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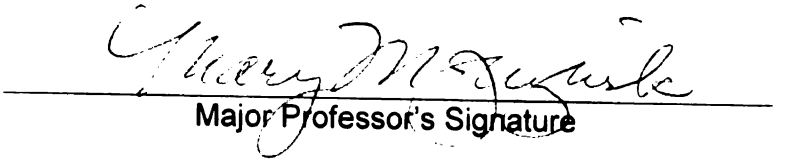

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REFRAMING DISCUSSIONS

By

Michael B. Sherry

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ABSTRACT

REFRAMING DISCUSSIONS

By

Michael B. Sherry

Recitations and discussions are two types of interactions which have long been of interest to researchers who study classroom discourse in secondary English and Social Studies. According to research, teachers control the discourse during recitations through "inauthentic" questions requiring pre-specified answers. In contrast, discussions involve shared control and include "authentic" questions allowing multiple interpretations. This research has described recitations and discussions as opposites. Moreover, recitations and discussions have primarily been distinguished by who speaks and how many answers are possible. In defining these interactions in terms of stable categories and a multiplicity of voices and interpretations, little attention has been paid to dynamic relationships created through discourse during these interactions: If recitations appear to be so persistent, how might they be "reframed" as discussions through negotiation of the roles, relationships, and responses that are possible and appropriate in an interaction? If discussions involve not only expressing multiple opinions but also engaging with texts and responding to others' perspectives, how do speakers relate their experiences to the topic and build on others' contributions? My dissertation addressed discussions in terms of dynamic, discursive relationships through sociolinguistic discourse analysis of field notes, class transcripts, written reflections, and interviews on 28 lessons over one year in an urban 10th grade English class, a suburban 9th grade Social Studies class, and a rural 12th grade Composition class. Based on this research, I make the following claims.

Recitations and discussions are not stable discourse patterns determined by individual speakers or individual turns in conversation. In contrast with prior English and Social Studies education research, the teacher's intended purpose did not necessarily determine the nature of the interaction, and inauthentic/authentic questions were not necessarily indicators of recitations/discussions. Rather, the discourse seemed to depend on how the interactional frame could be (re)negotiated among teacher and students. Recitations were reframed as discussions by relating students to the topic through "animation" and by relating different opinions to each other via "double voicing."

"Animation" that cast students as figures in a historical/literary event reframed recitations as discussions by describing the topic as one with which students could identify. This finding adds to English and Social Studies education research on how envisionment of story worlds can increase students' comprehension/engagement and on how imagining themselves into events can increase students' empathy/authority.

"Double voicing" students' comments reframed recitations as discussions by repeating what others had said in ways that provoked debate. This finding adds to English and Social Studies education research on how asking questions about what others have just said can contribute to discussion and on how interpretive questions encourage debate.

Discussions can depend on the framing of other classroom interactions. Activities that preceded and followed discussions, in these data, shaped the frame for discussions. The framing of similar activities among teacher and students during previous classes shaped the frame for discussions. Repeated renegotiation of the frame led to emergence of genres, or types, of discussions.

To RL, DW, and SZ, for being my teachers.

To AL, who helped me to "write what I could not have known before I had written it."

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1. "Two People Talking by Themselves": Researching Recitations and Discussions

MS. SMITH (to her class): Remember when we talked about monologue? What was a monologue?

DIANA (raising her hand): One person talking by themselves.

MS. SMITH: Right! Well, if a monologue is one person talking by themselves, then a dialogue is...?

JOHNNY: Two people talking by themselves?

Education researchers who study classroom discourse in secondary English and Social Studies have long been interested in recitations and discussions. According to prior research, the type of interaction identified as recitations often involve repeated exchanges like the one above: A teacher asks questions to which s/he already knows the answer in order to test students' knowledge, evaluating their responses as correct or incorrect. Previous studies of classroom discourse have suggested that this kind of "monologic" exchange, with its pre-specified answers, requires little thinking and heavily constrains students' responses. Nevertheless, recitations have appeared for over a century in American classrooms, a familiar and recurring type of interaction among teacher and students. Indeed, though many previous studies have attributed responsibility for recitations to teachers, the above example suggests that this interaction depends as much on students...and students do not always cooperate. And although recitations have often been described negatively in terms of a single, stable recurring pattern, some research has suggested the possibility of variations in the nature, value, and purpose of this way of organizing roles, relationships, and responses through classroom talk.

The type of interaction called discussions also has a long history, dating back to pre-revolutionary European salons, where literary lights shared and challenged intellectual ideas. Today, discussing with others is still a common and valued practice in American society: In secondary English and Social Studies classrooms, it is a means for students to exchange ideas, to engage in shared inquiry, and to encounter other perspectives, preparing themselves for lifelong enjoyment of literate pursuits and adult participation in a democratic society. However, there has been far less education research on discussions. Despite the fact that several national studies show a correlation between discussions and student achievement in secondary English classrooms, and that others show that teachers and students claim to value this type of interaction, discussions have remained rare in comparison with recitations. Although discussions have usually appeared during recitations, little research has described how one arises from the other. Indeed, most studies have described discussions primarily as the opposite of recitations: Instead of a constraining pattern of question, response, and evaluation, as in the example above, teacher and students share control. Despite this emphasis on shared responsibility for defining the interaction, few studies have described how the nature of this type of interaction is negotiated among teacher and students. Instead, as in research on recitation, studies of discussions have often focused on teacher questions, which in discussions often allow an unspecified number of answers.

Thus prior definitions of "dialogic" discussions emphasize the presence of multiple speakers and the possibility of multiple interpretations. But such definitions risk defining discussions as "people talking by themselves": Discussions are not only about expression of one's own opinions, but also about engagement with texts and others' ideas

in order to expand or deepen one's understanding of the world. Yet little research addresses dialogue in terms of relationships—between speakers and the topic of discussion, among turns in the conversation, and between discussions and other classroom interaction routines. In other words, how do the relationships between speakers and the text/event/topic, in Literature or Social Studies, contribute to defining this type of interaction? How do the relationships among speakers' stances toward those events, in disagreement, for example, shape the nature of discussions? And how does what precedes or follows it, as well as experience with other, similar interactions, influence a discussion? Addressing these questions is important to defining an interaction which is at the heart of disciplines like English and Social Studies that value collaboration and "talking to learn."

My dissertation study addresses these questions about discussions and discursive relationships through interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis of field notes, class transcripts, reflections, and interviews associated with thirty lessons in three secondary school classrooms over one year. In chapter 2, I review the relevant literature on recitations and discussions, define my research questions, and articulate a theoretical framework based on assumptions and concepts from interactional sociolinguistics. Chapter 3 describes my methodological assumptions and decisions, including selection of sites/participants, generation of data sources, and means of analysis (including transcription conventions). In chapter 4, I focus on how what began as recitation was renegotiated among teacher and students in Sami Ghanem's 12th grade Composition class at rural Marquette High School and Tamara Jefferson's 10th grade Literature class at urban Magnum Appan High School. Next, I address in chapter 5 how a discussion

brought events into relationship with students' experiences, and how that shaped the nature of the interaction, in Dave Weber's 9th grade Social Studies class at suburban Talbott High School. Chapter 6 returns to Tamara Jefferson's Literature classes at Magnum Appan to explore whether and how disagreement contributes to discussions by bringing different perspectives on a topic into relationship. And in chapter 7, further examples from Dave Weber's Social Studies class illustrate how the sequence of activities, and repeated experience with other, similar interactions, shaped a certain kind of discussions. Finally, in chapter 8, I discuss these analyses in relation to previous research in English education, Social Studies education, and classroom discourse, as well as their implications for theory, research, and pedagogical practice of discussions.

2. Reframing Discussions: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Literature Review

Below, I first review the relevant research on the continuing persistence of recitations; then, I synthesize research on defining dialogic discussions. Based on a review of the literature, I next articulate research questions and propose a theoretical framework for this dissertation study.

2.1.1 The continuing persistence of recitations. For over a century, English education researchers have noted patterns of discourse associated with recitations, and how those patterns shape the possible roles, relationships, and responses of teacher and students. In the late 1800s, researchers described the way teachers tested students' recall of textbook knowledge through an "oral examination" consisting of the "rapid" and "mechanical" posing of questions, instructing students, "Don't stop to think, but tell me what you know" (Morrison, 1860; Rice, 1893, p. 175). An early 20th century study similarly described how recall of textbook content seemed to be of primary importance in American classrooms; rather than "really teach[ing]" by "building up new knowledge in class," teachers acted as "chairmen of a meeting" at which students reported what they had learned through study of the textbook (Burstall, 1909, pp. 156, 158). Stevens (1910, 1912) also found that teachers posed "rote memory" and "superficial comprehension questions" at the rate of one to four per minute, making "the classroom a place for displaying knowledge, rather than a laboratory for getting and using it" (p. 16). For Colvin (1919), as well, few of the questions teachers posed were "genuine thought questions" (p. 269). Thus early English education research described recitations as a

discursive practice which constructed the teacher as examiner of students' rote recall of textbook knowledge through rapid-fire questioning. Relating to the content, or building on others' ideas was of less importance than students' demonstration of knowledge for the teacher.

Subsequent research in the late 20th and early 21st century affirmed the continuing persistence of these long-standing patterns of classroom discourse, as well as the relatively negative roles and relationships they suggested for teacher and students (Applebee & Squire, 1968; Applebee, J. Langer, Nystrand, & Gamoran, 2003; Gallimore, Dalton, & Tharp, 1986; Hoetker & Albrand, 1969; W. Miller, 1922; Nystrand, Gamoran, Kachur, & Prendergast, 1997; Thayer, 1928). These studies further identified the patterns of discourse associated with recitations, noting a recurring, triadic pattern called I-R-E, in which the teacher **I**nitiates, the student **R**esponds, and the teacher **E**valuates that response (Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Like previous work, these studies found that the questions initiated by the teacher during recitations tended to be "inauthentic," asking for already-known answers, and to involve "lower-order thinking" (Nystrand et al., 1997; Nystrand, Wu, Gamoran, Zeiser, & Long, 2003), requiring only "the routine application of previously learned knowledge" (Newmann, 1990, p. 44). Similarly, the teacher's "follow-up" (Wells, 1999) to students' responses usually evaluated them as right or wrong, sending the message that there was a single, correct answer which students must produce (Marshall, Smagorinsky, & M. W. Smith, 1995). This repeated cycle has thus been characterized as "monologic" (Applebee et al., 2003; Nystrand et al., 1997): that is, there is little opportunity for students to relate their own experiences to the content or to engage in dialogue with others.

This is not to suggest that research on recitations has described them as one-sidedly negative. Early studies found recitations to be democratic, emphasizing students' equality and independence as they studied and were tested on textbook knowledge (Burstall, 1909). One review of the history of recitations (Thayer, 1928) described them as a progressive reform that allowed teachers to teach large groups (rather than through one-on-one tutorials, as had been more usual), efficiently estimating their collective knowledge by questioning a sample of students. Recitations have also been described as a "teaching game" (Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman, & F. Smith, 1966) in which teacher and students willingly participate, and on which teacher preparation ought to focus (Hoetker & Albrand, 1969). More recently, recitations have been called "a sort of genre" (Lemke, 1990) and "the dominant discourse genre" found in teaching (Wells, 1993). Indeed, some researchers have surmised that recitations can be useful in certain contexts for constructing, establishing, or passing on shared cultural knowledge and group norms (Lotman, 1988; Mercer, 1995; Wells, 2007). Thus, though recitations in some research has appeared to be a reified category defined by the I-R-E pattern, other studies suggests that not all of what has been called "recitations" is the same.

Indeed, researchers have called recitations a "classroom language game" (Bellack et al., 1966), an "instructional practice" (Hoetker & Albrand, 1969) and a "social organization of the discourse and the respective roles of the conversants" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 9). Others have termed the recurring combinations of roles, relationships, and responses "an instructional frame" (Chinn, R. Anderson, & Waggoner, 2001). Collectively, these descriptions have suggested that recitations, as a type of classroom discourse interaction cannot be understood

> ...outside the organized interrelationships of the [participants].... The crux of the matter is not the subjective consciousness of the speakers...or what [they] think, experience, or want, but in what the...social logic of their interrelationships demands of them. In the final account, this logic defines the very experiences of people... (Medvedev & Bakhtin, 1978, p. 153).

Recitations are not simply defined by the teacher's role or the kinds of questions s/he asks, but are rather a way of organizing experience which shapes and is shaped by the discursive interactions of the participants. That is, recitations depend not on individuals but on relationships, and the way those relationships shape and are shaped by their uses of language.

In sum, recitations are a long-standing type of classroom interaction typically characterized by patterns of discourse such as a recurring cycle of teacher question, student answer, and teacher evaluation or follow-up, which enable and constrain certain roles, relationships, and responses. Prior research has addressed these patterns as stable and universal in the way they construct teacher/student control, attributing responsibility for the interactions to the teacher, who "tightly regulates" (Chinn et al., 2001, p. 378) classroom talk and allows students "no control over the flow of the discussion" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 38). From this perspective, recitations are a type of interaction whose organization is determined by the teacher (Chinn et al., 2001, p. 378). That teachers are solely responsible for the persistence of recitations seems unlikely given long-standing condemnation of recitations not only by English education research, but also by curricular materials and practitioner literature (Hoetker & Albrand, 1969); moreover, researchers have found that most teachers and students value peer discussions in literature

instruction (Adler, Rougle, Kaiser, & Caughlan, 2003; Commeyras & DeGroff, 1998). Rather than teacher-determined, recitations have been described by some research as a game or "dance" in which students "...play along, of course, so that we can tell that they know that *we* know that *they* know what *we* know!" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 18). Yet few studies have described how recitations, as an "instructional frame" (Chinn et al., 2001) or way of co-organizing experience, are established, maintained, or transformed by interaction among teacher and students. Research on whether and how recitations are negotiated among teacher and students, rather than determined by the teacher, seems necessary given the persistence of this type of discursive interaction across classrooms for over a century.

If further research is necessary on how recitations are negotiated among participants, more study is also required into the dynamics of this type of interaction. Much prior work on recitations describes the I-R-E cycle, with its inauthentic, lower-order thinking questions, as a stable pattern of discourse (Applebee et al., 2003; Nystrand et al., 1997). However, some studies suggest possible variations in the features and purposes of this "genre," or recurring type of discursive interaction (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1993). Indeed, Mehan, one of the first to name the I-R-E sequence, has cautioned sociocultural researchers against treating such teaching interactions as static events and has called for more attention to their processual struggles and conflicts: "Trouble is an essential feature of teaching-learning interaction; it is always there, a feature that defies our attempts to correct it, or repair it, or make it disappear" (1998, p. 264). But few previous studies describe what "troubles" recitations—how they are dynamically negotiated, maintained, or transformed through interaction, and even struggle, among

teacher and students. Such study seems warranted if English education researchers are to learn more about variations in this genre of classroom discourse, as well as its relationship to other classroom interactions, like discussion.

2.1.2. Defining discussion. Despite much prior research on recitations, far less study has been devoted to defining discussions. One reason for this may be their relative rarity in American classrooms. A national study of English instruction, conducted in over 1,600 classes, found that only 23 percent of class time was spent on talk other than teacher lectures and recitations (Applebee & Squire, 1968). Further, Nystrand, Gamoran, Kachur, and Prendergast's (1997) national study of English classroom discourse reduced this figure to less than 50 seconds per class period in middle schools (and even fewer in high schools). And a more recent national study of approaches to teaching literature put the national average at an only slightly higher 1.7 minutes per sixty-minute secondary school class session, in contrast with other kinds of classroom talk, like recitations (Applebee et al., 2003). Despite its rarity, discussion-based approaches to teaching English were correlated in both of these national studies with increased student achievement and high literacy performance across school contexts and secondary grade levels. The rarity of discussions, as well as their apparent correlation with desirable student performance, suggest that this type of interaction merits further study by English education researchers.

As these national studies have suggested, prior research has defined discussions primarily in contrast to the roles, relationships, and responses associated with recitations (Adler et al., 2003; Billings & Fitzgerald, 2002; Chinn et al., 2001; Nystrand, 2006). Indeed, Nystrand et al.'s (1997) study of hundreds of classrooms suggested that

discussions often arise from recitations (p. 36). However, little prior research has described how this transformation occurs.

Instead, discussions have often appeared as a reified category defined primarily in opposition to recitations. Whereas previous studies have described recitations as "teacher-fronted" (Forman, McCormick, & Donato, 1998) with the pace and direction of interaction "continuously controlled" by the teacher (Adler et al., 2003, p. 313), discussions have been defined as the "free exchange of information among students and/or between at least two students and the teacher" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 36). And recitations' focus on rapid-fire questions posed by the teacher has been contrasted with interactions in which "students...voice their understandings and refine them through substantive discussion with others" (Applebee et al., 2003, p. 680). As with research on recitations as determined by the teacher, prior definitions of discussions have thus focused on their difference from recitations primarily in terms of *who* participates: across studies, discourse in which students take more turns in conversation has often been associated with discussions. Less attention has been paid to *what* is discussed and to whether and how topic and turns in conversation affect discussions. That is, the number of student turns does not necessarily address the nature and quality of the classroom talk.

Research on discussions has not only addressed who participates and how often. It has also addressed patterns of discourse, mirroring the focus of recitation research on kinds of questions. In contrast with recitation questions, which commonly require "lower-order," reporting of facts gleaned from a text, discussion questions usually involve "higher-order" thinking, such as those which ask students to answer "Why?" or to speculate about the value and possible consequences of decisions (Applebee, 1981;

Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod, & Rosen, 1975; Moffett, 1983; Nystrand et al., 1997). And instead of rapid-fire, "inauthentic" questions which test students' knowledge of what they and the teacher often already know, discussions have been associated with "authentic" questions for which the asker does not require a pre-specified answer (Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979; Nystrand et al., 1997; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). The posing of authentic, higher-order questions by the teacher has often been a defining factor in research on discussions. However, as with research on recitation, this definition focuses primarily on the teacher's discourse, rather than on how that discourse and its meanings are negotiated among teacher and students in particular situations. For instance, the authenticity of the question, in this prior work, is determined by the asker, rather than by how it is received[1]. Of course, authentic teacher questions are not the only discursive feature associated with discussions by previous research. Student questions (which tend to be authentic) also often accompany discussion (Nystrand et al., 1997; Nystrand et al., 2003). But overall, previous studies have distinguished recitations' emphasis on a single, correct answer from the way discussion questions seem to allow for an unspecified number of responses. In conjunction with the attention in this research to who participates, one way to characterize the discourse of discussions might be in terms of a multiplicity of voices—multiple speakers, and multiple possibilities for response. But this characterization has suggested little about the relationships among those voices.

Indeed, current research on discussions has often contrasted the "monologic" tendency of recitations with "dialogic" discussions (e.g., Adler et al., 2003; Applebee et

[1] An exception is Nystrand (2003), in which the authors note that "judging the authenticity of a question ultimately depends on the context of the question.... The nature of a given instructional episode...is the most reliable indicator of authenticity" (p. 15); however, even here the researchers consulted the teacher, rather than student responses, to resolve ambiguity in coding a question as authentic.

al., 2003; Billings & Fitzgerald, 2002; Chinn et al., 2001; Nystrand et al., 1997). These terms, drawn from Bakhtin's sociolinguistic theory of "dialogism" (Bakhtin, 1984, 1981, 1986a; Morson & Emerson, 1990) would seem to fit with a definition of recitations as "univocal" (Lotman, 1988)—dominated by a single voice or a single possibility for response—and discussions, by contrast, as "multivocal" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 38)—involving multiple speakers and multiple perspectives. However, there are several practical and theoretical problems with this understanding of dialogic discussions.

First, the presence of a multiplicity of speakers or perspectives says little about *what* is being discussed. Authentic questions posed in a free exchange among at least three people could be applied equally to a discussion of Math (Forman et al., 1998), Science (Lemke, 1990), History (Husbands & Pendry, 2000), or English Language Arts (Applebee et al., 2003), and to reading comprehension (Nystrand, 2006) or to composition (Applebee, 1981), as well as to discussions of literature (Marshall et al., 1995) or discussions of students' oral narratives about their personal experiences (Juzwik, Nystrand, Kelly, & Sherry, 2008). Are all discussions the same, regardless of discipline? Does the object of a discussion shape its organization as an interaction, or its discursive features?

Recent research has suggested that Social Studies class discussions may differ according to purpose: seminars whose focus is exploring an issue may differ from deliberations whose purpose is to consider possible choices and reach a decision (Parker, 2001, 2006; Parker & Hess, 2001). Social Studies education research has also found that discussion of particular topics, such as controversial issues, can be more or less conducive to discussions (Hess, 2002, 2004; Husbands & Pendry, 2000). These prior

studies have suggested that *what* is being discussed may matter as much as *who* is discussing it. However, they have not explored how the relationships between speakers and the focus of their discussion might enable or constrain dialogic discourse.

Further, some research suggests that certain kinds of oral and written texts may seem to have more or less potential for dialogic discussions (Bernstein, 1994; Morson, 1994; Wells, 2007). For example, previous research has identified two tendencies in historical/literary narratives: one toward order, and coherence and another toward uncertainty and ambiguity (Bernstein, 1994; Morson, 1994; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Wertsch, 2002; White, 1987). According to Ochs and Capps (2001), "the former proclivity offers a relatively soothing resolution to bewildering events...." (p. 4). This function of narrative allows events to be drawn together into "a well-configured story" (Wertsch, 2002, p. 58). Such stories order historical events clearly for students (Center for History and New Media, 2008; Singer, 2003). However, because this type of historical narrative can "flatte[n] human experience" (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 4), reducing past events to generic patterns, such stories in Social Studies and English classes can also serve to diminish the engaging particularities of historical situations for secondary students. By turning past events into predictors of those to come and present events into the inevitable consequences of their precursors, such narratives can also create a sense of predictability, and even an ironic distance between a knowledgeable narrator and the oblivious characters (Schweber, 2004). And the idea that historical events were coherent and predictable, and thus easily understood, may also diminish for students "the presentness of the past" (Morson, 1994, p. 7) and the complexity of historical research. Moreover, the inevitable quality of histories narrated by a single teller

may also reduce the possibility of discussion about past events by Social Studies students. According to prior research, a polished narrative performance of the kind often presented in history classrooms "is finished when we begin to read it, its opening, middle, and end already established between the covers of a book. This *appearance* of form is reassuring" (Langer, 1991, p. 17, emphasis in original) not only for readers, but for teachers who must plan and present a coherent curriculum to students. However, this finished quality of such polished narratives may come at the expense of student participation that might lead in unexpected (and productive) directions.

In contrast, some narratives, such as stories composed of interwoven and even conflicting accounts from multiple perspectives, can furnish "a more intimate, 'inside' portrayal of unfolding events...[because] narrators and listeners can...[experience events] as contingent, emergent, and uncertain alongside the protagonists (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 4). Indeed, Bakhtin himself, as a literary philosopher, originated his theory of dialogism in relation to the non-linear, multivocal qualities of novels by Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy (Bakhtin, 1984), which invite the reader to identify with a variety of characters and voices. Although such historical and literary narratives, characterized by "uncertainty and conflicting sensibilities" (p. 4) may be less orderly, they can invite students closer to the complexity of a historical event. This potential to engage students is one reason why teachers may use such narratives in Social Studies and English classes. In revealing multiple perspectives and possibilities in historical situations, such narratives emphasize the ambiguity of history, "restoring some of the presentness that has been lost" (Morson, 1994, p. 7). This presentness may draw high school students into the historical situation, making the past more "usable" (Wertsch, 2002; Zamora, 1997) by "harnes[sing] it for

some purpose in the present" (Wertsch, 2002, p. 31). In short, some research has already implied that *what* is discussed may matter as much to defining dialogic discussions as *who* is doing the discussing. This is not to suggest that certain texts are inherently more "discussable." While some texts may seem to have more potential for discussion, any text can be read or heard as more or less open to interpretation (Wells, 2007). Still, the relationship between the text/event/topic and students discussing it—between *what* and *who*—may be at least as important as how many students participate during an interaction.

Defining dialogic discussions in terms of a multiplicity of speakers or possible interpretations also raises a second theoretical and practical problem. Such a definition says little about the relationships among turns in conversation, or the "social logic of reciprocity" that suggests "appropriate and respective acts by reciprocal others" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 10) during this type of interaction. Does the fact that many speak, voicing multiple interpretations, mean that "students refine [their understandings] through substantive discussion with others" (Applebee et al., 2003, p. 680)? What kind of relationships among *what* is said define discussions as an "instructional frame" (Chinn et al., 2001)?

Prior research on dialogic discussions has begun to suggest answers to these questions, though few illustrative examples exist as yet. Nystrand (1997) warns that "discourse is not dialogic because the speakers take turns, but because it is continually structured by tension, even conflict, between conversants, between self and other, as one voice 'refracts' another" (p. 8). It is not the turns but the relationships among the turns that matter to structuring the discourse of discussion. Indeed, dialogism, for Bakhtin, is

not simply about dialogue, in the traditional sense, meaning any verbal interaction (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 40); rather, dialogic discourse is about relationships among past, present, and future uses of language. Attention to whether students have a chance to speak, while important, may not be enough to define discussion. For instance, Nathan (2005) found that much of what passes for discussion could be described as "a sequential expression of opinion spurred directly by a question or scenario devised by the teacher, which is subject to little or no commentary [and in which] ideas are rarely debated and even more rarely evaluated"(p. 95). In short, though dialogic discussions depend on the struggle among voices in discussion, examples of discussions involving debate and disagreement have rarely appeared in previous research in this area.

This is not to suggest that dialogic discourse is synonymous with disagreement. Even agreement, during a discussion or debate, necessarily involves the "refraction" of another's words as one adds one's own evaluation to them. Nor is it useful in defining dialogic discussions to rely solely on the idea that *all* discourse draws on previous uses by other speakers, carrying with it and invoking those prior uses[2]. For English educators, in particular, are concerned with how a speaker makes "use of someone else's words for his [sic] own purposes" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 189), by taking up a passage from the class text, identifying with an historical/literary figure, or taking issue with what someone else has just said.

Indeed, the importance of the relationships among *what* is said in a discussion has already been addressed by attention to "uptake" as a discursive feature of dialogic discussions; through uptake, another person "picks up on a student's response" by asking

[2] This is, in fact, one definition of "dialogism" (Bakhtin, 1984):, consider the possible connotations of the word "discussion," itself, in the following phrases: "...I enjoyed our discussion of *Macbeth* today"; "...in the Discussion section of this paper..."; "we need to have a serious discussion, young man!"

a question about what that speaker has just said (such as "what makes you say that?") (Collins, 1982; Nystrand et al., 1997, pp. 38-39). However, like other discursive features of discussions, "uptake" has been primarily applied to teacher follow-up questions. And while some research suggests that conflict can be valuable in peer- and teacher-led discussions (Almasi, 1995), little research exists on the dialogic relationships among turns in discussions characterized by disagreement and debate.

In sum, less research exists on discussions, perhaps because of their relative rarity in comparison to recitations. Much of this prior work has defined discussions as a reified category in opposition to recitations, mirroring the focus of recitation research on teacher/student control and kinds of questions posed during discussions. As with research on recitations, studies of discussions tend to focus on teacher roles and teacher discourse, or to emphasize the presence of a multiplicity of speakers and possible interpretations. If the roles and discourse patterns of discussions are "social processes and not synchronic fact[s]" (Hanks, 1996, p. 208), how are those processes negotiated among teacher and students? What part in those processes (if any) is played by the relationships of speakers to what they are talking about? And how (if at all) do the relationships among turns in conversation shape discussions, especially those characterized by disagreement and debate?

2.2. Research Questions

Based on my review of prior research on recitation and discussion, the present study addresses the following research questions:

1. How are interactions like recitations and discussions established, maintained, or negotiated among teacher and students?

a. If recitations and discussions often co-occur, how does one become the other?

b. What kinds of discourse accompany the transitions from recitations to discussions?

2. Do the relationships between who and what is being discussed contribute to promoting or sustaining discussions? If so, how?
3. Do the relationships among turns in a discussion, particularly agreement or disagreement with another speaker, contribute to promoting or sustaining discussions? If so, how?
4. Do other classroom discourse activities affect discussions? If so, how?

a. How do prior and subsequent activities shape discussion interactions?

b. How does participation in other, similar interactions shape discussions?

2.3. Theoretical Framework

In this theoretical framework section, I detail the underlying assumptions and the combination of theories applied in answering my research questions. I begin with a brief explanation of some assumptions about social interaction and classroom talk implicit in the theories on which I draw. Next, I address the specific theoretical concepts applied in this study.

2.3.1 Theoretical assumptions of this study. Broadly, the assumptions I make in this study belong to the field of interactional sociolinguistics, and to what might be considered a precursor of that field: Bakhtin's theory of dialogism (Bakhtin, 1984, 1981, 1986a; Medvedev & Bakhtin, 1978). Whereas a linguist might study language in terms of stable systems that apply across contexts and across particular instances of

communication in order to characterize cultural populations, as a sociolinguist I am concerned with discourse, or language in use (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999), particularly language used by particular teachers and students in secondary school English and Social Studies classrooms. If not all teachers and students communicate in the same ways, attending to how their classroom discourse shapes teaching and learning is important not only to equitable secondary school instruction but also to teacher preparation (Hymes, 1972).

Like many sociolinguists, I assume that classroom discourse, or language in use among a teacher and his/her students, is never quite the same from interaction to interaction (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1982). Each "utterance," or turn in conversation, is not an instantiation of an underlying system but is communicated among people for particular purposes in a particular situation (Bakhtin, 1986a; Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 126). That is, the meanings of an utterance depend on its contexts. Those contexts include not only the accumulation of cultural habits and procedures, but also the utterances that immediately precede and follow a turn in conversation (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986a). For instance, a question posed by the teacher can be "doubly contextual," (M. Goodwin, 1990, p. 4; Heritage, 1984, p. 242), both responding to the context—what has just been said—and reshaping the context—what subsequent utterances might be appropriate. In including attention to this "microsocial" contextualization of utterances through their relationship to what precedes and follows, I do not mean to ignore or devalue the "macrosocial" tendencies which result from the accumulation of these interactional relationships, but merely to call attention to how the relationships among what is said during a single lesson activity can also shape the context for that interaction.

"Utterance" does not only refer to a turn in conversation (it can also be applied to written communication, like a lesson plan); however, I focus primarily on the relationships among spoken utterances in classroom discourse, and how those relationships contribute the contexts for classroom interactions. Because of this focus, features of language often marginalized in linguistics, such as choice of syntax, accent, or dialect, intonation, speech rhythm, gestures, and other methods of signaling situation and relationship (Gumperz, 1982), are relevant in my study to how teacher and students make meaning together in classroom interactions. These features of language, among others, are also important to understanding implicature, or how speakers discern what is not explicitly expressed (for instance, what kinds of responses are expected in an interaction, or whether an utterance is intended ironically). In short, I am interested in pragmatics, the area of sociolinguistics concerned with how discourse shapes and is shaped by the contexts in which it occurs. Pragmatics helps me explore how, in classrooms, the relationships among discourse and contexts affects teaching and learning.

Like other interactional sociolinguistic researchers, my study of how teachers and students contribute to the discursive contexts for their interactions is open to criticism related to what Grimshaw (1987, 1990) has called "disambiguation." This criticism points out that speakers' interpretive practices should be not be conflated with intentions attributed to them by the researcher. In this study, I neither pretend nor desire to "get inside people's heads" by studying what they said and did. Indeed, I do not believe that teachers and students, themselves, always fully understand the interpretations or intentions behind their responses to each other, or what those utterances might "mean" when taken together. Thus, my interpretations of the nature of classroom discourse

interactions, and how they unfold across subsequent utterances, are arguably no less plausible than those of actual participants.

In focusing on how context shapes and is shaped by the relationships among spoken utterances in classroom discourse within and across lessons, my study is also open to the critique that it does not address contextual factors beyond those focal events (such as the cultural setting or background assumptions shared by the participants) (Duranti & C. Goodwin, 1992). However, I believe that such "macrosocial" factors are continually re-expressed and reconstituted through the accumulation of tiny alterations that make up the daily "event of being" (Bakhtin, 1979). Nevertheless, I draw on multiple discursive sources in an effort to determine what is salient to a particular classroom discourse interaction.

Before moving on to the specific theoretical concepts applied in this study, I summarize the preceding sociolinguistic assumptions:

- Classroom discourse can be studied in relation to particular interactions among teacher and students.
- Discourse in particular classroom interactions is never quite the same, depending on the contexts.
- The contexts for an utterance include the turns in classroom conversation that immediately precede and follow it.
- Various features of spoken language can imply the contexts for an interaction among teacher and students.

- How teachers' and students' discourse shapes and is shaped by the contexts for an interaction can be inferred from study of the relationships among turns in conversation.

2.3.2 Theoretical concepts of this study. I now turn to the specific concepts applied in this study to understanding how classroom interactions like recitations and discussions are shaped and reshaped by the relationships among conversational turns in particular contexts. As such, I address each of these concepts in terms of dialogism, a theory which is itself concerned with sociolinguistic relationships among utterances (Bakhtin, 1984, 1981, 1986a; Medvedev & Bakhtin, 1978; Morson & Emerson, 1990). I begin with the "interactional frame" (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1986), or the definition of a social situation. Then, I address how this definition is collaboratively negotiated among participants through strategies like "animation" (Goffman, 1971, 1981, 1986) and "double voicing" (Bakhtin, 1984), strategies which allow speakers to communicate stances or "alignments" (C. Goodwin, 1986; M. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 2004; M. Goodwin, 1990) toward the way people and events are framed. Finally, I theorize how the repeated reframing of interactions results in genres, or recurring patterns of social interaction (Bakhtin, 1984, 1986a; C. Miller, 1984; Swales, 1990).

2.3.2.1 Interactional frame. One way recitations' and discussions' "social logic" of roles (Medvedev & Bakhtin, 1978, p. 153), "reciprocal relationships" (Voloshinov, 1986, p. 86), and "appropriate and respective acts by reciprocal others" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 10) can be defined is through the sociolinguistic concept of the "interactional frame" (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1981, 1986; Sawyer, 2003). Drawing on Bateson's (1972) concept, Goffman (1986) defines the interactional frame as the definition of a

situation, which organizes participants' experience of and involvement in that situation (p. 10-11). That is, the meanings of words and actions, as well as the roles, relationships, and responses that are possible in an interaction, depend on how it is framed. This concept is invaluable to describing how interactions like recitations and dialogic discussions are defined and negotiated among teacher and students through discourse.

Though prior work has associated frames derived from previous interactions with cognitive schema (e.g., Schutz, 1971; Tannen, 1979), I do not use "frame" here in terms of a psychologistic script, mental representation, or underlying principle[3]. In keeping with my sociolinguistic assumptions, I do not conceive of the frame as merely an instantiation; nor does honoring the "eventness" of the event (Bakhtin, 1986b) mean that all frames are relative. While the interactional frame is conditioned by past experiences with similar situations, the possible roles, relationships, and responses that define an interaction are also shaped by the immediately preceding discourse (Heritage, 1984, p. 242). That discourse often recreates context: when a speaker asks a question, s/he "makes producing an answer to that question an appropriate thing to do next" (M. Goodwin, 1990, p. 5). Asking a question thus proposes a reframing of the interaction. The reframing is a "proposal" because the other person can choose to participate in ways other than those suggested—for example by answering with an unexpected response or even reinterpreting or dodging the question. Thus frames, like utterances, are conditioned but not determined by prior (re)framing proposals.

[3] Actually, in contrast with Schank and Abelson's (1977) well-known definition of schema as "scripts," both early and recent work on schema has described them as active developing patterns (Bartlett, 1932; Spiro, Coulson, Feltovich, & D. K. Anderson, 1988), which do not determine, but merely "foreground or make relevant certain aspects of background knowledge" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 132).

*2.3.2.2 **Animation.*** While questions are one way of subtly proposing the frame for an interaction, another way that speakers more strongly propose or affirm the frame is by explicitly attributing intentions, actions, or words to another person or to themselves (M. Goodwin, 1990). This "animation" enables or constrains certain kinds of responses (Goffman, 1971, 1981, 1986). For example, when a teacher gives directions or a student repeats what another student has just said, s/he may describe other people as if they were figures in a story. Indeed, animation may be particularly relevant to how interactions are framed during discussions of literature and history because it is so much a part of talk about literary and historical figures. As the preceding example suggests, animation can be applied proactively or retroactively, either to encourage certain kinds of responses or to reinterpret what has already been said.

*2.3.2.3 **Double voicing.*** When speakers animate another person by attributing words or actions to him, they always also imbue that other person's discourse with their own purposes, voicing their own intentions as well (Bakhtin, 1984; Tannen, 2007; Voloshinov, 1971). Bakhtin's theory of dialogism (Bakhtin & Holquist, 1981; Morson & Emerson, 1990) has described this "double voicing": A participant intends for multiple voices (her own, as well as another's) to be heard within an utterance. Indeed, Wortham (1994, 2001, 2006) noted how such double voicing functioned in a secondary English and History classroom in which discussion of Athenian and Spartan work ethics implicitly indexed class members, creating a subtext to the discussion about contemporary race relations and welfare. Again, this concept may be especially relevant in disciplines like English and Social Studies, in which students are often asked to read, cite, and respond to what others have said and written. Participants in an interaction like discussion can thus

animate others, using double voicing to reinterpret prior discourse and reframe subsequent interactions.

2.3.2.4 Alignment. Such double voicing can indirectly express a relationship of agreement or disagreement with regard to the previous utterance. A speaker might thus repeat the form or the content of another's words in order to express his/her disagreement (sometimes implicitly, through subtle prosodic or gestural features like a sarcastic tone or a facial expression). While this evaluative relationship between the speaker and a previous utterance or event has been called by various names[4], I refer to it as "alignment" (Georgakopoulou, 2007; C. Goodwin, 1986; M. Goodwin, 1990; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993; Wortham, 2001). Thus speakers in a discussion characterized by debate may participate in similar ways that suggest agreement about the nature of their roles and what constitutes appropriate participation in that particular interaction, but they may also make contributions that seem to express disagreement through different alignments toward talk and behavior associated with that interaction.

2.3.2.5 Emergence. If participants need not agree upon the nature of the frame for their interaction (Matusov, 1996) then the frame cannot be understood solely in terms of an individual mental conception. Neither is the frame a static definition of the situation. Reframing proposals can implicitly suggest new possibilities and constraints for roles, relationships, and responses. The possibility of proposing to reframe an interaction does not mean that "anything goes" (consider what is involved in changing the subject of a

[4] For instance, Goffman (1981) has called it "footing"; though I have drawn heavily on other concepts of Goffman's here, I prefer "alignment" because the word itself implies a relationship between speaker and utterance, rather than a status in relation to a stable ground. Goffman himself, writes, "A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the...production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events" (p. 128).

conversation once that topic has been established over several turns): Reframing proposals must be accepted by other participants in an interaction. And once they are, established features of the frame can take on a life of their own and exert an influence on subsequent participation (Sawyer, 2003). Thus, some possibilities and constraints of the frame are emergent: irreducible to prior qualities, intentions, or contributions of individuals. Rather, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts (Sawyer, 2001a, 2002, 2003, 2005).

2.3.2.6 Genre. So far I have drawn on Bakhtin's dialogism to describe the way discourse shapes and is shaped by interaction (Bakhtin, 1984, 1986a, p. 166): An utterance has connotations from prior use and is geared toward anticipated audiences; because utterances can be reinterpreted by subsequent discourse, proposing to redefine the interaction, the frame is emergent. This logic can be scaled up: what the utterance is to the interactional frame, the frame for a particular situation is to the genre, or recurring pattern of social interaction (Bakhtin, 1984; Devitt, 1993; C. Miller, 1984; Swales, 1990).

By genre, I do not refer to a category characterized by a set of rules, nor solely to the historical variations in the discursive features of literary texts (Freedman & Medway, 1994, p. 1). Rather, like other North American genre theorists, I am interested in connecting regularities of discursive form and content to social relationships and to participation in communities with shared practices. This approach to genre theory suggests that an activity like literary discussion is subject to the influence of "relatively stable" social conventions which have accumulated over time, but such a "genre" is nevertheless "flexible...and free" (Bakhtin et al., 1986, p. 121-127). Much research has already applied this approach to genre to written classroom discourse (Bazerman, 1997;

Bazerman, Bonini, & Figueiredo, 2009; Hicks, 1995; Prior, 1998), however less attention has been paid to oral classroom discourse genres (Juzwik, 2009; Juzwik et al., 2008; C. Lee, 1993; Rockwell, 2000). Such "pedagogical genres" like recitations and discussions might be described in Bakhtinian terms as "unfinalizable" (Morson & Emerson, 1990): those conventions which have accumulated over time in particular contexts remain open to variations. Thus Bakhtinian dialogism, and especially its definition of genre, helps to describe the recurrence of patterns of discourse associated with the repeated reframing of similar interactions. That is, teachers' interactions with students involve utterances proposing and affirming repeated (re)framings of context which lead to the recurrence of pedagogical genres, like recitations and discussions, that shape and are shaped by the discourse in that classroom community, as well as by the history of discourse in American schools, more generally.

In sum, one way to theorize how classroom interactions like recitations and discussions are contextualized is through the concept of the interactional *frame*. The frame, or definition of the possible roles, relationships, and responses possible in a particular situation, shapes and is shaped by classroom discourse, as participants propose and accept redefinitions of the interaction. Speakers may make reframing proposals through *animation*, or by explicitly attributing intentions, actions, or words to other speakers or to themselves. In revoicing or imitating others' talk and behavior, participants use *double voicing*, communicating (often implicitly) their evaluations of that discourse. Through these double-voiced evaluations, speakers express their stances or *alignments* toward the topic, the situation, or a previous utterance. The resulting frame is *emergent* when subsequent utterances can reinterpret previous ones, established features of the

interaction can take on a life of their own and constrain subsequent utterances, and the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. What an utterance is to a frame, a frame is to a *genre*: repeated negotiations among teacher and students of classroom interactions like recitations and discussions lead to the accumulation of recurring patterns of classroom discourse which condition, but do not determine, subsequent classroom discourse.

In this chapter, I have reviewed the relevant literature on recitations and discussions in order to demonstrate the importance of my research questions on whether and how these classroom discourse interactions are negotiated among teacher and students, affected by the relationships between speakers and the text/event/topic, and shaped by the relationships among turns in conversation. My theoretical framework addresses these questions in suggesting that teachers' interactions with students involve utterances proposing and affirming repeated (re)framings of context which lead to the recurrence of pedagogical genres like recitations and discussions. In the next chapter, I describe the methodology with which I applied this theoretical framework to answering my research questions.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I describe the methodology of this dissertation study. First, I explain the methodological assumptions which inform this study. Then, I describe the participants and the school sites where I conducted my research. How discourse data were collected or generated is the subject of the second section. Finally, I detail the ways I approached those data, including the transcription conventions I applied to discourse analysis, in order to address my research questions.

