

A critical examination of men's and women's discourse practices in directive-response speech sequences (DRSS): Evidence from teacher-student interactions during groupwork in two secondary schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

By

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DECLARATION

I declare that except for the sources used or quoted, which have been acknowledged in the references, this study is my own work and has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any university.

Signature:.....

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a critical examination of men's and women's discourse practices in directive-response speech sequences (DRSS), on the basis of data obtained from teacher-student interactions during groupwork in two secondary schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

Following West (1990), the broad purpose of this study is to explore the similarities and the differences in the DRSS between educators of different gender and their students. Drawing on critical discourse analysis, particularly the work of Fairclough (1989,1992,1995), this study then critically examines the social relations of power implicit in these instances of discourse.

The findings of this study indicate that both similarities and differences exist in male and female educators' linguistic choices for issuing directives. There is some evidence that female educators made more attempts than male educators to reduce asymmetrical relations of power in their directive choices. However, the critical discourse analysis revealed that the linguistic choices of all educators in my study were mostly informed by the language functions they wished to perform at a particular stage of their lesson.

I conclude that it is crucial that educators, both male and female, make more effort to employ discourse practices (especially during groupwork) that are more democratic rather than those that emphasise asymmetrical relations.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation presents a critical examination of men's and women's discourse practices in Directive–Response Speech Sequences (DRSS), on the basis of data obtained from teacher-student interactions during groupwork.

In this chapter, I discuss the rationale for choice of the topic. This is followed by the discussion of the background to the research context. Then I consider the problems and issues to be investigated. Finally, I provide a broad overview of the dissertation.

1.2 Rationale for study

This study was prompted by my reading of West (1990), the report of a study in which she analysed directive-response speech sequences (DRSS) between doctors of different gender and their patients. She discovered that male and female doctors used different linguistic strategies for issuing directives, and that their choices affected the responses of their patients. The latter seemed to comply more readily with the linguistic patterns used by female doctors than with those used by male doctors. I wish to investigate whether comparable differences can be found in the directive strategies used by male and female teachers when interacting with their pupils.

I also wish to find out whether and how South African teachers who were brought up in an autocratic educational environment have embraced the principles of democracy and the goals of the communicative approach to teaching by, for example, reducing asymmetrical relations of power in their discourse as they issue directives to guide and to facilitate learning. The issue of what constitutes 'power' in the classroom, and how power is exercised, shared or challenged is therefore another factor in my choice of topic.

Lastly, I chose this topic because, whereas the issue of teaching as a gendered linguistic practice has figured prominently in the field of educational linguistics in Europe and the US over the last 20 years or so, very little has been done on this subject in South Africa.

1.3 Research context

When South Africa attained democracy in 1994, a need was seen to transform education and training programmes to a truly national system of education and training which serves the needs of all South Africans. Such a transformation was made possible by the implementation of a new curriculum, Curriculum 2005. This in turn, required a change from a content-based to an outcomes-based approach.

1.3.1 Outcomes-Based Education (OBE)

OBE is a flexible, empowerment-oriented approach to learning. It aims at equipping learners with the knowledge, competence and orientations needed for success after they leave school or have completed their training.

According to Olivier (1998:3), Outcomes-Based Education differs from traditional content or competency-based learning in the sense that those types of learning were mainly content driven and teacher-centred. Content-based learning was aimed at mastering knowledge, as the topics of a subject were unpacked into a syllabus. The sources of information were mainly textbooks and the teachers themselves.

With Outcomes-Based Education the learning process is learner-driven and aimed at achieving specific outcomes. Knowledge and skills can be drawn from any source, and the role of the teacher changes accordingly: they now provide guidance for the learners to achieve their outcomes by guiding them through specific procedures which are connected to real life situations. Learning

programmes are developed to serve as guidelines that will allow teachers to be innovative and creative in directing learners to achieve outcomes.

According to Govender (1997:3), in OBE teachers and learners should focus their attention on two main aspects:

- The results expected at the end of each learning process. These are called outcomes. They are essential to learning, and they include skills and values such as being able to think; to solve problems; to collect, organize and analyse information; to work in a group as well as independently; to communicate effectively and to make responsible choices.
- The processes that will take learners to these end points. Teaching and learning become learner-centred, with emphasis on groupwork and the development of critical thinking, analytical skills as well as research skills.
(Govender 1997:3)

1.3.2 The role of a teacher in OBE classrooms

A teacher in an OBE classroom becomes a facilitator rather than a transmitter of knowledge. As a facilitator he or she guides the activity-based learning and assists learners to achieve the outcomes specified (Olivier 1998:3).

According to OBE learning is measured by what learners can do, that is, by outcomes. One of the critical outcomes is for learners to work effectively with others as a member of a team, group, organization and community. Such an outcome can best be achieved by involving learners in group activities. An OBE classroom is thus learner-centred; a teacher does not dominate but allows for power sharing. The sharing of power is one of the key elements in OBE. Because this study is based upon groupwork a more detailed discussion of this follows in the next section.

1.3.3 Groupwork

Groupwork is a school literacy event, during which learners are required to work in groups, usually of 4 to 6 students, to discuss a particular question or to solve a particular problem. All members of the class usually work on the same activity at the same time. The aim is to involve all learners, giving them maximum practice in the given activity. I view groupwork as a participatory event in that all learners are involved, and each one has a specified role to play e.g. scribe, presenter/reporter. This kind of activity also ensures that learners are involved in face-to-face interactive situations, as in natural language-use situations.

Groupwork activities are learner-centred; the role of a teacher is that of a facilitator or advisor who creates an anxiety-free environment for learners in his classroom. Grant et al (2001:22) say an important feature of groupwork is that "it seeks to train learners to listen to each other's opinions, disagree courteously, and where necessary, agree to disagree". Groupwork is therefore sensitive to the processes of transformation and democratization which are taking place in South Africa. It ensures that each and every learner exercises his or her right to speak and be listened to, and it also trains learners to work together for a common goal.

