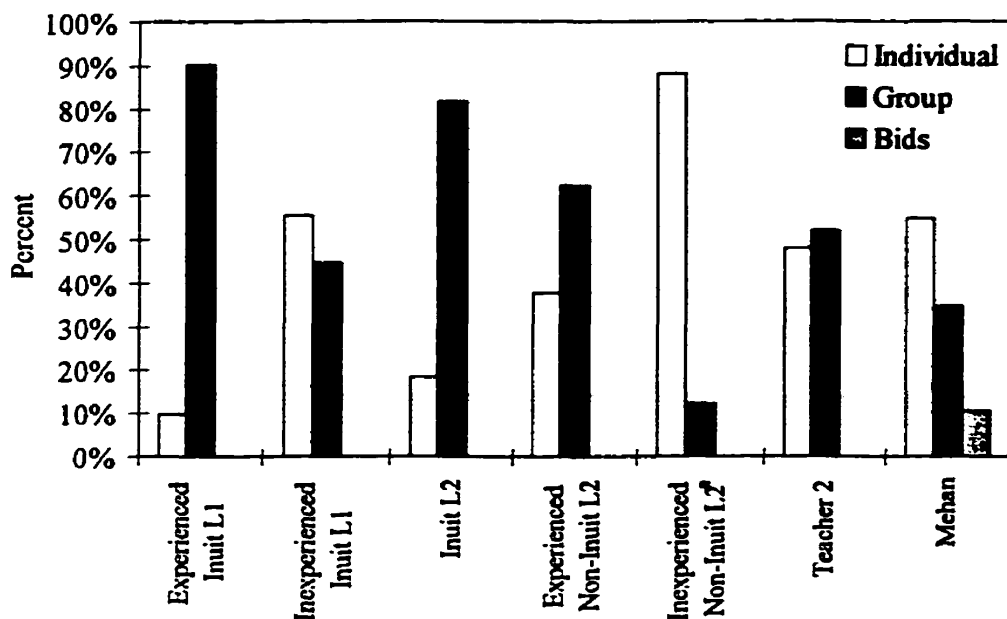
Figure 40. Percentage of nomination format for Teacher 2 and other teachers. *with data from Teacher 2 removed.

Teacher Response to Student Initiations

Teacher 2 was the only teacher from the inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teacher grouping to incorporate any student initiations into the instructional dialogue, and resembled Teacher 5 in this respect (see Figure 41). Teacher 2 also acknowledged student initiations at a higher rate than did the other non-Inuit L2 teachers and resembled the Inuit L1 teachers in her use of this strategy. While the frequency of ignoring student initiations was slightly higher in this classroom as compared to the other inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers, she reprimanded student initiations at a substantially lower rate than the other inexperienced teachers and resembled experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers in this respect.
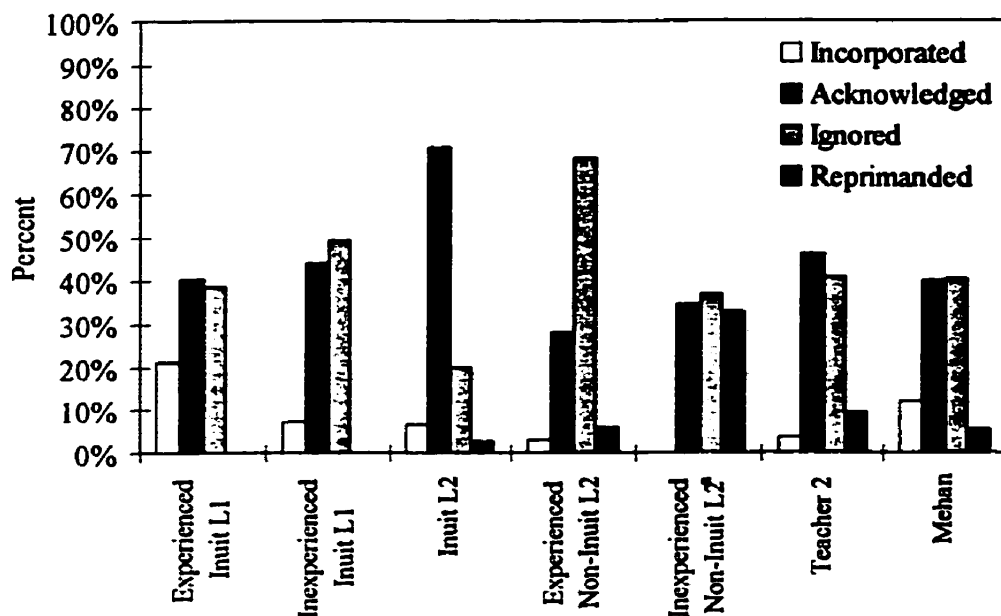
Figure 41. Percentage of teacher response to student initiations for Teacher 2 and other

teachers. [a] with data from Teacher 2 removed.

Respect for Cultural Difference

An extract from Teacher 2's response to a question regarding the advice she would

give to non-Inuit teachers new to teaching in Inuit communities illustrates her sensitivity,

awareness, and respect for the importance of cultural values and their potential to impact on

teacher behaviour.

> I would tell them to always remember that we are the visitors here. I would say, "Don't
> impose your culture. Find out what you can and can't do".

This openness to cultural difference may be an important factor influencing the development

of syncretic teaching practices among individual teachers.

Summary

Teacher 2, an inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teacher, demonstrated areas of discourse

organization in which syncretic elements were observed. As a result of Teacher 2's use of

group as opposed to individual nomination, a reduction in the overall control of classroom talk, an openness to student initiations in the instructional discourse and an awareness of the importance of minimizing overt student evaluations through the use of indirect corrections and IR routines, the patterns of teacher talk in this classroom resembled in many ways those found in classrooms of Inuit L1 and L2 teachers. Like Teacher 5, Teacher 2 did not view peer interactions in the L1 as a threat to her authority and discipline in the classroom, and did not discourage students from using the L1 in their interactions with peers, although this teacher had only a limited knowledge of the language.

The accommodations to the learners observed through the analysis of discourse found in the classroom of Teacher 2 appear to be centered primarily around her willingness to reduce the authoritarian role of the teacher in the classroom. In the case of Teacher 2, these accommodations appear to be due to an attitude of interest and openness toward Inuit values and cultural practices rather than extensive knowledge and lengthy contact with Inuit society.

Conclusion

This chapter has teased out differences in the use of a variety of discourse features across experienced and inexperienced Inuit and non-Inuit teachers of Inuit children, and has provided three portraits of individual teachers of Inuit children where tendencies toward the development of syncretic teaching practices were noted. The trends in these data point to the impact not only of cultural background and teaching experience but also of cultural awareness and sensitivity on discourse organization. These results also point to the impact of teachers' perceptions and beliefs on the organization of instructional exchanges and illustrate the potential for the learner to influence the overall organization of instructional interactions in

certain classrooms. Thus while one of the Inuit L2 teachers adapted her instructional interactions to better suit her perception of the future demands regarding appropriate participation in classrooms of non-Inuit teachers, two of the non-Inuit L2 teachers adapted certain discourse features toward practices more reminiscent of Inuit than non-Inuit teachers. These findings have important theoretical implications for dialogic theories of interaction and the co-construction of talk between teachers and students in classrooms, as well as providing insight into the role of context in the development of the socially and culturally distinctive forms of communicative competence necessary for effective participation in instructional interactions. The findings also have relevance for the notion of adapted pedagogy frequently discussed in the literature on minority education. The relation of the analysis of discourse in Inuit classrooms to these and other issues will be taken up in the final chapter of this work.

Chapter 10

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This research has utilized a combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches within the framework of dialogical theory in order to examine the instructional discourse and interaction patterns of eight teacher-led lessons in classrooms of Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers at the grade three level. The specific goals of the present study were to determine whether the discourse and interaction patterns used by the non-Inuit teachers in their lessons differed from those documented for Inuit teachers, and if so, whether these differences might be due primarily to the influence of underlying cultural factors or to variables related to second language teaching. Global comparisons of a variety of discourse features were made between groups of Inuit and non-Inuit teachers as a whole. Findings from this study were compared to results of other studies examining classroom interactions in first language classrooms, and particularly to Mehan's (1979) description of the organization of instructional discourse in the classroom of an experienced mainstream L1 language teacher and Eriks-Brophy's (1992) study documenting similar discourse features in six Inuit L1 classrooms. The impact of teachers' level of experience and familiarity with the learners on the overall organization of discourse structure was examined across the various teacher groupings, and individual differences related to findings in classrooms of particular Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers were reported. Quantitative data from the analysis of discourse features were incorporated with findings from ethnographic interviews conducted with all

teacher participants, leading to the elaboration of three basic themes in the research: issues of teacher control and authority, the promotion of individualism versus collectivity through instructional interaction, and the development of syncretic teaching practices among Inuit and non-Inuit teachers.

In this chapter, the significance and theoretical implications of the findings regarding differences in discourse organization and instructional interaction across the various comparison groups will be discussed. The contribution of the results for theories of monological versus dialogical communication as well as for theories of second language pedagogy and minority education will be described, along with specific implications for educational policy and teacher training at the Kativik School Board. Finally, the limitations of the present research and future research directions utilizing similar frameworks of analysis will be presented.

Summary of Findings

The present research documented a number of areas of discourse organization in which differences between Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and non-Inuit L2 teachers were found, illustrating the ways in which discourse organization can be used in instructional interactions to promote distinct cultural orientations and values regarding appropriate communicative and behavioural roles for students. Discourse and interactional patterns were also used to promote and emphasize differing perceptions of teacher roles in these classrooms. Thus non-Inuit teachers typically emphasized their role as authorities in classroom exchanges, organizing and orchestrating all aspects of classroom talk. Inuit L1 and Inuit L2 teachers viewed their role primarily as facilitators of student interactions in classrooms. These differing roles were

either promoted or minimized through the organization of discourse features related to the degree to which teachers dominated the instructional interaction in the classroom as well as the amount of student talk in both the L1 and the L2 that was permitted to influence the overall focus of the lesson.

Cultural differences regarding the promotion of individualism versus collectivity through the organization of discourse and interaction patterns in the classroom were also illustrated through the data. These two differing perspectives were observed through the emphasis placed on individual verbal performance and independence versus the emphasis placed on the equality of group members and appropriate group interaction across the teacher groupings. These opposing orientations to appropriate classroom behaviour were promoted through the organization of discourse features related to turn allocation and evaluation as well as through differing emphasis on individual work versus group activities in the classrooms of the Inuit and non-Inuit teachers. As a result of these differences in cultural orientation and the organization of instructional interaction across the two main teacher groupings, students in classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers were required to develop forms of competence that did not match with those developed through their previous classroom interactions with Inuit L1 teachers. Differing expectations regarding the organization of discourse and interaction between Inuit students and their non-Inuit teachers related to the use of specific discourse features were found to have a direct impact on the classroom participation of Inuit students. These differences also led to instances of miscommunication between non-Inuit teachers and their students, resulting in misjudgments and misinterpretations of student behaviour and student performance.

Differences in discourse organization related to the variable of teaching experience were also examined in the data. Adaptations to traditional recitation style instructional

discourse and interaction patterns in the areas of nomination format and elicitation routines were observed in the classrooms of the experienced non-Inuit teachers. These adaptations point to the influence of the learner on the organization and use of specific discourse features related to instructional interactions, and are interpreted as representing teacher accommodations toward Inuit cultural and communicative values indicative of the development of syncretic instructional practices. More extensive learner-centered accommodations and adapted teaching practices were found in the classrooms of some, but not all, of the non-Inuit L2 teachers.

Contributions to Knowledge

This research represents an original contribution to knowledge in a number of different areas. The study illustrates the impact of cultural values on the organization of communicative interaction and the development of communicative competence in a particular discourse context, the teacher-led lessons of Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers in grade 3 classrooms of Nunavik. Through the combination of microanalytic and qualitative data, it provides a richly contextualized portrait of the organization of educational interactions and discourse patterns in an Aboriginal cultural community. To date, few empirical studies examining instructional discourse and interaction have taken place in Aboriginal contexts. Those few studies that exist have described the discourse and interaction patterns that occurred in the classrooms of individual Aboriginal teachers and have relied primarily on descriptive methodologies and single case examples. While the number of subjects in the present research is limited, when combined with the results of the Eriks-Brophy (1992) study it nevertheless permits comparisons to be made between the organization of classroom

interactions and discourse patterns across both individual and small groups of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers within a single instructional context.

In terms of L2 pedagogy, the study provides further evidence for the relationship between cultural variables and the participation structures and interaction patterns found in L2 classrooms, as well as the ways in which cultural differences in discourse organization have the potential to lead to problematic exchanges between teachers and students in these classrooms. The research thus responds to comments of Allwright and Bailey (1991), Hatch (1992), Sato (1990) and Findley (1995) indicating the need for more research into the discourse structure and patterns of interaction found in L2 classrooms of non-mainstream teachers and learners. To date, no studies have examined aspects of L2 discourse structure within an Aboriginal context and involving Aboriginal L2 teachers.

The research applies a dialogical framework to the examination of instructional discourse in first and second language classrooms, illustrating how differing social and cultural contexts give rise to variation in discourse organization and how factors such as context, interlocutor and culture impact on the social construction of communication and miscommunication in the educational setting. Such an analysis of the specific discourse features involved in the organization of teacher-led lessons allows those interactional practices that contribute to both effective and problematic communicative exchanges in classrooms to be highlighted. Dialogical models of communication have important ramifications for educational practice but have only recently begun to be utilized in the understanding of the forms of communication and miscommunication that take place in schools.

Finally, through reference to the notion of syncretism, this research demonstrates the potential of individual educators to develop communicative patterns and educational practices

that represent an amalgamation of cultures. The concept of syncretism and the elaboration and description of the development of syncretic practices are recent additions to the literature on communication, and the development of such practices in the educational context have not been elaborated previously. These concepts have important implications for theories of adapted pedagogy in minority education.

Explanations for Discourse Differences Across Inuit and non-Inuit Teacher Groupings: Cultural or Linguistic?

One of the primary purposes of the present study was to determine whether discourse differences between Inuit and non-Inuit teachers might represent the effects of culture on discourse organization or whether these were primarily due to first versus second language use in teaching. Based on the results presented in previous chapters, the results of the study are interpreted as supporting a cultural rather than a linguistic explanation for the differences in discourse organization found across the groups of teachers, and illustrate the ways in which teachers' cultural orientation have an impact on specific features associated with the organization of instructional interactions and discourse patterns found in classrooms. These assertions will be elaborated in the sections that follow.

In order for a language-based explanation to account for differences in discourse organization between teacher groupings, L2 teachers regardless of ethnicity would be expected to organize their instructional interactions in similar ways and would be expected to follow those tendencies reported in the literature on L2 instructional interactions. Similar reasoning would apply to the discourse organization of L1 teachers, regardless of ethnicity. With specific reference to the present study, in order for such an explanation of the variation

in instructional discourse across teacher groupings to be supported, no major differences would be expected in the organization of discourse and interaction patterns between mainstream L1 teachers, including the teacher described in Mehan's (1979) research, and the Inuit L1 teachers, since these teachers were all teaching in their and their students' L1. The organization of instructional interactions across groups of Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers would also be expected to be similar. Furthermore, the L2 teachers' instructional practices and discourse organization would be expected to follow the lines previously described as characteristic of L2 classrooms in such areas as the distribution of teacher acts, the use of corrective feedback, student nomination format, and the use of peer interactions.

