On Communication

Selected papers from a seminar arranged by the Department of Communication Studies, on June 3-4, 1986

Bengt-Göran Martinsson (ed)
ON COMMUNICATION, 4

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ABSTRACT

Martinsson, B-G. (ed), On Communication, 4. Selected papers from a seminar arranged by the Department of Communication Studies, on 3-4 June, 1986

This report contains eight papers presented at the interdisciplinary seminar arranged by the Department of Communication Studies, University of Linköping, on 3-4 June, 1986.

The papers deal in different ways with the problem of distributing knowledge or with methods of describing and improving individual competence and skills in communicative situations, especially in classroom interaction. Three of the papers are concerned with knowledge and competence as being mainly social and cultural phenomena - the social transmission of knowledge, educational drama as a means of improving social competence, and music reviews as exponents of certain cultural communities. One paper discusses instructions as one way of disseminating knowledge and competence. The last four contributions discuss different levels of knowledge and competence in various educational settings, such as teacher and pupil interaction, and the ways in which different perspectives on language may cause misunderstandings and other communicative problems in language learning.

Linköping, 1987
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INTRODUCTION

On the 3rd and 4th of June, 1986, the fourth seminar on Communication was arranged by the Department of Communication Studies in Linköping. These recurrent gatherings of scholars active in the broad field of communication research, usually focus on a few main concepts. On this occasion, the following three subject areas were to be explored:

* Communicative patterns in health and medical care
* Communication in classrooms
* Art, drama, music and literature as individual and social competence.

During the course of the seminar, over one hundred participants attended the presentation of 28 papers on those three main subjects. Due to the wide range of interests and the number of contributions, the papers selected for publication will be printed in two separate reports, this and the report entitled "Om Kommunikation i sjukvården: Ett urval föredrag från Tema K:s symposium den 3-4 juni 1986", SIC 14, (ed) Ullabeth Sätterlund Larsson. This report is concerned only with the last two subject areas, "Communication in Classrooms" and "Art, Drama, Music and Literature as Individual and Social Competence".

Despite the variety of content and approaches, some common themes can be discerned. Two pivotal concepts are competence and knowledge. In our context competence might refer to the ways in which individuals cope with certain tasks and rules for conduct in different social domains. Knowledge would here be looked upon as an "object" or "entity", which contains the collective experiences of a culture or subculture and their various approaches to different forms of "reality".

Thomas Luckmann, in June granted an honorary doctorate at the University of Linköping, is concerned with the social transmission of knowledge, how a culture conveys its own experiences from one generation to the next. One level in such processes is quite naturally constituted by the language, and another level concerns social
institutions. In addition, Luckmann suggests a third level, which has been less adequately explored than the others, i.e. the level of communicative genres. Luckmann argues that, whereas social institutions could be regarded as routinized, or as more or less obligatory solutions to elementary problems of social life, communicative genres could be regarded as solutions to communicative problems within social life and that they, accordingly, in social processes of transmission of knowledge, would serve as models for the organization of communicative processes.

Another form of genres is discussed in the following paper. The topic of Sirpa Koiranen's contribution is music reviews and how they are related to different cultural communities. Koiranen lists three genres of music reviews, classical, jazz, and pop reviews, each with its own set category of readers. One can interpret the differences between these genres as cultural characteristics. For instance, the pop and jazz reviews are more concerned with describing the listeners' experiences, whereas the classical review is more concerned with the composer and the musical work.

How do we improve young persons' ability to master different social situations? In his paper Lennart Wiechel claims, starting out from Saussure's notion of "le langage", on the one hand, and from Searle's "speech acts", on the other, that educational drama is precisely such a means of improving both social knowledge and language competence. Lennart Wiechel also gives a presentation of the historical background of educational drama and its methods.

The notion of speech acts recurs in Boel De Geer's contribution. The aim of instructions is often to communicate knowledge in a specific field. For instance, recipes tell us how to act in the noble art of cooking. By applying the speech act models of Austin and Searle, Boel De Geer tries to develop a theory of instructions.

The following four papers describe and analyze communication in classrooms from different perspectives, and in this sector too, one could use our terms from above, knowledge and competence. S.R.St.J. Neill's topic is nonverbal communication in classrooms. To what
extent are teachers able to become aware of their nonverbal behaviour and improve on it? Referring to three studies, Neill shows that nonverbal communication plays an important part in young students' interpretations of their teachers' behaviour, and how this form of communication influences pupils' attitudes not only to the teacher but also to the subject of his or her teaching. One underlying assumption of Neill's discussion is, that in classroom interaction both children and their teachers draw upon skills and habits established outside the classroom.

In normal interaction between mother and child the mother adapts her communicative behaviour to the child, a phenomenon named "motherese" or "baby talk". Using the notion of "child adjusted communication" instead of "motherese" and "baby talk" Karin Junefelt makes some comparisons between the communication of mothers and that of teachers. She also draws some conclusions as to its consequences for teaching and the behaviour of teachers.

Lennart Gustavsson shows how misunderstandings and other types of communicative problems in language lessons can be seen as the products of conflicts between two different perspectives on language. He discusses these in terms of two levels of language use, language as it is used in the ordinary way in everyday life, and language used for talking about language.

Finally, Kjell Granström studies activities in classroom interaction which have rarely been described so far, the "private" or "illegitimate" communication among the pupils. One implication of this study could be that one of the basic assumptions in classroom research, the one asserting that teachers dominate and control the interaction, henceforth has to be regarded as inadequate. The knowledge and competence reproduced by the pupils' talking among themselves concern how to be "leaders" or "followers" in social interaction. This unofficial "curriculum" may prepare for other social situations in undesirable ways.
Without the assistance of the staff and my colleagues at the Department of Communication Studies, neither the seminar nor this report would have materialized in any way. I would like to mention especially Marianne Axelson, Lotta Strand, Solfrid Söderlind and Gun Thorell for their valuable help and support.

Linköping, January 1987
Bengt-Göran Martinsson
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COMMUNICATIVE GENRES AS AN ELEMENTARY FORM OF THE
SOCIAL TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

Thomas Luckman

Introduction

Human communication is a form of social interaction which serves an extraordinarily wide range of individual and collective purposes. Everyday routines as well as matters of critical importance are conceived, planned, reported and justified in communicative acts. Furthermore, some of them are also carried out in communicative (i.e., "performative") acts. In addition to being a form of social interaction in its own right, communication is either directly or indirectly involved in all other kinds of social interaction. It is natural that it was always of outstanding practical interest to human beings as practitioners of the difficult art of living. And it is unsurprising that communication, especially its central medium, language, always was, and has continued to be, of immense theoretical interest in a variety of religious, philosophical and scientific approaches. Moreover, as the sciences split off from philosophy and began to specialize, there emerged traditions of thought and investigation which vary considerably from discipline to discipline, and from one cross-disciplinary paradigm to the other.

In view of this complex intellectual situation, an adequate introduction to my presentation would be rather time-consuming, requiring - as it would - acknowledgement of the various disciplinary and paradigmatic traditions in the theory of human communication to which my present treatment is indebted, in linguistic and literary theory, in social anthropology, especially the ethnography of communication and modern folklore studies, and last but not least, in the sociology of language. However, under the present circumstances I may be allowed to omit a review of the work which is pertinent to my own presentation, and begin by outlining the general theoretical location of my argument.

On a most elementary level, it is evident that knowledge is socially transmitted in communicative processes, and it is
obvious that these processes are normally mediated by language. But before going on to consider the nature of the communicative processes in which elements of the social stock of knowledge are actually transmitted, another point should be made: both the construction of potentially communicable realities, and their sedimentation in a social stock of knowledge, are processes which are logically prior to the encoding of elements taken from a social stock of knowledge for the purpose of transmission. And these processes themselves are not creations ex nihilo but empirically make us of a historical sign-system, a language. Such a system must provide taxonomies with which to "itemize" (i.e., provide "units" of meaning for) human experience in different domains of reality. At the same time it must be capable of providing interpretable, sequential combinations of such "items" in some sort of isomorphy to the temporal flux of experience. In short, the social construction of reality and the sedimentation of reality constructs in a social stock of knowledge, as well as the social transmission of knowledge presuppose a sign-system with a semantic and syntactic structure built upon a reasonably parsimonious material base, a sign-system with a lexicon and a generative formula for speech production.

The observation that language is presupposed both in the social construction and in the social transmission of knowledge is of course not new. It merely repeats an insight that has had some currency in the human sciences for a long time. However, although important work was accomplished since Wilhelm von Humboldt's memorable phrase of language as ergon and energeia, much still remains to be done to clarify the exact nature of the psycho- and socio-linguistic aspects of the processes involved. But the preformation of experience, thought and knowledge by language is not the topic which I intend to discuss extensively. Nor am I going to be concerned with another aspect of the social transmission of knowledge, an aspect which has been fairly well investigated in the sociology of knowledge and in the sociology of education and of science, that is with the institutional aspects of the way knowledge is transmitted.
in society. No doubt, knowledge is typically passed on in some sort of institutional context. But of course this should not be taken to mean that the social transmission of knowledge necessarily presupposes a functionally distinct, specialized institution. For the longest portion of human history most of that function was embedded in the kinship system and other multi-functional structures of segmentary societies, such as, for example, age-grades. Nonetheless the social differentiation of that function reaches far back, even beyond the origins of ancient civilizations. Special kinds of knowledge were transmitted in institutionally regulated ways as for example dynastic genealogies in the oral traditions of Bantu kingdoms. With the introduction of writing, scribal schools flourished e.g., in ancient Babylon. However, these instances represent institutional differentiation of the processes in which specialized knowledge was transmitted and that, of course, is not particularly startling. The social differentiation of institutions transmitting significant portions of the common and general part of the social stock of knowledge, is, however, another and more recent matter.

I should like to repeat that I am not going to discuss the most elementary linguistic aspects of the social transmission of knowledge, nor am I going to consider the varied forms in which that process was institutionalized in different historical social structures. Instead I shall draw your attention to an intermediate, structurally distinct level in the social transmission of knowledge which has been less adequately explored than the other two levels. That intermediate level is directly linked to the linguistic structures serving as the "material" base for the social transmission of knowledge, and is also systematically connected with the institutional structures which regulate the concrete social processes of transmission. It is this level to which I am now turning. In order to refer to its organizational principles in a single concept, I should like to borrow the term "genre". 3) I add the adjective "communicative" in order to indicate that the concept as I use it refers to oral as well as literary, everyday as well as
esthetic forms, and is not limited to its original more specific reference to written or esthetic genres as in "literary", "musical", "architectual" genre, etc.

II.
Action, Communication, and Knowledge

I should like to begin my discussion of genres with a general observation on the relation between human action, communication and knowledge. Knowledge originates in experience, and it is objectivated and sedimented in a social stock of knowledge in communicative acts. On the other hand, some sort of knowledge is always already presupposed in human action. Whatever may be the phylogenetically "older" mechanisms of the regulation of behavior, for example so-called non-verbal behavior -, human action is guided by some sort of knowledge. Recalling relevant past experience, human beings are in a position to project different states of affairs into the future, they are capable of choice between alternative possibilities, and they manage to take steps leading to this future state of affairs. They can decide to act or to abstain from action. Having taken a first step, they may continue in the chosen direction, they may change directions while under way, they may interrupt the course of action or abandon the original project altogether. And once they have completed an action, they may interpret it in a variety of ways, justifying, bragging, apologizing, reporting, describing, generalizing etc. There are, of course, differences between actions which are thought out carefully step by step, and actions which - although perhaps at one time in the past consciously planned - have eventually become a matter of routine. However, knowledge of one kind or another is involved in all these aspects, phases and forms of action.

It hardly needs to be stressed that action is not simply determined by knowledge nor determined by knowledge only. Nor is, on the other hand, the orientation of action the only function of knowledge. Moreover, important as action is in human life,
there is much in human reality which is beyond the reach of
action. Not only the "second nature" of historical societies
is an antecedent condition of individual and collective action,
so is, of course, nature itself. Nonetheless, whatever the
conditions, fixed boundaries and action-resistant facts of
human life, action constitutes the practical core of the life-
world. Although reality always surpasses the possibilities of
action which are open to an individual or a "society", there is
little that is worth knowing about human affairs as a specifi-
cally human enterprise that may be understood without recourse
to human action - and little that may be understood about human
action without recourse to knowledge. The question about the
origin, the production and distribution of knowledge must be
therefore counted among the important problems of the social
sciences.

In the most general terms, the answer to the question is
apparently circular: knowledge, which orients action, originates
in action, i.e., in communicative acts, and communicative acts
as we know them presuppose a communicative code, a language.

It may be instructive, however, to take a closer look at this
circle. Human beings normally communicate each other in order
to do something, sometimes with one another and, often enough,
against each other. In communicative acts people prepare to
cope with the diverse problems of everyday life in society. And
it is in the nature of certain problems in social life that
they are not only rehearsed in thought and talk but that they
can be also resolved in fact by means of communicative acts.
Evidently, communication is not all there is to life, and there
are many kinds of human action which are not communicative, or
not primarily and essentially communicative. It may be said
with justice, however, that - at the very least - communicative
acts define reality inasmuch as they define ways by which to
act upon it. To a certain extent these ways are predefined in a
language, a language being the repository of past communicative
acts in which people coped with problems of everyday life.
Languages thus constitute the conservative, traditional core of
social stocks of knowledge. They are not only ways of passively "looking" at reality, they also suggest ways of dealing with reality and thus, even if indirectly, ways of making reality.

One may imagine language to have originated in an initially pre- and then proto-linguistic sequence of communicative acts in which human beings collectively coped with life. Trying to arrange for the resolution of various problems in communicative acts, human beings began to construct a coherent world. At the same time they began to build up a code of communication, a language "unintentionally", as it were. Once a language had developed as the core of social communication and gained a certain autonomy as a system of signs, containing a comprehensive inventory of significations, it henceforth determined the main referential dimensions of the acts of social communication. Therefore it proximately also co-determined the way in which people dealt with the problems of social life. Languages, originating in primitive stages of social constructions of reality, thus most significantly contributed to the specific, historical social constructions of reality. What was itself originally a social product become an important factor in social production and reproduction.

In all species communication is determined by a communicative code. It was an essential component of hominization that the genetic determination of vocal and gestural behavior with communicative functions was slowly replaced - in part never entirely - by the formation of a social code of communication which arose in historical sequences of communicative acts, in other words: by a language as part of a socially transmitted stock of knowledge. 4) Human communicative acts are predefined and predetermined by a social code of communication, by the core of that code, the "inner" phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic structure of a language, as well as its "external" stratification in styles, registers, socio- and dialects. In addition, communicative acts are predefined and predetermined by explicit and implicit rules and regulations of the use of language, by forms of communicative etiquette (forms
of address and the like). \(^5\) Moreover, communicative acts, as a form of social interaction, are predetermined by non-communicative rules and regulations: by institutions, a set of social relations, a system of production and reproduction, in short, by a historical social structure. But that, as I shall try to show, is not all that can be said about the pre-definition and determination of communicative acts.

But, to conclude this first and general part of the discussion, it should be noted that in view of the complex, many-layered and many-directional relations between communicative codes, as elements of the social stock of knowledge, social institutions as elements of the social structure, and concrete communicative acts, it would be impermissible to use a simple (materialistic or idealistic) model of causation. Conditions of social life, more specifically, social structure, social codes of communication, more specifically language, and concrete acts influence each other in various ways and in various dimensions: in human space and in social time, and in multiple reflexive ways. \(^6\)

**III.**

**Genres as Solutions to Specifically Communicative Problems**

Now the ground is prepared for a consideration of that level of organization of communicative processes with which I am mainly concerned here. This level is, let me repeat, located between the linguistic, code-related, and the institutional, social structure-related, determination of communicative processes. It is characterized by social modelling of the key features of communicative acts. Such modelling is accomplished by communicative genres.