1.3.4 The sites of study

This research was carried out in two rural secondary schools situated on the south coast of KwaZulu-Natal and catering for grades 8 to 10.

The first is Lenkasi secondary school which has an enrolment of 423 learners, ranging from 13 to 17 years of age. Including the principal, the school has a staff of 9 teachers: 5 females and 4 males. The second school is Nathaniel Sabelo with an enrolment of 519 learners, ranging from 13 to 18 years of age. This school has a staff of 12 teachers including the principal: 7 females and 5 males. I would like to note that, unlike most South African schools, Nathaniel Sabelo has embraced one of the country's democratic principles by employing a

woman as a school principal, and quite incidentally she happens to be one of the subjects of my study.

I had to collect my data from two schools because my investigation is based upon groupwork, and I discovered that not all educators use groupwork in their classrooms. Most classrooms are still teacher-fronted. A more detailed discussion of the subjects of my study as well as the lessons recorded is given in chapter 4.

1.4 Problems and issues to be investigated

In this research I will be investigating directive-response speech sequences in interactions between teachers of different gender and their students during groupwork. West (1990) defines directive-response speech sequences (DRSS) as segments of interaction during which one participant seeks to 'direct' one or several other participant/s. The analysis of such segments requires the examination of both how directives are issued and how they are responded to.

I focused on groupwork because of an inherent tension in such work and my interest in seeing how men and women resolve this tension. On the one hand groupwork is a participatory and democratic way of teaching, which is beneficial to students. On the other hand, however, the term 'directive' is defined by Coates (1995), Fairclough (1989), Trosborg (1998), and Thimm et. al. (1995) as a moment in which powerful participants attempt by speaking to get less-powerful participants to do something. Since group activities are learner-centred the role of a teacher is that of a facilitator, but for them to help learners perform the desired task, they have to continually issue directives. The use of directives is thus contrary to the democratic principles underlying groupwork, in that educators, as powerful participants, are seen to be attempting to control the actions of the learners.

1.5 Research Questions

This study operates on the premise that gendered linguistic practices are context dependent with respect to the speech event and the particular norms governing talk within it (Brown: 1993:144), and that any kind of discourse embodies particular power relations. So the goals of my research are:

- 1) To establish whether and to what extent teachers, because of their co-membership of the same community of practice, share ways of issuing directives during groupwork, that is, whether and to what extent their behaviour is shaped by, and in turn helps shape their identity as *teachers*.
- 2) To establish whether male and female teachers differ in the ways in which they issue directives during groupwork, and, if they do, to investigate why.
- 3) To examine pupils' responses to their teachers' directives in order to determine the effect of the teachers' choices; and also to establish which discourse strategies seem to elicit more compliant responses.
- 4) To examine the social relations of power embedded in the above discourse, in the context of a classroom as a community of practice.

The following questions provide the structure for this research process:

- 1) To what extent, if at all, do male and female teachers' discourse practices in directive-response speech sequences (DRSS) during groupwork differ? What do the differences, if any, reveal about gender roles in groupwork?
- 2) How do pupils respond to their teachers' directives during groupwork?
- 3) To what extent, do teachers' strategies, and the pupils' responses to these, serve to maintain, perpetuate or challenge traditional 'hierarchical' ways of teaching and learning?

1.6 Outline of study

In my literature review, I begin by reviewing research on language and gender, focusing on what previous studies have revealed about similarities and differences in men's and women's discourse practices. This is followed by a definition of the concept of 'directive' and directive-response speech sequences (DRSS). The last section of this chapter focuses on critical discourse analysis since this is the framework I will use to analyse the directive-response speech sequences in my data.

In chapter 3, I start by discussing the methods I used for the collection of data. Those were: verbal interviews and video recording of lessons. This is followed by the discussion of the frameworks I employed in analysing my data; including Ervin-Tripp's classification scheme of directives (1977), and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

In chapter 4, I report on the findings from the analysis of my data. Firstly, I report on the comparative study of the frequency of each directive type in the data obtained from male and female educators. Secondly, I report on my critical analysis of the DRSS between educators of different gender and their students.

Chapter 5 focuses on the significance of these findings within the context of the school and the wider society. In the conclusion of this chapter, suggestions for further research are made.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The broad purpose of this study is to explore similarities and differences in DRSS between educators of different gender and their students during groupwork. For that reason I begin this chapter with a review of research on language and gender. I focus on what the studies by Lakoff (1975), Fishman (1993), Tannen (1990), West (1990), Coates (1995, 1996), Goodwin (1980, 1990) and others have revealed about commonalities and differences in the strategies and forms that men and women use in their performances of directives. The findings by the above linguists will be used as my frame of reference when comparing male and female educators' use of directives.

Since a directive is a speech act, a brief review of speech act theory follows. In doing so I trace the contributions of Austin (1962) and Searle (1975), since many contemporary analyses of speech acts are guided by their assumptions and methods. This is followed by a definition of the concepts of 'directive' and DRSS. Definitions of this concept made by Fairclough (1989), Coates (1995), Thimm et al (1995), Trosborg (1998) as well as Mitchel–Kernan and Kernan (1977) form the basis of my definition. In my discussion of directives I try to explore how different linguists have classified directives, focusing mainly on Ervin-Tripp's classification scheme (1977), as this is the framework I use to classify directives in my data.

Central to this study is the issue of power. My aim is to examine how power is exercised, shared or challenged during group-work. The last section of this chapter therefore focuses on critical discourse analysis since it is the analytic methods of this theory that I propose to adopt in my examination of DRSS and the social relations of power supposedly embedded within them.

