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"Aw, man, where you goin'?": Classroom Interaction and the Development of L2 Interactional Competence

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The interactive practices of foreign language (FL) classrooms are significant to the development of learners' L2 interactional competence in that these practices are often the only exposure to FL talk that the learners get, especially in the early years of language instruction. To gain some understanding of the varied paths that individual development of this competence can take we must take into account the discursive structures and linguistic resources of these interactional environments. This article reports on a study with such a purpose. Of specific concern is how topics are discursively established and managed in an interactive practice whose pedagogical purpose is to provide speaking opportunities for a group of students in a first year high school Spanish class. The findings indicate that the way in which topics are developed in this practice differs significantly from how they are typically developed in ordinary interactive practices outside of the FL classroom. It is concluded that learners are getting less than what they need to fully develop their interactional competence in Spanish. The analysis makes clear our need to give more thoughtful consideration to how we define the comprehensibility of FL classroom interaction and the role that it plays in developing L2 interactional competence.

INTRODUCTION[1]

Research on communication and language acquisition (e.g., Berman & Slobin, 1994; Dore et al., 1978; Ochs, 1988; Snow & Goldfield, 1983; Snow, 1991; Wu et al., 1994) suggests that a substantial portion of our communicative competence is fundamentally pragmatic. More specifically, it is defined by and organized around culturally framed and linguistically patterned communicative plans, goals, and linguistic resources which comprise *interactive practices* (Hall, 1993; Hall & Brooks, 1995).[2] Typical resources include speech act sequences and the presuppositions for their use, turn-taking patterns, and the lexical, syntactic and rhetorical means by which practice-significant topics are developed. Research on schooling practices from a sociocultural perspective (e.g., Bowers & Flinders, 1990; Gutierrez, 1994; Smagorinsky, 1993) provides further evidence on the practice-specific nature of development. According to these studies, what students learn to do in classroom interactive practices is at least partially based

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on 1) the communicative plans and goals, and linguistic resources that teachers make available, and 2) the extended opportunities learners are given to work with these plans, goals, and resources with more expert communicators.

Much communicative learning in language classrooms is realized through engagement in regularly occurring interactive practices. In *foreign* language classrooms, these practices play an especially significant role in that they are often the only exposure to communicative patterns in the FL that the students get, especially in the early years of language instruction. Looking at the interaction of a FL classroom from a sociocultural perspective, the important role that these teachers play becomes evident. Most importantly, they construct frameworks of interactive practices that are significant to learning and provide models of competent participation, including the uses of appropriate discursive structures and other linguistic resources associated with the practices. Teachers also play an important role in providing learners with multiple opportunities to use these means in ways that help them to develop the competence needed for their own successful participation.

Unfortunately, there is little empirical research that looks at the interactive environments of FL classrooms from this sociocultural perspective (although see Brooks, 1992; Ohta, 1993). Consequently, although we know that much talking goes on in these classrooms, we know very little of the kinds of interactive practices that comprise this talk, e.g. of their constitutive discursive frameworks and concomitant linguistic resources, and of the developmental consequences that are likely to result from learners' participation in them.

The study reported here is an attempt to at least partially fill this gap. Of specific concern is the model of topic development and management that the teacher and students of a first year high school Spanish language classroom discursively construct in one particular interactive practice. First I will briefly explicate the concepts of interactive practices and interactional competence. Next, I will discuss a sociocultural perspective of development in schooling practices and its relevance to the study. This is followed by an analysis and discussion of how topics are discursively established and maintained in one particular interactive practice of a first year Spanish as a FL classroom. I will conclude with a discussion of some implications arising from the analysis and of a proposed direction for future research on related topics.

INTERACTIVE PRACTICES AND INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCE

Interactive practices are recurring episodes of purposeful, goal-directed talk which are significant to the establishment and maintenance of a group or community. The means by which these practices are realized include the following: typical trajectories of speech acts by which topics are initiated and

developed, the lexical and syntactic choices that are typical to their sequential and topical development, participation structures including how turns are taken, and prosodic and other linguistic means by which typical opening, transitional and closing moves are signaled. The goals of these practices act as structuring webs around which the unfolding talk orients. These webs are the common ground which allows participants to understand the underlying pragmatic intent of the utterances, and to know what counts as the issue, i.e., the main point or idea, and what counts as an event, i.e., the specific points being made in developing the issue. Thus, they help to set up expectations about what is going on and to place us in a context in which our actions are mutually intelligible. This shared basis of meaning in turn facilitates the development of the ability to make sense of the talk: deciding whether, what, and how something said is relevant and warranted, as well as expanding upon and pushing the talk forward in meaningful, goal-directed ways (Goody, 1995; Sanders 1987, 1991; Snow, 1989; Wertsch, 1991). For example, the utterance, 'What can I get for you?' has a typical pragmatic function, and is associated with a typical agenda or set of purposes, typical contexts, and typical participant roles within those contexts. When those who are familiar with the utterance hear it certain goals, topical conditions and trajectories of interaction are called to mind. These are then used by the interactants to make inferences about the nature of the subsequent talk.

Competent participation in a community's significant practices requires the development of *interactional competence*.[3] Part of this competence includes the ability to develop and manage topical issues in practice-relevant ways. Research on topic management (for a summary see Mentis, 1994) and conversational coherence (e.g., Sanders, 1983; Tracy, 1982, 1984; Tracy & Moran, 1983) shows that competent management involves orienting the talk around a particular theme and rhetorical structure or discursive framework. Generally, we use the initial or opening utterance of an interaction to signal the main point, or topic, and the likely rhetorical structure of the talk (i.e., whether it will be a discussion, an argument, a lecture, etc.) thus trying to construct our subsequent utterances with those in mind. Our ability to figure out what is going on 'topically' helps us to devise relevant next moves and thus respond appropriately to the previous utterance, extend the talk, or detect and correct possible mismoves (Sanders, 1987).

Utterances are judged as being more or less relevant on two levels, local and global. A locally relevant utterance is lexically linked to the prior utterance, and a globally relevant utterance attends to the larger story line or topic under discussion. In general, we are expected to follow a global relevancy rule which involves forming our moves in rhetorically appropriate ways, based on what we think the issue or topic-at-hand, i.e., whether we think we and our counterparts are 'discussing', 'arguing,' or 'chatting.' Utterances that do not make a topic apparent or do not extend it are judged to be less relevant, and the speaker is deemed less competent than a speaker who makes clear what the talk is about (Tracy & Moran, 1983). According to Tracy (1984), when interactants are

unsure of what the issue is, they follow one or more of the following options: 1) locally tie their utterance to some lexical cue given in the previous utterance; 2) ask the speaker what she is talking about; 3) make a vague remark, e.g., 'oh, that's nice'; or 4) respond to the speaker's apparent motivation, e.g., 'you don't seem very happy about it.' Of these only the first violates the global relevancy rule. The other three options are attempts at making the issue apparent when the topical route of the talk, set up by prior utterances, is ambiguous.