When I use this term I refer to established solutions to specifically communicative problems. Along with the command of language itself, such solutions are available in the social stock of knowledge. (I hardly need to stress that the social
distribution of such knowledge may be just as unequal as that of any other element of that stock. But that is a different consideration with which I am concerned here only in passing.) There are of course many kinds of communicative processes in any societies and some are, and some are not shaped by and modelled after communicative genres. Many communicative processes are not constrained as regards the selection and composition of communicative elements in the comparatively rigid form of a communicative genre. In such communicative acts the actor on the social scene selects elements from the inventory of linguistic, and more generally, communicative codes in a more or less "spontaneous" fashion. He puts together his message step by step, perhaps following an overall communicative project with some degree of awareness, but without following a clearly defined model. The speaker forms sentences by taking those words from the semantic inventory of his language which are available to him in his subjective stock of knowledge, and which seem appropriate to the purpose at hand. As he forms a sequence of words, he of course also follows the elementary rules of syntax and, in addition, he may use stylistic devices and rhetorical stratagems while obeying the prevailing rules of communicative etiquette. 7) In all this he is guided by a mixture of habit and explicit intention, occasionally even by a communicative plan as part of an interactional project 8) - but he does not assemble the parts according to a preestablished overall communicative model. 9)

However, such more or less "spontaneous" acts are by no means the only ones to be found among the communicative processes in a society. There are others in which the actor follows a recognizable overall model for selecting elements from the various available communicative codes, especially language, and joining them together into units larger than sentences and single messages. The use of such models usually occurs in certain clearly defined types of social situations and normally does not occur in others. There may be situations in which the actor on the social scene is forced to use a particular communicative genre, others in which he is merely likely
Sociologists may be tempted to think of communicative genres as institutions. But social institutions are routinized, more or less obligatory solutions for elementary problems of social life, and they regulate functionally definable kinds of social interaction. If one wishes to consider communicative genres as social institutions, it is important to note that the peculiar function of genres is to solve specifically communicative problems.

No doubt it is often difficult to draw an exact line between the elementary problems of social life and specifically communicative issues. They are obviously closely interwoven in human life. The elementary and essential problems of food and starvation, sex and love, power and justice, life and death, are always also a matter for, and often even a matter of, communication. But these matters are first and last something else than communication: they are things to be done rather than things to be talked about. There is little doing in human life without some talking, and in a restricted sense of the term all talking is doing. Nonetheless, (to borrow the title of a well-known book) some, but only some talking is really doing things with words. Communicative genres are therefore best not simply considered as social institutions, and if one uses the concept in a merely analogical fashion, it should be understood that they are "institutions" of communicating about life, including social life, within social life. However, there may be instances where social institutions and communicative genres overlap almost to the point of identity. This is the case wherever and whenever talking is a constitutive part of the resolutions of elementary problems of social life, as for example in a wedding ceremony, judicial sentencing etc.

It was stressed that communicative genres serve as models for the organization of communicative processes, and except for the instances in which "things" are being done with words, they are not institutions which organize social life as such,
that is to say, they do not organize in an enforceable fashion basic functions of human life in society. Although communication in some form clearly belongs to these basic functions, there is no reason to assume that its social regulation could not be accomplished without the specific models of communication which I called communicative genres. The basic need for communication could be fulfilled in principle, by what I called "spontaneous" communicative acts.

Before turning to a brief analysis of the structure of communicative genres, thus coming to the "operational" and slightly more "technical" level of my presentation, I should like to repeat that the elementary function of communicative genres in social life is to organize, routinize, and render (more or less) obligatory the solutions to recurrent communicative problems. The communicative problem for which such solutions tend to be socially established, and deposited in the social stock of knowledge, are in the main those which have to do with the communicative aspects of those kinds of social interaction which are important for the maintenance of a given social order. Of course what is important in one kind of society may not be equally important in another, and what is important in one epoch need not remain important at a later date. It should therefore come as no surprise that different societies do not have the same repertoire of communicative genres, and that the communicative genres of one epoch may dissolve into more "spontaneous" communicative processes, while heretofore unbound communicative processes congeal into new genres. At the same time, given the essential similarity of the human condition, it hardly needs to be pointed out that cross-cultural and historical comparison not only shows the universality of communicative genres as an organizational principle of social communication but also remarkable similarities in their specific historical forms.
IV.
The Structure of Communicative Genres

What are the reasons for the similarities and differences between communicative genres within a given society at a given time, and what are the reasons for the similarities and differences of communicative genres in their historical transformations and in cross-cultural comparison? First of all, the basic function common to all communicative genres is the "solution" of specifically communicative problems within the general framework of social life, and communicative genres have the same "material" basis in the different systems of signs (and also in the only partly systematized forms of expression) available in the social stock of knowledge. This combination of structural limitation (to communicative codes) and basic social function constrains, to a certain extent, the degree of possible variation. On the other hand, there are many different kinds of communicative problems which arise in social interaction in social situations in one society, not to speak of different societies. This is an obvious "cause" - if one may call it that - of variation.

In the detailed analysis of similarities and differences it may be useful to consider two aspects of structure. Those features of communicative genres which result directly from the relation between their basic function and their "material" basis may be considered as forming the inner structure of communicative genres. But obviously communicative action, whatever intrinsic properties it may have, is also an essential part of social life. It is therefore subject to the general regulations and constraints of social action which derive from the prevailing historical system of social institutions and social stratification. The features of a genre which derive from the relation between communicative action and social structure may be considered as forming their outer structure. I shall proceed to consider briefly these two aspects.

In the most general terms, the internal structure of communi-
cative genres is characterized by the fact that the actor is provided with fixed communicative patterns consisting of pre-
selections of various components of various codes. The patterns form overall models of communication and are stored as such in the social stock of knowledge with implicit or even explicitly formulated rules for their appropriate use. More precisely, elements are pre-selected (with varying degrees of con-
straint) from different levels of the main communicative code, a language. They concern elementary phonological, prosodic, semantic, and syntactic aspects of the code, as well as routinized composite elements, such as idioms, phrases etc. To repeat, the degree of constraint with regard to any of these aspects may vary from low to high. In addition to the varying preselections from the main code - from which the key "textual" elements of the "message" are built up -, communicative genres also vary with regard to the use they make of additional codes and expressive systems (or half-systems): mimetic, gestural, kinetic and other ones. It is obvious that oral genres differ significantly from genres of mediated communication in this basic aspect.

The inner structure of communicative genres thus consists of rather diverse elements: words and phrases selected from dif-
ferent registers, formulae and entire formulaic blocks (which are clearly not restricted to Homer and oral poetry); rhetori-
cal forms and tropes, stylistic devices, metric and melodic forms, rhymes, adjectival or nominal lists, oppositions etc. And as regards the intersubjective, dialogical regulation - here we begin to move toward the outer structure of genres - the inner structure may contain genre-specific rather than general regulations. Thus, for example, of turn-taking systems, repair-strategies, and for the selection - or avoidance - of certain topics or entire topical fields, as for example, politics, sex etc.

The outer structure of communicative genres consists in the main in clearly established definitions of appropriate social milieus for certain types of communicative acts, and for the
specifically communicative transformations of social roles. The reciprocal relation of the actors is defined with a higher degree of constraint than it normally is in more "spontaneous" communicative acts. These definitions are evidently not independent of overall, social structural definitions of milieus, situations and actors - but they are not simply identical with them. General social structural and genre-related definitions tend to merge in those instances in which communicative genres are directly related to social institutions, and then the definitions commonly refer to age, gender, status, etc.: teacher, judge, physician, mother-in-law etc. On the other hand there are genres in which the definitions are relatively independent of general social definitions and are valid specifically for the duration of the communicative acts: the actor as storyteller, singer, shouting-match opponent, etc.

Taken together the two structural levels define the concrete patterns of genre-like communicative action and determine the degree of rigidity and constraint with regard to preselection and combination of communicative elements. The observation of uniformities on these two structural levels of genres is but a first step. Further research may contribute to systematic analyses of entire repertoires of communicative genres within a certain society in a certain epoch. Such analyses would have much to contribute to the understanding of human social communication. Moreover, if the socio-structural context, conditions and consequences of typical genre-like communicative action in one society were to be compared in historical and cross-cultural analyses, one might well gain insights into the communicative dimensions of the construction, maintenance and transformation of societies. Such perhaps overoptimistic theoretical possibilities apart, an analysis of the structural similarities of communicative genres may serve a theoretically more modest but methodologically important purpose. It may provide a useful matrix for the analysis of a central part of social communication, alerting the investigator to similarities as well as differences of communicative social interaction, both with regard to function and to structure.
In conclusion I should like to refer briefly at least to one example from a type of communicative process, which—next to didactic genres—is particularly important in the mediation of action-orienting knowledge, a process in which various kinds of past experiences, events etc. are reconstructed. In fact, there seems to be an entire group of reconstructive genres, containing conversion-accounts, interviews, disaster reports, gossip \(^{13}\) etc. Different as they are, they have certain features in common which they do not share with, e.g., didactical genres like preaching, teaching etc. \(^{14}\) and which they do not share with the minor genres such as sayings, parables etc. \(^{15}\)

An important feature of conversion-stories is the regulation of time-forms, with an ordered teleological sequence of a "before", a "turning-point", and an "after"-phase, including microscopical expansions and telescopings of narrative topic. Another important feature is the initial (implicit or explicit) claim that the account is truthful; the feature includes the further management of that claim throughout the account. Despite internal differences (e.g., the teleological drama of conversion stories) these features of conversion stories have evidently more in common with interviews, disaster stories and the like than with sermons, lectures, or proverbs. I shall not dwell on crucial differences, e.g., the problem of conversion-stories to make plausible an extraordinary experience to someone who has not had such an experience.

At the end, a short note on the social distribution of genre-knowledge and genre-use. It seems that certain communicative milieus develop something like a kind of specific "narrative" culture with considerable knowledge of certain genres and in their use. In our societies, for example, it can be shown that physicians and nurses are characterized by different "styles" of telling stories and of gossiping. \(^{16}\) These is of course nothing but a superficial illustration. Serious analysis of genres, and not only of reconstructive genres, and of their relevance for the mediation of action-orienting knowledge, still has a long way to go. \(^{17}\)
Footnotes

1) The main part of this paper is based on a contribution to a special issue of the Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Kultur und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 27(1986), dedicated to René König, "Grundformen der gesellschaftlichen Vermittlung des Wissens: Kommunikative Gattungen", 1986.


3) The history of the concept of genre starts with Aristotle, and the concept continues to be used and debated in literary theory to this day. It has been taken over and adapted, among others by Bakhtin, in modern folklore studies and to some extent also in the ethnography of communication. For bibliographic references I may refer to the corresponding section of the volume of readings "Communicative Genres of Everyday Life" which I am preparing for publication with Jörg Bergmann. Here I list only a few selected titles:


Ben-Amos, Dan (ed.), Folklore Genres, Augstin 1976.

Jolles, André, Einfache Formen: Legende, Sage, Mythe, Rätsel, Spruch, Kasus, Memorabile, Märchen, Witz. Tübingen 1982 (1930 1).


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THE VERBALIZATION OF MUSIC IN THREE CULTURAL COMMUNITIES

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1. Introduction

When discussing music reviews with people interested in music, I have often noticed that they have quite definite opinions both about the content and the language of the reviews. They very often declare that:
- there are many English words in reviews of pop music
- reviews of serious music are often so complicated that it is difficult to understand what the critics mean
- critics address their texts to other critics.

I do not intend to investigate whether remarks like these are true or false; but they have made me consider why comments on the difficulties of interpretation usually deal with music reviews in general and why comments on detailed linguistic phenomena almost without exception relate to a specific music culture. To find an explanation for these questions I have assumed that reviews are expressions of the specific subcultures concerned and furthermore that readers must "belong" to the same cultural community to be able to interpret the reviews on a deeper level.

In an attempt to show whether differences in the reviews can be related to their different musical backgrounds, I shall firstly refer to studies of music as a cultural form and to studies of language as a reflection of different cultures. Secondly, I shall outline one possible way of comparing reviews concerning different musical (sub)cultures by means of frame elements (p. 5). Finally, I shall present some preliminary results of a comparison between the vocabularies of reviews of pop music, jazz and serious music, and at the same I shall give some suggestions as to how these can be interpreted as reflections of different subcultures as coherent units.
2. The relationship between musical systems and other systems of behaviour

The sociolinguist Hudson states that if linguistic items are learned from other people "they are one part of the culture as a whole and as such they are likely to be closely associated with other aspects of the culture that are learned from the same people". That is why different linguistic items are likely to be associated with different sets of cultural beliefs and values (cf Hudson 1980:96). If Hudson's hypothesis is correct, it is possible to claim that it offers an explanation for why people connect individual linguistic phenomena with specific musical cultures. In addition, it provides a basis for the assumption that something of the musical culture is embedded in the linguistic form. This is one side of the coin; on the other there are the different music cultures.

Music is not an isolated phenomenon, but a system among others in a cultural sphere. Music, as well as language, is a kind of behaviour that people acquire and musical styles are something that people have chosen as cultural expressions. Here I shall refer to some studies which show that cultures do not exist in a vacuum; on the contrary, they have a great many phenomena following in their wake. Willis for instance studied the importance of rock music for a motor cycle gang and noticed that, apart from the music itself, there are many other forms of behaviour which are influenced by the subculture of rock music. A case study illustrates how rock music has become a total way of living which is permeated by a totalitarian system of symbols (cf Willis 1978). A somewhat different aspect is treated by Bohman, who has described a situation where two different cultural systems, musical culture and political culture, are confronted (Bohman 1978:196). The article, titled Det kultiverade budskapet (The Cultivated Message) deals with musical reviews in a social-democratic newspaper. In this case political culture has been superseded by musical culture and language usage follows the standards and the conventions dictated by the latter.
Hudson discusses one more important aspect, something that he calls cultural knowledge. This he defines as approximations of the concepts or propositions in other people's minds. He illustrates cultural knowledge by stating that people usually appear to share the same concepts for categorizing concerts of different kinds (classical pop, jazz) and the same propositions about what constitutes appropriate behaviour during different types of concerts (Hudson 1980:76). I assume that these kinds of common concepts and propositions cover more than audience behaviour only, e.g. language use connected with these concerts. Furthermore, it seems to me that language has a twofold function in music cultures: on the one hand that a specific music culture verbalizes its music/culture in a way that is characteristic for the culture, and on the other that in some cases people need this language code as a key to the music.

The ethnomusicologist Merriam (Merriam 1964:122) claims that the verbalization of a specific music culture is in fact a part of the music culture itself. This seems correct to me and I have therefore begun to investigate the language of music reviews assuming that the texts form a sign system which, for every musical subculture, gives a network of reflections over that culture and its conventions. The subcultures referred to here are jazz music, pop music and serious music.

3. The texts and the readers

A prerequisite for successful communication is that both the writers and the readers submit (to a higher or lesser degree) to the same system when writing and reading the texts. How can such a sign system be constructed? I assume that it is constituted by, on the one hand, the subject-matter of the texts and, on the other, the means of expression.

A person who has become familiar with reviews and formed an opinion of the usual content of the articles has also acquired a great many of the standards and values of the subculture. These values start governing his behaviour and he begins to
pay attention to just those aspects that are dealt with in the reviews. Furthermore, it is quite probable that the readers often read a specific review merely to confirm their own opinion of the music. The conventions are thus reinforced. At the same time as the review is a reaction to a musical event, it reacts in a way that contributes to maintaining other culturally conditioned forms.

Music reviews are established textual types with a certain set of rules, standards, some of which are compulsory. The writers comply with the rules to a certain extent as they know that their readers share these rules and, in fact, anticipate them.

Up to now I have discussed music reviews as an entity and music in general. Let us proceed to a comparison of three subgenres: serious music, pop and jazz. Within the different subcultures these subgenres are only some of the forms for verbalization.