3.1 Methodological Assumptions

Abbott (2004) describes a series of basic methodological, ontological, and epistemological debates and practices in Social Science. In terms of these debates, this dissertation study is interpretivist, rather than positivist, assuming that meaning cannot be measured in the abstract, outside of interactions. It assumes that knowledge is situated and contextual, but that in-depth studies of classroom discourse, like good stories, can invite identification and comparison with other situations, expanding reader's imaginations. My goal in the subsequent discourse analyses is to suggest what is possible, rather than what is probable—to change readers' imaginations, rather than to prescribe particular practices.

In keeping with my theoretical framework, I assume that discourse, or symbolic interactions used for particular purposes among individuals, are a legitimate foundation for analysis of how social phenomena are continually (re)produced. Moreover, I assume that social emergents exist which are irreducible to individuals and can be real objects of social scientific analysis. Thus, while I describe the selection of participants and sites in the next section, I include that information not to suggest a focus on individual behavior,

but because it is relevant to my relationship, as researcher, with those individuals and relevant to the analysis of discourse generated in those particular contexts.

3.2 Site/Participant Selection

In this first section, I describe my selection of research sites and participants, as well as my own position as researcher in relation to these people and places. In 2007-8, while observing three teacher candidates who had graduated to Midwestern University's fifth-year internship, I collected or generated data in a rural 12th grade Composition classroom, an urban 10th grade Literature classroom, and a suburban 9th grade Social Studies classroom. For these teacher candidates, whom I first met during their 2006-7 senior year English methods course (which I taught), I was not only a researcher but also their "field instructor."

Midwestern University is somewhat unique in offering a fifth-year internship during which pre-service teachers who have graduated from the Teacher Preparation program are placed in local secondary schools where they gradually take over full responsibility for a mentor teacher's classes. During this year, "interns" are visited on a bi-weekly basis by "field instructors" who have been hired by Midwestern University to observe and discuss their lessons with them about ten times over the course of the year. The three interns I observed were placed at three local secondary school sites: Sami Ghanem at rural Marquette High School, Tamara Jefferson at urban Magnum Appan High School, and Dave Weber at suburban Talbott High School. In keeping with my theoretical framework, I describe each school and teacher in order to clarify how aspects of place and personality might have conditioned (but not determined) classroom interactions. Readers may wish to consider this information as part of ongoing

"conversations" (Gee, 2005, pp. 21-22) which further contextualize the interactions I describe in my data chapters.

3.2.1 Magnum Appan: Tamara Jefferson. Magnum Appan High School, which might be described as an urban, working-class school with a diverse student body, was chosen for the constraints and affordances it might provide for pre-service secondary English teacher Tamara Jefferson, an African American female in her early twenties, who interned there with two thirty-something European American female ELA mentor teachers, several blocks from the high school she, herself, had attended. Magnum Appan is a school in the Stone School District which serves children of urban, working-class families employed in industry. Statistically, the median household income for the area is about $35,000 a year (compared to approximately $52,000 for the county, and $51,000 nationally) (News and World Report, 2008). Magnum Appan High School's student body is about 55% European American and 35% African American, figures which are nearly opposite to those for Stone, itself. According to Tamara and her grandmother, a 30-year native of Stone, some schools there give extra credit to students for bringing tissues to school, so great is the shortage of resources.

On the other hand, Magnum Appan, itself, is located outside the city of Stone along a suburban thoroughfare several miles from the nearest mall. Large, green residential neighborhoods surround the schools expansive playing fields. Indeed, the school's facilities are state-of-the-art: the campus includes a pool, several picturesque courtyards with rock gardens, a café, and long hall cases devoted to trophies, pictures, and school memorabilia. The English hallway's recently replastered walls, and the sagging shelves of YA novels in the 10th grade classroom of Tamara's mentor, Amy, are

only slightly less impressive than the glistening, glass-lined corridors and general air of newness about the rest of the building. In addition, the school population is more diverse than the general statistical demographics suggest: for example, several ceiling tiles in the English hallway have been decorated by after-school student ethnic clubs, such as the Muslim Students' Association, run by Tamara's other mentor, Jessie. According to Tamara, these features of Magnum Appan are much different than those of the high school she attended.

3.2.2 Marquette: Sami Ghanem. Marquette High School, which might be described as a rural, working-class school with a homogenous student body, was chosen for the constraints and affordances it might provide for Sami Ghanem, a Lebanese, non-native English speaking female pre-service secondary English teacher. Sami, who is in her mid-thirties, was schooled under the French system and taught for two years in her home country before beginning teacher preparation in the U.S. According to local legend, Marquette officials refused permission ten years ago to members of the Klu Klux Klan who wished to hold a demonstration there, and the town is known by some as "Mar-tucky," a derogatory nickname meant to invoke its rural status. Statistically, the median income of Marquette households is about $46,000 (compared to $61,000 for the county, and $51,000 nationally). 94% of these households are European American, a proportion reflected in the ethnic composition of Marquette High School, itself ("MuniNet Guide," 2008).

However, Marquette High School, like Magnum Appan, defies such generalities. A bumper sticker on a white truck in the parking lot proclaims "Born to bowhunt!!!" Above it towers the glass building that is Marquette High School's "Performing Arts

Center," where national celebrities like Wynton Marsalis sometimes give sold-out performances. Fog, creeping in among the gravel-lined intersections, evergreen glades, and railroad tracks near the school, sometimes causes a "delayed opening" to accommodate students driving in from farms, as well as those tempted by the county's investment in educational programs to commute from a nearby city. Sami's 12th grade composition classroom adjoins the spacious media center through one door and faces the computer lab through the other. The small windows of both doors are papered over with signs that read, "Go Away." A similar logo, engraved on a rock paperweight, sits on the desk of Sami's mentor, Alan, a veteran ELA teacher.

3.2.3 Talbott: Dave Weber. Talbott High School, which might be described as a suburban upper middle-class school with a homogeneous student body, was chosen for the constraints and affordances it might provide for Dave, a preservice secondary European American male ELA and Social Studies (SS) teacher in his early twenties, who grew up and attended high school in a nearby suburban town. In Talbott, the median income is $63,000 (compared to $50,000 for the county and $51,000, nationally) ("MuniNet Guide," 2008). A combination of small businesses, playing fields, and a high percentage of middle-class European American families (90%, according to MuniNet Guide [2008]) surround Talbott High School, where Dave interned with two forty-something male, European American mentors—Rick, who teaches SS, and Don, who teaches ELA.

Rick and Don's rooms are located just down the hall from each other, and from the school's TV studio, where students use state-of-the-art cameras, blue-screen technology, and video editing equipment to run a local news station. The clean, bright

hallways sport the occasional message about extracurricular activities, particularly the various teams which play on the expansive fields and courts of Talbott's campus. An athlete himself, Dave helped Rick coach the women's basketball team that included many students from his 9th grade Social Studies class and Don's 12th grade English class.

3.2.4. Researcher positioning. I recognize that my position as both instructor and researcher may have affected the data generated. Because I was an instructor/evaluator, the lesson plans, instruction, and responses during interviews may have been influenced by a desire to meet my expectations. I tried to reduce this influence in several ways. First, as a videotaping observer, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible, dressing in casual clothes and minimizing my interactions with students. Second, I made it clear to the teachers that I saw my role as that of a facilitator of their reflections: Since I observed a lesson only every other week, I caught a mere glimpse of their day-to-day interactions, and so as a field instructor would primarily ask questions about why they had made certain moves, how those moves related to their goals for the lesson, and what other ways they might have accomplished those goals. Third, I worked in several ways to separate my pedagogical role from my researcher role; I always gave participants the option to decide not to allow a particular lesson or interview to be included in my research; and I employed procedures in my field notes and interviewing to explicitly separate these two agendas, when possible (for more on this, see "Data Sources/Procedures").

3.3 Data Sources/Procedures

Data I collected or generated during Sami, Tamara, and Dave's internship year included lesson plans, field notes taken as I sat in the classroom and observed a lesson, classroom discourse transcribed from videotape of each lesson, transcripts of interviews

held with each teacher immediately after each lesson, and written reflections composed by each teacher about their teaching of the lesson. These data allowed me to see from each teacher's plans how she had intended to frame interactions during lesson activities, to observe during her lessons how those activities unfolded among the teacher and her students, and to hear in interviews and reflections how Sami, Tamara, and Dave described the opportunities and constraints s/he experienced during those moments.

My presence during a lesson as pedagogical evaluator may have affected both teacher-student interactions and participants' interviews with me afterwards. Because I served as field instructor, my questions about a particular interaction during a lesson drew attention to that moment—and, perhaps, that *kind* of moment—as important. For instance, because I had asked questions about discussions before, participants sometimes anticipated that I would ask about them when they planned or implemented discussions during a particular lesson. I tried to separate the evaluative aspect of my role as field instructor from the more descriptive and exploratory purposes of my role as researcher by adopting a system in my fieldnotes that separated my pedagogical and research goals (see "Data Analysis"), allowing me to distinguish between questions/comments in which my goal was to evaluate certain behavior, thinking, or attitudes, and those for which my goal was to clarify the relationship between lesson plan, lesson discourse, and the emergent reframing of lesson interactions.

Table 1 summarizes the nature and chronology of data collected or generated in the course of this study; shaded cells indicate lessons in which focal examples appear:

Participant-site	**Sami Ghanem – Marquettte High School**	**Tamara Jefferson – Magnum Appan High School**	**Dave Weber – Talbott High School**
Observation dates and data sources	09-17-07 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	09-19-07 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	09-24-07 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview
	10-05-07 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	10-10-07 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	**10-15-07** **Plan | Notes** **Video | Transcript** **Reflection | Interview**
	11-20-07 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	11-05-07 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	11-28-07 **Plan | Notes** **Video | Transcript** **Reflection | Interview**
	12-06-07 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	**12-04-07** **Plan | Notes** **Video | Transcript** **Reflection | Interview**	12-13-07 **Plan | Notes** **Video | Transcript** **Reflection | Interview**
	01-24-08 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	**01-22-08** **Plan | Notes** **Video | Transcript** **Reflection | Interview**	01-17-08 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview
	02-05-08 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	02-14-08 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	01-31-08 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview
	02-20-08 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	**03-19-08** **Plan | Notes** **Video | Transcript** **Reflection | Interview**	02-12-08 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview
	03-06-08 **Plan | Notes** **Video | Transcript** **Reflection | Interview**	04-16-08 Plan | Notes Video | Transcript Reflection | Interview	**03-05-08** **Plan | Notes** **Video | Transcript** **Reflection | Interview**

Table 1. Participants, sites, data sources (with dates), and focal examples.

These focal examples were chosen from among the data according to several criteria. First, these lessons included discourse that could be coded as recitations and/or discussions (still a relative rarity!), according to my analysis of the relationships among turns in conversation; interviews and other materials related to these lessons then became relevant. Second, these lessons contained examples of animations, double voicing, and other discursive features that seemed to suggest negotiation of the interactional frame

(see Data Analysis). Third, I chose moments that had rhetorical complexity—that would, when taken together, convey the plausibility of my assertions while also offering different aspects of the points to be illustrated (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, pp. 206-207).

3.4 Data Analysis

To analyze the data I generated, I drew on two qualitative research traditions. Though my study was not an ethnography, I drew on qualitative ethnographic research methodology (e.g., Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) to make interpretive fieldnotes, conduct stimulated recall interviews, and write initial memos. For example, in my fieldnotes I adopted a four-column system during data collection to record observations/interpretations of classroom discourse, and to separate my goals as field instructor and researcher:

Times of lesson activity shifts	Brief description	Pedagogical questions	Research questions about emergent moments

During open-ended interviews, I used these notes and the corresponding video timecodes as a means to stimulate teacher recall—and encouraged them to identify similar moments—as they compared lesson plan to enactment. A typical protocol included a comment like "I noticed that you _____," which would point out a particular moment, followed by a question like, "What made you decide to do that?" which would invite the teacher to explain how his/her response was shaped by what preceded or followed it during the lesson. Finally, I wrote initial ethnographic memos that attempted to connect data sources like lesson plans, observed details of interactions, and interview commentary.

To answer my research questions, I drew on sociolinguistic and narrative discourse analysis (Goffman, 1986; Juzwik, 2006a; Sawyer, 2003) to identify turns of conversation that proposed elaborations or revisions to a possible frame for an activity, and to track patterns of discourse across lessons. Using Transana (Woods, 2008), which allows one to categorize moments of video data, and ATLAS.ti (Team, 2003-2008) for coding discourse transcripts, I identified, developed, and refined coding categories which emerged from the data set over time and across contexts. In developing these coding categories, I paid special attention to discursive features suggested by my research questions.

I focused on discourse data associated with lessons in which the initial frame for activity suggested roles, relationships, and responses associated with recitations and discussions. In analyzing the classroom discourse, I attended to moments in which participants made contributions which seemed to propose revisions to the interactional frame by suggesting other possible roles, relationships, and responses, especially those which animated other participants by attributing intentions, actions, or words to them, and which double-voiced other speakers, implicitly expressing alignment toward those utterances/speakers/situations.

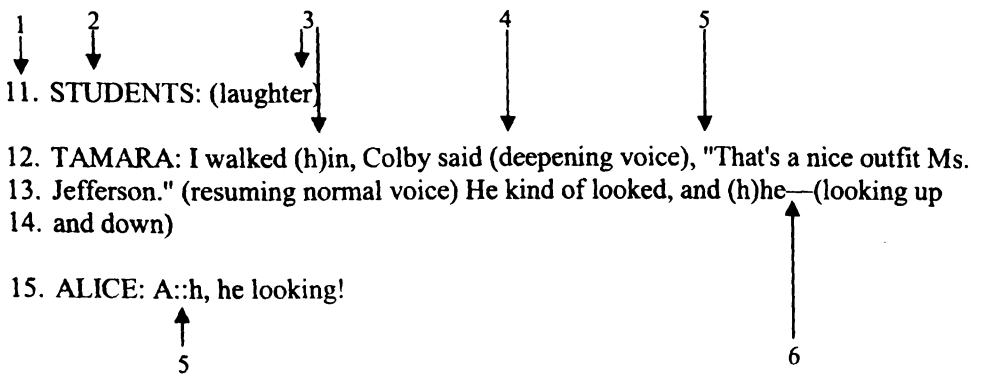
For instance, because animation often involved stories about past or future events I attended to changes in verb tense. In addition to temporal clauses, such narrative discourse, as well as directives like "Now I'd like you to...", also often used nouns and pronouns to refer to class members. During these animations, I paid close attention to how features of spoken discourse like tone, facial expression, gesture, and the reactions of other listeners (like laughter) implied and contributed to evaluations or alignments

toward that discourse. This implicit alignment, as well as the presence of reported speech (signaled by quotes or phrases like "So you're saying...") helped me to identify double voicing when it occurred. In noting, transcribing, and coding these moments, I began to look for recurring patterns, such as repetition of certain verb tenses, pronoun use, laughter, reported speech, or ironic tone. I also attended to when and why these patterns seem to recur with regard to the prior and subsequent discourse during the conversation, lesson, and unit.

3.5 Transcription Conventions

Because my research questions focused on how talk and behavior shaped and were shaped by interactional relationships, data are transcribed according to conventions based on those developed by Jefferson and described in Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974, pp. 731-733): some conventions of the original system which do not apply to these data have been omitted; others have been simplified for the sake of readability. Below, I include brief examples of the conventions I use to address lesson transcripts, interview transcripts, and figures in my data chapters; each of these examples is labeled with numbers which refer to a subsequent list of conventions

3.5.1 Lesson transcript conventions.



1. ***Line numbers***: I use line numbers in order to facilitate discourse analyses of social interactions. For example, line numbers help to illustrate the sequence of turns in classroom discourse (and when discourse has been omitted), as well as to refer to the relationships between specific moments of discourse that are not necessarily contiguous. For this reason, I use line numbers only in my transcripts of classroom discourse generated during lessons. I do not number lines in my interview transcripts because they formed a secondary data set in which my analyses focused on content rather than on relationships among conversational turns.
2. ***Pseudonyms***: All names of teachers, schools, and students are pseudonyms; at times, I have used the collective label, "STUDENTS," to attribute discourse generated simultaneously by three or more people.
3. ***Laughter***: I have transcribed laughter because it often accompanies moments when the frame is "breaking (or cracking) up" (Goffman, 1986, pp. 351-352). When laughter is a turn in itself (for example, in line 11, above), I have noted it with a transcriber comment (see Explanation #4, below); when it appears within a turn (e.g., in lines 12-13), I have used an *h* in parentheses to indicate plosive aspiration.
4. ***Transcriber comment***: Single parentheses enclose material that is not part of the talk being described or features of the talk that are not easily transcribable. Double parentheses enclose discourse about which the transcriber was uncertain (for example, talk that was unintelligible). I have thus reversed the conventions

applied by Sacks et al. (1974) with regard to single and double parentheses in order to increase the readability of these transcripts for a general audience.

5. ***Reported speech***: Because of my interest in the relationship between double voicing and reframing, I have signaled speech that is ostensibly authored by another person (or by the current speaker but at a previous point in time) with quotation marks. This does not necessarily mean that the discourse is a direct quote (Tannen, 2007), only that those words are being attributed to another author.
6. ***Cut-off***: A dash marks a sudden cut-off of sound, as when a speaker interrupts herself (or is interrupted) in mid-course.

3.5.2 Interview transcript conventions.

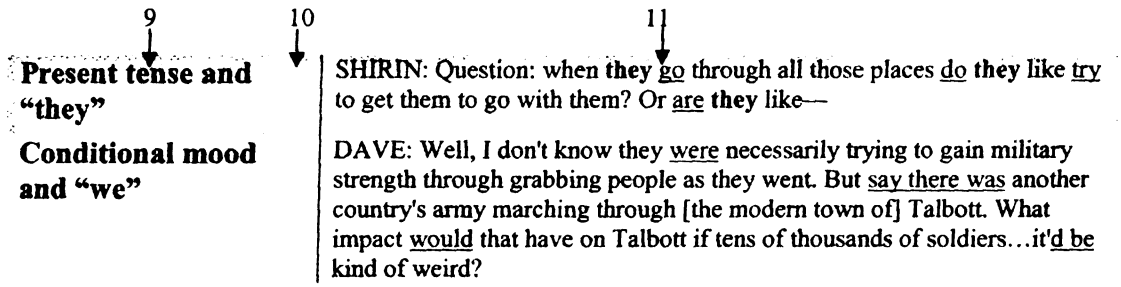
...we had some people, you know, she's thinking about the army, thinking about the march, and I could hear them all talking about it, and I'm thinking, *Right now, I need to relate them to something.* And this is right before I do the Talbott thing, and that was a conscious effort on my part to say, "Let's talk about something we all know."

7 8

7. ***Thoughts***: When a speaker vocalizes what s/he claims to have been thinking, I indicate this with italics. For this reason, lesson plan excerpts are also included in italics.
8. ***Authenticity/Readability***: In transcripts and interviews, I have punctuated speech in order to balance authenticity and readability. For example, I have transcribed sentences according to how speakers did or did not pause while speaking, but I have opted to use familiar punctuation like commas and periods (rather than marking silence in terms of time in seconds). Similarly, I have tried to capture the

speaker's syntax and word choice but have not indicated latching or other conventions developed by Sacks et al. (1974) to capture pronunciation, as these aspects of the discourse were not relevant to the analyses in my data chapters.

3.5.3 Figure conventions.



9. ***Figure labels***: When discourse is represented in figures, I label analytic categories in the left column of a table.
10. ***Figure shading***: Across figures, I have used shading not only to make the boundaries of analytic categories easier to distinguish but also to represent changes over the course of a transcript (for example, to note increasing repetition of certain kinds of discourse)
11. ***Figure formatting***: At times, I have used formatting not detailed among these conventions to call attention to certain aspects of the discourse in a particular figure. These temporary conventions are noted in figure captions.

Having described my methodological assumptions, my selection of sites and participants, my data sources and procedures, and my approach to discourse analysis, including transcription conventions, I now turn in the following chapter to analyses of these data with respect to my research questions. In chapter 4, I address how dialogic

discourse arises from recitation, using examples from Sami Ghanem's 12th grade Composition class at Marquette High School and Tamara Jefferson's 10th grade Literature class at Magnum Appan High School. In chapter 5, I explore how the juxtaposition of events that are the subject of a discussion in Dave Weber's 9th grade Social Studies class affects the relationship of the participants to those events, and thus shapes the interaction of the discussion. Chapter 6 returns to Tamara Jefferson's class to examine how alignment, and the relationship among turns in a discussion characterized by disagreement, shape the interaction of the discussion. And finally, I once again focus on Dave's class in chapter 7 to describe recurring patterns of discursive interactions, or pedagogical genre, during discussions.

4. Reframing Recitations

English education researchers who study classroom discourse have long been frustrated by the persistence of recitations and the relative rarity of dialogic discussions. Prior studies have described the differences between these types of classroom discourse primarily in terms of how teachers' talk and behavior define the interactions (Billings & Fitzgerald, 2002; Chinn et al., 2001), by asking certain types of questions (Applebee et al., 2003; Nystrand et al., 1997; Nystrand et al., 2003) or responding to student contributions in particular ways (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1993). However, these studies also theorize dialogic discourse as the result of collective interaction, and the dynamic recontextualization of turns in conversation. But, though previous studies have suggested that recitations and discussions often co-occur, little research has described how dialogic discourse arises from recitation through discursive negotiation—and perhaps even struggle—among teacher and students. How are recitations reframed as discussions? What kinds of discourse accompany the emergence of the interactional frame for discussions? Below, I address these questions through discourse analysis of lesson excerpts from Sami Ghanem's 12th grade Composition class at Marquette High School and Tamara Jefferson's 10th grade Literature class at Magnum Appan High School.

4.1 Reframing Recitations in Two Classrooms

In the two sections that follow, I describe lesson excerpts from Sami Ghanem's and Tamara Jefferson's secondary English Language Arts classes. In each example, I describe the frame for the lesson activity as outlined by the teacher's plan and the initial discourse. In both cases, this initial frame resembles recitation: the posing of known-answer questions by the teacher to test student knowledge (Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979;

Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Wells, 1999). In each section, I then describe the subsequent responses of students and teachers in order to show how those responses propose changes to the frame for the lesson activity, as well as whether and how those changes are accepted into the frame. Finally, I offer a chart which illustrates the reframing of the interaction during the activity. Through this analysis, I explore how the interactional frame was negotiated among teacher and students, how interactions that began as recitations were reframed as more dialogic, and what discursive moves accompanied those reframings.

4.1.1 Sami's class: the activity as initially framed. I first describe how Sami's lesson plan and the beginning of the activity proposed an initial frame for the interaction. During a lesson in early March, each student in Sami's 12th grade composition class shared a journal entry s/he had written during a previous lesson on a topic of his/her choice that also included at least one grammatical element the class had studied—for example, an adjective clause—as part of several lessons on sentence variation. This was the way the activity had been framed in Sami's lesson plan, which read:

> *Students will share the journals they have been writing in class for the last week. Students will comment on each others' journal and decide whether the student who is reading his/her journal has applied...the particular clause/phrase...correctly.... I will leave the choice for the students to pick the journal they like to share* (Sami, lesson plan, 03/06/08).

While this activity ostensibly provided students with the opportunity to sit in a circle facing each other, and to share personal writing, in fact its purpose was to illustrate the correct usage of grammatical clauses. Sami's lesson plan, and its initial implementation,

suggested that each student on the circle would be expected to read, in succession, his/her journal entry; another student on the circle, chosen by the teacher, would identify and evaluate the use of a grammatical clause in that entry after it had been read. That is, although students had had the choice, before this activity, of what to write about, the purpose of the readings of these journal entries appeared to be the review of grammatical clauses the class had already studied. According to the initial frame for the activity, then, participation appeared to be tightly controlled, to involve students providing responses to questions to which both they and the teacher already knew the answer, and to provide little opportunity for students to interact with each other or accomplish social purposes other than those already defined. In these respects, the roles, relationships, and possible responses proposed by the initial frame for the activity resembled those associated with recitation. In the next section, I describe how students responded to this proposed framing of the interaction in order to explore whether and how recitation can be reframed by subsequent classroom discourse.

4.1.2 Sami's class: proposed reframing. To describe how students responded to the proposed framing of the lesson activity as recitation, and how those responses affected the interactional frame, I focus on several successive journal entry readings that took place partway through the activity. Nathan and Ryan sat next to each other on the large circle in which the desks had been arranged. In the following excerpt, Ryan had just read his journal entry about leaving for basic training, and Nathan was about to share an entry which challenged the initial activity frame.

(Sami, lesson transcript, 03/06/08)

1. SAMI: Uh, Nathan?

2. RYAN: Oh, his is on the back of my paper.

3. SAMI: Oh, OK, so you shared?

4. NATHAN: Yeah, we saved a tree. I think I'm going to read his, though,
5. because mine's not that good. Can I do that?

6. SAMI: I think it's better to read your own. I know you can do it.

7. NATHAN: No, no, no, I can't, I can't read mine, it's sloppy. I'm going to read
8. this, OK?

9. SAMI: No, I'd—I'd rather have every person read his own. If you're
10. uncomfortable reading yours—

11. NATHAN: No, mine's not very good, but I'll read it out for you.

12. SAMI: OK.

13. NATHAN: (reading) "Yesterday, I was kicked out of class because of
14. something that, (h)uh, that was not even a big deal. The teacher looked—or
15. took-a little thing and turned it into a big deal, which then got me kicked out
16. of class, this class is--"

17. STUDENTS: (laughter).

18. SAMI: OK, so what is that you, so we can--

19. NATHAN: (H)old on, I'm not done.

20. SAMI: What is that you're using? adverb clause? adjective clause? apositive?
21. prepositional phrase? absolute?

22. NATHAN: I forgot. (Ryan whispers to him). Adjective.

23. SAMI: Oh, thank you, Ryan. OK, go ahead, Nathan?

24. NATHAN: "This class is unfair because she says if we need help we can stay
25. after class, but we can't always stay after class."

26. SAMI: O(h)K, so (h)you used adjective clause, that's what Ryan suggested
27. you were writing about when you wrote your journal.

In this excerpt, Nathan made several moves that challenged the frame of the activity: At first he refused to read his own entry (4-8), and later he implied that he had no interest in what kind of clause was used (22). But he also fulfilled the requirements of the assignment and the initial frame for the activity by ostensibly writing and reading a journal entry that utilized a grammatical element.

However, Nathan's journal entry did more than fulfill the assignment. It also animated Nathan and Sami as characters in a story about prior classroom interactions (13-16, 24-25): As she explained to me afterward, she had asked him the day before to step outside the room and talk with her about a disruption during the lesson, and before that had often invited him to stay after class for extra help. But Sami's version of those events was quite different than Nathan's, which portrayed him as a victim of the situation and subtly criticized his teacher's actions. Nathan's animation thus allowed him to simultaneously fulfill the initial requirements of the activity and also to indirectly criticize the class through double voicing. I was not the only one to appreciate the nature of Nathan's critique as the nervous laughter of Nathan(14), Sami (26), and Nathan's classmates (26) suggested.

In animating himself and Sami, Nathan's reading not only used double voicing to critique his interactions with Sami during previous lessons, but it also proposed a change to the initial frame of the activity: that the journal could also be used to accomplish non-academic—even critical—purposes. Moreover, the subtle nature of Nathan's criticism made it difficult for Sami to respond without turning a "little thing" into a "big deal" (15) through a direct confrontation—the very thing Nathan had criticized. Sami's reactions to Nathan showed their implicit struggle: she interpreted (perhaps intentionally) his refusal

to read his own entry as embarrassment rather than insubordination, and offered to let him off the hook if he was "uncomfortable" (9-10); but rather than taking this opportunity (indeed, perhaps spurred on by it), Nathan agreed to read.

Nathan's reading of his journal entry did not wholly conform to the roles, relationships, and responses of the interaction as initially framed. Though his reading fulfilled the obligations of the activity, it also used animation and double voicing to indirectly criticize it. This criticism proposed a reframing of the activity Sami had envisioned. In particular, Nathan's reading accomplished this by referring to another event which bore a relationship to the current interaction (13-16, 24-25); I will address the relationship between narrated events and classroom discourse interactions, and how that relationship might be used to promote discussion, in a later section of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 5. Moreover, Nathan's reading subtly expressed an opinion about that event which also applied to the current interaction: I will address the relationship between a speaker's alignment, or stance toward an event, and how that relationship might be used to promote discussion, in a later section of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 6. Having described a proposed reframing of this recitation activity, I next describe responses to that reframing proposal.

4.1.3 Sami's class: response to reframing proposal. How did teacher and students respond to the criticism of the recitation activity, and the reframing it proposed? Instead of responding to Nathan's indirect critique, Sami stuck for the moment to the original frame of the activity: she treated Nathan's journal as she had the others, only noting the grammatical element he had used. As the activity continued, Sami took stock, listing aloud the names of those who had not read their entries:

28. SAMI: OK! Uh Jo-we still have Josh, Andy, me--I (h)mean no(h)--Catherine--

29. RYAN: Oh, you're going!

When Sami laughingly pretended to count herself into the circle, Ryan pounced on her joke, challenging Sami to read a journal entry, too. Like Nathan's subtle parody, Ryan's comment also animated Sami (this time with regard to a future, rather than a past action) and implicitly criticized the initial framing of the activity, in which only students on the circle were forced to read their journal entries and answer questions about grammatical to which they already knew the answer. However, because he had double voiced Sami's own joke, Ryan could easily pass off his remark; like Nathan's, it would be hard to respond to without causing further disruption.

The next student to read, Josh, shared a more traditional entry about a trip with his Mom to a casino in the north of the state. This produced some laughter from Nathan and Ryan, who often poked fun at Josh. Sitting next to Josh, Andy made a move similar to Nathan's by using his "journal entry" as an indirect commentary on the events of the class:

41. ANDY: I did adjective clause. "There's this dude who really gets on my
42. nerves. Every day I go to my composition class, and write my journal about
43. him. I write about him to work on my grammar and to help understand how to
44. use different kinds of clauses and phrases." (looking across the room)

45. SAMI: OK. So what's the clause you wanted to point out?

46. ANDY: "who really gets on my nerves".

47. CHRIS: Who's the dude?

48. ANDY: I wonder.

Like Nathan and Ryan's comments, Andy's "reading" animated another member of the class. But instead of criticizing the teacher, Andy's journal entry was an indirect criticism of another student, possibly Nathan. In relation to Nathan's previous turn in the conversation, Andy's reading affirmed the revision to the interactional frame which Nathan's contribution had proposed: that the journal entry was an opportunity to accomplish social purposes at the same time as one fulfilled the official grammar and sentence variation task. Again the rest of the class seemed to recognize this dual purpose: Chris acknowledged that the journal entry indexed class members by asking about it directly (47).

Subsequently, Sami seized an opportunity to make a similar move: to indirectly comment on the events of the classroom under cover of a "journal entry." Catherine, who read after Andy, used a participial phrase in her journal entry about choir practice; while she read, Nathan and Ryan were talking, and Andy, saying that he couldn't hear, asked Catherine to read again. Nathan and Ryan agreed, laughingly asking Catherine to stand and read again from the center of the room, perhaps because they thought she was attractive. After Catherine read again (from her seat), and since no one else had used a participial phrase, Sami took the opportunity to re-explain this grammar point and restate the purpose of the activity, while at the same time admonishing Nathan and Ryan:

55. SAMI: So basically, participial is when you use a verb and you end it with "

ing"? or "ed"? and most of the time you start a sentence with that, for
example, uh not all the time, your example you didn't start the sentence with
that. (raising volume) "Trying to pay attention in class was a hard job for me
because I was distracted with these two students sitting on my left and right."
See? This is participial. "I am trying to pay attention in class, period." This is
not participial, it's just part of the verb.

CATHERINE: Yes.

SAMI: OK? So if you want to have variation in your essay, you want to talk
about these two students sitting beside you and distracting you, you have two
ways of doing this, OK? One way is "I am sitting in class, period. There are
two students sitting beside me, period. These two students are distracting me,
period. That's why I find it hard to pay attention in class, period." Or you can
say it the other way which I just said it before. See? Now you know how to
write in two different ways, either using participial phrase or--clause, phrase
or clause--or having uh you know different number of sentences. OK? and I'm
not saying one is better than the other. It's just that you know both and you
have the option to use which one based on what you have in your essay.

As she made this explanation, Sami also raised her voice (58), and Nathan and Ryan, the "two students" (59) she had animated in her "journal entry" stopped talking and sat up in their seats (as did others). Moreover, Sami's response, like Nathan's, used double voicing: overtly, she was illustrating her explanation of participials with an example, and reaffirming the point of the sentence variation activity; implicitly, she was scolding Nathan and Ryan by referring to their actions during Catherine's reading. Furthermore, she utilized the same technique proposed by Nathan and affirmed by Andy: commenting indirectly, through the journal entry, on classroom events.

Sami's reading also responded to the constraints Nathan's critique and Ryan's challenge had created: to ignore the criticisms of Nathan and Ryan might have seemed naïve or cowardly; but to confront them directly would have disrupted the activity, and either boy could have denied any ill intentions. As Sami explained in a post-lesson interview,

> I thought *I'm not going to interrupt the class and say 'Listen, you need to be quiet,' and so on.* So what I did was, they were asking me about a...sentence or a clause, and I-they wanted an example. And in my example, I used them. Without saying their names. But they knew that I'm talking about them. And when I used that example, they were quiet, because they felt embarrassed about that (Sami, interview, 03/06/08).

Despite the constraints, Sami managed to admonish both boys by using their own strategy against them and without breaking the frame of the journal entry activity to comment directly on their behavior. Further, she rejoined the non-academic social purpose to the academic topic of the activity: to illustrate the use of particular grammatical clauses, and how those clauses might be used to accomplish certain rhetorical effects, with reference to students' personal writing. Thus the resulting interactional frame, with its ostensible focus on writing and grammar, and its implicit social sallies, was emergent—irreducible to the precedent qualities or intentions of the individual participants.

In this section, I described the responses to Nathan's critique of the activity which appeared to be framed initially as recitation. Subsequent responses from students and teacher accepted that critique as a reframing of the interaction by using the same technique: they used the journal entry reading as a means of indirect social commentary. This commentary was accomplished through animation and double voicing. Like Nathan, subsequent speakers also referred to other events that bore a relationship to the current interaction, a relationship I address further in the Discussion section and in Chapter 5. Andy and Sami also subtly expressed an opinion about the events to which they referred,

an alignment which affected the current interaction, as well; I address this relationship further in the Discussion section and in Chapter 6.

4.1.4 Sami's class: emergence of the interactional frame. Figure 1 charts the changes in the frame during the interaction above.

Initial frame	LESSON PLAN: *Students will share the journals they have been writing in class for the last week. Students will comment on each others' journal and decide whether the student who is reading his/her journal has applied... the particular clause/phrase... correctly.... I will leave the choice for the students to pick the journal they like to share.* SAMI: Uh, Nathan?
Challenges to initial frame	RYAN: Oh, his is on the back of my paper. SAMI: Oh, OK, so you shared? NATHAN: Yeah, we saved a tree. I think I'm going to read his, though, because mine's not that good. Can I do that? ... SAMI: No, I'd—I'd rather have every person read his own. If you're uncomfortable reading yours— NATHAN: No, mine's not very good, but I'll read it out for you. SAMI: OK.
Proposed reframing Animation Double voicing	NATHAN: "Yesterday, I was kicked out of class because of something that, (h)uh, that was not even a big deal. The teacher looked--or took--a little thing and turned it into a big deal, which then got me kicked out of class...." STUDENTS: (laughter). SAMI: O(h)K, so (h)you used adjective clause, that's what Ryan suggested you were writing about when you wrote your journal. ...
Response to reframing proposal Animation Double voicing	SAMI: So basically, participial is when you use a verb and you end it with "ing"? or "ed"? and most of the time you start a sentence with that, for example, uh not all the time, your example you didn't start the sentence with that. "Trying to pay attention in class was a hard job for me because I was distracted with these two students sitting on my left and right." See? This is participial. See? Now...you know both and you have the option to use which one based on what you have in your essay.

Figure 1. Emergence of the interactional frame in journal entry grammar activity

In summary, the initial frame for the journal entry grammar activity suggested the pattern of discourse associated with recitation, typically described as teacher-controlled testing of

students' knowledge by asking them questions to which teacher and students already know the answers; Sami's plan to have students identify and evaluate the use of grammatical clauses the class had previously studied appeared to fit this typical description of recitation. However, through animation, student responses proposed a reframing of that activity as one in which non-academic social work could be accomplished by using the journal entry to comment implicitly on classroom events and relationships. The reframing involved double voicing, as students used others' words for their own purposes. The nature of students' double voiced reframing constrained subsequent responses by the teacher. However, Sami's reading of her own "journal entry" not only addressed those constraints and participated in similar double voicing, but also rejoined the academic purpose of the journal entry grammar activity. Thus what began as recitation became more dialogic, as teacher and students shared control of the interaction, "used others' words for [their] own purposes"(Bakhtin, 1984, p. 166), increased the relationship among subsequent turns in conversation, and created new meaning that was irreducible to the contributions of individuals. I address the ideas of control over the interaction, of the repurposing of others' words, of the relationship among utterances, and of the creation of new meaning among teacher and students in the Discussion section. But first, I address a similar example in Tamara Jefferson's classroom of whether and how recitation can be reframed as more dialogic, beginning with the initial framing of a lesson activity.

4.1.5 Tamara's class: the activity as initially framed. I first describe the initial frame for the interaction as proposed by Tamara's lesson plan and the beginning of the activity. On a Tuesday in early December, Tamara's 10th grade students reviewed in

preparation for a standardized test on elements of story grammar like "exposition," "climax," and "verbal irony." Tamara and the other English teachers at Magnum Appan High School had only just learned on Monday that their students would take this test, which would cover material they had addressed two months earlier. To help her students practice on their own the identification in context of story elements, Tamara had decided to show an excerpt from an episode of the TV sitcom *Full House* and have students fill out a "plot development chart" (Tamara, lesson plan, 12/04/07).

(Tamara, lesson transcript, 12/04/07)

1. TAMARA: So we'll watch this sitcom, and then as we're watching I want you
2. to fill this out and we'll go over this.... OK? Before we start this, before we
3. start this, really quickly: On your plot development chart, I want you to write
4. "verbal irony." ...So what is verbal irony, then?

Tamara's plan and her initial comments to students seemed to propose a frame for this activity as a "really quick" review for students of material they had already encountered before they practiced applying those concepts on their own while watching a video, an idea Tamara had come up with the night before. The fact that the video was cued up and that this question was posed just "before we start this," also suggested Tamara expected to quickly review a previously established definition of verbal irony. In short, the activity involved recitation, or the testing of students' knowledge through questions to which teacher and students already knew the answer.

In a post-lesson interview, Tamara confirmed that this was her initial intention, saying, "We already went and covered it. We already tested on this information.... We talked about, you know, that whole umbrella definition of what irony really is [but]...I really felt, like, crunch time to reteach information...to make sure that they understand that for the exam" (Tamara, interview, 12/04/07). Under pressure to review for the

upcoming standardized test, Tamara intended to hold a quick review before the video. To explore whether and how recitation can be reframed by subsequent classroom discourse, I describe in the next section how students responded to this proposed framing of the interaction.

4.1.6 Tamara's class: proposed reframing. Below, I describe students' responses immediately after Tamara's introduction of the activity, and how those unexpected responses resulted in a reframing of the "quick review."

4. TAMARA: ...So what is verbal irony, then?

5. LAVERNUS: Sawdy.

6. RICHARD: When someone says something--

7. TAMARA: OK... "sawdy," but what did I say "sawdy" was, though? What's
8. "sawdy"?

9. JILL: Sarcasm.

10. COLBY: Verbal irony. Means "sawdy."

11. STUDENTS: (laughter)

12. TAMARA: (to Richard) Exactly. When you say something that you don't
13. really mean, right? (to Colby) No, but what did I tell you when you said
14. "sawdy"? What did I say in response to that?

In response to Tamara's "review" question (4), several students provided answers. Richard's (6) and Jill's (9) answers seemed to most closely approximate what Tamara appeared to be looking for: that one definition of verbal irony is when someone says something they don't really mean, as in the case of sarcasm. The resemblance between Richard's answer (6) and Tamara's (12) may even suggest that Richard was repeating a definition that had already been discussed during a previous lesson. However, Lavernus'

(5) and Colby's answer (10), that verbal irony is "sawdy," seemed to especially attract Tamara's attention. Repeatedly, she returned to that answer (at 7 and 12-14), posing questions that seemed intended to animate herself and the two boys in a way that would narrow the possible responses and reaffirm the "quick review" frame.

At other times in Tamara's classroom, "Sawdy" was often used to mark disappointed expectations[5]. It seemed meant either to diminish the speaker's own embarrassment at having misread social expectations—a kind of "sour grapes" or "just kidding!" move—or to poke fun at another's embarrassment. During another lesson, for instance, one student proudly produced from his bag a novel he thought the class was starting that day, only to learn that it would not be addressed till next week; at that point, both he and his classmates exclaimed, "Sawdy!" In this sense, "sawdy" seems closer to what is sometimes called "situational irony" or "dramatic irony": a fictional character, like Oedipus, is unaware of some aspect of his fate that is obvious to other characters, or to the reader, such as the fact that he has inadvertently killed his father and married his mother. In a post-lesson interview, Tamara spoke about recognizing this seeming confusion in students' responses. "...I saw that they were getting confused with 'sawdy' but it's not that.... We talked about irony but we didn't go over, um, the different kinds of irony, like situational irony."

Despite Tamara's attempts to rule out "sawdy" as a definition of verbal irony and to reaffirm the quick review frame for the activity by animating the two boys, Colby's response addressed her question in an unexpected way:

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[5] Urban Dictionary (1999; 2009) defines "sawdy," "sawty," and "salty" similarly as an interjection used when someone is "mad," "upset," or "humiliated" by situations such as waiting for someone who doesn't show up or thinking a person returns one's affections only to hear that s/he is engaged to someone else; the terms seem to have originated in Chicago or Philadelphia in the mid-1990s.

13. TAMARA: No, but what did I tell you when you said "sawdy"? What did I
14. say in response to that?

15. COLBY: (nasal teacher voice) "No, Colby."

16. STUDENTS: (laughter)

Colby responded to Tamara's question, "What did I say?" with a literal answer. His "No Colby" animated Tamara by repeating what she had said in an earlier assertion about the relation between "sawdy" and "verbal irony." But the nasal, "teacherly" tone with which he imitated her voice implied that he knew he was not giving her the answer she wanted. As in Sami's interaction with Nathan, the class's laughter suggested that others recognized this double-voiced subversion of her question, a parody which was, itself a sophisticated example of verbal irony.