2.2 Language and gender

I have chosen to focus on gender as a determinant for the linguistic choices and strategies used in the execution of directives. Hence I review a number of different approaches to the analysis of language and gender.

2.2.1 Different approaches to analyzing language and gender

The study of language and gender was initiated by Lakoff in the early 1970s. During the following 20 years, three main approaches were used. These were the so-called deficit approach, the dominance approach and the difference approach. All three approaches acknowledge differences in men's and women's discourse styles, but differ in terms of the explanation of these differences:

a) The deficit approach

According to this approach women are seen as disadvantaged speakers. Their interactional styles are said to be deficient because of their early sex role socialization, which trains them to be subservient to men.

b) The dominance approach

This approach views men's and women's discourse practices as being unequal. This is based upon the notion by Spender (1980), that men made language, and so men's discourse practices are viewed as dominant whilst women's are seen as powerless.

c) A difference approach

While this approach also acknowledges differences in men's and women's discourse practices, these are now viewed as being of equal value.

In her critique of the above approaches, Cameron (1995) points out that there has been a considerable overlap between the three approaches, but that during the 1980s the difference approach gained ground over the other two approaches. Coates (1986: 117) and Tannen (1990), two proponents of the difference approach, draw on considerable empirical research when they argue that female discourse practices emphasise cooperation, support and equality among interactants while male discourse practices are competitive and assertive. Much of this research reveals that through their choice of forms and strategies, males tend to emphasise their power, and women on the other hand, to share it. Tannen (1990) argues that women care more about personal relationships and invest more energy in them than men do. The emphasis in these studies is that men and women speak differently, and this difference is linked to gender differences. In these studies, gendered linguistic practices are presented as pre-determined by sex.

However, at an early stage such views had already been challenged by O' Barr and Atkins (1980) in their study of the believability of witnesses giving courtroom testimony. They looked for features which Lakoff (1975) had labelled as "women's language" in the speech of male and female expert and non-expert witnesses. They found that the professional witnesses, whether male or female, manifested few features of "women's language", whereas the lower-status witnesses manifested far more of these features. They concluded that "what has previously been referred to as 'women's language' is perhaps better thought of as a composite of features of powerless language (which can but need not be characteristic of the speech of either men or women) and of some other features" (O'Barr and Atkins 1980:109). This already suggested the dangers of generalizing about men's and women's speech.

This issue has been taken up by more recent studies in language and gender such as Bing and Bergval (1996), Holmes and Meyerhoff (1985) and Ochs (1992), who present gender as a shifting, fluid category. Gender roles are not predetermined by sex, rather they are socially constructed in discourse. James

and Drakich (1993:99) argue that rather than stereotyping men's and women's speech, we need to take into consideration that their linguistic choices are determined by the particular social condition of the community in which they live. They therefore suggest that to understand people's discourse practices, it is important that we take into account the specific cultural settings and discourse contexts in which communication takes place. Hence we should be conscious about stereotyping men's discourse practices, for example, as competitive and assertive, and women's as cooperative and supportive, without looking at the specific conditions under which the discursal action takes place, because such generalizations may not hold in other situations. This view is further supported by Bing and Bergval (1996:495), who argue that female and male language behaviour forms an overlapping continuum rather than two distinct categories. The differences are fuzzy. Wenger (1998), Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999) and Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999), all argue that the choices that people make in their speech are determined by their community of practice (COP), that is, the place they find themselves in as well as the activity they are engaged in at a particular time. A further discussion of this concept is found in the next section.

2.2.2 Communities of practice

Recent research into language and gender has shown the usefulness of the concept 'community of practice' in the analysis of language use. I will start by defining the term community of practice (COP) and then show how it may be related to the linguistic choices people make for issuing directives.

According to Wenger and Lave (1991) and Wenger (1998), a COP is a group whose joint engagement in some activity or enterprise is sufficiently intensive to give rise over time to a repertoire of shared practices. I will use the term 'practices' to mean a way of doing something that is common, habitual, customary, or expected. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999:186) further define a COP as an "aggregate of people, who, united by a common enterprise, develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs and values, in

short practices". Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet (1999) make the very interesting observation that every individual participates in a variety of communities of practice and makes use of different forms of participation in each of them. They argue that gendered linguistic practices emerge in large measure from differentiation in the kinds of COPs in which males and females participate. According to this view, males and females often have to perform different roles in their communities, and gender differentiated language use emerges as they perform those roles. Therefore, males and females may choose different linguistic forms and strategies not because of their sexual differences, but because of the different roles that they have to perform in their different communities of practice. Equally important is the role of identity with regard to the members of a COP. Each COP shares particular expectations as to what males and females do, and how they should do it. Therefore the linguistic choices and strategies men and women make, for example, in their realization of directives, may be guided not only by the kind of roles they perform in their COPs, but also by how they, as members of a particular COP are expected to present themselves. Proponents of this model offer this as an explanation of differences between male and female discourse practices.

Here I will be considering the classroom as a COP, in which males and females perform similar but also possibly differentiated roles. This makes it an ideal situation about which to ask whether men and women teachers use similar or different directive choices when interacting with students during groupwork.

2.3 Directives and Directive-Response Speech Sequences (DRSS)

To facilitate an understanding of the concept of directive and DRSS I start with a brief discussion of speech act theory.

2.3.1 Speech act theory

Cohen (1996:384) defines a speech act as "a functional unit in communication". Examples of such are directives, requests, complaints, apologies, etc. Studies have revealed that the intended meaning in most speech acts is often

ambiguous. Interpretation of the true intentions of the speaker thus relies on the context of the situation.

Austin's speech act theory (1962) laid the foundation for the analysis of speech acts. According to this theory, utterances have three kinds of meaning:

- a. The locutionary meaning,
- b. The illocutionary meaning, and
- c. The perlocutionary force.