4. How can the different ways of verbalization within the subcultures be compared

Many linguists claim that adjacent subgenres have many features in common and that, accordingly, they are interesting objects for comparisons. The only thorough investigation I have made so far concerns vocabulary (cf Koiranen 1985 a,b); but word studies and close readings of the texts have given me the overall impression that, on a purely linguistic level, the similarities between these subgenres might be exaggerated.

In an earlier study (Koiranen 1985 b) I compared the frequency of graphic words in the subgenres. In a corpus totalling 12,000 running words, only about 300 different words were represented in all the three subgenres studied. Many of these words - which often had different frequencies in the different subgenres - were either function words or very general content words like musiken 'the music'. Methodologically one might be able to show stylistic differences using the frequencies of the function words. It is also possible that word frequencies on
the lemma level would have changed statistics somewhat but would not necessarily have indicated any greater similarities of verbalization.

A common denominator that can function as a basis for a study on the variation between the subgenres must be looked for elsewhere, on the semantic-pragmatic level.

The texts of the three subgenres have two things in common: firstly, they describe an event that is mainly non-verbal and secondly, they contain an evaluating component. This can be described through semantic frames and by bearing in mind the questions generally applicable to events: When?, Where?, Who?, What?, By what means?, and To what effect?. The answers to these questions are interpreted as labels for different frame elements. The frames are illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 1.

![Diagram](image)

The use of these frames provides a basis for comparisons between separate texts and subgenres. One can compare the expressions used within the different frame elements as regards occurrence as well as stylistic value. In the comparison of the subgenres I expect certain quantitative facts to reveal a number of things about textual conventions and the view on music in the subculture as well as its history and functions. By quantitative facts I mean not only the frequencies of graphic words but also
the labels of the different frame elements. It is evident that
the frequent elements both create expectations in a repeated
reading process and reflect the characteristic features of the
subculture. This is valid for the actual frame elements and the
linguistic means that are used to describe/evaluate the differ­
ent frame elements.

5. Examples of comparisons of the frequencies of graphic words

The examples presented below are based upon the 15 most frequent
content words specific to the subgenre in a corpus of 8000 run­
ning words per subgenre.

Margareta Westman observes that in leaflet texts the most
frequent words remaining after the most frequent words of
ordinary prose had been discarded are words which carry the
content of the text (cf Westman 1974). Supposedly, a similar
method would give clues to the central content of other sorts
of texts as well. I have contrasted the vocabulary from the
three subgenres and mainly paid attention to those highfrequent
words which do not occur in the two other subgenres. I have
looked for support for my interpretation in words found in all
two subgenres but which differ greatly in frequency.

The wordlists in the appendix show that the locality of the
concert seems to be a usual way to identify the concert (e.g.
Kolingsborg, Fasching). This holds true for all the three sub­
genres even if the frequency for the reviews of serious music
is comparatively low on the level of the graphic word.

Words referring to the musical product dominate the highfrequent
words in the reviews of serious music (e.g. verk 'composition',
opus). Words that do not designate the actual product or its
parts are directly related to the composition. A musical
composition has to have an originator (Bach, Beethoven, komposi­
tören 'the composer') and the words dirigent 'conductor' and
tolkning 'interpretation' are directly bound, by the score, to
the composition. The high frequency of the words ( in all 76
words) implies that the composition concept holds a central position in the subculture of serious music and that a detailed description is common in the reviews.

It is true that reviews of jazz have a fairly high frequency of names for the product (40-45), but in this subgenre we mostly find a general designation for the music on the whole. Thus we can assume that the music or the experience of music is mostly described as a unity.

An equally great number of highly frequent elements concern the artists. According to this view on music it seems as if the performing artists created the music. A great number of personal pronouns han 'he', 70) shows that the texts are concerned with people. Incidentally, in this subgenre writer/reader are on familiar terms with the artists (Buddy Rich - Buddy), while in reviews of serious music the use of first names alone is extremely rare. The rest of the listed words specific to jazz give us a hint that both the audience and their reception of the music play an important role.

The designation of the artists dominate in reviews of pop music and the pronoun han 'he' is frequent (71; cf 47 in serious reviews). It seems as if the actual product does not receive as much attention (låtar 'songs' 5), while words like låt 'sounded', bättre 'better' and the relatively high frequency of the word publik(en) '(the) audience' (pop 30, jazz 18, serious 13) indicate that the reception is very important in pop culture and that the reactions of the audience are explicitly stated.

6. A suggestion for interpretation

One would ward off discussion of the differences by claiming that they are due to the subject matter and that it is a question of technical terms and the like which only concern the various referents. And the same holds true on the level of graphic words. But there are alternative means of explanation. The subculture of serious music has a long tradition and is
regarded by many as belonging to the Great Arts in its own right unlike the other kinds of music discussed here. Accordingly, more precise conventions have developed as to how different compositions are to be performed and there are more explicit standards for the reviewer to bear in mind. To a greater extent there is also the question of right and wrong on strictly musical grounds.

The fact that both the artists and the audience are given a prominent position in jazz and pop is a manifestation of the traditions and functions of the subculture. Jazz was originally improvised music created by the musicians themselves. Pop music on its part is above all an element of young people's culture where idolization is a natural ingredient. The reactions of the audience seem to be the very gauge of success. The very same product (song) can be regarded as much better for the very reason that it is performed by a particular artist. Furthermore this is a kind of music where the majority of the products are consumed at rather a high pace. That is why their value lies not so much in the product as in the reaction it entices.

The differences in the reviews discussed seem, to a great extent, to be a question of what is important and valuable in the subcultures, i.e. in their built-in set of values. By this reasoning I have tried to show that the linguistic expressions in the reviews not only refer to various frame elements for specific events, but also contribute towards a picture of the subculture as a whole. This in turn supports the claim that the verbalization of musical cultures is a natural component of the musical culture itself. - And this might be a possible explanation to the fact that reviews may seem inaccessible to those not familiar with the system of values in these subcultures and thus unable to share them.
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# APPENDIX

## POP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>PRODUCT</th>
<th>SERIOUS</th>
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<td>Fasching 33</td>
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<td>op. 9</td>
<td>jazzens 'of jazz' 6</td>
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<td>opus 7</td>
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<td>finalen 7</td>
<td>symfoni 7</td>
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<td>program 5</td>
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## ARTIST

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<tr>
<td>Santanas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genesis</td>
<td>'better' 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Beethovens 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shadows</td>
<td>dirigent 'conductor' 8</td>
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<td>Jon English</td>
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## OTHERS

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## PROGRAM

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<td>Griffin</td>
<td>tonsättaren 'composer' 7</td>
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## SYMPHONY

Bach 9 bäst 'the best' 5
DET TOTALA SPRÅket GENOM PEDAGOGISKT DRAMA

Lennart Wiechel
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Man kan som språkmannen Ferdinand de Saussure göra en skillnad mellan det grammatiska språket (la langue), det talade ordet (la parole) och det levande språkbruket med såväl verbal som ickeverbal kommunikation (le langage). I skolan beaktar vi först och främst det korrepta sättet att formulera sig och att tala. Det är en form av språkvård som man lätt kan motivera.

Däremot har vi svårare att hantera ett språkbruk i denna vidare mening som åsyftas med "le langage". Det kan visa sig svårt att arbeta med de konkreta språksituationerna med alla deras speciella villkor. Redan en analys av "talakten" visar på en intressant komplikation:

1. Var äger talandet rum? År det i privatlivet, i en skola eller inom en institution eller en myndighet?
2. Vilka är närvarande? Hur många deltar i samtalet eller tar del av det på annat sätt? Vilka relationer råder mellan de närvarande?
3. Vad är det som skall uttryckas? Är det information om fakta, om egna åsikter, upplevelser eller känslor? Gäller det egna intresseområden eller för oss mera avlägsna spörsamål?


SIC 13, 29-37
De pedagogiska dramats möjligheter

Den norska dramapedagogen Stig Eriksson har i den nordiska tidskriften "Drama" (1979) summerat utvecklingen av drama ur dels skolteatern, dels barnpsykologin och reformpedagogiken.


Människan själv är det viktigaste mediet; andra medier utgöres av bilder, texter, ljud, musik mm som kan konkretisera en bestämd situation och miljö. Våra livsstilar får en intressant belysning i kopplingen mellan ord-ljud-rörelse-handling och bild. Så kan arbetet föras över till en form av gruppteatrar, varigenom ett bestämt budskap arbetas ut från deltagarnas egna upplevelser och förmedlas till en publik.
Deltagarnas resurser

Vi kan alltså konstatera att den dramapedagogiska verksamheten är en mångsidig språkträning. I Lgr 80 heter det bl a: "Uttrycksförmågan är beroende av vetande. Eleverna lär sig använda ord samtidigt som de lär sig begrepp och ställer frågor. Språket utformas i ett samspel med andra människor. Barns arbete med bilder, med litteratur och drama, med konstnärliga uttrycksmedel över huvud taget främjar deras språkutveckling." Nu är bl a våra kroppsliga språk relativt förbisedda i all språklig träning. Vår skapande förmåga användes ganska lite, då vi på allt högre skolstadien lär oss fragmentera kunskaper och ämnesinnehåll. Av och till påvisar man behovet att sensibilisera individerna så att de får ökad beredskap att möta olika kulturyttringar. Hit hör uppmärksamheten på känslornas uttrycksformer - antingen det gäller vardagens samliv eller mer konstnärliga sammanhang. Principiellt arbetar man med tre olika inlärningsnivåer:

- samtal och upplevelsebearbetning till följd av en dramatisk händelse eller som förberedelse för en sådan,
- avläsning och observation av andras agerande i rummet eller i miljöer ute i samhället,
- eget agerande, ett "rolltagande" i vilket man själv prövar sin inlevelse i roll och miljö.

Genom olika rollspel försöker man lyfta fram aktuella problem. Elevgruppen har fått som uppdrag att t ex belysa vanliga orättvisor både i en skola och i arbetslivet. Gruppen får utarbeta skisser med ett urval av typiska roller som ställs emot varandra. I en efterföljande diskussion efterfrågas alternativa problemlösningar.

Många lärare har kunnat påvisa en förbättring av arbetsklimatet till följd av en dramaträning. Det kan ha skett en fördjupning av elevdemokratin. Envar vågar stå för sin åsikt och ökar förmågan att ta ansvar för sina handlingar och därmed möjligheter att påverka sin egen och gruppens situation. Man brukar tala om deltagarnas tillfälle att distansera sig från sina roller, se sig själva på håll och därmed ompröva avsikter och innebörd av olika händelser.

**Vissa baskunskaper**

Det är tydligt att dramaarbete stimulerar vår förmåga till kommunikation alltifrån de spontana lekarna i förskolan till mera medvetna samspel i grundskolan, där barnen i kontakt med varann söker en identitet, gör sig tydliga och uppmärksamma, fram till utveckling av värderingar och åsikter i högre åldersgrupper. Hit hör bl a en växande känsla för solidaritet och lojalitet. Man kan skilja mellan rollhandlingar av existentiell natur och sådana som ingår i en socialisation med gruppgemenskap och ömsesidiga hänsyn.


För gravt handikappade barn kan det gälla att gå i land med en orientering i närrummet och att där kunna behärska sina kroppsrörelser. Här fordras en träning i att förflytta sig, att balansera sin kropp och övervinna eventuella fysiska hinder. Senare kan det bli fråga om mera krävande uppgifter - en hantering av föremål, som

Av speciellt intresse var Kongsrud's arbete med en hjärnskadad flicka, som blivit handikappad genom en tidig kikhosta vid 1-2-årsåldern. Träningsprogrammet för henne framstår som ett tydligt exempel där terapin får en verksam effekt.

Upplevelseanalyser

Dramaarbetet utgår från direktupplevelser inom gruppen. Men man kan givetvis också göra en uppsökannde studie genom besök i olika miljöer som avspeglar olika former av samliv. Deltagarna ökar sin insikt i mänskliga livsvillkor. De får träna sig i att tolka och i handling uttrycka vad de har sett.


I sitt arbete "Människan som språk" (1970) har Bengt Nerman visat hur vårt eget upplevelsespråk tenderar att utplånas av ett offentlighetsspråk, som förlorat personliga uttryck. Han menar att nutidsmänniskan tidigt behöver träna sig i att därför vinnlägga sig om en utveckling av dessa personliga språk, som ger besked om våra omedelbara intrtryck av liv och leverne.

Det ickeverbala språket

Inom det totala språk som drama omfattar har vi särskild anledning att uppmärksamma kroppsspråket, eftersom det tillhör det i vanlig språktränning mest försummade. På senare tid har en del litteraturhandböcker tillkommen med avsikt att lära ut en form av tolkning för detta ickeverbala språk. Tyvärr har dessa ambitioner ofta lett fram till starka förenklingar och generaliseringar. Man har velat göra en grammatik för detta svåra språk. Men en närmare analys visar att inga entydiga tolkningar är möjliga eftersom de olika kroppsspråkliga uttryckens betydelse är starkt beroende av situationerna.

Kroppsspråket är en angelägenhet för många. Inte bara den skapande bildkonstnären, skulptören och koreografen har anledning att beakta innebörder i kroppsliga uttryck. Kulturanthropologerna, sociologerna, socialpsykologerna och teaterns regissörer har likaså orsak att bekymra sig om de många aspekter som kan läggas på uttolkningen av våra vardagliga gester, åtbörder, rörelser i rummet, emot eller från varandra osv.

Modern kommunikationsteori kan här erbjuda en framkomlig väg. I de kroppsliga signalerna och deras relation till informationens innebörd får man söka en väg för upplevelse och tolkning. Vi möter de många "kontexter" som gäller såväl budskapets detaljer som mottagarens beredskap. I avkodningen av detta budskap tvingas vi ta hänsyn till samspelet mellan observatör och budskapets avsändare.

Liksom bildanalytikerna arbetar med en rad typer av bildbudskap kan dramapedagogen påvisa en rad olika handlingsbudskap. I vardagen finner vi de spontana utbuden av känsla eller saminformation. I de konstnärliga framställningarna är det ofta fråga om beräknade, estetiska effekter som användes av symboler, kontraster och andra tekniker som förhöjer budskapets intensitet.

Tyvärr finner man inte så sällan forskare som analyserar kroppsspråket isolerat från de kontexter som hör till. Man arbetar som om de ickeverbala signalerna kunde begripas som separata budskap. I själva verket har man fastnat på en symtombedömning med ambition att där finna en form av regelsystem.

Vad som är biologiskt betingat eller socialt påverkat är sedan gammalt en intressant vetenskaplig fråga. Man har anledning att vara försiktig i sina slutsatser. Ett och samma "biologiska uttryck" kan inträffa i helt olika situationer, som fordrar skilda tolkningar. Liksom grafologin i vårt motoriska "mikrospråk" kan fenomen i det motoriska "makrospråket" underkastas helt olika värderingar och bedömningar beroende på helhetssituationen.
Dramaledarens villkor

Det är nödvändigt att det totala språk som drama innehåller får en god arbetsledning. Således bör dramaledaren planera arbetet, kunna veta vad elevgruppen för tillfället behöver för att bättra sin sociala kompetens. Ledaren måste följa upp effekterna av arbetet, möta deltagarnas upplevelser och anvisa vägar för bearbetning och analys som för vidare framåt.


SUMMARY

Educational drama can work as an important complement in language learning. When used in educational contexts, it improves the possibilities of dealing with what Ferdinand de Saussure called "le langage", the whole range of language forms actually used in a society. Dramatic language is simply a confluence of words, emotions, movements, visual expressions and sounds, i.e. a totality of expressions, and thus "much more" than the common, "formal", school language.
Educational drama has been known for the last 30 years in USA, the
Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Its origins are mainly
didactic theatre, child psychology and progressive pedagogy. In
educational drama one tries to build up social knowledge with
reference to a specific society and cultural tradition. The starting
point of a drama session is often a real life situation, so the
situations and the roles which the participants enact become
"mirrors" of society. As a parallel one could mention Piaget's
theory of how early language proficiency depends on the young
child's internalization of concepts and notions, on how it learns by
imitating adults. In educational drama, the participants not only
imitate and internalize, they also externalize concepts and notions,
which might even more improve their social competence and language
proficiency.

