Conversation Analysis (CA)
in Primary School Classrooms

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Although CA deals with all kinds of talk produced in natural contexts, this study focuses its interest on the talk produced in some primary school classrooms. It attempts to develop the construct that CA should move significantly ahead to more practical grounds where its detailed and isolated description causes some effect in improving foreign language teaching, for example. It might be used, for instance, to promote professional development in Colombia. It plans to involve pre-service teachers initially and in-service ones later. The kind of interaction promoted by trainee teachers shows a very restricted possibility for young learners to use the language meaningfully in the classroom. Four stages are defined and suggested as a path to follow with pre-service teachers at Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia –UPTC– in the Foreign Language Programme - FLP.

Key words: Classroom interaction, conversation analysis, primary school classrooms

1. Introduction

CA has appeared as an interesting field of research and educators are gathering data and analysing them as a methodological procedure to understand the way talk is
organised. This study intends to interpret some of the theoretical foundations of CA and to establish a connection to foreign language teaching. Although the literature available expands on the concept of CA, some basic agreement can be reached when defining it as “the study of talk” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 13); “the order/organisation/orderliness of social action” (Psathas, 1995, p. 2) or a “way of describing human behaviour based on the careful observation of everyday interactional practices” (Pallotti, 2007, p. 37).

Most of the language that underpins any social action is structured and regulated through a systematic “natural organisation that can be discovered and analysed by close examination” (Psathas, 1995, p. 2). The argument that this study builds up is highly concerned with the usefulness of a methodology that is extremely detailed and time-consuming.

What has been done so far links CA to a very isolated and useless set of informed and detailed transcription of the features that characterise talk, but few studies (Seedhouse 2008; Walsh, 2006) establish a connection between description and effects for the solution of problems. The foreign language classroom is, without any doubt, a scene where talk regulates most of its functions. The traces of interaction and the features that characterise its complex structure and organisation offer a new door to re-conceptualise the purpose of CA in the institutional setting of the classroom.

CA methodology and foundations might be used with pre-service teachers for their professional development and growth. The FLP provides the opportunity to focus on the analysis of some of the talk generated when teaching young learners. Some samples of recorded on-going lessons might help to raise pre-service teachers’ awareness in an attempt to enhance renewed commitment and change.

The interaction promoted by a group of pre-service foreign language teachers in the primary school classroom is characterised by a very limited and constrained exchange system based on a highly controlled IRF (Initiation-Response-Feedback) cycle, and a pedagogical agenda of the teacher that reduces the learners’ potential ability for language use. The minimised interactional portrait created in the classroom forces this study to look ahead and move significantly from isolated description to transforming the classroom into a setting for the negotiation of meaning and maximised interaction.

2. CA Methodology: Understanding, Practice and Research

This study proposes 4 stages as a path to follow for CA understanding, practice and research. The interaction promoted in the Colombian primary school classroom
is far from creating real possibilities for foreign language learning. There is no doubt that the efforts and actions of teachers of young learners should be highly appreciated; however, there are no verifiable traces of interaction that allow us to believe that what is currently done helps children to engage through processes of language achievement.

Traditional teacher-fronted instruction and students’ senseless repetition, followed by a very tight IRF cycle, provide plenty of insights to capture student-teacher attention for learners’ involvement in the classroom. CA methodology illustrates whether the teacher is creating some kind of potential learning opportunities and participation.

Some questions related to the situation described that can be asked are the following:

- Is there currently any interaction in the primary school classroom?
- Is interaction pedagogically addressed as a principle for lesson planning?
- Are pre-service teachers trained in the foundations of classroom interaction?
- Are trainee teachers fully guided and supported by experienced teachers when planning lessons?
- Is there any track of critical reflective practice and cooperative professional development?

2.1 Stage 1: CA Familiarity & Training

The main theoretical constructs of CA are not very well known in Colombia. Some of its basic principles, development and research should be introduced as a starting point with the intention of familiarising pre-service and in-service teachers with its history and foundations. Being familiar with its methodology and features of interpretation of talk in naturally-occurring settings might be a good point to start from. “Although there is no official, single way of doing conversation analysis, there are some fundamental methodological features common to most research in the area” (Pallotti, 2007, p. 40).