The locutionary meaning is the literal meaning of an utterance. It is also called the propositional meaning. To give an example, if a teacher says to a class: ***"It's noisy in here"***; the locutionary meaning would concern the noise in the classroom, and this can therefore be defined as the communicative purpose of an utterance. The illocutionary meaning, on the other hand, is the social function that the utterance has. Austin (1962:99) defined illocutionary acts as "performance of an act in saying something and not the performance of an act of saying something", referring to the speaker's intentions such as asking, warning, announcing or giving descriptions. The illocutionary meaning of the above utterance may thus be a request for the class to lower the level of noise. Lastly, the perlocutionary force is the result or the effect that the utterance has on the listener. We can say the above utterance has a greater perlocutionary force if it leads to quietness in the classroom than when it is ignored. The perlocutionary force can also be defined as an illocutionary act (i.e. the speaker's intention), plus its effect on the hearer (Akmajian, Demers and Harnish 1979:271).

Another feature of speech acts is that they can be directly or indirectly stated and this may be associated with politeness and impoliteness levels as well as the attention paid to 'face'. Blum-Kulka (1997) points out that two realizations of a speech act, one a direct and the other an indirect one, are capable of the same illocutionary force. To illustrate this point, I will make use of the following

example: “**Keep quiet**”. Here the speaker unambiguously asks the listener/s to stop making a noise, and the listener/s know/s exactly what is expected of them. One could communicate the same intention indirectly by saying: “**It’s noisy in here**”.

In the above utterance the speaker could either be making a complaint that it is noisy, without requesting anyone to be quiet, or indirectly requesting the listener/s to be quiet, thus communicating the same intention as the earlier utterance. The interpretation of the speaker’s intentions will most of the time depend on the context in which the utterance occurs. However, in some cases hearers ignore a directive, not because of failure to interpret the speaker’s directive intent, but as a way of resisting the linguistic choices made in the realization of a directive. West (1990) has shown that, in the medical context, more direct/explicit directive forms such as imperatives, which do not take the hearer’s face needs into account, are more likely to elicit non-compliant responses. It is presumably because these are associated with impoliteness. This suggests that when a speaker/teacher says: “**Can we please stand up**”, he/she would be more likely to get a positive response than when he or she says: “**Stand up**”.

In this study, I will explore ‘directives’, i.e. utterances that attempt to get the hearer to do something. My study focuses on the linguistic forms and strategies used to perform directives as well as the perlocutionary force of these utterances with regard to the listeners during group-work in the classroom.

2.3.2 Directive: towards a definition

To unpack the concept of ‘directive’ I will draw on definitions by linguists such as Ross (1968), Fairclough (1989), Coates (1995), Thimm et al (1995), and Trosborg (1998). The linguistic forms and strategies for expressing directives will form the basis of my discussion. I will also explore ways in which the choices people make for issuing directives are invested with ideologies.

The term 'directive' can be traced as far back as 1968, when it was first used by Ross in his book *Directives and norms*. Ross (1968:34) defines a directive as a linguistic form which expresses an action idea. He also calls it prescriptive in the sense that the action idea tells the hearer how to act. From this definition it is clear that the directive choices speakers make reflect and enact power relations. This view is reiterated by Fairclough (1989) where he argues that in institutions of power like schools, powerful participants use directives to constrain the contributions of the less powerful participants. He also points out that it is the powerful participants who usually have the right to use directives like giving orders and asking questions while the less powerful ones have the obligation to comply.

Because power is embedded in a directive Thimm et al (1995:397) define it as one of the control-claiming moves which they describe as follows:

“moves that are intended to have an effect on the following move of the partner. They are moves that require something of the partner (e.g., asking for more details, asking for clarifications, making requests or suggestions, making direct or indirect demands), or that exert pressure on the partner (e.g., by instructing, ordering, offending). The common factor here is that the partner is required to do something in response; that is, the speaker sets up some kind of obligation”.

The idea that directives reflect and enact power relations is further reiterated by Trosborg (1998:59). Her definition includes the effect a directive may have on a listener. She defines it as follows:

“an illocutionary act by means of which the addresser tries to influence the behaviour of the addressee. A directive is a 'face threatening act' involving a threat to the addressee's negative face. An addresser issuing a directive attempts to exercise power or direct control over the intentional behavior of the addressee and in this way intrudes on the right to freedom of action”.

Here too, the point is made that directives will always reveal an established social order.

Drawing on the definitions by the above linguists, for the purposes of this study I define directives as a speech act that attempts to get the hearers to perform intended actions and that also seeks to regulate the behaviour of others (in this case students). Directives may be issued verbally, by telling hearers what to do or how to act. In some cases interlocutors use non-verbal cues like eye-contact to signal what another person should do. Ervin-Tripp (1977) and Blum-Kulka et al (1989) give detailed classifications of linguistic choices and strategies for issuing directives. These will be discussed below.

2.3.3 Forms and strategies for expressing directives

Like all speech acts a directive may be expressed in a range of linguistic forms and strategies. This range of linguistic forms and strategies is referred to as the speech act set (Cohen 1996:385). Mitchel-Kernan and Kernan (1977:189) and Coates (1995:18), state that a directive may take a number of forms ranging from simple commands boldly stated to hints that require inference based on shared knowledge for their proper identification as directives. Speakers make their choices depending upon the context of discourse, the identities of the persons involved, the setting, the nature of the situation, and the task at hand. To illustrate the different forms for expressing directives I now discuss how they have been classified by different linguists.

2.3.3.1 Ervin-Tripp's classification scheme

Ervin-Tripp (1977) classifies directives into six categories according to the explicitness of the directive and the relative power of speaker and addressee embedded in the utterance. The assumption here is that more powerful participants tend to choose more explicit directive forms when addressing less powerful participants:

- a. Need statements, e.g. **I need a pen.**

I want you to stop doing that.