A culturally-based explanation, on the other hand, would account for differences in discourse organization across classrooms on the basis of the cultural orientation of the teacher rather than the language of instruction of the classroom. With reference to the present study, in order to support such an explanation for discourse differences across teachers groupings, both Inuit L1 and Inuit L2 teachers would be expected to demonstrate similar discourse and interactional patterns, and these ways of organizing instructional exchanges would be expected to resemble those documented by Lipka (1991) and Erickson and Mohatt (1982) for other Aboriginal teachers. Non-Inuit L2 teachers would be expected to organize classroom discourse and interaction along the lines documented for mainstream teachers by Mehan (1979), Cazden (1988), Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and others and these would likely be characterized by the traditional recitation style discourse structures described by these authors.

Support for a Culturally-based Explanation of Discourse Differences Across Teacher Groupings

Results of this study support a culturally-based rather than a language-based

explanation for differences in the organization of discourse across the teacher comparison

groups. Findings regarding the overall organization of discourse and interaction in the

classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers were remarkably similar in many aspects to those

documented by Mehan (1979), Cazden (1988), and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), among

others. Interactions in these classrooms were characterized by the asymmetrical participation

structure and the restricted entitlements of learners typically described for recitation style

classroom discourse (Cazden, 1988; Goodlad, 184; Mehan, 1979; Tattershall & Creaghead,

1985; Willes, 1983). Student opportunities for participation and practice in the L2 were limited

primarily to providing teachers with responses to test questions through traditional IRE type

exchanges, and students were provided with few occasions for authentic, meaningful

communication with either teachers or peers. Taken as a group, non-Inuit L2 teachers

ignored student initiations and student elicitation of information at similar or higher rates than

those reported for Mehan's (1979) teacher, even when these were formulated in the L2.

Teacher domination of talk in these classrooms closely resembled the traditional distribution of

two thirds teacher talk versus one third student talk described by Mehan (1979) for L1

classrooms and by Bialystok et al. (1978), Chaudron (1988), and Wintergerst (1994) for L2

classrooms. In addition to supporting a culturally-based explanation for discourse differences

across groups of teachers, the findings from the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers

provide further evidence for the continued validity of Mehan's (1979) description of discourse

organization and instructional interaction during teacher-directed lessons in classrooms of at

least some mainstream teachers.

The organization of instructional interactions in classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers did not

resemble recitation style discourse organization as closely as did the findings in the non-Inuit

L2 classrooms. Furthermore, as will be described in more detail below, findings regarding

discourse organization in traditional L2 classrooms described in the literature apply more

readily to classrooms of non-Inuit L2 than to Inuit L2 teachers. Instead, Inuit L2 teachers

incorporated similar aspects of discourse organization to those described in Eriks-Brophy

(1992) for Inuit L1 teachers into their instructional interactions. These forms of discourse

organization were described in that study as contrasting with typical recitation style teaching

organization. In the classrooms of the Inuit L1 and L2 teachers, the asymmetrical participation

structure and the reduced entitlements of participants were less pronounced, and students

had more opportunities to engage in meaningful communication using both their L1 and L2 in

the classroom. Inuit L2 teachers also closely resembled Inuit L1 teachers in the overall

frequency and distribution of evaluation and feedback found in the classroom. While peer

interaction was somewhat more restricted in the Inuit L2 as compared to L1 classrooms, there

were nevertheless numerous occasions for peer exchanges and peer modelling in these

instructional exchanges. The emphasis on group responses in turn allocation in the

classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers differed from that typically reported for both L1 (Cazden,

1988; Mehan, 1979) and L2 classrooms (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; Hatch,

1992; van Lier, 1988). Inuit L2 teachers were responsive to student ideas and contributions

made in both the L1 and the L2, permitting students a more active role in the development

and progression of the classroom talk.

Furthermore, interactions in both the Inuit L1 and Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms

exhibited many areas of similarity to those few studies that have documented similar

discourse features in the classrooms of other Aboriginal teachers (Erickson and Mohatt, 1982;

Lipka). Such similarities included the organization of nomination format, the reduced

emphasis on IRE routines and the overt evaluation of student performance, the use of silence

and non-verbal behaviour in the classroom, as well as teacher respect for student 'face' in

classroom interactions.

The interpretation of certain patterns found in the data from the classrooms of the Inuit

L2 teachers is nevertheless somewhat less obvious than might be expected from a culturally-

based perspective on discourse differences across teacher groupings. Thus Inuit L2 teachers

fell between the Inuit L1 and the non-Inuit L2 teachers in regard to the distribution of their use

of those discourse features primarily related to the control and domination of talk in the

classroom. While these findings might appear to contradict the cultural explanation proposed

above, variations between Inuit L1 and L2 teachers in the use of discourse organization were

explained through reference to these teachers' own descriptions of their roles in the

classroom. A major part of this role, as expressed by these teachers, was to prepare

students for the forms of interaction and participation that they would be likely to encounter in

the classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers. Such preparation included introducing students to

the degree of teacher control and authority over student talk and interaction typical of non-

Inuit teachers' classrooms, as well as aiding students in the shift in their communicative role

from group to individual verbal participation. The differences in the organization of

instructional discourse found in these classrooms were interpreted as reflecting conscious

decisions on the part of these teachers to structure their interactions in ways that more closely

resembled the patterns and practices found in the classrooms of non-Inuit teachers, and do

not therefore detract from cultural explanations for the discourse differences documented

across the teacher groupings. Instead, through reference to the concept of syncretism, these

practices were described as representing an amalgamation of Inuit and non-Inuit instructional

practices related to the organization of discourse.

Syncretism was previously defined as the merging or blending of cultural traditions and communicative practices through cultural contact (Duranti & Ochs, 1996). The blending of culturally diverse values, practices, and beliefs typically takes place in such a way that the cultural traditions influencing these behaviours remain traceable to their socio-historical contexts and can become visible through the analysis of strategies and practices utilized by participants in an interaction. The development of such syncretic practices is typically described as resulting from extended contact between diverse cultural traditions.

The variables of teaching experience and length of contact with Inuit students emerged as important factors in the development of syncretic teaching practices in this research, as seen through the finding that experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers resembled Inuit L1 and L2 teachers rather than inexperienced non-Inuit teachers and Mehan's teacher in their use of turn allocation format and IR routines in the classroom. However, the ability to develop instructional practices that were indicative of syncretism was not found to be solely a question of experience and familiarity with Inuit culture, since analysis of the discourse and interaction patterns of one of the inexperienced teachers revealed several areas of discourse organization where accommodations and adaptations were made that were reflective of Inuit instructional practices. Results from this teacher's classroom illustrate the potential of individual educators to develop syncretic teaching practices that do not depend on lengthy contact and experience with the local culture, and appear to stem instead from an awareness, a sensitivity and a respect for cultural difference in communicative values and interaction. This attitude of openness and a willingness to learn about the minority culture and community may be an important precursor to the development of syncretic educational practices in contexts of cross-cultural contact.

Experienced non-Inuit L2 teachers did not demonstrate evidence for the development

of syncretic teaching practices across all aspects of their teaching practices, however, and

closely resembled Mehan's (1979) experienced teacher in regard to the majority of discourse

features related to the control and domination of talk in the classroom. Scardamalia &

Bereiter (1989) documented an increase in teacher control over talk and interaction over time

as one of the primary effects of teaching experience on the organization of instruction in

classrooms. Interestingly, similar tendencies toward the increased domination over classroom

talk and interaction as a function of teaching experience were not noted in the classrooms of

Inuit L1 teachers, indicating that the effect of experience on the organization of discourse and

interaction in classrooms may also be culturally variable.

The syncretic teaching practices documented in the classrooms of Inuit and non-Inuit

L2 teachers were interpreted as stemming both from conscious decisions made by teachers

regarding the structure of educational interactions in classrooms as well as illustrating the

effect of the learner on the organization of classroom talk. Results of the analysis of

discourse and interaction patterns found in the classrooms of a number of the non-Inuit L2

teachers indicate that students also have the potential to influence the organization and

direction of classroom talk, socializing their teachers toward the use of instructional practices

that more closely resemble those forms of communicative interaction found within the local

culture. The potential for miscommunication and misunderstandings between teachers and

students was reduced in some of these classrooms as a result of such adaptations toward

Inuit cultural practices in discourse organization. These findings regarding the development of

syncretic teaching practices in classrooms of Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers have important

implications for theories of adapted pedagogy in minority educational contexts, since they

indicate that the organization of instructional interaction can be both influenced by and

adapted toward the learner. Through the development of such syncretic practices, cultural differences that might otherwise lead to communicative difficulty and misunderstanding in the classroom can instead become the catalyst for the development of new discourse and interactional patterns that represent the merging of cultural practices.

Implications of the Results for Second Language Pedagogy

Descriptions of discourse organization in the L2 classrooms observed in this research indicate that the use of a second language in instruction does not necessarily result in fundamental changes in the overall organization of discourse features and frameworks typical of L1 classrooms. In other words, first versus second language instruction in and of itself does not have a significant impact on the overall organization of interaction in classrooms. This finding supports similar conclusions proposed by other researchers in the area of L2 discourse organization (Allwright, 1988; Chaudron, 1988; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980; Riley, 1985; Swain, 1985).

Non-Inuit L2 Teachers

Discourse organization in the classrooms of the majority of non-Inuit L2 teachers exhibited few of the characteristics of communicative language teaching currently emphasized in L2 pedagogy (Allen et al., 1985; Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Johnson, 1983; Littlewood, 1981; Nunan, 1992; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Widdowson, 1978). Indeed the forms of interaction documented in these classrooms closely resembled those described as characteristic of traditional form-oriented second language classrooms (Chaudron, 1988; Long, 1981; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Seliger, 1977; van Lier, 1988; Wintergerst, 1994). The almost complete domination of all speech acts by the non-Inuit L2 teachers follows similar

lines to results reported by Bialystok et al. (1978) who documented that almost all teacher acts in L2 classrooms involved some form of teacher direction student of behaviour or elicitation of information, with virtually no teacher responses to student elicitations. The majority of teacher acts in these classrooms were made up of teacher elicitation sequences, and this at a similar rate to that reported by Mehan (1979). Thus the tendency described by Early (1985) and Chaudron (1988) for L2 teachers to use more elicitation sequences than L1 teachers in their instructional interactions, with a corresponding decrease in the frequency of informatives and directives, is not supported by these data.

The examination of turn allocation found in non-Inuit L2 classrooms show that these are organized along similar lines to those previously described for L1 classrooms which are based on individual nominations, invitations to respond, and invitations to bid (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Mehan, 1979; van Lier, 1988). Non-Inuit teachers as a whole closely resembled Mehan's teacher in this respect, however there were no instances of the invitation to bid format found in the data. Teachers demonstrated little flexibility in terms of learner participation and opportunities to self-select speaking turns as proposed by van Lier (1988) and documented by Freeman (1992). Indeed this behaviour resulted in reprimands of students in certain classrooms.

The use of corrective feedback in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers supports the finding that L2 teachers spend a large amount of instructional time in provision of learner feedback (Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; van Lier, 1988). Corrective feedback was provided almost exclusively by the teacher in these classrooms, with little emphasis on enabling students to recognize and correct their own or each others errors (Chaudron, 1977, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Hendrickson, 1978; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992). However, the frequency and form of corrective feedback provided to students

in the classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers was unlike that reported for other L2 classrooms. Research into L2 pedagogy has documented that indirect or implicit error correction occurs more frequently than direct teacher feedback in communicatively oriented L2 classrooms (Chaudron, 1977; 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980; Lyster & Ranta, 1997). In the non-Inuit teachers' classrooms, however, explicit correction and evaluation was the most frequent form of learner feedback provided by teachers. This use of corrective feedback supports the increased tendency for teachers of younger L2 students to explicitly rather than implicitly correct student errors documented in the L2 literature (Chaudron, 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980). However, Inuit L2 teachers demonstrated somewhat different practices in regard to the provision of learner feedback than did these teachers, as did the teachers who participated in Lyster and Ranta's (1997) study, who taught at a similar grade level to the teachers in this study. The distribution of evaluative feedback strategies in the communicatively-oriented French immersion context documented by Lyster and Ranta (1997) for French immersion classrooms was quite different from that documented in non-Inuit L2 teachers' classrooms. This difference may be due to the emphasis placed on language form and accuracy in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers, a tendency typical of form-oriented L2 classrooms (Chaudron, 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980; Hendrickson, 1978; Lightbown & Spada, 1990). Direct error correction constituted a major proportion of non-Inuit L2 teachers' talk in these classrooms, with few errors ignored. While it has been proposed that pedagogical focus may be an important variable in the examination of when errors are treated or ignored in L2 classrooms, there were few examples of lessons with a focus other than language in classrooms of both Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers. Nevertheless, similar lessons in classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers again had different findings regarding the distribution of learner feedback in the classroom.

The forms of language competence required for successful participation in classrooms of non-Inuit L2 teachers required similar skills and discourse abilities to those indicative of competence in the classrooms of mainstream L1 and L2 teachers as described in the literature (Cazden, 1988; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1982; Mehan, 1979; Scarcella and Oxford, 1992). Students in these classrooms exhibited difficulties with all three elements of communicative competence as described for L2 student by Scarcella and Oxford (1992). In some classrooms, difficulties with sociolinguistic competence and discourse competence led to instances of miscommunication between teachers and students. These forms of interaction contrasted directly with many of the skills required for successful performance in classrooms of Inuit L1 teachers.

A common criticism of traditional L2 discourse organization emphasizes the lack of opportunity provided to students to interact naturally in the L2 and to hear the L2 used in authentic communication in the classroom (Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Long, 1983). This criticism applies equally well to the majority of non-Inuit L2 classrooms observed as part of this research. The almost complete teacher domination of overall classroom talk and the limited possibilities provided to students to make original contributions to the discourse through the incorporation of initiations in the classrooms of many of the non-Inuit L2 teachers restricted students' communicative roles and limited the potential and directions for student participation in the construction of the discourse. Some L2 researchers have proposed that the degree of student participation and the range of communicative functions expressed in teacher-student interactions may be important predictors of L2 proficiency (Chaudron, 1988; Long, 1981; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Seliger, 1977; van Lier, 1988; Wintergerst, 1994). The restricted opportunities provided to learners for authentic communication in many of these classrooms might therefore be seen as potentially limiting the development of L2 proficiency

for students in these form-oriented classrooms.

The emphasis on linguistic correctness in teacher-student dialogue observed in the classrooms of these teachers might have been influenced by a lack of familiarity and training in L2 teaching strategies emphasizing communicative L2 teaching practices. As was previously described, none of the non-Inuit L2 teachers who participated in this research had received any training in L2 pedagogy, and likely had little or no knowledge of the communicative approach to L2 teaching and its associated activities. This does not, however, explain differences between non-Inuit and Inuit L2 teachers in terms of the emphasis on language form, full sentence responses and linguistic correctness in their interactions with students, since the Inuit L2 had also received no specific training in L2 pedagogy.