Some introductory lectures, seminars and workshops can be scheduled with the intention of creating the atmosphere for CA understanding and training. Additionally, relevant literature in the field might be additionally used in order for pre- and in-service teachers to become involved in the conceptualization and purpose of CA. Creating the culture of permanent theoretical support and discussion in the
form of reading groups, for example, might effectively contribute to generating its understanding and practice. The FLP library should also include a new set of updated publications in the field.

Foreign language practitioners should be well informed about transcription conventions, data selection and analysis, as well as in the machinery of talk (turn taking, sequence, repair, preference). Although the procedure mentioned so far might benefit a good number of future foreign language practitioners, the debate should move on how to establish some deliberate room for its research and applicability in Colombian classrooms. CA can be introduced in the form of formal subjects inside the curriculum with the intention of providing the foundations for classroom interaction as a principle for language teaching & learning.

**2.2 Stage 2: Video-Recording of on-Going Lessons**

Pallotti (2007, p. 40) points out that “CA research is based on naturalistic data i.e. exchanges that take place independently of the investigator’s need to record and analyse them”. Video-recording, an instrument for data collection frequently used by researchers, helps enormously to capture as many details as possible of the features of conversation mediating the process of teaching. CA not only concentrates on linguistic features, it is also highly concerned about any other sign that can help the analyst to describe and make sense of the intention of the discourse.

CA transcripts aim to report everything that is audible and visible, including pause lengths (in tenths of second), beginning and ends of overlapping speech, false starts, hesitations, non-verbal sounds like ah, oh, hm, tch, intonation contours, body and gaze movements. (Pallotti, 2007, p. 41).

Detailed attention to relevant signs linked to the talk emerging is almost impossible without the help of video-recordings. The on-going lessons of pre-service teachers will be regularly taped. The transcription of some fragments will be used as research data for both corpora and analysis. The collection of real samples of pre-service teacher lessons will increase the level of reliability of the research portraying the FLP context in particular. Some of them should additionally serve as material for lecturing, seminars and workshops in the attempt to create a culture of CA at the UPTC.
2.3 Stage 3: Cooperative Transcription and Analysis

CA should be directly linked to processes of teaching and learning in the context researched. The samples of the lessons video-recorded will be used to raise pre-service teachers’ awareness about the levels of interaction promoted in the foreign language classroom. Their transcription and analysis might be undertaken under a cooperative principle that must involve pre- and in-service practitioners. Regularly scheduled sessions will be part of the possibility for committing students’ actions and involvement.

What occurs in the classroom reveals that “people have to exchange turns, construct sequences, repair troublespots and so forth” (Pallotti, 2007, p. 51). Such a unique portrait of the interaction in action might contribute to consolidating the methodology, practice and application of CA. Building up new pedagogical insights and positive criticism could open a door to understanding that teaching and learning are social actions. The participants should be ready to promote from discussions, new trends and responsibilities for better-supported foreign language processes, specifically in primary schools.

2.4 Stage 4: Trainee Teachers’ Involvement

CA has to be assumed as a deliberate research route. The process of data collection, lesson observation, data transcription & analysis, and reflection should be linked to a very consistent procedure involving as many trainees as possible. The portrait of the interaction taking place in the classroom has to be documented and socialised. CA procedures have to be consolidated and fully understood as a path to follow in the FLP.

Pre-service teachers should be highly engaged through processes of research. They have to be aware of the importance of constructing a sense of identity from pedagogy. They should realise that what they are doing is right, but that some changes have to be made with the intention of constructing better possibilities for generations of young learners. But their commitment has to be consolidated through tangible actions. Creating new opportunities for learning demands a process of theoretical support, data gathering, process of analysis and collaborative growth.

3. Applications of CA: Classroom Interaction

Some research studies (Bowles & Seedhouse, 2007; Cullen, 1998; Seedhouse, 2004; Walsh, 2006; Walsh & O’Keeffe, 2007) have paid special attention to the study
of classroom talk. Describing, understanding and applying it has been a main issue. The nature of occurring interaction in the classroom might help to capture practitioners’ attention to discover its benefits for the creation of better conditions for teaching and learning.