I'd like you to move to that group.

**I don't want to see you boys quiet
anymore.**

- b. Imperatives: **Shut up.**
Let that boy alone.
- c. Imbedded imperatives: **Could you move to that group?**
Would you please stop?
- a. Permission directives: **May I have the exercise books?**
- b. Question directives: **Is Sipho there?** (over the phone)
- c. Hints: **I'm the teacher around here.** (Ervin-Tripp 1977:165-188)

Directive types here are classified on a scale of most explicit to least explicit. Ervin-Tripp (1977) was the first to rank directives in terms of explicitness. Blum-Kulka et al (1989) adopt a similar approach, but use the term 'directness' instead of 'explicitness'. Coates (1995), in turn, favours the term 'aggravated' for direct requests. In the context of this study the three terms are synonymous and will thus be used interchangeably.

2.3.3.2 Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 's Classification Scheme

It is Blum-Kulka et al (1989) in their study of requests who give a much wider range of directive-types. In their CCSARP scheme Blum-Kulka et al (1989) classify requests into nine strategy types on a scale of more direct to least direct as follows:

- 1. Mood derivable: utterances in which the grammatical mood of the verb signals illocutionary force ('Leave me alone'; 'Clean up that mess').

- 2. Performatives: utterances in which the illocutionary force is explicitly named ('I am asking you to clean up the mess').
- 3. Hedged performatives: utterances in which the naming of the illocutionary force is modified by hedging expressions ('I would like to ask you to give your presentation a week earlier than scheduled').
- 4. Obligation statements: utterances which state the obligation of the hearer to carry out the act ('You'll have to move that car').
- 5. Want statements: utterances which state the speaker's desire that the hearer carries out the act ('I really wish you'd stop bothering me').
- 6. Suggestory formulae: utterances which contain a suggestion to do x ('How about cleaning up?').
- 7. Query preparatory: utterances containing reference to preparatory conditions (e.g. ability, willingness) as conventionalized in any specific language ('Could you clear up the kitchen, please?'; 'Would you mind moving your car?').
- 8. Strong hints: utterances containing partial reference to object or element needed for the implementation of the act ('You have left the kitchen in a right mess').
- 9. Mild hints: utterances that make no reference to the request proper (or any of its elements) but are interpretable as requests by context ('I am a nun' in response to a persistent hassler). (Blum-Kulka et al 1989:18)

They further make a distinction between three main levels of directness:

- a) Direct strategies, comprised of strategies 1-5.
- b) Conventionally indirect strategies, comprising strategies 6 and 7.
- c) Non-conventionally indirect strategies, comprising strategies 8 and 9.

2.3.4 Limitations in discussions of forms and strategies

Ervin-Tripp (1977) attempted to cover a wide range of directive types in her initial classification scheme. It is however, still limited; there are some directive types which she failed to accommodate. In her classification no provision was made for expressions with '*must*', '*have to*', '*ought to*' and '*should*', which Ross

(1968) termed 'deontic' expressions. Another directive type which she did not cater for are those that make use of the inclusive pronouns 'us', 'we', 'our', and 'let's'.

Blum-Kulka et al (1989) on the other hand, give a much wider range of directive types. In their classification scheme utterances with 'must', 'have to', 'ought to' and 'should' are included as obligatory statements. Like Ervin-Tripp (1977) however, Blum-Kulka et al (1989) fail to accommodate collaborative directives in their basic scheme. These were found to be very popular among educators in my study. A detailed discussion of these follows in the next section.

2.3.4.1 Collaborative Directives

These are directives in which the speaker includes himself/herself in the proposed performance of the desired act through the use of pronouns 'we', 'us', 'our' and the collaborative marker 'let's' as in the following utterances:

- Let us look at that question in our groups.
- Can we borrow these tweezers here?
- Let's do it step by step.

West (1990) termed these 'collaborative directives'. According to Coates (1995) this is an interactional strategy that is usually associated with female interactional styles. Coates (1995:23) and Goodwin (1992:147) point out that these kinds of directives are phrased as suggestions for joint action. Therefore, in situations where collaborative directives are used, they stress connectedness as well as solidarity between participants. Leech et al (1982:178) further state that collaborative directives signal group indexicality; by selecting collaborative directives rather than another directive type a speaker introduces a bond with his or her interlocutors.

2.3.4.2 Deontic Expressions

As already mentioned in 2.3.4, deontic expressions are utterances with modals 'must', 'have to', 'ought to' and 'should' (Ross 1969). The use of these modals in

a directive suggests both the speaker's interest in getting the hearer to perform the action, and the hearer's obligation to perform the intended action (Coates 183:31-83). For example:

- Though we are working in groups, but each and everyone of you **must** have your own work so that you put it in your file.
- So, what you **should** do, just underline that to show that's supposed to be two stanzas.

2.3.5 Directive-Response Speech Sequences

I have so far discussed the linguistic choices and strategies used for issuing directives. My study will, however, not be limited to utterances, but will also consider responses that are evoked by different choices speakers make when articulating a directive. Together these are termed Directive-Response Speech Sequences (DRSS). The term DRSS was first used by West (1990) in her study of forms and strategies used by male and female doctors when issuing directives to their patients.

Like directives, responses will always reveal an established social order between speaker and hearer. The hearer's response may either acknowledge or challenge the social order implied in the speaker's utterance. This may happen when the hearer chooses either to respond according to the speaker's expectation, or to ignore the directive. This view is well illustrated in West's study (1990:25-26), which shows that the hearer's response is linked to the speaker's linguistic choices for issuing a directive. In this study, as mentioned earlier, West investigated DRSS in patients' visits to women and men physicians. The study revealed that men physicians mostly used aggravated forms, i.e. imperative forms, or statements in which they told patients what they needed to do, or what they had to do, e.g. "**lie down**". Female physicians often chose the following forms:

- Proposals for joint action: Okay! Well **let's** make that **our** plan.
- Use of the pronoun 'we' rather than 'you': Maybe what **we** ought to do is stay with the dose of di (avameez) you're on.