Several linguistic devices are used to create and signal both topical and discursive relevance, including the use of opening utterances that clearly establish the issue and frame the rhetorical structure. The utterance 'so what are you doing this weekend', for example, is conventionally used to set the topic as weekend activities, and the rhetorical structure as an accounting of possible events. Also, the use of ellipsis makes clear the distinction between old and new information. As the interaction unfolds, known information pertinent to the topic is generally not repeated, or infrequently repeated so that what is novel or new to the issue-at-hand can be highlighted, and thus made salient to the interactants. In this way, interactants are able to develop a base of shared knowledge about the topic, attenuating the possibility that they will become confused about the issue and thus about how to make relevant moves (Halliday, 1994; Mentis, 1994). A final example of a conventional way that topical coherence is established and maintained is via the collocation of related lexical items, i.e., the use of words that co-occur in issue-bounded talk, and reiteration, i.e., the use of words that have a common referent (Clark, 1992; Halliday, 1994; McCarthy, 1994). Clark (1992, p. 374) calls these lexical neighborhoods and through them we learn to associate words that appear together frequently and, in trying to figure out the meaning of a new word, we use the surrounding topically oriented words to help narrow and refine our possible choices.

In sum, participating in an interactive practice involves a range of competencies, one of which involves attending to and developing an issue in discursively appropriate ways. To do otherwise at the very least engenders confusion among the participants about what is happening, and, more seriously, makes suspect the interactant's interactional competence.

Sociocultural Theory of Development and Classroom Practices

Important to the investigation here is not only what people do when they engage in interactive practices as competent interactants, but how they develop this competence. According to sociocultural theories of development (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991, 1994; Wertsch & Bivens, 1992) our linguistic, cognitive, and social development as competent members of our communities and groups is socioculturally constructed, i.e., "[it] is inherently linked to the cultural, institutional and historical settings in which it occurs" (Wertsch, 1994, p. 203). Through participation with others who are more expert in the use of the

significant resources of an activity one learns to appropriate the skills needed for competent performance.

From this perspective, then, learning leads development (Newman & Holzman, 1993). That is to say, both the definition of individual growth and direction that growth takes are partially dependent on the sociocultural environment in which one develops. This environment includes: (1) the historical and cultural knowledge and practices that are prevalent in and significant to one's surrounding community; (2) the goals embedded in the practices, explicitly or implicitly articulated; and (3) the trajectories of actions socioculturally sanctioned as appropriate options in the pursuit of these goals. The means by which a community's practices are realized are themselves particularly significant to the members' development in that they are the structuring agents of both the form and content of what gets learned (Wertsch. 1991). Also significant, the guidance that is provided by those who are more expert participants in these practices can take many forms, and includes modeling, providing explicit directions, and coaching (Rogoff, 1990; Wertsch & Bivens, 1992).

The development of the ability to interact in the target language is a significant goal of foreign language learning. Toward this end, teachers of these classes are exhorted to provide 'sustained comprehensible input' and to engage the students in 'natural conversation' in the target language in order to promote such development (Krashen, 1989; Hadley, 1993). If learning indeed leads development, and the development of interactional competence in the target language is a significant instructional goal in FL classrooms, then research on classroom discourse must take into account the larger interactive environment of these classrooms in order to discover the practices of this 'sustained comprehensible input' into which learners are being guided. Knowing what these practices look like, e.g., their purposes and the typical unfolding of moves, would help us to better articulate our expectations of learners' communicative development. We could then make informed decisions about what is actually happening in FL classrooms and whether it provides for the development of interactional competence in ways that are appropriate to the learners' social, academic and other interactional needs.

INTERACTIVE PRACTICES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCE IN A FIRST YEAR SPANISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

The study reported upon here is informed by the theoretical issues summarized earlier, and motivated by the need for empirical data which address the concerns noted above. The question guiding the analysis was:

How is topic development and management discursively realized in an interactive practice focusing on 'speaking' in a first year Spanish language classroom?

Method

Setting and Participants

The high school from which the data are taken is located in a small university city of a southeastern state. The classroom community was comprised of one Anglo-American male teacher and 15 students. Of these, six were male, and four were African-American (two females and two males). All but one student were ninth graders, and all were studying Spanish for the first time. These students indicated on a questionnaire that was given to them at the beginning of the study that they were taking Spanish because they were required to do so. It ought to be noted that in the state where the school is located, the study of a FL is required only for those who are 'college-bound.'

At the time of the study, the teacher had been a language teacher of both Spanish and French for over fifteen years. He was the chair of the department of foreign languages at the school, and was quite active in the local, regional and state organizations devoted to the teaching of foreign languages. His peers, both native and nonnative speakers of Spanish, considered him to be very proficient in his knowledge of and ability to use Spanish. He was strongly committed to providing a Spanish language environment for the students and to helping them develop their ability to orally use the language. Thus, he spent most of the class time talking in Spanish.

Description and Collection of Data

The class was visited weekly throughout the 1992-1993 school year for a total of 37 visits, 30 of which were audio recorded. Thirteen of these class meetings were also video recorded. Field notes were also taken during each of the visits. In addition to being observed, the students were interviewed as a group on four separate occasions, once early in each semester, and once towards the end of each semester. The teacher was interviewed on six separate occasions.

The audio tapes were transcribed in four stages. Initially, the first 30 minutes of each 50-minute tape were transcribed by a research assistant.[4] These transcriptions were then passed to the teacher. As he listened to the tapes, he modified the transcriptions, adding notes of clarification where he thought they were needed. The tapes were checked against the transcripts one more time each by the research assistant and the principal investigator. The few discrepancies that occurred over what was said on the tapes were resolved through discussions among the three. Where no agreement could be reached, the talk was noted as 'unintelligible.'

Data Analysis

Because of the significant role that the teacher plays in setting up and maintaining the significant practices of the classroom, particularly in the first year of language study, I decided to use this teacher's framing of the data as the official coding scheme. Following the initial transcriptions, the teacher was asked to label the various practices embedded in the talk of each of the 30 taped classes according to what he thought was happening. He used such labels as 'transitioning', 'disciplining a student' and 'drilling subject/verb agreement.' He also indicated the points in the talk at which these practices began and ended. where there was some overlap, and even those places where he was unsure of what was going on.