Plenty of data have been collected from primary and secondary foreign language classrooms (Johnson, 1995; Markee, 2005; Van Lier, 1988; Walsh, 2006) and more have been gathered from lecturing in higher academic settings (Walsh & O’Keeffe, 2007). That enormous stream of linguistic items uttered in terms of sounds, words, sentences, hesitations, overlaps, sequences and so on show a reality that practitioners should be able to look at carefully.

The term ‘classroom interaction’ can be understood in different ways. In a general consensus, it “refers to the interaction between the teacher and learners, and among the learners, in the classroom” (Tsui, 2001, p. 120). Plenty of research studies have been carried out (Edwards & Wesgate, 1994; Seedhouse, 2004; Van Lier, 1988; Walsh, 2006) in order to investigate characteristics of the language mediating the act of teaching and learning. The data gathered so far and the involvement of new generations of researchers describing and analysing the potential meaning of the interaction generated, open a door towards gaining some benefit from the picture revealed.

There is no doubt about the value of the description and analysis undertaken as part of the methodology and purpose of CA. What I am concerned about is that what is revealed, at least in the institutional setting of the classroom, is not used to solve some of the problems identified. I strongly believe that research in the classroom has to be directly connected in order to find a better atmosphere for teaching and learning and that the detailed description of the talk circulating the classroom is a source to promote some changes. Otherwise, CA seems to be fruitless.

Classroom talk provides a unique and endless field for investigation. Although it obeys the rules of the pedagogical agenda of the teacher, most of the time, an authentic picture of what happens in terms of interactional and preference organisation, turn taking and adjacency pairs, among many others, is susceptible to being described and analysed as well as purposefully and, even more importantly, transformed. That is a real application of CA.

4. Identified Problems

Teaching English to young learners is a great challenge that Colombian teachers are currently facing. The Ministry of Education decided to introduce a new policy
that extended learning another language to primary schools. This reality forced universities to schedule new programmes in attempts to cope with the emerging demand. The UPTC is running its undergraduate programme to train foreign language teachers.

As the policy had to be obeyed, teachers who were already teaching different subjects assumed an extra one: English. They did not have even a basic competence in the language, nor any training related to the concept or foundations of second language teaching and learning. Apart from that, there was no experience at all about teaching children. Some of the training programmes were pilot studies looking to establish the necessary foundations to build a sense of training identity matching the particular characteristics of the Colombian reality.

Although the situation has improved a lot, there are still parts of the country where the language is taught by people who have no background in so doing. The government has not assumed the responsibility for creating the conditions to expand the quantity and quality of qualified primary school foreign language teachers either. Additionally, primary schools have not been provided with extra funds, printed materials or technological equipment. Reality shows that in a vast majority of cases all that teachers have is a board and a tape recorder to assume the challenge of teaching children.

Being immersed in a monolingual classroom is in itself a constraint. Their learning process should involve the creation of conditions supported by the use of technology, for example. Teaching young learners means expanding and grounding them on varied sources including children’s books, videos, games and songs, among many others. Most of them are still far beyond possibility for primary school teachers.

What happens in the context of this study is rather similar. There are some practical problems to solve. Some samples of on-going lessons video-recorded and transcribed reveal particular needs to be faced (see extracts 1 & 2). Minimised interaction, static task oriented turn-taking, IRF cycle, repair oriented behaviour, teacher’s pedagogical agenda tightly controlled and maintained, a gap between informed pedagogy and decisions made by trainees in terms of lesson focus and content, and predictable utterances and sequences, among others are some of the constraints.

Pre-service teachers have to be aware that we need to move significantly ahead in areas such as materials, assessment, evaluation, task design, and to be less dependant on what publishers force us to follow. They have to write their own teaching history, without forgetting what is proposed abroad certainly, but being a little more the
producers rather than consumers of knowledge. Transcription, analysis and observation will be a way to strengthen the usefulness of CA methodology for the benefit of the FLP. Maximising interaction, overcoming the IRF cycle, promoting more student-student exchange, reducing the teachers’ talking time, among others, can be gained from purposeful CA action.