- The pronoun 'you' when used was mitigated by the use of modal forms such as 'can', 'could' and 'maybe': One thing **you could** do is eat meat first and then **maybe you can** stay away from the desserts. (West 1990)

Her findings were firstly, that female doctors used fewer aggravated directives than men, and secondly, that women doctors, presumably because of their linguistic choices, elicited compliant responses in 67% of the cases in which directives were used. Male doctors, on the other hand, used mostly aggravated directives in the form of imperatives and statements in which they told patients what they needed to do. In comparison with female doctors, they elicited compliant responses in only 50% of their cases.

In West's study (1990), the approach whereby women doctors minimized the status distinction between themselves and their patients and also established egalitarian relationships with their patients proved to have better outcomes than more traditional approaches which emphasized asymmetry in doctor-patient relationship (West: 1990:26-27)

2.3.6 Limitations of previous analyses of directives and DRSS

In the studies by Ervin-Tripp (1977) and Blum-Kulka et al (1989), the focus of analyses was on forms and strategies for expressing directives. Both of these studies produced a list of directive types that speakers are likely to use, depending on whom they are speaking to. They even drew up a list of factors that affect directive choices, without however, considering the situation in which the particular discourse is taking place. The discourse completion tasks used by Blum-Kulka et al to collect data map out context only in general terms.

West's study (1990) also has limitations. In her study, she concluded that male and female doctors use different forms and strategies for issuing directives. I like the fact that this study highlights the effects of the directive choices speakers make, e.g. that most aggravated directive choices may elicit non-compliant responses, whilst indirect ones may elicit more compliant responses.

This is however, as far as she goes. Like the other two she does not examine the context in which discourse occurred.

In this study my aim is not only to show possible differences in the directive choices male and female educators make. In addition, through the analysis of both the grammatical choices made as well as the specific context of each directive, I also wish to determine the nature of the relationship that emerges between teachers and students in this study. For that purpose I find Ervin-Tripp's scheme more appropriate as my framework for classification.

2.4 Language and social power

In the previous section I have shown that there are various linguistic forms and strategies for issuing a directive, which can be measured on a scale ranging from more direct (imperatives and commands) to least direct (pleas and suggestions). Studies reviewed here focus on how the choices people make may reflect and enact the social relations of power between the interlocutors.

2.4.1 Directives and social relations of power

Fairclough (1995:260-263) argues that "in any kind of discourse, knowledge, social relations and social identities are simultaneously being produced". The kinds of linguistic choices people make, for instance, for issuing directives, are shaped by relations of power and are invested with ideology, i.e. cultural beliefs, norms, values etc. In this context ideology is taken to mean what a speaker, being guided by the beliefs, norms, values of his or her society, thinks of the hearer. This view of the hearer is then embedded within his or her choices of directive types.

Cohen (1996:388-398) suggests the following as factors that affect the choice of linguistic forms and strategies for the performance of speech acts: age, sex, social class, occupations, role and status as well as social distance. Since a directive is a speech act, we can assume that the same factors will influence the choices speakers make for issuing directives. Speakers can be assumed to

vary their choices depending upon their own gender and age, their own social class as well as their occupation in relation to that of the hearer. Role and status of the interlocutors and also the social distance between them also play a role. In addition, the specific context in which a directive is issued as well as the specific purpose for which it is issued play a major role in determining choice of forms and strategies for realization of directives.

Goodwin (1990) argues that in most cases people tend to choose aggravated/direct forms to address subordinates and mitigated/less direct ones to those super-ordinate to them. Such choices project the kind of ideologies they have about their interlocutors. To illustrate my point, when a teacher chooses an imperative to issue a directive to his class, he or she is not only ordering his class to do something, but he may also be legitimising his position of power over the pupils. As Fairclough (1989: 41) says, 'in discourse, people can be legitimising or delegitimising particular relations of power without being conscious of doing so'.

Goodwin (1980) states that aggravation is used to negotiate leadership and status, and it also highlights the degraded position of the hearer. The use of aggravated forms thus marks one as being in position to make demands of others. Fairclough (1989:40) further points out that "education along with all other social institutions, has its hidden agenda", that is, the reproduction of class relations and other higher-level social structures, in addition to its overt educational agenda. With this study I therefore wish to find out if there are any attempts by educators or learners to legitimise or delegitimise existing conventions as they issue (in the case of teachers) or respond to (learners') directives. To do that I need methods of data analysis that allow for the examination of each linguistic and grammatical choice in its social function.

2.4.2 Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar

To trace the elements of social relations of power embedded within DRSS I draw on the framework of critical discourse analysis and use some aspects of systemic functional linguistics as an analytical tool.

2.4.2.1 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

To define CDA, I draw on the works of Fairclough (1989 and 1995) and Fowler and Kress (1979), as well as Widdowson (1998). To paint a clearer picture of what CDA aims to accomplish, I found it necessary to start by defining the words 'critical' and 'discourse'.

Like Fairclough (1989), I shall use the term 'discourse' to refer to discursial action, which may either be talking, listening, reading, or writing. Fairclough (1989) argues that all discursial action is socially determined i.e., "when people speak or listen or write or read, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects" (Fairclough 1989:23).