Inuit L2 Teachers

Features related to the organization of discourse observed in the classrooms of Inuit L1 and L2 teachers contrasted in many ways with the highly routinized and scripted recitation style interactions that have traditionally characterized instructional discourse in both L1 and L2 classrooms and which characterized the majority of teacher-student interactions documented in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers observed in this research. Instead, instructional interactions in the classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers more closely resembled the flexibility and openness to learner participation described by van Lier (1988) and Freeman (1992) for communicatively oriented L2 classrooms. Interactions in these classrooms were less teacher-regulated, and greater emphasis was placed on peer negotiation and interaction through the L2 than was typical of non-Inuit L2 classrooms. Students were encouraged to respond as a group rather than individually to teacher elicitations, and peer talk and interaction were encouraged by these teachers.

Studies indicate that activities organized around group activities permit students greater freedom to negotiate, clarify, initiate topics of conversation, and self-select turns. These forms of interaction are presumed to result in an increased variety of communicative functions in student L2 language use (Allen et al., 1985; Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Cathcart, 1986; Freeman, 1992; Frohlich et. al., 1985; Hatch, 1992; Johnson, 1983; Porter, 1986). While it was beyond the scope of the present research to examine the learner outcomes associated with differences in discourse organization in these classrooms, current research suggests that the less restricted roles provided to learners in the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers might have positive effects on their development of L2 proficiency for students enrolled in these classrooms.

Inuit L2 teachers were less oriented toward language form and accuracy in student responses than were the non-Inuit L2 classrooms. This emphasis on communication and interaction rather than linguistic accuracy in classroom exchanges is another characteristic of communicative L2 teaching frequently cited in the literature (Allen et al., 1985; Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Cathcart, 1986; Freeman, 1992; Frohlich et al., 1985; Hatch, 1992; Johnson, 1983; Porter, 1986). Corrective feedback in the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers again differed from that typically reported in the literature for both L1 and L2 classrooms (Chaudron, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Mehan, 1979; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; van Lier, 1988). More instances of peer feedback and correction occurred in these classrooms than in the non-Inuit L2 classrooms. Such an emphasis reflects current trends in communicative language teaching reported in the L2 literature that encourage learner involvement in the correction of errors in the classroom (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; Freeman, 1992; Hendrickson, 1978; Long, 1977; Long & Porter, 1985; Pica & Doughty, 1985; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; van Lier, 1988). These studies have implied that more learning may take

place when the learners take a more active role in the treatment of error, resulting in increased exchange of information, learner uptake and negotiation of meaning through the L2. Thus the use of peer correction and feedback in the classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers may also have positive implications for learner outcomes in the development of the L2 in these classrooms.

The frequency of corrective feedback, while was not as high as that reported for non-Inuit L2 teachers, was nevertheless higher than that found in other L2 classrooms (Chaudron, 1988, Gaies, 1983; Lyster & Ranta, 1997), and the use of direct correction and evaluation of student errors exceeded that reported in the literature for L2 classrooms (Chaudron, 1977; 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980; Lyster & Ranta, 1997). This finding might again be interpreted as supporting the reported increased tendency for teachers of younger L2 students to explicitly rather than implicitly correct student errors (Chaudron, 1988; Gaies, 1983; Hamayan & Tucker, 1980). On the other hand, Inuit L2 teachers' use of repetition as an indirect corrective strategy was substantially higher than that reported in Lyster and Ranta (1997), and closely resembled the use of this strategy in Inuit L1 classrooms. Interestingly, the effectiveness of repetition as one of the few feedback strategies that resulted in learner uptake was noted by Lyster and Ranta (1997) in their examination of corrective L2 feedback.

In classrooms of Inuit L2 teachers, students lacked primarily the grammatical competence to interact freely in the classroom (Canale & Swain, 1980; Cazden, 1988; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1982; Mehan, 1979; Scarcella and Oxford, 1992), and were nevertheless able to rely on aspects of sociolinguistic and discourse competence developed through their previous interactions with L1 teachers. Students were also permitted to resort to the use of the L1 in their L2 learning. Recourse to these well-developed abilities may have permitted students to compensate more easily for their lack of L2 proficiency in classroom

interactions. This ability to capitalize on these resources may also have a positive impact on the development of L2 abilities in these classrooms.

Instructional Conversations

Recitation style instructional discourse has been criticized for its emphasis on rote learning, discrete skills, low-level cognitive functions, and student passivity at the expense of student interaction and the mutual construction of interpretations and meanings within the context of the ongoing dialogue (Cazden, 1988; Hatch, 1992; Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991; Tharp & Yamauchi, 1994). Recent research suggests that more negotiated forms of interaction between teachers and students such as those found in communicative L2 teaching approaches and instructional conversations promote the development of higher-level cognitive functions and increased L2 proficiency, and might therefore be used to enhance the educational performance of all students, and particularly those from minority culture and second language backgrounds (Cummins, 1994; Echevarria & McDonough, 1993; Goldenberg, 1991; Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). The incorporation of discourse forms that promote such interaction and authentic communication among teachers and learners in both L1 and L2 classrooms has been proposed as an educational practice that might lead to more effective classroom exchanges for all students (Echevarria & McDonough, 1993; Goldenberg, 1991; Hatch, 1992; Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991; Scarcella and Oxford, 1992). While instructional exchanges based on the characteristics of instructional conversations appear to be highly desirable forms of communicative interaction for both L1 and L2 learners, they are reportedly very rarely found in classrooms, and appear

to be particularly rare in classrooms of minority children (Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991).

Interestingly, the reduction of teacher and control and authority observed in the classrooms of Inuit L1 and L2 teachers along with the increased emphasis on cooperation and peer interaction resulted in forms of discourse organization that are highly reminiscent of the discourse organization and interaction patterns described as characteristic of instructional conversations (Echevarria & McDonough, 1993; Goldenberg, 1991; Rueda et al., 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). Furthermore, the forms of interaction used by Inuit L1 and L2 teachers to engage their students in communication and learning in the classroom were analogous to those described for classrooms of other Aboriginal teachers (Erickson and Mohatt, 1982; Lipka; 1991; Malin, 1990; Philips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Walsh, 1991). The common properties across these Aboriginal classrooms are strikingly similar and appear to be based in the incorporation of cultural values and culturally congruent patterns of communication and interaction patterns into classroom exchanges. The participation structures and discourse organization noted in classrooms of Inuit L1 and L2 teachers emphasized cultural values revolving around cooperation, group orientation and respect for individual rights that have been discussed in relation to many Aboriginal groups (Basso, 1970; Briggs, 1970; Crago, 1988; Eriks-Brophy & Crago, 1994; Philips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Thus Aboriginal teachers' as a whole may have particular cultural perspectives on communication, learning, and the roles of the teacher in the classroom that may predispose them toward forms of discourse organization that include certain essential elements of instructional and communicative conversations.

Rueda, Goldenberg and Gallimore (1992) indicate the need for research into the processes, structures and dynamics that are involved in the construction and development of

instructional conversations in classrooms. Due to the reported paucity of such forms of interaction in mainstream classrooms, it would be important to be able to specify ways in which instructional discourse might be modified in order to encourage more collaborative and negotiated interactional qualities in instructional exchanges. One way of achieving this is through the analysis of the forms of discourse and interaction used in classrooms in order to identify those interactional discourse features associated with effective instructional practices. Examining such issues as the participation structures and communicative roles provided to participants within interactions, as well as the specific discourse forms that promote the construction and negotiation of meaning and encourage reciprocity among participants may allow for the identification of those qualities associated with effective interactions and desirable forms of classroom communication to be identified (Echevarria & McDonough, 1993; Rueda et al., 1992). Such communicative practices can be then be elaborated into tools and strategies for improving the organization of teaching and learning in varied educational contexts that might lead to more culturally congruent discourse and participation structures for minority students (Adler, 1993; Au, 1993; Carrasquillo & Rodriguez, 1996; Darder, 1991; Giroux, 1981; Heath, 1983; Sleeter & Grant, 1994; Trueba, 1989). The forms of interaction and communication found in Inuit L1, Inuit L2 as well as other Aboriginal classrooms might therefore have important potential contributions for the understanding of these processes as they relate to the development of alternative forms of discourse organization and interaction. This information may also be useful in indicating specific elements of discourse organization which might lead to the eventual transformation of traditional instructional interactions toward the more negotiated forms of interaction characteristic of instructional conversations.

Minority Education and Culturally Adapted Pedagogy

Results of this study clearly illustrate the basic principles underlying the contextual interaction perspective on minority academic performance (Cummins, 1989; Cortes, 1986; Diaz et al., 1986; Moll & Diaz, 1987; McGroarty, 1986), demonstrating how social, cultural, communicative and institutional processes impact on the educational exchanges that take place between teachers and students in classrooms. Within this perspective, miscommunication and problematic exchanges are often the consequence of a lack of shared resources among partners, resulting in an inability to construct shared dialogues, rather than representing inherent deficiencies of one or another of the participants in a communicative interaction (Bakhtin, 1986; Cortes, 1986; Darder, 1991; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Lantolf, 1993; Linell, 1995). This perspective also emphasizes issues of power and cultural dominance that play themselves out within the context of the classroom, illustrating the undemocratic and hegemonic social practices that perpetuate the underachievement of minority students in schools (Darder, 1991; Giroux, 1981; McLaren, 1989; Mehan et al., 1986). As a result of power differentials between minority culture students and their majority culture teachers, instructional interactions are often organized in ways that do not permit students to capitalize on their previously acquired skills and competencies (Cummins, 1989; Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1989; Mehan et al, 1986).

Results from the classrooms of the two Inuit L2 teachers illustrate the possibilities for mutual understandings to impact on the communicative interactions and the social organization of discourse between teachers and students in classrooms when they share the same language and cultural background. Inuit L2 teachers had a depth of knowledge and understanding of the students in their classrooms that allowed them to integrate students'

experience and background into schooling with relative ease. Indeed these teachers were very sensitive to students' home situations and moods in interpreting student behaviour and organizing interactions with individuals during the school day. This shared background between teachers and learners represented a form of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) that could be used by both teachers and students to facilitate the transition from the L1 to the L2 instructional context, permitting students to capitalize on previously developed experiences and competencies from the L1 classroom and thus reducing the stresses implicit in the development of new forms of linguistic and classroom competence in the L2.

In contrast, inexperienced non-Inuit L2 teachers who had little understanding of the background of their students, as well as those teachers who were less receptive to these influences, exhibited the greatest potential for miscommunication and misjudgment of student performance and behaviour in the classroom. In these cases, the lack of shared resources between teachers and student did not permit students to convert their previously acquired cultural capital into competent performance in the classroom. This lack of shared cultural capital often led to deficiency interpretations of student performance and student participation in the classroom. While such instances of miscommunication and misevaluation on the part of educators were generally unintentional, they nevertheless stemmed from the imposition of unquestioned assumptions regarding appropriate behaviour and communicative practices on the organization of interaction in the classroom that reflected the values and priorities of the dominant culture. Through the position of authority accorded the teacher within the classroom, those forms of communicative behaviour that were in accordance with the teachers' communicative practices and expectations were given priority over forms of interaction and communication based on local cultural practices in determining the forms of participation and behaviour judged as appropriate and indicative of competence in classroom

interactions.

A major problem arises from the fact that the communicative behaviour necessary for successful participation in the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers as well as the emphasis on competition and independence promoted in many of the classrooms described in this research can be seen as contrasting directly with some of the most basic and traditional social and cultural values emphasized and promoted in the wider Inuit community. Indeed the characteristics mentioned in non-Inuit teachers' descriptions of 'top' students in the classroom might be defined by Inuit L1 and L2 teachers as well as the wider community as contrary to Inuit cultural practices regarding childrens' appropriate communicative interactions in the company of adults. This situation illustrates not only how differences in cultural expectations regarding competent performance might lead to serious misinterpretations and misjudgments of student abilities in cross-cultural settings, but also the ways in which the organization of instruction and educational interaction can undermine cultural values that hold great importance within the wider social and cultural context (Cummins, 1989; Darder, 1991, McLaren, 1989; Mehan et al, 1986). Differences in cultural definitions of competent performance promoted in the classrooms of Inuit and non-Inuit teachers thus have the potential to interfere in the maintenance of appropriate cultural roles and interaction patterns for children in Inuit society.

While differences in expectations regarding the organization of discourse and interaction between Inuit students and their non-Inuit teachers were observed to lead to serious communicative difficulties for Inuit students in schools, familiarity and competence with the forms of communication and interaction promoted in classrooms of majority culture teachers are nevertheless essential to the future academic success of Inuit children. Recent research conducted in a number of Inuit communities of Nunavik indicates that traditional Inuit

communicative patterns are slowly shifting toward those found in the dominant society, both as a result of the influence of the school on communicative practices as well as the increase in the number of bilingual Inuit and English/French families represented in the local populations (Crago, Annahatak, & Ninguiruvik, 1993). Furthermore, at the present time there continue to be very few Inuit L2 teachers in transition level classrooms, and no Inuit teaching at higher grades levels in Nunavik community schools. If current trends continue, this means that, by the grade 3 level, Inuit children can expect to receive the remainder of their education from non-Inuit teachers who come from outside of their community and culture and who may have little understanding of Inuit cultural values and communicative practices.

Indirect evidence from the classrooms of the non-Inuit L2 teachers indicates that, over time, Inuit students do come to learn the required forms of interaction and participation that constitute competent performance in these classrooms. Thus the older students in the mixed grade three and four classrooms observed as part of this research appeared to have less difficulty with the individual speaking roles attributed to them in the classrooms of mainstream teachers than did the younger students, and also seemed to have acquired more of the behaviours indicative of independence and individual performance imposed by these teachers. However, as implied in the interview responses of Teacher 8, this competence may have been achieved by Inuit children at considerable price to their self esteem and cultural identity. The explicit explanations of differences in expectations and communicative practices between minority and majority culture teachers and students such as those provided to students by Teacher 8 therefore have an important role to play in the development of bilingual-bicultural competence. Such instructional practices aid minority students in the development of a bicultural perspective on educational practices, providing them with the necessary cultural capital for appropriate participation in the educational interactions of the

dominant culture, while simultaneously promoting their cultural identity and self esteem

(Cazden, 1988; Darder, 1991; Cummins, 1989; Delpit, 1988; McLaren, 1989). This approach

to teaching minority students is described in the literature on minority education as among the

most effective ways of empowering children from non-mainstream cultural backgrounds to

participate successfully in school interactions when these are organized around unfamiliar

communicative patterns (Darder, 1991; Delpit, 1988; Heath, 1983; McLaren, 1989).

The instances of miscommunication and misevaluation cited in previous chapters did

not occur in all classrooms of non-Inuit teachers observed as part of this research.

Furthermore, examples of those individual educators to who had transformed their

instructional structures and practices toward patterns of interaction reminiscent of the forms of

discourse organization found in Inuit versus non-Inuit classrooms represented in the data

illustrate that students and teachers can develop shared resources that do not necessarily

stem from a shared language and cultural background. Instead, teachers and students can

build effective communicative interactions on the basis of openness, sensitivity, and respect

for cultural difference in the classroom. Such openness and cultural sensitivity, as well a

recognition of the important role of language as a transmitter of culture and cultural values

may aid teachers in understanding differences in communicative and interactional practices

that might otherwise lead to communicative difficulties between teachers and students

(Darder, 1991; Garcia, 1988; Giroux, 1985; McLaren, 1989).