As in Nathan's double-voiced journal entry, Colby's answer not only animated and criticized Tamara's past words also but also proposed a present reframing of the "quick review" as one in which non-academic social work could be accomplished. Colby could protest that he had literally answered her question, but for Tamara to ignore Colby's parodic response would mean not only conceding the point about verbal irony but also allowing his subtle criticism of her.

As in the previous example, Colby's criticism proposed a reframing of the recitation activity by referring to another event that bore on the current interaction; in the Discussion section and later, in Chapter 5, I address the relationship between the narrated event and the interactional frame for discussion. Like Nathan, Colby criticized Tamara by animating her as a figure in that previous event, though he re-enacted her actions rather than animating her through narration of them. This double voicing of her words subtly expressed an opinion of that prior interaction that affected the current one: by parodying

what she had said to him previously, Colby indirectly criticized her attempts to elicit a particular answer. In the Discussion and later, in Chapter 6, I address how parody of a previous speaker's alignment toward an event relates to the interactional frame and to promoting dialogic discussion.

4.1.7 Tamara's class: response to reframing proposal. How did teacher and students respond to Colby's implicit criticism of the recitation frame for the activity? Following Colby's parody, Tamara narrated her own story, a story which animated Colby but also returned to the topic of verbal irony.

13. TAMARA: It was sawdy, but it was considered—verbal irony is when one
14. someone says something that they really don't mean. So the other day...Colby
15. s(h)aid (deepens voice), "Ms. Jefferson...that's a nice outfit."
16. (returns to normal voice, whispers) But I think he was being kind of
17. sarcastic and was trying to tell me that my outfit was...(h)not nice.

18. STUDENTS: (laughter)

19. COLBY: I never—

20. TAMARA: That was verbal irony.

21. STUDENTS: (laughter)

Tamara's narrative animated Colby by quoting what Colby had said and imitating his voice. As in Colby's response, Tamara's imitation was double-voiced and ironic, deepening her tone to parody a "manly" voice. Indeed, students' laughter and Colby's protest may have been the result of a further subtext of Tamara's story, a subtext which developed as she continued.

22. COLBY: I don't pay no attention to her clothes!

23. STUDENTS: (laughter)

24. TAMARA: I walked (h)in, Colby said (deepening voice), "That's a nice outfit

25. Ms. Jefferson." (resuming normal voice) He kind of looked, and (h)he—
26. (looking up and down)

27. ALICE: A::h, he looking!

28. TAMARA: And (h)he-he kind of double—(cocking head slightly, stepping
29. back)

30. STUDENTS: (laughter)

31. TAMARA: So that was verbal irony. He didn't mean that. He didn't really
32. mean that. He was making fun of me.

33. STUDENTS: (laughter).

34. TAMARA: But that's verbal irony. He say something and really don't mean it.
35. So that's kind of the whole idea of being sarcastic.... So I want you to be able
36. to identify that, and you'll see a lot of verbal irony in this sitcom. You all
37. know it. You use it every day. Especially Colby.

Tamara's animation of Colby included an enactment of Colby's actions as he looked her up and down (26, 28-29). This enactment, combined with Alice's "Ah, he looking!" (27), as well as Colby's own protests that "I don't pay no attention to her clothes!" (22) created the subtle implication that Colby might have been hitting on her. However, this implication was a double-voiced subtext to the narrative's ostensible purpose of re-explaining verbal irony. Moreover, it responded to his parody of her by animating and double voicing Colby's previous behavior, the very technique Colby's imitation had proposed.

The subtlety of Tamara's criticism, like Colby's, constrained subsequent responses, making it difficult for him to protest: In the story, Colby's comment about her outfit was either sincere, in which case he was hitting on a teacher, or else it was intended to make fun of the teacher—not something to which a student could easily admit—by using irony. Indeed, Tamara's story not only responded to and imitated Colby's in the

way it used irony to make a gentle criticism, but also re-illustrated the concept of verbal irony, reinterpreting the teasing Colby had initiated as an opportunity to redefine the literary term. Because this opportunity could not be attributed solely to either Colby's unexpected impertinence or Tamara's response, it was an example of emergence.

Like Colby, Tamara referred to a previous event that bore on the current interaction (a relationship I address further below, and again in Chapter 5). And like Colby, she subtly expressed an alignment towards that event through narration and parody of another's words and actions that shaped the current interaction (this, too, I address below, and then in Chapter 6).

4.1.8 Tamara's class: Emergence of the interactional frame. In summary, the interactional frame emerged as Colby and Tamara animated each other, using double voicing in ways that both reinterpreted what the other had said and constrained subsequent responses. The result was an opportunity to define verbal irony for which neither was solely responsible. After the lesson, Tamara commented, "I didn't plan on how it might sound.... But I think they understood what I was going for. Because Colby, he does that all the time.... So I thought that would be a good idea to use because they all heard him, and of course everyone was laughing, so I knew they would remember" (Tamara, interview, 12/04/07). Despite its emergence, this exchange still addressed the goals of the "quick review" Tamara had initially planned, defining "verbal irony" with several vivid examples in a way that might not have been possible had Tamara simply ignored Colby and accepted Richard's "right" answer.

Figure 2 charts the emergence of the frame during the interaction above in comparison with the example from Sami's class:

Initial frame	LESSON PLAN: *Students will share the journals they have been writing in class for the last week. Students will comment on each others' journal and decide whether the student who is reading his/her journal has applied...the particular clause/phrase... correctly... I will leave the choice for the students to pick the journal they like to share.* SAMI: Uh, Nathan?	LESSON PLAN: *...to review story grammar like "exposition," "climax," and "verbal irony"...show an excerpt from an episode of the TV sitcom Full House and have students fill out a "plot development chart."* TAMARA: So what is verbal irony, then?
Challenges to initial frame	RYAN: Oh, his is on the back of my paper. SAMI: Oh, OK, so you shared? NATHAN: Yeah, we saved a tree. I think I'm going to read his, though, because mine's not that good. Can I do that? ... SAMI: No, I'd—I'd rather have every person read his own. If you're uncomfortable reading yours— NATHAN: No, mine's not very good, but I'll read it out for you. SAMI: OK.	LAVERNUS: Sawdy. RICHARD: When someone says something-- TAMARA: OK... "sawdy," but what did I say "sawdy" was, though? What's "sawdy"? JILL: Sarcasm. COLBY: Verbal irony. Means "sawdy." STUDENTS: (laughter) TAMARA: (to Jill) Exactly. When you say something that you don't really mean, right? (to Colby) No, but what did I tell you when you said "sawdy"? What did I say in response to that?

Figure 2. Emergence of the interactional frame in journal entry grammar activity and verbal irony review activity (cont'd on next page).

Figure 2. (cont'd)

Reframing proposal Animation Double voicing	NATHAN: "Yesterday, I was kicked out of class because of something that, uh, that was not even a big deal. The teacher looked--or took--a little thing and turned it into a big deal, which then got me kicked out of class...." STUDENTS: (laughter). SAMI: OK, so (laughs) you used adjective clause, that's what Ryan suggested you were writing about when you wrote your journal. ...	COLBY: (nasal teacher voice) "No, Colby." STUDENTS: (laughter) TAMARA: It was sawdy, but it was considered—verbal irony is when one someone says something that they really don't mean.
Response to reframing proposal Animation Double voicing	SAMI: So basically, participial is when you use a verb and you end it with "ing"? or "ed"? and most of the time you start a sentence with that, for example, uh not all the time, your example you didn't start the sentence with that. "Trying to pay attention in class was a hard job for me because I was distracted with these two students sitting on my left and right." See? This is participial. See? Now…you know both and you have the option to use which one based on what you have in your essay.	TAMARA: So the other day…Colby said (laughs, then deepens voice) "Ms.Jefferson... that's a nice outfit." (returns to normal voice, whispers) But I think he was being kind of sarcastic and was trying to tell me that my outfit was...not nice.... But that's verbal irony. He say something and really don't mean it. So that's kind of the whole idea of being sarcastic.... So I want you to be able to identify that, and you'll see a lot of verbal irony in this sitcom.

As in Sami's class, what appeared to have begun as recitation became more dialogic: after attempts to reinforce the initial frame, a reframing proposal using animation and double voicing was made and accepted. Teacher and students shared control of the interaction, "used others' words for [their] own purposes"(Bakhtin, 1984, p. 166), increased the relationship among subsequent turns in conversation, and created new meaning that was irreducible to the contributions of individuals. These ideas of teacher/student control, of how utterances shape what precedes and follows them, and of the creation of new meaning among teacher and students, I address in the next section.

4.2 Discussion/Implications

In the preceding sections, I addressed the question of how what appears initially to be framed as recitation might become more like dialogic discussion, and what kinds of discourse might accompany that reframing. In Sami's and Tamara's classes, the frames of the activities initially proposed by each teacher's lesson plan changed as a result of subsequent contributions by students and teacher. In Sami's class, Nathan's "journal entry" both fulfilled the obligations of the activity and proposed a reframing of it by using animation and double voicing to comment indirectly on classroom events; this reframing was accepted by subsequent participation in the activity, as first Andy and then Sami did the same. Likewise, in Tamara's class, Colby's answer proposed a reframing of the "quick review" of verbal irony by using animation and double voicing to parody the teacher's question; this reframing was accepted by Tamara as she responded with her own parody.

This reframing suggests that, just as individual utterances are emergent, i.e., open to reinterpretation by discourse that follows them (Bakhtin, 1984; M. Goodwin & C.

Goodwin, 2004; M. Goodwin, 1990; Heritage, 1984; Morson & Emerson, 1990), so the discursive frame for classroom interactions is emergent. Indeed, Sawyer (2001a, 2002, 2003, 2004) has already shown that certain kinds of conversations depend on the emergence of the interactional frame. The present study has implications for English education researchers, English teachers, and English teacher educators in describing how classroom conversations characterized by features typically associated with recitation can become more like dialogic discussion: How might attention to reframing expand the way English education researchers understand the features of dialogic discussion? How might English teachers learn to recognize or to initiate proposals to reframe recitation as discussion?

Prior research on discussion-based approaches to English Language Arts describes recitation as tightly-controlled and teacher directed (Applebee et al., 2003; Billings & Fitzgerald, 2002; Chinn et al., 2001; Nystrand et al., 1997), allowing students "no control over the flow of the discussion" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 38). Recitation is typically associated with the testing of students' knowledge through questions to which the teacher already knows the answer (Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). As a result, there is little opportunity for students to construct new meanings through interaction with others. Dialogic discussion is typically described as the exact opposite: a "free exchange of information among students and/or between at least two students and the teacher" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 36) which allows students' "exploration of ideas"(Applebee et al., 2003, p. 680). Dialogic discussion is characterized by "authentic questions" (to which the questioner does not have a preconceived answer) and "uptake" whereby the teacher or another student "picks up on a student's response"

(Collins, 1982, p. 432; Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 38) in a subsequent question. As a result, new meaning that was not possible before is created by the interaction among students and teacher. Prior research thus suggest four areas—teacher/student control, authentic/inauthentic questions, uptake, and the creation of new meaning—to which the emergence of the interactional frame illustrated by Sami's and Tamara's classes may contribute new understanding. Below, I address each of these four areas; in the final section, I return to the relationships suggested by the two examples above between narrated events and the current classroom interaction, and between the speaker's stance toward those events, or her alignment, and the current classroom interaction, before outlining the next two chapters.

4.2.1 Teacher/student control. The emergence of the interactional frame calls into question the opposition between teacher and student control over discursive classroom interactions in other research on dialogic discussion. The activities in Sami's and Tamara's classes, as they were initially framed by each teacher's plan, seemed to be tightly-controlled and teacher-directed: students in Sami's class, though they had a choice of what to write beforehand, were charged during the journal entry reading activity with identifying and evaluating the use of grammatical clauses; in Tamara's class, students were asked to provide a previously discussed definition of verbal irony. Students thus appeared to have little control over the roles, relationships, and responses that were appropriate in these activities as initially framed. However, students in both classes managed to accomplish "unofficial social work" (Dyson, 1993), as well as to propose unexpected revisions to the interactional frame of the academic activity. Moreover, their contributions both enabled and constrained subsequent responses by others, including the

teacher. In keeping with some prior classroom discourse research (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1999), this finding suggests that students can still have significant influence over the nature and direction of classroom discourse interactions, even in recitation. This understanding may be important to education researchers and teachers interested in how classroom discourse interactions like discussion are promoted and managed by teacher and students.

Indeed, if individual utterances are open to reinterpretation (Heritage, 1984), and the nature of the interaction can be reframed by subsequent turns in conversation (Sawyer, 2003), then the frame for a classroom activity could be understood as emergent: Both teacher and students have the power to propose new possible roles, relationships, and responses by using discourse to bring events into relationship or to parody other speakers, and neither recitation nor discussion can take place without some degree of coordination of the frame among the class members. This claim builds on one definition of Bakhtinian dialogism as a potential in all discourse for reinterpretation; as such, recitation is not inherently monologic and has the potential to be reframed.

This is not to suggest that the teacher's initial plan is unimportant, or that teachers have no influence over the outcome. It is worth noting that, despite the emergence of the interactional frame in both lessons, both teachers' initial objectives—to illustrate the use of grammatical clauses, and to define verbal irony—were addressed, and perhaps better than they might have been otherwise. In Sami's class, the reading of journal entries that commented indirectly on actual classroom events served to illustrate that grammatical clauses are not simply mechanical, and can be used to bring events into relationship for rhetorical effect; and the parodies enacted in Tamara's class resulted in a more complex

definition of verbal irony than if Tamara had simply accepted Richard's initial answer. In short, the opposition between teacher and student control, in research and pedagogy associated with discussion, might be replaced by further attention to which frames are proposed and accepted by teacher and students, and whether and how such emergent interactions can still address academic objectives. That is, how is the nature of a lesson activity negotiated among teacher and students through talk? And how might that negotiated definition of the situation, or the process of negotiation, itself, address lesson goals?

4.2.2 Authentic/inauthentic questions. The distinction between authentic and inauthentic questions, often used to distinguish recitation and discussion, may also be understood differently in terms of the emergence of the interactional frame. The questions initially posed by Sami and Tamara—about which clause was used and what had been said about irony—were inauthentic in that they asked for answers from students which the teacher in each case already knew. However, Nathan and Colby's answers to these questions were unexpected, provided new information, and involved sophisticated uses of language. Moreover, their responses did not exactly address the questions as they were posed. This finding suggest that it is not the inherent nature of questions, themselves, that produce certain kinds of subsequent discourse; indeed, prior research already suggests that the same question can be made either authentic or inauthentic by the teacher's intentions (Nystrand et al., 2003). Perhaps this is because the teacher's intentions are communicated in the question as proposing a particular frame for interaction. But it is equally important to attend to how that proposal is taken up by subsequent discourse. If all utterances are emergent, and open to subsequent

reinterpretation, then even "inauthentic" questions may produce "authentic" answers (and vice versa).

The questions initially asked by Sami and Tamara, and the ones often asked by teachers during recitation, might seem to propose a frame in which students are "dupes", and do not realize that the teacher already knows the answer—what Goffman (1986) calls a "fabrication" (p. 158). But the parodic answers by Nathan and Colby suggest that they are not taken in by this fabrication; rather, it may be the teacher who appears as the dupe "contained" within the fabrication for not realizing that students actually *do* know the answers. Goffman's notion of the fabricated frame may explain the resistance of students like Nathan and Colby, as well as the efforts of Sami and Tamara to avoid appearing naïve about students' double-voiced criticisms of their recitation questions. "Frame-breaking" behavior (Goffman, 1986) is characteristic when individuals are cast in or forced to play a social role with which they do not identify; indeed, the laughter that followed these disruptions in Sami's and Tamara's classes often accompanies moments when the frame is "breaking (or cracking) up" (p. 351-352).

But why, then, did both students and teachers avoid truly "breaking" the frame with a disruptive refusal to comply with the social obligations created by previous utterances? Perhaps because of the consequences for students and teacher of disrupting the lesson. And perhaps because by choosing instead to selectively reinterpret those utterances through animation and double voicing, they might demonstrate that they were not "contained" but rather outside the fabrication. Or as Nystrand (1997) puts it, "...students play along, of course, so that we can tell that they know that *we* know that *they* know what *we* know!" (p. 18). This finding may help English education researchers

and teachers to explain why, how, and when certain kinds of questions (and other utterances) contribute to recitation, resistance, or discussion: Do questions and subsequent responses seem to suggest a fabricated frame for an interaction or an emergent one?

4.2.3 Uptake. The emergence of the interactional frame may also suggest new ways of understanding "uptake" (Collins, 1982; Nystrand et al., 1997, pp. 38-39), a discursive feature associated with dialogic discussions in which a student or the teacher "picks up on a student's response," and which is often "marked by the use of pronouns." These features of uptake were present in the discourse of Sami's and Tamara's classes, as students and teachers animated each other, double voicing others' words in order to accomplish their own purposes.

However, uptake, as defined by previous research on dialogic discussion, applies only to those moments when a speaker asks another person a question about what s/he has just said (Collins, 1982; Nystrand et al., 1997, pp. 38-39), for example "What makes *you* say *that*?" But the discourse "taken up" by others in these classes was not limited to the words and ideas of other speakers: Andy and Sami picked up on the revision to the interactional frame for the journal entry activity proposed by Nathan; and Tamara followed up on Colby's proposed revision of the verbal irony quick review frame. Thus, each teacher also took up her students' proposed reframing of the interaction. In both cases, this "uptake" involved more than referring to what another speaker had already said. It also involved bringing events into relationship, and using contextualization cues like gesture, intonation, and prosody to communicate the speaker's intentions with regard to that previous utterance. An expanded definition of uptake might thus allow researchers

and teachers to better explain how participants in discussion use prior discourse to collaboratively create new meaning.

4.2.4 Creating new meaning. The emergence of the interactional frame may help to describe how new meaning is created among students and teachers during classroom discourse interactions like dialogic discussion. Emergence is, by definition, the creation of something new which was not predictable by its constituents and is therefore irreducible to individual properties (Osberg & Biesta, 2007; Sawyer, 2001b, 2005); that is, what came before conditions but does not determine what follows, and the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. This definition of emergence is in keeping with the Bakhtinian notion that dialogue is "partially ordered": a relationship of unity in which meaning is nevertheless "unfinalizable," and "surprisingness" remains an essential element (Bakhtin, 1984, 1979; Medvedev & Bakhtin, 1978; Morson & Emerson, 1990). English teachers and English education researchers will recognize this as relevant to the idea that discussions involve a collaborative interaction which does not simply elaborate a single interpretation or combine the isolated opinions of each participant. Rather, the participation of students and teachers comes into relationship in ways that create new meaning. But how is this new meaning created?

4.2.4.1 Juxtaposing events. In the excerpts from Sami and Tamara's classes, participants were able to propose changes to the interactional frame by bringing events into relationship; one way they did this was by recasting the relationship between past event and present situation. Researchers who study narrative discourse have already begun to explore the dialogic relationship among past and present events in literary, historical, and conversational narratives (e.g., Bernstein, 1994; Juzwik, 2006; Morson &

Emerson, 1990; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Schweber, 2004; Wertsch, 2002), as well as how such "narrated events" relate to the "storytelling event" (e.g., Jakobson, 1971; Wortham, 2001) or to the interactional frame in which they take place. This relationship may be important to bringing students' experiences into relationship with history and literature through discussion in ways that create new meaning. It may also be important to understanding how discussion of those events affects the framing of discussion, itself (and vice versa). In chapter 5, I examine an interaction at Talbott High School between teacher Dave Weber and his 9th grade Social Studies students that began with recitation and ended in discussion. That interaction used animation to cast students as figures in a hypothetical "what if...?" scenario based on a historical event; that scenario brought events into dialogic relationship in ways that seemed to make the past more present and personal, reframing the historical event, as well as shaping the discussion.

4.2.4.2 Alignment. Sami, Tamara, and their students were able to propose changes to the interactional frame by using contextualization cues, including gesture, intonation, and prosody, to communicate the speaker's intentions with regard to the previous utterance. Education researchers who study literacy, language, and culture have already begun to explore the dialogic relationship among such stylistic features and communal affiliation with others (e.g.,Ball, 2002; Dyson, 1993, 2003; Gee, 2005; Heath, 1982, 1983; C. Lee, 2006a). In chapter 6, I return to Tamara Jefferson's 10th grade literature classes at Magnum Appan to examine another interaction which began with recitation and ended in discussion. In that interaction, speakers used double voicing to express their intentions, or alignments, toward previous utterances in a debate over a

moral issue; that double voiced disagreement allowed students to try on moral stances and other uses of language, and also shaped the discussion, itself.

4.3 Chapter 4 Summary

1. Classroom conversations characterized by features typically associated with recitation can become more like dialogic discussion.
2. Neither recitation nor discussion can take place without some degree of coordination of the frame among the class members.
3. Even "inauthentic" questions may produce "authentic" answers (and vice versa).
4. Recitation as "fabricated" frame may explain the resistance of students, as well as the efforts of teachers to avoid appearing naïve about students' criticisms of their recitation questions.
5. An expanded definition of uptake might better explain how participants in discussion use prior discourse to collaboratively create new meaning.
6. Juxtaposition of events in classroom discourse may bring students' experiences into relationship with literary/historical events, reframing the events, as well as reframing the interaction of discussion, itself (see Chapter 5).
7. Alignments toward a previous utterance in classroom discourse may bring students' moral stances and uses of language into relationship with those of others, and may also affect the interaction of discussion, itself (see Chapter 6).

5. "A Whole lot of Stories to Tell": Reframing Events in a Secondary Social Studies Discussion

Previous research on dialogic discussions, across discipline, has defined them primarily in opposition to recitations: control over classroom discourse is shared by teacher and student, multiple speakers participate, and talk is characterized by features like authentic questions, or questions to which an unspecified number of unexpected responses may be possible (Applebee et al., 2003; Forman et al., 1998; Lemke, 1990; Parker, 2001). While this definition focuses on the presence of multiple speakers and the possibility of multiple interpretations, it says little about the particular focus of the discussion. Are all discussions the same, regardless of content? Recent research has suggested that Social Studies class discussions may differ according to purpose: seminars whose focus is exploring an issue may differ from deliberations whose purpose is to consider possible choices and reach a decision (Parker, 2001, 2006; Parker & Hess, 2001). Social Studies education research has also found that discussion of particular topics, such as controversial issues, can be more or less conducive to discussions (Hess, 2002, 2004; Husbands & Pendry, 2000). These prior studies have suggested that *what* is being discussed may matter as much as *who* is discussing it. However, they have not explored how the relationships between speakers and the focus of their discussion might enable or constrain dialogic discourse. How do the relationships between participants and texts/topics/events under discussion contribute to (re)framing the interaction?

In chapter 4, I showed that what began as recitation could become more dialogic through the emergence of the interactional frame. Through analysis of Nathan, Andy, and

Sami's journal entries about class members, and Colby and Tamara's imitations of each other, I suggested that *animation* could be used to make and accept reframing proposals.

I also noted that the animations in the journal entry readings and imitations brought events into relationship: Nathan's journal entry referred to an incident during a previous lesson; Colby's response to Tamara's "What did I say...?" imitated a previous answer. Both Sami's and Tamara's responses also included references to other events. Furthermore, the events referred to seemed to relate to the current interaction among each teacher and her students: that is, speakers juxtaposed those events with the current interaction to accomplish certain purposes, in ways that enabled and constrained subsequent responses.

In this chapter, I examine further the relationship between the juxtaposition of events and the interactional frame. How does classroom discourse bring students' experiences into relationship with historical/literary events? How does this juxtaposition of events affect discussion?

To address these questions, I first describe the emergence of the interactional frame for a discussion of an historical event among Dave Weber and his students in Dave's 9th grade Talbott Social Studies classroom. I then describe the features of the resulting discourse in order to further explore how it brought events into relationship in ways that reframed the historical event under study, as well as the discussion, itself.

5.1 Juxtaposing Events

5.1.1 Emergence of the interactional frame: discussion from their own perspectives. In this first section, I describe how an activity that began as recitation led to discussion through the emergence of the interactional frame. During the lesson that

follows, Dave planned to address several local Social Studies Benchmarks, including Standard 2.5: *All students will describe and explain the causes, consequences, and geographic context of major global issues and events*; and Standard 1.3: *All students will reconstruct the past by comparing interpretations written by others from a variety of perspectives and creating narratives from evidence.* To address these standards, Dave's plan called for students to examine a political cartoon published in 1914 and to describe the relationship among the characters and the chain of events associated with the beginning of WWI, about which they had read a chapter for homework the previous day. According to his plan, homework review would continue with the completion of a chart on the electronic SMART board. Then Dave would introduce the idea of trench warfare and read students an excerpt from All Quiet on the Western Front before assigning them to write a "Letter Home from the Trenches" as homework (Dave, lesson plan, 10/15/07).

Thus, Dave's plan initially framed the following activity as a brief homework review in which he would elicit known answers from students to fill in a chart with facts from their textbook reading. But subsequent student responses led to a reframing of this recitation.

(Dave, lesson transcript, 10/15/07)

1. DAVE: ...What was the Schlieffen plan?
2. BECCA: Um....
3. DAVE: Yeah, Becca?
4. BECCA: (reading from her book) It called for holding action against Russia.
5. PENNY: I didn't really understand that.
6. AMY: Yeah, I didn't remember that at all.

Dave's question asked students to recall a textbook answer about the Schlieffen plan. But Penny's and Amy's responses to Dave's question showed that they (and perhaps others, like Becca) hadn't fully understood the textbook's explanation of the Schlieffen plan.

Dave might have ignored this confusion and filled Becca's initial answer into the SMART board homework review chart, but instead, he chose to draw a map on the whiteboard to better illustrate Germany's plan to attack Russia.

7. DAVE: OK, that's what it says in the book, right? And then, while they're
8. holding action, just holding the line against Russia. On the East. They've got
9. this (drawing on board). There's Russia.... We've got Germany here, and
10. we've got Belgium here. Alright, and they decide they want to hold this line
11. against Russia, but while they're doing it, they want to start marching into
12. Paris, France. After that, then they go over and attack Russia. Does that help?

13. BECCA: No.

14. PENNY: Well, yes.

15. AMY: But what are the three...?

16. OLIVIA: Yeah, what are the three little bubbles?

17. PENNY: Yeah, what are the rocks?

18. STUDENTS: (laughter)

19. DAVE: Rocks? (going back to map) Germany, Belgium, France.

Dave's first attempt to re-explain the textbook definition of the Schlieffen plan accompanied his drawing of a map to represent the relationship among the four countries involved in the plan. His map and accompanying explanation set in motion the way the German invaders were "holding the line against Russia" (8) and "start marching into Paris, France" (11-12), animating the interaction among the countries. However, this animation of the historical events via map and explanation had little effect on Amy, Olivia, and Penny, whose responses implied that they had not understood the circles

Dave drew to be bordering nations. Moreover, this explanation of the textbook definition by Dave to his students did little to alter the initial frame of the review activity.

Shortly afterward, Shirin interrupted to ask an unexpected question about Germany's invasion of Belgium.

20. SHIRIN: Question: When they go through all those places, do they like try to
21. get them to go with them? Or are they, like--?

22. DAVE: Are they trying to ask people to go with them? Is that what you're--?

23. SHIRIN: Kind of, yeah.

24. DAVE: Well, I don't know they were necessarily trying to gain military
25. strength through grabbing people as they went. But say there was another
26. country's army marching through Talbott. What impact would that have on
27. Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers...it'd be kind of weird?

Like Dave's first attempt at explanation, Shirin's question animated the German invaders. But unlike Dave's map explanation, which animated events associated with the Schlieffen plan in terms of its intended outcome, Shirin's question "when they go...do they...or are they...?" (20) raised the possibility of alternative courses of action the invaders might have taken. Again, Dave could have ignored Shirin's question, which was not ostensibly related to clarifying the Schlieffen plan. Instead, his response to Shirin took up this idea of possible alternatives, proposing a different kind of interactional frame. His hypothetical "what impact would that have...?" (26) proposed a change in the frame from a review of historical past events to an imagination exercise in which students were encouraged to envision a fantastical present event, which had not yet occurred, in their hometown.

Dave's comments during a subsequent interview revealed his thoughts at this moment of the lesson:

> ...we had some people, you know, she's thinking about the army, thinking about the march, and I could hear them all talking about it, and I'm thinking *Right now, I need to relate them to something.* And this is right before I do the Talbott thing, and that was a conscious effort on my part to say, "Let's talk about something we all know" (Dave, interview, 10/15/07).

According to his comments, Dave sought on the spur of the moment to clarify confusion and respond to Shirin's unexpected question by making a hypothetical comparison that would help students relate to the historical event. To do this, Dave juxtaposed the historical event of the invasion of Belgium with a hypothetical scenario occurring in the town of Talbott.

Dave's question thus proposed not only a reframing of the present interaction as one in which students could "talk about something we all know," but also cued to students that their talk would be double voiced, referring simultaneously to an actual past event that had happened to other people and to a hypothetical scenario in which students, themselves, would be animated as figures.

25. DAVE: ...say there was another country's army marching through Talbott.
26. What impact would that have on Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers...it'd
27. be kind of weird?

28. PENNY: Um people would maybe follow them?

29. DAVE: OK.

30. PENNY: To see where they're going?

31. DAVE: Some might follow them?

32. AMY: Maybe freak out?

33. DAVE: What kind of impact would it have on the roads?

34. PENNY: A lot!

35. DAVE: On traffic?

36. STUDENT: Well, they'd break them.

37. STUDENT: They'd screw everything up.

38. DAVE: I couldn't even imagine how bad Glen Road would be.

39. STUDENTS: (laughter)

40. STUDENT: Oh my god!

41. AMY: We'd have to, like, walk everywhere.

In contrast with Dave's map, which students had seen as "bubbles" and "rocks," this proposed reframing of the review activity was taken up by students: hesitantly at first (as indicated by the questioning tone of their responses) and then more confidently, Penny and Amy, and then others, accepted the idea of constructing a hypothetical scenario and began to make contributions from their own points of view that animated both the invading army and the inhabitants of Talbott, elaborating the imagined scene with multiple, concrete, and even conflicting details of the army's impact on the town's infrastructure. In terms of the lesson activity, students had ratified a move from a frame in which they responded to Dave's review questions with textbook answers to one in which they all contributed from their own perspectives to an imaginary scenario.

Dave and students continued to elaborate this imagined scenario before returning to explicit comparison with the historical event.

42. DAVE: They'd have to eat something, right?

43. LAURA: Yeah, they'd take all our food!

44. DAVE: They'd take all our food. They'd take a lot of our stuff....
45. And here they are just marching through, and say they were trying to get to

46. [the neighboring town of] Burch: would it be our fault that we were in
47. between?

48. GARY: Yeah, I would—

49. BECCA: No, because we just happened to be there.

50. DAVE: And what impact would it have on all of us if these people were
51. violent? Would you want to stay here?

52. STUDENTS: No!

53. TOM: I'd fight them.

54. DAVE: So it did have--it did have very profound impact on the people of
55. Belgium, a very important impact. That will later factor into the war.

In returning to the historical event, Dave's comment affirmed that the multiple, concrete, even conflicting details of the scenario elaborated by him and his students applied not only to the imagined event in Talbott and Burch but to the actual impact of the historical German invasion of Belgium on the way to France. The double-voiced details of the events supplied by the speakers thus applied dialogically to both a modern and a historical context.

Students' subsequent comments demonstrated their understanding of the juxtaposition between the hypothetical event and the historical event, as they, too returned to the invasion of Belgium:

56. BECCA: Wait, so what was the impact? Negative?

57. DAVE: I would say there was a lot of negative impact of that.

58. AMY: But some positive: they were safe.

59. SHIRIN: No, not really.

60. DAVE: You don't necessarily know these people are trying to protect you,
61. right?

62. BECCA: They could be, like, protecting you....

Once Dave had made the connection between the hypothetical invasion of Talbott and the historical invasion of Belgium, Becca, Amy, and Shirin continued to debate the army's impact, but now in terms of the historical invasion. Students' reactions suggested that they had understood and participated in the reframing that included double-voiced elaboration of both the hypothetical and the historical event. Thus, the initial frame of review of the textbook definition of the Schlieffen plan was reinterpreted, leading to an interaction that could not be attributed solely to Dave, Shirin, or any other individual speaker. Despite having begun with a review question to which all participants knew the answer, what emerged was a discussion of the impact of events associated with the Schlieffen plan.

In sum, the interactional frame was emergent, as the initial frame of the homework review was modified by Dave's attempts to clarify the Schlieffen plan and by Shirin's question. Dave's "what would it be like...?" proposal cued a frame which dialogically juxtaposed past event and present context. Changes in the frame for this interaction are charted in Figure 3:

Initial frame	*LESSON PLAN: All students will describe and explain the causes, consequences, and geographic context of major global issues and events…will reconstruct the past by comparing interpretations…and creating narratives from evidence…[and will] work as a class to get the answers from their homework to match the chart on the board.* DAVE: …What was the Schlieffen plan? … BECCA: (reading from her book) It called for holding action against Russia.
Challenges to initial frame	PENNY: I didn't really understand that. AMY: Yeah, I didn't remember that at all. DAVE: OK, that's what it says in the book, right? And then, while they're holding action, just holding the line against Russia. On the East. They've got this (drawing map on board)…. Does that help? … OLIVIA: Yeah, what are the three little bubbles? PENNY: Yeah, what are the rocks? STUDENTS: (laughter) DAVE: Rocks? (going back to map) Germany, Belgium, France. …
Proposed reframing	SHIRIN: Question: when they go through all those places do they like try to get them to go with them? Or are they like—
Response to reframing proposal	DAVE: Well, I don't know they were necessarily trying to gain military strength through grabbing people as they went. But say there was another country's army marching through [the modern town of] Talbott. What impact would that have on Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers…it'd be kind of weird?

Figure 3. Recitation reframed as discussion in Schlieffen plan review activity (cont'd on next page).

Discussion	PENNY: Um people would maybe follow them…to see where they're going? … AMY: Maybe freak out? DAVE: What kind of impact would it have on the roads? PENNY: A lot! … STUDENT: Well, they'd break them. STUDENT: They'd screw everything up. … AMY: We'd have to, like, walk everywhere. DAVE: They'd have to eat something, right? LAURA: Yeah, they'd take all our food! DAVE: They'd take all our food. They'd take a lot of our stuff…. And here they are just marching through, and say they were trying to get to [the neighboring town of] Burch: would it be our fault that we were in between? GARY: Yeah, I would— BECCA: No, because we just happened to be there. DAVE: And what impact would it have on all of us if these people were violent? Would you want to stay here? STUDENTS: No! TOM: I'd fight them. DAVE: So it did have--it did have very profound impact on the people of Belgium…. That will later factor into the war. BECCA: Wait, so what was the impact? Negative? DAVE: I would say there was a lot of negative impact of that. AMY: But some positive: they were safe. SHIRIN: No, not really. DAVE: You don't necessarily know these people are trying to protect you, right? BECCA: They could be, like, protecting you….

Figure 3. Recitation reframed as discussion in Schlieffen plan review activity (cont'd on next page).

Unlike his other attempts, this reframing proposal was taken up by students. The juxtaposition of events seemed to allow students to contribute to the imagined scenario from their own perspectives, leading to discussion of the historical event.

Despite its emergent quality, the resulting interaction still addressed the standards for which Dave had planned , describing and explaining "causes, consequences, and geographic context of ...events," as well as "reconstruct[ing] the past by comparing interpretations...from a variety of perspectives and creating narratives from evidence." But instead of a review which framed the interaction as one in which Dave elicited facts from students about the textbook account of the historical past event, the emergent frame for the activity invited multiple, conflicting details from students' own perspectives as participants in co-creating a complex account of a hypothetical, present parallel to that event. Indeed, in a reflection on this lesson, Dave wrote, "This class had more difficulties with understanding the cartoon warm-up [so] we spent a considerably longer time on it. The warm-up set the tone for the class period and set us off schedule right out of the chute.... [But] on the positive side, the discussion from this hour was much richer..." (Dave, lesson reflection, 10/15/07).

In this first section, I described the emergence of the interactional frame for a discussion as it related to the juxtaposition of past, historical and present, hypothetical events in Dave Weber's 9th grade Talbott Social Studies class. Bringing an historical event into relationship with a fantastical, hypothetical event in a modern context seemed to allow students to make contributions from their own perspectives, contributing to the reframing of recitation as discussion. In the next section, I examine the features of the

discourse of that discussion in order to further explore how it brought students' experiences into relationship with historical events.

5.1.2 Features of the discussion: making the past more present and personal. Having described how the frame for the discussion above emerged among Dave and his students, I next address the features of the resulting discourse: Besides reframing recitation as discussion what, if anything, was gained by juxtaposing the historical event with a hypothetical one? To answer this question, I pay special attention to the way that discourse reanimated Dave and his students in relation to the historical event.

Dave's initial question, "What was the Schlieffen plan?" and Becca's answer, "It called for holding action against Russia," referred to the historical events associated with the Schlieffen plan as an "it" that "was." Thus verb tense and noun/pronoun use portrayed the Schlieffen plan as removed from students' present experience and portrayed it as a faceless idea. Further attention to verb tense and noun/pronoun use revealed changes in this portrayal over the course of the discussion.

20. SHIRIN: Question: when they go through all those places, do they like try to
21. get them to go with them? Or are they like—
...
24. DAVE: Well, I don't know they were necessarily trying to gain military
25. strength through grabbing people as they went. But say there was another
26. country's army marching through [the modern town of] Talbott. What impact
27. would that have on Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers...it'd be kind of
28. weird?

Shirin's question animated the historical situation in the present tense, using verbs like "go" and "try." She also animated both the invading army and the inhabitants of Belgium by using the pronouns "they" and "them" (20-21). But though Dave's response initially used the past tense "were" and "went," and the pronoun "they" (24-25), he shifted to the conditional "would" and located the action in the students' hometown of "Talbott" (26-

27). These animations dialogically juxtaposed the past, historical event with a present, hypothetical event that was no longer faceless and was also located in a time and space more familiar to students.

Subsequent turns in the discussion by Dave and his students affirmed this shift in verb tense and noun/pronoun use:

28. PENNY: Um people would maybe follow them?

...

32. AMY: Maybe freak out?

33. DAVE: What kind of impact would it have on the roads?

...

41. AMY: We'd have to, like, walk everywhere.

...

42. DAVE: They'd have to eat something, right?

43. LAURA: Yeah, they'd take all our food!

44. DAVE: They'd take all our food. They'd take a lot of our stuff.... And here
45. they are just marching through, and say they were trying to get to [the
46. neighboring town of] Burch: would it be our fault that we were in between?

Dave and his students continued to use the conditional "would" and to animate the invading army as "they." But Dave and his students moved from animating the townsfolk as "people" to employing the pronouns "we" and "our" (41-46) as they elaborated the hypothetical scenario in relation to the contemporary context of Talbott and its neighbor, the town of Burch. This animation thus not only located the event in their hometown, but also identified Dave and his students with the inhabitants of Talbott.

Partway through the discussion, another shift in verb tense and noun/pronoun use occurred as Dave and his students imagined the consequences of the army's invasion of Talbott:

45. DAVE: And here they are just marching through, and say they were trying to
46. get to [the neighboring town of] Burch: would it be our fault that we were in
47. between?

48. GARY: Yeah, I would—

49. BECCA: No, because we just happen to be there.

50. DAVE: And what impact would it have on all of us if these people were
51. violent? Would you want to stay here?

52. STUDENTS: No!

53. TOM: I'd fight them.

From the conditional "would," Dave and his students shifted to using the present tense "are" (45) and "just happen to be there" (49). In addition, they moved from using the pronoun "we" (46) to using "you" and "I" (48, 51). This discourse thus animated Dave and his students as present tense, first-person participants in the event.

A final shift in verbs and nouns/pronouns appeared toward the end of the discussion, as Dave and his students returned explicitly to the German invasion of Belgium.

53. DAVE: So it did have--it did have very profound impact on the people of
54. Belgium.... That will later factor into the war.

55. BECCA: Wait, so what was the impact? Negative?

56. DAVE: I would say there was a lot of negative impact of that.

57. AMY: But some positive: they were safe.

58. SHIRIN: No, not really.

At the end of the discussion, Dave and his students switched from the present tense back to the past tense "did" (53), "was" (55), and "were" (57). And from using the pronouns "you" and "I," they returned to referring to "the people of Belgium" (53-54) and "they" (57). These shifts in verb tense and noun/pronoun use suggest that Dave and his students were no longer identifying themselves in their animations with the subjects of the historical event.

In summary, attention to changes in verb tense and noun/pronoun use suggests the following patterns in the discourse that resulted from this emergent interaction: A prologue using present tense and "they" (to animate the subjects of the historical event) prompted the proposition of a fantastical "What if...?" scenario using the conditional mood. In the discussion that followed, speakers began to use "we" or "our" to animate themselves and each other in this scenario. As the discussion progressed, the present tense also appeared, and speakers' animations used "you" and "I." The discussion ended with a return to past tense and "they." Patterns resulting from shifts in verb tense and noun/pronoun use during this emergent interaction are thus represented in the figure below (verbs are underlined and nouns and pronouns appear in bold):

Present tense and "they"	SHIRIN: Question: when **they** go through all those places do **they** like try to get them to go with them? Or are **they** like—
Conditional mood and "we"	DAVE: Well, I don't know they were necessarily trying to gain military strength through grabbing people as they went. But say there was another country's army marching through [the modern town of] Talbott. What impact would that have on Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers... it'd be kind of weird? PENNY: Um people would maybe follow them? To see where they're going? AMY: Maybe freak out? DAVE: What kind of impact would it have on the roads? PENNY: A lot! DAVE: On traffic? STUDENT: Well, they'd break them. STUDENT: They'd screw everything up. DAVE: I couldn't even imagine how bad Glen Road would be. STUDENTS: ((laughter)) STUDENT: Oh my god! AMY: **We'**d have to like walk everywhere. STUDENT: I don't even know what-- DAVE: They'd have to eat something, right? LAURA: Yeah, they'd take all **our** food! DAVE: They'd take all our food. They'd take a lot of our stuff.... And here they are just marching through, and say they were trying to get to [the neighboring town of] Burch: would it be **our** fault that **we** were in between?
Conditional/ present tense and "You"/"I"	GARY: Yeah, **I** would-- BECCA: No, because we just happen to be there. DAVE: And what impact would it have on all of us if these people were violent? Would **you** want to stay here? STUDENTS: No! TOM: **I'**d fight them.
Past tense and "they"	DAVE: So it did have--it did have very profound impact on the **people of Belgium**.... That will later factor into the war. BECCA: Wait, so what was the impact? Negative? DAVE: I would say there was a lot of negative impact of that. AMY: But some positive: **they** were safe. SHIRIN: No, not really. DAVE: You don't necessarily know these people are trying to protect you, right? BECCA: They could be, like, protecting you....