Nonverbal communication is of special interest, since it is a large
part of both drama and "le langage". However, one should be wary of
over-simplification of the meaning of different nonverbal signals.
Nonverbal communication must be interpreted in the context where it
appears, as well in real life as in drama workshops. Therefore any
study of educational drama has to be an interdisciplinary effort.

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Within the project Bruksanvisningarnas roll i datormiljö¹) (The Role of Instructions in Computer Environment) I have been studying manuals for personal computers as well as instructions in general. These have been texts like recipes, instructions of assembly, owners' guides for cars or bicycles etc. All these texts have in common that they give directions to help you to do something that you are anxious to succeed in doing, only you do not know how to do.

Working in this field you find yourself facing several interesting problems, and perhaps the first question you come to think of when it concerns instructions is the question of comprehension. Another interesting question is that of trying to make room for instructions within a general linguistic theory, and this has been my main task.

¹. Instructions and Speech Act Theory

The Speech Act Theory, as it was developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1975, 1976), is concerned with what you do when you use your language. Both Austin and Searle have tried to classify different speech acts and to group them. They both recognize five groups, which roughly correspond to each other. Without going into a thorough examination of all groups we note that the group relevant for instructions is Austin's exercitives and Searle's directives. An exercitive is defined as a group of speech acts characterized by the exercising of power, right and influence. Examples are order, command, beg and recommend. Searle's directives are speech acts used by the speaker in order to make the hearer do something which is within the scope of the speaker's will, wish or expected power. Examples are ask, order, command, request and beg.

SIC 13, 39-48
One could of course ask oneself whether a theory of this kind is enough to characterize language behaviour, and if it is at all possible to establish clearcut boundaries between speech acts. This is, however, a question which I will not be discussing in this paper. Rather, I will try to fit in instructions in the Speech Act Theory.

Searle recognizes a number of Felicity Conditions, which are expected to hold for a felicitous directive. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Requirement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory Condition</td>
<td>The hearer can (is able to) undertake the requested action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sincerity Condition</td>
<td>The speaker wants the hearer to undertake the action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propositional Content Condition</td>
<td>The speaker presupposes a future action by the hearer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essential Condition</td>
<td>The speech act is an attempt by the speaker to make the hearer undertake the action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the Propositional Content Condition and the Essential Condition are applicable to instructions - both conditions are fulfilled. The Preparatory Condition is applicable too - the instruction would be infelicitous if the hearer was unable to undertake the action. Possibly one could make the addition that the hearer is able to undertake the action but would hardly do so if he was not instructed to.

But what about the Sincerity Condition - is it applicable for instructions? Is it really possible to suppose that a person who writes an instruction is anxious that his instruction is followed? Is it not rather the wish or desire of the hearer that governs the situation? It is the hearer who wants to undertake the action in order to succeed in handling his computer, starting the car or whatever he attempts to do. It seems as if instructions would need a Sincerity Condition of their own, such as:

The hearer wants to undertake the action...
(... and the speaker knows this)
Instructions would then have to be recognized as a subgroup of the directives or as a speech act on their own. The important thing is, however, that the Speech Act Theory as it now stands does not account for instructions, and this might not be that surprising, since the theory was actually developed for spoken language.

There exists a study of written language, completed by Egon Werlich in 1975. It is called a typology of texts and Werlich distinguishes five different types of text: narrative, descriptive, expositional, argumentative and instructive. Unfortunately the typology is rather general to its character and none of the different types is actually studied in detail.

2. Instructions and Politeness

Politeness is much less important when it comes to instructions than directives in general, since the hearer is strongly motivated and is expecting instructions. Susan Ervin-Tripp (1976) mentions a number of factors which determine when a directive is considered polite or not. I will only present those relevant to the field of instructions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The action as a natural part of the situation</td>
<td>Take a ballet lesson. For someone not familiar to dance the instructions &quot;Plié, dégagé, sous-sous&quot; seem rather empty. For the ballet students they make sense. And they would be confused if the teacher were to ask &quot;Would you please be so kind as to make a plié?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectations of consent</td>
<td>The greater the expectation that the hearer will consent to the request, the more direct the request.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rolf Lindgren (1979) makes the following addition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To whose benefit the action is</td>
<td>If the action is to the benefit of the hearer, less politeness is required.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In shorter texts of instruction (such as recipes or simple instructions of assembly) we most frequently find the imperative,
which is not at all regarded as unpolite. This is a consequence of the well-defined situation of instructions, where it is natural to follow directives.

3. Some Distinctions in the Direction Towards a Typology of Instructions

I have been studying a number of handbooks for personal computers and motorcars and have constructed a first attempt in the direction of a typology of instructions.

Function

Texts of instruction consist of directions and information. The directions tell us what to do or how to do something in order to achieve a certain (desired) result. Information is not present in all instructions and especially not in shorter ones. As a rule, the more extensive the instruction text, the more information does it contain. The information concerns technical details or is just general information about the product. It can also be comments to the already given directions.

Thus, instructions are not only directive - they are also teaching and informative in that they provide a lot of information besides the directions. The following example is taken from a motorcar handbook and concerns jumper starting:

| Låt aldrig de två bilarna beröra varandra. | Direction |
| (Never let the two cars be in direct contact) | |
| Batterierna är jordade i bilarnas karosser, som | Information |
| därför inte får ha kontakt. | (The batteries are earthed in the car bodies, which therefore must not be in direct contact) |

Another example, with an overheated engine:

| Lossa inte kylarlocket förrän motorn har svalnat. | Direction |
| (Do not remove the radiator cap until the engine is cool) | |
När motorn är varm står kylarvätskan under tryck. Information och om du skruvar av locket sprutar het kylvätska ut, vilket kan resultera i bränskador.

(When the engine is hot the radiator coolant is under pressure and if you remove the radiator cap hot coolant may spurt out, which can cause burns)

Both directions and information can be direct or indirect.

Directness is characterized by the notion "here and now".
If it is a direction it should be followed at once, and if it is information it concerns what is going on right at the moment - it is a comment to a direction. The following examples are taken from a manual for a personal computer:

**Direct direction**
- Sätt in kassetten och återspola den. (Insert the cassette and rewind)
- Flytta markören till den plats där du vill skriva över texten. (Move the cursor to the position where you wish to change the text)
- Skriv in den nya texten. (Write the new text)

**Indirect direction**
- Om ett fönster inte skulle framträda så kontrollera att systemdiskettens symbol... (Should a window not appear, check that the disc symbol...)

A direction of the indirect kind need not be immediately followed. It is often in the form of a condition or an alternative. It is of a more general kind - a sort of direction that might be useful later on. Indirect information is more general too.
För att flytta en symbol markerar du den...
(In order to move a symbol you first have to mark it...)

Om du vill ändra något du skrivit använder du radertangenten.
(Should you wish to change something already written, use the error button)

Information
Macintosh BASIC utökar i hög grad världens mest populära programmeringsspråk.
(Macintosh BASIC greatly extends the world's most popular programming code)

Bildskärmen är indelad i rader och kolumner.
(The screen consists of lines and columns)

Syntax
The imperative is the most common syntactic form for directions (especially for the direct ones) in my Swedish material, though there are other possibilities. A direction can be written in the passive:

Skifttangenten hålls nere när du skriver dina tecken.
(The shift key is held down when writing)

or in the active:

Play-tangenten trycker du ner vid inspelning.
(You press the play-key when recording)

It occasionally appears as an impersonal construction:

Det är viktigt att du regelbundet raderar gamla, överflödiga filer.
(It is important that you scrap old versions)

The choice of syntactic form for a direction is, however, not only a question of altering the form of the verb. Consider the following example:

(Bring the milk to the boil. Stir down the semolina and allow to simmer for 4 mins. Stir well every now and then. Add salt, sugar, saffron and cardamom. Allow to cool. Stir the eggs and add them and the flour to the mixture. Bake in buttered pan in 225 degrees, 25 mins.)

To convert this text into the active we must have a subject, and find ourselves facing the Swedish problem of whether to use the second person singular or plural pronoun (both translating as you into English) when addressing the reader. Alternatively we could use the third person singular man (=one). In order to give the text a better continuity we also need some sort of chronological markers (such as then, now, etc.). This gives us the following text:


The procedure is very similar when it comes to the passive. If the imperative version lacks an object that can be made subject in the passive version (as in mjölken kokas upp) we will have to invent one (as in blandningen rörs om då och då). Here too, it is necessary to add chronological markers.


The very fact that the imperative does not have to have a subject makes it a very handy syntactic form for directions in Swedish. It is worth noticing that in languages with personal agreement in the imperative verb form (such as German, French, Italian etc.) the most frequent directive form is the infinitive. In this way these languages too avoid the problem of choosing the "correct" and most polite way of addressing the hearer/reader. The following examples are take from a handbook for a slide projector:
Lampe stets mit Verpackungshülle anfassen und diese erst nach dem Einsetzen abziehen.

Introduire le passe-vues. Allumer la lampe.

Abbassare la maniglia di trasporto. Aprire la cassetta degli accessori.

Information can, of course, never appear in the imperative but in the passive, active and as impersonal constructions it does.

**Meaning**

Directions as well as information can, if they are in the passive or active, either appear in a "pure" form or together with an auxiliary verb or adverbial, which slightly modifies the meaning of the direction. Similar modifications are also common among the impersonal constructions. The following possibilities occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>auxiliary</th>
<th>adverbial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obligation</td>
<td>måste, skall (must, shall)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ovillkorligen, absolut (inevitably, absolutely)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>behöver (need)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viktigt, nödvändigt (important, necessary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deonticity</td>
<td>bör (should, ought)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lämpligen, rådligt (appropriate, advisable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>möjligt (possible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enkelt, enklare, enklast bra, praktiskt, klokt... (simple, simpler, simplest good, practical, wise...)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:**

Du bör alltid lagra ditt program.  
(You should always save your program)

Programmet måste alltså förses med ett namn.  
(Thus the program must be given a name)

Viktiga program lagrar du lämpligen i en separat file.  
(You appropriately save important programs in a separate file)

The auxiliary kan should be interpreted as a direction when it is used in the sense "now it is time to", "now you may", "now only one thing remains..." etc. On the other hand, it should be interpreted as information if it merely states that the reader now
has the possibility to do something. Compare:

Nu kan du trycka på Utför.  
(Now you can press Carry out)

En diskett kan användas i 830 timmar.  
(A disc can be used (=lasts) 830 hours)

4. Classification of Texts of Instruction

With the above typology we can characterize different types of texts of instruction, and the simplest type would be a text with directions like: Do A, do B, do C - ready! In other words a text with directions only of the direct type and no information, like the recipes above. The next type would be a text containing directions and information of the direct type: Do A - A1 follows, do B - B1 follows... We would end up with a schema like the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>direct direct.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect dir.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct inform.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect info.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 1 represents the simplest form of instruction text - like the recipes above. Type 7 is in fact no instruction text. Rather, it is an informative text. School books would be expected to be represented by type 5. These often contain indirect directions like: "Before you proceed you should make sure that you master the previous chapter". Manuals for personal computers would be found in type 4, and thus we notice that this model, although it is detailed enough to characterize different types of instruction texts, is not sufficient for the study of manuals.

We can also use the typology in order to measure the rate of directness, share of directions and information respectively etc. in instruction texts. The results might not be overwhelmingly interesting when considered separately, but would certainly be useful in the study of comprehension, especially when combined
with factors as syntax, sentence length, number of new or field-specific words etc.

It is probably when it comes to comprehension that texts of instruction become especially interesting to study. Many manuals and instructions seem to take a lot of knowledge for granted and other may contain lots of technical information that might be useful and interesting for a professional but only complicates matters for the beginner.

It would be excellent if we could start working with all the practical problems concerning comprehension at once. However, I do not consider that possible until a theoretic framework for instructions has been developed. This is the first attempt in the course of developing one.

Notes:
1) The project is financially supported by HSFR (Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet).

Bibliography:


NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION - IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS

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INTRODUCTION

Nonverbal communication remains a relatively under-researched area of classroom practice. In this paper I will attempt to examine its form and significance, and to discuss the extent to which inexperienced teachers, especially, can become aware of their own nonverbal communication and improve it. Much of the paper is based on three linked studies of teachers' nonverbal communication and children's reaction to it recently conducted at Warwick. The first of these (Neill 1986b) was a pilot study of classroom nonverbal communication based on videotapes of teachers of 12-13 year old classes; this observational data can be compared with secondary children's responses to pictures of teachers' non-verbal signals (Neill 1986a), the signals presented on the pictures corresponding to those observed in the videotape study. The second study showed that children reacted strongly to touch, and a third study concentrated on touch. I should also stress that as the data come from British classrooms and children, some of the conditions I describe may not be true for Swedish schools.

The classroom social relationship has many features which are atypical of normal adult social interaction, and this causes problems for new teachers, who may carry over social skills appropriate to relationships with their own peers to a situation where children use and respond to a rather different range of signals. For example, boys, especially, in the earlier years of the secondary school still engage in a level of fighting, both serious and more playful (Neill 1985), which would be unknown amongst most groups of adults. An adult may therefore take a serious threat in a rather different way to a child, as the possibility of it being followed up by actual violence is so much less; to the child the threat may both appear more dangerous, and, if it is not followed up, the threatener may seem weaker.
Peer relationships are of great importance to children. This has been stressed both by cross-cultural psychologists and ethologists (Fine 1980, Savin-Williams 1980) who have found this phenomenon to be widely distributed, possibly for evolutionary reasons connected with the social structure of preindustrial societies (Neill 1983, cf. Hargreaves 1982). Children are likely to be critically influenced by social pressures in their educational decisions (e.g. Turner 1983, McPherson 1983), the teacher therefore needs to be an effective social operator, so she can exert her influence too.

A model of the teacher-child relationship

Much of this discussion in this paper is based on a relatively simple model of the teacher-child relationship. This is predicated on the fact that children are compelled to be in school and that inevitably much of the material they are taught, while it might be interesting to them in some circumstances, is not of interest at the particular time or in the particular form in which it is taught (Jackson 1968). Secondly, both teacher and children draw, in classroom interaction, on skills and habits established outside it, for instance in the playground (Sluckin 1981, Davies 1982). Thus it seems likely that when a class first meets a teacher she has to do two things.

First, she must convince them that it is not worth doing things she does not want them to do; this is established by building up "case law" (Wragg & Wood 1984) in response to their attempts to test her or "suss her out" (Beynon 1986). In other words the first encounters have a long-term importance out of proportion to the time involved as incidents during these are critical in letting the class know whether the teacher can effectively dominate her class. Failure to meet these challenges, by a teacher who is uncertain of herself or, in Kounin's (1970) terms, not "with-it" (i.e. when children misbehave she does not respond rapidly or discipline the children who actually started the trouble) lets the class establish that they do not actually need to obey the teacher's requests. Inexperienced teachers often fail in this way by starting to teach the curriculum material without first building up a relationship with the class (Moskowitz & Hayman 1974) while student teachers often start by imitating the style of the experienced teachers they are working with, but class control and work rate rapidly
decrease (Dreyfus & Eggleston 1979), apparently because they lack the skills to cope with disciplinary problems.

Behavioural differences between teachers

The observational work was based on videotapes of 13 teachers of 12- and 13-year-old children during the first lesson of the school year and during a lesson in the middle of the school year. The teachers were divided on the basis of class responses to their lessons in the middle of the school year. Five "effective" teachers had good relationships with their classes, no control problems, and were agreed to be "master teachers" by experienced advisory staff. Four "ineffective" teachers were having severe disciplinary problems with their classes, which were recognised by the teachers themselves and other staff. The remaining four "average" teachers maintained overall control and lesson content, but had some problems in their relationship with their classes. It is important to stress here that "effectiveness" was assessed in terms of class relationships and we did not attempt to measure children's progress with their work. However, the "ineffective" teachers had such disciplinary problems with their classes that it was quite clear that the children's work was suffering: differences in work rate between the "effective" and "average" teachers were less apparent, and it is obviously possible for teachers to extract work from children even when the quality of their relationship is not very good.