The main concern in this study is the interactive practice labeled by the teacher as 'practicing speaking'. This was chosen because, according to the teacher it was significant to his goal of developing the students' ability to participate in 'natural conversation' in Spanish. Perhaps because of the teacher's instructional intent, this activity was accomplished almost solely by talk. The use of visual or other aids to move the talk along was infrequent. Instead, it was the talk produced by the teacher to which the students had to orient in order to engage in the practice. 'Natural conversation' was also the most frequently occurring practice over the course of the semester.

After the coding process, the ten class meetings of the first semester in which the practice appeared were analyzed. The total amount of time spent engaging in this practice was close to 30% of the total amount of class time (defined as the first 30 minutes of all fourteen class meetings recorded and transcribed during the first semester). From this analysis a prototypical model of the conventional ways in which topics were initiated and discursively developed was constructed.

Findings

The discussion of the findings focuses on two main concerns: (1) the rhetorical structures which pattern the talk and develop the topics; and (2) the use of three linguistic resources which establish the coherence of utterances. Each is addressed in turn.[5]

Topics and Rhetorical Structure

The conventional rhetorical structure of this practice is: Teacher: Initiate > Student: Respond > Teacher: Evaluate/Follow-up, a pattern which is reflective of most classroom talk (Barnes, 1992; Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1985; Wells, 1993; see also Markee, this volume). The general set of moves involves the teacher making an assertion and/or asking a related question to which a

student responds. The teacher then repeats the student's response and asks the same or similar question of another student. Two examples of this are contained in Excerpt 1 (See Appendix for English translation).

Excerpt 1

Example 1 (from Lesson A)

1	T:	*es música↓ no↑ música↓no↑*
2	Julio:	*no*
3	T:	*es música↓ . es música↓ . es música↓*
4		*ahora señor . te gusta↑ te gusta la música↑*
5	Julio:	*no me gusta↓*
6	T:	*no me gusta↓*
7	Julio:	*no me gusta↓*
8	T:	*no me gusta la música↓te gusta la música↑*
9		*no me gusta la música ↓⌈te gusta la música↑*
10	Several Ss:	⌊I do *sí sí* yeah *si*
11	Rafael:	aw man where you goin↓
12	T:	*sí me gusta la música↓ te gusta la música↑*
13	Andrea:	*sí↓*

Example 2 (from Lesson B)

1	T:	*cantar cantar cantar sí sí me gusta cantar me gusta*
2		*cantar te gusta cantar↑*
3	Mercedes:	*sí*
4	T:	*oh sí a ti te gusta cantar↑ te gusta cantar↑*
5	Andrea:	*sí me gusta cantar*
6	T:	*muy bien muy bien sí y Jamaal te gusta cantar↑*
7	Rafael:	uhm↑
8	T:	*te gusta cantar↑* (sings loudly) *ca::nta::r*
9	Rafael:	(sings softly) *ca::nta::r*
10	T:	*sí te gusta↑*
11	Rafael:	*sí me gusta*
12	T:	*sí me gusta cantar↓ me gusta cantar↓ sí sí*

The typical process by which topics are initiated and developed within this structure is best described as "local lexical chaining." In this process coherence between utterances is created by linking lexical items through the repetition of all or part of the previous utterance. There is no apparent larger topical issue, agenda, or goal to which the talk is oriented. That is, the practice does not begin with the raising of an issue or task needing to be resolved, or with an apparent social agenda, such as 'getting to know each other better.' Instead, in every case, it is begun by the teacher with a question, e.g., *es música, no* [it's music, right]

(Example 1 line 1), or *te gusta cantar* [do you like to sing] (Example 2 line 2). The next utterance is either a repetition of the entire preceding utterance or of just one or two lexical items, to which the next speaker may add a different but syntactically related word. In some cases, as when the teacher asks the same question of several students, the three-part initiate-respond-evaluate (IRE) sequence is repeated (e.g., Example 1 lines 4-13). It is this chaining of lexical items which binds one utterance to the next in the unfolding talk, and not any larger topical focus.

The lexical events that are used to initiate and chain the talk are locally determined. That is, they address something to which both the teacher and students can immediately orient. Quite often, for example, the topic used in opening the talk is related to the day on which the practice is occurring. The teacher may ask either what day it is and whether students like that day, or if it is a special day, such as the first day back after Thanksgiving vacation, what the students did during the vacation. At other times, the teacher uses an aid such as tape-recorded music, or a hand-held object to capture the students' attention. In Example 1 (in Excerpt 1, above), for example, the teacher begins by playing a tape of songs by Gloria Estefan. After about 30 seconds, the tape is turned off, and the teacher asks the students *es música, no* [it's music, right]. This in turn leads to a chaining of utterances joined by the terms *te gusta* [you like] *me gusta* [I like] and *la música* [the music]. In Example 2, the teacher begins by lexically chaining to the preceding activity with the word *cantar* [to sing] which is the last word uttered in that activity. In no case, however, does the evocation of these local events lead to any topical talk about them. The playing of the taped music, for instance, does not lead into talk about the tape, the music, or the person singing. Nor does an opening utterance in which students are asked what they did on the previous weekend lead to an expected recounting and/or comparison of activities engaged in by the teacher and students.

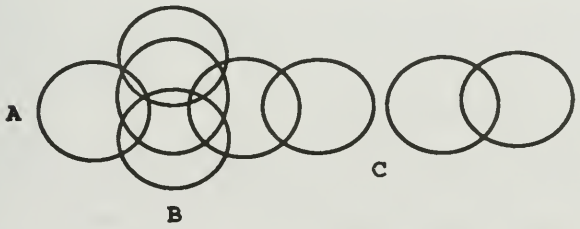


Figure 1: Lexical Chaining

Figure 1 is a diagram of the process of 'local lexical chaining.' **A** represents a forward moving sequence, in which each utterance is lexically tagged to those preceding and following it. **B** represents a repeated-utterances sequence, when the teacher and students are engaged in the IRE-like sequence of "Teacher: assertion-expressive/related question > Student: response > Teacher: repetition of student response.' In some cases, the next utterance does not repeat an item from the preceding move, but is motivated by some local nonverbal movement such as the appearance of someone at the classroom door, which changes the teacher's attentional focus. This slight break in the chaining is indicated by **C**. The chaining process picks up again after these slight breaks, however, and the ensuing moves are once again lexically linked to each other. As the chaining continues, there is a degree of lexical drifting that occurs, so that during any one class, what they initially appear to be 'talking about' is different from what they are 'talking about' by the end of the practice.