Figure 4. Past event becomes more present and personal in discussion of hypothetical invasion of Talbott/Belgium (verbs are underlined and pronouns bolded to show changes in speakers relationship to the event).

As Figure 4 suggests, corresponding shifts in verb tense and noun/pronoun use can be used to divide the discussion into sections which, when taken together, seem to suggest a general progression from past event to present tense and from "they" to "you"/"I." This progression suggests that, through the juxtaposition of the historical and the hypothetical event, the past may have become more present and personal for participants in the discussion. Making the past more present and personal may have contributed to contributed to the reframing of the interaction, allowing students to contribute from their own perspectives. I discuss the importance of this change in the next section and in the Discussion/Implications section.

Thus the juxtaposition of events not only contributed to the reframing of recitation as discussion, but also re-animated Dave and his students in relation to the historical event. In the next section, I show how these two analyses are related: that is, that the reanimation accomplished by the juxtaposition of historical and hypothetical events contributed to the reframing of the interaction, itself.

5.1.3 Narrative reframing: how the hypothetical event affected the discussion. As in Sami and Tamara's interactions with their students (see Chapter 4), in Dave's class the animations that referred to other events were related to the current interactional event in the classroom.

To begin with, the hypothetical scenario was characterized by narrative discourse: Shirin's "When they...do they...?" and Dave's "What if...?" produced subsequent temporal clauses and elicited evaluations of "what it would be like" if an army invaded Talbott. This narrative described an interaction between the invaders and the inhabitants of Talbott. That is, a second interactional frame began to emerge as the narrative was

elaborated. As this narrative progressed, Dave and his students began to identify with the inhabitants of Talbott, animating themselves as figures in the narrative. Their use of "we" referred simultaneously to the inhabitants of Belgium (the historical event), to the inhabitants of Talbott (the hypothetical event), and to Dave and his students (the present interaction of the discussion). The narrative frame and the interactional frame for the discussion thus began to overlap.

Other examples further illustrate the relationship between the narrative event and the classroom interaction. In the narrative, some details became established features that seemed to exert an influence on subsequent details in the story. For example, details of the negative effect on the roads (36-37) led Amy to imagine further consequences for the inhabitants of Talbott (41). This influence did not always produce consensus: considering the army's impact, Penny imagined that their presence might inspire people to "follow them," (28), while Amy thought the inhabitants of Talbott would "freak out" (32). Because these details affected the subsequent participation of other speakers, they exerted an influence not only on the hypothetical scenario but also on the present interaction in Dave's classroom. As figures in the narrative, students like Penny and Amy were able to contribute details from their own point of view, imagining different consequences of the army's presence (28, 32), and shaping subsequent discussion (indeed, their debate continued until the end, at 53-60).

The framing of interaction in the narrative not only enabled and constrained subsequent participation in discussion, but also made it possible for some turns in the discussion to be reinterpreted. For instance, Dave's questions at 46 and 49 were inauthentic--almost rhetorical, and seemingly intended to produce a "No" response from

students. But not all students complied. Both Gary (47) and Tom (52) gave answers that did not seem to fit with the intended response voiced by other students; that is, they addressed the question, but did not give the expected answer, reinterpreting the question as authentic, rather than rhetorical. Gary's and Tom's answers stand out not only because of the way they seemingly contradict the teacher's intentions, but also because they correspond with the switch to "I" in the narrative. Their answers suggest that Gary and Tom's reactions as first-person figures within the frame of the narrative may have affected their participation in the interactional frame of the discussion.

The same may be true of the last part of the discussion (53-60): even after they were no longer identified with the inhabitants of Talbott, and their participation as figures in the narrative frame had ended, Becca, Amy, and Shirin continued to debate the positive and negative impact of the invasion. Like Gary and Tom, their reactions within the frame of the narrative as figures seemed to have carried over to the interactional frame of the discussion. Like Gary and Tom, they even twice contradicted the teacher!

These contradictions were productive: The multiple, conflicting perspectives students voiced on how the people of Belgium might have concretely experienced the German invasion provided a more complex picture than a textbook account of the Schlieffen plan as an "it" that "was." Describing the various consequences of the invasion on the roads, supplies, and reactions of the residents suggests that speakers were envisioning a shared event from multiple, interpretive perspectives, rather than co-constructing a single, authoritative account. Nevertheless, these multiple perspectives were part of a coordinated performance. The regularities of verb tense and noun/pronoun use suggest a coordination of the telling of the narrative among speakers: with only the

preceding discourse to direct them, they collectively shifted their uses of language. This coordination suggests a further relationship between the narrative juxtaposition of historical past/hypothetical present frames and the interactional frame for discussion. Figure 5 represents the relationship among these interactional frames:

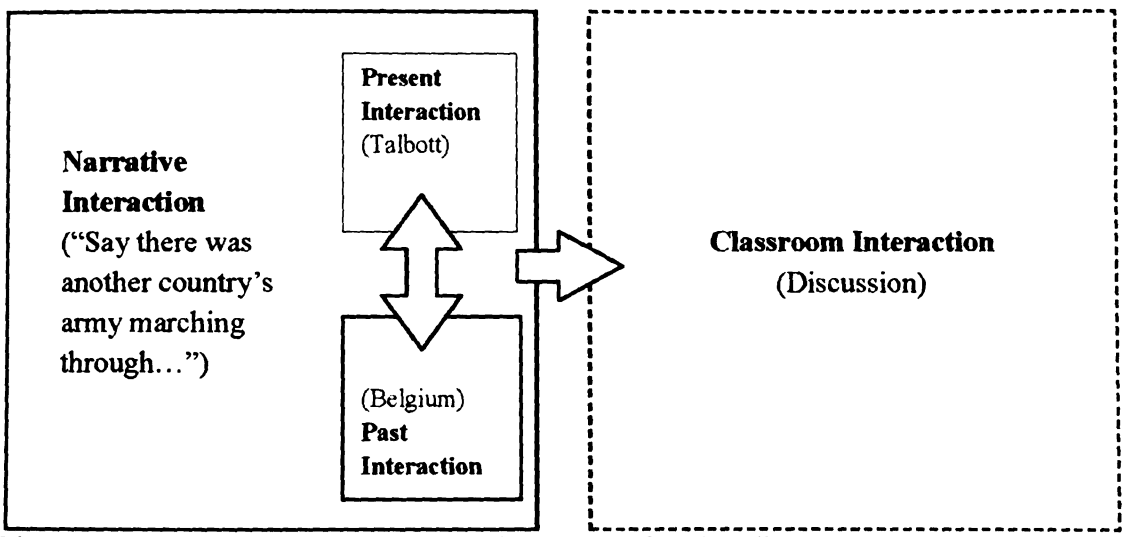

Figure 5. How juxtaposing events contributed to reframing discussion.

Having thus shown that the juxtaposition of events contributed to the reframing of recitation as discussion, that it made events seem more present and personal, and that the frames for the narrated interaction and the discussion interaction overlapped, I now consider the ramifications of these findings in relation to previous research on dialogic discussion.

5.2 Discussion/Implications

In the preceding sections, I addressed the question of how the juxtaposition of events suggested by the examples in Chapter 4 might relate to the reframing of classroom interactions. How does classroom discourse bring students' experiences into relationship with historical/literary events? How does this juxtaposition of events affect discussion? In Dave's ninth-grade Talbott classroom, a review of textbook reading led to discussion

of the WWI invasion of Belgium. Above, I have addressed a single example of an interaction which appeared repeatedly in Dave's classroom. Though Dave's initial question was one to which he and students already knew the answer, subsequent discourse was more dialogic: what was initially framed as a review in which the teacher asked questions and students reported answers from the reading was subsequently reframed as a discussion in which participants built on each other's contributions to elaborate an imagined scenario. That scenario juxtaposed past event and present context, referring through double voicing to both an historical and a hypothetical event, and allowing students to contribute to discussion from their own perspectives. This juxtaposition of events resulted in discourse which exhibited certain regularities: over the course of the discussion, the animations used by participants collectively shifted from past tense and "they" to conditional and "we/our" to present tense and "you/I." These shifts suggest that the events became more present and personal for the participants during the discussion. Moreover, the collective coordination of these regularities suggests a relationship between the interaction framed by the historical/hypothetical narrative and the interactional frame of the discussion in Dave's classroom. Details contributed to the narrative enabled and constrained responses in discussion. In the sections that follow, I address each of the three points raised by my findings, as well as two other issues that form the basis of Chapters 6 and 7.

5.2.1 From their own perspectives. The initial frame proposed by Dave for the review activity was one in which the teacher would ask questions and students would report the answers they had found in the textbook. But situating the past event in a present context, and one that was familiar to students, reframed the interaction as one to

which students could contribute from their own perspectives. This finding suggests one way that recitation can be reframed as discussion. Recitation in prior research is often described as tightly controlled and teacher-directed (Applebee et al., 2003; Billings & Fitzgerald, 2002; Chinn et al., 2001; Nystrand et al., 1997), allowing students "no control over the flow of the discussion" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 38). However, what could students contribute, if offered control, to a discussion of the Schlieffen plan, an event seemingly removed from their contemporary experience? With this question, I do not mean to suggest that other researchers have promoted "student control" as the solution to recitation, but rather that attention to teacher or student "control" may be less productive than attention to how certain kind of discourse enable, constrain, and reinterpret other turns in conversation. In this case, perhaps the discussion that emerged from what began as recitation was made possible by the way the juxtaposition of past and present reframed the interaction as one to which students could contribute from their own perspectives. Prior research suggests that students—especially low achievers, poor students, and non-native English speakers—fare better when instruction connects to their previous experiences (Freedman, Simons, Kalnin, Casareno, & The M-Class, 1999; G. Ladson-Billings, 1995; Gloria Ladson-Billings, 1995; J. Langer, 1992, 2001, 2002; J. Langer, Bartolome, Vasquez, & Lucas, 1990; C. Lee, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2006b, 2006a; Losey, 1995; Rex, 2001). The juxtaposition of events to reframe classroom interaction may be one answer to how teachers and students can accomplish this connection between instructional content and students' experience—between *what* is being discussed, and *who* is discussing it.

Of course the quality of this connection to students' experiences may depend on which events are juxtaposed. While the juxtaposition of past and present may encourage engagement and student discussion, it may also be subject to the criticism that it encourages "presentism": Students who imagine the dynamics of an historical event may uncritically impose their present-day assumptions on past circumstances. However, Fendler (2008) describes presentism as "a necessary evil" of both rationalistic and strategic approaches to history. In recognizing the inevitability of presentism, strategically presentistic approaches encourage students to consider "multiple interpretations of things both in the past and in the present" (p. 678) as well as why certain interpretations might be compelling for some historians/readers at particular moments in history. While Dave and his students did not actively and explicitly question the assumptions they brought to their discussion of historical events, the "what if...?" scenario clearly situated the hypothetical event in a fantastical situation (i.e., not the same as an historical event), where multiple interpretations were possible. By this, I do not mean that the historical event is "what happened" and the "what if...?" scenario clearly distinguished by its imaginary quality; after all, some historical accounts might seem equally fantastical at other times, or from other perspectives. Rather, I suggest that because the invasion of Talbott by an army is unlikely, students may have recognized it as a means rather than a substitute for understanding the invasion of Belgium. Nevertheless, further research on the juxtaposition of students' experiences with historical/literary events in discussion, and its relationship to presentism, may be necessary.

The reframing of classroom interactions through the juxtaposition of events also depends on how teacher and students respond to reframing proposals. The confusion voiced by Amy and Penny, and later Shirin's question, may have prompted Dave to propose the "what if...?" scenario that led to the reframing of the review of textbook answers as discussion of the invading army's impact. But Dave might easily have ignored those contributions as irrelevant. Likewise, student reactions to Dave's first attempt to animate events associated with the Schlieffen plan suggest they might not have taken up the reframing proposed by Dave's "what if...?" scenario. This finding is in keeping with the idea that students can still have significant influence over the nature and direction of classroom discourse interactions, even in recitation (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1999), and that if individual utterances are open to reinterpretation (Heritage, 1984) then the nature of the interaction can be reframed by subsequent turns in conversation (Sawyer, 2003). Further research may thus be necessary into how teacher and students respond to the reframing of classroom interactions proposed by the juxtaposition of events.

The emergent quality of this interaction, and its dependence on contributions by students from their own perspectives, does not mean that the teacher's intentions are unimportant. The resulting discussion still allowed Dave's lesson plan objectives to be addressed. The discussion of an army marching through Talbott allowed students to "*describe and explain the causes, consequences, and geographic context of ...events,*" as well as "*reconstruct[ing] the past by comparing interpretations...from a variety of perspectives and creating narratives from evidence*" (Dave, lesson plan, 10/15/07). This suggests that emergence of the frame for an activity may sometimes be a part—perhaps even a necessary part—of addressing lesson objectives. Prior classroom discourse

research has found that teachers constantly negotiate the academic task and the social participation structure with students during the course of a lesson, figuring out how to balance the constraints of the content with student engagement and learning (Erickson, 1982; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993). This research suggests that teachers change the order and emphasis of topics addressed, and they allow changes in the way students participate. Further research may be necessary on whether and how teachers manage to fulfill lesson objectives in spite of, or because of, the emergence of the interactional frame for discussion and its relation to the juxtaposition of events.

In this section, I have considered the implications of the juxtaposition of the past, historical event with students' present experience on the reframing of recitation as discussion. Such a juxtaposition may allow students to contribute from their own perspectives; but it may also encourage presentism, may depend on how teacher and students respond to reframing proposals, and may enable or constrain how they address lesson objectives. In the next section, I consider the way the juxtaposition of events seemed to make the past more present and personal for students.

5.2.2 Making the past more present and personal. Just as the review initially framed the interaction as recitation, with seemingly little opportunity for students to do more than report textbook answers, it also initially portrayed the historical event under study—the Schlieffen plan which "...called for holding action against Russia" —as past, as "finished" (L. Langer, 1991, p. 17), as having a single, objective meaning (White, 1987, p. 3), and as "foreshadowing" the subsequent, inevitable events of WWI (Bernstein, 1994; Morson, 1994; Schweber, 2004). However, the shift in describing the event from the past tense to the conditional to the present tense, which was paralleled by

a shift from "they" to "we" to "you"/"I," implies that the content became more "present" and more "personal" for the participants as the discussion progressed. This finding may suggest that, in addition to contributing to the reframing of recitation as discussion, the juxtaposition of past and present may have contributed to the reframing of the historical event.

In juxtaposing the historical invasion of Belgium with a hypothetical invasion of contemporary Talbott, this discussion may have furnished a more "intimate, 'inside' portrayal of unfolding events" allowing students to experience them as "contingent, emergent, and uncertain alongside the protagonists (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 4).The juxtaposition of past event and present context during discussion of the "what if...?" scenario may thus have restored "some of the presentness that has been lost" (Morson, 1994, p. 7) by transforming the Schlieffen plan into an "it" that "was" in the textbook. That juxtaposition may also have situated the event as an account narrated by and about particular agents, rather than one in which "events seem to tell themselves" (White, 1987, p. 3). Indeed, dialogue that disrupts this tendency to see history as objective, faceless, and disconnected from the present is associated with participation in the disciplinary reading practices of historians (Bain, 2000; Leinhardt, 1994; Moje, 2008; Wineburg, 1991). How might juxtaposing events help students to "read like historians," rather than accepting a textbook account as "the truth about what happened"?

The inclusion in discussion of multiple, conflicting details and different perspectives on the hypothetical/historical event also raised the possibility of "sideshadowing" or "what else might have happened" (Bernstein, 1994; Morson, 1994, 1998) during the invasion of Belgium. Instead of portraying history as inevitable, such a

practice sets a past event in motion again, allowing students to consider the decisions faced by historical figures. Or as Dave put it, "I want them to ask questions beyond the book.... U.S. History is not in a red book that thick. There's a whole lot of stories to tell" (Dave, interview, 10/15/07). The juxtaposition of events may thus make historical/literary events more present and personal for students by encouraging them to see those events as one account emerging from the results of many choices.

One drawback of this approach is that students may also experience it as uncomfortable or confusing to find themselves "hurtled into the middle of a situation" (p. 4), especially an upsetting historical event like the Holocaust (Schweber, 2004), by the juxtaposition of past and present. Another consideration is the way the juxtaposition of historical and hypothetical may blur the boundary between the "real" and the imaginary (White, 1987), making it more difficult to distinguish historical accounts from other kinds of stories (again, I refer here to fact and fiction not as inherent states of being but as different kinds of discourse). Social Studies education researchers and Social Studies teachers may thus wish to consider the affective and academic effects of the way the juxtaposition of events makes the past more present and personal for students. How does juxtaposing events make students feel about history? What does juxtaposing events teach students about the similarities and differences between history and other kinds of stories?

In this section, I have addressed the way the juxtaposition of events seemed to make the past more present and personal for Dave and his students, portraying the historical event as more subjective, situated, and uncertain. This portrayal of historical events may be in keeping with the disciplinary reading practices of historians. However, it may also be disturbing to students and may blur the boundaries between historical

accounts and other kinds of stories. I now turn to the way the narrative generated during the discussion by Dave and his students exerted an influence on the discussion, itself.

5.2.3 How narrative affects discussion. The juxtaposition of events not only contributed to reframing the recitation activity and to making the past more present and personal for students, but also resulted in a narrative frame which overlapped with and influenced the interactional frame for the discussion: Details contributed to the narrative enabled and constrained subsequent responses in discussion; students' participation as first-person figures in the narrative allowed them to disagree and even contradict the teacher; shifts in verb tense and noun/pronoun use in the narrative suggest a coordination of its telling among the participants. The influence of the narrative frame on the discussion among Dave and his students is in keeping with prior research on the relationship between the narrated event and the "event of speaking" (Jakobson, 1971) or the "storytelling event" (Wortham, 1994, 2001); whereas Wortham's (1994) study examined this relationship with regard to how speakers construct identities, the present study suggests that the juxtaposition of narrated and classroom interactional events may also be a useful resource in promoting and sustaining discussions. Indeed, some research has already examined the overlap between conversational narratives and dialogic discussion (Juzwik et al., 2008); the present study further suggests that narratives which (directly or indirectly) animate class members may exert a particular influence on discussion.

Whether the relationship between the narrative frame and the interactional frame promotes or discourages discussion may depend on the nature of the relationship. For example, while the narrative in this example framed students as inhabitants of Talbott,

allowing them to comment from a first-person perspective on the hypothetical impact of an invading army, Wortham (1994, 2001, 2006) has described how a discussion of Athenian and Spartan work ethics in one secondary school classroom implicitly indexed class members, creating a subtext about contemporary race relations and welfare that negatively constructed African American students. Further research may be necessary into what kinds of narratives affect discussion, and whether that influence is positive or negative in the circumstances. In Chapter 7, I address this issue by examining other examples from Dave Weber's 9th grade Talbott Social Studies class in which "what if...?" narratives appeared repeatedly.

In this section, I addressed the relationship between the narrative frame and discussion, suggesting that the influence of a narrative that directly or indirectly indexes class members may be used to reshape the interaction of discussion. Further research may be necessary into what kinds of narratives influence discussion, and how.

Having thus considered in light of previous research how the juxtaposition of events contributed to reframing recitation, to making the past more present and personal, and to shaping the discussion among Dave and his students, I address below two other issues raised by this example. These issues are the topics of Chapters 6 and 7.

5.2.4 Other issues: alignment. Because the juxtaposition of events reframed student participation, positioning students as first-person figures in a historical/ hypothetical narrative, students were able to disagree with each other (and even the teacher) about aspects of that event. Gary, Tom, Becca, Amy, and Shirin's conflicting perspectives on the invading army's impact and how townspeople might respond to it were important to creating a more complex account of the historical event than the

textbook had provided. Their disagreement also seemed to exert an influence on the flow of the discussion: they continued to debate even after the narrative had ended, and they were no longer identified with the residents of Belgium/Talbott. This disagreement recalls examples from Chapter 4 in which Sami's, Andy's, and Nathan's journal entry readings expressed different, conflicting perspectives toward classroom events, and Tamara's and Colby's imitations indirectly criticized the other person. How does disagreement—the relationship among conflicting perspectives, or *alignments*—relate to discussion? In Chapter 6, I return to Tamara Jefferson's 10th grade literature classes at Magnum Appan High School to address this question with examples from two discussions characterized by debate over ethical dilemmas.

5.2.5 Other issues: pedagogical genre. In the Chapter 4 examples, students resisted the inauthentic questions associated with recitation, perhaps because they proposed a frame that is a "fabrication" in which students are "dupes" who do not know that the teacher already knows the answer, or in which the teacher is the one oblivious to the fact that students already know the answer (Goffman, 1986, p. 158). But while Sami and Tamara's students resisted being framed this way, such "frame-breaking" (p. 351-352) behavior did not appear in Dave's class. Instead, students took the opportunity to voice their confusion, and Dave responded with another explanation. Given the initial frame for the review activity, Dave might easily have ignored Penny and Amy's confusion, as well as Shirin's unexpected question; his willingness to address these responses from students, instead, might have been due to his assessment of the students' "difficulties with understanding the cartoon warm-up" which "set us off schedule right out of the chute," or his plans to introduce trench warfare and the "Letter Home from the

Trenches" assignment later in the lesson, for which a more intimate, first-person understanding of the historical situation might have been necessary. The idea that the sequence of activities in a lesson—both what precedes and what follows a discussion—could shape that discussion is in keeping with both the dialogic potential of all utterances (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 72), and with the idea that curriculum is co-constructed among teacher and students during instruction (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992). I explore this idea further in Chapter 7.

Further, the responses from Penny and Amy, as well as Shirin's question, may suggest prior experience with the interactional frame for the review activity. In fact, in other reviews in Dave's classroom, students were encouraged to discuss their answers, despite the inauthentic nature of the textbook questions. This finding suggests that repeated experience with the emergence of the interactional frame over the course of similar interactions may contribute to the formation of patterns of communication in a classroom community. By "developing concrete examples" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 282) certain kinds and uses of language are made available (Medvedev and Bakhtin 1978, 134) to teacher and students. In short, teachers and students' experiences with recurring patterns of classroom discourse, like recitation or discussion, may shape subsequent, similar interactions. The formation of these "pedagogical genres" may be important to identifying which discursive practices recur in secondary school classrooms and how teachers might capitalize on that recurrence. I explore this idea further in chapter 7, as well.

5.3 Chapter 5 Summary

1. What begins as recitation can be reframed as discussion through the juxtaposition of historical/literary events and events relevant to students' experiences, which allow students to contribute from their own perspectives.
2. The juxtaposition of historical and contemporary events may make the past more present and personal for students, allowing them to participate as first-person narrators/figures in discussion.
3. The overlap between narrated events (especially those which index class members) and classroom events may shape discussion.
4. The juxtaposition of events as counter-examples may allow students to disagree, or express conflicting alignments toward events, in ways that shape discussion (see Chapter 6).
5. Prior and subsequent activities, as well as teachers' and students' experiences with recurring patterns of classroom discourse, may shape discussion (see Chapter 7).

6. "Devil's advocate": Alignment and Reframing in Secondary Literature Discussions

Some prior research on dialogic discussions has suggested that it is not the presence of multiple speakers or multiple interpretations that distinguishes recitations from discussions. It is not the fact that speakers take turns or share ideas, but the relationship among those turns and ideas that is important (Nystrand et al., 1997; Wells, 1999, 1993). Indeed, Bakhtinian dialogism has been characterized by the struggle of multiple, competing voices, as discourse is repeatedly reinterpreted (Bakhtin, 1984, 1981, 1986a, 1979; Morson & Emerson, 1990). For English educators whose goal is to help students to compare passages of a class text or disagree with what a classmate has just said, this repurposing of others' words may be especially important. However, little English education research has addressed how the relationships among turns in a discussion contribute to (re)framing the interaction. Moreover, few studies examine discussions characterized by disagreement and debate, in which the struggle among voices and interpretations should be prominent.

In Chapter 4, I demonstrated that, through the emergence of the interactional frame, what began as recitations could give rise to dialogic discourse. In that chapter, I addressed the way Nathan's, Andy's, and Sami's journal entries, and Colby's and Tamara's imitations made and affirmed reframing proposals by repeating others' words and actions in order to *double voice* them.

This double voicing implicitly expressed their own stances, or *alignments*, toward that discourse and toward other events: Nathan's journal entry criticized his teacher's handling of an incident during a previous lesson (and perhaps also the journal entry

activity, itself). Colby's imitation of Tamara parodied her teacher voice (and perhaps also her attempts to constrain his answer to her question). Both Sami's and Tamara's responses also used double voicing to indirectly criticize another's alignment. The current interactions among each teacher and students seemed to be affected by this double-voiced disagreement: Nathan's indirect criticism produced a reaction from Sami; Tamara's parody of Colby generated responses from another student. In short, speakers used double voicing to express their alignment toward classroom events in ways that enabled and constrained subsequent responses, and thus affected the current interaction.

In Chapter 5, disagreement also played a role in the current interaction of the discussion among Dave and his students. The juxtaposition of events animated students as first-person figures in a narrative frame that overlapped with the frame for the discussion. As such, students' disagreement about the invading army's impact contributed to a more complex historical account and also shaped the flow of the discussion.

In this chapter, I examine further the relationship between disagreement and the interactional frame for discussion. How does classroom discourse bring different alignments toward historical/literary events into relationship? How does the relationship among alignments affect discussion?

Below, I describe two lesson excerpts from Tamara Jefferson's 10th grade literature classes at Magnum Appan High School in order to address the influence of alignment on discussion. First, I describe a lesson activity from Tamara's "4th hour" class (one of several she taught throughout the day) in which disagreement—in this case, different alignments toward an ethical issue related to the text under study—did *not* result

in discussion. Next, I describe a lesson activity from Tamara's "6th hour" class (another period of the day) in which the manner of students' disagreement over a similar ethical issue promoted and sustained discussion, despite the fact that it began with what appeared to be recitation. With regard to that second example, I first describe the interactional frame, as it emerged among teacher and students, for a discussion of the issue; then, I describe the discursive features of the resulting discourse in order to further examine how the relationship among alignments shaped students' uses of language, as well as the flow of the discussion itself.

6.1 Juxtaposing Alignments

6.1.1 Disagreement without discussion: alignment in Tamara's 4th hour class.

I first describe how an activity that included disagreement did *not* result in discussion. In the lesson excerpt described below, Tamara and her 4th hour students were about to begin Sophocles' play, Antigone. The Greek tragedy describes the consequences of Antigone's decision to bury her brother, despite the fact that Theban law, decreed by the king (and her uncle) Creon, forbids the burial of traitors. In order to introduce what she saw as a conflict between individual conscience and communal law, Tamara planned to have students write a journal entry about a relevant, contemporary situation: a doctor's decision to "pull the plug" on a suffering, terminal patient, despite the legal consequences. They would then discuss their perspectives on this issue before beginning to read the play (Tamara, lesson plan, 03/19/08).

To Tamara, the dilemma that formed the topic of this journal entry seemed like it would bring students' experiences into relationship with the event at the center of the play's conflict:

...I know a lot of students--I hear that all the time they have loved ones in the hospital, loved ones who, you know, have been sick and possibly on life support. It's a real topic to them. So I wanted to bring them something that they could possibly relate to in the 21st century, but also I could connect it back to Antigone to let them know that—it's different, of course, the time is different, the issue is different—but ultimately it's a-it's a choice or a dilemma between law and one's personal point of view (Tamara, interview, 03/19/08).

In addition, Tamara hoped this ethical dilemma would provoke disagreement among students and thus lead to discussion that would create anticipation before beginning the play.

Once most of the students had completed their journal entries, Tamara opened the floor to discussion, asking them to share their responses to this authentic question: Should the doctor or nurse "pull the plug," on a suffering, terminal patient, despite possible legal consequences?

(Tamara, lesson transcript, 03/19/08)

1. KAYLA: I don't think...I don't think he should because then he go'n' lose his
2. job, and it's all over, and he probably never go'n' get a doctoring job again.

3. TAMARA: Right. OK. OK. Go ahead.

4. GARRETT: Um, it's not like I would follow the law, but in my mind, like,
5. following the law, it's like, kind of like my own personal belief that if I push
6. my ways on other people that, like, change their beliefs, maybe in their
7. religion or something, that they can't do that or something. So it would be
8. kind of like me pushing my ways on other people.

9. TAMARA: OK. Good point. Montana?

10. MONTANA: Um, as you know I haven't written it down. But basically I
11. would say that I would follow my conscience, but it would be toward, like,
12. rather than just up and pulling the plug, I would try to go through whatever,

13. try to find whatever loopholes I could, try to find an existent family members,
14. or whatever. I would basically work around the system before I made
15. anything decisive, and if that didn't work, yes, I would pull the plug just to
16. stop the suffering.

17. TAMARA: OK. Derek?

18. DEREK: Myself, I would uphold the law because, uh, look God suffered like
19. that. But you might not want to cut him off, because he might not want to be
20. dead yet, you know what I'm saying? And I would lose my job. I'm going to
21. jail. And I've got a family. I've got mouths to feed. I got bills to pay....

22. TAMARA: Good point. Ryan?

23. RYAN: I'd do it because I can't bear to see someone suffer like that.

24. TAMARA: Uh huh.

25. RYAN: And if you're a doctor or a nurse it's your job to fulfill whatever your
26. patient's dreams are. They say you know "I want something to drink," you get
27. them something to drink. Well, if they want you to pull the plug you should
28. do it. And if you get your license taken away, you take it to court.

(Five more students share responses in this manner)

112. TAMARA: I wanted to bring this to you all because I wanted you to start
113. thinking about this "following your conscience or following the law." I
114. mean here's a...here's a situation where doctors and nurses face this
115. dilemma--I mean they make these types of choices.... And that is one of the
116. major things brought out in Antigone. So I want you to keep this in mind
117. when we read Antigone.

With the Antigone journal prompt, Tamara proposed an interactional frame in which students would share their opinions about a common topic; students seemed to accept this interactional frame: in succession, each shared his/her perspective on the dilemma.

This journal topic brought the event at the center of the play's conflict into dialogic relationship with a contemporary situation, allowing students to contribute from their own perspectives. As in the example in Chapter 5, the verb tense and pronoun use changed from conditional "would/should" and third-person "he" (1) to present tense and

"I/you" (4, 18-19). And as in Dave's class, these shifts in use of language may suggest that the imagined hypothetical situation became more present and personal for students (indeed, among the five who spoke later, one shared an actual experience with such a medical decision in her family). As students identified with the doctor, becoming first-person figures in the hypothetical scenario, they took part simultaneously in another interaction from the one in which they were sharing journal entries. In this narrative frame, the collective shifts in verb tense and pronoun use may suggest a coordination of the interactional frame among the participants; for example, those who spoke after Garrett (4) also used "I/you" and after Derek, the present tense, without anyone directing them to make their responses consistent. In this respect, the juxtaposition of events was much like that in the discussion in Dave's class (see chapter 5): Students were participants in a hypothetical event (the doctor deciding to pull the plug, despite the legal consequences) which also referred to historical/literary event (Antigone deciding to bury her brother, despite Theban law), while also participating in a classroom interaction (sharing journal entries). But whereas this juxtaposition of events in Dave's class led to discussion, in Tamara's 4th hour class it did not.

Indeed, in a post-lesson interview, Tamara raised a lingering question about the usefulness of the activity:

> ...ultimately it's a-it's a choice or a dilemma between law and one's personal point of view. But does that make it right though? .... The laws are there for a reason: is it alright to break the law every time you feel like it doesn't align with your morals or values or beliefs? ...there's a blanket statement over here, and then we go over there, and it does not connect to anything that was said over here. And in

> 6th hour...they know how to, uh, like, bring that person's thoughts and ideas in before they make the next comment. So they'll say like 'Well, Colby said this, but I think this way because of this.' And here I haven't yet had a chance to, like, get them to build on one another's conversation (Tamara, interview, 03/19/08).

Tamara's questions call attention to the relationship among the various moral stances or "alignments" students took toward the event. Although the students animated themselves as characters in the same situation, and explored multiple, conflicting perspectives on the ethics of various decisions and consequences in that scenario, there was little connection between the turns in the discussion other than their relationship to the initial prompt and their use of similar verbs and pronouns. That is, unlike the discussion in Dave's class, where details of the narrative exerted influence on subsequent additions, and students disagreed over the impact of the invading army, here there was little attempt to address details proposed by previous speakers (like financial and religious concerns or the impact on others besides doctor and patient) and the alignments for or against pulling the plug suggested by those details. In fact, one reading of this excerpt might be that it was simply a sequential expression of opinion in response to a prompt from the teacher, with no attempts made to engage the perspectives of previous speakers.

In sum, this activity asked students to give their opinions in response to an authentic, provocative ethical dilemma which called for higher-order thinking involving speculation about the consequences of a decision. Despite producing differing opinions, it did not produce discussion. This first example thus highlights the importance of the relationship among turns in discussions characterized by disagreement, and the possibility of alignment as a site where one might intervene to foster more uptake of what

others have already said. In the next section, I further demonstrate this possibility with another example, this time from the 6th hour class Tamara identified as being more adept at "build[ing] on one another's conversation."

6.1.2 Disagreement with discussion: Tamara's 6th hour class. Having seen the possibility in Tamara's 4th hour class of disagreement as disconnected statements of different alignments toward an event, I now turn to her sixth hour class which, as her comments suggest, had learned to take up a previous speaker's words in order to build on and debate them in discussion. In what follows, I first describe how an interaction that seemingly began as recitation led to vigorous debate; then, I describe the features of the resulting discourse in order to further explore how students' uses of language, as well as the flow of the discussion, itself, might have been shaped by the relationship among alignments.

6.1.2.1 Emergence of the interactional frame: Double-voiced disagreement. In the lesson excerpt below, I describe how an activity was framed and reframed by Tamara and her 6th hour students as they addressed the novel Hiroshima, by John Hersey. The novel's plot focuses on the WWII bombing by the U.S. of the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Having already discussed the ethics of the bombing on a previous day, Tamara's goal for the lesson was to encourage further debate over the fairness of using the atomic bomb on the Japanese city during WWII. The debate, centered on the phrase "All's fair in love and war," would prepare students to write a position paper addressing that phrase and the events of the novel (Tamara, lesson plan, 01/22/08).

In a post-lesson interview, Tamara revealed her thoughts about the goals of this debate:

> It seems like they had a narrow frame that, 'Yeah, it's fair for us to do this when it's in Japan, or when it's not on American territory.' [But] by...showing them that there are similarities--there are parallelisms with...the 9/11 attacks....I wanted them to get a chance to see that you cannot say that, 'All is fair in love and war' if you say, 'Yes, it's OK to bomb there, but it's not OK to do that on American territory.' (Tamara, interview, 01/22/08).

Tamara's comments suggest that by juxtaposing events—the bombing of Hiroshima with the 9/11 terrorist attacks—she intended to provoke debate about the maxim. Her use of the word "frame" here seems to refer to students' assumptions about the events and their conception of fairness, a usage which may be in keeping with the idea of the alignment or moral stance one might take in relation to a particular event, and how that stance might be altered by the juxtaposition of counter-examples.

However, rather than explicitly framing the activity as a debate, in the way her plan had suggested, Tamara began by asking a student to recall something that had been said during the previous discussion of the novel.

(Tamara, lesson transcript, 01/22/08)

1. TAMARA: OK, so we finished up Hiroshima, and we introduced this idea of
2. "All is fair in love and war." And what did we say this idea of "All is fair in
3. love and war" actually means? What does that quote mean, Franklin? What
4. does "All is fair in love and war" mean? What did we say that was?

5. FRANKLIN: Like if you're in a war, you can go to any extent.

6. TAMARA: So Franklin said if you're in a war you can go to any extent. If it
7. comes...gets to the point where you need to drop an atomic bomb, then that's
8. fair. If it gets to the point, similar to 9/11 here, where you take a plane and you
9. crash into the Trade Center and the Pentagon, then that's also fair.

Much like her initial question during the "quick review" of verbal irony described in chapter 4, Tamara's question to Franklin was inauthentic in that it asked for information she (and students) already knew, and thus seemed to frame the activity as a review of what the class had previously discussed regarding Hiroshima and the interpretation of the maxim, "All's fair...." Indeed, at first glance, this exchange might seem like a classic example of recitation in which a teacher initiates, a student responds with an expected answer, and the teacher evaluates that answer.

However, Tamara's response to Franklin's answer proposed a reframing of the interaction in three subtle ways. First, Tamara's "So Franklin said..." made it seem as if Franklin was no longer the principal addressee—if he was, she would have used "you"—and that her words were addressed to the larger audience of the class, inviting others to participate. Second, she animated Franklin simultaneously as a figure in the bombing of Hiroshima and the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C. This animation brought the historical event in the novel into relationship with a more recent historical event, casting Franklin (and the other students to whom she addressed these words) simultaneously as both WWII Americans and contemporary terrorist bombers. As in previous examples, casting students as figures in an imagined scenario invited their first-person participation. Third, the juxtaposition of these two events seemed intended to implicitly disagree with Franklin's comment through double voicing. Tamara pretended to understand that Franklin thought it was fair for Americans to bomb Hiroshima during WWII, and that he also thought it was fair for terrorists to bomb the World Trade Center on 9/11. However, Franklin had not said that, and might, in fact, align himself differently toward 9/11 with regard to fairness. Tamara pretended to misunderstand Franklin's

comment in order to disagree with it. The way she repeated Franklin's words double voiced them, indirectly communicating her own alignment. In these ways, Tamara's response seemed to propose a reframing of what at first appeared to be recitation.

Students' responses to Tamara's comment took up the invitations to participate and affirmed the proposed reframing of the interaction:

6. TAMARA: So Franklin said if you're in a war you can go to any extent. If it
7. comes...gets to the point where you need to drop an atomic bomb, then that's
8. fair. If it gets to the point, similar to 9/11 here, where you take a plane and you
9. crash into the Trade Center and the Pentagon, then that's also fair.

10. FRANKLIN: Well no...but...if they bomb us then--

11. RICHARD: --If they bomb us, and then we bomb them back, then they can't
12. say nothin' 'cause it's fair.

13. TAMARA: So you're saying this is more of a retaliation. If someone does
14. something to me, then I should have the right to do the same thing to them. Or
15. even if I do something bigger and better than what they did to me, then that
16. makes it right. OK.

17. BRIAN: What's interesting is that, they bombed Pearl Harbor, which was a
18. naval base, but we bombed a city.

Those students who joined in the discussion seemed to accept the reframing proposed by Tamara's response to Franklin on several levels. First, they seemed to accept the implicit invitation for others to participate as an audience to Franklin's words: two other students (11, 17) contributed without being asked a question by the teacher. Second, they seemed to accept being animated as figures in an imagined scenario, identifying themselves with the American forces as "we" and "us" in the discourse that followed. And third, they seemed to accept the idea that a double-voiced juxtaposition of events could be used to indirectly criticize another's opinion: First Franklin and Richard, and then Brian, applied what a previous speaker had said to another event in order to implicitly disagree with

his/her alignment. Both built on Tamara's comparison to the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington D.C. Unlike the 9/11 attacks, Franklin and Richard suggested, the bombing of Hiroshima was provoked by the bombing of Pearl Harbor; but Brian pointed out that, like the 9/11 attacks (and unlike Pearl Harbor), the bombing of Hiroshima involved a civilian city. Tamara, too, responded much as she had the first time, pretending to understand Franklin and Richard's "eye-for-an-eye" comment as extending to revenge on a larger scale. But this pretense was ironic. Although none of the speakers explicitly disagreed with each other, they juxtaposed events in order to double voice others' words and implicitly criticize their alignments. That is, by juxtaposing counter-examples, they disagreed indirectly.

In summary, like Tamara's 4th hour students, her 6th hour debated an ethical issue related to the text under study. And like the 4th hour issue of whether a doctor should "pull the plug," the 6th hour issue juxtaposed an event in the text under study with contemporary events in ways that allowed students to contribute from their own perspectives. However, unlike 4th hour, whose differing opinions seemed to have little relation to previous turns, Tamara's 6th hour students repeatedly took up what previous speakers had said in order to disagree with them. This disagreement was accomplished through double voicing, as speakers repeated others' words and juxtaposed them with related counter-examples in order to implicitly criticize other alignments. Thus what began as recitation, with an inauthentic question about a previous definition of the maxim, "All's fair in love and war," was reinterpreted and emergently reframed as dialogic discussion. Figure 6 charts the changes in the frame for this interaction:

Initial frame	LESSON PLAN: *By... showing them that there are similarities--there are parallelisms with... the 9/11 attacks....I wanted them to get a chance to see that you cannot say that, 'All is fair in love and war' if you say, 'Yes, it's OK to bomb there, but it's not OK to do that on American territory.'* TAMARA: OK, so we finished up the *Hiroshima*, and we introduced this idea of "All is fair in love and war." And what did we say this idea of "All is fair in love and war" actually means? What does that quote mean, Franklin? What does "All is fair in love and war" mean? What did we say that was? FRANKLIN: Like if you're in a war, you can go to any extent.
Proposed reframing	TAMARA: So Franklin said if you're in a war you can go to any extent. If it comes... gets to the point where you need to drop an atomic bomb, then that's fair. If it gets to the point, similar to 9/11 here, where you take a plane and you crash into the Trade Center and the Pentagon, then that's also fair....
Response to reframing proposal	FRANKLIN: Well no... if they aren't involved then they shouldn't, but if they bomb us then— RICHARD: --If they bomb us, and then we bomb them back, then they can't say nothin' 'cause it's fair.
Discussion	TAMARA: So you're saying this is more of a retaliation. If someone does something to me, then I should have the right to do the same thing to them. Or even if I do something bigger and better than what they did to me, then that makes it right. OK. BRIAN: What's interesting is that, they bombed Pearl Harbor, which was a naval base, but we bombed a city. TAMARA: No reason to kill innocent people. Wait, but Kevin said they deserved it! KEVIN: They did.... They shouldn't have killed Americans. For no reason. RICHARD: You see how Brian was saying that we bombed a city? But when we bombed them, their military was underground. So who else was there to bomb? BRIAN: There was no point to build the bomb. RICHARD: But we did build it, so what's the point in making it sit there and not use it? BRIAN: What's the point in them building it? RICHARD: To kill. So they know who's boss. BRIAN: But if we bomb them, we just had to rebuild them and pay them back for it. GLORIA: Why? It doesn't seem to me like, and I don't understand why in Iraq they kinda did mess it up too, cause they were fighting with us, so why shouldn't they help rebuild it if we gotta rebuild it? EBONY: Like when they crashed into the Trade Center how come they didn't come and clean up our (unintelligible). Why are we cleaning up their stuff? GLORIA: Like, what she said, it's not like they asked for our help. It's kind of like we forced our way into everybody's situation, it's not like they say come over here and help us. TAMARA: ...I think this debate is very is very much needed. We could argue on and on about should we have dropped the atomic bomb or should we haven't dropped the atomic bomb. But when you write this essay, I want you to keep in mind this idea of "All is fair in love and war."