The dialogical framework adopted in this research emphasizes the social construction

of knowledge through interaction not only to scrutinize the processes of schooling that serve

to promote and entrench the values and communicative practices associated with the

dominant culture in instructional interactions, but also to demonstrate how such processes

might be challenged and changed in order to reconstruct schooling in ways that legitimize

alternative perspectives on interaction and competence (Cummins, 1989; Garcia, 1988; Henze & Lucas, 1993; Osbourne, 1996). The findings of this research point to the essential role of individual educators in the building of effective educational practices for children and in transforming teaching into more collaborative relationships between teachers and students. The results also illustrate that the ways in which individual educators formulate and define their roles in the classroom can have a direct impact on the organization of interactional and communicative practices in instructional exchanges that either promote or hinder growth. Encouraging the critical examination of the cultural processes involved in learning and interaction allows individual educators to transform their own teaching practices toward forms of interaction that result in more positive and empowering experiences for the students in the classrooms. Such transformations of schooling have been observed to take place more easily in those contexts where educators recognize, affirm and incorporate students' language, culture, and experience into the school environment (Adler, 1993; Cummins, 1989; Darder, 1991; Garcia, 1988; Giroux, 1985; McLaren, 1989; Osbourne, 1966; Sleeter & Grant, 1994).

Theoretical Implications:
The Usefulness of Dialogical Frameworks for Promoting Effective Teaching and Learning in Classrooms

The present study extends dialogic theory to include instructional discourse, and illustrates the utility of such a framework for understanding the ways in which learning might be promoted or limited through the organization of discourse and interaction in classrooms. From a dialogical perspective, learning is seen as a fundamentally social process which is

accomplished in association with others through negotiation and collaboration rather than through the internalization of existing forms of knowledge which are presented to the learner by the teacher (Bakhtin, 1981; Linell, 1995; Shotter, 1992; Volosinov, 1973). Through encouraging discourse organization that promotes this interaction among multiple perspectives and points of view, the discourse contributions of individuals become frames of reference available to all participants, allowing for the reconstruction or modification of existing knowledge toward new meanings and understandings. Through such mutual interaction and discussion, learners become responsible for the shaping and development of their own as well as their peers knowledge in ways that would not be possible through participation structures where one member imposes a viewpoint or a perspective on others through monitoring and controlling the learning process. Indeed such exertion of power and authority over interaction might be interpreted as a way of 'monologizing' the learning process. Classrooms where teacher-student interaction is founded on such dialogical exchanges may have important implications for the enhancement of student learning and social development in schools. On the other hand, instructional interactions organized around traditional recitation style discourse and interaction patterns might be seen as limiting the possibilities for achieving these goals.

The emphasis on the social construction of communication and miscommunication as well as the central role of context in interpreting and understanding others' efforts at communication are clearly delineated through reference to the dialogical framework adopted in this research. Thus context is shown to play a central role in teaching and learning processes and is inseparable from social interaction. Context in communicative interaction is interpreted to include not only situational variables, but also cultural and socio-historical settings, communicative routines, background knowledge, assumptions and shared histories

of interlocutors (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Linell, 1995; Shotter, 1992; Volosinov, 1973). Thus context can be viewed as the shared understandings, knowledge and resources brought by participants to the communicative interaction. Results of the research illustrate the ways in which differing social and cultural contexts gave rise to variations in discourse organization and discourse competence in classrooms. Such variations originated from different underlying values regarding communication as well as differing resources available for use in communicative interaction across various cultural communities.

As shown through the present research, the interaction among elements of context has the potential to either facilitate or impede the educational exchanges that take place between teachers and students in classrooms. Thus context is not always a neutral field within which communication takes place, since discursive practices also serve to impose differential rights, opportunities, and truth regimes on the contributions of participants through the exertion of power relations in interaction (Bakhtin, 1981; Foucault, 1977, 1981; Linell, 1995; Lindstrom, 1992). Pre-existing discourses such as those imposed by recitation style teaching practices allow teacher to set limits and impose power and authority over talk. However, participants in communicative interaction can nevertheless evoke alternative or competing forms of discourse in order to either negotiate or resist certain power relations, a concept previously referred to as heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981). The high frequency of student use of Inuktitut in the classroom of Teacher 1 is particularly interesting in this regard, since this teacher was also one of the most consistent in discouraging L1 language use in the classroom and was also among the most traditional in her use of recitation style discourse structures and individual nominations of all the teachers who participated in the research. Examples of translated sequences from this classroom indicated that the use of Inuktitut in peer exchanges often contained instances of encouraging talk directed toward peers in order

to inspire them to continue to participate in the instructional exchange. While students in this classroom generally seemed to realize that interactions in the L1 would in all probability result in teacher reprimands, they nevertheless continued to provide each other with encouraging talk through the L1 within the teacher-led interaction. This use of the L1 might be seen as a form of resistance to teacher authority in the classroom or as a way of excluding the teacher from full participation in the shared meanings and understandings created between peers in the classroom. The use of Inuktitut in this situation might also be interpreted as a means of maintaining a proper cultural orientation in the classroom through a focus on students' helping each other in the face of heavy teacher demands regarding individual performance.

The findings of this study also have implications for an elaboration of factors that might be seen as contributing to variation in the development of forms of competence, and illustrate the importance of considering culture and context in definitions of competent and incompetent performance in classrooms. This is clearly represented through these data by the fact that students considered to be competent learners in the context of Inuit classrooms became viewed as incompetent in the context of non-Inuit teachers' communicative demands and interactional practices. Indeed, as the results of this study show, such forms of competence appear to be not only culturally specific but also in many cases classroom specific, since there was considerable variation between inexperienced and experienced Inuit and non-Inuit teachers in the ways in which talk and interaction were organized in the classroom. Interestingly, in their interviews non-Inuit teachers expressed their own feelings of inadequacy and sense of incompetence in the context of the community events and activities that took place outside of the school and which relied on Inuit cultural routines and communicative practices.

Inuit Schools of Quebec

It was hoped at the outset of this study that the results might provide information of practical use to the Kativik School Board in order to enable teachers, both Inuit and non-Inuit, to organize instructional interactions in ways that might preserve rather than erode the cultural values and traditions underlying Inuit society. In the paragraphs that follow, a number of observations relevant to teaching and learning in the Inuit schools of Quebec will be outlined.

First, the findings of this study indicate that both Inuit and non-Inuit L2 teachers had very little training in the sorts of activities and forms of interaction that currently inform the theory and practice of L2 teaching and learning. Non-Inuit L2 teachers were shown to rely heavily on traditional recitation style discourse organization with a strong emphasis on language form and accuracy in teaching the L2 to students in the classroom. While Inuit L2 teachers, who also had little formal training in such approaches, structured their interactions with students in ways that more closely resembled some of the principles and practices of communicative second language teaching, they nevertheless demonstrated certain tendencies in their discourse organization of elicitation sequences that were reminiscent of recitation style teaching. Both groups of teachers hired by the Kativik School Board may benefit from in-service training in current L2 teaching approaches that might provide them with information on current approaches and practices in communicative second language teaching as well as activities and practical suggestions that might permit them to incorporate these elements more effectively into their L2 language teaching. As mentioned previously, the literature on L2 pedagogy suggests that the incorporation of such activities and practices into L2 teaching and learning may have a positive effect on the development of L2 proficiency (Chaudron, 1988; Long, 1981; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Seliger, 1977; van Lier, 1988;

Wintergerst, 1994)

Second, findings from the study indicate a need to clarify the role of the L1 in teaching and learning in Inuit classrooms. As documented through teacher interviews, both of the Inuit L2 teachers insisted on the importance of the maintenance of the L1 as an important teaching goal, and both teachers used Inuktitut in their teaching, although the amount of their L1 use varied substantially. This finding is nevertheless an interesting one since all of the classrooms observed as part of this study were officially described as second language rather than bilingual in orientation. Thus it appears that the two Inuit L2 teachers utilized the L1 in their teaching based on their own initiatives, since this did not constitute an official policy on the part of the Kativik School Board. Within these classrooms, the use of Inuktitut covered a wide range of communicative functions, contrary to findings in other classrooms, where the use of the L1 was limited to procedural or managerial functions even in those classrooms officially described as bilingual (Bruck & Schultz, 1977; Guthrie, 1984; Legaretta, 1977; Strong, 1986; Wong-Fillmore, 1980). Inuktitut was also often used by the students in their interactions with both teachers and peers in these classrooms, while a small number of the non-Inuit L2 teachers also used Inuktitut for certain functions in the classroom.

The majority of non-Inuit L2 teachers on the other hand stressed the exclusive use of the L2 in the classroom, much like in the days of residential schooling when use of the L1 in school was forbidden. Indeed in many of these classrooms students were given few opportunities to express themselves freely in either language in the classroom. Non-Inuit L2 teacher's perceptions of such talk as threatening to authority, as critical of classroom activities or of the teacher, and indicative of a lack of attention to the lesson did little to promote students' L1 use in interactions in these classrooms.

The inclusion of students' first language(s) in the school program and within classroom

interactions appears to be an important variable in the development of positive educational

opportunities for language minority students (Adler, 1993; Cummins, 1989; Garcia, 1988;

Holm & Holm, 1990; Tharp et al, 1984). Emphasis on the promotion of bilingualism and

biculturalism in the classroom through activities that take advantage of students' home

language and cultural background have been shown to result in improved learning outcomes

and more positive learning experiences for students from linguistic minority backgrounds

(Adler, 1993; Cummins, 1989; Garcia, 1988; Sleeter & Grant, 1994). Observations and

analyses of instructional interactions in the classrooms of both of the Inuit L2 teachers indicate

that encouraging Inuit teachers to teach at the grade three level, the point at which students

switch from L1 to the L2 as the language of instruction, may be a very effective approach to

easing the transition into second language for these students. The Kativik School Board may

wish to encourage more Inuit teachers to consider teaching positions in the L2 at this

important transition point in the educational experience of Inuit children.

The studies cited above also show that only strong administrative and program

emphasis on native language use in the classroom contribute to the promotion of both

languages of instruction in the classroom and reduce the potential for the majority culture

language to take the dominant position in the culture of the school (Blair & Fredeen, 1995;

Cummins, 1981, 1989; Fishman, 1991; Guthrie, 1984; Legaretta, 1977; Taylor, 1990; Wong-

Fillmore, 1980). Thus the role of Inuktitut in teaching and learning in Inuit schools is an

important issue that needs to be clarified for both teachers and students who are currently

receiving mixed messages from Inuit and non-Inuit teachers regarding the importance or their

first language in the context of the school. Is Inuktitut "only for home and at recess, not for

school", the opinion expressed by a number of non-Inuit teacher participants, or is knowledge

of Inuktitut a valued skill that can be used in order to build L2 competence and proficiency, as

in the classrooms of the Inuit L2 teachers observed as part of this research? The answer to this question may have important ramifications for the maintenance and preservation of the heritage language in Inuit communities.

An important strength of the Kativik School Board's approach to the training of Inuit teachers is that this training takes place as much as possible in the local communities of Nunavik, and is often provided in Inuktitut by Inuit teachers and consultants. This way of organizing teacher education has allowed patterns of interaction and communication traditional to Inuit society to be maintained in the teaching practices and communicative patterns found in classrooms. Results of the present study show considerable variation in discourse patterns among Inuit teachers, indicating the influence of majority culture patterns and practices on the organization of interaction in classrooms. This variation may be indicative of the gradual replacement of some of these traditional patterns and practices in classroom communication. It may therefore be important to examine the implications of such discourse differences in order to decide on those patterns and communicative practices that Inuit community members would like to see maintained and encouraged through classroom interaction, as well as those that might be seen as less valued and appropriate for Inuit children. Practical suggestions could then be developed in order to promote these behaviours and skills through discourse and interaction in classrooms of both Inuit and non-Inuit teachers.

Finally, while concerns are often expressed within the KSB regarding the large number of inexperienced teachers hired to work in community schools, results of the present study indicate that, at least in regard to certain discourse features, some of these teachers more closely resembled Inuit L1 and L2 teachers than their experienced counterparts in their ways of organizing interaction in the classroom. Certain of these teachers were less controlling of

the talk than were experienced non-Inuit teachers, permitting students greater opportunities to contribute to and influence the classroom talk in ways that were reminiscent of Inuit communicative practices. Although these patterns were not consistent and are difficult to interpret, they nevertheless seem to indicate that it may be easier in certain respects for Inuit children to participate and interact in these classrooms than in the classrooms of experienced teachers. It is also possible, however, that this finding stems from the particular individuals who participated in the study.

Future Research

The present research did not examine learning outcomes that might be associated with the differences in discourse organization and interaction documented in this study. While the reduction of teacher control and authority in classrooms of Inuit L1, Inuit L2 and certain non-Inuit teachers did appear to influence the participation of the students in these classrooms and followed trends described in the literature as resulting in positive learning experiences and increased L2 proficiency for students, no actual evidence was collected as part of this study to support the increased effectiveness of these models of instruction over more traditional recitation-style interactions. Such measures of learning outcomes specifically related to the differing discourse contexts documented through this study would provide important empirical evidence regarding the effect of these discourse variations on the academic learning and second language performance of Inuit students.

The present research focused on one instructional participation structure, namely the teacher-led oral language lesson. Although other discourse contexts including small group activities, lessons revolving around literacy activities, math lessons, and one-on-one

instruction were observed in these classrooms, analyses were not conducted on the structures of discourse and interaction that characterized these forms of teaching and learning in Inuit classrooms. An analysis of the organization of interaction in these other instructional contexts as well as the amount of time spent on these forms of interaction in the classroom would provide further evidence in favour of cultural explanations for discourse differences across teacher groupings. Such an analysis would also provide information regarding the degree to which teacher-led lessons are indeed important and representative discourse contexts for learning in Inuit classrooms.

A longitudinal study of inexperienced non-Inuit teachers in Inuit communities would provide interesting insights into the development of syncretic teaching practices in cross-cultural contexts. An analysis of the accommodations and adaptations made by these teachers over time would allow further understanding of those factors that contribute to the cultural blending of instructional practices in classrooms, as well as a more detailed description of the aspects of discourse most influenced by such a blending and the potential effects of such practices for learners and for learning.

Finally, the analysis of discourse presented in this study has focused primarily on the discourse structures and patterns used by teachers in instructional interactions, with less emphasis placed on the forms and functions expressed in student talk in these classrooms. Further analysis of the range of communicative acts expressed by students in both teacher-directed and peer activities would provide interesting information on the situation of the learner in these classrooms. Examining such differences across classrooms within language-oriented as opposed to communication-oriented classrooms could provide important evidence in favour of the impact of discourse organization on learning in general and L2 proficiency in particular. Applying such observational frameworks as the COLT (Spada & Frohlich, 1995) to

the interactions that took place in these classrooms may help in sorting out issues related to form versus function in second language and cross cultural instructional contexts.