Interestingly, each subsequent time the class engages in this activity, the amount of lexical drifting increases. This increase is apparent when comparing Lessons A and B, which occurred about 6 weeks apart. In the first, up until Santiago makes a move to redirect the talk (Lesson A line 61, see Appendix), the lexical drift across the previous utterances is slight. There are two lexical items, *me/te gusta*, and *la música* that are used as the primary links in the chain, but many of the utterances are simple repetitions. Because there are few lexical additions to these utterances, little lexical drifting occurs. On the other hand, there is much more apparent drifting in Lesson B. The teacher begins by claiming that he likes to sing (Excerpt 1, Example 2, line 1), then chains several lexically related utterances (e.g., I like to sing, do you like to sing). The attention then moves to the display of a cartoon of Bill Clinton playing the saxophone, to the mention of the entire Clinton family, to, finally, talk about Roger, the brother of Bill Clinton. These last utterances are linked to the earlier ones by the use of *gusta* and *cantar* (see Excerpt 2).

Excerpt 2

62 T: *sí↑..a* Roger ***le gusta*** *tocar el saxophone↑*
63 Several Ss: *no no*
64 T: *no↓ . no* ***le gusta*** *tocar el saxophone↓* *qué* ***le gusta***
65 ***hacer↓*** *qué* ***le gusta hacer↓***
66 Male S: ***cantar***
67 T: *sí* ***le gusta cantar*** *sí a* Roger Clinton *es un cantante sí↑*
68 Male S: [*sí↓*
69 T: [***le gusta cantar le gusta*** *bueno*

Beginning on line 70 the teacher inserts a short explanation of the use of *gusta* almost as an aside, but then quickly moves back into the lexical chaining process:

Excerpt 3

116 T: *pero te gusta Monica te gusta comer gatos↑ te gusta comer gatos↑*
117 Monica: *sí↓*
118 T: *sí o no↓ sí:: ok . me gusta . me gusta*
119 Monica: *me gusta*
120 T: *comer gatos*
121 Monica: *comer gatos*
122 T: *comprendes comer↓comer↑ yum yum gatos↓* Sylvester Garfield
123 Female S: cats↑
124 T: *sí↓ A Monica le gusta comer gatos↓*
125 Female S: she likes to eat cats↑
126 T: *sí↓ por supuesto*
127 Several S: (laughter, simultaneous talk)
128 Male S: you been eatin cats
129 Monica: no
130 T: *no ahh no ok no me*
131 Monica: (*very softly*) *no me*
132 T: *comer gatos sí. no me gusta comer gatos bueno Monica a mi sí me*
133 *gusta comer gatos en pizza↓ en pizza↓⌈ solo en pizza solo en pizza*
134 Female S: ⌊ you have cats on pizza↑

He repeats the IRE sequence of moves with which he began the practice, and the drifting begins again. The utterances are chained by the use of some form of 'gusta' and move from asking about liking to sing, to asking about liking to eat cats (lines 116-134). The teacher then adds to his initial assertion about liking to eat cats by chaining on to each next utterance one lexical item. This chaining propels the talk forward in game-like fashion, and the utterances move from 'being about' eating cats, to eating pizza with cats, to eating pizza with cats and chocolate. The practice finally is brought to an end by the teacher with what is evidently meant to be a humorous comment on the consequences of eating pizza with cats (Excerpt 4).

Excerpt 4

150 T:*me encanta comer pizza con gatos y chocolate sí sí muy bien no sí*
151 the only problem is you get heartburn nine times *sí es la única*
152 *problema, el único problema eh me encanta*
153 *por favor ok*

It is clear that the intended direction of topic development and management in this practice is toward the development of local conversational coherence, i.e., the connecting of utterances via lexical ties as opposed to some larger issue.

This focus is most visible when students attempt to violate it, i.e., when they try to figure out the larger issue to which the utterances are orienting. As stated earlier, there are a few conventional strategies used by interactants to make their utterances globally coherent with a prior ambiguously relevant utterance. They may ask the speaker what she is talking about, make a vague remark, or respond to the speaker's apparent motivation behind the utterance. There is evidence here showing that students use all three, especially early on in the semester, before the local coherence rule is firmly set. In Lesson A, line 11 (Excerpt 1), for example, Rafael appears confused about the discursive direction that the unfolding talk seems to be taking, and asks, "aw man where you goin?" The teacher, however, does not follow up on Rafael's query, and continues with the chaining. In line 34 (Excerpt 5, below) this same student again expresses his frustration at not following the topical flow by uttering, "if you'd speak English I'd understand." In lines 41-42 Rafael finally makes a guess about the topic, but this utterance, like the others, is not taken up by the teacher.

Excerpt 5

31	T:	(loudly) ***es música*** *de Gloria Estefan* ↓
32	Several Ss:	⌈(unintelligible talk)
33		⌊(T writes on board}
34	Rafael:	if you'd speak English I'd understand
35	T:	*sí Gloria Estefan . . Pon Poncherelo* ***te gusta*** *Gloria Estefan*≠
36	Ponch:	*sí*↓
37	T:	*sí*↓
38	Julio:	who's⌈ Gloria Estefan↑
39	Ponch:	⌊ ***me sí gusta***
40	T:	***sí***↓ ***me gusta me gusta*** *Gloria Estefan*
		⌈ ***sí***↓ ***me gusta*** *Gloria Estefan*
41	Rafael:	⌊ oh that's the person who was
42		singing that song that's the person who was singing that song

Other students in this practice also attempt to figure out the issue to which the talk is orienting (Excerpt 6). In line 61, for example, Santiago makes an attempt to contribute what could be considered a topic associated utterance, if the issue were indeed 'talk about artists and their music' when he asks the teacher if he has heard of a particular Spanish singing group. Initially, the teacher tries to incorporate the student's contribution into the lexical chaining process. Rather than respond directly to the question posed, the teacher asks Santiago if he likes the group that he named (line 64). In responding, Santiago does not realize that the intent behind the question is to continue the lexical chain. Instead, he takes the teacher's question as a display of interest and an invitation to add more topically relevant information about the group, which he attempts to do (line 65). This next move of Santiago's, however, has the potential to dislodge the talk from the chaining process.