Figure 6. Emergence of the interactional frame in Hiroshima "All's fair in love and war" activity.

In Figure 6, I have included more discourse than has been addressed so far; I examine the rest of the discussion in the next section, focusing on features of the resulting discourse. However, I have included it here in order to illustrate the extent to which what began as recitation was emergently reframed as discussion.

Despite its emergence, this exchange still addressed the goal Tamara had set for the lesson: to illuminate the parallels and contradictions between the bombing of Hiroshima and the 9/11 terrorist attacks and thus provoke debate over the phrase "All's fair in love and war" that would expand students' definition of fairness (Tamara, lesson plan, 01/22/08). In fact, this discussion addressed various aspects of wartime fairness; in what I have described above, students considered whether it was ethical to bomb civilians, to retaliate, and to respond on a larger scale than the previous attack. In subsequent discussion (see below), they would further address whether it was fair to make a show of force in order to preempt further violence, and to act as both destroyer and rebuilder of one's opponent. Moreover, this debate involved finding and addressing counter-arguments, an important part of preparation for the position paper assignment that would follow. In fact, Tamara noted this in a later interview:

> Richard definitely said 'Oh yeah,' you know, 'that makes sense because at first I was thinking, you know, *they bombed us, oh well*, but now I don't think it is fair for those civilians to lose their lives, you know, like in the Pentagon and the World Trade Center because—uh, I can kind of see that.' And by the responses I could definitely tell that they were thinking about the issue beyond surface level.... At first all we got at first was 'Oh well, they shouldn't have done it.' But now it's like 'Well, was it really necessary? Why did we build the bomb at all?'

...usually I'm always playing devil's advocate; now I have someone to help me! (Tamara, interview, 02/14/08)

Tamara's comment suggests that, despite the emergence of the exchange, "playing devil's advocate" may have been an effective way to destabilize the initial positions taken by students like Richard. The nature of these positions, which sometimes included intolerant, ill-informed, and potentially offensive ideas, might seem to call for more direction intervention on the part of the teacher. But such an intervention might have resulted in a much different framing of the interaction, quashing discussion and perhaps meeting with resistance from students. Instead, the emergent framing of the interaction implicitly encouraged students to identify with various figures associated with the event and to consider multiple counter-arguments as they took up and responded to others' perspectives. I address this pedagogical choice further in the "Discussion/Implications" section.

So far, I have described two lesson excerpts, one in which disagreement did not lead to discussion, and one in which it did. The contrast between these excerpts emphasizes the importance of the relationship among turns in debate, which in Tamara's 6th hour class was accomplished through double voicing others in order to implicitly criticize their alignments. Having first described this 6th hour class's emergent reframing of recitation as discussion through double-voiced disagreement, I focus in the next section on the features of the resulting discourse and on how students' uses of language changed over the course of the discussion.

6.1.2.2 Features of the resulting discourse: The language of debate. In this section, I describe the features of the discourse that resulted from the discussion in

Tamara's 6th hour class: Besides fostering discussion, what else was accomplished by double-voiced disagreement? To answer this question, I attend in particular to the repetition of form, as well as content, during the course of the debate.

The structure of Franklin's and Tamara's initial exchange appeared again in subsequent responses:

5. FRANKLIN: Like if you're in a war, you can go to any extent.

6. TAMARA: So Franklin said if you're in a war you can go to any extent. If it
7. comes...gets to the point where you need to drop an atomic bomb, then that's
8. fair. If it gets to the point, similar to 9/11 here, where you take a plane and you
9. crash into the Trade Center and the Pentagon, then that's also fair.

10. FRANKLIN: Well no...but...if they bomb us then—

11. RICHARD: --If they bomb us, and then we bomb them back, then they can't
12. say nothin' 'cause it's fair.

Franklin's initial definition used an "if...then..." structure. Tamara's response imitated this structure, as did Franklin and Richard's subsequent assertion. In fact, this "if...then..." structure was repeated throughout the subsequent interaction, as participants suggested that one circumstance (e.g., having been attacked first) did or did not justify another. As in Tamara's response to Franklin, and his subsequent rejoinder, the pairing of an "if" with a "then" that did not fit with the previous speaker's alignment seemed to provoke further discussion.

Furthermore, Tamara's response to Franklin referred to him in the third-person, rather than addressing him as you. As already indicated, this seemed to invite participation by implying that Franklin was no longer the principal addressee, and that the rest of the class was also an audience to Tamara's words. However, it also served to

animate Franklin back into the conversation. This animation of another speaker in order to draw him into discussion appeared again during the debate:

19. TAMARA: No reason to kill innocent people. Wait, but Kevin said they
20. deserved it!

21. KEVIN: They did.

22. RICHARD: I just want to say something.

23. TAMARA: OK. Wait a minute. Let's let Kevin make his point and then you
24. can make yours. OK, Kevin. So they bombed us, they deserved it.

25. KEVIN: They shouldn't have killed Americans. For no reason.

In paraphrasing Brian's comment about the bombing of a civilians, Tamara connected it with a previous, contradictory comment by another speaker, Kevin. As she had done in responding to Franklin, Tamara not only paired the previous speaker's point with Brian's but explicitly named Kevin as that speaker; although it was not addressed directly to Kevin, it animated him into the conversation, producing a response. Immediately afterward, Richard made a similar move:

26. RICHARD: You see how Brian was saying that we bombed a city? But when
27. we bombed them, their military was underground. So who else was there to
28. bomb?

29. BRIAN: There was no point to build the bomb.

Like Tamara, Richard paired Brian's assertion with another event in order to disagree with him, double voicing his counter-argument about bombing civilians. Like Tamara, Richard also explicitly named Brian as the source of the previous utterance, animating him back into the conversation.

In response to being named, Brian squared off with Richard in several successive exchanges; these exchanges demonstrated increasingly parallel structure:

29. BRIAN: There was no point to build the bomb.

30. RICHARD: But we did build it, so what's the point in making it sit there and
31. not use it?

32. BRIAN: What's the point in using it?

33. RICHARD: To kill. So they know who's boss.

34. BRIAN: But if we bomb them, we just had to rebuild them and pay them back
35. for it.

Both Richard and Brian repeated parts of the other's point, double voicing his words and pairing them with contradictory ideas in a series of quick responses. These responses included increasing repetition, not only of words but of sentence structure ("What's the point in...?" at 29-32, and "But we..." at 30, 34). This parallel structure continued as subsequent responses to Brian criticized the alignment expressed in his last statement by once again juxtaposing it with post-9/11 American policy:

36. GLORIA: Why? It doesn't seem to me like, and I don't understand why in
37. Iraq, they kinda did mess it up, too, 'cause they were fighting with us. So why
38. shouldn't they help rebuild it if we got to rebuild it?

39. EBONY: Like when they crashed into the Trade Center, they didn't come and
40. clean up our (unintelligible)? Why are we cleaning up their stuff?

41. GLORIA: Like, what she said, it's not like they asked for our help....

42. TAMARA: I think this debate--I think this debate is very is very much
43. needed. We could argue on and on about should we have dropped the atomic
44. bomb, or should we haven't dropped the atomic bomb. But when you write
45. this essay I want you to keep in mind this idea of "All is fair in love and war."

Like previous speakers, Gloria and Ebony took up part of Brian's assertion about rebuilding, double voicing it by juxtaposing it with a problematic conflation of events

from the Iraq war and the 9/11 attacks.[6] Moreover, Ebony and Gloria also repeated parts of each other's comments, but in order to express agreement, rather than disagreement. That is, their double voicing aligned them together against the position Brian had expressed. However, in echoing Gloria's point, Ebony also imitated the form of Gloria's comment (36-38), following an example with an ironic rhetorical question. The use of rhetorical questions was a device that had already appeared earlier (27, 30, 32). Further, these rhetorical questions resembled the ironic naïveté of Tamara's responses in which she pretended to misunderstand previous comments in order to indirectly criticize them (6, 13, 19). Again, the relationship among speakers' alignments seemed to affect the form, as well as the content. Indeed, as the debate progressed, participants not only took up the examples used by previous speakers, but also took up the language—phrases and sentence structures—of that prior discourse.

The changes in uses of language over the course of the discussion are charted in Figure 7:

[6] Again, it is worth considering why Tamara allowed students like Gloria and Ebony, during this discussion, to associate the "they" of the 9/11 attacks with the "they" of the Iraq war without evidence to support conflating the two opponents. A more direct teacher intervention might seem warranted to dispel potential misinformation. Similarly, the reporting by some news sources of information later proved to be spurious has led some critics to call for government regulation of the news media (Winter, 2010). I address this issue further in the "Discussion/Implications" section.

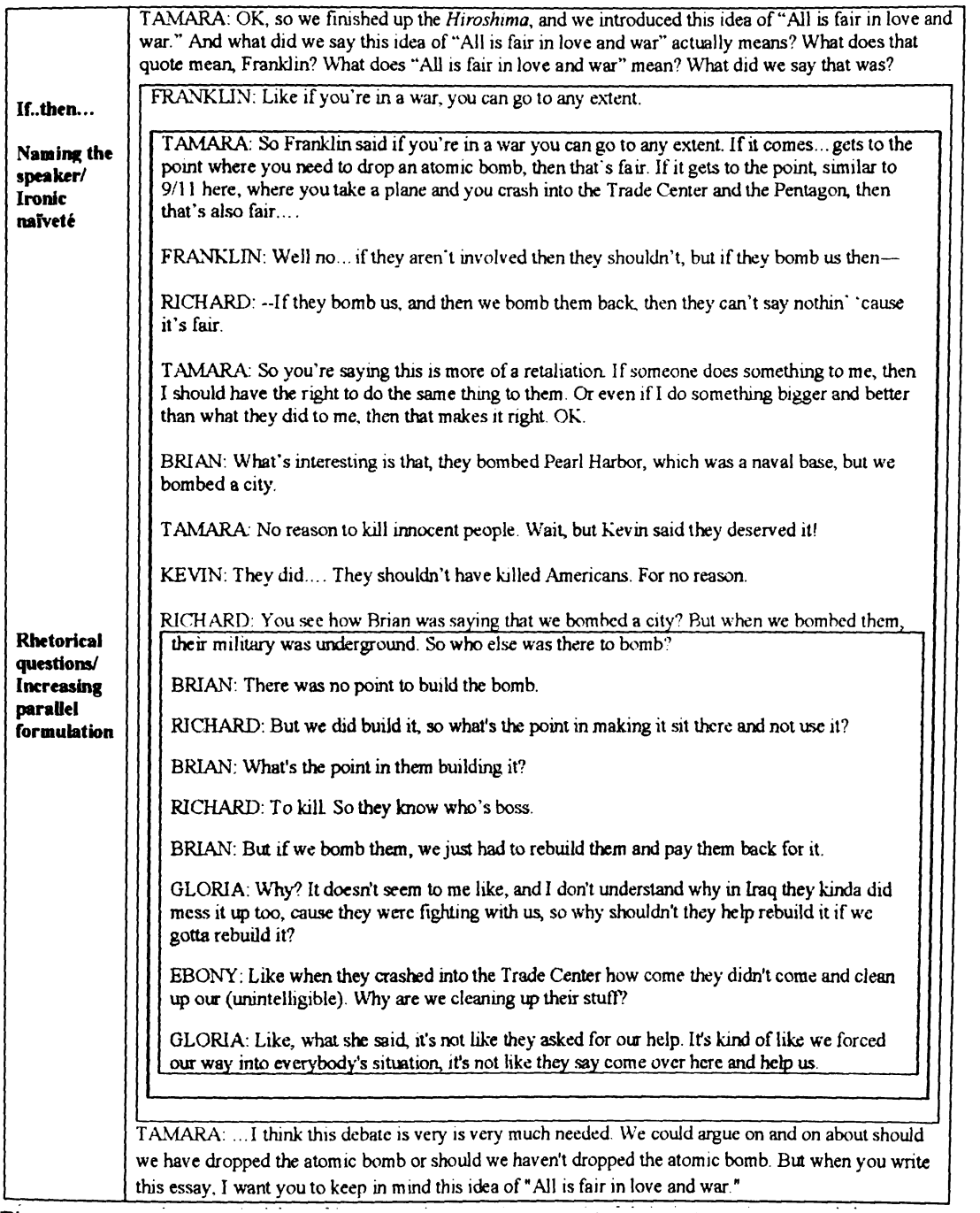

Figure 7. Increasing regularities of language in *Hiroshima* "All's fair in love and war" activity. Nested sections indicate the addition of further similarities within continuing patterns of discourse.

Figure 7 illustrates the regularities in language use that appeared over the course of the discussion. The "if...then..." structure used in Franklin's initial definition was imitated

by others, including Gloria, throughout the debate. The explicit naming of other speakers in order to animate them into the conversation, first used by Tamara, was imitated by Richard and Gloria. And the ironic naïveté of Tamara's response to Franklin, as she pretended to misunderstand his answer in order to disagree with it, resembled the ironic, rhetorical questions used by subsequent participants to indirectly criticize previous speakers' alignments. Finally, Richard, Brian, Ebony, and Gloria repeated phrases and sentence structures like "what's the point...?" and "Why?" As charted in Figure 7, the discourse of the discussion can be divided into sections which suggest a progression of increasing regularities in language use, from general similarities in formulation at the beginning to strong parallels in phrases and sentence structures towards the end of the debate. These increasing regularities in language use suggest that, during the discussion, participants not only disagreed in ways that related prior turns to subsequent ones through double voicing, but also used the form of others' words for their own purposes.

Above, I described the discursive features of the discussion among Tamara and her 6th hour students, paying close attention to the way form, as well as content, was repeated throughout the discussion. Increasing regularities suggest that participants not only took up others' perspectives in order to disagree with them, but also took up similar forms of language during discussion. Next, I show how these features and the emergence of the interactional frame are related—that is, how disagreement shaped the discussion, itself.

6.1.2.3 Narrative reframing: how alignment affected the discussion. As suggested by the Chapter 4 examples, the double voicing of others' perspectives in

Tamara's 6th hour discussion exerted an influence on the current interactional event in the classroom.

As in Dave's class, the discussion included narrative discourse: the juxtaposing of events in order to express alignment toward those events, and the repetition of the "if...then..." structure to challenge and justify those alignments resulted in subsequent temporal clauses and evaluations. Tamara's phrase, "If it comes...gets to the point where you need to drop an atomic bomb, then that's fair" (6-7), was a simple example of this narrative discourse. And as in Dave's class, this narrative discourse described interactions among historical figures with which the students were identified, elaborating another interactional frame. In the example above in this paragraph, "you" referred to the generic figure of the American bomber in the historical narrative frame for the bombing of Hiroshima, a figure with which students subsequently identified. Perhaps because this narrative framed students as figures, they were able to contribute and disagree from their own perspectives.

As in Chapter 5, details added to this narrative frame exerted an influence on subsequent details. For instance, Richard's comment, "You see how Brian was saying that we bombed a city? But when we bombed them, their military was underground. So who else was there to bomb?" (26-28), demonstrates the influence of Brian's earlier point about the bombing of civilians (which was itself influenced by comparison between Hiroshima and the bombing of Pearl Harbor). Details added to the narrative thus affected the addition of subsequent details. And as in Dave's class, those details therefore also enabled and constrained subsequent turns in the conversation. Further, as Richard's above response to Brian illustrates, the addition of other details also reinterpreted

previous turns in the conversation, much like in Chapter 5, which also affected the discussion. In this case, as already mentioned, the effect was to draw Brian back into the discussion in order to defend his point. Finally, as in Chapter 5, the increasing regularity in form, as well as content, of the language used to elaborate the narrative of the bombing(s) suggests a level of coordination of the interaction among the speakers. In short, the narrative frame and the interactional frame for the discussion overlapped.

However, the animation and double voicing of other speakers also resulted in another framing of narrative discourse about those other speakers, themselves:

6. TAMARA: So Franklin said if you're in a war you can go to any extent. If it
7. comes...gets to the point where you need to drop an atomic bomb, then that's
8. fair. If it gets to the point, similar to 9/11 here, where you take a plane and you
9. crash into the Trade Center and the Pentagon, then that's also fair.
...

19. TAMARA: No reason to kill innocent people. Wait, but Kevin said they deserved it!
...

26. RICHARD: You see how Brian was saying that we bombed a city? But when
27. we bombed them, their military was underground. So who else was there to
28. bomb?

In each of these examples, the speaker animated a class member, representing what that person had just said *during the discussion* (as distinct from animation of that person's actions as historical/hypothetical figure). Each speaker also double voiced that person's words to align herself with or against that person's perspective. Thus each speaker generated temporal clauses and evaluations that formed narrative discourse about classroom events which had just occurred. Because this narrative discourse also indexed and evaluated class members' actions, it influenced the interactional frame, much as in previous examples. Indeed, in each of the above cases, the effect was to draw the person

back into the discussion. Figure 8 depicts the relationships among frames for the historical narrative, the narrative of the classroom interaction, and the discussion:

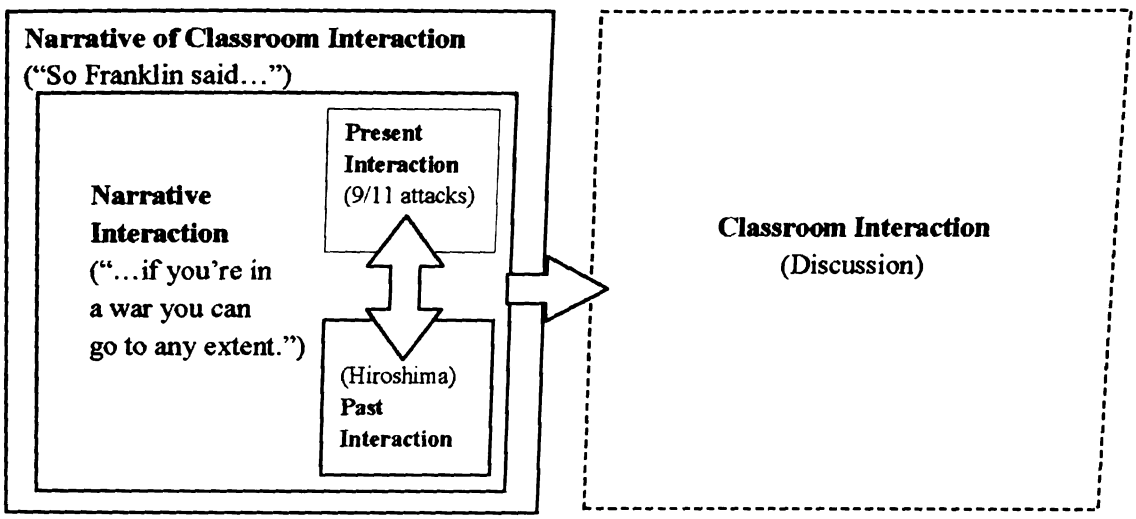

Figure 8. Relationship among interactional frames: How narrative of historical/literary events and narrative of classroom interaction contributed to framing discussion.

As Figure 8 suggests, the narrative frame for classroom events adds another layer to the juxtaposition of past and present, and the juxtaposition of narrative and classroom interactions that influenced the discussion, as illustrated in Chapter 5. In addition, Figure 8 and the above analysis call attention to the way the juxtaposition of these events, toward which speakers sometimes had different alignments, may have contributed to the reframing of classroom interaction. In short, juxtaposing counter-examples may have framed events, and other speakers' opinions of them, as well as those speakers, themselves, in ways with which they did not agree, thus fostering further discussion.

Thus the juxtaposition of events described in Chapter 5 can be used to express alignment—in this case, to disagree with a previous speaker through double voicing—in ways that affect classroom discussion. Whereas in Tamara's 4th hour class there was no double voicing, and thus little relationship among turns in the conversation, in 6th hour,

students' double-voiced disagreement contributed to the reframing of recitation as discussion, resulted in increasing regularities in the form of language they used, and generated narrative discourse about not only the historical/literary event, but also the classroom interaction that influenced participation in the discussion, itself. I now consider the ramifications of these findings in relation to previous research on dialogic discussion.

6.2 Discussion/Implications

In the preceding sections, I addressed the question of how disagreement affects discussion. Specifically, how does classroom discourse bring different alignments toward historical/literary events into relationship? How does the relationship among alignments affect classroom interaction? The above excerpts from Tamara's 4th and 6th hour 10th grade English classes at Magnum Appan High School differed in important ways with regard to how disagreement shaped discussion and how alignments toward events were related. In the lesson excerpt from Tamara's 4th hour, despite the fact that the discussion began with an authentic, higher-order question, there was little connection among the different opinions students shared other than their relationship to the initial prompt, a fact also noted by the teacher. In contrast, an inauthentic, lower-order question sparked debate in Tamara's 6th hour class during which students animated and double voiced other speakers, juxtaposing events related to the topic in order to indirectly criticize those other speakers' alignments toward the events. This double-voiced disagreement was accompanied by increasing regularities in the content and form of subsequent discourse. These increasing regularities in language use, as well as the way narrative details enabled and constrained subsequent participation, suggest a relationship between narrative frames and the current classroom interaction—that is, how speakers were framed in the narrative

of the bombing and in the narrative of the conversation affected their participation in discussion. In the sections that follow, I address four points raised by my findings, as well as a related issue that forms the basis of Chapter 7.

6.2.1 Disagreement without discussion. In Tamara's 4th hour class, the sharing of journal entries began with an authentic question (Nystrand et al., 1997, pp. 38-39), allowing a variety of answers which the teacher, though she suspected students could personally relate to the situation, did not know in advance. Moreover, the question involved higher-order thinking (Applebee, 1981; Britton et al., 1975; Moffett, 1983; Nystrand et al., 1997), calling for students to speculate about the possible decisions and consequences[7] in an imagined situation. According to prior research, such questions often accompany dialogic discussion, or a "free exchange of information among students and/or between at least two students and the teacher" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 36; Nystrand et al., 2003). However, while the discourse that followed matches this definition, it contained no attempts to engage with others' opinions toward the hypothetical event. In fact, it might be described as "a sequential expression of opinion...which is subject to little or no commentary [and in which] ideas are rarely debated..." (Nathan, 2005, p. 95). Indeed, in the ethnographic study from which this quote is drawn, Nathan found that what passed for discussion in classrooms often involved this harmonious sharing of conflicting opinions without really addressing others' perspectives. However, "Bakhtin teaches us that it is conflict, not harmony, which fuels response" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 18): this conflict is not a dialectical synthesis of opposing viewpoints; rather, it refers to the way one can come to know one's own

[7] Speculation is highest on the 5-point scale developed by Nystrand et al. (1997) to measure the cognitive order of questions in relation to discussion.

perspective better through disagreement with others (Bakhtin, 1981; Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 49), and can even formulate a better argument (Leitao, 2000). Indeed, such a transformation of understanding through encounter with other, conflicting interpretations is one of the purposes and benefits of dialogic discussion (Almasi, 1995). Tamara's reactions after the 4th hour and 6th hour lessons hint at this relationship between disagreement and a change in understanding during discussion. Researchers and teachers alike may thus be interested in how disagreement (or the lack of it) relates to discussion in which students engage with others' conflicting viewpoints in order to formulate better arguments.

The comments of a student during Tamara's fourth hour class suggest one difficulty in fostering disagreement as a means of encouraging discussion. Garrett, the second to speak and the first to use "I" to identify with the doctor in the situation, carefully qualified his statement as "my own personal belief" so as not to "push my ways on other people." Like Garrett, students and teachers may wish to avoid disagreement because of its negative connotations. However, while disagreement can be negative, some research has already described the relationship between "conflict talk" and "positive" purposes (Grimshaw, 1990; D. Lee & Peck, 1995; Schiffrin, 1984), including pedagogical ones (Corsaro in Grimshaw, 1990; Smitherman, 1977, 2000). Indeed, Tamara's 6th hour class seemed to have learned that disagreement could be a valuable tool for anticipating and responding to counter-arguments. Further research is needed into how teachers and students learn to use disagreement for "positive" purposes in discussion, such as "bringing that person's thoughts and ideas in before they make the

next comment..." and "building on one another's conversation" (Tamara, interview, 03/19/08) in order to anticipate counter-arguments.

In this first section, I have addressed the discourse during Tamara's 4th hour class, an example of disagreement without discussion. Despite beginning with an authentic question, which often leads to dialogic discussion, there was little relationship among the turns in conversation and the conflicting opinions shared, and thus less potential for students to deepen their understandings or change their minds. The lack of engagement with others' perspectives may be due to the negative connotations of argument. Further research is needed into how teachers and students can learn to productively disagree.

6.2.2 Emergence of the interactional frame through double-voiced disagreement. I now consider the findings from Tamara's 6th hour class, in which discussion was accompanied by disagreement that animated and double-voiced other speakers, as students used the content and form of others' words for their own purposes. In contrast with the beginning of Tamara's 4th hour, the 6th hour discussion began with what appeared to be recitation: Tamara's initial question to Franklin seemed to be inauthentic, one to which she and students already knew the answer (Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979; Nystrand et al., 1997; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Moreover, it appeared to require only lower-order order thinking (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 40) or "the routine application of previously learned knowledge" (Newmann, 1990, p. 44). Such questions are not typically associated with discussion (Nystrand et al., 1997; Nystrand et al., 2003) and have, in fact, been shown to constrain student participation in detrimental ways (Applebee et al., 2003; Nystrand et al., 1997; Nystrand et al., 2003). Moreover, student

questions, which are typically authentic, and also an indicator of dialogic discussion (Nystrand et al., 2003), in this case were mostly rhetorical questions (also ones to which the asker already knows the answer). How, then, to explain subsequent participation in the vigorous debate during Tamara's 6th hour class?

Examining the nature of the questions, themselves, may not be enough to address this issue. If questions are understood as proposing a frame for the interaction, then inauthentic questions may propose a frame in which either the student or the teacher is a "dupe" taken in by a "fabrication" (Goffman, 1986, p. 158) for not realizing that the other already knows the answer. This may explain student resistance and derision with regard to recitation (see Chapter 4): Such behavior is characteristic when individuals are cast in or forced to play a social role with which they do not identify (p. 351-352). However, "frame-breaking" of this kind did not appear in Tamara's 6th hour discussion.

The nature of Tamara's evaluative follow-ups to student responses to her questions may provide another explanation. While much research has focused on how questions relate to discussion, evaluation or the follow-up to a students' response, is also part of what defines the notorious I-R-E or I-R-F sequence often used to characterize recitation (Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979; Mercer, 1995; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Wells, 1999). How the teacher ***I***nitiates or poses a question can shape the interaction, signaling how the student should ***R***espond, but how s/he ***E***valuates or ***F***ollows-up is also important in proposing an interactional frame. In my analysis of Tamara's evaluative follow-up to Franklin, I identified three ways in which it proposed a reframing of the interaction that seemed to have been accepted by students. First, in using Franklin's name (instead of "you," as she did in another evaluative follow-up), Tamara seemed to signal to

students that Franklin was no longer the principal addressee, inviting other students to participate. This move, which was repeated by Tamara and by other speakers in the discussion, has been identified by other research as one which can restructure a dispute between two parties to include others as audience and potential participants (M. Goodwin, 1990, p. 244), and may thus be a useful tactic in reframing recitation and/or disagreement as discussion. It has also been described as part of revoicing, which can encourage students to evaluate and theorize an interaction (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993), or to debate a common definition or principle (Wells, 1999, pp. 200-202), ideas relevant in this case to the discussion of wartime fairness. Researchers and teachers may thus be interested in how this evaluation strategy can potentially reframe the two-party interaction of recitation as multi-party discussion of a controversial theory, definition, or principle.

A second aspect of Tamara's evaluative follow-up which I identified as proposed and accepted by students into the reframed interaction was the animation of students as figures in two juxtaposed events: the WWII bombing of Hiroshima and the terrorist attacks of 9/11. As in Chapter 5, this juxtaposition of events may have allowed students to contribute from their own perspectives on a more familiar event (the 9/11 attacks) as first-person figures in a narrative interaction. I address this further in the section below on alignment and narrative reframing.

A third aspect of Tamara's evaluative follow-ups which contributed to reframing recitation as discussion was her use of "ironic naïveté," pretending to misunderstand what they had said in order to indirectly criticize or parody the alignments expressed in their answers. This aspect of her responses may have signaled to students that her initial

question was facetious, and that what might appear to be recitation was, in fact, an opportunity for discussion[8]. The ironic quality of Tamara's responses signaled that Tamara was neither the "duper" nor the "duped" of a fabrication, but instead wanted them to know that she was playing a role in order to encourage deeper thinking. A similar irony is part of rhetorical questions, like the ones that students used during the debate, which are usually understood by both the person who asks and the intended respondent as not being real questions but rather posed for rhetorical effect. Thus both Tamara and students may have used irony to propose and affirm a frame in which neither teacher nor students were "outside" or "contained" within a "fabricated" recitation frame. The playful (sometimes ironic) assumption of an opposing position in order to foster debate will be familiar to researchers and teachers by the phrase Tamara, herself, used to describe it: "playing devil's advocate." While this technique has long been a tool for promoting discussion, researchers and teachers may wish to consider further how playing devil's advocate relates to reframing recitation as discussion through certain kinds of disagreement.

The possibility of using evaluation or follow-up to previous responses to provoke debate and thus reframe the IRE/IRF recitation sequence as discussion reminds us of the emergent potential for prior utterances and interactions to be reinterpreted by subsequent discourse (Heritage, 1984; Sawyer, 2003). Answers, or evaluations of answers, can reinterpret teacher questions and reframe an interaction as recitation or as an opportunity for discussion. But despite the emergent quality of the interaction in Tamara's 6th hour class, it still addressed the objectives in her initial lesson plan: In comparing the bombing

[8] Goffman (1986) calls this "keying," when "a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else" (p. 44).

of Hiroshima and the 9/11 attacks, students disagreed over whether it was ethical to bomb civilians, to retaliate, to respond on a larger scale than the previous attack, to make a show of force in order to preempt further violence, and to act as both destroyer and rebuilder of one's opponent. Further, they addressed counter-arguments in preparation for the position paper assignment that would follow. In fact, Tamara's post-lesson comments suggest that she was pleased with this discussion, which would not have been possible without the double-voiced disagreement whereby students engaged with others' ideas and expressed deeper perspectives than they had initially. However, further research may be necessary into whether and how teachers manage to fulfill lesson objectives because of (or in spite of) the emergent reframing of recitation as debate.

Some readers may question the value of the emergent (re)framing of the interaction given the nature of some students' comments. During the course of the discussion, Richard suggested that "if they bomb us and then we bomb them back, then they can't say nothin' because it's fair"; Kevin asserted that "they deserved it" because "they shouldn't have killed Americans for no reason"; and Gloria associated the terrorists responsible for the 9/11 attacks with the U.S.'s opponents in the Iraq war. In each case, the student's position may seem intolerant or simply ignorant, calling for a more direct teacher intervention to "set the record straight." Similarly, Winter (2010) reported in FoxNews.com that frustrations at the "amount of misinformation" with which "the general public is being overwhelmed" led Sen. Bruce Patterson to propose a bill to register reporters so that the general public will know they can "rely on the source." Such regulation of the media could be dangerous if politicized. Likewise, for Tamara to challenge a student's position directly might have made that student less likely to

participate in discussion, and thus less likely to bring his/her perspective into relationship with others in ways that might change minds. Instead, the interactional frame as it emerged seemed to invite commentary from other viewpoints, to encourage identification with figures associated with the events, and to require the consideration of counter-arguments as students took up what others had already said in order to disagree with them. All these are strategies applicable beyond this particular debate. The emergent frame for this interaction, though it allowed the sharing of some potentially shocking and misinformed perspectives thus seems in keeping with participation in a democratic "'culture of argument'... of listening and speaking to similar and different others, publicly, about ideas, conflicts, and public policy" (Parker, 2006, p. 12). However, further research may be necessary into how the criticality required by such a culture is enabled or constrained by certain kinds of teacher follow-ups.

Above, I have contrasted Tamara's 4th hour class, where an authentic, higher-order question did not accompany discussion, with her 6th hour class, where an inauthentic, lower-order question preceded vigorous debate. This may have been possible because of the nature of Tamara's evaluative follow-ups to student responses, which reframed dyadic dispute as discussion of a controversial definition, and which used irony to reframe recitation as debate. Despite the emergent quality of this interaction, it still fulfilled the teacher's lesson plan objectives. Though this means of fulfilling those objectives allowed the sharing of some controversial perspectives, it seems in keeping with discussion as a democratic practice. Next, I consider how Tamara's sixth hour students used the form, as well as the content, of others' words for their own purposes to disagree in ways that promoted discussion.

6.2.3 Discursive features and the language of debate. Over the course of the discussion in Tamara's 6th hour class, increasing regularities in the uses of language appeared: Speakers repeated the "if...then..." structure proposed by Franklin's initial definition of the maxim to juxtapose counter-examples, repeated the explicit naming of other speakers proposed by Tamara's responses to animate them back into the debate, and repeated the use of ironic reformulations and rhetorical questions to indirectly criticize others' alignments. Goodwin (1990) has called such parallelisms in conflict talk "format tying" and has identified them as related to promoting and sustaining debate (p. 177-185). Teachers and researchers may thus wish to consider the affordances of expanding the definition of uptake (Collins, 1982; Nystrand et al., 1997) to include structural features of discourse, like format tying, that contribute to promoting and sustaining dialogic discussion.

Further, the increasing regularities of language use during the debate suggest coordination among participants of the interactional frame. Without explicit direction, speakers adopted similar phrases, sentence structure, and uses of irony. This finding is in keeping with prior research on "conflict talk" which suggests that even disagreement cannot occur without some degree of intersubjectivity, or coordination of the interactional frame; in fact, a true "argument" in the most negative sense, according to those prior studies, is one in which participants talk past each other without engaging at all with others' perspectives (Sawyer, 2001a, p. 191; Tannen, 1998). This description resembles the talk in Tamara's 4th hour. In contrast, the regularities of language use in Tamara's 6th hour discussion may be further evidence of the collaborative emergence of the

interactional frame through disagreement. In short, coordinated use of language among participants as they disagree may be associated with discussion.

The regularities that appeared during the course of the debate, such as "if...then..." propositions, citation of other speakers, juxtaposition of counter-examples, and ironic, rhetorical questions, are all patterns of language use that one might associate with academic, persuasive discourse of the kind often required by writing tasks in English classrooms. Previous research has already addressed how experience with certain kinds of literary language, such as irony, can make it easier for students to interpret, and articulate interpretations about, literary texts (C. Lee, 2006a; Rabinowitz, 1987; M. Smith, 1991). Prior studies have also explored how to help students participate in disciplinary discourses, especially those students for whom academic discourse may be less familiar, or less welcoming (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Alvarez, & Chiu, 1999; C. Lee, 2006a; Morrell, 2008). In Tamara's class, the relationship between double-voiced disagreement during discussion and the increasing use of academic, persuasive literary discourse may be of interest to researchers and teachers similarly interested in fostering students' participation in disciplinary discourses through certain kinds of discussion and debate.

In this section, I have addressed the increasing regularities of certain uses of language during the course of the discussion in Tamara's 6th hour class. These regularities may be part of parallelisms which promote and sustain debate and discussion. They may also suggest ways in which certain kinds of disagreement and discussion can foster students' participation in disciplinary discourses. In the next section, I consider

how these regularities in language use might further relate to alignment and the reframing of classroom interaction.

6.2.4 Narrative reframing: how alignment affects discussion. In this section, I consider the relationship between the narrative frames elaborated by Tamara and her students and the interactional frame of the discussion itself. During the debate in Tamara's 6th hour, the juxtaposition of events and the expression of alignments toward those events generated temporal clauses and evaluations—narrative discourse (Labov, 1972). Narrative discourse about the bombing of Hiroshima and the 9/11 attacks elaborated another interactional frame beside the one emerging in the classroom interaction. As in Chapter 5, details contributed to this narrative enabled and constrained subsequent details (for instance, Richard's comment, "You see how Brian was saying that we bombed a city? But when we bombed them, their military was underground..." demonstrates the influence of Brian's earlier point about the bombing of civilians) and thus the narrative interaction exerted an influence on turns in the interaction of the discussion. As noted in Chapter 5, this finding is in keeping with previous research on the relationship between the narrated event and the storytelling event (Bauman, 1986; Jakobson, 1971; Wortham, 1994, 2001, 2006), or in this case, between the narrative frame and the interactional frame for discussion. That is, *what* teacher and students talk about during discussion may also shape *how* they talk about it.

As in Dave's class, the discussion in Tamara's 6th hour class animated students as figures in the narrative, further contributing to the overlap of narrative and classroom interactional frames. However, whereas Dave's students were animated rather innocuously as "inhabitants of Talbott/Belgium," during the debate in Tamara's class,

students were identified with WWII American forces responsible for the bombing of Hiroshima, and also at times with contemporary American forces in Iraq and even terrorists responsible for attacking the World Trade Center. In Chapter 5, I addressed how the juxtaposition of past and contemporary events made the past more present and personal for students (Bernstein, 1994; Morson, 1994; Ochs & Capps, 2001), giving them authority as first-person figures that carried over to the classroom interaction, allowing them to participate and disagree during discussion. But I also noted that students may experience it as uncomfortable to be animated as figures in upsetting historical events like the Holocaust (Ochs & Capps, 2001; Schweber, 2004). Here, Tamara seemed to be using that discomfort strategically to challenge students' assumptions, or what she described in her commentary as their "narrow frame that, 'Yeah, it's fair for us to do this when it's in Japan, or when it's not on American territory'" (Tamara, interview, 01/22/08). Tamara's use of the word frame here suggests that the framing of an interaction, including one's alignment toward it, is also informed by its relationship to other interactions; thus, the bombing of Hiroshima, and its fairness, should be understood in relation to other bombings of civilian cities, like the 9/11 attacks, during times of war. Clearly, such a comparison between potentially similar interactions may also create a dissonance in participants' conception of a particular interactional frame and their alignments toward it, and that dissonance may provoke clarificatory action. That is, the juxtaposition of similar events—Hiroshima and 9/11—toward which Franklin seemingly had different alignments—one was fair, the other unfair—created conflicting conceptions of the narrative frame that caused Franklin to re-enter the conversation in an attempt to clarify his position. This response is akin to the "frame-breaking" behavior which

participants often have when they are cast in or forced to play a social role with which they do not identify (Goffman, 1986, pp. 351-352). In Chapter 4, such frame-breaking behavior was associated with resistance to recitation. In Tamara's class, as in Chapter 5, disagreement about the framing of the event precipitated discussion.

In addition, narrative discourse generated by Tamara and her students elaborated another interactional frame besides the one for the bombing of Hiroshima/September 11th that influenced the interactional frame of the discussion, itself. When speakers referred to what had just been said during the discussion, using phrases like "So Franklin said...," "So you're saying...," "You see how Brian said...," and "Like what she said...," they animated those speakers as figures in a narrative about the current classroom interaction. These animations also parodied or indirectly criticized those speakers through double voicing. Because of this double-voiced disagreement, the narrative frame elaborated about the conversation, and the speaker's participation in it, may have clashed with his/her conception of that narrative frame, thus causing him/her to re-enter the conversation in order to clarify. That is, Tamara's narrative of what Franklin had just said framed his participation in a way with which he did not agree, influencing his subsequent participation in discussion.

In this section, I have addressed the way narrative discourse generated by Tamara and her students elaborated two other interactional frames which overlapped with and affected the frame for the classroom discussion. Students' first-person participation in a narrative frame related to the bombing of Hiroshima may have lent them authority that carried over to the frame for the discussion interaction, allowing them to participate and disagree. The clash between the way students like Franklin were framed in that narrative

and their conceptions of the narrative frame may have provoked further discussion. In addition, narrative discourse about what had just been said during the discussion may also have framed participants in ways that provoked further discussion.

6.2.5 Other issues: Sequence of activities and recurring genres. In the preceding sections, I addressed four points from my findings: how disagreement can exist without dialogic relationship among turns, how double-voiced disagreement can reframe recitation as dialogic discussion, how disagreement can encourage increasing use of the language of debate, and how disagreement about the framing of events or speakers can provoke discussion. The examples in this chapter raise one final issue to which I now turn; this issue forms the basis of Chapter 7.

Another possible explanation for the discrepancy between the examples from Tamara's 4th and 6th hour classes concerns the sequence of activities and the participants' previous experiences with certain patterns of discourse. It might be that the nature of the 4th hour activity, which followed the writing of a journal entry about "pulling the plug," involved simply reporting on what students had already thought as they wrote, more in keeping with the discourse of recitation; in contrast, the 6th hour activity, which preceded the writing of a position paper addressing counter-arguments, may have encouraged higher-order thinking characteristic of dialogic discussion (Applebee, 1981; Britton et al., 1975; Moffett, 1983; Nystrand et al., 1997). In short, the sequence of activities in a lesson—both what precedes *and* what follows a discussion—may also shape that discussion. The idea that activity sequence can influence discussion extends the notion that all utterances have dialogic potential (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 72) and that the frame emerges through interaction (Sawyer, 2001a, 2002, 2003) to include

consideration of prior and subsequent interactions on the emergence of the frame. I address the influence of activity sequence on discussion further in Chapter 7.

As Tamara's comments about the journal entry activity point out, another explanation for the discrepancy between the two classes might be that she and her 4th hour class had had less experience than her 6th hour class with discussions in which speakers "bring [another] person's thoughts and ideas in before they make the next comment... [and] build on one another's conversation" (Tamara, interview, 03/19/08). This explanation suggests that repeated experience with the emergence of the interactional frame over the course of similar interactions may contribute to the formation of patterns of communication in a classroom community. By "developing concrete examples" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 282) certain kinds and uses of language are made available (Medvedev and Bakhtin 1978, 134) to teacher and students. That is, teachers and students' experiences with recurring patterns of discourse during discussions can shape their interactions during subsequent discussions. The formation of these "pedagogical genres" may be important to identifying which discursive practices recur in English Language Arts classrooms and how teachers might intervene. I explore this idea of recurring genres further in chapter 7, as well.

6.3 Chapter 6 Summary

1. Even activities which contain authentic, higher-order questions, which juxtapose historical/literary events with events relevant to students' experiences, and which provoke conflicting perspectives, may produce no more than a sequential expression of opinions which exhibits little dialogic relationship among turns in conversation. This may be due to the negative connotations of disagreement;

further research is needed into how teachers and students learn to use disagreement for positive purposes, like discussion which deepens or transforms students' viewpoints.