Conclusion

The discussion of instructional discourse in classrooms of Inuit and non-Inuit teachers and Inuit students serves as a backdrop to the understanding of children's socialization into different schooling processes and the ways in which children's learning and experience in one context and one educational setting may either prepare or fail to prepare them for appropriate participation in other contexts and interactions. Issues revolving around the similarities and differences between and across teachers, classrooms, and cultures are necessarily very complex, as are the instructional events and learning contexts encountered in classrooms. Nevertheless, results of the present study illustrate the ways in which culture can impact on the social context of teaching and learning, resulting in differences in the discourse and interaction patterns utilized to organize teaching in classrooms. In situations of cross-cultural contact, such differences in the organization of interaction between teachers and students in classrooms have the potential to encourage the development of adapted cultural practices reflecting accommodations to the learner, or to result in situations that represent problematic and difficult learning contexts for students. Thus, as illustrated in this study, individual teachers can either modify and transform instructional interactions in their classrooms in ways that take into account and acknowledge the skills and competencies of students, or exercise authority and control over students in ways that have the potential to lead to

miscommunication and the marginalization and exclusion of students from the learning process. The choice between these two alternatives appears to depend to a large extent on the willingness of individual educators to organize their instructional practices and communicative interactions around students' existing knowledge and the skills, experiences and competencies that students bring to communicative interactions. Such adjustments and adaptations to the organization of instructions and their associated discourse practices appear also to rely on a sensitivity and an awareness of the interaction among the social, cultural, communicative, institutional and historical influences within which children grow up and within which schools function, as well as the recognition that teachers themselves play an important role as transmitters of culture and agents of language socialization in schools. Thus while children in all schools and all cultures appear to learn different ways of going to school and to acquire the necessary forms of competence associated with these differing contexts as part of their educational experiences, differences in discourse organization and interaction may have facilitating or inhibiting effects on the instructional interactions that take place between teachers and students in situations of contact between two disparate languages and cultures. The impact of such differences in the organization of discourse and interaction has serious consequences for the self esteem and cultural identity of students from minority culture backgrounds in classrooms where previously acquired forms of competence are unrecognized by teachers.

The results of this study of social interaction between teachers and students in Inuit classrooms of Nunavik also provide insights into the complexity and diversity of schooling and the complex interrelationships between language and culture in the educational process. The analysis of the discourse of teaching and interaction from a dialogical perspective illustrates the ways in which language and context are used in order to construct and negotiate meaning

and promote learning among participants in classrooms. Such descriptions of the organization of language for communication have traditionally been used to examine the processes of teaching and learning in various contexts. These descriptions might also be used as sources of information in the evaluation of the effectiveness of the communicative practices and interaction patterns that constitute the context for learning, and may provide insights into the ways in which discourse practices might be modified or adapted to achieve more effective educational interactions between teachers and learners in classrooms.

Finally, the results of the study go a long way in clarifying the comment made by the Inuk pedagogical counsellor presented in the introductory chapter to this thesis, and helps to explain her pessimistic viewpoint that the local school in her community was not in fact representative of Inuit society. Fortunately, the analysis of the discourse and interaction patterns of individual educators documented in this research illustrate the potential for teachers to adjust their instructional discourse and interaction patterns toward more culturally congruous forms of interaction in classrooms. The contributions of individual teachers such as these to the local community schools in which they teach have the potential to lead to enhanced educational opportunities and increased access to learning for Inuit children, resulting in a more optimistic outlook on the future of education in Nunavik schools.

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APPENDIX A

Inuit L1 Teacher Characteristics

Teacher	Age	Grade Level	Years of Teaching Experience	Years of Formal Education	Level of Teacher Training
Teacher 1	23	Kindergarten	3	Secondary 1 French	3 courses
Teacher 2	24	Grade 1	1	Secondary 3 French	2 courses
Teacher 3	25	Grade 1	6	Secondary 3 French	certificate
Teacher 4	56	Grade 1	12	None	certificate
Teacher 5	24	Kindergarten	1	Secondary 2 English	2 courses
Teacher 6	32	Kindergarten	5	Secondary 3 English	7 courses

APPENDIX B

Description of Transcribed Sequences

@Filename: TEA1TAPE02
@Teacher Identification: Teacher 1
@Date: Nov-1992
@Language: English
@Situation: Grade 3 and 4 oral language lesson
@Time of day: Morning
@Number of students: 8

The activity consists of an oral language lesson in English on naming the parts of the body. Materials used include large colour picture cards of body parts, a wall display with body and body parts labelled in English is behind the teacher. The activity is organized as a bingo game with participants organized into two teams. Each correct answer allows the participant to place his/her marker on the bingo board. The first team to get three consecutive markers on the board wins. The bingo game is repeated 5 times during the activity. All participants are seated in a circle on the floor. Full class is present. Activity type: question-answer, repetition of full sentences using the form "This is a (body part)./It is a (body part)" in the target language. Segment length: 21 minutes.

@Filename: TEA2TAPE01
@Teacher Identification: Teacher 2
@Date: NOV-1992
@Language: French
@Situation: Grade 3 French oral language class
@Time of Day: Morning
@Number of students: 6

In the first segment teacher and students perform a role-playing exercise using a pre-established dialogue to practice using greetings and introductions in combination with the names of various locations in the community. Teacher models the dialogue with each student, then students and teacher exchange roles in the dialogue to practice both parts. Materials used are black and white hand-drawn pictures of various locations in the community. Segment length: 9 minutes.

In the second segment teacher and students practice naming and describing the sounds made by various common animals. Teacher and students exchange roles in the asking and answering of questions. Materials used are black and white hand drawn pictures of animals. Both segments take place with students and teachers seated on chairs in a circle. Activity type: question-answer, repetition of full sentences using the forms "Qu'est ce que c'est? C'est un/une (animal). Qu'est-ce que ça fait? Ca fait (animal sound)." in the target language. Only

grade 3 students are present. Segment length: 12 minutes.

@Filename: TEA3TAPE01
@Teacher Identification: Teacher 3
@Date: FEB-1993
@Language: English
@Situation: Grade 3 oral language class
@Time of day: Afternoon
@Number of students: 2

The activity is an oral language lesson in English on naming clothing items using a teacher-made game. Materials used include board game with small pictures of clothing items, die, point cards. Students role a die and move along a game board. When they land on a space containing the picture of an item of clothing they must make a sentence using that vocabulary item. If the sentence is correctly formulated, the student takes a point card. At the end of the game, the student with the most points is the winner. The game is played three times. With each consecutive game students are required to make more complex sentences, including colour of clothing items or where on the body it is worn. Game is played with all participants seated on the floor. Activity type: question answer, repetition of full sentences using the forms "It is a (item). It is a (colour)(item). I wear a (item) on my (body part) in the target language. Only grade 3 students participate in the activity. Grade 5 students are present in the classroom completing an independent writing assignment. Teacher occasionally shifts attention to the Grade 5 students during the activity. Segment length: 22 minutes.

@Filename: TEA4TAPE02
@Teacher Identification: Teacher 4
@Date: FEB-1993
@Language: French
@Situation: Grade 3 French language class
@Time of day: Morning
@Number of students: 5

The activity is an oral language lesson on classroom-related vocabulary items and their spelling through playing a card game similar to Go Fish. All participants are seated in a circle on the floor. Students must match the picture card to its proper word card. Materials used are small black and white hand-drawn picture cards with matching word cards. All cards are divided among participants at the outset. Each individual student takes a turn identifying a picture card from their hand. All students then search in their hand to find the corresponding word card. The two matching cards are placed in the center of the circle for all participants to see. Only grade 3 students participate in the activity. Grade 4 students are working on individual seat work in the classroom. Teacher occasionally shifts attention to the Grade 4 students during the activity. Activity type: question answer, repetition of full sentences using the forms "C'est un/une (classroom item) and spelling of these vocabulary

items. Segment length: 20 minutes.

@Filename:	TEA5TAPE01
@Teacher Identification:	Teacher 5
@Date:	FEB-1993
@Language:	French
@Situation:	Grade 3 class oral language lesson
@Number of students:	16

In segment one students play a game in which the teacher says a sentence using vocabulary items referring to animals and two students step onto a large square containing a pciture of the vocabulary item and repeat the sentence. Materials used are large cardboard squares with small black and white hand-drawn pictures of each animal represented on two separate cardboard squares and placed on the floor. All participants are seated on the floor around the area covered by the cardboard squares unless nominated to play by the teacher. Activity type: receptive identification of vocabulary items, repetition of full sentences using the forms "C'est un/une (animal). (Name) voit le/la (animal). (Name) tue le/la (animal). Segment length: 13 minutes.

In segment 2 the teacher asks students questions about the concept greater than/less than and devises oral problems involving addition and subtraction. This segment was selected as there were no other sequences that fit the selection criteria that were expressly identified as oral language lessons on the teacher's lesson plan book. This teacher tended to organize language lessons in cooperative learning centers. Materials used included student notebooks, individual student number lines, and blackboard. This segment took place with all participants seated at their tables and the teacher positioned at the black board. Activity type: number identification and repetition routine. Segment length: 8 minutes.

@Filename:	TEA6TAPE02
@Teacher Identification:	Teacher 6
@Date:	JAN-1993
@Language:	French
@Situation:	Grade 3 French oral language lesson
@Time:	Afternoon
@Number of students:	segment 1=9, segment 2=14

The activity in segment one takes place with students and teacher sitting in a circle on the floor. Only grade 3 students are present. Teacher asks students to identify black and white hand-drawn pictures of random objects hanging on the wall, and then the students read the same words from their French readers. Materials used are pictures and individual student

readers. Activity types: Question answer, repetition of full sentences using the forms "Qu'est ce que c'est?/C'est un/une (object). Segment length: 10 minutes.

In segment two, teacher and grade 3 and 4 students play a fishing game involving the vocabulary for body parts. Picture cards of vocabulary items are distributed among all the participants. The teacher then names the body parts and the student holding the card is expected to identify the vocabulary item. Items are sorted into two baskets, one for grade three and one for grade four students. Materials used are small black and white hand-drawn pictures of body parts with a paper clip attached to each, two baskets, and fishing rods consisting of metre sticks with magnets attached to the end of a cord. The students take turns fishing for and identifying the item selected. Activity type: receptive identification of vocabulary, repetition of full sentences using the form "C'est un/une (body part). Segment length: 12 minutes.

@Filename:	TEA7TAPE01
@Teacher Identification:	Teacher 7
@Date:	JAN-1993
@Language:	English
@Situation:	Grade 3 English oral language lesson
@Time:	Segment 1-morning, Segment 2 afternoon
@Number of students:	12

The activity in segment one takes place with students and teacher seated in a group on the floor, identifying small pictures of vegetables. Materials used include small black and white hand-drawn pictures and corresponding written word on small cards. All students are present. Activity type: expressive identification of vocabulary items. Segment length: 5 minutes.

Segment two takes place in the afternoon. The teacher and students are seated on the floor reading and then reciting a short song about foods written on large chart paper. They then go on to identify vocabulary items and short expressions depicted on small picture cards which are matched to small hand-written word cards. Upon completion of this activity students read a short story incorporating these words in their readers. All students are present. Materials used are small black and white hand-drawn pictures cards of vocabulary items, corresponding word cards, and student readers. Activity type: repetition routine, expressive identification of vocabulary items and short expressions, reading. Segment length: 16 minutes.

@Filename:	TEA801
@Teacher Identification:	Teacher 8
@Date:	MAY-1995
@Language:	English, Inuktitut
@Situation:	Grade 2 English oral language lesson
@Time of day:	Morning
@Number of students:	12

The activity is an oral language lesson on the five senses. The activity takes place with students seated at their desks and the teacher and teacher aide rotating around the classroom. The lesson involves a discussion and review of the names of the five senses, followed by an activity where students must use their senses to identify objects presented by the teacher. Students then classify the objects according to the sense used to identify it on a worksheet. Materials used include large hanging representations of the five senses, objects for identification, and student worksheets. Activity type: discussion, expressive identification of senses and objects used in activity, classification, spelling of object names used in activity. Activity length: 42 minutes. Segment length: 20 minutes.

APPENDIX C

Interview Questions

Background information: personal educational history
                                    teacher training
                                    courses in L2 pedagogy
                                    courses in cross-cultural education
                                    previous teaching experience

1.   What do you think is the most important thing that needs to be taught at school?

2.   What values do you stress in your teaching?

3.   How do you deal with children who are having trouble learning in the classroom?

4.   How do you deal with children who are misbehaving in the classroom?

5.   How would you describe a top student in your classroom?

6.   How would you describe a poor student in your classroom?

7.   How do you plan and organize your lessons?

8.   How can you tell if students are learning well?

9.   Have you ever observed in an Inuk/Qallunaat teacher's classroom? If so, how would you describe what you observed?

10.   Who do you go to for advice on teaching?

11.   Is there anything you would like to know more about in order to do your job better?

12.   What would be your advice to a new teacher in your school?

For non-Inuit teachers:

13.   What was your biggest adjustment to northern teaching and living?

14.   What did you find to be the biggest surprises about teaching and living in the north?

15.   Describe some high points in your experience living and teaching in a northern community.

16. Describe some problems you have experienced living and teaching in the north.

17. Have you developed any strategies that you find particularly effective for teaching Inuit children?

APPENDIX D

Sample Tape Log

Tape label: TEA2TAPE01
Place: Grade 3 French, Community of XXX
Date: November, 1992
Time: 9:30 to 10:40
Mood: Teacher and students all seem relaxed, used to the taping. The presence of the camera does not seem to be affecting the interactions.

Activities: oral language-vocabulary of places in the village
dialogues ["Bonjour, Comment ça va"].
Hangman game on blackboard
vocabulary game on floor

Difficulties: Not possible to get running time on tape.

Present: 6 students

Comments: Grade 3 only involved in first two activities while grade 4 went out for Inuktitut language. Last two activities involved students in both grades. The two activities with grade 3 only may be possibilities for transcription. Compare with tomorrow's tape.

APPENDIX E

Tables

Table 5

Percentage of Talk of Teachers and Students in the Classroom

Classroom	Teacher Utterances	Student Utterances
Inuit L1 n=2189	1074 49.06%	1115 50.94
Inuit L2 n=1592	904 56.78%	688 43.22%
non-Inuit L2 n=2941	1768 60.12%	1173 39.88%

Note. See Figure 2.

Table 6

Percentage of Teacher Discourse Sequences in Teacher-Directed Lessons

Teacher	Managing the Activity	Informative Sequences	Elicitation Sequences	Responses to Student Elicitation	Control Behaviour	Unrelated Talk	Checking In
Inuit L1 n=534	57 11.29%	95 18.81%	303 60.0%	48 9.50%	29 5.43%	2 0.40%	0
Inuit L2 n=332	38 11.69%	48 14.80%	181 55.69%	15 4.62%	7 2.11%	1 0.31%	42 12.92%
non-Inuit L2 n=450	86 19.82%	33 7.60%	303 69.82%	10 2.30%	16 3.56%	2 0.46%	0

Note. See Figure 3.

Table 7

Percentage of Three Types of Teacher Initiation Acts

Classroom	Elicitation	Informative	Directive
Inuit L1 n=721	378 52.43%	172 23.86%	171 23.72%
Inuit L2 n=585	299 51.11%	143 24.44%	143 24.44%
non-Inuit L2 n=983	627 63.78%	181 18.41%	175 17.80%
Mehan n=480	363 75.62%	89 18.54%	28 5.83%

Note. See Figure 4.