Excerpt 6

61	Santiago:	hey can we listen to some Spanish rap called the Spanish (unintelligible)
62	T:	*perdón*↑
63	Santiago:	(repeats the name [unintelligible])
64	T:	***te gusta***↑
65	Santiago:	yeah [(unintelligible talk)
66	T:	[***ah bueno fantástico tienes la cinta***↑
67	Santiago:	yeah
68	T:	***sí***↑ ***la cinta es es la*** (goes to get cassette tape) *aquí* (holds up tape)
69		***la cinta clase la cinta***
70	Ss:	***la cinta***
71	T:	***sí::: sí la cinta tienes la cinta de:::*** (unintelligible)
72		***tú tienes la cinta*** ↑ ***la cinta*** ↑
73	Male S:	where'd you get it
74	Rafael:	where'd you get it
75	Laura:	do you have it on tape
76	Julio:	do you have it on tape
77	Rafael:	do you have it on tape
78	Santiago:	I don't have it on tape I saw it in a store
79		I saw it in a [store
80	T:	[*o::::h cómpramelo* ↓ ***eh***↑
81		*ok bueno fantástico* ↓

Thus, the teacher makes an effort to bring the talk back under his leadership by seizing on the word *cinta* [tape] and using it in an assertion/question-response chaining sequence (lines 66-72). The students, however, seem to have become interested in the line of possible talk opened by the student and a flurry of moves ensues as they simultaneously try to help the student figure out what the teacher is asking and offer new lines of questions about the music, e.g., where the student got it (lines 73-79). These utterances help to move the talk further away from the chaining process, and apparently out of the teacher's control. In response, the teacher takes the first available opportunity to close down this interactional path. He chooses not to expand upon the information made available by the student, and in fact, seems to brush the student's move off when he says in line 80 *cómpramelo, eh* [buy it for me, eh]. Once he has the floor, he quickly switches into a new practice (lines 81). There are fewer evident attempts by the students to establish global topical coherence in each subsequent practice during the semester.

In sum, the practice is structured much like typical classroom discourse in that the moves are for the most part limited to teacher-initiated utterances,

student responses, and teacher follow-ups. Unlike much classroom and other discourse, however, the process of developing topics is limited to lexical chaining. What most often counts as a relevant next move is an utterance which repeats a part of the preceding utterance and adds its own lexical link. There is no attention to the development of any issue such as 'talking about artists and their music' or 'discussing food preferences.' In fact, student moves which attempt to do so are more or less ignored by the teacher and thus made irrelevant to the development of the interaction. Furthermore, lexical drifting increases over time.

Linguistic Resources

While there are several devices that may be used to develop coherence across utterances, three are of concern here: (1) opening utterances setting the topic and rhetorical structure that will frame the unfolding talk; (2) the use of ellipsis to make salient that which is novel to the topic; and (3) the collocation of related vocabulary items.

As pointed out earlier, opening utterances, in all cases made by the teacher, are limited to commenting upon and asking a question about a local event, e.g., an object held by the teacher, or the day on which the lesson is being held. Early in the semester the students react to these openings as possible topic indicators, and their utterances are usually attempts at making globally relevant moves. For example, in Lesson B, when the students are shown the picture of President Clinton on the overhead projector, many of them apparently think the practice is moving into talk about Clinton and offer potentially topic-relevant information, e.g., the names of his family members, that he is president, and the fact that he had appeared on the Arsenio Hall Show[6]. Each of these moves is tokenly attended to by the teacher with an utterance such as 'sí' or 'no.' At no time, however, does he add to any of them, as he is interested in eliciting the name of President Clinton's brother, apparently so that he can get on with the lexical chaining with which he begins the practice. Once a student provides the name, the teacher immediately moves back to lexical chaining. Outside of the infrequent use of discourse markers such as *bueno* [good] or 'ok' to indicate that the practice is beginning, there are no utterances that are used in any detectable way that make apparent what the topic and its discursive development are likely to be.

Ellipsis is another available resource for developing topical coherence. As pointed out earlier, this is partially achieved by providing enough information in any one utterance to indicate whether the information is new or already known. Once the topic is established we generally do not repeat old information but rather include just enough to connect it to the new topical information being provided. In the practice examined here, there is little use of topical ellipsis. Rather, there is much repetition of information from utterance to utterance making it difficult for the students to be able to figure out 'what is pertinent' or

'what is to be learned' here. In fact, where students try to use the device, where they try to provide a short answer to a question, for example, the teacher corrects their responses by having them provide the already-known-information. And, whether they provide it or not, the teacher usually repeats their answers and adds to them whatever information was left out. Excerpt 7 (below) provides a nice example of this. Here, the teacher asks Julio the question *te gusta la música* [do you like the music]' to which he appropriately responds *no me gusta* [I don't like it]. The teacher repeats Julio's answer in an apparent attempt to get him to self-correct and provide more information. Julio, however, only repeats his original statement. The teacher then follows up Julio's response with the complete utterance, evidently serving as a correction to the student's elliptic one.

Excerpt 7

5	Julio:	***no me gusta*↓**
6	T:	***no me gusta*↓**
7	Julio:	***no me gusta*↓**
8	T:	***no me gusta la música*↓ *te gusta la musica*↑**
9		***no me gusta la música*↓ *te gusta la música*↑**

There are times throughout the semester that the teacher uses ellipsis in seemingly appropriate ways. In Excerpt 8 (below), for example, the teacher asks Mercedes the question, *te gusta cantar* [do you like to sing] to which she responds *sí* [yes]. In responding *oh, sí*[oh yes] the teacher provides what could be considered an aligning move, a conventionally appropriate response used to signal understanding and the establishment of a common ground. Neither the teacher nor the student, however, makes a next move to extend the talk. Instead, the teacher moves on to ask two different students the same question:

Excerpt 8

2	T:	***te gusta cantar*↑**
3	Mercedes:	*sí*
4	T:	*oh sí a ti* ***te gusta cantar*↑ *te gusta cantar*↑**
5	Andrea:	***sí me gusta cantar***
6	T:	*muy bien muy bien sí y Jamaal* ***te gusta cantar*↑**
7	Rafael:	uhm↑
8	T:	***te gusta cantar*↑** (sings loudly) ***ca::nta::r***
9	Rafael:	(sings softly) ***ca::nta::r***
10	T:	***sí te gusta*↑**
11	Rafael:	***sí me gusta***
12	T:	***sí me gusta cantar*↓ *me gusta cantar*↓ *sí sí***

Interestingly, the responses to these students differ. To the first, Andrea, who answers the question with more information than necessary to maintain coherence (lines 4-6), he does not respond with an aligning move. Rather, he

provides an evaluative *muy bien*, evidently rewarding her for answering in a complete sentence. To the second student, whose response is an appropriately elliptic one (line 11), the teacher responds by repeating the student's utterance and adding to it the bit of already-known-information (line 12). Here, it seems that the teacher intends his utterance to function as a model of expected talk for this student.

Occasionally, the teacher verbally prompts the students to respond with the complete, and already-known-information. For example, to his question *te gusta comer gatos* [do you like to eat cats] (Excerpt 9, line 116), Monica replies with a 'yes.' The teacher repeats the entire utterance evidently to get Monica to repeat it as well, which she eventually does (lines 118-121).