2. Previous research on dialogic discussion has focused on the nature of questions initiated by teacher or students, and how such questions frame an activity as recitation or discussion; however, evaluative follow-ups to student responses may also be means by which what appears to be recitation can be emergently reframed as discussion. In particular, evaluative follow-ups which invite others to disagree and which double voice students' contributions may provoke further discussion.
3. Recitation frames interaction as a "fabrication" in which either students or teacher are "duped" or "contained by not knowing that the other already knows the answers; ironic responses such as "playing devil's advocate," may be one way to reframe the asking of known-answer questions as an opportunity for discussion.
4. While previous research has focused on the "uptake" of content, the use of previous speakers' phrases and sentence structures may also contribute to promoting and sustaining discussions characterized by disagreement.
5. If true "argument," in the negative sense, is characterized by disagreement in which turns in conversation have little relation to each other in terms of content or form, increasing regularities of language use during debate may suggest a productive coordination of the interactional frame associated with discussion.
6. Prior literacy and English education research explores how to help students participate in disciplinary discourse; the increasing use of academic language

(e.g., citation of other speakers, juxtaposition of counter-examples) during the debate suggests double-voiced disagreement may be one way to address this goal.

7. Previous studies describe the influence of the narrated event on the interaction of its telling: *what* teacher and students talk about during discussion contributes to the frame for *how* they talk about it. The present study specifies that narrative which frames events or present speakers in ways with which others disagree also provokes further participation.
8. Prior research has established the influence of prior and subsequent turns in conversation on a single turn; previous work also suggest that the interactional frame can emerge during conversation. The present study adds the idea that prior and subsequent activities, as well as teachers' and students' experiences with recurring patterns of classroom discourse, may shape discussion (see Chapter 7).

7. Discussions--Past, Present, and Future: Emergence of a Pedagogical Genre

Prior English and Social Studies education research on recitations and discussions has sought to characterize the discourse of these types of interactions, and how that discourse affects teaching and learning. For instance, attention to the kinds of questions posed during recitations and discussions has led to the identification of the "monologic" I-R-E exchange cycle in recitations and has associated authentic questions with "dialogic" discussions: According to previous studies, in I-R-E, student participation is constrained to answering recall questions or elaborating a single interpretation (usually the teacher's), while authentic questions encourage exchange among multiple speakers and allow multiple possible responses. Both I-R-E and authentic questions have been called "genres" (Nystrand et al., 2003; Rockwell, 2000; Wells, 1999, 1993)—recurring patterns of discourse which shape the roles, relationships, and responses available to teachers and students. These "genres" have often been treated as stable and separable from the surrounding discourse, rather than flexible and related to prior and subsequent interactions. What other genres of discussions might emerge from the repeated reframing of interactions among teacher and students? How are those genres related to prior and subsequent activities during a lesson? How are they related to other, similar interactions occurring in the same classroom community?

I have raised similar questions in relation to examples from chapters 5 and 6. In chapter 5, I noted that, despite the recitation-style review of textbook answers about WWI in Dave Weber's 9th grade Social Studies class at Talbott, students seemed willing to express their confusion, and Dave to address it with further explanations and discussion. Dave's response may have been due to his assessment of student's

understanding during the preceding warm-up activity, or to his sense of what students needed to know to complete the subsequent homework assignment. Students' responses may have been conditioned by previous experience with similar activities in Dave's class, during which review of chapter questions was often also an opportunity for discussion. Similarly, I described in chapter 6 the discrepancy between discourse in Tamara's Jefferson's 4th hour class at Magnum Appan High School, and her 6th hour's discussion of Hiroshima. One possible explanation for this discrepancy concerned the nature of the prior and subsequent activities: In Tamara's 4th hour, the lack of relationships among the turns in classroom discourse may have been conditioned by the fact that students were reporting what they had already written individually in their journals; by contrast, 6th hour's repeated use of each other's words in debate preceded the writing of a position paper that required them to anticipate and address counter-arguments. Moreover, Tamara noted that her 6th hour students had more experience than her 4th hour with discussions in which speakers "bring [another] person's thoughts and ideas in before they make the next comment... [and] build on one another's conversation" (Tamara, interview, 03/19/08). These examples from chapters 5 and 6 thus suggest that the sequence of activities, as well as the (re)framing of other, similar interactions may shape the interactional frame for discussions.

In order to address these questions about how recurring patterns of classroom discourse may be related to prior and subsequent activities, and to the framing of other, similar interactions, I now return to Dave Weber's 9th grade Social Studies classroom at Talbott High School, comparing the example I introduced in chapter 5 to other examples from within and across lessons.

7.1 Hypothetical Narrative Discussions: Emergence of a Pedagogical Genre

In Chapter 5, I first described the emergence of the interactional frame during an activity in Dave's class. Then, I described the features of the resulting discourse. In Figure 4, I charted those features, as well as the progression suggested by changes in verb tense and noun/pronoun use. Below, I briefly review the details of that interaction, including that chart again as Figure 9, along with a summary of its contents, for the purposes of subsequent comparison.

7.1.1 Chapter 5 revisited: An invading army marches through Talbott.

During a lesson on October 15, Dave planned to address local Social Studies Benchmarks 2.5: *All students will describe and explain the causes, consequences, and geographic context of major global issues and events*; and1.3: *All students will reconstruct the past by comparing interpretations written by others from a variety of perspectives and creating narratives from evidence.* To address these standards, Dave's plan called for students to examine a political cartoon associated with the beginning of WWI and then to review and to complete a chart as a class on a chapter which they had read for homework. Then Dave would introduce the idea of trench warfare and read students an excerpt from All Quiet on the Western Front before assigning them to write a "Letter Home from the Trenches" as homework (Dave, lesson plan, 10/15/07). During what began as a review of questions from the textbook chapter (e.g., "What was the Schlieffen plan?"), students provided answers they had found for homework (e.g., "It called for holding action against Russia"), but also expressed some confusion. Dave attempted to explain by drawing a map on the board, but students did not seem to understand the relationships among the countries involved. One student, Shirin, asked a question about the invading German

army's impact as they marched through France on their way to Belgium; in response, Dave proposed a hypothetical "what if...?" scenario in which an army invaded the students' hometown of Talbott (Dave, lesson transcript, 10/15/07). What began as recitation thus emerged as discussion as Dave and his students elaborated a narrative that paralleled the historical event with multiple, conflicting details about the army's impact on the town and its people.

Attention to changes in verb tense and pronoun use suggested the following patterns in the discourse that resulted from this emergent interaction: A prologue using present tense and "they" (to animate the characters in the historical event) prompted the proposition of a fantastical "What if...?" scenario using the conditional mood. Specifically, it used the *irrealis* conditional, sequencing events that were unrealized and unlikely to happen. Because it sequenced and evaluated events, the interaction included narrative discourse. The narrative referred through double voicing to both the historical and the hypothetical, juxtaposing past event and present context. At the beginning of the narrative, speakers used the conditional "would" and "we" or "our" to animate themselves as characters in relation to the action. As the narrative progressed, the present tense also appeared, and speakers' animations used "you" and "I." The narrative ended with a return to past tense and "they." Patterns resulting from shifts in verb tense and pronoun use during this emergent interaction are thus represented in Figure 9 (verbs are underlined and nouns and pronouns appear in bold). As Figure 9 suggests, corresponding shifts in verb tense and noun/pronoun use can be used to divide the narrative into sections which, when taken together, seem to suggest a general progression from past event to present tense and from "they" to "you"/"I." These regularities of verb tense and subject

position also suggest a coordination of the telling of the narrative among speakers—that is, that the relationships of the speakers to the narrative events affected the nature of the interaction of the discussion, itself.

While this coordination of language use illustrated the emergence of the interactional frame (see chapter 5), it did not signal consensus: The appearance of conflicting but related details supplied by tellers of the narrative suggested that speakers were envisioning a shared event from multiple, interpretive perspectives, rather than co-constructing a single, authoritative account. Moreover, this disagreement about the army's impact—or in light of my analysis in Chapter 6, these conflicting *alignments*—seemed to shape subsequent responses in the discussion as well, provoking further discussion as speakers defended their perspectives on the event. I have labeled these moments of conflicting alignments in Figure 9, as well:

Present tense and "they"	SHIRIN: Question: when **they** go through all those places do **they** like try to get them to go with them? Or are **they** like—
Conditional mood and "we" Conflicting Alignments	DAVE: Well, I don't know they were necessarily trying to gain military strength through grabbing people as they went. But say there was another country's army marching through [the modern town of] Talbott. What impact would that have on Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers... it'd be kind of weird? PENNY: Um people would maybe follow them? To see where they're going? AMY: Maybe freak out? DAVE: What kind of impact would it have on the roads? PENNY: A lot! DAVE: On traffic? STUDENT: Well, they'd break them. STUDENT: They'd screw everything up. DAVE: I couldn't even imagine how bad Glen Road would be. STUDENTS: (laughter) STUDENT: Oh my god! AMY: **We'd** have to like walk everywhere. STUDENT: I don't even know what-- DAVE: They'd have to eat something, right? LAURA: Yeah, they'd take all **our** food! DAVE: They'd take all our food. They'd take a lot of our stuff.... And here they are just marching through, and say they were trying to get to [the neighboring town of] Burch: would it be **our** fault that **we** were in between?
Conditional/ present tense and "You"/"I" Conflicting Alignments	GARY: Yeah, I would-- BECCA: No, because we just happen to be there. DAVE: And what impact would it have on all of us if these people were violent? Would **you** want to stay here? STUDENTS: No! TOM: **I'd** fight them.
Past tense and "they" Conflicting Alignments	DAVE: So it did have--it did have very profound impact on the **people of Belgium**.... That will later factor into the war. BECCA: Wait, so what was the impact? Negative? DAVE: I would say there was a lot of negative impact of that. AMY: But some positive: **they** were safe. SHIRIN: No, not really. DAVE: You don't necessarily know these people are trying to protect you, right? BECCA: They could be, like, protecting you....

Figure 9. Discursive patterns in discussion of hypothetical/historical invasion of Talbott/Belgium

Having recapitulated my charting of one lesson activity in Dave's classroom, I now turn to analysis of a second example which occurred later in the same October 15

lesson. Below, I describe the features of the resulting discourse in order to compare them to the first example.

7.1.2 Trench warfare on the football field: Digging deeper into a pedagogical genre. During the same lesson, Dave had planned to "*begin talking about trench warfare. That it was a new style, some of the conditions in the trenches. Begin passing out the document packets, which include an excerpt from another textbook, an excerpt from* All Quiet on the Western Front, *and their assignment [to write a 'Letter Home from the Trenches']*" (Dave, lesson plan, 10/15/07). As in the scenario in which an army marched through Talbott, discussion of a hypothetical "what if...?" scenario began with a recitation-style question about the actual historical event[9]:

(Dave, lesson transcript, 10/15/07)

64. DAVE: So when they are--they have the Schlieffen plan, they start setting up
65. these wars, battles. And they decide on...on a different type of battle. What's
66. that type?

67. TOM: Trench warfare.

68. DAVE: Trench warfare. So this is--what if all of a sudden we decided we
69. were going to take it out to the football field and we were going to get into a
70. battle with Mr. Abbott's fourth hour?

Dave's initial question asked students to recall information about trench warfare they had already read in the textbook. His "what's that type?" (65) was a seemingly inauthentic, lower-order question that produced a two-word response from Tom. Although Dave's initial comment and question indexed an actual historical event, he used the present tense, much as Shirin had, in chapter 5, to pose her question about the people of Belgium. Here,

[9] Because this portion of the lesson immediately follows the excerpt in chapter 5, I have numbered lines as part of the same transcript.

Dave also animated the armies engaged in the historical event as "they" and described their actions in vague terms like "setting up these wars" (64-65).

All that changed in his next turn: As in the chapter 5 example, Dave's initial recitation-style question was followed by one which proposed a "what if...?" scenario that asked students to imagine themselves into a hypothetical situation based on historical events. With this question, Dave animations moved from present tense to the conditional mood, shifted from "they" to "we" and "Mr. Abbott's fourth hour," and proposed a concrete, contemporary setting for the fantastical comparison scenario, as he had in attempting to make the German invasion of Belgium more relevant to students' experiences. Because Dave's "what if...?" invoked the conditional mood, calling for a complementary "then..." and inviting reactions about "what it would be like," his question also elicited subsequent temporal clauses and evaluations—in short, narrative discourse—about the hypothetical situation, just as it had in the chapter 5 example.

In the ensuing narrative, he and students imagined what it would be like hypothetically if they dug a hole in the field and fenced it for protection in order to continue the battle against the rival class.

78. DAVE: What would it be like when we're in there?

79. ERICA: Wouldn't they like see, if they're running, wouldn't they like see
80. that there's a hole?

81. DAVE: OK, they would see the hole, but how would they get over to us?

82. ERICA: Um run.

83. CHELSEA: Run and climb.

84. LAURA: Jump.

85. TOM: Dig.

86. DAVE: Would there be any—

87. AMY: Couldn't we just shoot them before they got over anyways?

88. STUDENTS: (laughter)

89. AMY: I'm dead serious.

90. DAVE: No, Amy, you are dead serious, go ahead and say it again.

91. STUDENTS: (laughter)

92. AMY: They probably wouldn't be able to get over anyways because if
93. we're just like sitting there we could probably just like shoot them before
94. they could get over a fence.

95. TOM: What if they had guns, too?

Much as they had in the first narrative, Dave and students continued to use the "would" and "could" of the conditional mood (78-81, 86-87, 92-94). More specifically, that conditional was *irrealis* because it described trench warfare with a rival class on the football field—events that were unrealized and unlikely to happen, as in the previous narrative of the imagined army's hypothetical invasion of Talbott. As before, Dave and his students referred to themselves as "we" in the hypothetical events they described, thereby identifying with the WWI American soldiers which that hypothetical narrative indexed. And as before, the details they contributed also suggested different alignments toward the interaction described in the narrative: Erica wondered why their opponents wouldn't simply attack them in the trench, Amy doubted such an attack would survive their defenses, and Tom pointed out that attackers would have their own advantages.

As the narrative went on, however, Dave and his students made another shift in verb tense and pronoun use similar to that made during the discussion of the hypothetical invasion of Talbott:

106. DAVE: It would be tough to hide. So let's think about it: what would it
107. be like if we're in the trenches? How would it feel?

108. TOM: Boring.

109. DAVE: Boring.

110. BECCA: I would feel claustrophobic. Because they're like right on top
111. of you.

112. DAVE: Alright.

113. PENNY: Yeah but they're—

114. AMY: But you'd kind of feel powerful.

115. PENNY: --because they couldn't get to you.

116. AMY: Yeah, I'd feel safe.

117. DAVE: OK, you would kind of feel safe, sometimes.

118. BECCA: Hiding in a hole?

As in that previous discussion of hypothetical events based on historical ones, Dave and students began to move from the "would" and "could" of the *irrealis* conditional mood (106-107) to present tense "are"(110-113), and shifted from "we" (107) to using "you" and "I" (111-116) to identify themselves as subjects in the narrative. And as in that previous example, speakers contributed conflicting details that suggested different alignments toward the event: here students disagreed about whether life in the trench would be "boring" (108), "claustrophic" (110, 118), "powerful" (114), or "safe" (116). Towards the end of the narrative, the shift in perspective was more apparent:

138. LAURA: What if you have to go to the bathroom?

139. DAVE: Oh, there's a good question--Laura, say it again?

140. LAURA: What if you have to go to the bathroom?

141. DAVE: What if you have to go to the bathroom. Well, (h)you're more
142. than welcome to try to walk out toward the fifty yard line but(h)... I don't
143. know how that's going to help you. Maybe we forgot to dig a flushy
144. toilet.

145. STUDENTS: (laughter)

146. DANIELLA: What about food?

147. DAVE: What about food? Say we did have food. But you're hungry. It
148. smells.

149. TOM: You're tired.

150. DAVE: You're tired.

151. PENNY: You gotta go.

152. STUDENTS: (laughter)

During this sequence, Dave and students had clearly adopted the present tense and the use of personal pronouns, especially the "you" that appeared repeatedly in students' comments. They had made a similar move with regard to tense and pronoun use in the first narrative about the imagined invasion of Talbott.

Finally, Dave made a move to close the narrative and transition to another activity. This transition, like the initial move from the actual, historical event to the imaginary, hypothetical one, was also marked by a shift in verb tense and pronoun use, much as in the chapter 5 example.

202. MATT: You're probably going to run out of ammo.

203. DAVE: No, they did have supplies, and they did have ammo. But, I
204. mean, food and bullets, it takes a whole lot more than that to live
205. comfortably. At least for me. So this was not probably the best place to
206. be... And we were going to go ahead and review a little bit of the battles
207. that we went over. But we are running a little a little long because we had
208. such a good discussion of trench warfare.

Here, Dave used the past tense to refer to the situation of the soldiers entrenched in No Man's Land. And he once again referred to them as "they." And though his response to Matt's comment about supplies of ammunition seemed to discourage further discussion, he also affirmed with his "at least for me" the interpretive quality of the contributions he and students had made to the narrative during discussion.

In summary, attention to changes in verb tense and pronoun use suggests the following patterns in these two interactions from the same lesson in Dave Weber's 9th grade Talbott Social Studies class: A prologue using present tense and "they" (referring to the characters in the historical event) prompted the teacher to propose a fantastical "What if...?" scenario using the *irrealis* conditional mood. That scenario sequenced unrealized, unlikely events in a narrative that simultaneously indexed a historical, past event and a hypothetical, present event. In that hypothetical narrative, speakers initially used conditional "would" and pronouns like "we" or "our" to position themselves in relation to the action. As the narrative progressed, the present tense also appeared, and speakers used "you" and "I." The narrative ended with a return to past tense and "they." Patterns resulting from shifts in verb tense and pronoun use during these two hypothetical narrative discussions are thus represented in the figure below (verbs are underlined and nouns and pronouns appear in bold) for the sake of comparison:

Present tense and "they"	SHIRIN: Question: When **they** go through all those places, do **they**, like, try to get them to go with them? Or are **they**, like—? DAVE: Well, I don't know they were necessarily trying to gain military strength through grabbing people as they went.	DAVE: So when they are--**they** have the Schlieffen plan, **they** start setting up these wars, battles. And **they** decide on…on a different type of battle. What's that type? TOM: Trench warfare. DAVE: Trench warfare. So this is--
Conditional mood and "we"	But say there was another country's army marching through [the modern town of] Talbott. What impact would that have on Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers…it'd be kind of weird? PENNY: Um people would maybe follow them? To see where they're going? AMY: Maybe freak out? DAVE: What kind of impact would it have on the roads? PENNY: A lot! DAVE: On traffic? STUDENT: Well, they'd break them. STUDENT: They'd screw everything up. DAVE: I couldn't even imagine how bad Glen Road would be. STUDENTS: ((laughter)) STUDENT: Oh my god! AMY: **We'd** have to like walk everywhere. STUDENT: I don't even know what-- DAVE: They'd have to eat something, right? LAURA: Yeah, they'd take all **our** food! DAVE: They'd take all **our** food. They'd take a lot of **our** stuff…. And here they are just marching through, and say they were trying to get to [the neighboring town of] Burch: would it be **our** fault that **we** were in between?	what if all of a sudden **we** decided **we** were going to take it out to the football field and **we** were going to get into a battle with Mr. Porritt's fourth hour? ERICA: Wouldn't they like see, if they're running, wouldn't they like see that there's a hole? DAVE: OK, they would see the hole, but how would they get over to **us**? ERICA: Um run. CHELSEA: Run and climb. LAURA: Jump. TOM: Dig. DAVE: Would there be any-- AMY: Couldn't **we** just shoot them before they got over anyways? STUDENTS: ((laughter)) AMY: I'm dead serious. DAVE: No, Amy, you are dead serious, go ahead and say it again. ((laughter) AMY: They probably wouldn't be able to get over anyways because if **we're** just like sitting there we could probably just like shoot them before they could get over a fence. TOM: What if they had guns, too?

Conflicting Alignments

Figure 10. Discursive patterns in hypothetical narrative discussions from 10/15/07 lesson (cont'd on next page).

Figure 10. (cont'd).

Conditional/ present tense and "You"/"I" **Conflicting Alignments**	GARY: Yeah, **I** would-- BECCA: No, because we just happen to be there. DAVE: And what impact would it have on all of us if these people were violent? Would **you** want to stay here? STUDENTS: No! TOM: **I'**d fight them.	DAVE: It would be tough to hide. So let's think about it: what would it be like if we're in the trenches? How would it feel? TOM: Boring. DAVE: Boring. BECCA: **I** would feel claustrophobic….they're like right on top of **you**. DAVE: Alright. PENNY: Yeah but they're-- AMY: But **you**'d kind of feel powerful. PENNY: --because they couldn't get to **you**. AMY: Yeah, **I'**d feel safe. DAVE: OK, **you** would kind of feel safe, sometimes. BECCA: Hiding in a hole?
Past tense and "they" **Conflicting Alignments**	DAVE: So it did have--it did have very profound impact on the **people of Belgium**…. That will later factor into the war. BECCA: Wait, so what was the impact? Negative? DAVE: I would say there was a lot of negative impact of that. AMY: But some positive: **they** were safe. SHIRIN: No, not really. DAVE: You don't necessarily know these people are trying to protect you, right? BECCA: They could be, like, protecting you….	MATT: You're probably going to run out of ammo. DAVE: No **they** did have supplies and they did have ammo. But. I mean, food and bullets, it takes a whole lot more than that to live comfortably. At least for me. So this was not probably the best place to be…

As Figure 10 suggests, shifts in verb tense and pronoun use followed a similar progression from past to present tense and from "they" to "you"/"I" in both hypothetical narrative discussions. Similarly, both examples contained conflicting but related details that suggested different alignments toward the historical/hypothetical events: in the first example, students imagined that the army's presence would inspire people to "follow them" and "freak out," to flee and to "fight them," and to feel threatened and "safe"; over the course of the second example, life in the trenches was described as "claustrophobic," "powerful," "safe," "cold," "hot," "with all your friends," "hungry," "tired," "trying to fight," "going to get sick," and "waiting." As already addressed in chapter 5, the shifts in verb tense and pronoun use imply that, through the juxtaposition of historical and hypothetical event, the past may have become more present and personal for the participants. Moreover, their first-person participation in the hypothetical narratives may be related to their disagreement about the nature of the narrated event, as they imagined it from multiple, "insider" perspectives rather than elaborating an authoritative account from a single, "objective" point of view. Further, this disagreement seemed to exert an influence on subsequent turns in the discussion as speakers responded to different perspectives on the imagined events with contradictory phrases like "wouldn't they..." and "yeah but..." (79-81, 87-95, 113-115). In both examples, the juxtaposition of events and of conflicting alignments thus seemed to promote further discussion.

7.1.3 Trench warfare on the football field: Relationship to other interactions. What might account for the recurring features of these two hypothetical narrative discussions? The similarities between the trench warfare discussion and the hypothetical narrative that preceded it might seem to suggest that the emergent reframing of the prior

activity influenced the subsequent one. Moreover, unlike that prior example, in which students' confusion about the Schlieffen plan prompted Dave first to attempt a map explanation and then to propose an imagination exercise, here, Dave's recitation-style question and Tom's response were followed immediately by a "what if...?" question, as if primed by the success of the first hypothetical narrative discussion.

However, the similarities between these two hypothetical narrative discussions might also have been influenced by the "Letter Home from the Trenches" Dave had planned to assign students for homework. In this assignment, students were to "write a letter home to a parent, spouse, sibling, etc." in which they would "create a detailed picture for the reader [of] what it is actually like in the trenches" (Dave, lesson handout, 10/15/07). The assignment thus called for students to identify with a WWI soldier, much as they had in imagining themselves into the hypothetical scenario based on the historical events. Further, in preparation for that assignment, Dave read students a passage from the novel, All Quiet on the Western Front:

> One lands behind us. Some recruits jump up terrified. A couple of minutes later another comes over, nearer this time . . . Then it begins in earnest. We crawl away as well as we can in our haste. The next lands fair amongst us. Two fellows cry out. Green rockets shoot up on the sky-line. Barrage. The mud flies high, fragments whiz past. The crack of the guns is heard long after the roar of the explosions . . . It's got someone pretty badly. Cries are heard between the explosions. At last it grows quiet. The fire has lifted over us and is now dropping on the reserves. We risk a look. Red rockets shoot up to the sky. Apparently there is an attack coming. Where we are is still quiet. I sit up and shake the

recruit by the shoulder. 'All over, kid! It's all right this time.' He looks around him dazedly. 'You'll get used to it soon,' I tell him (Remarque, 1929, pp. 60-62).

This passage from the novel, like the hypothetical narrative discussion of trench warfare with a rival class on the football field, contained vivid, first-hand descriptions from the perspective of soldiers in the trenches, and moved between "we/us" and "I/you." Based on this comparison, the hypothetical narrative discussions may have also been conditioned by anticipation of the subsequent lesson activities.

In a post-lesson reflection, Dave wrote that both hypothetical narrative discussions were "unexpected" and "caused us to miss some parts of the lesson as it was planned"; despite this, Dave saw these discussions as "much richer than...in previous hours" and "a victory with this group of students" (Dave, lesson reflection, 10/15/07). Indeed, both hypothetical narrative discussions fulfilled his lesson objective, and Social Studies Standard I.3, for students to "*reconstruct the past by comparing interpretations...from a variety of perspectives and creating narratives from evidence.*" Further, Dave wrote, "In this lesson my ultimate goal for the students was to come away with an understanding of the personal experience in the war, to relate to a human aspect in history. Gaining an understanding of the characters of history tends to make it more interesting, relatable and understandable" (Dave, lesson reflection, 10/15/07). These hypothetical narrative discussions, though somewhat unexpected, may thus also have been shaped by Dave's goals for the lesson.

In this first section, I compared two examples from the same lesson of a pedagogical genre I call hypothetical narrative discussion. I examined recurring features of the discourse—such as changes in verb tense/pronoun use and the presence of

conflicting alignments—and their relationship to the interactional frame for the discussions, as well as the potential influence of prior and subsequent lesson activities on those discursive patterns. In the next section, I describe three variations that were recognizable as belonging to the same pedagogical genre before considering the import of these variations and what they suggest about the recurrence of hypothetical narrative discussions during the course of a year in Dave's classroom.

7.2 Hypothetical Narrative Discussions: Variations on a Pedagogical Genre

In this section I address three other, similar interactions from Dave's class that occurred at other points in the year in order to compare them to these first two examples of the pedagogical genre of hypothetical narrative discussions. In each case, I describe how the interaction was framed and address the features of the resulting discourse.

7.2.1 The stock market crash: hypothetical narrative and collapsing the past.

On November 28th, a little over one month after the first two examples occurred, I observed Dave and his students generate another hypothetical narrative during a lesson on the 1920's Black Tuesday stock market crash. Below, I first describe the framing of this interaction, its discursive features, and the relationship between the narrated event and the current interaction, much as I did with the example in chapter 5. Then, I explore the possible relationships among this interaction and the framing of other, similar interactions. During the lesson, Dave intended to "*Begin the class by reminding the students of the [stock market simulation] game that we played over the past two days...*" and then "*Begin discussing the nature of the great depression, and some causes/effects in brief*" (Dave, lesson plan, 11/28/07). However, much as in the textbook question review

activity that addressed the Schlieffen plan and trench warfare, Dave and his students departed from this "reminder" to attempt a clarifying explanation.

(Dave, lesson transcript, 11/28/07)

1. VICTORIA: How are [stockbrokers] getting any money off of it? They're
2. just giving people help.

3. DAVE: OK. Very good point. So it works like this. Uh, we're going to go
4. with Tom right here.... You owned a lot of Rylant stock [during the stock
5. market simulation game], right?

6. TOM: Yeah, me and Jon had like eight of them.

7. DAVE: Eight of them? So, in the very beginning though, we're just going
8. to start in the beginning. Say you guys together, you had most of the Rylant
9. stock. Now in a real company, a big company like Rylant, if you own the
10. majority of the stocks, in a situation like that, all of a sudden they start-
11. they're very interested in what you think, because when you own stock,
12. like,that certificate proves that you own part of that company. I-I think
13. you guys understood that as we went through it, right? You are buying
14. into that company. So if all of a sudden if you guys combined had like
15. fifty-one percent of it they're really interested in what you have in what
16. you have to say about Rylant Motors.

This example began with a seemingly authentic question from Victoria about the stock market crash (1). In response, Dave once again proposed a hypothetical scenario as a means of clarifying the historical event: "Say you guys together, you had most of the Rylant stock. Now in a real company...." (8-9). But this hypothetical scenario differed from the previous ones in animating students as figures in a generic re-enactment of the historical event. Students were simply cast as buyers and investors in a typical stock market exchange. That is, there was no double-voiced comparison between a past event and a present context that might have been more familiar to students, and thus little opportunity for them to contribute from their own perspectives.

The lack of relationships between students' contemporary experiences and the historical event being elaborated seemed to influence the subsequent discourse of the interaction.

86. DAVE: OK. So the problem we have here is that Tom starts taking partial
87. money from Matt because...Whitney is lending money to Matt.... Now,
88. Matt, you still have like zero dollars to your name, right? You don't have any
89. money, you just own that stock and the stock keeps going up, and you're
90. pretty happy about it. Now all of a sudden, Whitney, you need your money,
91. right? Because he owes you money. So what do you do?

92. WHITNEY: Ask him to turn it in?

93. DAVE: You ask him for it. And Matt, Whitney comes up to you and says,
94. "Can I have my money please?" And what do you pay her with?

95. MATT: The stock?

96. DAVE: You could. Maybe. Whitney, do you want stock? You're a bank.

97. WHITNEY: No?

98. DAVE: You want money right?

99. WHITNEY: Yeah.

100. DAVE: Matt, she's not going to take your stock. What are you going to do?

101. MATT: Turn it in.

The influence of their lack of relationship to this situation can be seen in Matt and Whitney's responses, which were short and often ended with the rising intonation more typically associated with questions. The brevity and tentativeness of these responses suggested that they were attempting to guess the answer Dave was looking for—naturally, for they had little means of relating to the interaction between lender and investor being described. Moreover, Dave's interjections and corrections (e.g., 96) as he talked on behalf of students (88-91, 93-94) allowed for little relationship among students'

turns in the conversation, in contrast with the way conflicting alignments provoked further discussion during the previous examples. In short, this interaction was not emergent, and bore more resemblance to recitation than to discussion.

Closer attention to the discursive features of this interaction also revealed differences from the previous examples of hypothetical narrative discussion. In sequencing events using conditional "if...then..." (9-11, 14-16) this scenario included narrative discourse, much like the previous examples. And the initial comment (in this case, Victoria's question), which used present tense and "they," as well as Dave's use of the conditional mood, when he said, "If all of a sudden if you guys combined had like fifty one percent of it...," made for a similar prologue and launching of the narrative. But unlike the other hypothetical narratives, the situation Dave proposed was not an *irrealis* conditional, concerning events known to be false or unlikely, like an army marching through Talbott or trench warfare on the football field. Rather it was a *realis,* or factual conditional—more a retelling of events that had, in fact, taken place leading up to the stock market crash. In this *realis* hypothetical narrative, although students were cast as first-person participants, they could not draw from their own experiences as investors or lenders and thus could not take up multiple, conflicting alignments toward the event. And although this narrative moved from conditional to present tense and used "you/I," those verbs and pronouns were used by Dave to narrate on behalf of students, rather than by students to provide progressively more individualized impressions of the event. In contrast with previous examples, the framing and the discursive features of this hypothetical narrative, overall, seemed to emphasize a univocal interpretation of the historical event through participation in a hypothetical re-enactment of a past event.

This is not to devalue this interaction as an attempt to clarify the dynamics of the historical event. Indeed, at least one student's response at the end of the hypothetical scenario suggested that she had achieved a better understanding of the stock market crash.

163. DAVE: Now all of a sudden people...start losing money. Because now the
164. bank is dependent on the company and the company is dependent on the
165. bank. And you get caught in the middle.

166. AMY: Is that why it all crashed?

167. DAVE: That is a good part of why it crashed.

168. AMY: Because it was like all built on itself but nothing was really there?

However, this hypothetical scenario did not answer Victoria's initial question about how stock brokers benefited. Thus although it began with an authentic student question, this interaction did not result in discussion. Perhaps discussion did not occur because there was little relationship between speakers and the event under study: What could these 9th grade students contribute to a discussion about lenders, investors, and companies? Indeed, rather than an overlay of the historical event on specific, fantastical, present circumstances with which students might have been more familiar (as in the previous hypothetical narrative discussions), this scenario involved a re-enactment of the past. Because of this lack of relationship, the way students were framed in the narrated event did not carry over to the current classroom interaction (as it did in the previous hypothetical narrative discussions). That is, their participation as figures in the narrative did not make it easier for them to participate in discussion.

So far, I have shown how this hypothetical narrative contrasted with the previous examples of hypothetical narrative discussions in that it did not accompany the

emergence of the interactional frame, it did not juxtapose past events and present context, and it did not relate the narrated event to the current interaction in ways that promoted discussion. Indeed, though it shared many features with the previous examples, this interaction resembled recitation more than discussion. Below, I consider how these differences might have been influenced by the relationship among this interaction and the framing of other, similar ones.

7.2.2 The stock market crash: relationship to other interactions. As previously noted, a review of what the class had already studied was often an opportunity for students to express confusion and raise questions, a fact which may have contributed to the framing of this interaction; this would explain the appearance of Victoria's initial question in the context of a "reminder" about the previous day's lesson. Perhaps the other hypothetical narratives generated during the lesson in October also conditioned the framing of this one, contributing to its similarities; clearly, the animation of students as figures in hypothetical/historical events was a recurring pattern in Dave's class. In addition, the simulation game that took place during the previous day's lesson may have exerted an influence on the particular nature of that animation, for it, too, was a re-enactment of the historical event in which students played the roles of investors. Finally, this interaction may have been shaped by what followed it during the 11/28 lesson: further discussion of "*the nature of the great depression, and some causes/effects in brief*" (Dave, lesson plan, 11/28/07). That is, anticipation of subsequent lesson activities, as outlined by Dave's lesson plan goals, may also have shaped this hypothetical narrative.

Dave's commentary during a post-lesson interview suggested that participation in a similar interaction during other class periods in which he taught the same lesson may also have shaped this particular framing of the interaction:

> Like I had an...I had this type of conversation with every other class. This class—this, I don't want to say 'scripted'? Because it was different this time. But it was something I had planned to do, and I wanted to fit in and I thought *hey I can*--.... You know, like, and um, so I realize it was a good entrance point? .... And then right here this moves into an opportunity where I realize I might have said something they might not have all known. That the stock itself wasn't just a piece of paper. It was a part of the company. And so I realize now this is a chance to cover something that maybe I assumed they knew (Dave, interview, 11/28/07).

Dave saw Victoria's question as an opportunity to clarify the relationships among company, bank, and investors in a way he had already done with other classes when teaching the same lesson earlier that day. As a result, it was something he had "planned to do," and Victoria's question simply provided a convenient "entrance point." On the other hand, Dave noted the difference between this interaction and other, similar ones he had participated in during previous class periods: As he gauged the reactions of these particular students, he adapted his explanations to address what he thought they specifically needed clarified. Thus while the frame for this interaction was not emergent—irreducible to the precedent qualities and intentions of individuals—it was also not solely a recitation of what teacher and students already knew.

One point at which there was a noticeable disruption in the framing of the activity and the hypothetical narrative is worth examining in order to better understand the

influence of other, similar interactions. This disruption occurred towards the beginning of the narrative, after Dave had begun to animate students and to ask questions to lead them through the relations among stockholder, bank, and investor.

21. DAVE: So now we're going to say Tom and Jon together they've got some
22. sort of they actually own a good chunk of this company. But your stock's not
23. going up right? You need more money. How do you make more money then?

24. JON: Mug people?

25. STUDENTS: (laughter)

26. DAVE: Say it again?

27. JON: Mug people?

28. DAVE: Bug people? Bug them to do what?

29. TOM: He said, "mug."

30. JON: I said "mug."

31. DAVE: (h)Mu(h)g people? OK. Sure that'll be fine for a little while. B(h)ut
32. maybe eventually you start needing to do-do something else. But-but why
33. would you mug people?

34. JON: To get more money!

35. DAVE: To get more money. So your company needs more money. How do
36. you get more money? How were these companies getting more money?

Jon's comment could be seen as a simple bid for attention which Dave acknowledged before artfully steering the conversation back to his question. However, it is perhaps noteworthy that Jon's comment seemed to intentionally break the flow of Dave's narration. Indeed, he could have opted for the verb "bug," and the idea of bothering people for money, when Dave offered it (28), but instead he (and Tom) chose to reassert the more disruptive and aggressive verb "mug" which, though it answered Dave's question, was clearly inappropriate. Both times, the disruption of the frame caused by this

inappropriate response produced laughter (25, 31). While this laughter may have been the object of Jon's disruptive comment, it is also possible that previous experience with the pedagogical genre of hypothetical narrative discussion caused Jon to offer a more fantastical, contemporary solution to Dave's hypothetical question. Or perhaps it was his attempt to hijack a narrative which was more constraining than previous, similar ones had been: In both answering the question and disrupting it, Jon's response resembled those of Nathan and Colby in chapter 4, who both similarly seemed to be subtly resisting a framing of the interaction as recitation.

In this section, I have addressed the relationship among a hypothetical narrative about the stock market crash and other, similar interactions. The framing of this interaction may have been conditioned by previous lessons in which review of textbook answers was framed as an opportunity for discussion. Its animation of students as figures in a hypothetical scenario may also have been shaped by other hypothetical narrative discussions, or perhaps by the stock market simulation game in which the class had engaged during the preceding lesson. The following section addresses another, related variation on hypothetical narrative discussions.

7.2.3 Collective bargaining: hypothetical narrative and negotiating the future. During a December 13 lesson on the Roosevelt era, Dave's goal was "*for the students to gain a contextual understanding...of FDR's new deal,*" including "*how everyday people would feel effects*" (Dave, lesson plan, 12/13/07). Students had answered a series of warm-up questions about the previous night's textbook chapter, and as Dave reviewed the answers with them, he stopped to explain the 1935 Wagner Act, and the

concept of collective bargaining, by calling on Mary (whose last name also happened to be Wagner)[10].

(Dave, lesson transcript, 12/13/07)

1. DAVE: ...that's something that the Mary Wagner Act helped do. Thank you,
2. Mary, for your time helping all workers like that. Now explain why the Mary
3. Wagner act was important. Besides the fact that it had your last name.

4. MARY: Because it protected the right of workers to form unions and engage
5. in collective bargaining with their employers. And also it prohibited unfair
6. labor practices.

7. DAVE: This was a big effort of the second hundred days...and workers,
8. looking more at workers, trying to protect workers a little more, and um,
9. collective bargaining, do you guys know what it is?

10. TOM: Something that a union does?

11. DAVE: There you go. Uh, it's something that a union does, quite often it's
12. why a union's so strong: they can bargain as a group. It's the reason why, like,
13. if I tell you we have a test next Thursday—

As in the previous examples, this interaction occurred during review of textbook questions students answered as part of their homework the night before. Thus Dave's directive to Mary and question about collective bargaining involved recitation-style recall of what students already knew. And as before, preliminary exchanges about an actual historical situation during this review were followed by the proposal of a hypothetical "What if...?" scenario meant to clarify the event. As before, this "What if...?" scenario proposed a reframing of the activity from one in which the teacher posed review questions for students to answer from their reading of the textbook to one in which a hypothetical scenario—in this case, Dave bargaining with his students about a test—

[10] Since the Wagner act actually exists, I have used Mary's actual last name to preserve the sense of this exchange; I rely on the replacement of her first name with a pseudonym and the commonality of the last name Wagner to protect her identity.

would be dialogically juxtaposed with an historical event in order to explain the Wagner Act.

As in previous examples, students took up this reframing proposal, animating themselves as figures in a hypothetical/historical scenario. In this case, Penny asserted that students should be able to use their notes during the test (a practice teachers at Talbott sometimes allowed), and thus took on the role of negotiator:

18. PENNY: But we can use our notes.

...

25. DAVE: We're going to talk more about it when we get there, but this would
26. be a perfect example of collective bargaining: Penny, you said we should be
27. able to use our notes, right? OK, I value your opinion a lot, but if you get all
28. thirty people in the room all of a sudden that voice is—

29. TOM: Let's take a vote.

30. AMY: Yeah, can we take a vote on—?

31. DAVE: (speaking in higher voice) I(h)t's (h)not even v(h)oteable.
32. (shrugging) (h)I'm sorry, I'm very cruel.

33. TOM: I'm going on strike.

34. STUDENTS: (laughter)

As in chapter 5, details contributed to this hypothetical scenario conditioned and constrained subsequent contributions: Penny's negotiation led to Dave's response about strength in numbers and Tom's call for a vote. In this way, some details of the emerging hypothetical scenario exerted influence on its subsequent elaboration, illustrating the historical concept of collective bargaining. And as in chapter 5, the interactional frame in the narrative affected the classroom interaction: In their roles as union workers, students

continued to attempt to bargain even after Dave tried to postpone (25) and discourage negotiation (31-32).

At the end of the narrative, Dave's comments made explicit this connection between the present negotiation over the guidelines for the test and a generic past event made possible by the establishment of the Wagner Act.

45. DAVE: Many times a company would not hear people single voices or
46. people coming up and saying "Hey you guys should pay us more" they're like
47. "yeah yeah" but... um, you, as more people get involved with something, all
48. of a sudden the voice gets stronger, and that's something that the Mary
49. Wagner Act helped do. Thank you, Mary, for your time helping all workers
50. like that.

Thus this interaction, in which Dave's "what if...?" proposal was taken up by students and elaborated with details that illustrated collective bargaining, referred through double voicing to both a hypothetical event and generic historical one. The resulting interaction could not be attributed solely to Dave's proposal, Penny's negotiation, or Tom's resistance, and was thus an example of emergence. Nonetheless, the activity addressed Dave's lesson plan goals "*for the students to gain a contextual understanding of...FDR's new deal*," including "*how everyday people would feel effects*" (Dave, lesson plan, 12/13/07).

Moreover, as in the previous examples, the discourse included shifts in verb tense and pronoun use that implied changes in the participants' relationships to the historical event. From the past tense (1-8) and "workers" (7-8) to the conditional "if..." (13, 27) and the pronoun "we" (13) the scenario quickly shifted to one in which Dave and students were positioned as "you" and "I" (26-27, 33) in a present-tense negotiation about whether students would be able to use their notes during the test. And at the end of the narrative, Dave transitioned back to the use of past tense and "they" (48). This interaction

thus exhibited similar features to other examples of hypothetical narrative discussions. However, it ended quickly and thus, like the stock market example, did not result in discussion. And though conflicting perspectives appeared on the issue of whether students could use their notes, the conflict seemed to belong to the event of the narrative, itself, rather than to different alignments toward interpretations of that event. That is, the narrative did not contain conflicting details from multiple points of view of the kind that appeared in the first two hypothetical narrative discussions. I address this further in the next section, where I consider the relationship between this hypothetical narrative and other, similar interactions.