Society is made up of structures called social institutions such as schools, hospitals, universities etc. These institutions are hierarchical, and this in turn contributes to the construction of social relations of power. Power relations within these institutions are therefore one of the factors which determine discourse between interlocutors. To illustrate my point, I cite Fairclough's (1989) example of a school as a social structure. Within a school there are different situations where discourse occurs (class, assembly, playtime, staff meetings etc.). A school has a set of recognized social roles in which people participate in discourse (head teacher, teacher, pupil etc.) and a set of approved purposes for discourse (learning and teaching, examining, maintaining social control). To perform these roles and discourse purposes one has to draw on appropriate discourse types. Hence teachers and students are constrained to operate within subject positions set up in discourse. Therefore in discourse, speakers implicitly encode certain ideologies and particular social positions for themselves and the hearers. And hearers, most particularly the members of the

subordinate group, uncritically accept the discourse conventions of the power holders as 'right' or 'natural' or 'common sense' ways of interacting (Chick 1992:435-436). Such naturalized discourse practices function as a highly effective mechanism for sustaining and reproducing social relations of power. An interesting observation made by Fairclough (1989:38) is that although "the discourse types of the classroom set up subject positions for teachers and pupils, it is only by 'occupying' these positions that one becomes a teacher or a pupil". It is for this reason that he later says "in discourse people can be legitimizing or (delegitimizing) particular relations of power". In occupying such a position uncritically, one legitimizes it.

I now move to defining the word "critical", drawing again on Fairclough (1995:132), who states:

"By 'critical' discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between:

- a) discursive practices, events and texts, and
- b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power".

This view of CDA is reiterated by Fowler and Kress (1979:196) when they say "the critical nature of this linguistic interpretation has its basis in the fact that so much of its ideological meaning is implicit". The text therefore has to be scanned for traces which would otherwise escape notice. It is for this reason that CDA is also referred to as "the linguistics with a conscience and a cause, one which seeks to reveal how language is used and abused in the exercise of power and suppression of human rights" (Widdowson 1998:144).

Fowler and Kress (1979:196) make the very important point that "critical linguists do not assert that writers and speakers deliberately 'obscure' or 'mystify' their aims, or that language is generally an instrument of conscious

conspiracy to conceal or distort, but rather that writers and speakers unconsciously draw on the 'appropriate', traditional language conventions of their speech community". Critical discourse analysis is therefore beneficial in that it provides an analytic framework to assist speakers and writers in the process of self-reflection and confidence to make better, informed choices.

Critical linguists view discourse as three-dimensional. It is viewed as "a spoken or written text, it is an interaction between people, involving processes of producing and interpreting the text, and it is part of a social action" (Fairclough 1992:10). The relationship between social action and text is negotiated through interaction. The formal and stylistic properties of texts are seen as 'traces' of the process of production and 'cues' for the interpretative process. These properties reflect particular lexical and syntactic choices made by interlocutors involved in the production and interpretation of texts. Critical discourse analysis is similarly three-dimensional, in that it involves "description of the text; interpretation of the interaction process and their relationship to the text; and the explanation of how the interaction process relates to the social context" (Fairclough 1992:11). It is such description, interpretation and explanation that I will be undertaking here.

Description

The descriptive stage is primarily concerned with the linguistic choices that speakers and writers make. In this stage analysts frequently utilize the constructs 'field', 'tenor', and 'mode' of discourse which have been developed in the context of systemic functional grammar (SFG). This is further discussed in chapter 3.

Interpretation

The interpretation phase of analysis is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – "with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation" (Fairclough 1989:26). Its aim is to indicate what conventions are being drawn upon, and how. Part of this research is to identify whether the discourse conventions the

educators used when issuing directives are language conventions 'appropriate' to their community of practice (classroom), or whether they were drawing from other resources.

Explanation

This phase is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context. According to Fairclough (1989:26) the explanation phase is concerned "with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects". The task of the analyst is to explain the properties of production and interpretation by referring to the wider social context in which they are embedded.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed research into language and gender, directive-response speech sequences (DRSSs) as speech acts, and critical discourse analysis. Of particular interest was the study by West (1990) which revealed commonalities and differences in the strategies and forms that men and women use in their performance of directives. I chose this as my starting point because the broad purpose of this study is to explore similarities and differences in the directive-response speech sequences (DRSS) between educators of different gender and their students. I will then take West's analysis a step further by drawing on critical discourse analysis (CDA) to critically examine the social relations of power implicit in DRSS.

CHAPTER 3

Methods of data collection and methods of data analysis

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methods of data collection and the methods of data analysis for this study. The data consists of four lessons taught by two male and two female teachers, together with interviews conducted with these and other teachers. With regard to the method of data analysis, I adopt Ervin-Tripp's (1977:170) classification scheme as the framework for classification of directives used by different educators in my texts. I then discuss some methods drawn from SFG, which I utilize to undertake a critical discourse analysis of the DRSS.

3.2 Methods of data collection

As stated above this research focuses on the study of social relations of power embedded in DRSS. The intention is to conduct a critical examination of men's and women's discourse practices in DRSS. I used two main sources of data:

- Video-recorded lessons
- Unstructured interviews

At school 1 (Lenkasi) some data was collected within the context of a two-day workshop focusing on group-work. My expertise in running workshops offered a useful opportunity for a visit to the school. After discussion with my contact person, the principal, I visited the school in order both to run a workshop, and to collect some data.

During the workshop I conducted interviews, to probe the teachers' understanding and attitudes towards group-work. I then invited them to use groupwork in their teaching which I had arranged to be video-taped. Disappointingly, out of the staff of nine educators only three (one female and two males) actually used groupwork, which was not adequate for the purposes of my study. I then approached another school, Nathaniel Sabelo, where I

simply collected my data from two female educators who were willing to help me with my project. Here, I started by recording the lessons, and followed this with the interviews. As in school 1, however, only one teacher actually used groupwork.

Initially, I had hoped to analyse my data on the basis of eight lessons collected from four female educators and four male educators. Seeing that it was difficult to get that number, I had to reduce my subjects of study to four educators, that is, two females and two males. As a result, the lessons discussed in this study are taught by two male educators from school 1 (Lenkasi) and two female educators (one from school 1 and another from school 2).