Three analyses were carried out (full details of the methods are in Neill (1986b); the first was of complete lessons. In addition two analyses were made of specific elements of the lessons. Some teachers might be more effective than others in communicating their enthusiasm for their subject: to assess this, behaviour during "educational talk" (i.e. talk and questions about facts, ideas and hypotheses related to the subject) was analysed. Alternatively some teachers may be more effective at conveying their authority during confrontations with the children (defined here as periods during which the teacher was producing any form of critical talk).

We found that across all three analyses the most consistent differences, usually at the highest level of significance, occurred between the effective and ineffective teachers. This suggests that there are real differences, perceptible to the children, between these groups.
Over the lessons as a whole these differences appeared especially in the emphasis and enthusiasm which effective teachers conveyed, and ineffective teachers lack. Effective teachers showed a wider range of facial expressions; correspondingly the ineffective teachers spent more time with neutral expressions. Effective teachers used more vivid illustrative gestures to emphasise their speech. The facial expressions often conveyed how the teacher felt the class should react to the lesson (for example a raised brow to convey something surprising and interesting), as did many of the "metaphoric" (McNeill 1985) gestures (for example the teacher "held an idea" up in front of her for the class to "see" as she talked). The teachers also used "iconic" gestures (for example drawing in the air the line of trenches zigzagging across Europe in the First World War). McNeill (1985) shows that these gestures, which reach full development in middle childhood, are controlled by the same psychological structure as speech. Their absence probably suggests to the class that the teachers is not fully involved with and in full command of what she is talking about. Ineffective teachers showed more barrier signals (such as an arm across the chest, often self-holding another part of the body, which indicates a defensive attitude) than the effective teachers, and spent less time relaxed. Ineffective teachers were less likely to show movements indicating interest in children's contributions to the lesson, and animated intonation or humour to enliven their talk. They were also less likely to use decisive, controlling gestures.

The pattern during educational talk was similar for that of the lesson as a whole, as might be expected, though the rather strict definition of educational talk which we used meant that it only took up 16.2% of the lessons (we included only talk actually about the curriculum subject, not talk about methods of carrying out the work or encouraging the children to do it).

During confrontations, effective teachers' self-confidence manifested itself in slightly different forms, though they again used more controlling gestures. They also made more use of illustrator gestures, to make their point clear. This suggests that they were confidently involved with what they were saying, as over the lessons as a whole. They were not "severe"; they were more likely to smile and get down to children's level during confrontations. Together these suggest a
willingness to intervene by effective teachers, together with a less serious and threatening approach when criticising children. On the other hand, ineffective teachers were more likely to show barrier and displacement signals, such as fumbling with their collars, and they were more likely to look sad. Even senior politicians are seen as less confident if they show uncertain signals like these (Exline 1985). Barrier signals suggest fear of the class, and displacement signals suggest uncertainty, in contrast to relaxed signals such as hands-in-pockets, which ineffective teachers used less than effective ones. In these respects ineffective teachers were too uncertain of themselves to impress their will on the children. On the other hand their threatened feeling could cause them to over-react; of the three groups effective teachers were least likely to use a loud voice - a threatening signal. Children react in a very hostile way to excessive anger or force from teachers (Lewis & Lovegrove 1984), and the ineffective teachers' greater degree of stress makes them more likely to go over the boundary of active hostility to their class. Effective teachers' behaviour during confrontations is both more adaptive and closer to their behaviour during the rest of the lesson than that of ineffective teachers. It indicates a calm dominance over the situation, shown by their unthreatened behaviour in a potentially threatening situation.

Children's reported responses to teachers.

The teachers' observed behaviour can be compared to children's perceptions, as reported in their categorisation of drawings illustrating most of the behaviour categories used in analysing the videotapes. (Fuller details are given in Neill 1986a). These were presented to mixed-sex groups of 20-30 children at four ages between 12 and 18. In selecting the words they used to describe the pictures they saw, the children opposed "dour", strict and unfriendly teachers to interesting and helpful ones. They also contrasted fun, easygoing teachers with serious, work-oriented ones. The final two groupings were boring/unhelpful, and calm.

Dour, strict and unfriendly behaviour included aggressive assertiveness and actual aggression. All these patterns are characteristic of teachers who are forcibly asserting their control over the class; children appear to be very sensitive to escalated confrontations of
this type, which may present a challenge to their social identity. As mentioned above, it is often the more uncertain teachers, often those who are dedicated to teaching their subject to children who therefore find the class's uncooperativeness frustrating, who are likely to explode in this way and thus incur the enmity of the children. The children much preferred, as was evident from their responses in their own words at the end of the questionnaire, interesting, friendly and helpful behaviour including explaining gestures. Children expect teachers to teach them, but as learning can be risky to their self-esteem if they keep making mistakes, they want to be taught in a supportive way (Docking 1980).

One surprising aspect of the fun/friendly grouping of pictures were a number of teacher-child touch postures as well as the more obvious smiling expressions. Many teachers are wary of touching children, and touch was rarely observed though it was used by effective teachers: a child was only seen to touch a teacher on two occasions. Like teacher humour (which is used by effective teachers, as I have discussed earlier) its salience to children appears much greater than the actual amount of time it takes. Opposed to this, as "serious" were two groups of postures, some confrontational and some explaining.

Many of the postures seen as "boring" or "unhelpful" indicate uncertainty or fear of the class. There are clear resemblances between this grouping and the observed behaviour of the more ineffective teachers. These seem to be in double jeopardy: as we have seen, if the class drives them to lose their temper they are rejected as "strict", while if they withdraw from it they are condemned as "boring". Calm behaviour represents dominant behaviour, indicated by low-intensity threat, or lack of threat, under threatening circumstances. We have already remarked on the relaxed observed behaviour of the effective teachers during confrontations, and this grouping seems to indicate that the children are also responsive to this pattern.

The basis of children's judgements.

In the introduction, I mentioned that children appear to draw their skills in interpreting teachers' nonverbal communication from sources and experiences outside the classroom. Two lines of evidence from this series of studies support this idea - the effect of facial expression
on children's responses and their responses to touch from teachers and non-teachers.

An analysis of the children's responses in the previous study, to see how they relate to the facial expressions of the teachers in the pictures indicates that frowning and smiling have the greatest influence over children's judgements. These universal facial expressions, which appear to have a genetic foundation (Ekman & Friesen 1975) have a powerful effect in signalling the emotional loading of a classroom situation. In this respect children's actual classroom response seems to be influenced by fundamental aspects of human communication, which also override the socially conditioned variable of gender (cf. Brophy & Good 1974).

A second strand of evidence comes from a study of children's reactions to touch (Neill, in prep.). About 60 children were tested at each of five ages between 8 and 17-18. Most groups made little distinction between teachers and non-teachers (whether adult or peer). College boys (17-18 year olds) were an exception; they preferred non-teachers. Before the work was done, a difference in children's responses to teachers and non-teachers was expected; the authority status and more formal relationship children might have with teachers compared to non-teachers might be expected to make a difference. In fact the kind of touch and where the child was touched, together with the sex and familiarity of the toucher, were the most important influences. It is notable here that the unfamiliarity of the new teacher seems to be more important than her status as a teacher in influencing the way in which children see her. The younger children also preferred a person of their own sex; the boys strongly preferred touch from a female after puberty, but this effect was weaker for the girls! While boys' willingness from puberty on to be touched by a female teacher was lower than their willingness to be touched by a female peer they were clearly responding in terms of her identity as a female rather than as a teacher. They actually were seldom touched by female teachers, but their responses fit with the general pattern emerging from studies of male students and adults (Heslin & Alper 1983).

For teachers, their status is much less important than their familiarity to the class and their sex. More detailed analyses of two common types of touch from teachers - friendly and directing - showed
Fig 1-4. Children's responses to touch from teachers. Note the general avoidance of angry and rough-and-tumble types of touch, and o touch.
to chest and legs. These relative preferences continue for the college (17 year old) boys in spite of their willingness to be touched by female teachers.
very little difference from the overall patterns, though, as might be expected, friendly touch was the more popular. While children seem to expect and tolerate certain types of touch from teachers, their response is mainly influenced by the overall response to touch of particular types and to particular parts of the body which characterises their sex and age, and there are stronger differences between familiar and unfamiliar teachers than between teachers and other adults. We may again, as in the case of facial expression, conclude that the evidence suggests no specific differentiation in children's responses to teachers.

Discussion.

How much does nonverbal behaviour actually influence children's perceptions of teachers? It would be quite possible that though as we have seen teachers who have different classroom relationships with children show different nonverbal behaviour, the behaviour itself has no effect on the relationship - either because the relationship causes the differences in behaviour, or because other aspects of the situation are actually important and whether there are nonverbal differences or not has no effect. Secondly, is it possible to train teachers to show the more effective types of behaviour? Nonverbal style may be an immutable human characteristic, so that no modification as a result of training is possible and in this respect the teacher folklore that "teachers are born not made" is correct. In this case, knowledge of nonverbal behaviour, though interesting, is of no practical use to teachers, though it might be important to selectors for teacher training courses, as a potential student with the "wrong" nonverbal style would have to be rejected as a certain failure in teaching.

The little research on how much influence nonverbal communication actually has on children tends to show that when it is opposed to verbal communication its influence is less. This conclusion is based on the research of Woolfolk and her associates (Woolfolk et al. 1977, Woolfolk 1978) whose experiments typically included a standardised lesson during which the teacher circulated and then commented on the class's work using either concordant verbal and nonverbal signals (e.g. both praising the children's work) or discordant (e.g. critical comments delivered in a pleasant tone of voice). The quality of work
the children produced and their attitude to the teacher reflected whether the comments were positive or negative, but negative nonverbal cues (frowning, headshaking and voice tone) made the children produce better work. The "firm teacher" combination (positive comments negatively delivered) produced the best work, the "uncertain teacher" combination (negative comments positively delivered) the worst, and in this respect the results resemble those reported here. Some problems arise, however, in interpreting these results. In order to get satisfactory experimental control in psychological terms, the teaching situation itself had to be rather artificial and the teacher's reactions had to be standardised, with no questions from teacher or children and no contact with individual children. The teachers were also students, not experienced teachers, and their contact with the children was limited to only half an hour. The experiment was also presented to the children as such, so they were likely to be cooperative. This may especially have affected children's reactions to nonverbal communication, which is normally reliable because of its spontaneity: they may therefore discounted the signals they were receiving, and the limited contact would have given children little opportunity to probe the teacher's abilities, or go beyond first impressions. Different balances in the attention to the various cues available might have occurred in other circumstances, such as disciplinary confrontations. Praise or criticism is a legitimate part of the teacher's role however it is expressed. Children do after all expect teachers to teach them (Docking 1980): superb presentation will not ultimately be satisfactory if the content and structure of the lesson are valueless, and this value can only be transmitted verbally.

Children are likely to attend to the teacher's signals only in as far as they usefully predict her actions. "Actions speak louder than words" and they are also likely to speak louder than nonwords. Both types of signal are a "cheap" substitute for real action, and children will rapidly become aware of whether enthusiasm translates into real credit for their work or action to follow up their suggestions, or whether threats really foretell punishment. Failure to make an accurate assessment can lead to problems which could be avoided with more perceptiveness; thus McCuller (1983) found that disruptive children were less likely to perceive the intended attitudes of teachers and
children in classroom simulations, and more likely to give aggressive or negative responses to the teacher than nondisruptives. In real life, they would have found themselves in confrontations with the teacher which they could have avoided if they had read the warning signs.

One problem here relates to the apparent "honesty" with which ineffective teachers signal their uncertainty (described above). In most circumstances outside the classroom "honest" indication of uncertainty is likely to be adaptive, as it avoids the risk of getting into a situation which the individual cannot cope with. However in the teaching situation, indecisiveness is likely to be seized on by the children; not only will this prevent the teacher carrying out her planned course of work (Moskowitz & Hayman 1974, Dreyfus & Eggleston 1979) but where children expect teachers to keep them under control, they will criticise the indecisive teacher for breaking what they see as her "obligation" to keep them under control (Nash 1974). Kounin (1970) found that the decisiveness or "withitness" was the best predictor of a teacher's success in class control; teachers who had few problems reacted promptly to deviance and "nipped it in the bud" by dealing with the children who had actually started the trouble rather than those who had joined in later, and who did not react to one, perhaps trivial, incident while ignoring another more serious one. "Overlappingness", the ability to deal with a problem without getting diverted from the task in hand, was also important. These abilities depend on a knowledge of the cues which show that children are starting to be engaged in deviance, which have not yet been fully researched. However they are likely to be inconspicuous as the children are not keen to be found out! The teacher will usually have to rely on nonverbal cues as if the children talk to each other they will certainly try to be too quiet for her to hear. An example of these nonverbal cues is the "flick check" - a rapid glance towards the teacher to check whether she has noticed what is going on.

We may ask why high-intensity threats seem less effective in the classroom than low-intensity, calm dominance and rapid reaction to potential challenges. The answer may lie in the teacher's ultimate lack of physical sanctions which could back up strong threats; teachers are legally prohibited from taking actions which would injure children, for example. Equally they have no way of forcing children to
learn. The effective teacher also defuses confrontations where possible, by prosocial moves. In this way she keeps confrontations within a zone where the sanctions available to her can be used effectively, and she also offers the children support in learning, and, as Kounin (1970) has described, a well-organised lesson which makes it easier for her class to use their time well and learn successfully. This is not to say that the effective teachers in the observational study showed no signs of stress, but very often before or after confrontations or transitions to a new section of the lesson, when the concentration of the class is likely to be broken, when, as is apparent from videotapes of the class, the attention of the children is less likely to be on them; during the critical period they appeared calm and decisive, and this would have been the impression transmitted to the class.

We can now move to the second question: how do teachers acquire these skills and how are children able to interpret them? Children spend a lot of their time in the playground learning social skills and how to cope with confrontations, as Sluckin (1981) has shown. As was mentioned in the introduction, confrontations between children can involve real fighting, and Sluckin has investigated the tactics children use to get their own way without getting drawn into violence. This experience of the skills of control and persuasion means that children can recognise and be influenced by these signals when teachers give them.

Children's recognition of these nonverbal signals raises the question of their origin and whether teachers' nonverbal style is acquired before they start teaching or whether they can modify it in the light of their teaching experience. Some signals, especially the facial expressions, are inborn (Ekman & Friesen 1975). Like many inborn signals, these follow Darwin's "principle of antithesis" (Zivin 1982); thus, where the threatening person leans forward, lifts her chin and pulls the centre of her brows down and together in an angry frown, uncertainty is signalled by leaning away from the opponent, raising the centre of the brows in a sad frown and lowering the chin. However these inborn elements are modified by culture and experience as the child grows older; for example the Japanese tend to suppress the expression of emotion in public, though not when alone (Ekman & Friesen 1975). Many signals, such as beckoning, are passed on entirely by
cultural traditions which differ markedly from area to area (Morris et al. 1979). As Zivin (1982) has pointed out, with age nonverbal signals such as children's displays of dominance and submission become more subtle, with only parts of the original full displays, which merge into outright conflict, being used: this reduces the risks. From middle childhood on, Zivin suggests, high ranking children exude an air of competence even in nonconflict situations. When two strangers first meet, this is to the advantage of both the child who is sending the signals and the receiver child. It allows the receiver to react correctly right from the start of any interaction rather than by bitter experience. Relative status can be established in a new relationship without overt conflict which could sour or break it up. Among 15-18 year olds group members recognise the signals, such as erect posture, willingness to meet another's gaze, and relaxation, which characterise the socially successful (Weisfield & Linkey 1985).