7.2.4 Collective bargaining: relationship to other interactions. Some of the same hypotheses made in the previous sections might apply to the relationships among this hypothetical narrative and other similar interactions: that it was conditioned by previous review activities in Dave's class; that it was influenced by the class's previous participation in other hypothetical narrative discussions; and that it was shaped by the goals of the lesson. However, students' responses in this hypothetical narrative about collective bargaining may also have been affected by the fact that, unlike the previous narratives, the proposed hypothetical scenario concerned an actual, future event: the class *did*, in fact, have a test scheduled for next Thursday.

13. DAVE: ..., like, if I tell you we have a test next Thursday—
14. AMY: For real?
15. DAVE: For real.
16. PENNY: Are you serious?
17. DAVE: Um yeah. See I just combined the two—

18. PENNY: But we can use our notes.

19. AMY: For real?

20. DAVE: See—

21. AMY: Are we able to?

22. TOM: No.

23. DAVE: No.

24. AMY: Oh.

Amy's repeated "for real?" (14, 19) and Penny's "are you serious?" (16) suggest that they were not sure initially about the relationship between hypothetical and actual events. Indeed, Dave's response (17) may have been an attempt to explain how he combined past and present. This uncertainty regarding the relationship between the hypothetical event and actual classroom events is unlike the previous examples, in which students seemed to understand and accept the double-voiced overlaying of past event on present context. This uncertainty may be explained by the fact that this discourse sequenced events which, though hypothetical because they had not yet taken place, were also *likely to happen* in the context of Dave's classroom. That it, it was another example of hypothetical narrative in *realis*, or factual conditional mood, like the one generated for the stock market crash. Further parallels between the hypothetical scenario and actual relationships in the classroom may also have contributed to this: Though student Mary Wagner has no actual relation to the senator, Robert F. Wagner, who originated the National Labor Relations Act (or "Wagner" Act), her name was used in association with the legislation. Penny Novak, who took on the role of negotiator was not only an obvious choice because she is an outspoken student, and because she had already made an assertion (not a question!) on

behalf of the students ("But you can use your notes"), but also because she is the daughter of the superintendent of schools for Dave's district (a fact which Dave mentioned in the post-lesson interview). In short, both girls had roles in the hypothetical narrative that also reflected, to a greater or lesser degree, aspects of their actual identities in Dave's class.

In this respect, this *realis* hypothetical narrative contrasted with the *irrealis* hypothetical narratives about an army marching through Talbott and about trench warfare on the football field, which juxtaposed a historical situation and a contemporary context in a way that was imaginary or unlikely to happen. However, it also differed from the *realis* narrative generated during the discussion of the stock market. In the stock market narrative, the hypothetical scenario seemed to collapse into a past event which *had* actually happened; that is, the explanation of the crash became little more than a re-enactment of the past. In contrast, the collective bargaining narrative's hypothetical scenario seemed to collapse into a present event which *would* actually happen: that is, the illustration of collective bargaining became an actual negotiation about the test. In both cases, this collapse was accompanied by frame-breaking behavior—resistance from students to being animated in certain ways.

As in the stock market narrative example, it is worth examining in the collective bargaining narrative the disruptive tension—indicated by Dave's nervous laughter and posture, as well as students' interruptions and overlapping talk.

26. DAVE: ...this would be a perfect example of collective bargaining: Penny,
27. you said we should be able to use our notes, right? OK, I value your opinion a
28. lot, but if you get all thirty people in the room all of a sudden that voice is—

29. TOM: Let's take a vote.

30. AMY: Yeah, can we take a vote on—?

31. DAVE: (speaking in higher voice) I(h)t's (h)not even v(h)oteable.
32. (shrugging) (h)I'm sorry, I'm very cruel.

33. TOM: I'm going on strike.

34. STUDENTS: (laughter)

Although Penny's bargaining and Tom's call for a strike served as a "perfect example" of collective bargaining in the hypothetical, they also threatened to disrupt the actual relationship between teacher and students concerning the guidelines for the upcoming test. Perhaps for this reason, Dave attempted to break out of the narrative frame and clarify the boundary between the hypothetical collective bargaining narrative and the actual classroom interaction (26) by reasserting his and students' actual roles in the classroom interaction (31-32). Tom's subsequent call for a strike countered this refusal and reaffirmed his role as framed by the hypothetical narrative. As in the stock market narrative, each of these disruptions in the frame was accompanied by laughter.

In this section, I have considered the relationship among the hypothetical narrative discussion of collective bargaining and other interactions. In addition to proposing relationships among this interaction and other, previous ones similar to those I have detailed in preceding sections, I suggested that this discussion was affected by the relationship between the narrated event and an actual, future interaction that would take place in Dave's classroom.

7.2.5 The Berlin airlift: hypothetical narrative and the balance of past and present. A final example of hypothetical narrative discussion took place during a lesson on March 5 about the post-WWII division of Germany and Berlin that led to Stalin's blockade of the Western part of the city and forced the Allies to fly in supplies. Dave's lesson plan called for students to "*open up their books to 'The Berlin Airlift,'...read the*

page out of the book, and summarize it in three to four sentences. Ask students to volunteer to read their sentences. Discuss. Move onto the smart board note packet that was worked on the day before. Pick back up on the Berlin Airlift" (Dave, lesson plan, 03/05/08). To understand the events surrounding the Berlin Airlift was thus a goal of the lesson.

During the explanation of the division of Berlin, a student, Shirin, asked for clarification about why a city that was clearly located in the Eastern (Soviet) half of the country would also need to be divided between East and West.

(Dave, lesson transcript, 03/05/08)

1. SHIRIN: So. Um does are--Why are we there? Since it's like Communist and
2. everything?

3. DAVE: Why were we in Germany to start with?

4. SHIRIN: In Berlin.

5. DAVE: OK. After World War II, it was decided that the fairest way to make
6. sure that Germany wouldn't reconsolidate power and start World War III
7. would be if each Ally took a zone of Germany. And then when they were
8. trying to figure out who should get Berlin, it was decided it's not fair, Berlin
9. is—if, if we're talking about [our state] it would be like [a major industrial
10. city]. Or actually I guess we'll say [the capital city]. It's closer. And the
11. capital. We'll say it's like [the capital city].... It's not fair, right? If one section
12. of the state...if someone got [the capital city].... say you, Laura, Takara, and
13. Amy were dividing up the state, right? It's not fair if just you get [the capital
14. city] right?

In response to Shirin's question, Dave proposed a "what if...?" scenario which compared the past event to a hypothetical situation set in a fantastical, contemporary context. This proposal reframed the sharing of textbook summaries as an imagination exercise which animated students as figures in a hypothetical scenario. That hypothetical scenario paralleled post-WWII events in Germany through double voicing.

As in previous examples, students took up the proposed hypothetical scenario, elaborating it with details that enabled and constrained subsequent responses:

26. DAVE: So we would need to supply from here to our [part of the city].
27. ...What if they shut off the roads? Closed the railroads?

28. LAURA: OOOH!

29. TAKARA: How would we get supplies?

30. DAVE: Shirin, if you have that part of--if you have, you know, this general
31. area of [the state]. What's the advantage of closing it off so that the other
32. three girls can't get
33. into the city?

34. SHIRIN: That you have it. They can't get in.

....

47. AMY: Why can't you fly?

48. DAVE: So. What's our one solution, Amy?

49. AMY: Fly.

50. DAVE: You have to fly supplies in. Berlin airlift? Alright.

51. PENNY: That's what they did, didn't they?

52. DAVE: That's exactly what they did.

Some of the proposed details became established features of the scenario: for instance, Takara's question about the desperate conditions seemed to prompt Amy's solution. From Shirin's point of view, however, the blockade was an advantage; the narrative thus contained multiple, even conflicting alignments toward the event. And as before, comments by Dave and students at the end of the narrative suggested that these details applied simultaneously to both the present, hypothetical event and the past, historical one. Neither Shirin's initial query, nor Dave's proposed scenario, nor Takara's question alone

were solely responsible for the emergent scenario. Thus what began with a review of textbook summaries about the Berlin airlift emerged as a hypothetical narrative discussion. Despite its emergent quality, this interaction still addressed Dave's lesson objectives concerning understanding the causes of the Berlin Airlift.

As in the other examples, this one sequenced unrealized events that were unlikely to happen in an *irrealis* hypothetical narrative discussion. The narrative contained a pattern of shifts in verb tense and pronoun use. Much like the October narrative about an army marching through Talbott, Shirin's question, in present tense (1), acted as a prologue. Dave's response shifted from past tense (5-8) and "they" (7) to the *irrealis* conditional mood and to "we" (9-11). From Takara's "How would we get supplies?" (29), to Shirin's "...you have it. They can't get in" (34), and to Amy's "Why can't you fly?" (47), verb tense shifted from conditional to present tense, and the use of pronouns shifted from "we" to "you." At the end of the narrative, Dave and Penny's comments returned to using the past tense and "they" (51-52). This progression from past to present to past, and from "they" to "you" to "they" resembled that of the other hypothetical narrative discussions, suggesting that the past became more present and personal for the participants during the course of the discussion.

Students' participation in the narrative interaction affected their participation in the interaction of the discussion. As figures in the narrative, students were able to contribute from their own first-person perspectives, like Takara, who wondered how they would get supplies, or Amy, who proposed flying as a solution. Participation in the interactional frame of the narrative thus shaped students' participation in the current interaction of the discussion. While this was also true of the stock market and collective

bargaining examples, the way students were framed in those narratives produced resistance, perhaps because the narratives were either too far or too close with regard to the present interaction. In this respect, the hypothetical narrative discussion about the Berlin airlift most resembled those about the invasion of Belgium and trench warfare: In all three, the framing of the narrated event affected the framing of the discussion, promoting participation through a balance between elaboration of a fantastical, hypothetical event and an actual, historical one.

In this section, I have described the emergence of a hypothetical narrative discussion about the Berlin airlift, the discursive features of that interaction, and the relationship between the narrated event and the current interaction of the discussion. Unlike the November stock market narrative and the December collective bargaining narrative, whose hypothetical situations seemed to collapse into a re-enactment of the past and an anticipated future, respectively, this hypothetical narrative discussion appeared most like the initial October examples in overlaying a historical event on a fantastical, contemporary context. In a final findings section for this chapter, I address the relationship of this hypothetical narrative discussion to other, similar interactions before moving on to discussion of these findings and their implications in relation to previous research.

7.2.6 The Berlin airlift: relationship to other interactions. This hypothetical narrative discussion shared some of the same relationships to other, similar interactions which I have already detailed above (e.g., the way textbook question homework reviews were framed in Dave's class). Below, I focus on a point of similarity between this

example and the stock market narrative in terms of their relationships to other, similar interactions in which Dave had participated with earlier class periods during the day.

In a post-lesson interview about the hypothetical narrative discussion of the Berlin airlift, Dave revealed that he had participated in similar discussions with his second hour and third hour classes in order to clarify the reasons for the division of Berlin. But in those earlier discussions, he did not use the state's capital city as a hypothetical parallel to Berlin:

> Second hour, I used the Vatican and that wasn't effective, but just that idea of it's not fair if one person gets the Vatican. Not in a religious way, I just mean the Vatican city state. So. But that time it was like 'What?' So then I moved to Washington D.C. But then I moved to [the state capital] because, like, I got better at it by fourth hour so (laughs).... We had already done Washington D.C. I knew Vatican wasn't going to work. Um, so I just had to pick something that was-that was relevant.... And I skipped the potential dividing of Talbott because that undermines the fact that it's a big city.... She got it. I-I know-I could tell she got it. Because she's like 'Oh.' (Dave, interview, 03/05/08).

Dave first compared the post WWII division of Berlin to what it would be like to divide up Vatican City, hoping that comparison to this more familiar, contemporary example would help students to better understand the historical event. Finding that this was not effective, Dave tried in the next class period (with another group of students) using Washington, D.C., another important, contemporary city perhaps more familiar to the experiences of American students. This, too, failed to produce the reaction he had hoped for during his third hour class. Thus, by the time Shirin asked her question in the

discussion described above, Dave had tried two other hypothetical comparisons before settling on using a city close to home for his Talbott students. From Dave's point of view, it was important that the comparison not "undermine the fact that it's a big city." That is, the choice of a contemporary setting was important to the narrative framing of the hypothetical/historical event. It also affected the framing of his interactions with students: whereas the comparison in other class periods had not been "effective," producing confusion ("it was like, 'What?'"), he felt certain that Shirin "got it" in the discussion above. Dave's commentary suggested that, as with the hypothetical narrative about the stock market crash, his participation in similar explanations with earlier class periods shaped the frame for this interaction. However, unlike the stock market example, which resembled recitation and produced frame-breaking resistance, this one resulted in discussion.

In these findings sections, I have addressed four examples, each at different points of the year, from Dave Weber's 9th grade Social Studies classroom at Talbott High school in order to explore the relationships among discussions and other classroom discourse interactions within and across lessons. Over the course of the year, hypothetical narrative discussions emerged as a pedagogical genre in Dave's class. These hypothetical narrative discussions, though they exhibited similar discursive features, varied in the manner in which the historical event and the hypothetical scenario were related. Below, I situate these findings and their implications in relation to previous research.

7.3 Discussion/Implications

Prior research on recitations and discussions has often described the "genres" – recurring patterns of discourse which shape the roles, relationships, and responses

available to teachers and students—associated with these types of interactions as stable and separable from the surrounding discourse, rather than flexible and related to prior and subsequent interactions. In this chapter, I addressed questions about what genres of discussions might emerge from the repeated reframing of interactions among teacher and students, how discussions might be related to prior and subsequent activities during a lesson, and how discussions might be related to other, similar interactions occurring in the same classroom community.

Four classroom interactions in Dave Weber's 9th grade Social Studies class at Talbott High School were compared with the example introduced in chapter 5 in order to illustrate the emergence of the genre of hypothetical narrative discussions. The first, a discussion of a hypothetical scenario based on WWI trench warfare, emerged during the same lesson as the discussion addressed in chapter 5, about the German invasion of Belgium, and bore many similarities with that example: both sequenced unrealized and unlikely events in a narrative using the *irrealis* conditional mood, and included shifts in verb tense and pronoun use from past to present and from "they" to "I/you." The fourth example, a discussion of a hypothetical parallel to the Berlin airlift, also shared these features. In contrast, the second and third examples, though they also included hypothetical narratives and many of the same discursive features, did not include discussions. In addition, these two examples differed from the others in important ways: first, they both sequenced events that either had happened or were likely to happen, using the *realis*, or factual, conditional mood; second, they both included "frame-breaking" behavior on the part of the participants. I address the significance of these variations on the genre of hypothetical narrative discussions further in the next section.

With regard to other classroom interactions within and across lessons, these hypothetical narrative discussions appear to have been influenced by previous participation in other textbook question review activities and in other interactions which animated students as figures in hypothetical/historical events (like a stock market simulation game, for example). They may also have been shaped by anticipation of similar subsequent activities, like a "Letter Home from the Trenches" homework assignment or another discussion of the effects of the Great Depression. Finally, this genre may have been affected by Dave's participation in other, similar interactions with the classes he taught during earlier periods of the day.

7.3.1 Emergence of a pedagogical genre. In the examples above, I described the framing and the discursive features of a similar type of interaction, or what I have called a "pedagogical genre." Prior research on classroom discourse has applied the notion of genre, or recurring conventions of social interaction (e.g., Bakhtin, 1984; Devitt, 1993; C. Miller, 1984; Swales, 1990), not only to written discourse (e.g., Bazerman, 1997, 1988; Bazerman et al., 2009; Freedman & Medway, 1994; Hicks, 1995) but also to talk and behavior in classrooms. For example, previous classroom discourse research has identified as "speech genres" (Bakhtin, 1986a) "the lesson" (Wertsch, 1991, p. 110), I-R-E or I-R-F sequences (Lemke, 1990; Wells, 1993), authentic questions (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 91), and hypothetical narratives (Juzwik, 2006). And while some scholars have wondered whether discussion can be discerned well enough to identify discussion genres (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1999), some that have been identified include "conversational narrative discussion" in secondary English classes (Juzwik et al., 2008) and "seminars" and "deliberations" in Social Studies classes (Parker, 2001, 2006; Parker & Hess, 2001).

To these other pedagogical genres, the present study adds the possibility of "hypothetical narrative discussions" as a genre that emerged in a secondary Social Studies classroom.

Previous Social Studies education research has defined discussions, in general, in terms of "purpose" (Hess, 2004). According to these studies, purpose shapes not only the topic and talk of the discussion but also the relationships of the participants (Dillon, 1994; Parker, 2006). In short, purposes contribute to framing the interaction of discussions. They also serve to distinguish different types or "genres" of discussion: discussion can be either a method of instruction or a curricular goal in and of itself (Parker & Hess, 2001); it can be aimed at interpreting a central text or deliberating on courses of action (Parker, 2001). In terms of this previous work, Dave's hypothetical narrative discussions resembled the genre of "seminars," in which discussion focuses on interpreting a central text, not for the purpose of finding a "right" answer, but rather to articulate, challenge, clarify, and thereby improve one's understanding, "not to repair the world, but to reveal it" (Parker, 2001).

This prior research is in keeping with the present study in arguing that purpose shapes the frame for a discussion, and that different purposes which frame discussions differently lead to different "genres" of discussion. However, like other research on discussion which has focused on the relationships among individuals, rather than among utterances, this focus on purpose seems to imply that an individual's intention—the teacher's purpose—determines or "specifies" the frame for discussion, and that both that purpose and that frame result in stable features or "models for leading discussions" (Parker, 2001). However, hypothetical narrative discussions, though they often seemed to have the same purpose (to clarify students' understanding of a historical event through

comparison to a hypothetical one), varied in their discursive features. The fact that the genre of hypothetical narrative discussions included variations is in keeping with notions of speech genres as "relatively stable" social conventions which have accumulated over time, but which are nevertheless "flexible...and free" (Bakhtin et al., 1986, p. 121-127). This finding follows other research that addresses genres associated with recitation and discussion not as a stable set of rules, but as regularities of discursive form and content connected to social relationships and to participation in communities with shared practices (Freedman & Medway, 1994, p. 1). In relation to research on classroom discourse, more specifically, it adds the idea that pedagogical genres may be discursively negotiated among teachers and students through repeated reframing of interactions like recitation or discussion. That is, the nature of dialogic discussions may vary according to their according to their purposes (Parker, 2001, 2006; Parker & Hess, 2001), but also to their overlap with other, narrative genres (Juzwik et al., 2008), and according to their relationship to other, similar classroom interactions.

The discussions in Dave's class overlapped with the genre of "what if...?" stories, which has also been described by research in Social Studies education (e.g., Husbands & Pendry, 2000). Variations on the "what if...?" story have also been described by research on oral narrative genres (e.g., Georgakopoulou, 2007; Juzwik, 2006; Ochs & Capps, 2001). The hypothetical narrative discussions generated in Dave's class differed from other, similar narrative genres in ways that seemed relevant to how dialogic discussions shape and are shaped by the relationship among utterances. Instead of Ochs and Capps's (2001) *irrealis* sequencing of unrealized events in past, present, or future realms (like imagined alternative endings to sporting events), these narratives juxtaposed historical

events and contemporary contexts. For example, instead of animating students as WWI soldiers in a trench, it asked them to imagine trench warfare with a rival class taking place on the Talbott football field. That is, unlike Juzwik's (2006) hypothetical narratives, in which the teacher cast the present-day students as characters in a generic past event (p. 510), the hypothetical narrative discussions in Dave's classroom brought the historical event into the contexts of their state, town, and classroom, making the past part of students' present experience. Dave's interview commentary on his careful choices of which city to compare to the post-WWII division of Berlin suggested that this juxtaposition of past event and present context was important to how students might respond. Indeed, the familiarity of those contexts and the fantastical, quality of the situations may have made it more possible for students to participate in elaborating the scenario. The multiple, conflicting details supplied by students from the point of view of the present/past inhabitants of an invaded city or a WWI trench also resembled the "turn-by-turn co-authoring and negotiation of details in the taleworld" characteristic of Georgakopolou's (2007) "projections" (p. 47-48), another sub-genre of the "what if...?" narrative. Morson (1994) and Bernstein (1994) call such intimations of what else might have been "sideshadowing," contrasting them with the "foreshadowing" and "backshadowing" that portray events as coherent and inevitable predictors or precursors. In Dave's classroom, these multiple, conflicting perspectives may have emphasized the uncertainty and ambiguity of the historical event, and thus created a more complex account of it than might have been possible if the narrative had been told by a single teller (Wertsch, 2002).

There were also moments when hypothetical narratives appeared in Dave's class which were not accompanied by discussion. These moments are equally telling for understanding how this genre emerged and when it was or was not brought to bear on the production and interpretation of utterances. For example, the animation of students as bank, company, and stockholder, during one lesson, resembled Juzwik's (2006) hypothetical narratives, because the teacher animated the present-day students as figures in a past event (p. 510). In this narrative, associated with the 1920s stock market crash, there was little relationship between students' experiences and the topic and few opportunities to bring turns into conversation by disagreeing. As such, the interaction resembled recitation more than dialogic discussion, and one student's disruptive behavior may have been a response to this framing of the interaction. The absence of discussion in this interaction may be due to the *realis* quality of this hypothetical narrative, which sequenced events that had already taken place rather than unrealized events that were unlikely to happen. Another hypothetical narrative, about collective bargaining also failed to produce discussion (and included frame-breaking behavior), perhaps because it, too, used the *realis* factual conditional mood to sequence events that were unrealized but likely to happen: Because students knew they did, in fact, "have a test next Thursday," they tried to use their roles in the hypothetical narrative as union negotiators who could "strike" if they were not allowed to use their notes, in response to which the teacher ended the narrative to avoid a confrontation. These examples suggested that hypothetical narrative discussions were a discussion genre in Dave's class that depended on the nature of the juxtaposition of historical and hypothetical events and how it related to students' present situation.

In this section, I have addressed the nature of the pedagogical genre of hypothetical narrative discussions that emerged in Dave's class. The examples of this genre had similar features with regard to how they brought students' experiences into relationship with historical events through hypothetical comparisons. They differed from other, similar genres in that they brought the past into the present rather than animating students as historical figures. Moreover, while they had similar purposes, the discursive features of these discussions varied, particularly with regard to how "close" the hypothetical events were to students' contemporary situation, an aspect which seemed to affect subsequent discussion.

7.3.2 Relationship to other interactions. While some previous research on dialogic discussions have described what might be called "genres" of discussion (Hess, 2002, 2004; Mercer, 1995; Parker, 2001, 2006; Parker & Hess, 2001; Wells, 1999), and some studies have examined how discussions arise during different kinds of activities, like small-group work (Nystrand et al., 1997), few studies have addressed whether and how discussions are shaped by their relationship to other classroom interactions. The hypothetical narrative discussions described above often appeared in Dave's class during review of textbook questions which had been assigned for homework. Teacher questions that call for recall of facts, definitions, and textbook knowledge, in Social Studies classrooms, have often been associated with recitations (Dillon, 1994; Hess, 2004; Parker, 2001). However, because this kind of interaction in Dave's class was often an opportunity for discussion, what might have appeared to be recitation, because of the presence of inauthentic, lower-order questions, and might not have produced discussion in another context, was affected by the way that type of interaction had been framed

during previous lessons. But it was not only previous interactions which seemed to shape discussion in Dave's class. The hypothetical narrative discussion of trench warfare may also have been affected by the fact that it preceded a "Letter Home from the Trenches" assignment, which similarly asked students to imagine themselves into an historical event. These examples suggest that lesson activities which precede and follow discussions, in addition to other discussions of the same "genre," can also shape the nature of discussions.

Dave's post-lesson interview commentary on the hypothetical narratives about the stock market crash and the Berlin airlift also suggested that the framing of those interactions was shaped by his participation in other, similar interactions with the classes he taught earlier in the day. Prior research has called for study of how teaching the same lesson to different students might affect the nature of instruction (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 91; Sawyer, 2001a, p. 209). Of the two examples described here, one led to discussion and the other did not. In one, a student's question became an opportunity to insert an explanation of the stock market which Dave thought was needed. This interaction did not result in discussion, perhaps because the explanation was not as closely related to students' experiences (it was a *realis* narrative that re-enacted the relationship among company, bank, and stockholder, of which students had little prior knowledge), or perhaps because it was not as closely related to other utterances in the interaction (it did not answer Victoria's initial question). In the other example, previous classes' difficulty with hypothetical comparisons between the division of Berlin and other important cities (like Vatican City and Washington, D.C.) affected Dave's eventual use of the state capital, instead. That is, through his participation in the same type of interaction with

other classes, Dave was able to bring the historical/hypothetical event closer to students' experiences.

This analysis of the emergence of, and variations on, hypothetical narrative discussions in Dave's class did not address the issue raised by previous Social Studies education research of how teachers and students prepare for discussions. Preparation by students and teachers was identified as one of several elements which contribute to the success of discussions of controversial public issues in secondary Social Studies (Hess, 2002); discussions often fail when students have not done the necessary reading or research to prepare (Hess, 2004). In Dave's class, discussions often followed review of textbook homework questions, however, this reading does not seem to have served as preparation for discussion: Indeed, discussions often appeared to be prompted by the need to clarify what students had not understood about the Schlieffen plan, the stock market crash, or the Berlin airlift. Perhaps what is important about preparation is that, like the hypothetical narratives which brought historical events into familiar, contemporary settings, it allows students to contribute to discussion by bringing them closer to the past.

7.4 Chapter 7 Summary

1. The framing of an interaction (like a homework review or a discussion) can shape the framing of subsequent, similar interactions.
2. The repeated reframing of similar interactions can result in recurring genres of classroom interaction, like hypothetical narrative discussion.

3. Hypothetical narratives which sequence unrealized events that are unlikely to happen may encourage discussion more than those which sequence events which were already realized and/or are likely to happen.
4. Lesson activities which precede and follow discussion can shape the frame for that discussion.
5. The framing of an interaction can be shaped by the teacher's participation in the framing of a similar interaction with earlier class periods.

8. Discussion and Implications

Below, I first summarize the preceding chapters of this dissertation and then situate my findings about discussions and discursive relationships in light of prior research before considering the theoretical, methodological, and practical limitations and implications of this study. I close with a summary of claims made in this dissertation.

8.1 Summary

In chapter 1, I provided an overview of this dissertation on how the relationship among utterances shapes and is shaped by the roles, relationships, and responses of teachers and students during recitations and discussions. Chapter 2 reviewed the research on these two types of pedagogical interactions: Much previous research has noted the persistence of recitations. Fewer studies have described the nature of discussions: though they have been correlated in several studies with higher student achievement in secondary English classes, they remain comparatively rare in American classrooms. As such, they are often defined as the opposite of recitations in terms of teacher/student control and the nature of teacher questions posed during the interaction. In focusing on who controls the interaction and what discursive moves individuals make, prior research has paid less attention to the relationships among utterances and how they shape the interaction of discussion. Based on that review of the literature, I identified several related problems for study in this dissertation.

To address these problems, I articulated a theoretical framework drawing on interactional sociolinguistic assumptions and concepts: that discourse shapes and is shaped by the *frame*, or definition of the roles, relationships, and responses possible during interactions like recitations or discussions; that the frame is negotiated through

strategies like *animation*, in which speakers attribute intentions, words, and actions to others, and like *double voicing*, whereby participants take up others' discourse in order to express their own stances or *alignments* toward it; that such interactions are *emergent* when discourse is continually reinterpreted and becomes irreducible to individual intentions; and that repeated reframing of similar interactions can lead to the emergence of pedagogical *genres*.

I applied this theoretical framework to discourse analysis of data collected or generated primarily in three different research contexts: a rural 12th grade Composition class at Marquette High School taught by Sami Ghanem, a Lebanese, non-native English speaking female; an urban 10th grade Literature class at Magnum Appan High School taught by Tamara Jefferson, an African American female; and a suburban 9th grade Social Studies class at Talbott High School taught by Dave Weber, a European American male. Data sources, including field notes, lesson videos, reflections, and interviews associated with thirty lessons, were transcribed, coded, and analyzed with attention to how the use of sociolinguistic elements like verb tense, pronouns, reported speech, tone, laughter, and repetition signaled relationships among utterances and changes in the interactional frame.

In chapter 4, I addressed the problem that, although prior studies have found discussions often occurred during recitations, little research has described how one arises from the other. In addition, prior work on recitations and discussions has tended to focus on individuals and on stable patterns of discourse (like the **I**nitiate-**R**espond-**E**valuate cycle), rather than on how these interactions are negotiated among teacher and students in particular contexts, and how they might vary in form and purpose. How do recitations

give rise to dialogic discourse? What kinds of discourse accompany these transitions? In this chapter, I showed that recitation can become more dialogic when animation and double voicing are used to propose and accept reframing of the interaction, bringing events and stances toward them into relationship.

The focus of chapter 5 was the problem of addressing classroom discourse in terms of teacher/student control or in terms of whether questions allow multiple, possible answers, and thus neglecting the relationship between speakers and the foci of their discussion. How do discussions bring a topic into relationship with students' experiences? How do these juxtapositions shape the interactions of discussions? In this chapter, I illustrated how recitation can give rise to discussion when historical events are brought into relationship with familiar, contemporary settings, allowing students to contribute from their own perspectives, making past events more present and personal, and creating parallel narrative frames that index class members and thus affect their interactions during discussion.

Chapter 6 also examined the problem of defining dialogic discussions in terms of multiple speakers and multiple interpretations. But in this chapter, I addressed the lack of attention in prior research to the relationships among turns in discussion, especially when those relationships involve disagreement. How do discussions bring different alignments toward events into relationship? How do these juxtapositions of alignments shape the interactions of discussions? My analyses in this chapter suggested that disagreement does not necessarily bring alignments into relationship and lead to discussions; on the other hand, recitations can become discussions through double-voiced disagreement, whereby participants use others' words to indirectly criticize their alignments toward events,

increasingly taking on each others' language, and provoking further discussion through narrative (re)framing of the interaction, itself.

In chapter 7, I addressed the problem that discussions have often been defined separately from their relationship to other classroom discourse interactions. How do other activities during a lesson contribute to the nature of discussions? How do participants' experiences with other, similar, recurring interactions shape discussions? In this chapter, I showed that the framing of prior and subsequent activities can shape the interactional frame for discussions, leading to the repetition of relatively stable conventions for a type of interaction, or genre. In particular, the emergence of and variations on the pedagogical genre of hypothetical narrative discussions suggested that how close hypothetical/historical events were to students' contemporary experiences could affect the nature of discussions.

Having summarized how I addressed my research questions in this dissertation study, I now situate my findings in prior research, and explore their contributions and implications for theorizing, investigating, and teaching about classroom discussions.

8.2 Reframing recitation and dialogic discussion

Below, I address each of my research questions, bringing my findings into relationship with research in English education, classroom discourse, and interactional sociolinguistics relevant to the study of recitations and discussions. In the first section, I address the question of how classroom interactions like recitations and discussions are established, maintained, and negotiated among teachers and students, including how recitations become discussions and what kinds of discourse accompany these transitions.

Specifically, I argue for attention to the interactional frame in research on dialogic discussions (rather than questions, evaluations, or uptake).

8.2.1 Focusing on the frame. Previous research on discussions in English and Social Studies education has tended to focus on questions as the primary means by which dialogic discourse is engendered. This focus is in keeping with over a century of research on recitations which has influenced study of discussions: whereas questions associated with recitations are inauthentic and require little thinking, questions associated with discussions are authentic and encourage higher-order analysis and evaluation (Applebee et al., 2003; Basmadjian, 2005; Billings & Fitzgerald, 2002; Chinn et al., 2001; Marshall et al., 1995; McCann, 2006; Nystrand et al., 1997; Nystrand et al., 2003; Wolf, Meiras, & Cary, 1996). However, my research suggests that attention to the nature of questions may not always explain how discussions are established, maintained, and negotiated among teacher and students. In chapters 4, 5, and 6, inauthentic, lower-order thinking questions were followed by dialogic discourse. In chapter 4, although Sami ostensibly asked her students only to identify what grammatical clause had been used, they engaged in evaluation and negotiation of the journal entry activity, using grammar for rhetorical, as well as mechanical, purposes; likewise, a "quick review" question about defining verbal irony led not only to struggle over the nature of the activity, but also to sophisticated uses of that very concept, as Colby and Tamara parodied each others' responses. In chapters 5 and 6, questions that seemed to require recall of textbook answers or previous classwork preceded discussions in Dave's and Tamara's classes of the impact and ethics of wartime decisions in which students built on each other's contributions, disagreed with each other and the teacher, and even changed their alignments toward those events. Furthermore, in

chapter 6, what seemed like an authentic, higher-order question about another ethical decision in Tamara's 4th hour class was not followed by conversation in which turns were related and students built on each other's contributions. Finally, in chapter 7, what appeared to be recitation questions that required only recall from the textbook, in Dave's class, often led to discussion because of repeated reframing of such homework reviews as opportunities for further discussion; and an "authentic" student question was not followed by discussion in part because that particular lesson activity was shaped by the teacher's previous participation in similar interactions during other class periods. Thus the authenticity and order of thinking apparent in questions in these data did not always correspond with the dialogic relationships among utterances evident in the subsequent discourse. Rather, the nature of those questions, and their relationships to the discourse that followed, seemed to depend on the frame for the interaction in each lesson activity.

Mine is not the only study to note that authentic or inauthentic questions do not always accompany dialogic discussion. Kachur and Prendergast (1997) described how the discourse in one classroom, though it contained a high proportion of questions coded as authentic, in the end seemed more like recitation than discussion because of the "pattern of interruptions and hasty evaluations that characterize[d] the exchange.... Given this classroom context, students were hard pressed to consider any question the teacher asked as genuinely 'authentic'" (p. 76-77). Similarly, these researchers found few authentic questions (or questions of any kind) in another classroom which was nevertheless characterized by an "atmosphere" of "mutual respect" and "positive classroom culture" (p. 80). These two examples led the authors to suggest that "even

inauthentic questions...can foster a dialogic atmosphere" depending on "how teachers negotiate this larger classroom context" (p. 83-84):

> ultimately, then, understanding how Ms. Jansen's ostensibly 'authentic' class talk could be stifling and Mr. Kramer's seemingly 'inauthentic' class talk could be invigorating required examining not just teacher talk or student talk per se, but the *interactions* between teachers and students.... In these two classrooms it was the *context* of each class session, built by the interactions...that determined the authenticity of the teacher's questions in students' eyes (p. 84, emphasis in original).

Read in light of my dissertation study, this analysis of the nature of questions, and how they related to the subsequent discourse, suggests that the interactional frame may be a more appropriate focus for defining and distinguishing recitations and dialogic discussions.

Addressing the interactional frame, instead of the nature of questions posed, as a means of defining and distinguishing recitations and dialogic discussions is also in keeping with current understandings of dialogism. First, an understanding of the interactional frame as discursively constructed is in keeping with dialogism's focus on discourse, rather than individuals (Bakhtin, 1984, 1981, 1986a; Lawrence & Fendler, 2009; Morson & Emerson, 1990). In this respect, the interactional frame helps to define what Nystrand et al. (1997) has called "the social logic of reciprocity" (p. 10, 81) or "the organized interrelationships of...the speakers [and]...what the...social logic of their interrelationships demands of them" (Medvedev & Bakhtin, 1978, p. 153). Those interrelationships were organized by discourse. The dialogic interactions described in

chapters 4-7 were framed by the relationships among utterances, not by the teacher's intentions, alone. For example, the accounts of Germany's invasion of Belgium and of trench warfare in Dave's class were unexpected and complexly composed of conflicting details and alignments toward the event—irreducible to individual, precedent intentions. Likewise, the increasing regularities in the discourse of the debate during Tamara's 6th hour class seemed to take on a life of their own, shaping subsequent responses beyond what any single speaker had contributed. The whole was greater than the sum of its parts: Teacher and student participation was enabled and constrained by its relationship to prior and subsequent discourse. In short, dialogic discussion depends not on who controls the discussion but on what is being said in the context of a particular, emergent interactional frame.

Second, an understanding of the interactional frame as the dynamic result of collective negotiation is in keeping with dialogism's focus on "a word about a word to a word" (Bakhtin, 1984, 1986a, p. 266), or the way discourse is shaped by prior uses and addressed to a particular audience. This understanding of the interactional frame as "more or less predetermined" (Chinn et al., 2001, p. 381) helps to explain the way in which accumulation of experiences produces regularities in discourse that nevertheless remain open to new possibilities (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 166; Morson & Emerson, 1990). For example, in Dave's class, textbook review questions which might otherwise have led to recitation were framed as an opportunity for further discussion; on the other hand, hypothetical narrative did not always lead to discussion in Dave's class. That is, dialogic discussion depends not on the presence (or absence) of patterns like I-R-E, but on how

such patterns of discourse are conditioned (not determined) by the (re)framing of classroom interactions.

Third, an understanding of the interactional frame as related to animation and alignment is in keeping with dialogism's focus on how a speaker makes "use of someone else's words for his [sic] own purposes" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 189). These aspects of the interactional frame, and the way speakers propose and accept changes in it, help to distinguish between two senses of dialogism (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 150). In one sense, *all* discourse has dialogic potential, since it always involves taking up and responding to other uses of language for particular purposes. But *double voicing*, a second sense of dialogism, may be most applicable to discussions in which speakers take up a passage from the class text, identify with an historical/literary figure (like Dave's 9th graders), or take issue with what someone else has just said (like Tamara's 6th hour class). That is, dialogic discussion depends not on the presence of multiple voices in discussion, but on the relationships among turns in conversation.

But why the interactional frame, rather than another unit of analysis? For instance, a different possibility suggested by previous research might be evaluations (i.e., the "E" in the I-R-E sequence of teacher **I**nitiates, student **R**esponds, teacher **E**valuates). Indeed, a focus on evaluative follow-ups helped to explain the function of the ironic responses to others' contributions made by Tamara and her 10th grade literature students at Magnum Appan during their discussion of Hiroshima. In that chapter 6 example, evaluative follow-ups by teacher and students, like "So you're saying...," "Wait, but Kevin said...," and "You see how Brian said...," juxtaposed a speaker's contribution with a counter-example, double voicing and thus indirectly criticizing another's alignment in ways that

provoked further debate. In short, evaluations turned inauthentic questions into opportunities for discussion.

In fact, some research has already addressed how such "follow-ups" can make a difference to the value and purposes of recitation (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1999, 1993), and can promote or sustain discussion by encouraging students to theorize (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) or to debate a common definition or principle (Wells, 1999, pp. 200-202). However, in chapter 6, a focus on the evaluative follow-ups, alone, does not account for how the irony of those follow-ups allowed teacher and students to understand that what appeared to be recitation was more like "playing devil's advocate": that is, both parties understood the teacher's criticism of student responses, within the particular frame of the interaction, to be an ironic attempt to encourage further discussion. As with addressing questions as a unit of analysis, a focus on evaluative follow-ups would not account for how "the context for each class session, built by the interactions" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 84) shaped and was shaped by that evaluative follow-up, which might serve to close down or encourage further discussion, depending on the interactional frame.

Why not focus on uptake? Previous research has identified "uptake" (Collins, 1982; Nystrand et al., 1997, pp. 38-39) as a discursive feature associated with dialogic discussions in which a student or the teacher "picks up on a student's response" by asking another person a question about what s/he has just said (for example "What makes you say that?"). Unlike authentic/inauthentic questions, which focus on the relationships between individuals, this discursive feature matches my dissertation's focus on the relationships among utterances. Like animation, it is often "marked by the use of

pronouns" (Collins, 1982; Nystrand et al., 1997, pp. 38-39); like double voicing, it involves "use of someone else's words for [one's] own purposes" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 189). However, uptake, by the definition above, did not often appear in my data. For this reason, and based on the recurrence in Tamara's 6th hour discussion of discursive elements like rhetorical questions, I argued in chapter 6 for including in the definition of "uptake" the repetition of phrases and sentence structures used by previous speakers; this repetition of others' words, in the context of debate, has been called "format tying," and has been shown to promote and sustain out-of-classroom discussions characterized by disagreement (M. Goodwin, 1990, pp. 177-185); likewise, in chapter 4, I argued that "uptake" in research on dialogic discussions should be expanded to include not only others' words and ideas, but also the kind of uptake practiced by Andy and Sami when they imitated Nathan's use of the journal entry activity to comment indirectly on classroom events. The definition of uptake currently used in research on dialogic discussions does not account for these dialogic relationships among utterances.

However, these examples might be in keeping with a broader definition of uptake as the relationships established by illocutionary acts and responses to them (Austin, 1962). By this definition, answering a question might be considered uptake because it accepts the relationship implied by the asking. As such, this broader definition, though it would account for the examples of dialogic discourse mentioned above, would also include the I-R-E exchange often associated with recitation as an example of uptake. This early definition of uptake is therefore too broad to be useful as a unit of analysis in defining and distinguishing recitations and discussions.

Moreover, a focus on a unit of analysis at the level of the utterance, like questions, evaluative follow-ups, or uptake would not account for the relationships among discussions and other, similar interactions framed by classroom discourse. For example, in chapter 5, a recitation of textbook answers concerning WWI events like Schlieffen plan, in Dave Weber's 9th grade Social Studies classroom, was followed by discussion of the German invaders' impact on Belgium. What explains the fact that student responses to the seemingly inauthentic question "What was the Schlieffen plan?" could include not only the textbook answer, "It called for holding action against Russia," but also evaluations from students like "I didn't understand that at all" that seemed to implicitly request further clarification? Chapter 7 suggested that a textbook homework review, in Dave's class, could become an opportunity for discussion because of what preceded or followed that review, like the discussion of trench warfare and the "Letter Home from the Trenches" homework activity, or because of Dave's students' participation in other, similar review sessions in his class in which textbook answers were often a jumping-off point for discussion. That is, a focus on the interactional frame—rather than utterances, like questions, responses, and evaluations—in defining dialogic discussions, may account for the way an interaction is framed by its place in a sequence of activities, as well as by the repeated reframing of other, similar lesson activities.

In this first section, I have situated my findings concerning the negotiation of classroom interactions among teachers and students. My data suggested that a focus on the discursive interactional frame, and the relationship among utterances, rather than a focus on teacher/student control and individual questions, may be a way to theorize

dialogic discussions that extends and challenges definitions of this type of interaction in previous English education research.