Table 8

Percentage of Verbal versus Non-verbal Elicitations

Classroom	Verbal Elicitations	Non-verbal Elicitations
Inuit L1 n=378	321 84.92%	57 15.08%
Inuit L2 n=299	220 73.58%	79 26.42%
non-Inuit L2 n=627	596 95.06%	31 4.94%

Note. See Figure 5.

Table 9

Percentage of Student Initiation Acts Directed to Teachers versus Peers

Classroom	To Teacher	To Students
Inuit L1 n=306	161 52.61%	145 47.39%
Inuit L2 n=105	75 71.43%	30 28.57%
non-Inuit L2 n=251	168 66.93%	83 33.07%
Mehan n=110	not reported	not reported

Note. See Figure 6.

Table 10.

Percentage of Teacher versus Student-Initiated Sequences

Classroom	Teacher- Initiated	Student- Initiated
Inuit L1 n=1027	721 70.20%	306 29.80%
Inuit L2 TEAs n=690	585 84.78%	105 15.22%
non-Inuit L2 n=1234	983 79.66%	251 20.34%
Mehan n=590	480 81.10%	110 18.90%

Note. See Figure 7.

Table 11

Percentage of Teacher Responses to Student Initiations

Classroom	Incorporated	Acknowledged	Ignored	Reprimanded
Inuit L1 n=161	26[a] 16.15%	67[b] 41.61%	68[c] 42.24%	0
Inuit L2 n=75	5 6.67%	53 70.67%	15 20.00%	2 2.67%
non-Inuit L2 n=86	4 4.65%	40 46.51%	34 39.53%	8 20.00%
Mehan [n not available]	12.09%	40.00%	40.39%	5.48%

Note. [a] this value represents a decrease of 3.24% from results reported in Eriks-Brophy (1992) due to more stringent criteria [b] this value represents an increase of 1.61% from previous results

[c] this value represents an increase of 1.63% from previous results. See Figure 8.

Table 12

Percentage of Total Inuit L2 Teacher Utterances in Inuktitut

Classroom	Percentage of Total Teacher Utterances in L1
Teacher 7	14/239 5.86%
Teacher 8	159/665 23.91%

Note. See Figure 9.

Table 13

Percentage of L1 Utterances Across Various Communicative Functions

in the classrooms of Teacher 7 and Teacher 8.

Teacher Act n=173	Percentage
Directive	49 28.32%
Elicitation	48 27.75%
Informative	31 17.92%
Evaluation and Correction	16 9.25%
Response	12 6.94%
Check-in	6 3.47%
Managing the activity	4 2.31%
Unrelated Talk	3 1.73%
False Start	1 0.58%
Tease	1 0.58%
Request Acknowledgement	1 0.58%
Uncodable	2 1.16%

Note. See Figure 10.

Table 14

Percentage of Student L1 Use in the Classrooms of Individual Teachers

Classroom	Student Utterances in L1
Teacher 1	54/163 33.13%
Teacher 2	32/350 9.14%
Teacher 3	2/174 1.15%
Teacher 4	3/124 2.42%
Teacher 5	21/239 8.79%
Teacher 6	3/123 2.44%
Teacher 7	3/171 1.75%
Teacher 8	108/517 20.89%

Note. See Figure 11.

Table 15

Percentage of Student Initiations to Teachers as a Function of Language

Classroom	Student Initiations in L1	Student Initiations in L2
Inuit L2 n=75	27 36.0%	48 64.0%
Non-Inuit L2 n=168	11 6.55%	157 93.45%

Note. See Figure 12.

Table 16

Percentage of Three Types of Nomination Format

Classroom	Individual	Group	Bids
Inuit L1 n=540	145 26.85%	395 73.15%	0
Inuit L2 n=471	87 18.47%	384 81.53%	0
non-Inuit L2 n=926	533 57.56%	393 42.44%	0
Mehan n=391	215 54.99%	135 34.53%	41 10.49%

Note. See Figure 13.

Table 17

Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR Routines as a Function of Overall Teacher Discourse

Sequences

Teacher	IRE/extended	IRe/extended	IR
Inuit L1 n=534	45 8.43%	63 11.80%	195 36.52%
Inuit L2 n=332	60 18.07%	32 9.64%	89 26.81%
non-Inuit L2 n=450	186 41.33%	50 11.11%	67 14.89%
Mehan	53%	not reported	not reported

Note. See Figure 14.

Table 18

Percentage of Use of IRE, IRe and IR Routines as a Function of Total Teacher Elicitation

Sequences

Teacher	IRE/extended	IRe/extended	IR
Inuit L1	45	63	195
n=303	14.85%	20.79%	64.36%
Inuit L2	60	32	89
n=181	33.15%	17.68%	49.17%
Non-Inuit L2	186	50	67
n=303	61.39%	16.50%	22.11%

Note. See Figure 15.

Table 19

Percentage of Teacher Initiation Acts Evaluated

Classroom	Percentage of Total Teacher Initiation Acts Evaluated
Inuit L1	191
n=721	26.49%
Inuit L2	151
n=585	25.81%
non-Inuit L2	384
n=983	39.06%

Note. See Figure 16.

Table 20

Percentage of Direct versus Indirect Evaluation and Correction

Classroom	Direct Evaluation/Correction	Indirect Evaluation/Correction
Inuit L1 n=191	77 40.31%	114 59.69%
Inuit L2 n=151	80 52.98%	71 47.02%
non-Inuit L2 n=384	263 68.48%	121 31.51%

Note. See Figure 17.

Table 21

Percentage of Forms of Evaluative and Corrective Feedback in Inuit L1, Inuit L2, and non-Inuit

L2 Classrooms

Group	Direct	Repetition	Non-verbal	Recast[a]	Elicitation[b]	Request Clarification/ Acknowledgement	Other[c]
Inuit L1 n=191	77 40.31%	59 30.89%	0	21 10.99%	0	34 17.80%	0
Inuit L2 n=151	80 52.98%	43 28.48%	9 5.96%	13 8.61%	3 1.99%	2 1.32	1 0.66 %
non-Inuit L2 n=384	263 68.48%	53 13.80%	0	36 9.38%	23 5.99%	4 1.04%	5 1.30 %

Note. [a] includes expansions, modifications, and elaborations of student utterances[b] includes

elicitations of full sentence responses; [c] includes directives, exclamations, teases. See Figure

18.

Table 22

Percentage of Teacher and Student Talk as a Function of Teacher

Experience

Classroom	Teacher Utterances	Student Utterances
Experienced Inuit L1 n=1350	670 49.63%	680 50.37%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=839	404 48.15%	680 51.85%
Inuit L2 n=1592	904 56.78%	688 43.22%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=1336	850 63.62%	486 36.38%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=1605	918 57.20%	687 42.80%

Note. See Figure 19.

Table 23

The Effect of Experience on the Percentage of Teacher Discourse

Sequences in Teacher-Directed Lessons

Classroom	Managing the Activity	Informative Sequences	Elicitation Sequences	Response to Student Elicitation	Control Behaviour
Experienced Inuit L1 n=339	31 9.14%	66 19.47%	204 60.18%	35 10.32%	1 0.29%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=195	26 13.33%	29 14.87%	99 50.77%	13 6.67%	28 14.36%
Inuit L2 n=332	38 11.45%	48 14.45%	181 54.52%	15 4.52%	7 2.11%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=219	34 15.53%	14 6.39%	165 75.34%	0	5 2.28%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=450	52 22.51%	19 8.23%	138 59.74%	10 4.32%	11 4.76%

Note. See Figure 20.

Table 24

<u>Percentage of Teacher Initiation Acts As a Function of Teacher Experience</u>

Classroom	Elicitation	Informative	Directive
Experienced Inuit L1 n=458	256 55.90%	125 27.29%	77 16.81%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=263	122 46.39%	47 17.87%	94 35.74%
Inuit L2 n=585	299 51.11%	143 24.44%	143 24.44%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=456	318 69.74%	84 18.42%	54 11.84%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=527	309 58.63%	97 18.41%	121 22.96%
Mehan n=480	363 75.62%	89 18.54%	28 5.83%

<u>Note.</u> See Figure 21.

Table 25

Percentage of Three Types of Nomination Format as Function of Teacher

Experience

Classroom	Individual	Group	Bids
Experienced Inuit L1 n=338	33 9.76%	305 90.24%	0
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=202	112 55.45%	90 44.55%	0
Inuit L2 TEAs n=471	87 18.47%	384 81.53%	0
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=457	173 37.86%	284 62.14%	0
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=469	360 76.76%	109 23.24%	0
Mehan n=391	215 54.99%	135 34.53%	41 10.49%

Note. See Figure 22.

Table 26

Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR Routines as Function of Teacher Experience

Classroom	RE/Extended	IRe/Extended	IR
Experienced Inuit L1 n=204	30 14.71%	41 20.10%	133 65.20%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=99	15 15.15%	22 22.22%	62 62.63%
Inuit L2 n=181	60 33.15%	32 17.68%	89 49.17%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=165	86 52.12%	20 12.12%	59 35.76%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=138	100 72.46%	30 21.74%	8 5.80%

Note. See Figure 23.

Table 27

Percentage of Evaluation and Correction within Teacher Initiation Acts as a Function of Teacher

Experience

Classroom	Percentage
Experienced Inuit L1 n=458	111 24.23%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=263	80 30.42%
Inuit L2 n=585	151 25.81%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=456	177 38.82%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=527	207 39.28%

Note. See Figure 24.

Table 28

<u>Percentage of Direct versus Indirect Evaluation and Correction as a Function of Teacher</u>

<u>Experience</u>

Classroom	Direct Evaluation/ Correction	Indirect Evaluation/ Correction
Experienced Inuit L1 n=111	49 44.14%	62 55.86%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=80	28 35.00%	52 65.00%
Inuit L2 n=151	80 52.98%	71 47.02%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=177	115 64.97%	62 35.03%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=207	148 71.50%	59 28.50%

<u>Note.</u> See Figure 25.

Table 29

Percentage of Various Forms of Evaluative and Corrective Feedback as a Function of Teacher

Experience

Classroom	Direct	Repetition	Non-verbal	Recast	Elicitation	Request Acknow-ledgement	Other
Experienced Inuit L1 n=111	49 44.14	34 30.63	0	6 5.40	0	22 19.82	0
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=80	28 35.00	25 31.25	0	15 18.75	0	12 15.0	0
Inuit L2 n=151	80 52.98	43 28.48	9 5.96	13 8.61	3 1.99	2 1.32	1 0.66
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=177	115 64.97	25 14.12	0	20 11.30	11 6.21	3 1.69	3 1.69
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=207	148 71.50	28 13.53	0	16 7.73	12 5.80	1 0.48	2 0.97

Note. See Figure 26.

Table 30

Percentage of Teacher versus Student-Initiated Sequences as a Function of Teacher Experience

Classroom	Teacher Initiated	Student Initiated
Experienced Inuit L1 n=622	458 73.63%	164 26.37%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=405	263 64.94%	142 35.06%
Inuit L2 n=690	585 84.78%	105 15.22%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=537	456 84.92%	81 15.08%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=697	527 75.61%	170 24.39%
Mehan n=590	480 81.10%	110 18.90%

Note. See Figure 27.

Table 31

Percentage of Student Initiation Acts Directed to Teachers versus Peers as a Function of

Experience

Classroom	To Teacher	To Student
Experienced Inuit L1 n=164	104 63.41%	60 36.59%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=142	57 40.14%	85 59.86%
Inuit L2 n=105	75 71.43%	30 28.57%
Experienced non-Inuit L1 n=81	68 83.95%	13 16.05%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=170	100 58.82%	70 41.18%

Note. See Figure 28.

Table 32

Percentage of Teacher Response to Student Initiations as a Function of Experience

Classroom	Incorporated	Acknowledged	Ignored	Reprimanded
Experienced Inuit L1 n=104	22 21.15%	42 40.38%	40 38.46%	0
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=57	4 7.02%	25 43.86%	28 49.12%	0
Inuit L2 n=75	5 6.67%	53 70.67%	15 20.00%	2 2.67%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=68	2 2.94%	19 27.94%	43 68.24%	4 5.88%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=100	2 2.0%	39 39.0%	39 39.0%	20 20.0%
Mehan [n not available]	12.09%	40.00%	40.39%	5.48%

Note. See Figure 29.

Table 33

Percentage of Teacher Utterances Pertaining to The Opening Phase of

Lesson Organization For Teacher 8 and Other Teachers

Classroom	Managing the Activity
Experienced Inuit L1 n=339	31 9.14%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=195	26 13.33%
Teacher 7 n=102	10 9.80
Teacher 8 n=230	28 18.26
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=219	34 15.53%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=450	52 22.51%

Note. See Figure 30.

Table 34

Percentage of IRE, Ire and IR Routines for Teacher 8 and Other Teachers

Classroom	IRE/Extended	IRe/Extended	IR
Experienced Inuit L1 n=204	30 14.71%	41 20.10%	133 65.20%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=99	15 15.15%	22 22.22%	62 62.63%
Teacher 7 n=86	21 24.42%	23 26.74%	42 48.84%
Teacher 8 n=95	39 41.05%	9 9.47%	47 49.47%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=165	86 52.12%	20 12.12%	59 35.76%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=138	100 72.46%	30 21.74%	8 5.80%

Note. See Figure 31.

Table 35

Percentage of Nomination Format for Teacher 8 and Other Teachers

Classroom	Individual	Group	Bids
Experienced Inuit L1 n=338	33 9.76%	305 90.24%	0
Inexperienced Inuit L1 m= 202	112 55.45%	90 44.55%	0
Teacher 7 n=125	6 4.80%	119 95.20%	0
Teacher 8 n=346	81 23.41%	265 76.59%	0
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=457	173 37.86%	284 62.14%	0
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=469	360 76.76%	109 23.24%	0
Mehan n=391	215 54.99%	135 34.53%	41 10.49%

Note. See Figure 32.

Table 36

Percentage of Teacher Response to Student Initiations for Teacher 8 and Other Teachers

Classroom	Incorporated	Acknowledged	Ignored	Reprimanded
Experienced Inuit L1 n=104	22 21.15%	42 40.38%	40 38.46%	0
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=57	4 7.02%	25 43.86%	28 49.12%	0
Inuit L2 n=75	5 6.67%	53 70.67%	15 20.00%	2 2.67%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=68	2 2.94%	19 27.94%	43 68.24%	4 5.88%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=100	2 2.0%	39 39.0%	39 39.0%	20 20.0%
Mehan [n not available]	12.09%	40.00%	40.39%	5.48%

Note. See Figure 33.

Table 37

Percentage of Teacher Response to Student Initiations for Teacher 5 and other Teachers

Classroom	Incorporated	Acknowledged	Ignored	Reprimanded
Experienced Inuit L1 n=104	22 21.15%	42 40.38%	40 38.46%	0
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=57	4 7.02%	25 43.86%	28 49.12%	0
Inuit L2 n=75	5 6.67%	53 70.67%	15 20.00%	2 2.67%
Experienced non-Inuit L2[a] n=49	0	13 26.53%	32 65.31%	4 5.88%
Teacher 5 n=19	2 10.53%	6 31.58%	11 57.89%	0
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=100	2 2.0%	39 39.0%	39 39.0%	20 20.0%
Mehan [n not available]	12.09%	40.00%	40.39%	5.48%

Note. [a] with data from Teacher 5 removed. See Figure 34.