Socially dominant and competent individuals are more willing to take risks and persist in problematic situations (Weisfield 1980). It is likely that many effective teachers have been socially competent children and adults and carry their confidence over into the teaching situation. They may be at an advantage both because their confident behaviour influences classes to accept them and not to create problems, and because they are less concerned by any problems which may arise. (There is a parallel here with the nonverbal signals of high-achieving children, who look as if they understand more than low-achievers, even when both are equally well able or unable to understand the lesson material presented to them (Allen & Atkinson 1978)). There is evidence that interviewees who present confidence nonverbally are more likely to be selected for jobs in industry (Bull 1983). There is no corresponding evidence of the importance of nonverbal behaviour for teacher selection, though in view of the agreement of selectors on the personality qualities of teacher training applicants (Coleman 1985) it is likely that nonverbal behaviour does have an influence. In other words selectors probably choose students whose existing behaviour means that they will be able to present themselves well to a class in most cases. These students may also be better able to modify their social skills where there are any deficiencies. From the evidence presented in this paper it is clear that many of the differences
between effective and ineffective teachers are relatively subtle aspects of behaviour which may not be subjectively obvious. Calderhead (1986) has shown that many student teachers are unaware of such aspects of their behaviour and fail to appreciate or believe the advice of their supervisors aimed at improving their classroom skills. Student teachers still have a very low conscious awareness of nonverbal skills at the end of their course, in comparison to good probationer teachers (in their first year of paid teaching): poor probationers, who leave teaching or fail to make progress in it, also lack this awareness (Neill, Fitzgerald & Jones 1983). There is therefore a clear need to sensitise student teachers to the existence and importance of nonverbal communication.

One possible approach is via games which aim to alert players to various aspects of communication, including nonverbal communication (Walker & Adelman 1975, Bond 1986). However none of these games deals with specified nonverbal teaching skills (they either aim to draw participants' attention to nonverbal skills in general or ask them to adopt a role without specifying what signals can be used). This approach is potentially useful because of its ease of application; most groups find the games fun and participate enthusiastically, and they may be productive activities for student teachers, for example, to carry out in their own time.

Another profitable form of training to encourage alterations in nonverbal skills is likely to involve assessment of the student teacher's existing skills, perhaps best done by videotape, so that she becomes aware of problems, followed by reassessment after an attempt has been made to correct the deficiencies. This approach is typical of the microteaching movement (McIntyre et al. 1977), which, however, did not include instruction on specific nonverbal skills, though the general aspects of class control and relationship-forming, and the verbal skills of effective exposition and questioning, were practiced. More specific training in nonverbal skills has been successful in a number of non-teaching contexts (reviewed by Bull 1983), though, as Bull points out, the effectiveness of such training depends on whether communication is the problem or some other aspect of the social situation.

The general lack of awareness of their own skills by experienced teachers may be a further problem in increasing the capabilities of
novice teachers. As Tomlinson & Smith (1985) point out, the essence of skill is the removal of individual actions from conscious monitoring to automatic routines which can be smoothly integrated while conscious attention is directed elsewhere. Thus for the experienced and effective teacher the actions which create good relationships with her children are automatic, and she actually finds it difficult either to recall or be aware of elements of skilful practice which may be conspicuous to an outside observer. As Tomlinson & Smith (op. cit.) say, this may actually make experienced teachers unsuitable as teachers of teaching skills.

One major problem is that the sheer rush of classroom events may mean that the student teacher cannot remember incidents and therefore lacks the sort of experience from which she could learn. The Radio Assisted Practice approach (Smith & Tomlinson 1984) by which the education tutor can communicate with the student teacher during the lesson, and point out potential problems so they can be corrected before they build up, seems a very promising approach to this area, which could be applied to teaching nonverbal skills as well as others. By being able to point out to the student what is going wrong at the time, instead of waiting to the end of the lesson when any memory may have been submerged under more recent events, and by the possibility of prompting the student to take corrective action and experience success as a result of doing so, the education tutor may be able to intervene more successfully. It is also possible to concentrate on the specific deficits an individual student has, rather than overburdening her attention with information on a wide range of skills some of which she is already exercising successfully.

There is a real virtue in looking at these aspects of classroom communication as merely skills, to be used in the service of education and not a reflection of the "true" personality of the teacher. There is increasing evidence that teachers, especially student teachers, who can stand back from their lessons and view them as "performances" are able to cope much better with the stresses of teaching (Calderhead 1986). Many teachers, especially new entrants to the profession, feel a commitment to teaching which makes the inevitable failed lessons stressful assaults on themselves as persons. Clearly successful classroom relationships are an essential part of the effective teacher's
abilities, but they are likely to be less of a challenge if teachers have a greater knowledge of the skills which can be applied to them.

Acknowledgements

The research reported here was supported by the Nuffield Foundation. The schools, teachers and children involved deserve warm thanks for their indispensable cooperation.

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CLASSROOM TEACHING AND CHILD ADJUSTED COMMUNICATION*

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Introduction

According to Piaget (1970) the child learns by action and interaction and according to teaching methods deducted from Piagetian theories, the teacher's role is to assist the child in his learning process. This she does by adapting her behavior to the child's emotional state, interests and cognitive level and by creating a positive atmosphere for learning, which encourages the child to participate actively (Schwebel et al, 1973).

Previous research on mother-child communication shows that the maternal behavior reflected in the special register used to children coincides with those teaching adaptions aimed at in the Piagetian pedagogy. Moreover, results from my research on blindness and child adjusted communication highlight the mother's adaptive quality, showing that increased adaptions or adaptions especially intended to compensate for the communicative handicap have a positive effect on the child's affective, cognitive and communicative development. There is therefore reason to assume that teachers have a great deal to learn from the mother's adaptive behavior. However before penetrating the register used to young children let us for a moment consider factors which create the basis for it.

Reciprocity and responsiveness

The exchanges in normal mother-child communication are reciprocal feedback processes with shared rhythm and attention (Bateson, 1975), where each party of the dyad mutually adapts to the other (Trevarthen, 1979). During these processes the mother responds to the child's behavior immediately with comments or imitations (Snow, 1977).

Very early the infant develops expectations of maternal behavior and becomes puzzled or non-responsive if he finds the behavior deviant (Tronick et al, 1979). A mother also has expectations of

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normal infant behavior and can have difficulties in responding to
deviant behavior from the infant (Fraiberg, 1977).

As the infant's behavior is observed to affect the mother's beha­
vior much more than the mother's affects the infant's, the diffe­
rences found in mother's communication with sighted and blind in­
fants respectively is suggested not only to be due to delays in
the blind infant's development but also to the adaptive quality
of the mother (van der Geest, 1983).

The child adjusted register

Seen in the light of the classroom situation the above cited re­
search is indeed suggestive. So let us now turn to the register,
in which the adaptions are manifested. It is commonly known as
"Baby talk" or "Motherese", terms which in my opinion not only
may lead to misinterpretations but also are less suitable as terms
for communicative behavior towards children.

Here a new term is suggested: child adjusted communication, here­
after CA. This term implies that the register serves the function
of adaptive communication, adjusting to the child's abilities and
needs, emotionally, cognitively and communicatively and that it
comprises linguistic (hereafter verbal) and para-linguistic (here­
after (vocal) as well as extra-linguistic (hereafter somatic\(^2\))
communicative means.

Different functions have been hypothesised for this register: a
communicative, an informative, an affective, a self-expressive,
a social, an analytic and a language teaching (cf Snow & Ferguson,
1977; Penman et al, 1983). Since some of them are partly overlap­
ing, I have concentrated them into three, namely an affective,
a communicative and a pedagogic function.

The affective functional values of the register are reported to
decrease as the child matures and as the mother's instructive be­
havior consequently increases but are still high in proportion to
the amount of maternal utterances (Stern et al, 1983). The com­
municative functional values also decrease as the child matures
(cf Snow & Ferguson, 1977). Thus the maternal communicative style
is gradually transformed into adult communication.

Since the functions are interrelated and interdependent the context must always be considered before a decision can be made as to whether the primary function is affective, communicative or pedagogic. Although they may play different roles in different situations or at different developmental stages of the child, results from my study of blindness and child adjusted communication indicate that characteristics with a primary affective function have had the greatest effect on the child's communicative behavior and development, while characteristics with a primary pedagogic function - read intentional teaching - have had the least effect. This I find important to point out, since - in my opinion - classroom problems, such as difficulties to create a positive atmosphere for learning, to catch and retain attention and to understand and to be understood, are similar to those of mother-child dyads where one party is blind.

Although there are a great many potentially affective, communicative and pedagogic characteristics that have shown to affect the behavior of both mother and child, here only a few will be presented.

Somatic characteristics

Among the somatic characteristics facial expressions, which are exaggerated in the CA-register, may be a means of initiating or maintaining communication. The absence or the inexpressiveness of many facial expressions in the blind may however cause communicative problems. Still worse is the fact that sighted mothers of blind infants often feel rejected by their infant's "blank faces" and misread this as non-affect (Fraiberg, 1977).

In classroom situations the teacher as well as the pupil with a deviant or limited repertoire of facial expressions may get into communicative difficulties. These are however possible to overcome by training, since facial expressions may be culturally modified "through imitation and observational feedback" (Zimler, 1982, p.5).

Results from my study indicate that even if the child cannot per-
ceive the facial expressions visually he can develop them with the help of maternal verbal mirroring.

The prolonged and high-frequent **eye-to-eye contact**, which in fact is prohibited for anyone other than caretakers and lovers, is that characteristic of the CA-register, which most obviously breaks cultural rules. It is suggested to be of vital concern with regard to attachment and fundamental for human communication.

Absence of mutual gaze is reported to cause problems in communication between sighted mothers and their blind children. As the mother feels rejected or out of rapport with her child the dialogue may be halting or uncertain (Fraiberg, 1977) and she may "withdraw from her infant or initiate inappropriate stimulation to which the child cannot respond" (Burlingham, 1979, p.5).

The lack of eye-to-eye contact between a blind mother and her sighted child in my study indicates longterm effects on the child's communicative behavior. The efforts by the child to establish eye-to-eye contact decreased namely with his growing age, and at the age of 3 he made no attempts at all during periods lasting up to five minutes.

Since eye-to-eye contact has consequences not only for affection but also for attention, avoidance of it definitely has a negative effect in classroom situations. Although there are means such as touches and verbal utterances in our redundant communicative system to compensate for the lack of mutual gaze, its powers cannot be too highly overrated. My advice then to teachers as well as pupils is to be more aware of and to make more use of eye-to-eye contact.

Even if mutual gaze in mother-child communication often indicates positive affect, **smiling** is the outstanding parameter for the expression of it. It is also regarded to be one of the milestones of human attachment (Ainsworth, 1973).

With regard to blindness then, the blind infant is observed to smile more seldom than the sighted child, which is explained by the child's incapacity to see the response to the smile. Natu-
rally a blind child cannot react and respond to visual stimuli but nevertheless, their sighted parents have expectations of responses from the child and experience a lack of responses as disinterest and thereby feel rejected by the child (Fraiberg, 1977).

I think that the importance of smiling for creating a positive classroom atmosphere needs no further comments.

Other characteristics of maternal behavior are the high-frequent physical contacts such as touches, linked with tenderness of handling. They are not only a means of attracting attention but also an important means of establishing attachment between mother and infant (Bell, 1974). Close physical contact is also suggested to be positively correlated with infants' cognitive and communicative development (Thoman, 1981).

As regards blindness, physical contact is supposed to compensate for lack of mutual gaze. Blind children, limited as they are in their nonverbal behavior, often use touches or other tactile behavior to attract attention. They are, however, observed to become passive when they are out of physical contact with their mothers, but to "come alive" as soon as they regain this contact (Urwin, 1978). Infants who rock, may also stop this behavior if they receive physical contact.

In the dyad of blind mother-sighted child in my research, the mother's frequent use of touches had not only immediate effects as attention getters and communication triggers but also longterm effects in the sense that the child to attract his mother's attention most often made use of the same or similar touches. A mutual pointing/reaching gesture, adapted to blindness and originating from touch was also developed between mother and child.

Any teacher who has had restless pupils knows that touch is one of the most effective means to tone down their excitability and for reasons cited above, touches should in my opinion be used more often in all school situations.
Vocal characteristics

The mother's vocal behavior is characterized by exaggeration and it is suggested to facilitate communication between mother and child.

A greater pitch range together with marked terminal pitch falls or rises are suggested to function as attention getters and holders, also assisting the child in comprehending language structures and communicative rules (cf Snow & Ferguson, 1977). Especially terminal pitch changes may provide the child with information about when and how to take part in a conversation (Stern et al, 1983).

With regard to blindness, a sighted mother's varied intonation with rising and falling terminal pitch seemed to encourage her blind child "to repeat standard words and ritual phrases" (Urwin, 1978, p. 99).

My own study also indicates immediate as well as long term effects of a sighted mother's intonation pattern in communication with her blind child: The mother's use of exaggerated intonation made him "come alive" and respond, and her rising terminal pitch was reflected in his own vocalizations as was the exaggerated intonation pattern in his first verbal utterances.

Blind adults have in interviews within the project Blindness and communication confirmed that it sometimes can be hard to understand the attitudes or emotions of a communicative partner with a monotonous voice. The problem is similar to that of pupils who are practically drowned in words for about eight hours a day. If you as a teacher then really wants to get your message across, it is important to emphasize it by for example using a varied intonation.

Marked rhythm, often occurs in mother-child communication. To a blind child it can be influential. It has been shown that the maternal use of repetitive rhythmic touches and vocalizations made the child responsive and when he later started to use words it was exactly the words from the rhythmic games that first appeared
in his vocabulary (Urwin, 1978).

In my research, a blind 3 year old child, at the time not speaking and and rarely addressed to in the CA-register was often extremely distressed as the dialogue between the mother and him broke apart. During one recording session he lay curled on the floor crying with rage. What could be done? The researcher began to hum "the-bear-is sleeping" and the child started to kick his legs in synchrony with the rhythmic humming and soon the outburst of temper was over.

Another blind child uttered one of his first words "ta-ta" in the same rhythmic pattern as his mother had said "tack-tack" (thanks).

Everybody knows that rhythm is one effective means of creating a positive atmosphere and also for memorizing. However, rhythm is nowadays - in my opinion - underestimated at school as a means for learning.

A slower tempo is reported in speech used to 2-year-olds compared to older children or adults. This behavior is suggested to make it easier for the child to note grammatical boundaries and to understand the speech. This could also be the reason for lengthened pauses between utterances (Broen, 1972).

Pauses are for blind children of great importance: "...silence, or listening is an especially important behavior for blind or visually impaired infants because competing auditory stimuli are difficult to process simultaneously" (Rowland, 1984, p. 301).

The slower the mothers in my research speak, the fewer repetitions they make. Not unexpectedly the longest pauses are made by a blind mother, a behavior that is well adapted not only to her own needs but also to the child's.

At school you seldom hear pupils complain over too slow a tempo. The adaption of tempo to the pupils needs is often overlooked, due to the aim of completing certain courses of lectures in time. Thus, also the pauses are shorter than they should be, although the classroom situation indeed offers "competing auditory stimuli".
Verbal characteristics

One frequent verbal characteristic is the substitution of personal pronouns by name or kin terms such as mother or father (cf Snow & Ferguson, 1977), and the maternal use of the child's name is assumed to be for catching and holding his attention (Clark & Clark, 1977).

Blind adults are reported to make use of proper names to a greater extent than sighted and for blind children this behavior is found to accelerate as the child grows older (Maxfield, 1936).

My research also indicate a more frequent use of name or kinterms in the blind-sighted and sighted-blind dyads than in the sighted-sighted. Interesting though is that the sighted child of the blind mother more often used names or kinterms in communication with his mother than with other relatives. However, this child also in other ways showed already at the age of 1.6 stunning adaptive qualities: During a game session he was feeding his mother but as she could not see the spoon with the food she did not open her mouth when he brought it to her. He grimaced, then tried again, but this time saying "Aah" as his mother used to do when she wanted him to open his mouth. He was very content when he this time was successful.