8.2.2 From recitation to discussion. A focus on the interactional frame as a means of establishing, maintaining, and negotiating classroom interactions allowed me to further address my research question about the relationship between recitation and discussion. Prior research has suggested that recitations and discussions often co-occur (e.g., Nystrand et al., 1997), but little research has described how one becomes the other, or what kinds of discourse accompany the transition. In chapter 4-7, I showed that what began as recitation could become more dialogic through the proposal and acceptance of revisions to the interactional frame. These proposals were made through the use of animation and double voicing, whereby speakers brought events and different alignments toward them into relationship. For example, in chapter 4, Nathan's, Andy's, and Sami's readings of their "journal entries" proposed and reframed revision of an activity from one in which students shared their writing in order to demonstrate knowledge of grammatical clauses to one in which class members could comment indirectly on classroom events. The readings did this by animating class members and describing their behavior in ways that double voiced, or indirectly criticized, that behavior, prompting further responses. In chapter 5, Shirin's question and Dave's imagination exercise proposed and accepted a reframing of a textbook question review activity as one in which teacher and students elaborated a hypothetical narrative together based on a historical event under study. In that narrative, students were animated as figures, allowing them to comment from a first-person perspective on a hypothetical/historical event. In chapter 6, what began with a review of what the class had said about the maxim "All's fair in love and war" was

reframed as a debate over the ethics of the WWII bombing of Hiroshima; in that debate, animating and double voicing previous speakers resulted in their rejoining the conversation to defend their alignments toward the topic. Chapter 7 showed that not all reframing proposals are accepted: Victoria's question about stockbrokers seemed like one which might allow a reframing of review as hypothetical narrative discussion, as had previously been the case in Dave's class, but this did not occur even after another attempt, by Jon, to challenge the frame for the interaction. Animation and double voicing were thus important strategies for making and accepting reframing proposals.

These reframing proposals depended in part on discursive features often marginalized by other methodologies, such as word choice, tone, syntax, gestures, laughter, and other methods of signaling situation and relationship (Gumperz, 1982). Attention to these discursive features was thus useful in describing the emergence of the interactional frame and particularly how discussions arose from recitations. Such features were also important to identifying and describing "frame-breaking" behavior associated with resistance to recitation and variations on discussion genres.

For instance, chapters 5 and 7 suggested that the reframing proposals made by animating other speakers, and thereby bringing events into relationship, were associated with changes in verb tense and pronoun use. As Dave and his students animated themselves and others as figures in hypothetical narrative discussions, they shifted from using past tense and "they" to describe the historical figures to using present tense and "I/you." These shifts occurred emergently, without explicit direction from any one participant.

In chapter 6, as Tamara and her students double voiced what others had just said in order to indirectly criticize their alignments toward the bombing of Hiroshima, tone and syntax played an important role in communicating the ironic use of reported speech. In addition to adopting this playfully ironic, double-voiced means of disagreement, speakers increasingly used the same phrases and sentence structures as the emergent frame exerted an influence on their subsequent responses.

In chapters 4-7, laughter often accompanied moments when the frame was "breaking (or cracking) up" (Goffman, 1986, p. 352). In chapter 4, nervous laughter marked the moment when Nathan used his journal entry to animate and criticize his teacher, subverting the purpose of the grammar activity as initially framed; it also appeared when Colby and Tamara parodied each other's words, tone, and gestures through double voicing. Laughter also accompanied Jon's "mugging," in chapter 7, which may have been an attempt to disrupt a narrative that animated him in ways he did not like. And Penny's and Tom's collective bargaining about next Thursday's test also produced laughter. That laughter accompanied these moments is not surprising, since irony (which is sometimes produced by double-voiced criticism—or parody—like that used by many of the participants in these examples) is integral to humor. However, laughter has also been associated with the negotiation of the interactional frame, or how participants in social interactions move between laughing *at* and laughing *with* (Glenn, 2003, pp. 112-122). These were all moments that strained, challenged, or broke the frame because individuals were animated in a role with which they did not identify and thus sought to reframe the situation.

Indeed, attention to the interactional frame has allowed me to distinguish recitation as a "fabrication," in which either teachers or students appear to be "dupes" for not realizing what the other already knows (Goffman, 1986, pp. 351-352), a situation which participants in my study often resisted through "frame-breaking" behavior. The idea of the fabricated frame explains the reactions of Nathan and Colby in chapter 4: they answered questions that asked them to demonstrate knowledge of grammatical clauses or to recall the definition of verbal irony in ways that fulfilled the teachers' expectations while also cleverly signaling that they were not "contained" (p. 352) within the fabrication of what appeared to be recitation. In chapter 6, Tamara capitalized on that same strategy, using irony to simultaneously frame and parody a fabrication in which she pretended to misunderstand students' answers in order to encourage further discussion.

Attention to interactional sociolinguistic features has thus allowed me to describe how recitations can become discussions through emergence of the interactional frame. In my study, reframing proposals were made by teachers and students through animation and double voicing. A methodology informed by interactional sociolinguistics allowed me to identify the discourse that accompanied moments at which these proposals were made and accepted, as well as moments of "frame-breaking" behavior associated with fabrications, such as changes in word choice, syntax, tone, and laughter.

8.2.3 Relationships between *who* and *what*: juxtaposing events in discussion. In chapter 2, I noted that previous definitions of discussion, such as a "free exchange of information among students and/or between at least two students and the teacher" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 36) have suggested little about the object of discussion. In focusing on dialogic discourse in terms of relationships among utterances (rather than

among people), I asked whether and how discussions might depend on relationships between speakers and the topic: Does *what* is being discussed matter, in addition to *who*? How do discussions bring historical/literary figures and events into relationship with the situation of the participants?

In my data, one type of juxtaposition of events that seemed to bring speakers and the topic of discussion into relationship involved animating students as figures in historical/literary events through narrative discourse. In chapters 5 and 7, Dave and his students animated themselves and each other in ways that identified them with historical figures like the WWI inhabitants of Belgium, trench soldiers, stock market lenders and investors, union negotiators, and post-WWII Berliners. In some cases, identifying with these historical figures seemed to make the past more present and personal for participants, as evidenced by discursive changes in their use of verb tense and personal pronouns. This change may have been possible because of the way the narratives brought historical events into relationship with contemporary settings more familiar to students in a hypothetical narrative. Because students were both figures in and co-authors of that narrative, they were able to participate from their own perspectives and to take different alignments toward the events, disagreeing with each other and even their teacher. In chapter 6, Tamara similarly encouraged her students to imagine themselves into events from Hersey's Hiroshima and to take different alignments toward those events in ways that promoted discussion.

These findings are in keeping with other research in English and Social Studies education on the relationships between students' experiences and academic subject matter. Prior research suggests that students—especially low achievers, poor students,

and non-native English speakers—fare better when instruction connects to their previous experiences (Freedman et al., 1999; G. Ladson-Billings, 1995; Gloria Ladson-Billings, 1995; J. Langer, 1992, 2001, 2002; J. Langer et al., 1990; C. Lee, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2006b, 2006a; Losey, 1995; Rex, 2001). Further, envisioning the story world of a literary text has been show to increase student comprehension and engagement (J. Langer, 1990, 1992; Wilhelm, 1997), and imagining themselves into the midst of an historical event through narrative discourse may also increase students' empathy and authority with regard to those events (Husbands & Pendry, 2000; Juzwik, 2006). In particular, research has suggested that students may be encouraged to explore alternative, "sideshadowing" possibilities (Bernstein, 1994; Morson, 1994) by the hypothetical quality of narratives which sequence unrealized events (Juzwik, 2006; Ochs & Capps, 2001).

However, this previous work has not focused on how such hypothetical narratives can be elaborated by multiple tellers, promoting discussion. Moreover, in these prior studies, students were often cast as figures in historical events, or hypothetical scenarios that sequenced events which, though unrealized, were not unlikely. In chapter 7, Dave's use of such a *realis* hypothetical narrative about the stock market crash, though it may have clarified the relationships among companies, lenders, and investors, did not result in discussion. In fact, it produced "frame-breaking" resistance from Jon to the constraints of the interactional frame. Similarly, another *realis* hypothetical narrative about a future event that was likely to happen—"a test next Thursday"—also resulted in frame-breaking behavior rather than discussion. In contrast, three *irrealis* hypothetical narrative discussions that juxtaposed a past event and a familiar present setting in ways that were not only unrealized but clearly unlikely (such as trench warfare with a rival class on the

football field) each resulted in discussion. This dissertation extends prior research in this area by suggesting that hypothetical narratives which do not "collapse narrative events" (Juzwik, 2006, p. 511) into either the past or the future may be more likely to lead to discussion.

Attention to the interactional frame in this dissertation has also allowed analysis of the relationship in discussions between narrated events and the current interaction of the discussion, itself. In chapters 4-7, and I showed that the way narrated events framed an interaction among figures in the narrative could affect the framing of discussion among teacher and students in the classroom. In chapter 4, both Nathan and Colby referred to what their teachers had done during previous lessons; those comments, and the way they animated Sami and Tamara, both enabled and required the teachers (in order to avoid looking naïve) to respond with their own narrative critiques. In chapter 6, Tamara used this technique to provoke debate among students: For example, her juxtaposition of similar events—the bombing of Hiroshima and the terrorist attacks of 9/11—toward which Franklin seemingly had different alignments—one was fair, the other unfair—framed those events in ways that caused Franklin to re-enter the conversation in an attempt to clarify his position. In chapter 5, being animated as figures in a hypothetical narrative about the invasion of their hometown allowed students to speak with a first-hand authority about that imagined event, and even to disagree with Dave; but chapter 7's analysis of *realis* hypothetical narratives suggested that when the narrated event was too "far" from the current interaction (like the re-enactment of the stock market crash) or too "close" to the current interaction (like the collective bargaining about the test next Thursday) frame-breaking behavior ensued and disrupted the possibility of discussion.

In this section, I have situated my findings concerning how juxtaposing events brought speakers and the topic of discussion into relationship in ways that affected discussions. My data included examples of the juxtaposition of historical and hypothetical events, as well as the juxtaposition of narrated events and the classroom interactions in which they occurred. These findings may help English education researchers interested in classroom discourse analysis to better understand how recitation can be reframed as discussion by bringing events into relationship. In the next section, I address my research question about how the relationship among turns in conversation, and among different alignments or stances, shaped discussions.

8.2.4 Relationships among turns: juxtaposing alignments in discussion. My review of research on dialogic discussions suggested that previous definitions of discussion, such as a "free exchange of information among students and/or between at least two students and the teacher" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 36), do not account for the relationships among turns in discussion. Theoretically, prior research has followed Bakhtin in affirming that "discourse is not dialogic because the speakers take turns, but because it is continually structured by tension, even conflict..." (p. 8) and that "it is conflict, not harmony, that fuels response" (p. 18); in practice, few studies have addressed dialogic discussions characterized by disagreement or what kinds of "conflict talk" (Grimshaw, 1990) might promote discussion.

Disagreement is not a synonym for dialogism. In chapter 6, students disagreed in Tamara's 4th hour class about the ethics of "pulling the plug" on a suffering, terminal patient, but there was little relationship among the turns in conversation. Notably, this conversation was prompted by an authentic question which invited students to share their

personal perspectives without restriction on a controversial situation which the teacher's comments and the students' contributions suggested was relevant to their experience. While other research on discussion of controversial issues in English classrooms has focused on creating opportunities for discussion of controversial issues (e.g., Alsup, 2003; Hurlbert & Totten, 1992), on how to prepare students to participate knowledgeably in such discussions (e.g., Burron, 2006; Rogers, 2008), or on how to encourage students to share their opinions (e.g., Gaughan, 2001), few studies have described how to help students to use "others' words for [their] own purposes" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 166) in dialogic discussions of controversial issues.

By contrast, disagreement brought turns into relationship in ways that shaped discussions in chapters 4-7. One way was by simply bringing different alignments toward a topic into relationship. In chapter 5, students in Dave's class disagreed with each other (and the teacher) about the hypothetical impact of an invasion of their hometown of Talbott (which paralleled the WWI German invasion of Belgium): while Penny imagined that the army's presence might inspire people to "follow them," Amy thought the inhabitants of Talbott would "freak out". So engaging was this debate over the positive or negative impact of having an army in town that it continued even after the hypothetical narrative in Talbott was ended by Dave's reference back to the actual, historical event. Some Social Studies education research has sought to describe how students can be encouraged to participate in debate (Brice, 1998; Dillon, 1994; Hahn, 1991, 1996; Hess, 2002; Kahne, Rodriguez, & Thiedke, 2000; Singer, 2003); however, little research has suggested how participation might be encouraged by bringing different alignments toward a historical event into relationship in discussion.

Another way disagreement brought turns into relationship and shaped discussions was through double voicing. In chapter 6, as students repeated what others had already said in order to indirectly criticize their alignments toward the bombing of Hiroshima, they increasingly used similar phrases and sentence structures. This repetition of others' words during disagreement has been shown in some cases to promote and sustain debate (M. Goodwin, 1990, pp. 177-185). Moreover, these students used "if...then..." propositions, citation of other speakers, juxtaposition of counter-examples, and ironic, rhetorical questions—all patterns of language use that one might associate with academic, persuasive discourse. Double-voiced disagreement may thus be a means by which to encourage students to gain experience with the language of argumentation (C. Lee, 2006a; Rabinowitz, 1987; M. Smith, 1991) and to help students participate in disciplinary discourses, especially those students for whom academic language may be less familiar, or less welcoming (Gutierrez et al., 1999; C. Lee, 2006a; Morrell, 2008).

One final way that disagreement brought turns into relationship and shaped discussions in my data was through the relationship between narrated events and speakers' alignments toward them. In chapters 4 and 6, narrative discourse sometimes suggested certain stances toward events and people in ways that provoked further discussion. In chapter 4, Nathan's "journal entry" reading told a story about Sami's behavior in a way that indirectly communicated Nathan's negative alignment toward that behavior, and toward the journal entry activity; Colby's imitation of Tamara's "teacher voice" accomplished a similar subtle criticism. For Sami and Tamara to not respond to these criticisms might have been to seem naïve or cowardly. As such they responded in kind with their own narratives, which both demonstrated that they "got" the implicit

criticisms and communicated opposing alignments. Further, in chapter 6, narratives generated by Tamara and her students often referred to what a student had just said, framing that speaker's participation in a way with which s/he did not agree, and thereby influencing his/her subsequent participation in discussion. This repeated "realignment" of the frame, employed by Tamara and her students, thus made use of the "frame-breaking" behavior which participants often exhibit when they are cast in or forced to play a social role with which they do not identify (Goffman, 1986, pp. 351-352) to provoke further discussion.

Other classroom discourse analytic research has described similar "revoicing" strategies (C. Lee, 2006a; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) as means of fostering discussions in Science and English classes. However, it has not addressed such strategies in terms of the relationships among alignments. And while some research has examined the relationships among narratives and dialogic discussion (Juzwik et al., 2008) and among narratives and the negotiation of conflicting alignments (Juzwik, 2010; Ochs & Capps, 2001), these studies research have not addressed how narrated events can bring different alignments into relationship in ways that foster dialogic discussion.

Above, I have addressed my research question about how the relationships among turns in discussion, and particularly among speakers' different alignments, can affect that interaction. My data suggested that, while not all disagreement results in discussion, disagreement can bring turns in discussion into relationship in three ways: by juxtaposing different alignments, by juxtaposing events toward which a speaker has different alignments, and by framing a speaker in a way with which s/he does not agree. Before

turning to my final research question, I consider one implication of comparing the previous two sections.

In the preceding two sections, I addressed how the relationships between the frame for narrated events and the frame for the current classroom interaction affected discussion. In chapters 5 and 7, how students in Dave's class were animated as figures in a narrative affected their participation in discussion. In chapter 6, how narratives framed what students had just said in Tamara's 6th hour often encouraged further participation. And in chapters 4-7, narratives by students, as well as the teachers, were part of reframing proposals whereby recitation gave rise to dialogic discourse. It is no surprise that narratives were an important part of the discourse in these English and Social Studies classrooms, as these are disciplines in which narratives are often the focus, as well as the means, of meaning making. Indeed, in some English classes, "story makes sense of story" (Juzwik & Sherry, 2005) as students tell oral narratives in response to literary ones (Juzwik et al., 2008); and in National Social Studies curriculum, which includes a strand devoted to "Time, Continuity, and Change," the word "narrative" appears 184 times in state standards across the U.S., including the state in which this research took place (Center for History and New Media, 2008; Singer, 2003). In these classes, narratives of historical/literary events were not only the objects of discussion but also a means by which students' experiences and alignments were brought into relationship in ways that fostered dialogic discourse. In this sense, narratives functioned as "boundary objects" which occasioned discussion by creating "dialogic spaces" (Anagnostopolous et al., 2008). That is, narratives in these classrooms created accounts of lived experiences, practices, and thought which were poised on the boundary between past/present,

real/imaginary, and fair/unfair to which students could respond. Moreover, when these narratives indexed students and teachers (implicitly or explicitly), they were implicated, and their participation in discussion was enabled and constrained. While previous studies have shown that narrated events can overlap with storytelling events (Jakobson, 1971; Wortham, 1994, 2001), little research has described how narratives that index class members can promote dialogic discussion.

8.2.5 Relationships with other classroom interactions: pedagogical genres. Prior research on classroom discourse has applied the notion of genre, or recurring conventions of social interaction (e.g., Bakhtin, 1984; Devitt, 1993; C. Miller, 1984; Swales, 1990), not only to written discourse (e.g., Bazerman, 1997, 1988; Bazerman et al., 2009; Freedman & Medway, 1994; Hicks, 1995) but also to talk and behavior in classrooms. For example, previous classroom discourse research has identified as "speech genres" (Bakhtin, 1986a) "the lesson" (Wertsch, 1991, p. 110), I-R-E or I-R-F sequences (Lemke, 1990; Wells, 1993), authentic questions (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 91), and hypothetical narratives (Juzwik, 2006). And while some scholars have wondered whether discussion can be discerned well enough to identify discussion genres (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1999), some that have been identified include "conversational narrative discussion" in secondary English classes (Juzwik et al., 2008) and "seminars" and "deliberations" in Social Studies classes (Parker, 2001, 2006; Parker & Hess, 2001). The present study asked what other "pedagogical genres" of discussion might appear in secondary English and Social Studies classes and how such genres might be shaped by the repeated reframing of discussion interactions among teacher and students in a particular classroom.

In chapter 7, I examined five excerpts from lessons in Dave's class which included a combination of discussion and "hypothetical narrative" (Juzwik, 2006). These "hypothetical narrative discussions," juxtaposed historical and hypothetical events in which students were animated as figures and in which they participated as "co-tellers" (Ochs & Capps, 2001). For example, the German army's invasion of Belgium in WWI was juxtaposed with a hypothetical invasion of students' hometown of Talbott, and the experience of soldiers in WWI trenches was compared to a similar skirmish with a rival class on the football field. In both of these examples, students elaborate the narrative with multiple, conflicting details and consequences, imagining that the presence of the army would inspire people to "follow them" and "freak out," to flee and to "fight them," and to feel threatened and "safe"; likewise, life in the trenches was described as "claustrophobic," "powerful," "safe," "cold," "hot," "with all your friends," "hungry," "tired," "trying to fight," "going to get sick," and "waiting." Moreover, verb tense and pronoun use in the discourse of Dave and his students shifted from past to present and from "they" to "you/I" over the course of these narratives. The repeated juxtaposition of historical and hypothetical events in which students were animated as figures, in some cases, allowed them to participate as co-tellers, taking perspectives on events which were not only multiple and different, but also seemed to make the past more present and personal, bringing it into relationship with students' contemporary experiences.

The genre of hypothetical narrative discussions in Dave's class differed from other, similar discourse genres in ways that seemed relevant to how dialogic discussions shape and are shaped by the relationship among utterances. Instead of Ochs and Capps's (2001) *irrealis* sequencing of unrealized events in past, present, or future realms (like

imagined alternative endings to sporting events), these narratives juxtaposed historical events and contemporary contexts. And unlike Juzwik's (2006) hypothetical narratives, in which the teacher cast the present-day students as characters in a generic past event (p. 510), the hypothetical narrative discussions in Dave's classroom brought the historical event into the contexts of their state, town, and classroom, making the past part of students' present experience. Indeed, the familiarity of those contexts and the fantastical, quality of the situations may have made it more possible for students to participate in elaborating the scenario. The multiple, conflicting details supplied by students from the point of view of the present/past inhabitants of an invaded city or a WWI trench also resembled the "turn-by-turn co-authoring and negotiation of details in the taleworld" characteristic of Georgakopolou's (2007) "projections" (p. 47-48), another sub-genre of the "what if...?" narrative. Morson (1994) and Bernstein (1994) call such intimations of what else might have been "sideshadowing," contrasting them with the "foreshadowing" and "backshadowing" that portray events as coherent and inevitable predictors or precursors. In Dave's classroom, these multiple, conflicting perspectives may have emphasized the uncertainty and ambiguity of the historical event, and thus created a more complex account of it than might have been possible if the narrative had been told by a single teller (Wertsch, 2002).

By contrast, there were other moments when hypothetical narratives appeared in Dave's class which were not accompanied by discussion. For example, the animation of students as bank, company, and stockholder, during one lesson, resembled Juzwik's (2006) hypothetical narratives, because the teacher animated the present-day students as figures in a past event (p. 510). In this narrative, associated with the 1920s stock market

crash, there was little relationship between students' experiences and the topic and few opportunities to bring turns into conversation by disagreeing. As such, the interaction resembled recitation more than dialogic discussion, and one student's disruptive behavior may have been a response to this framing of the interaction. The absence of discussion in this interaction may be due to the *realis* quality of this hypothetical narrative, which sequenced events that had already taken place rather than unrealized events that were unlikely to happen. Another hypothetical narrative, about collective bargaining also failed to produce discussion (and included frame-breaking behavior), perhaps because it, too, used the *realis* factual conditional mood to sequence events that were unrealized but likely to happen: Because students knew they did, in fact, "have a test next Thursday," they tried to use their roles in the hypothetical narrative as union negotiators who could "strike" if they were not allowed to use their notes, in response to which the teacher ended the narrative to avoid a confrontation. These examples suggested that hypothetical narrative discussions were a discussion genre in Dave's class that depended on the nature of the juxtaposition of historical and hypothetical events and how it related to students' present situation.

The fact that the genre of hypothetical narrative discussions included variations is in keeping with notions of speech genres as "relatively stable" social conventions which have accumulated over time, but which are nevertheless "flexible...and free" (Bakhtin et al., 1986, p. 121-127). This finding follows other research that addresses genres associated with recitation and discussion not as a stable set of rules, but as regularities of discursive form and content connected to social relationships and to participation in communities with shared practices (Freedman & Medway, 1994, p. 1). In relation to

research on classroom discourse, more specifically, it adds the idea that pedagogical genres may be discursively negotiated among teachers and students through repeated reframing of interactions like recitation or discussion. That is, the nature of dialogic discussions may vary according to their overlap with other, narrative genres (Juzwik et al., 2008), according to their purposes (Parker, 2001, 2006; Parker & Hess, 2001), and according to their relationship to other discussions.

In addition to how discussions might be related to other examples of and variations on discussions, I also addressed in chapters 5, 6, and 7 how discussions might be related to other, similar interactions, such as the lesson activities which preceded and followed them. For instance, in chapters 5 and 7, I observed that in Dave's class review of textbook questions which had been assigned for homework was often an opportunity for discussion. Thus what might have appeared to be recitation, because of the presence of inauthentic, lower-order questions, and might not have produced discussion in another context, was affected by the way that type of interaction had been framed during previous lessons.

The framing of the same type of interaction during previous lessons was not the only way that other lesson activities shaped discussions in my data. In chapter 6, the lack of relationship among turns in conversation during Tamara's 4th hour might have been influenced by the fact that students were essentially reporting on journal entries they had already written; by contrast, the frequent double voicing and juxtaposing of counter-examples in her 6th hour's discussion may have been due to the fact that it preceded a position paper assignment which asked students to anticipate counter-arguments. In Dave's class, too, the hypothetical narrative discussion of trench warfare may have been

affected by the fact that it preceded a "Letter Home from the Trenches" assignment which similarly asked students to imagine themselves into an historical event. These examples suggest that lesson activities which immediately precede and follow discussions, even if they are not the same type of interaction, can also shape the nature of discussions.

Finally, Dave's post-lesson interview commentary on the hypothetical narratives about the stock market crash and the Berlin airlift suggested that the framing of those interactions was shaped by his participation in other, similar interactions with the classes he taught earlier in the day. In one case, a student's question became an opportunity to insert an explanation of the stock market which Dave thought was needed, but which did not result in discussion. In the other, previous classes' difficulty with hypothetical comparisons between the division of Berlin and other important cities (like Vatican City and Washington, D.C.) affected Dave's eventual use of the state capital, instead.

Other discourse analytic research has "traced" the conventions and variations of genres in communities (e.g., Spinuzzi, 2003), including those related to academic discourse (e.g., Bazerman, 1988; Swales, 1990), as well as how those genres are (re)mediated by talk among teacher and students (Prior, 1998). And some studies have even described the repeated recontextualization of a single, oral narrative genre (Juzwik, 2010; Ochs & Capps, 2001). However, these previous studies have not addressed how dialogic discussions are shaped by their relationship to other classroom interactions, including other discussions, other similar types of interaction, and other kinds of activities which precede and follow those discussions during a lesson. On the other hand, prior research has called for study of how teaching the same lesson to different students

might affect the nature of instruction (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 91; Sawyer, 2001a, p. 209), call answered by the present study with regard to how the framing of similar activities during earlier class periods seemed to affect the framing of interactions with later classes.

This final discussion section has addressed my research question about the relationship between discussions and other classroom interactions. My data suggested that other discussions, other similar types of interaction, and other kinds of activities which precede and follow discussions during a lesson, including the teacher's participation in framing similar interactions during earlier class periods, can contribute to the framing of discussions. Having situated my findings across chapters in relation to other research, I now consider the limitations and implications of these findings for theorizing, studying, and teaching dialogic discussions.

8.3 Limitations and Implications: Reframing Discussions in Theory, Methodology, and Practice

I now consider some of the limitations and implications of the conclusions I have drawn so far, particularly with regard to my emergentist theoretical perspective, the qualitative sociolinguistic methodology of my study, and the pedagogical implementation of its findings.

In theorizing dialogic discourse in terms of the relationships among utterances (rather than among individuals), I have applied an interpretivist, sociocultural, emergentist perspective to my data. As such, it may seem counter-productive to take up the categories of recitations and discussions which, in prior research, have become nearly reified categories defined by the presence of certain kinds of discourse that appear to be

the same regardless of context. However, this dissertation study takes up the categories of recitations and discussions not to reinscribe those categories but to describe how discursive relationships are created in particular contexts. For this purpose, the labels "recitations" and "discussions" have pragmatic value for identifying and addressing the similarities and differences among certain interactions. However, it may be worth considering whether and how attention to recitations and discussions as stable categories has contributed to the apparent persistence of recitations and relative rarity of discussions.

In this study, I have addressed nine in-depth examples of discursive interactions among participants in three classroom communities, most of which resulted in the emergence of the interactional frame and in dialogic discourse. Unlike the large-scale, national studies (Applebee & Squire, 1968; Applebee et al., 2003; Nystrand et al., 1997), with whose criteria for recitations and discussions I have somewhat taken issue, in this project I have addressed what is possible, based on a small number of classroom interactions, with regard to how discussions emerge from recitations; I have not attempted to suggest what can be measured and abstracted as probable across classrooms. Thus it may be that the interactional frame is not a useful unit of analysis for discerning recitations and discussions as they appear in other classrooms (or even among these same teachers and students during other lessons). It may also be that much could be learned from studying interactions which are not emergent, from studying emergent interactions which are not discussions, or from studying moments in which interactions that began with dialogic discussion become more like recitations. For instance, in the chapter 7 example that included a hypothetical narrative about the stock market crash, Dave's prior

participation in similar interactions during previous class periods resulted in his not addressing Victoria's question or Jon's challenge to the frame for that interaction. The frame, based on Dave's experience and his perception of what students needed to know, was not emergent. However, this interaction and Sami's journal entry grammar activity in chapter 4 (which *was* emergent), did not seem like recitations in the strictest sense because they nevertheless encouraged students to bring prior events and utterances into relationship. More discourse analytic English education research on recitations and discussions may be necessary to describe this "gray area" between recitations and discussions.

In chapter 2, my synthesis of previous research on dialogic discussions raised two critiques of prior definitions of dialogic discussions: 1) that they had been formed primarily in opposition to recitation; 2) that they had focused on the presence of multiple speakers and multiple interpretations, rather than on relationships among utterances. While my findings have to some degree addressed the issues raised by these two critiques, in the context of the second one, I pointed out that defining discussion as a "free exchange of information among students and/or between at least two students and the teacher" (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 36) could be applied equally to discussion in any discipline of any topic. Although this dissertation included discourse data from a Composition class, a Social Studies class, and a Literature class, the examples I addressed did not allow me to make distinctions among features of discussion, or "pedagogical genres" of discussion, according to discipline and topic. Moreover, the examples from the Social Studies class and the Literature class in chapters 5-7 were quite similar: most were discussions of historical wartime events. How might these teachers and their students

have fared at discussing other kinds of historical events? other literary events? other genres, like drama or poetry? students' own alphabetic/audio/video compositions, like personal narratives or websites? If *what* is being discussed matters as much as *who* is doing the talking, as my data suggest, then English education researchers interested in dialogic discussions may wish to examine how the discipline and object of such discussions affects the nature of those interactions.

In addition to these theoretical issues, I now consider methodological limitations and implications. In attending to sociolinguistic discursive features that signal situation and relationship, I did not focus in my analysis on how other contextual elements might shape the interactional frame. However, comments from the teachers I studied suggested that proximity and classroom setup, for example, might also be a part of their reframing proposals. In one lesson not addressed in the preceding chapters, Dave described stepping in amongst the students, whose desks were configured in a U-shape, to signal that "we're all in this together." This proposed reframing of his relationship to students in that moment recalled Tamara's use of irony to reframe what appeared to be recitation so that neither students nor the teacher were "contained" or "outside" a "fabrication" (Goffman, 1986, pp. 351-352). Moreover, some previous education research has already suggested that classroom environment may play a role in shaping dialogic discussions (Hadjioannou, 2007; Lindfors, 1999); future studies in this area might study the relationships between classroom environment and discussions in terms of discursive interactional framing.

I noted in earlier chapters that my interactional sociolinguistic methodology may be open to criticisms related to "disambiguation" (Grimshaw, 1987, 1990). Such

criticisms point out that speakers' interpretive practices should be not be conflated with intentions attributed to them by the researcher. At times, I have made inferences about teachers' and students' participation in classroom interactions based on what they said without the secondary resource of interview data. While I believe that this is defensible given that teachers and students, themselves, may not always fully understand the interpretations or intentions behind their responses to each other, or what those utterances might "mean" when taken together, future studies of the framing of classroom discourse interactions might include more interviewing.

For instance, in chapter 7, analysis of the relationships among the hypothetical narrative about the stock market crash and other, similar interactions suggested that Dave's participation in teaching the same lesson to other class periods earlier in the day shaped the nature of that particular interaction (for better or for worse), a finding called for by some previous research (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 91; Sawyer, 2001a, p. 209). A difficulty that might accompany this interview research concerns the perceived value of routinization and spontaneity: in my interviews with teachers, I noted that they often initially downplayed the emergent aspects of lesson interactions, perhaps believing that I, as their "field instructor," wanted to hear how they had "stuck to the plan"; in contrast, the same teachers would sometimes respond to students in ways that gave the appearance of spontaneity, but which I knew (from having observed another lesson) to be rehearsed. For instance, one of the teachers in my study said, "Let's see...," before providing students with the same examples that had been generated during a preceding class period, perhaps so that students would think the examples had been tailored specifically to them. In Philips' (1992) study of courtroom discourse, participants placed a similar value on

apparent spontaneity. Interviews about the way participation in similar activities during previous class periods shape an interaction might thus be subject to these biases created by the teacher's relationships to the interviewer or to the students.

Interview data about the way participation in similar activities during previous class periods shape an interaction might also be collected from students: How are discussions shaped by students' participation in similar interactions during other classes? While I do not believe that the emergent frame for discussions can be reduced to individual, mental conceptions, perhaps knowing more about students' prior participation in similar interactions would shed further light on the reframing proposals or the resistance to being framed in particular ways that have been documented in this dissertation study.

The relationships among dialogic discussions and other, similar classroom interactions points to two further limitation of this dissertation's focus on the interactional frame as a unit of analysis. The present study included only ten visits to each classroom over the course of one year. Though this allowed me to note that textbook question reviews were often an opportunity for discussion in Dave's class, and that Tamara's 6th hour had more practice at (as she put it) "build[ing] on one another's conversation" than her 4th hour, my analysis of how repeated reframing led to recurring patterns of discursive interaction, or pedagogical genres, was limited by the scope of my data set. Moreover, while I knew Sami, Dave, and Tamara well because of my interactions with them in- and outside the classroom as their instructor over two years, and though I learned much about their students during my visits to Marquette, Talbott, and Magnum Appan, my study did not involve in-depth ethnographic research into how the

participants' communicative practices might have been conditioned by their prior participation in other speech genres, or by institutional influences on the interactional frame.

Lee's English education research (1993, 1995, 2001, 2006a), including studies in which she served as the full-time classroom teacher and thus had access to more discourse and ethnographic data, has suggested that participation in cultural practices like "Signifyin(g)" (Gates, 1988; Jordan, 1983; Mitchell-Kernan, 1972) may shape participation in academic English Language Arts discussion. This limitation of my study led me to wonder whether and how the double-voiced disagreement I observed in Tamara's class might relate to Signifyin(g), which similarly involves ironic, playful, indirect criticism of a present other, often for the purposes of instruction (Smitherman, 1977, 2000, 2006); I had similar questions about the relationships between hypothetical narrative discussions, a pedagogical genre that emerged in Dave's classroom among primarily suburban Midwestern European Americans, and the Midwestern narrative style documented by Johnstone (1990). Other studies in conversational analysis have similarly associated discussion or debate with the practices of particular cultural groups in both academic and non-academic settings (Corsaro & Rizzo, 1990; Grimshaw, 1990; D. Lee & Peck, 1995; Schiffrin, 1984). However, findings and conclusions for such questions remain beyond the scope of my study. How do discussions affect and refract the discursive practices of a classroom community? What other "pedagogical genres" of discussion emerge and recur in that community? How are discussions shaped by the participation of teachers and students in the discursive practices of other sociocultural communities?

In addition to the theoretical and methodological limitations and implications I have detailed, there are pedagogical issues for English teachers, Social Studies teachers, and teacher educators to consider. In focusing on *what* is being discussed, and on the relationship among turns and alignments in discussion, rather than on *who*, I did not examine in this dissertation whether the discussions I studied involved a majority of the students in the class. However, other studies of dialogic discussions (and English or Social Studies teachers' attempts to foster and facilitate them) have noted that sometimes outspoken students can dominate, stepping into the vacuum left by the teacher as s/he tries to "step back" and let students do more talking (e.g., Aukerman, Belfatti, & Santori, 2008; Billings & Fitzgerald, 2002); some studies have also suggested that this may be especially true in discussions characterized by disagreement and debate (of the kind I often focused on), which can favor confident, articulate, competitive students (Nystrand et al., 1997, p. 49). In Social Studies education research, the equity of student participation, and the chance to hear multiple perspectives that are different from one's own, have been described as important parts of participation in democratic, civic-minded discussion (Parker, 2006) of controversial public issues (Hess, 2002). And my own experience as an English educator has suggested that other teachers, including pre-service English teacher candidates, also consider it important to monitor how many students have had a chance to speak.

However, national studies (Applebee et al., 2003; Nystrand et al., 1997) which suggested that students in discussion-based secondary English classrooms performed better on various tests of literacy achievement did not specify if this applied even to students who do not participate frequently in discussion. How much student participation

is "enough"? Why do some voices fall silent? What does "participation" in discussions mean (is it speaking? is it listening? does nodding count?)? And what about the quiet students who seem to draw more from discussion (as evidenced by their later performance in other activities) than outspoken ones? Or those who seem more willing to participate in small-groups than in whole-class discussion? Although these questions are beyond the bounds of this dissertation, they may be addressed by attention to the framing of classroom interactions: how are the roles, relationships, and responses possible during a discussion framed by whether it is small-group or whole-group? How does the way discussions are reframed over time establish discussions in a particular classroom as a pedagogical genre in which some people speak and others do not?

How might teachers and pre-service teachers learn to foster dialogic discussions through attention to reframing? Authentic questions and uptake may seem like relatively easy discursive moves for teachers to adopt in comparison with making and accepting reframing proposals. However, previous English education research (e.g., Adler et al., 2003; Commeyras & DeGroff, 1998; Smagorinsky, Cook, & Johnson, 2003) as well as my own experiences as an English teacher educator and an English teacher suggest that changing one's questioning practices or picking up on students' responses can be difficult. A focus on the interactional frame, and the implied and double voiced utterances by which it is negotiated with students, might seem to be even more difficult. However, the pre-service teacher candidates in my study were able to make, recognize, and accept reframing proposals. While they may be exceptional, my subsequent work with teacher candidates has suggested that others are also quite capable of understanding these ideas. For example, they quickly grasped that 1) certain kinds of talk and behavior

in the classroom propose roles, relationships, and possible responses, just as an extended hand proposes a "handshake" greeting in some countries; those proposals can be accepted, rejected, or (re/mis)interpreted in particular contexts; 2) if we use students' words for our own purposes, they might return the favor; 3) if we can bring historical/literary figures and events into relationship with students' experiences, it may encourage discussion; 4) if a topic is controversial, and brings different alignments into relationship, it may encourage discussion; and 5) what other activities come before or after a discussion, and how consistently discussions are conducted in one's classroom, may affect the way students participate.

These are heuristics, not formulas. Indeed, Bakhtin tells us that "real work is always required... [by] a special attention to the particulars of the situation and a special involvement with unique other people at a given moment of their lives" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 26). This dissertation has suggested that theorizing, studying, and teaching discussions is collaborative, dynamic, complex work when addressed in terms of relationships among utterances, and cannot be reduced to simple policies.

Above, I have addressed the limitations and implications of the present study. How might framing apply beyond this qualitative discourse analytic study of emergent interactions in three classrooms? How might discussions be affected by differences in discipline and topic? What other contextual factors (like classroom environment) might shape the interactional frame for discussions? What might further interviews of teachers and students suggest about how experience with other, similar interactions affects the frame for discussions? How might other culturally-conditioned discourse practices influence the framing of discussions? How might attention to reframing address the

equity of student participation? Table 2, below, summarizes the claims made in this dissertation study:

8.4 Summary of Claims (Overarching and by Chapter)

Overarching claim	Chapter # – Claim
The authenticity and order of thinking apparent in questions in these data (a previous criterion for dialogic discussions) did not always correspond with the dialogic relationships among utterances evident in the subsequent discourse. Rather, the nature of those questions, and their relationships to the discourse that followed, seemed to depend on the frame for the interaction in each lesson activity. The interactional frame, rather than utterance-level indicators like questions, evaluations, or uptake, may be an appropriate unit of analysis for defining and distinguishing recitations and dialogic discussions.	4 - Classroom conversations characterized by features typically associated with recitation can become more like dialogic discussion 4 - Neither recitation nor discussion can take place without some degree of coordination of the frame among the class members 4 - Even "inauthentic" questions may produce "authentic" answers (and vice versa) 4 - An expanded definition of uptake might better explain how participants in discussion use prior discourse to collaboratively create new meaning 6 - Even activities which contain authentic, higher-order questions, which juxtapose historical/literary events with events relevant to students' experiences, and which provoke conflicting perspectives, may produce no more than a sequential expression of opinions which exhibits little dialogic relationship among turns in conversation.
Attention to interactional sociolinguistic features allowed description of how recitations can become discussions through emergence of the interactional frame. Reframing proposals were made by teachers and students through animation and double voicing. A methodology informed by interactional sociolinguistics allowed identification of the discourse that accompanied moments at which these proposals were made and accepted, as well as moments of "frame-breaking" behavior associated with "fabrications," such as changes in word choice, syntax, tone, and laughter.	4 - Recitation as "fabricated" frame may explain the resistance of students, as well as the efforts of teachers to avoid appearing naïve about students' criticisms of their recitation questions. 6 - Recitation frames interaction as a "fabrication" in which either students or teacher are "duped" or "contained by not knowing that the other already knows the answers; ironic responses such as "playing devil's advocate," may be one way to reframe the asking of known-answer questions as an opportunity for discussion.

Table 2. Summary of overarching and chapter claims of this dissertation (cont'd on next page).

Juxtaposing events brought speakers and the topic of discussion into relationship in ways that affected discussions: by juxtaposing historical and hypothetical events and by juxtaposing narrated events and the classroom interactions in which they occurred.	5 - What begins as recitation can be reframed as discussion through the juxtaposition of historical/literary events and events relevant to students' experiences, which allow students to contribute from their own perspectives. 5 - The juxtaposition of historical and contemporary events may make the past more present and personal for students, allowing them to participate as first-person
Disagreement brought turns in discussion into relationship in three ways: by juxtaposing different alignments, by juxtaposing events toward which a speaker had different alignments, and by framing a speaker in a way with which s/he did not agree.	6 - evaluative follow-ups which invite others to disagree and which double voice students' contributions may provoke further discussion. 6 - While previous research has focused on the "uptake" of content, the use of previous speakers' phrases and sentence structures may also contribute to promoting and sustaining discussions that involve disagreement. 6 - If true "argument," in the negative sense, is characterized by disagreement in which turns in conversation have little relation to each other in terms of content or form, increasing regularities of language use during debate may suggest a productive coordination of the interactional frame associated with discussion 6 - to help students participate in disciplinary discourse; the increasing use of academic language (e.g., citation of other speakers, juxtaposition of counter-examples) during the debate suggests double-voiced disagreement may be one way to address this goal
The relationships between the frame for narrated events and the frame for the current classroom interaction affected discussion.	5 - The overlap between narrated events (especially those which index class members) and classroom events may shape discussion. 6- narratives that frame events/present speakers in ways with which others disagree also provoke participation
Other discussions, other similar types of interaction, and other kinds of activities which precede and follow discussions during a lesson, including the teacher's participation in framing similar interactions during earlier class periods, can contribute to the framing of discussions.	7 – The framing of an interaction (like a homework review or a discussion) can shape the framing of subsequent, similar interactions 7 – The repeated reframing of similar interactions can result in recurring genres of classroom interaction, like hypothetical narrative discussion 7 – Hypothetical narratives which sequence unrealized events that are unlikely to happen may encourage discussion more than those which sequence events which were already realized and/or are likely to happen 7 – Lesson activities which precede and follow discussion can shape the frame for that discussion. 7 – The framing of an interaction can be shaped by the teacher's participation in the framing of a similar interaction with earlier class periods

Table 2. (cont'd).

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