Table 38

Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR Routines for Teacher 5 and Other Teachers

Classroom	IRE/Extended	IRe/Extended	IR
Experienced Inuit L1 n=204	30 14.71%	41 20.10%	133 65.20%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=99	15 15.15%	22 22.22%	62 62.63%
Inuit L2 n=181	60 33.15%	32 17.68%	89 49.17%
Experienced non-Inuit L2[a] n=91	67 73.63%	13 14.29%	11 12.09%
Teacher 5 n=74	19 25.68%	7 9.46%	48 64.86%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=138	100 72.46%	30 21.74%	8 5.80%

Note. [a] with data from Teacher 5 removed. See Figure 35.

Table 39

Percentage of Evaluation and Correction as Percentage of Teacher Initiation Acts for Teacher 5 and

 Other Teachers

Classroom	Percentage
Experienced Inuit L1 n=458	111 24.23%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=263	80 30.42%
Inuit L2 n=585	151 25.81%
Experienced non-Inuit L2[a] n=255	144 56.47%
Teacher 5 n=201	33 16.42%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=527	207 39.28%

Note. [a] with data from Teacher 5 removed. See Figure 36.

Table 40

Percentage of Teacher versus student utterances in the classroom of Teacher 2 and other teachers

Classroom	Teacher Utterances	Student Utterances
Experienced Inuit L1 n=1350	670 49.63%	680 50.37%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=839	404 48.15%	680 51.85%
Inuit L2 n=1592	904 56.78%	688 43.22%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=1336	850 63.62%	486 36.38%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2[a] n=929	592 63.72%	337 36.28%
Teacher 2 n=676	326 48.22%	350 51.78%

Note. [a] with data from Teacher 2 removed. See Figure 37.

Table 41

Percentage of IRE, IRe and IR Routines of Teacher 2 and Other Teachers

Classroom	IRE/Extended	IRe/Extended	IR
Experienced Inuit L1 n=204	30 14.71%	41 20.10%	133 65.20%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=99	15 15.15%	22 22.22%	62 62.63%
Inuit L2 n=181	60 33.15%	32 17.68%	89 49.17%
Experienced non-Inuit L2[a] n=165	86 52.12%	20 12.12%	59 35.76%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2 n=78	100 82.05%	14 17.95%	0
Teacher 2 n=60	36 60.00%	16 26.67%	8 13.33%

Note. [a] with data from Teacher 2 removed. See Figure 38.

Table 42

Percentage of Direct versus Indirect Evaluation and Correction for Teacher 2 and Other Teachers

Classroom	Direct Evaluation/Correction	Indirect Evaluation/Correction
Experienced Inuit L1 n=111	49 44.14%	62 55.86%
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=80	28 35.00%	52 65.00%
Inuit L2 n=151	80 52.98%	71 47.02%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=177	115 64.97%	62 35.03%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2[a] n=132	103 78.03%	29 21.97%
Teacher 2 n=75	45 60.00%	30 40.00%

Note. [a] with data from Teacher 2 removed. See Figure 39.

Table 43

Percentage of Nomination Format of Teacher 2 and Other Teachers

Classroom	Individual	Group	Bids
Experienced Inuit L1 n=338	33 9.76%	305 90.24%	0
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=202	112 55.45%	90 44.55%	0
Inuit L2 n=471	87 18.47%	384 81.53%	0
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=457	173 37.86%	284 62.14%	0
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2[a] n=336	296 88.10%	40 11.90%	0
Teacher 2 n=133	64 48.12%	69 51.88%	0
Mehan n=391	215 54.99%	135 34.53%	41 10.49%

Note. [a] with data from Teacher 2 removed. See Figure 40.

Table 44

Percentage of Teacher Response to Student Initiations for Teacher 2 and Other Teachers

Classroom	Incorporate	Acknowledge	Ignore	Reprimand
Experienced Inuit L1 n=104	22 21.15%	42 40.38%	40 38.46%	0
Inexperienced Inuit L1 n=57	4 7.02%	25 43.86%	28 49.12%	0
Inuit L2 n=75	5 6.67%	53 70.67%	15 20.00%	2 2.67%
Experienced non-Inuit L2 n=68	2 2.94%	19 27.94%	43 68.24%	4 5.88%
Inexperienced non-Inuit L2[a] n=46	0	14 30.43%	17 36.96%	15 32.61%
Teacher 2 n=54	2 3.70%	25 46.30%	22 40.74%	5 9.26%
Mehan [n not available]	12.09%	40.00%	40.39%	5.48%

Note. [a] with data from Teacher 2 removed. See Figure 41.

APPENDIX F

Coding Manual

CODING MANUAL

ABORIGINAL CLASSROOM DISCOURSE AND INTERACTION

Coding system developed by	Alice Eriks-Brophy
Coding definitions by	Alice Eriks-Brophy Diane Pesco Marlene Desjardins

CODING MANUAL
ABORIGINAL CLASSROOM DISCOURSE AND INTERACTION

The coding system described in this manual has been developed to represent and analyze the structure and form of the discourse that occurs in Aboriginal classrooms. The intent of the coding system is to be able to capture features of instructional discourse that might illustrate differences in the organization of teaching-learning conversations and interactions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers.

The coding system was designed to with two general purposes in mind:

1. to reflect general features of instructional discourse including utterance form, communicative intention of utterances within discourse, and the structure of turn allocation and turn-taking procedures that take place in classroom contexts, and

2. to reflect features of classroom discourse that appear to be specific to the instructional interactions of Aboriginal teachers and students.

Sources of Codes Used in the Analysis of Classroom Discourse

The individual codes developed to describe classroom discourse in this project stem from a number of different sources. These include:

1.   a manuscript coding manual developed by Susan Ervin Tripp and Lily Wong Filmore (1988) to analyze bilingual classroom interactions

2.   information contained in Hugh Mehan's (1979) classic work entitled Learning Lessons, that examined the structure of lessons in one 'mainstream' elementary classroom

3.   features of classroom discourse and interactions of research examining the classroom interactions of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers teaching Aboriginal students, including Susan Philip's (1983) book entitled Invisible Culture, Frederick Erickson and Gerald Mohatt's (1982) article on participation structures in two classrooms of Aboriginal students, and Jerry Lipka's (1991) case study of a Yu'pik teacher

4.   the data itself.

An Introduction and Overview of the Transcription and Coding System Developed for Aboriginal Classroom Discourse

Utterances have been transcribed according to the conventions of the CHAT transcription system of the CHILDES data base developed by MacWhinney and Snow (1990). To date, there have been few attempts to adapt the CHILDES database to the analysis of classroom discourse.

In the initial transcription phase, information contained in utterances were transcribed onto three main tiers: the utterance itself was identified on the main speaker tier, the addressee of the utterance was identified on the %add tier, and any situational information relevant to the analysis was identified on the %sit tier. Both main speaker and addressee tiers were obligatory tiers in the transcription process, while the situational tier was used as needed to describe the ongoing events occurring within the classroom. When required, translations from other languages into English were represented on a separate %eng tier.

Main Speaker Tiers

According to CHAT conventions, all main speaker tiers begin with the *symbol. Rather than attempting to deal with the names of each individual speaker in the classroom context, main speaker tiers in the classroom transcripts have been reduced to a total of three possibilities: *TEA for teacher, *STU for an individual student, and *STS for a number of students responding together. While this has resulted in some loss of specificity in the overall transcript, it has made the job of transcribing immeasurably easier, especially in those classrooms with a large student population. The consequence of this simplification is that coding must be done while simultaneously watching the appropriate videotaped segment in order to properly code the turn taking information contained in the %exi or exchange information tier.

Addressee Tiers

Information as to the addressee of the utterance is contained on an obligatory %add tier. This information is essential to the accurate coding of turn taking structure in the interactions.

Situational Information

Situational information is contained on an optional %sit tier. Information contained on this tier is helpful in interpreting the intent of main tier utterances.

A Note on the Use of [$] in the Coding System

A [$] precedes all of the codes in this manual in order to facilitate the use of the CHILDES

CLAN programs that allow for the simultaneous tracking of sequences of interactional codes on separate tiers.

CODING CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

In the coding system described in this manual, all utterances (with the single exception of Unrelated Talk noted below) are coded at two obligatory levels, while some utterances carry three levels of coding. The two obligatory codes are the communicative act (%cat) and the exchange information (%exi) tiers. Use of the optional nomination (%nom) tier depends on the structure of the %cat tier. Descriptions of each coding tier and definitions of codes to be used within these categories follow.

Utterances coded as **Unrelated talk** on the %cat tier receive no further levels of coding. This allows the total utterances coded as unrelated talk to be calculated but excludes them from any further levels of analysis.

Communicative Act (%cat) Coding Tiers

The first coding tier is the **%cat or communicative act** coding tier. This is an obligatory tier for all utterances. It is used to code the form and intent of the communicative act at the level of the utterance. There are a total of 25 possible %cat codes, each of which is defined in the section entitled 'Communicative Act (%cat) Codes'.

In some cases, a single code may not be sufficient to capture the overall intent of the communicative act. In this case, two or at most three of the %cat codes may be combined using slashes (/), with the primary code that best represents the utterances appearing first in the string. Since the CHAT system of the CHILDES database will analyze the tier based on the code that appears first in the string, this extension of the %cat code should be used with restraint.

In other cases, a particular %cat code may fit the form of the utterance but does not capture its communicative intent. For example, a teacher may reprimand a student by posing a rhetorical question (ex. Do you want to stay in for recess?). Coding such an utterance as an elicitation fails to describe the intent of the utterance. In such cases, the coding system is extended using a colon (:) between two codes to signify that the communicative intent of the utterance is expressed in a particular form. Thus the preceding example would be coded as a $RPD:ELI to denote that it is a reprimand expressed in the form of an elicitation. The extension of the coding system using the colon (:) is used with the codes $MGA (managing the activity) and $RPD (reprimand).

Exchange Information (%exi) Coding Tiers

The second obligatory coding tier is the **%exi or exchange information tier**. This tier is intended to track the flow of conversational topic and information related to turn taking within exchanges. On this tier, each utterance is coded relative to preceding and subsequent utterances. There are a total of 16 possible %exi codes. These codes are mutually exclusive.

Nomination (%nom) Coding Tiers

The third level of coding is the **%nom or nomination tier**. This is an optional tier that is used to specify the desired turn allocation procedure following utterances that require some form of response, namely elicitations, directives, requests for acknowledgement, managing the activity, nominations, and in some cases reprimands. The %nom tier is used primarily by the teacher in order to maintain control over the interaction. The desired nomination format may be explicitly established by the teacher at the beginning of a lesson and subsequently embedded within the elicitations or directives that follow, or may be stated explicitly within the elicitation. Turn allocation format sometimes changes during the course of the lesson, however such shifts are rarely explicitly formulated or explained in the interaction. There are a total of 3 possible nomination codes. These codes are mutually exclusive.

COMMUNICATIVE ACT (%cat) CODES

$INF   **Informative**

stating/providing lesson-related information

ex.   *TEA: That mineral is called dolomite.
       *STU: Her babies (= the wolf) live in a kennel.

$ELI   **Elicitation**

a question or statement intended to draw forth information

prompts are a form of elicitation

an elicitation can also be made nonverbally, usually either by holding up a picture, a flash card or some other teaching material, or by gesturing

ex.   *TEA: What's a pencil made of?

      *TEA: Who killed a wolf in the settlement last fall?

      *TEA: How do we use the fur from the wolf?

      *TEA: What could we do to raise money?

      *TEA: Do you want red or green?

      *TEA: Anything else?

      *TEA: (holds up picture card)

      *TEA: They'll eat worms (#)
                     they'll eat...

$RESP   **Response**

a reply to an elicitation

responses can be made non-verbally, using some form of gesture or facial expression

ex.   (Following elicitations above)

      *STU: It's made of lead.

      *STU: My father.

      *STU: We use the fur to put on parkas and to use as blankets and ground covers when we go camping.

      *STU: Have a car wash.

      *STU: Red.

      *STU: (nods head)

$EXCL   **Exclamation**

an expression with force or emphasis, often of an emotional state.

examples: gee!, wow!, oh!, ouch!

utterances which are in the form of an exclamation but contain additional content should be coded according to intent, for example "Great job!" is an evaluation.

$DIR   **Directive**

commands related to lesson content using any form that are intended to elicit some form of verbal or action response

ex.   *TEA: Write down 'mineral' on this line.

            *TEA: Look up the word in the dictionary.

            *TEA: When I touch something I want you to tell what is.

            *TEA: Let's all turn to page 86.

$RPD **Reprimand**

an utterance used to chastise or scold.

ex.   *TEA: Okay so two people out of the whole class did it [= homework].

            *TEA: For the last few weeks you're not giving me any work at all.

$URT   **Unrelated Talk**

an utterance in any form (question, statement, directive) that is not related to the lesson or to the management of the lesson, as well as off-topic comments, teasing, and nonsense. Does not include initiations of new lesson-related topics. Peer talk is a common example of unrelated talk.

NB:

utterances coded as unrelated talk should not be coded for %exi or %nom in order to exclude this information from the overall analysis

ex.   [in a sequence of utterances related to a lesson on minerals, a student is playing with a magnifying glass]

*STU: Lynn, you're upside down.
%sit STU is looking at TEA through his magnifying glass

*TEA: Nathan, go get the Kleenex. Just bring the whole box.

*STU: [to peer who is tapping him on the shoulder]
        Stop it!

$MGA Managing the activity

talk related to organizing the activity or materials related to the activity in the opening phase of lesson organization

ex. *TEA: Bring your chairs over here. We're going to be over here.

ex: [within the context of a lesson on place value]

        *TEA: Jonathan, do you want to get a popsicle stick from the cupboard?
        *STU: where are they?
        *TEA: they're in the box.

$CNT   Count

counting out numbers

ex. *STU: one, two, three.

$RDS Reads

reading material, such as from a book, chalk board, response from a student paper, flash card, etc.

ex. *TEA: The dragon had red eyes.
     *TEA: His tail was yellow.

$SING   **Sing**

singing songs

ex.   *STS: the wheels on the bus go round and round

$TRANSU   **Translates utterance**

utterance by one speaker is translated for another
participant

ex.   *STU: kiinnarq [said by one student]
       *STU: a face [said by another student]

$SPL   **Spells**

spelling words

ex.   *TEA: Yours [= mineral] is dolomite.
       *TEA: d o l o m i t e.

$BID   **Bid**

student attempts to attain the floor or teacher attention

ex.   *TEA: do you want to come up? [said to one student]

       *STU: I'll go up, I'll go up [spoken by a different student].

$REQREP   **Request repetition**

an utterance requesting repetition of a previous utterance

ex.   *TEA: what did you say, Brandon?

       *TEA: pardon?

       *STU: huh?

$REP   **Repetition**

the exact repetition of an utterance

ex.   *TEA: It's the wolf.
      *STS: It's the wolf.