5. Rationale for Using CA: An Open Door to Professional Development

Some voices, mine among them, can claim how CA might be practically used to solve some of the problems identified in the classroom, for example. Fortunately, some early studies (Pallotti, 2007; Seedhouse, 2005; Walsh, 2006) have started to approach the enquiry which has arisen. Some studies propose its application for teacher education (Walsh, 2006) as a tool for induction of teacher-trainees (Seedhouse, 2008) or for exploring implications for LSP (language for specific purposes) (Burns & Moore, 2007).

Seedhouse (2008, p. 43-49) investigated and compared “how an experienced teacher successfully establishes a pedagogical focus” (data from Mexico). He also looked at the way “an EL lesson was taught by an inexperienced teacher who was not fully competent in establishing a focus” (data from Britain). I am fully convinced that something closer can be done in order to promote observable changes in the setting where problems are studied.

Comparing and contrasting the way pre- and in-service teachers promote interaction can be something highly beneficial to creating better foundations for children’s teaching and learning. The contrast has also to be more reliable because practitioners share the same conditions and background. Identifying the features of their own conception and pedagogical identity might be an issue to highlight also. The example used here supports the claim made in this paper that CA should move from description to action.

Walsh (2006, p. 111) suggests that CA can be used “as a tool for teacher education and professional development”. His research also aimed to “consider how teachers engage in a process of critical reflective practice”. The study carried out with university ELF tutors looked at the following:

- How teachers are encouraged to notice, describe and explain the interactional organisation of their L2 classes.
• Involving dialogue and enquiry.
• Helping practitioners to see their classroom worlds differently.
• A process of consciousness-raising based on decisions towards interactional choices.

Most of the aims of the research done by Walsh share principles with what this study claims to be its interest. Observation, analysis, dialogue, awareness and reflective practice are claimed as principles in the current proposal. Being able to re-discover the reality that underlines the organisation of talk in the classroom might anticipate positive changes in the compromise for a better and more effective teaching environment. CA opens a door for teacher education. Some critical analysis of the interaction promoted in the classroom might induce teacher-trainees, through sensitising pre-service teachers, to re-place their role for the benefit of target language learning.

6. How CA Would be Applied

The interpretation of some of the main issues of the interaction promoted in the primary school classroom might help a lot to portray its reality. The analysis of some fragments of the talk used by teachers-trainees can be a very good application of CA in contexts already mentioned. Hearing the voices of pre-service teachers will lead to a better-grounded professional. Some critical reflection about the opportunities created to interact meaningfully, for example, might enhance a new attitude when teaching children.

The two samples below (extracts 1 & 2, see Appendix for transcription conventions) were transcribed from on-going lessons recorded in two different primary school classrooms. Those teaching sessions were taught by pre-service teachers enrolled in the FLP. The methodology of CA might be used to critically reflect on what is currently happen in the setting described in this study. The pedagogical dialogue resulting from the observation of the lessons videotaped may consolidate the application of CA in Colombia.

**Extract 1**

1 T: now ... now
2 L: ( )
3 T: This is (2) ((showing a balloon)
The teacher starts the lesson in a straightforward manner without mentioning the teaching goals. However, it is evident from the very beginning that her pedagogic agenda is highly devoted to learners’ identification of colours. She uses some colourful balloons as a tool to achieve the learning outcomes. The lesson is taught in a monolingual classroom and the students’ ages are between 7 and 8. They are absolute beginners. The teacher-trainee stands at the front of the classroom and from there makes sure she holds the floor both with the topic and the behaviour of the learners: “you sit down, sit down” (line 13).
We can see that the organization of the interaction follows the same structure and that every sequence can be perfectly predicted. She introduces every item with “this is” (lines 3, 15, 17, 26) showing then a coloured balloon she wants her pupils to identify. What follows is a response by the learners (lines 5, 12, 14, 16, 21) which is either confirmed (lines 6, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20) or rejected (line 8) by the teacher.