The above cited example of adaption is also an example of how necessity creates a certain behavior. Thus, when the proper name is frequently used by and to the blind it is partly due to situational demands for explicitness. There are parallels in the classroom situation. To avoid misunderstandings of whom the addressee is among thirty pupils and a teacher it is most practical to use the name. Furthermore, using a pronoun or a gesture as an attention getter might in such a situation be regarded as a sign of non-affect. Therefore, I think we should follow the examples of the blind and the Americans.

Mother's choice of topic of communication is suggested to be related to the infant's cognitive development and needs. That the topic, often expressed in so-called BT-words and diminutives (cf Snow & Ferguson, 1977), is important with regard to the child's
language development is shown by the fact that children very early and quickly learn affective words (Söderbergh, 1984). As for blind children this is also the case (Urwin, 1978).

Within the field of topic, games often offer the infant positive affective experiences and give him the opportunity of learning by pleasure (cf Bruner et al, 1976).

As for sighted mothers with blind infants, songs and nursery games as well as idiosyncratic games are reported to encourage the infants' behavior (Urwin, 1978).

As to my research, choice of topic in the dyad of sighted mother and blind child was extremely influential on the child's communicative development. Ritual singing games like "imse-vimse-spindel" and "små-grodorna" (Swedish songs) became early on the child's favourite topics. The analysis of the game sequences revealed an accumulation of characteristics in different modalities. Since the child was late in his onset of talking, the most evident effects of the CA-register on the child were illustrating hand gestures, taught by the mother. These were developed into communicative gestures in the sense that when used by the child out of game context, the mother regarded them as attention getters or requests for action. Thus, when the child with assistance from the mother "cracked the gestural code", i.e. understood that the environment could comprehend and give meaning to the gestures, he developed idiosyncratic gestures and used them intentionally. The development of his somatic communication follows the same pattern as the development of sighted children's verbal communication.

From this example I think we can draw conclusions that are applicable to the school situation:
1. The introduction of a topic well adapted to the child's developmental stage and emotional needs and in which the participants mutually can delight, automatically leads to other adaptations, obviously efficient for teaching/learning.
2. Learning may take different paths and and the outcome of teaching may, due to the child's needs and capabilities not always be
as expected, though advantageous to the child.
3. Since no child is the other alike, it is necessary to adapt to each child's needs, unless his cognitive, communicative and emotional development will be injuriously affected.

Epilogue
As we have seen in the examples cited above, the mother's adaptive behavior has shown to be influential on the child's development and the amount of characteristics of the CA-register may be regarded as the physical evidence of the mother's adaptive quality, which in turn is dependent on her ability to exhibit reciprocity and responsiveness. These abilities are founded during childhood and a person who has experienced them is also capable of transmitting them. Anyone then, who finds the characteristics self-evident has been privileged enough to have the mother but that is not given to everybody, a fact that shows in the classroom and this is a challenge to future researchers.

NOTES
* This paper is based on research on blindness and child adjusted communication, which is part of the project Blindness and communication, directed by professor Ragnhild Söderbergh and supported with grants from the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR).
1. In this paper "mother" and "she" is used for the caregiver, whoever that is. Consequently the teacher is a "she". For the child, boy or girl, the masculine personal pronoun is used.
2. The term somatic has been chosen to exclude other means of extra-linguistic communication than bodily.

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Gemensamt för den typ av forskning som här hänvisats till är att läraren framstår som språkligt mycket aktiv i klassrummet medan de enskilda eleverna förefaller ha ett strängt begränsat taluträmm. Enligt min uppfattning är det emellertid en felaktig beskrivning av livet i klassrummet att påstå att eleverna huvudsakligen är tysta, utan möjlighet att utöva sina språkliga färdigheter och utan möjlighet att bearbeta intryck eller utbyta åsikter och värderingar. Sådana aktiviteter sker emellertid till stor del vid sidan av den formella eller offentliga verksamheten i klassrummet.
Offentlig och privat interaktion


En schematisk beskrivning av de typer av interaktion som här beskrivits åskådliggörs i figur 1.
Huvuddelen av forskningen rörande klassrumsspråk kan hänföras till den första kvadranten, en mindre del av analyserade samtal återfinns i den tredje. I denna rapport kommer vi fortsättningsvis att söka beskriva den kommunikation som är att återfinna i den fjärde kvadraten, d.v.s icke-offentlig (privat) men interaktiv kontakt mellan elever under pågående lektioner.

Avsikten med föreliggande studie var att studera kommunikationen i klassrummet ur ett elevperspektiv. Den ovan refererade forskningen har huvudsakligen utgått från ett vuxen- eller lärarperspektiv.

Tio klasser på högstadiet ingick i studien och i var och en av dessa klasser blev den mest dominerande manliga eleven föremål för observation. Dessa ledargestalter utvaldes efter samtal med skolledning och klassföreståndare. Dessutom ingick som kontrollpersoner en elev i ledarens omedelbara närhet från varje klass. Två oberoende observatörer deltog under ett antal lektioner i varje klass och noterade de båda elevernas interaktion under 12 femminuterspass enligt ABBA-principen (d.v.s 60 minuters observation för varje elev). Observationerna gjordes under lektioner i s.k teoretiska ämnen och fördelades under hela skoldagen. Eleverna i klassen var medvetna om att observationer och noteringar gjordes under lektionerna, men försökspersonerna var dock i detta skede av undersökningen inte medvetna om

Resultat

För att få en bild av det talutrymme som eleverna formellt erbjuds till skillnad från det som de informellt skapar under lektionerna jämfördes initiativ och responsen mellan lärare och elever och elever sinsemellan. Resultaten framgår av tabell 1.

Tabell 1. Elevernas avgivna och mottagna signaler.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typ av signal</th>
<th>Dominerande elev</th>
<th>Kontrollelev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lärare tilltalar</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamrat tilltalar</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven talar själv</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respons från kamrat</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respons från lärare</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Av sammanställningen framkommer en annan bild av elevernas kommunikation under lektionerna än den som presenteras av traditionell klassrumsforskning. Lärarens direkta kontakt med eleverna är jämfört med elevernas inbördes kontakt av betydligt mindre omfattning. Samtalskontakt mellan lärare och elev förekommer med c 10 repliker per lektion. Eleverna däremot har sinsemellan utbyte med varandra 75 till 90 gånger per lektion. Tilltal och reaktioner kommer vanligtvis från kamrater och inte från läraren. Detta innebär att medan lektionen (d.v.s den offentliga verksamheten) pågår, sker en påverkan och inlärning genom den icke-offentliga interaktionen mellan
eleverna. En utgångspunkt för denna studie är att läraren har en tämligen god kontroll över innehållet i den offentliga verksamheten. Visserligen finns det studier som visar att även omedvetna signaler från läraren förstärker t.ex könsrollsmönster (Einarsson & Hultman, 1984), befäster roller förknippade med social bakgrund (Bernstein, 1975) eller återhåller elever med intellektuella svårigheter (Brophy & Good, 1970). Trots detta får lärarens möjlighet att kontrollera den offentliga interaktionen anses som stor jämfört med möjligheten att styra innehållet i den privata interaktionen. Återkommande försök att tysta den icke-offentliga aktiviteten förekommer, men ger i regel endast tillfällig effekt.

Föreliggande undersökning tillhandahåller inte data som gör det möjligt att analysera det semantiska innehållet i elevernas interaktion. Registreringsmetoden möjliggör endast en grov sortering av replikerna i negativa, neutrala och positiva sådana. Emellertid kan en analys av initiativ och reaktioner med avseende på laddning och aktörer ändå ge en bild av interaktionen och förhållningssättet mellan eleverna. Ett rimligt antagande är att återkommande mönster i samtal mellan dominerande elever och "vanliga" elever är av sådan art att roller och självuppfattning utmejslas och befästs. I syfte att undersöka detta antagande genomfördes ett antal olika analyser av materialet. Som ett första steg jämfördes de båda elevgruppernas sätt att avge signaler och att bli bemötta. En grov uppdelning av materialet kan göras genom att särskilja avgivna och mottagna signaler med positiv och negativ laddning. Resultatet framgår av tabell 2.

Tabell 2. Mottagna och avgivna signalers laddning i de båda elevgrupperna (medelvärden).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typ av signaler</th>
<th>Dominerande elev</th>
<th>Kontrollelev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avgivna positiva</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avgivna negativa</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mottagna positiva</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mottagna negativa</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Av tabellen framgår ett mönster som visar att de dominerande eleverna avger negativa signaler i högre grad än positiva sådana, medan kontrolleleverna förefaller mer benägna att avge positiva än
negativa signaler (F=3.5, df=2,54, p 0.05). När det gäller mottagna signaler är förhållandet mellan grupperna det motsatta (F=11.2, df=2,54, p 0.001). Detta innebär att "ledargestalter" blir positivt bemötta medan kontrolelever får ta emot negativa reaktioner i större omfattning. De dominerande eleverna blir, trots att de uppvisar en högre frekvens negativa yttranden, ändå bemötta mer positivt än kontroleleverna. Detta kan ses som ett uttryck för maktförhållandet i interaktionen. "Rättigheten" att vara negativ och "skyldigheten" att vara uppmuntrande förefaller inte vara jämlikt fördelade i klassen. Ett annat tecken på statusskillnader i gruppen skulle kunna vara sättet att bemöta eller ignorera kontaktförsök från kamrater. Tabell 3 återger mönstret vad avser avgivna och mottagna ignoreringar i de båda elevgrupperna.

Tabell 3. Avgivna och mottagna ignoreringar bland eleverna (medelvärden).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ignorering</th>
<th>Dominerande elever</th>
<th>Kontrollelever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avgivna</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mottagna</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Även i detta fall upprepas ett liknande mönster som vid föregående analys. De dominerande eleverna ignorerar mer än de själva blir ignorerade, medan mönstret för kontroleleverna är det motsatta (F=49.2, df=1,36, p 0.001).


Tabell 4. Avgränsningsinteraktioner i de två elevgrupperna (medelvärden).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avgränsningsinteraktion</th>
<th>Dominerande elever</th>
<th>Kontrollelever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initiering</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avslutning</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kontrolleleverna förefaller mer benägna att initiera samtal medan de dominerande eleverna är mer benägna att avsluta interaktioner eller drag ($F=41.2$, $df=1,36$, $p=0.001$). Detta mönster visar återigen en skillnad i rollfördelning mellan "ledargestalter" och vanliga elever. Ledareleverna tar sig större rätt att avsluta samtal. Detta är naturligtvis ett sätt att kontrollera talutrymmet, dvs att avgöra när ett samtal är uttömt.

**Slutsatser**


Resultaten från föreliggande undersökning ger skäl att anta att det finns en dold läroplan även för den icke-offentliga interaktionen. Denna "läroplan" för elevernas inbördes omgångar i klassrummet föreskriver bl a att ledargestalter har rätt att vara negativa och nedlåtande i sina kontakter med kamraterna, men trots detta skall ledarna bemötas positivt och med uppmuntran och uppskattning. Ledaren har rättighet att ignorera initiativ och avsluta (klippa av) samtal i en annan omfattning än vad som tillåts övriga elever eller som övriga elever tillåter sig. Sådana aspekter på interaktionen mellan elever med olika status i klassen ger anledning att anta att eleverna ständigt och omärkligt får träning i att underkasta sig ledare och auktoriteter och att de därigenom inövar en förmåga att ta emot avspisningar och negativa utfall från ledargestalter. Ledarna, å andra sidan, får återkommande träning i att uppträda på ett överlägset och kanske rent av förtryckande sätt. Detta är en typ av inlärning som omfattar rangbeteende i en grupp. Sannolikt pågår också en intensiv inlärning om rättigheter eller skyldigheter som är förknippade med kön, social bakgrund, fysisk förmåga etc. Om innehållet i denna icke-offentliga påverkan vet vi idag mycket litet, vi kan emellertid anta att skolan och lektionerna erbjuder mycket effektiva inlärningstillfällen över vilka läraren har liten eller rent av ingen kontroll alls. Det gamla talesättet att vi lär för livet och inte för skolan får i detta sammanhang viktiga konsekvenser. Vissa elever förbereds och tränas redan i skolan för att i vuxen ålder kunna underkasta sig medan andra elever får lära sig att dominera över andra.

Resultaten av ovanstående studie pekar på ett forskningsområde väl värt att undersöka närmare, inte enbart på grund av att området är föga belyst ur vetenskaplig synpunkt utan också med tanke på att den icke-offentliga påverkan, som här påvisats, inte står i överensstämmelse med utbildningspolitiska mål och ambitioner.
Summary

Official and personal communication in the classroom

There is a widespread assumption among classroom researchers that teachers dominate the interaction in classrooms (e.g. Bellack et al, 1966; Stubbs, 1982; & Binarsson & Hultman, 1984). However, most research on classroom interaction relates to the official communication, and does not pay attention to private or "illegitimate" communication among the pupils. A common conclusion from studies of the official interaction in classrooms is that the hidden curriculum assigns children a rather passive role as silent listeners.

This article presents the material and results from a study of hidden and illegitimate communication among male teenage pupils. The interaction within ten informal groups in classrooms was observed and recorded by two independent observers. The results clearly indicate that pupils interact a good deal during a lesson, and that private interaction also exceeds the children's interaction with teachers with respect to the number of turns.

The results show a special pattern in the private interaction. The overbearing behaviour of domineering children ("leaders") seems to be reinforced by their peers, while the ordinary pupils seem to learn a subordinate and submissive role. This is alarming, as it indicates that school and the classroom setting offer a learning situation outside of the teacher's control and governed by a "curriculum" in conflict with the official one. Presumably there are also other undesirable roles rehearsed in the private communication context. However, this is a subject open to further research.

Litteratur


Gustavsson, L. (1986). "I know what it is, but it is so awf'illy hard to tell". I denna skrift.


"I KNOW WHAT IT IS, BUT IT'S SO AWF'LLY HARD TO TELL"

On communicative problems in language lessons

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University of Linköping

Two perspectives on language

The aim of this paper is to analyse particular communicative processes typical of language lessons. I shall claim that errors of specific kinds, misunderstandings, communicative dysfluencies, ambiguities, and shifts between levels and activities that occur in the lessons of our corpus, are the result of the conflict between two perspectives on language.

On the one hand, we find a naive, unreflected attitude to language - the way language works in different kinds of situations in everyday life. On the other hand, we find a specific way of talking about language, a conceptualization of language that is more or less alien to everyday experiences of language use but that represents what language is taken to be in the language lesson. It is this divergence of perspectives that may result in the particular types of communicative problems we shall investigate.

Let us take a look at an extract from a lesson of Swedish as a second language:

(1) L4:359 T: Could you say another verb that we could use 360 P: noo... (5 sec) not sleeping, no 361 T: certainly we can, sleeping, what form of the verb is that 362 P: that's how should I say, ver...present 363 T: present, I write that here, well 364 P: sleeeee... 365 T: how do you say that in past 366 P: slepted, noo (5 sec) 367 T: it's the kind of verb that as we say it doesn't follow the rules 368 P: no T: no 368 P: fell asleep

SIC 13, 91-102
In this passage, P gives a couple of erroneous answers. In 366 e.g., he proposes "slepted" ("sovde") as the past tense form of the verb. However, this represents a kind of ignorance that we shall not deal with further in this paper. Instead, we shall look closer at the kind of error represented by P's suggestions in 368, 374 and 375. There, he seems to "mix up" two verb paradigms, that of 'sleep' and that of 'fall asleep'. Such errors are taken to be a manifestation of the conflict between two different perspectives on language alluded to above.

Language at two levels in the language lesson

For the analysis, I will have to introduce a couple of concepts which I will label with terms to be used here in a more or less technical sense. First, we should establish a distinction between language at level 1, i.e. language used in the ordinary way as an implicit working tool for carrying out purposeful activities in everyday life, and language at level 2, i.e. language as talked about in the language lessons.