Excerpt 9

116 T:	*pero* ***te gusta*** *Monica* ***te gusta comer*** *gatos*↑ ***te gusta comer*** *gatos*↑
117 Monica:	*sí*↓
118 T:	*sí o no*↓ *...sí::* *ok* . ***me gusta*** . ***me gusta***
119 Monica:	***me gusta***
120 T:	***comer*** *gatos*
121 Monica:	***comer*** *gatos*

It seems then that the use of ellipsis to maintain coherence across utterances in this practice is infrequent and variable when used. When some students try to use it to respond to a question, the teacher often makes it clear that the students' responses must include both old and new information. In other cases, the teacher allows elliptic responses.

A last resource used by interactants to establish and maintain topical coherence is the use of related and co-occurring lexical items to tie utterances together semantically or collocationally. There are two significant points to make about the use of this device. First, although there is an abundance of lexical chaining that occurs, there is little substantive topic development through the use of either semantically or collocationally related words. Instead, there is a handful of words that the teacher uses during any one practice to ask questions and make comments. In Lesson A, for example, the four most frequently used phrases include *me gusta*, *te gusta*, *la música*, and *Gloria Estefan*. Few other related content words, however, are used, at least in Spanish. There are attempts by some of the students to extend the talk in English, and in doing so, they provide possibilities for the teacher to make some additional lexical connections. However, as pointed out earlier, these are largely ignored in either language by the teacher.

Second, in many instances the words that are selected to occur together are not those that one would normally expect to co-occur. Excerpts 3 and 4 (above) provide examples of this. In the questions and comments the teacher poses to a student, the terms 'to eat' 'pizza' 'chocolate' and 'cats' co-occur. That their

relationship is not an expected one is evidenced by the initial surprise of the students when they finally figure out what the teacher has been asking Monica, to wit 'do you like to eat cats' (Excerpt 3, line 116). While some students find these connections humorous (Excerpt 3, line 127), Monica evidently does not. She seems almost embarrassed about getting caught expecting the expected, i.e., to be asked whether she eats something that is edible, as she does not join in the laughter and instead very softly repeats the more appropriate answer after the teacher (Excerpt 3, line 131). This unexpected collocation of word items happens regularly throughout the semester.

In sum, the ways that these linguistic resources get used to create and maintain topical coherence in this practice is unlike their conventional use in ordinary interactive practices. In the classroom there is little use of conventional topic openers that make clear what the topics of discussion and rhetorical structure are likely to be. Furthermore, much of the same information is frequently repeated, making it difficult to establish, use and build upon a common base of knowledge in constructing more linguistically and discursively complex utterances. Finally, there is little cognitively complex development of word meanings through collocation and reiteration, and that which does occur sets up rather unexpected connections among words.

Discussion

In this study I have analyzed the creation of an environment within which students are learning to interact in Spanish. Two related considerations follow from the analysis: (1) what is considered relevant topic knowledge and its substantive development; and (2) the discursive structures by which this development takes place. I discuss the latter issue first.

As pointed out earlier, the typical discursive structure used by the teacher to engage the students in talk differs little from that used in standard classroom talk (Barnes, 1992; Cazden, 1988). We have learned from such studies on classroom discourse (see Johnson, 1995, for a summary) that the cyclic IRE pattern of teacher-student interaction limits the options for student talk predominantly to the speech activities of repeating, listing, and labeling. Unfortunately, the developmental consequences of providing such a limited repertoire of possibilities for students in any classroom are likely to be as limited, as pointed out by Wertsch and Smolka (1993) and others (e.g., Gutierrez, 1994; Palincsar et al., 1993; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). That is, it is less likely that the students will develop the discursive forms and functions for engaging in complex, extended talk about a topic if they are rarely provided with these more complex discursive frames and multiple opportunities for using them. This FL classroom practice, whose primary pedagogical purpose is to provide opportunities for students to engage in talk, is not likely to lead to the students' development of the knowledge of complex discursive patterns in the target language nor ability to use them.

The second, and perhaps more significant, concern raised by the analysis has to do the students' learning about topic relevance, and about how topical coherence is created within and across utterances. As illustrated in the previous section, topic development is defined and accomplished almost exclusively through lexical chaining in this classroom. There is no overarching topical agenda or issue, social or academic, to which students can appeal for judging whether a move is warranted, or for making decisions about how to expand upon the talk in topically relevant ways. Additionally, there is little utilization of devices which could help in the construction of a shared base of topical knowledge.

The potential consequences of this adherence to the local coherence rule are several. First, the cues the teacher uses in his practice to establish a common object of discourse and reflection among the students, i.e., 'that which is to be learned or accomplished' are not those which are likely to lead to the development of cognitively complex discursive knowledge including rhetorical frameworks for displaying such understanding. Nor are they likely to lead to the development of the ability to use other, equally complex pragmatic skills such as inferencing, anticipating, and building upon presuppositions in the creation of topically complex thought. In fact, much of the interaction makes apparent that the students cannot rely on a set of expectations similar to what they might use when interacting in other contexts, and therefore would do well not to build such expectations.

For example, as shown earlier, when Monica was asked whether she liked to eat cats (Excerpt 3, line 116) she found that she could not rely on her constructed knowledge of the prior talk to infer a likely relevant answer, since she did not completely understand the question. In an apparent attempt to emphasize his point about the unreliability of such knowledge, the teacher first makes Monica repeat the entire utterance of liking to eat cats (lines 119-121). Then, in bringing her response to the attention of the entire class, he conducts what could be considered a public shaming of Monica for her attempt to use what she had learned about the practice up until that time (lines 124-134).

The lack of any larger topical issue to which the talk is oriented also makes it difficult for the students to build topic-related semantic knowledge. As seen in the two excerpts provided here, much of the talk involves a limited variety of simple words used in simplistic ways, a condition which varies little over the course of the semester. Because so few words are used, there is little chance to build knowledge of word meanings through their contextual and discursive placements, or through their connections to other words. Also, the connections actually made are quite often illogical (e.g., lexically tying the eating of pizza to the eating of cats), making it equally difficult for the students to use their common sense knowledge developed from experiences in practices outside the classroom to help make sense of the practice here and become a competent participant in it. The word development that does occur is occasionally cognitively confusing, and almost always cognitively undemanding.