The pedagogical agenda of the teacher follows a very tight control of an IRF system. The teacher initiates with “This is” (line 3), students respond “yellow” (line 5) and the teacher provides feedback: “yellow. Very good Camilo, yellow” (line 6). The same structure is maintained in lines 13, 14, 15 and 24, 25, 26. Because of word count constraints I cannot continue with the lack of identifiable patterns of interaction, such as turn taking. There is no track of meaningful communication. A senseless repetition system even conduces students to respond in a controversial communicative off-focus fashion, as in the responses given in turns 7 and 18, where students totally missed the point and wrongly repeated the same utterance the teacher was producing.

Extract 2 provides some more insights for the analysis of what is currently happening in some foreign language classrooms in Colombia. CA methodology can be used to raise practitioners’ awareness and actions to overcome some of the problems included in part 4.3 in this study. The portrait of the interaction promoted and the exchange system implemented is, without any doubt, a pedagogical concern of the FLP.

**Extract 2:**

1. T: Haber todos ((tr.: OK everybody)). Pay attention to me (.) look at me Please be quiet. Silence. Look at me. silence. Here we have (.) a KA::lendar (...) repeat a KA::lendar
2. LL: KA::lendar
3. T: KA::lendar
4. L1: calend::rio ((tr.: calendar)) calend::rio ((tr.: calendar))
5. T: shh:::hhh. silence. a KA::lendar
6. L1: KA::lendar
7. T: every calendar ... has ... one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, Nine, ten, eleven
8. LL: [two, three, four, five, six, seven, ni, ten, Eleven]
9. T: and (.) twelve ... months (.) y ((tr.: and)) cuántos? ((tr.: how many)) y ((tr.: and)) How many ... how many months ... are there in ... the ...
Here (3) ((teacher point at a poster)) how many months there are … twelve?
10 LL: twelve
11 T: twel::ve months. The first one is … JA::nuary
   haber todos decimos ((tr.: OK everybody says))
   JA::nuary
12 LL: JA::nuary
13 T: JA::nuary
14 LL: JA::nuary
15 T: the first one is (2) what is its name? (4) ((teacher writes on the board))
   JA::nuary. the second one is … FE:bruary
   [mar::]
16 L: marzo ((tr.: March))
17 T: FE:bruary … FE:bruary … FE:bruary
   February february
18 L1: FE:bruary
19 T: FE:bruary … repeat … FE:bruary
20 LL: FE:bruary
21 T: Karen … what is its name?
22 LL: FE:bruary
23 T: FE:bruary (3) ((shows a strip of paper)
   the third one is (2)
24 L: mar::zo (March)
25 T: MAR:ch
26 LL: MAR:ch
27 T: MAR:ch … this is the month (4) ((teacher writes on the board))
   MAR:ch
28 LL: MAR:ch

This lesson is taught to children of ages 8 to 9. Their background is a little better as they have had two previous years experience in learning English. However, some common issues can be identified from the same problems related to extract 1: The teacher starts the lesson without mentioning the learning outcomes and goes straight into the topic, making sure she holds the floor first by controlling students’ behaviour through a set of reiterative commands intended to gain the learners’ attention: “Pay attention to me. Look at me. Please be quiet. Silence. Look at me. Silence. Shhhhh” (lines 1 & 5).

The IRF structure is slightly varied as the feedback provided by the teacher assumes the form of reinforcement and acceptance of the linguistic item initiated. She initiates: “Here we have (...) a KA::lendar (...) repeat a KA::lendar” (line 1),
students respond: “KA::lendar” (line 2), the teacher reinforces: “KA::lendar” (lines 3 & 5), Students repeat again: “a KA::lendar” line (6) before moving onto the next sequence where the structure is similarly approached. We can see it replicated in lines 11 to 14 and 15 to 22.

Although the teacher attempts to introduce a couple of meaningful exchange patterns of interaction, “Every calendar has … one, two, three…” (line 7) and students overlap actively following the numerical chain (line 8), “and how many… how many months…are there in here” (line 9), the pedagogical agenda forces the interaction of the classroom to go back to the teaching focus without creating opportunities for students to interact beyond what the teacher has stated as learning outcomes.