$REQACK   Request Acknowledgement

a request for the affirmation of a previous utterance

ex.   *TEA: It's a wolf.
                 It's a wolf, right?

      *STU: How do you spell lovely?
      *TEA: Lovely?

$MOD   Modification

a change made to an original utterance, usually consisting of an
expansion or reduction

ex.   *TEA: I'm thinking of someone who is wearing blue.
      *TEA: Someone who's wearing blue and black.

      *STU: it's grey, black, and red.
      *STU: grey, black, and red are the colours on top, on the
                 bottom it's blue.

      *TEA: why are we starting back at low numbers?
      *TEA: can somebody tell me why we're back at the
                 number three?

$EVAL   Evaluation

an utterance characterized by the assignment, either overtly or covertly,
of a value judgement, either positive or negative, usually to a student's
utterance. Utterances that represent direct evaluations are coded as
$EVAL. Utterances that represent indirect evaluations are coded using
subcategories incorporating the above codes in order to specify the
form of the evaluation (eg. $EVAL:REQACK; $EVAL:REP).

ex.   *STU: Because we started a new month.
      *TEA: That's right.

      *STU: It's green.

*TEA:	Very good.

*STU:	0.
%sit:	STU is colouring a picture
*TEA:	that's good, Sandra-Lynn.

$COR Correction

an utterance that serves to rectify to point out a mistake. Utterances that represent direct corrections are coded as $COR. Utterances that represent indirect correction are coded using subcategories incorporating the above codes in order to specify the form of the evaluation (eg. $COR:MOD; $COR:REQREP).

ex.	*TEA:	how many groups of ten do we have?
	*STU:	eight.
	*TEA:	**count them.**
	*STU:	nine.
	*TEA:	nine.

*STU:	une parachute
*TEA:	un parachute
*STU:	un parachute

$NOM Nomination

an utterance that names a student to respond to an elicitation or an imperative and stands alone on the main speaker tier

ex.	*TEA:	okay, Vance?

*TEA:	what month is it?
*TEA:	Brandon?

$NAR Narrative

a series of inter-related utterances expressing an oral story, personal experience, or event

ex.	*STS:	we offer our greetings to our grandmother, the moon.
	*STS:	we offer our greetings to all the plant life and the

                                        medicines.
                    *STS: we offer our greetings to all the flowers.

$GRTS   Greets

greeting participants as they enter an activity

ex.   *TEA: Hi, Johnny. We're glad you're here today.

$FS   False start

an utterance that is started but not completed

ex.   *TEA: <after we're finished our> [/] after +...
       *TEA: so after +...

$UNC   Uncodable

an utterance made by either the teacher or a student that is unintelligible
and has been transcribed as either xxx or www

ex.   *STU: xxx.
       *TEA: www.

EXCHANGE INFORMATION (%exi) CODES

For most of the codes, examples have been given in sequences of utterances rather
than by giving examples after each code definition, in order to demonstrate the interpretation
of utterances relative to one another. The sequences follow the definitions. It is essential to
note the addressee in coding the %exi tier.

$IA   Initiates activity

speaker begins an activity or lesson

$IE   **Initiates exchange**

speaker initiates talk with an individual or group; when a speaker holds the floor but changes **addressee** she/he is necessarily initiating a new exchange (for instance, a teacher addresses the group then a particular student)

$INS   **Initiates new sequence**

speaker initiates new sequence of interaction within a topic with no change of addressee

$IECB   **Initiates exchange to control behaviour**

speaker (usually the teacher) initiates an exchange with the sole purpose of managing behaviour; excludes lesson-related instructions and directions

(see also MECB)

$PE   **Promotes exchange**

speaker responds to the speaker of an immediately prior utterance for which she/he is the addressee or one of the addressees

$ME   **Maintains exchange**

speaker addresses an individual or group (initiates or promotes exchange) then continues **without changing addressee** over two or more **consecutive** utterances

$MECB   **Maintains exchange to control behaviour**

speaker maintains the exchange with the sole purpose of managing behaviour

$PECB   **Promotes exchange to control behaviour**

speaker promotes the exchange with the sole purpose of managing behaviour

$PER   **Promotes exchange by repetition**

speaker repeats verbatim all or part of a previous utterance by another speaker

$RT   **Reinstates topic**

speaker returns to a topic or an exchange which has been interrupted by an unrelated topic or an exchange with other speakers/addressees

In some instances, multiple exchanges may be in progress with various students in the classroom. In such situations topics must be identified by number. See the examples section for instances where such identifications are used.

$TA   **Terminates activity**

main function of utterance is to terminate an activity; the speaker is not seeking a response by the addressee

$IGI/*   **Ignores initiation**

speaker (usually teacher) ignores an attempt by a speaker to begin an exchange

this tier requires a subcode following the [/] to indicate how the main speaker proceeds with the interaction following the initiation attempt

$IGI/IE indicates that the main speaker initiates an exchange with another speaker following the initiation attempt

$IGI/PE indicates that the main speaker promotes the exchange that was in progress prior to the initiation attempt

$IGI/ME indicates that the main speaker maintains an exchange with prior addressee(s)following an initiation attempt

$ACKI   **Acknowledges initiation**

speaker (usually teacher) responds to an initiation with an utterance which acknowledges the initiation; if an attempt to continue the

exchange is made then ACKI may, for example, be combined with PE to yield ACKI/PE as per examples above

$INCI   Incorporates initiation

speaker (usually teacher) picks up on the topic of an initiation and integrates the topic/content into a new exchange

$REPI Reprimands initiation

speaker (usually teacher) reprimands the student for attempting to introduce a new topic that is perceived as an interruption of the on-going exchange

$PS   Self-directed speech

utterances in which speaker appears to be talking to her/himself

EXAMPLES OF %exi CODE USE

Examples for $IA, $IE, $REPI, $IECB, $MECB, $ME, $RT within a sequence of discourse:

(Teacher has been speaking with single student previously)

*TEA:	okay now we're going to play "I see a colour".
%add:	STS
%exi:	$IA

*TEA:	Vance do you want to come up?
%add:	STU
%exi:	$IE

*STS:	I'll go up I'll go up.
%add:	TEA
%exi:	$IE

*TEA:	be quiet.
%add:	STS
%exi:	$REPI

*TEA:	put your hands down.
%add:	STS
%exi:	$IECB

*TEA:	it's not your turn now
%add:	STS
%exi:	$MECB

*TEA:	Vance, who do you want to take your place?
%add:	STU
%exi:	$RT

*TEA:	do you want Sandra-Lynn to take your place, since she guessed it was you?
%add:	STU
%exi:	$ME

*TEA:	hmm?
%add:	STU
%exi:	$ME

Example of $RT1 $RT2:

*TEA:	so here you're going to add some more information about the setting.
%add:	STU A
%exi:	$ME

*STU:	Lynn how do you spell lovely?
%add:	TEA
%exi:	$IE

*TEA:	lovely?
%add:	STU B
%exi:	$ACKI

*TEA:	l o v (#)
%add:	STU B
%exi:	$ME

*TEA:	no no right here is where you need to write that
%add:	STU A
%exi:	$RT1

*TEA:	l o v e l y
%add:	STU B
%exi:	$RT2

Example for $PECB/$IECB:

*TEA:	put that chair back.
%add:	STU A
%exi:	$IECB

*TEA:	we don't need to have chairs for this activity.
%add:	STU A
%exi:	$MECB

*TEA:	you too Annie.
%add:	STU B
%exi:	$IECB

*STU:	I don't want to sit on the floor.
%add:	TEA
%exi:	$PE

*TEA:	ok, then, sit on the mat.
%add:	STU B
%exi:	$PECB

Example for $INS:

*TEA:	what's this one?
%add:	STS
%exi:	$IE

*STS:	it's an owl.
%add:	TEA
%exi:	$PE

*TEA:	an owl, right
%add:	STS
%exi:	$PE

*TEA:	what about this one?
%add:	STS
%exi:	$INS

Example for $PE:

*TEA:	Ronald? (calls on STU to answer question)
%add:	STU

```
%exi:        $IE

*STU:        is it Brandon?
%add:        TEA
%exi:        $PE

*TEA:        no, it's not Brandon.
%add:        STU
%exi:        $PE
```

Example for $ACKI

```
*TEA:        you don't want to come up?
%add:        STU
%exi:        $ME

*STU:        I'll go up, I'll go up.
%add:        TEA
%exi:        $IE

*TEA:        uh, well, no, he gave it to Bradley.
%add:        STS
%exi:        $ACKI/PE
```

Example for $INCI and $PER

```
*TEA:        where does the wolf live?
%add:        STS
%exi:        $IE

*STS:        in the kennel.
%add:        TEA
%exi:        $PE

*STU:        wolves are black.
%add:        TEA
%exi:        $IE

*TEA:        wolves are black.
%add:        STU
%exi:        $PER

*TEA:        what other colours of wolves do we know?
%add:        STS
%exi:        $INCI
```

Example for $IGI/PE

*TEA:	what's this one?
%add:	STS
%exi:	$IE

*STS:	a snowgoose.
%add:	TEA
%exi:	$PE

*STU:	my father killed a goose yesterday.
%add:	TEA
%exi:	$IE

*TEA:	what colour is the snowgoose?
%add:	STS
%exi:	$IGI/PE

Example for $IGI/ME

*TEA:	do you think he did the right thing John?
%add:	STU
%exi:	$IE

*STU:	this same thing happened to me one time.
%add:	TEA
%exi:	$IE
%sit:	student other than John responds here.

*TEA:	John?
*add:	STU
*exi:	$IGI/ME

Example for $IGI/IE

*TEA:	do you want to come up Bradley?
%add:	STU
%exi:	$IE

*STU:	I'll go up I'll go up.
%add:	TEA
%exi:	$IE

*TEA:	how about you Mary?

%add: STU (not the STU above)
%exi: $IGI/IE

Example for $TA

*TEA: what sound does this one make?
%add: STS
%exi: $PE

*STS: p.
%add: TEA
%exi: $PE

*TEA: ok # we'll put this away now.
%add: STS
%exi: $TA

Example for $PS:

*TEA: where did I put that?
%act: looks on desk for papers
%exi: $PS

NOMINATION (%nom) CODES

$ind   **Individual nomination**

            the next speaker is explicitly selected in the elicitation or the directive
            either verbally by calling the speaker's name, or non-verbally through
            pointing, head nods, or eye contact

            ex.   *TEA: what does this one say Nancy?
                   *TEA: do you want to come up Bradley?

                   *TEA: what about this one?
                   %sit: pointing at STU A

$inb   **Invitation to bid**

            respondents are invited to raise their hands as part of the elicitation act

or following prior establishment of this format at the beginning of the lesson or sequence

example of inb within an elicitation:

    *TEA: raise your hand if you can read this one.

example of establishing inb turn allocation format in the opening phase of the lesson

    *TEA: so remember we'll all raise our hands when we
                     want to talk.

$inr   **Invitation to respond**

no single speaker is selected to respond, instead students are allowed to state their knowledge directly without being required to raise their hands or be selected

ex.   *TEA: what's this one?
       *STS: a wolf.

       *TEA: who knows what sound this letter makes?
       *STS: k!

APPENDIX G
Sample of a Coded Transcript

```
@Begin
@Filename:          TE6TAPE02.MAS
@Tape Location:     00:04:35-00:12:40
@Date:              January 27, 1993
@Transcriber:       Annie/Alice
@Translator:        Annie
@Enterer:           Loriann
@Checker:           Alice
@Coder:             Alice
@Location:          XXX
@Language:          English
@Situation:         Grade 3 English class. The teacher and students are seated on the
                    floor reading and then reciting a short song about foods written on
                    large chart paper. They then go on to identify vocabulary items and
                    short expressions depicted on small picture cards which are
                    matched to small hand-written word cards.
@Activities:        sitting in a group on the floor
@Time:              Afternoon
@Participants:      TEA XXX, STU Student, STS Students


*TEA:       littaquingulirqisi?
%eng:       are you guys tired of waiting?
%add:       STS
%cat:       $ELI
%exi:       $IE
%nom:       $inr
%alu:       INK
%com:       waiting for STU to arrive
%time:      00:04:35
%act:       TEA walks over to sit on floor with STS who are already sitting

*TEA:       oh very small circle.
%add:       STS
%tim:       00:04:41
%cat:       $MGA:INF
%exi:       $ME

*TEA:       can you make a bigger circle?
%add:       STS
%cat:       $MGA:DIR
%exi:       $ME
```

```
%nom:      $inr
%act:      TEA sits on floor

*TEA:      is Ina coming?
%add:      STU
%cat:      $MGA:ELI
%exi:      $IE
%nom:      $ind

*STU:      no.
%add:      TEA
%cat:      $MGA:RESP
%exi:      $PE
%act:      STU joins group on floor, has just arrived to class

*TEA:      no, ok.
%add:      STU
%cat:      $MGA:REPSU
%exi:      $PER

*TEA:      ok.
%add:      STS
%cat:      $DIR
%exi:      $IA

*TEA:      i have a new little song for you.
%add:      STS
%cat:      $INF
%exi:      $ME

*TEA:      it's new ok.
%add:      STS
%cat:      $INF:MODTU
%exi:      $ME

*TEA:      okay?
%add:      STS
%cat:      $REQACK
%exi:      $MER

*TEA:      unna nikqii laju.
%eng:      this says meat.
%add:      STS
%cat:      $INF
%exi:      $ME
%alu:      INK
```

```
*TEA:      ok, can you say it after me?
%add:      STS
%cat:      $DIR:REQACK
%exi:      $ME
%nom:      $inr

*STS:      yea.
%add:      TEA
%cat:      $ACK
%exi:      $PE
```

APPENDIX H

Categories used in Coding Field Notes and Participant Observations

TEACHER

authority and discipline

dealing with bad behaviour
singling out individuals
non-interference
control of talk
following child's lead
imposing teachers' agenda
supervision
control
teacher as helper
teacher as authority

correction and modelling

encouraging talk
praise
repetition
individual/group help
checking in
maintaining face
direct evaluation
indirect evaluation
reprimands
use of peer models

personal style

tone of voice
gestures
talkativeness
eye gaze
use of classroom space
physical closeness
touch
nonverbal

STUDENTS

behaviour

listening
attentiveness
talkativeness
teasing
movement in class
active participation
passive participation
independence
getting help
obedience
nonverbal

peer interaction

overlaps
peer models
peer coaching
cooperation
sharing
competition
individualism
physical closeness
sex role differences
nonverbal

LESSON

planning

themes
materials
cohesion
lesson plan
teachers' manuals

structure

placement of students
length
phases
demonstrations
directives
pace

turn-taking
talk/lack of talk
repetition
evaluation
non-verbal models
circulation around classroom

activities

individual
group
cooperative learning centres
repetition routines
question-answer
storytelling
reading
writing
evaluative
theme oriented
games
free play
clean-up
transitions

values

cooperation
equality
non-interference
maintaining face
obedience
respect for others
sharing

focus   language
content
vocabulary
emphasis on accuracy
full sentence responses
pronunciation of L2

language

importance of strong L1 language
L1 language loss
home/school language
use of L1 in class

use of English in French classrooms
language and culture
language and authority

miscommunication

discourse-based
behaviour-based
use of L1