Clearly, the topic of conversation in (1) above is not someone sleeping or falling asleep; indeed, the conversation is not about anyone at all. The subject matter is language itself. Hence, (1) represents a typical sequence of language at level 2. P's task is to find the verb paradigm 'sova, sov, sovit, ska sova' ('sleep, slept, slept, shall sleep') and that is what makes his otherwise - at level 1 - perfectly reasonable answer "He who is not sleeping has not fallen asleep" inappropriate. When language is talked about during language lessons, everyday knowledge about the world and everyday
reactions to utterances are to a considerable extent irrelevant. In order to talk about language in the way requested during the language lesson, i.e. at level 2, lots of experientially based, practical knowledge of what it is to communicate through language at level 1 must be bracketed.

Level 2 treatment of language is connected to a certain perspective on language. The level 2 perspective consists of a view on language as a decontextualized system, abstracted from contexts of use through itemization, i.e. isolation of the linguistic items from messages in which they occur, and reduction of the dynamic and open-ended character of language in use. This perspective has at least the following four features that can be traced throughout the lessons of the corpus:

1. Item-orientation, as opposed to message-orientation. In everyday use of language, language itself is transparent and communicators concentrate primarily on the message that is conveyed through language. At level 2, the linguistic item itself is primordial; potential messages that are conventionally conveyed by means of the item in question and normally specified by the context where it is used, is to be more or less left out of consideration. In (1) above, we see two things happen in the search for a specific linguistic item, the verb paradigm of 'sova':

   - T's "I haven't gone to bed yet..." is not to be taken as a real message. It is just a cue that should help P to find "the future form" of the verb in question.

   - in this search, everyday formats of human experience such as motives, intentions, chronology, cause-effect and other experience-based, common sense associations are outflanked by the concentration on a specific linguistic item.

2. predilection for the prototypical meaning of words and expressions at the cost of other meaning potentials. To take just one example: in exercises, "the opposite" of 'alltid' (always) is always 'aldrig' (never), though in actual use of language it is sometimes (sic!) by means of words like 'once', 'often', 'at times', 'sometimes' etc that people deny, negate or say the opposite of propositions containing 'always'.


3. preference for paradigmatic relations. This has already been
demonstrated in (1): the concentration on the paradigm of the
verb 'sova' ('to sleep') cuts off, as it were, its syntagmatic
(temporal, causal...) relation to 'somna' ('fall asleep'), and we
can accuse P of "mixing up" things when in the 'sova'-sequence he
introduces 'somna'. This goes for a number of other exercises.
One example could be comparison of adjectives, where relations
have to be expressed by the different forms of one and only one
adjective, though in actual use of language, several other means
would be available.

4. emphasis on general, abstract descriptions, rather than specific,
concrete ones. This is most visible in sequences like (2):

(2) (P has read a passage from his book of geography and is then
invited to retell what he has read. His retelling is followed by
T's question in 236)

L7:236  T: OK, then I ask you, what is suitable
237  P: I know what it is, but it's so awfully hard to tell
238  T: mm can you try and tell me what suitable is
239  P: /whispers, inaudible/
240  T: that the soil is suitable for agriculture
241  P: well good and
242  T: that's it, it is good and it fits. What is
industrial?
243  P: industry that's like, well like a, like for
example SUN /name of a factory/
244  T: yes, could you say another word for industry

In (2) we again encounter item-orientation - the words qua
linguistic items enter into focus instead of the messages where they
were initially embedded. T's question in 236 could be paraphrased as
"Now, let's look at the word-item 'suitable'. What does it mean in
general?", i.e. it is not (only) aimed at clarifying the message in
which the word occurred, but at fixing a general, abstract, lexical
meaning of the word. For the word 'industry', P's practical
demonstration of his knowing what the word means - that it can refer
e.g. to SUN, the big industry in town - is not taken to be
sufficient. The answer is to be given in the form of a prototypical
synonym (which is one facet of the preference for paradigmatic,
within-language relations).
The linguistic enclosure

When language is to be talked about in the level 2 perspective, certain conditions have to be met. In order for level 2 to become and remain established during the lesson, restrictions on the interpretation of utterances have to be introduced. When linguistic items are uttered at level 2, they must not be understood, interpreted and reacted to as if they were used at level 1. Therefore, linguistic items at level 2 will have to be enclosed, the enclosure exempting level 2 language from level 1 contextual anchorage and preventing irrelevant level 1 reactions from interfering. Linguistic items at level 2 are uttered within a linguistic enclosure.

To be more concrete about what this means, let me review in an informal way a couple of examples from the corpus. When "Det är måndag idag" ('Today is Monday') is uttered in order for P simply to manipulate the word order of the sentence, the sentence-item is enclosed within the linguistic enclosure; whether the exercise is done on a monday or a friday is irrelevant, the linguistic items enclosed are not used for reference and description within the actual context of the utterance. When in an exercise on comparison of adjectives T asks "This pencil is long, how do you find this one?", the word-item 'long' is enclosed, thus not used in the ordinary way. Therefore, P is not necessarily supposed to search for a true and honest answer, but to realize that he is manipulating a particular word-item and answer "longer" (although, in this exercise in L1, P in fact finds the two pencils compared both "long"). When T and P have read a story from a children's book that serves as a point of departure for an exercise on prepositions, the answer to the question "Where was it...how was the man creeping?" is not to be found in an interpretation of the scene depicted in the story, but among a bunch of prepositions enclosed within the linguistic enclosure, and presented as alternatives in the exercise (the correct answer is "mellan (gatlyktorna)" /'between (the street-lamps)'/). Such examples of linguistic enclosing could easily be multiplied.
Communicative processes related to the level phenomenon

We shall now take a closer look at specific communicative processes that we can attribute to the complexity created by the coexistence of two levels of language in the language classroom. We shall distinguish three kinds of phenomena that are related to the existence of a level 2 perspective and more precisely to the linguistic enclosure. The first one is a flagrant misunderstanding that we shall label a clash. The second one is a lack of tuning between the two partners in dialogue - because of its relationship to the linguistic enclosure, we shall call it leakage. The third phenomenon is a shift of aspect that we shall call opening.

In (3), we are confronted with a clash:

(3) L7:275 T: good, where land and sea meet, there we have coast and look here, all along Norrland you have a long coast, look it's coast all the way
276 P: (inaudible)
277 T: (what is called), what is the water outside the coast called
278 P: outside?
279 T: mm
280 P: sea
281 T: here, outside Northern Norrland, what is called, what is called
282 P: Bottenviken
283 T: that's it /.../

This sequence occurs when P's task has been for a while (cf (2) above) to give lexical definitions and/or synonyms to word-items found in P's book of geography. In 275, T sums up the solution to such a task, that of defining the word 'coast'. The clash occurs in 279. There P answers T's question in a way that would be appropriate if they were still working at level 2 - he gives the word-item 'sea' for the general description "water outside the coast". However, in the meantime, T has left level 2. 'Sea' is no longer a word-item enclosed in the linguistic enclosure, she is asking a question that is part of the geography teaching from which the level 2 sequence has originally parted. The clash consists of the misunderstanding stemming from one of the participants contextualizing an utterance within the linguistic enclosure which his partner has abandoned. Metaphorically speaking, when trying to meet each other in the
dialogue, the conversationalists run into the invisible wall that separates ordinary use of language from language within the enclosure.

Clashes, thus, are flagrant misunderstandings due to entirely different contextualizations of utterances. They are not very frequent in our corpus and they are normally identified by the actors and tend to be repaired immediately as is the case in (3). Considerably more frequent, more enduring and, as it appears, less likely to be observed by the participants is the phenomenon of leakage - it can be said to characterize almost all level 2 activities in our corpus. Whereas a clash is the result of disagreement upon the very existence of the linguistic enclosure for a particular utterance, leakage is a matter of degree. Leakage, as the term suggests, has to do with the tightness of the enclosure, i.e. how much of level 1 perspective that could be brought into the enclosure.

In (1) above, I take it that P is aware of the fact that the question is asked at level 2, still he is not fully able to treat the word-item in the requested way, as a paradigm. In other words, the enclosure is not tight enough to exclude his everyday thinking about sleeping and falling asleep. In (2), P answers the question "what is industry" by giving an example, an instantiation of the meaning of the word. When in ordinary conversation there is lack of understanding or a hitch of some kind, this would be a normal way of handling an ensuing meta discussion. At level 2, however, the word is enclosed and has to be treated in the level 2 perspective, i.e. explained by means of a general, abstract definition and/or a synonym. Hence, in (2), the level 1 attitude to language has leaked in, the enclosure is not tight enough for P.

Let us take another example of leakage:

(4) L4:216 T: yes that's right, er and then he thinks that was silly of me, namely that he didn't give her anything
P: mm
T: that was silly of me, we underline that
217 P: /underlines/
218 T: what does he mean by that, that was silly of me
219 P: ah, he is careless, he didn't always remember he doesn't care about her
What is going on in this sequence is that P is underlining some useful phrases in a text he has just read. The text is about a boy lying in bed thinking about what has happened lately and what he is to do during the week to come. What "was silly of him" was that he had forgotten to give a present to his sister for her anniversary. The interesting thing in this passage is that P gets praise in 224 for having found a synonym, while his more eloquent interpretation of the story, exhibited in 219, is accepted without enthusiasm and completed by the paraphrase "it was not kind". In the beginning of the sequence there is leakage: for P the enclosure does not exclude interpreting the story, answering by implications of what is said in the text and inferences he has drawn. Such an attitude to linguistic communication is typical of level 1, while in the level 2 perspective it is of limited relevance. What really counts is to give a more general and abstract description of what the phrases mean.

The third kind of process we shall investigate is that of openings. The term refers to sequences where a linguistic item enclosed is permitted to leave the enclosure and may become the starting point for a piece of conversation that has level 1 character, i.e. where everyday attitude to language and everyday experiences are no longer bracketed as they are at level 2. Here is an example:

(5) /The lesson is about a particular problem of Swedish orthography, the choice between single or double consonant letter denoting a long consonant sound following a short vowel in stressed syllables. The lesson is built up around the difference in the spelling of /svel/ when it is, respectively, the supine or past participle of the verb 'svälla' (swell) or the root of the verb 'svälta' (starve) and its corresponding noun. T is listing derivatives and compound words containing the morpheme 'svält' (starve) and explains at the same time the meaning of each word (or asks for it); P is supposed to analyze them into constituent parts and write them down in a special manner according to the spelling method that is followed (that's where "upstairs" and "downstairs" in turn 203 come in)./
L2: 199 T: Well then we have something or one can say that we receive starvation wages /svältlön/, what do you think that means
200 P: that when you starve you get paid
201 T: (3 sec) do you think so
202 P: no
203 T: no, we have it to er to tell that you get little money, with poor wages, you receive starvation wages so that you nearly... starve
Starvation wages. Write starve upstairs and wages downstairs
204 P: /writes/ (4 sec) Starvation /7 sec
205 P: In Sweden you don't receive bad wages
206 T: No really I don't think so either...

In (5) there is no clash, since P is doing exactly what he is asked to do, but the sequence provides an example of an opening. The opening has the character of a side-track. In 205, P reacts to the talk about starvation wages by expressing a personal opinion on the matter. This, of course, has nothing to do with the ongoing level 2 activity, where 'svältlön' is a word-item enclosed within the linguistic enclosure and does not convey any message about wages in Sweden or elsewhere. When P reacts as if this were the case, the word is no longer contained in the linguistic enclosure as a word whose meaning one talks about and whose formal properties one examines and manipulates. The enclosure is opened; the conventional meaning of the word is exploited and a wider coherent context is built up around it. Depending on how it is taken up, an opening may lead to a more or less extended sequence of conversation with a genuine flavour of language use at level 1.

It should be clear that the boundaries between clash, leakage and opening are not always perfectly sharp; the notions are used to capture some partially different, partially similar phenomena in the communicative process of a language lesson. The differences, as I have tried to show above, lie in the fact that clashes lead to serious misunderstandings, which are usually detected and repaired. This is not necessarily the case when it comes to leakage and openings. Leakage rather leads to obliqueness, i.e. a certain degree of mismatch between the two conversational partners and their contributions to the dialogue. Openings, finally, need not be the result of or lead to misunderstandings or to obliqueness in the dialogue, they just temporarily alter the focus of the activity.
The similarities between the three phenomena lie in the fact that they all have to do with the way utterances are contextualized. More specifically, they have to do with discrepancies in the way in which the linguistic enclosure, created in order to make it possible to talk about language in the level 2 perspective, is handled by the conversational partners at a particular stage in the dialogue process.

Concluding remarks

Although I have been concerned here with (what may appear to be just) empirical details, I would claim that a study of such matters may be of considerable theoretical significance.

One such thing that is demonstrated in the data and, I hope, in the analysis I have provided, is the dynamic character of dialogue, how language simultaneously shapes dialogue and is shaped by dialogue. A theoretical basis for the study of language in such a dynamic perspective is provided by ethnomethodologists (Heritage, 1984) and language game theory (Severinson Eklundh, 1983). In linguistics and language sciences in general, the emphasis has traditionally been on the structure of language as an autonomous system (this has been pointed out by many; for a recent and well-documented discussion, see Linell, 1982). By adopting an alternative, more process-oriented (Brown & Yule, 1983) view on linguistic communication, important and complementary - at the very least - insights about language can be gained.

Related to the point above, there is another thing that stands out very clearly through the analysis: what people say and what they mean by what they say must be understood in relation to the context of the activity in which they are engaged (cf Levinson, 1979). More specifically, relevance criteria in dialogue are highly situation specific (Allwood, 1985). When taking such a theoretical point of departure, we find a huge, interesting and urgent task for empirical research: to try to uncover the various premisses that underlie situated use of language in communication. One important area is that of language instruction. No doubt, the results of such studies may prove to be beneficial also to language teaching practice.
NOTES:

1 This paper is a preliminary short-version of a chapter to appear in Gustavsson (in prep). It presents part of the work accomplished within the project "Forms of Communication in Language Teaching", supported by the Swedish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (grant no F 746/84). I wish to thank professor Per Linell, project leader, for his valuable support during my struggle with the material in order to clarify my initial ideas and sharpen the analysis.

2 The empirical material gathered in the project consists of:

- eight lessons (teacher-pupil dyads) of Swedish as a second language (S2L) in grades 4-6 in the Swedish compulsory school (grundskolans mellanstadium). They were recorded during the academic year of 1984-85 in seven different communities in the southern part of Sweden. The pupils recorded are all boys, 10-12 years old, from the Middle East but who have lived for a couple of years in Sweden and thus get Swedish language instruction on a fairly advanced level. All teachers are experienced S2L-teachers.

- non-didactic conversations in the same dyadic constellation as the lessons, conversations around tasks assigned by the researchers.

- conversations between the pupil and a class-mate of his own choice around tasks parallel to those in the non-didactic conversation with his teacher.

The two latter types of conversations are not used in this particular study. I would like to express my gratitude to Ulf Samuelsson, University College of Jönköping, for his help in carrying out the data collection.

3 The dialogue has been translated as faithfully as possible into English. The verbs in question are 'sova' (sleep) and the inchoative 'somna' (fall asleep). P = pupil; T = teacher. The numbers refer to the number of the lesson in the corpus, i.e. 4, and the number of the turns at talk in that lesson, i.e 359-376. Back-channel signals are transcribed on a separate line where they occur, without being given any number, as they do not constitute a turn at talk. Note also that they are not considered as interrupting the turn of the conversational partner. Simultaneous talk is transcribed within parenthesis.

4 The English translation conceals the difference between Swedish "den passar", where the pronoun could refer to 'the soil', 'jord' being a non-neutral noun, and "det passar", which consequently cannot refer to 'the soil'. Actually, it is the neutral form that is used in 242. Hence, T does not give a phrase that can easily be fitted into the text where 'suitable' was found, but rather a general paraphrase.
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ISSN 0280-5634