Turn allocation and restricted interaction are totally dominated by a teacher controlling and deciding on the course of the action taking place in the classroom. “Learning opportunities, are created or missed by teachers in the interactional choices they make as a lesson progresses” (Walsh, 2006, p. 122). Although the learners are more advanced than the ones analysed in extract 1, and the content of the lesson has moved from colours to months of the year, there is no kind of progress in creating language learning opportunities or negotiation of meaning. Learning outcomes have been pitifully reduced to a few linguistic items through senseless repetition that inhibits language use and purposeful communication.

The critical analysis of the image that the classroom portrays in terms of interaction has to commit trainees to a course of action and to the improvement of their lesson planning and methodology. The picture revealed a very constricted and minimised interaction, for example. The discussion about how to overcome the IRF system and move ahead in creating more opportunities for learning might construct a different teaching atmosphere. That restricted scheme of allocating turns in the classroom is something pre- and in-service teachers should include as part of the construction of the new pedagogy for the primary school classroom.

Pre-service teachers’ development and training at the UPTC might be greatly enriched from the critical analysis of extracts 1 and 2. CA methodology as proposed in part 2.1 to 2.4 in this study might help to raise a conscious understanding of a more interactive pedagogical purpose. Starting from a workshop where trainees are basically informed of the transcription conventions (stage 1), followed by a process of observation of the lesson recorded (stage 2), moving on to designing some tasks for the transcription and analysis of chosen passages of the lesson (stage 3) and
ending with committing actions through the process of suggesting and evaluating changes (stage 4) might open a door for CA analysis to move significantly from description to action as claimed in this study.

**Conclusions**

What some Colombian primary school classrooms showed in terms of the interaction promoted is a very limited picture. The basic components of the machinery identified in mundane talk in terms of adjacency pairs, sequence, turn taking or preference, for example, are far from being reached in the context of this study. Interaction has to be urgently promoted and pre-service teachers have to be trained in its principles and methodology.

The image portrayed in the lessons analysed revealed that they are planned based on isolated linguistic items rather than on active processes stressing principles of learning through interaction. Lesson planning, observation and critical reflective practice have to be purposefully addressed as a teaching cycle for teacher-trainees. Trying to bridge the gap between informed pedagogy and on-going lessons should be part of the action to be taken in the FLP.

In-service teacher decision making and planning have to be used as a guide and support for novice practitioners’ practice. The observation of lessons taught by them might create a better atmosphere for teaching as a cooperative action. The kind of pedagogical dialogue constructed from observation and analysis has to promote a new trend in foreign language teaching to young learners that matches the environment and reality in the setting of the study.

Observation, transcription, analysis and dialogue may be a path to strengthen teacher-trainees’ skills in terms of maximising interaction, overcoming the IRF cycle and promoting more student-student exchange. Reducing the echoing of the teacher’s words might be a point to direct trainees’ attention. ‘Reduced echo is regarded as a positive strategy that has an important role to play in facilitating learning opportunities’ (Walsh, 2006, p. 123).

Raising trainees’ awareness from the worth of their pedagogical knowledge, their creativity, material design, and lesson planning, among many others could be used to re-construct the history of teaching languages in Colombia. However, they should bear in mind that they need to move significantly ahead in areas such as materials, assessment, evaluation and task design, among others.
References


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Appendix

Transcription Conventions

(Taken from Walsh, 2006 & Bowles & Seedhouse, 2007)

T: teacher
LL: several learners at once or the whole class
L: learner not specified
L1, L2, etc.: identified learner
(5) silence. Pause given in seconds
... pause of one second or less
CORrect emphatic speech. Falling intonation
((2)) unintelligible 2 seconds. A stretch of unintelligible speech with
the length given in seconds
((teacher writes)) editor's comment
( ) a stretch of unclear or unintelligible speech
overlap between teacher and learner
er: The: indicates length of the preceding sounds
((tr.:)) Translation of utterances in L1