As pointed out in the discussion on the sociocultural perspective of development, learning to competently participate in an interactive practice occurs more readily when the learners know what is going on i.e., the purpose of the interaction, including what count as relevant topics and rhetorical structures, and when the talk is oriented to them. Unfortunately, little of this kind of learning potential is available to the students in the practice examined here. Students are never told what they are doing nor "where they goin'," topically, pedagogically or otherwise. Furthermore, since they never really move beyond the activity of lexical chaining, the learning potential embedded in what they *are* exposed to is quite limited and limiting. The interactive environment, for example, gives students little they can use as scaffolds for the subsequent construction of more complex linguistic, interactive, and rhetorical knowledge. In addition, memory building about what and how something was said to accomplish a particular interpersonal, social, or academic goals is almost impossible. More significantly, such memory building is not even necessary to their participation. Extended participation in this practice offers students very little toward the development of what is needed for L2 interactional competence outside of the FL classroom. At its worst, extended participation in such a practice could facilitate the development of L2 interactional *in*competence.

It may be easy for some in the field of foreign and second language learning to dismiss these findings. In doing so, they may cite either the students' linguistic naiveté and inability to sustain more complex talk, or the teacher's own incompetence as grounds for the kind of talk found here. To claim the first misconstrues the findings on the practice-specific nature of learning. As discussed earlier, what we learn to do in classroom (and other) practices to a large degree depends on (1) what is made available to us in these environments by those considered more expert in the realizations of the practices; and (2) the extended opportunities we are given to develop our own abilities with these experts. Thus, what we learn to do in a FL classroom is partially determined by what the teacher makes available. If the environment doesn't provide much to be learned, there isn't much the students *can* learn. In this case, then, concluding that the kind of interactive environment found here is inevitable and necessary due in large part to the students' linguistic limitations begs the question.

It would also be a mistake to interpret these findings as a reflection of the teacher's own incompetence in Spanish, and to claim that this classroom is unlike most other FL classrooms. My experiences with this teacher and my own as both teacher and student in beginning foreign language classrooms, as well as those reported by others (Hall & Davis, 1995) suggest that this teacher is highly proficient in Spanish, and that such talk is quite common in FL classrooms at least at the beginning levels of instruction, and is considered to be adequate and appropriate. These intuitions and accounts were corroborated by responses from several experienced teachers of Spanish at both the high school and college levels with whom I shared the transcripts of Lesson B. Significantly, all thought (1) the talk was like what they provide their own students; and (2)

the teacher was being quite successful in providing a linguistically rich, and comprehensible environment for his students. The two aspects of the interaction that were most frequently mentioned were the teacher's almost exclusive use of Spanish, and his attempts to provide simple syntax through multiple repetitions. Thus, at least based on own and others' experiences in the FL classroom, it can be concluded that the findings are not idiosyncratic.

I suggest here that a more reasonable explanation rests on the theoretical and pedagogic treatment given to terms such as 'comprehensible input' 'natural conversation', and 'linguistically rich environments' in research on FL and SL acquisition. The theoretical work of Krashen (1980; 1989) on the nature of language development has perhaps brought most attention to these terms. His claims about the role played by 'meaningful' teacher talk in the process of language learning—claims which are partially based on early studies of 'motherese' and child language development (cf. Gleason, 1993; Gallaway & Richards, 1994, for summaries of such studies)—have prompted many investigations on teacher and student talk in L2 classrooms. Relevant to this study is how 'comprehensible input' has been operationalized in those studies. Generally, an input-rich environment has been defined as that filled with such features as semantically and syntactically simple constructions, repetitions, rephrasings, learner requests for clarification and confirmation, and use of back-channels and fillers (for reviews and summaries on studies of comprehensible input see, e.g., Chaudron, 1988; Crookes & Gass 1993; Pica, 1991, 1994; Wesche, 1994). A glance at the excerpts of talk provided here reveals that many of these features are frequently used by both the teacher and students. From one perspective then the talk is comprehensible. However, if we use the perspective of talk-as-discursive-practice, and include such features as those used in topic development and management in defining 'comprehensible input', the talk no longer appears so meaningful and rich in its developmental potential.

The concern then is not how we define the abilities of either the teacher or the students. Rather, it is with the features of talk we have considered to be significant to the creation of comprehensible input. While there is a consensus that a learner's linguistic environment is a major contributor to her development, the way that FL teachers realize and define this environment determines in large part what gets treated as significant to FL learning in classrooms. Considering the findings of this study, it becomes clear that providing interactive environments which help facilitate the development of learners' L2 interactional competence, particularly their practice-specific discursive knowledge and skills, involves significantly more than the use of, e.g., simple syntax, multiple repetitions, and clarification requests.

These findings also make apparent the need for further investigation into the interactive environments of FL classrooms. Through more detailed analyses of the various activities accomplished through interaction in this environment, we will probably find that this talk has not one generic discursive framework, but rather that it is a compilation of a wide variety of diverse practices, engagement

in which is likely to produce a variety of quite diverse - and significant - communicative consequences in the learners. Consequently, differences in how FL classrooms define and structure their interactive environments will facilitate the development of different knowledge bases about those environments, and subsequently, of learners with different mindsets, i.e., different social, linguistic and cognitive expectations for how to structure and interpret theirs and others' participation in that talk. That there are different discursive frames, structures and functions to talk, and that there are linguistic, social and cognitive consequences to the varied uses of these resources may be easily overlooked if the classroom environment is defined as one type, e.g., 'communicative' 'comprehensible' or 'naturalistic' and if the features of such talk are defined only in terms of semantic and syntactic simplicity, and the use of simple discourse features such as comprehension checks and clarification requests. Once we are able to determine the kinds of interactive practices that comprise FL classroom talk, we will be able to give attention to devising practices, and preparing ourselves and other language teachers to talk in ways that better facilitate our students' L2 interactional development.

CONCLUSIONS

As research grounded in a sociocultural theory of development has suggested, and the findings from this study demonstrate, the talk that is provided in FL classroom environments by more expert users of the language can as easily constrain as it can facilitate their learners' L2 interactional development. If our learners' growth is partially defined by what is being provided to them to learn, and we agree that a goal of FL teaching is to help students' develop their ability to communicate with speakers of the language they are learning, then we need to begin to examine what it is we are providing as interactive environments for this development. At the very least, knowing the discursive frames of these practices, e.g., their conventional purposes, rhetorical frameworks and linguistic resources typically used, will help us to determine whether what we are doing is in fact leading to the development of our learners' L2 interactional competence in ways that are appropriate to their social, academic and other interactional needs.

NOTES

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meeting of the America Association of Applied Linguistics, Long Beach, California, and for the Cognitive Studies Group, Institute of Behavioral Research, University of Georgia, May 1995.

[2] The term 'interactive practice' has its roots in such terms as 'genre' and 'speech event' as used by Hymes (1972), and the term 'practice' as used by, e.g., Lave and Wenger (1991). There are, however, slight but important differences. Readers are directed to Hall (1993) where some connections are made and distinctions drawn.

[3] Interactional competence as it is used here is one aspect of communicative competence as defined by, e.g., Gumperz (1981). A fuller description of its linguistic, social and cognitive dimensions can be found in Hall and Brooks (1995).

[4] The transcription conventions used in the following excerpts include brackets [to indicate simultaneous talk; : a colon to indicate vowel lengthening; underlining _ to indicate loudness; and directional arrows ↑↓ to indicate rising and falling intonation. Lexical ties are in **bold face**.

[5] English translations of the two lessons from which the excerpts contained in the text come appear in the Appendix. In these, utterances originally spoken in English are italicized.

[6] A popular late night talk show at the time of the study.

APPENDIX

English Translations of the Two Lessons:
Lesson A 8/30/95 This begins about 30 seconds after the bell rings when the teacher turns on the audio tape and begins to play music. The music lasts for about 30 seconds. The interaction begins when the teacher turns off the tape recorder.

1	T:	it's **music** no↑ **music** no↑
2	Julio:	no
3	T:	it's **music** . it's music↓ . it's music↓
4		now sir . **do you like it**↑ **do you like the music**↑
5	Julio:	**I don't like it**↓
6	T:	**I don't like it**↓
7	Julio:	**I don't like it**↓
8	T:	**I don't like the music**↓ **do you like the music**↑
9		**I don't like the music**↓ [**do you like the music**↑
10	Several Ss:	[*I do* yes yes *yeah* yes
11	Rafael:	*aw man where you goin*↓
12	T:	**yes I like the music**↓ **do you like the music**↑
13	Andrea:	yes↓
14 - 30		(same IRE pattern of Q and A continues)
31	T:	(loudly) **it's music** by Gloria Estefan ↓
32	Several Ss:	E(unintelligible talk)
33		I(T writes on board)
34	Rafael:	*if you'd speak English I'd understand*
35	T:	yes Gloria Estefan . . Pon Poncherelo **do you like** Gloria Estefan↑
36	Ponch:	yes↓
37	T:	yes↓
38	Julio:	*who's* [Gloria Estefan↑
39	Ponch:	[**I yes like**
40	T:	yes↓ **I like I like** Gloria Estefan [**yes**↓**I like** Gloria Estefa↑
41	Rafael:	[*oh that's the person who was*
42		*singing that song that's the person who was singing that song*
43-60		(T plays tape again and asks Ss whether song is in English or Spanish)
61	Santiago:	*hey can we listen to some Spanish rap called the Spanish* (unintelligible)
62	T:	pardon↑
63	Santiago:	(repeats the name [unintelligible])
64	T:	**do you like it**↑
65	Santiago:	*yeah* [(unintelligible talk)
66	T:	[ah good fantastic do you have **the tape**↑

67 Santiago: *yeah*
68 T: yes ↑**the tape** is is the (goes to get cassette tape) here (holds up tape)
69 **the tape** class **the tape**
70 Ss: **the tape**
71 T: yes::: yes **the tape** do you have **the tape** of::: (unintelligible)
72 do you have **the tape** ↑**the tape**↑
73 Male S: *where'd you get it*
74 Rafael: *where'd you get it*
75 Laura: *do you have it on tape*
76 Julio *do you have it on tape*
77 Rafael: *do you have it on tape*
78 Santiago: *I don't have it on tape I saw it in a store I saw it*
79 *in a* ⌈*store*
80 T: ⌊o::::h buy it for me ↓ eh↑
81 ok good fantastic ↓
(moves into next activity—drilling of numbers)

Lesson B 10/12/92 This begins begins about 20 minutes into the class, occurring right after a student reads aloud a poem. One of the words in the poem was 'cantar.'

1 T: **to sing to sing to sing** yes yes **I like to sing I like to sing**
2 **do you like to sing**↑
3 Mercedes: yes
4 T: oh yes **do you like to sing≠ do you like to sing**↑
5 Andrea: yes **I like to sing**
6 T: very well very well yes and Jamaal **do you like to sing**↑
7 Rafael: uhm↑
8 T: **do you like to sing**↑ (sings loudly) **to si::ng**
9 Rafael: (sings softly) **to si::ng**
10 T: **yes do you like to**↑
11 Rafael: **yes I like to**
12 T: **yes I like to sing**↓ **I like to sing**↓ yes yes
13-62 (T places cartoon of President Clinton playing the saxophone on the overhead and asks who his brother is. While T tries to elicit the name, several students comment upon the picture. Just before line 62 a S provides the name.)
62 T: yes↑.does Roger **like** to play the saxophone↑
63 Several Ss: no no
64 T: no↓ . he doesn't like to play the saxophone↓ what **does he like**
65 **to do**↓ what **does he like to do**↓
66 Male S: **to sing**
67 T: yes **he likes to sing** yes Roger Clinton is a singer yes↑
68 Male S: Eyes↓
69 T: Ihe **likes to sing he likes to** good
70-115 (T spends a few moments lecturing Ss in English about when me vs. te is used. They then engage in another questioning round with 'te gusta cantar.')
116 T: but . **do you like** Monica **do you like to eat** cats≠ **do you like to eat** cats↑
117 Monica: yes↓
118 T: yes or no↓ ...yes:: ok . **I like . I like**
119 Monica: **I like**
120 T: **to eat** cats
121 Monica: **to eat** cats
122 T: do you understand **to eat to eat**≠ *yum yum* cats↑Sylvester Garfield
123 Female S: *cats*≠
124 T: yes↓ Monica **likes to eat** cats
125 Female S: *she likes to eat cats*↑
126 T: yes↓ of course
127 Several S: (laughter, simultaneous talk)
128 Male S: *you been eatin cats*

129 Monica: no
130 T: no ahh no ok I don't
131 Monica: (*very softly*) I don't
132 T: **eat** cats yes . I don't **like to eat** cats good Monica I
133 **like to eat** cats on pizza↓ on pizza↓ [only on pizza only on pizza
134 Female S: [*you have cats on pizza*↑
135-149 (T continues telling Ss what he likes to eat with pizza (i.e., cats and chocolate). Meanwhile, there is an increase of simultaneous talking among the students. T begins to close the activity on line 150.)
150 T: **I love to eat** pizza with cats and chocolate yes yes very well no yes
151 *the only problem is you get heartburn nine times* yes it's the only
152 problem the only problem eh **I love**
153 please ok
(moves into next activity—grammar lesson)

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