3.2.1 Unstructured Interviews

The first method that I used when collecting my data was unstructured interviews. The unstructured interview is a research instrument that closely resembles natural conversation (McDonough 1997:184). There are no specific kinds of questions nor any rigid format to be followed. The interviewer has a short list of issue related questions, which often is sidelined in favour of probing interviewee responses. This kind of interview makes the interviewees feel comfortable, and responses tend to be spontaneous, since the interview is neither rigid nor highly structured. The interviewer is expected to probe the interviewee, particularly if the issues raised are within the former's arena of interest. This research method was used as follows:

Before recording the lessons of the educators who were the subjects of my study I interviewed them to elicit:

- a. how they view their roles as teachers in the organization of groupwork;
- b. how they view the role of their pupils during groupwork; and
- c. the kind of interaction strategies and forms that they think are more suitable for groupwork, and why.

During the interviews I encouraged respondents to explain some of their choices for issuing directives, and also what they view as the 'correct' way of issuing a directive. The purpose of the interview was to gain insights into educators' perceptions, and most importantly, I wanted to give the educators an opportunity to discuss the effects of their linguistic choices when issuing directives to their learners. Since the interviews were held before the recordings (school 1), and immediately after the recordings (school 2), at that point, I had not yet had a chance to analyse their directive choices. The responses I received were therefore not all relevant to this study. Another reason is that educators have internalized their discourse practices, such that directive choices seem to be made unconsciously, therefore, they could not in most cases offer tangible reasons for their choices.

The transcriptions of the verbal interviews in Appendix C show that eight educators from Lenkasi secondary school participated in the interview: the three who used groupwork and five of their colleagues. At Nathaniel Sabelo the interview account involves the two teachers whose lessons I recorded, including the one who did not use groupwork. In my transcription of the interviews I could not exclude contributions by the teachers whose lessons were not used for analysis because the interviews were not one on one, but were rather conducted as group interviews.

3.2.2 Video recorded lessons

I decided to record my data on video cassette because I needed to capture the non-verbal aspects of the interactions as well, since many of the students' responses are non-verbal. A video cassette helps to keep a permanent record of all interactions, whether verbal or non-verbal. Video recorded texts, therefore, form my primary data.

I recorded on video cassette one set of classroom interaction each of 2 female and 2 male teachers engaged in groupwork, and subsequently transcribed these. Transcriptions of the four lessons are included in Appendix A. All four

were young teachers ranging from 28 to 38 years of age. They all seemed very conversant with the conventions of using groupwork in the classroom.

In using this method of collecting data; I encountered one problem that could not be resolved; it was virtually impossible to record lessons without any interference. While I, personally, was not in the classrooms, the technician and the camera were in full view of the teachers and students, so I suspect that this might have affected their interactions. As mentioned in 3.2, above, another problem that I encountered was that most educators do not use groupwork in their classroom, so I had to collect my data from many educators before I could find relevant interactions. A more detailed discussion of the teachers and the lessons is found in chapter 4.

3.3 Methods of data analysis

In this section methods of analysing data obtained from the four educators in my study are outlined. The aim of critical discourse analysis of the texts is to establish the types of discourse practices present in each of these texts and some of the resultant effects of these on students. This is what the methods outlined here aim to fulfill.

3.3.1 Identification and classification of directives

Following West (1990:331), I began my analysis by examining the transcripts to locate all instances of teachers' directives, that is, moments where they attempted to get their students to do something. I categorised these according to Ervin-Tripp's (1977:170) classification scheme, which was modified and extended to include collaborative directives and deontic expressions, as discussed in Chapter 2.

In the following I present the categories utilized, with examples from my data:

3.3.1.1 Need Statements:

Trosborg (1998:60) calls these 'want-statements' and says that they express the addresser's desires and needs. A very explicit form of a directive, need statements are very authoritarian because they enable the speaker to confirm his or her position of power over the hearer. It is for this reason that Ervin-Tripp (1997:166) claims that they are primarily directed downwards to subordinates, as in the following utterances:

- **I want you to tell me is it nice to be old?**
- **Okay what you need to do now is to use your tweezers and peel off the --- skin.**

3.3.1.2 Imperatives

An imperative is an order or a command. It is an unmodified or unhedged performative utterance, or a directive that is phrased explicitly without face redress (Trosborg 1998:60). Most of the time imperatives do not specify the agent e.g.

- **Sit on your places now.**
- **Place this on a glass slide....and, with a razor blade or a sculptor, cut a thin piece of this and place it on a drop of water.**

Swan (1980:134), also confirms that an imperative does not usually have a subject, but he adds that it can be used with one, either a noun or a pronoun, if it is necessary to make clear who is being spoken to, e.g.:

- **You work together as a group there.**
- **Everybody work**

3.3.1.3 Deontic Expressions

Deontic expressions are utterances with the modals 'must', 'have to', 'ought to' and 'should' (Ross 1968). According to Coates (1983: 33) these expressions reflect the speaker's interest in getting the hearer to perform the action. In that sense they reveal the speaker's authority over the hearer. Deontic expressions also state the obligation of the hearer to carry out the act, as in the following examples:

- **With you, you must have this worksheet (showing them).**
- **You shouldn't fold your hands.**

Palmer (1990:113) however argues that deontic modals may often be completely neutral with simply the meaning of 'It is necessary for ----'.

3.3.1.4 Imbedded^{a)} Imperatives

Here the actor, verb and object of the desired act are made explicit, and the directive function is obvious. It is the presence of modifications such as 'please', titles, address terms, postponed tags like 'OK' and 'could you^{b)}', which mark a directive as an imbedded imperative. They can also be defined as questions determining the ability and willingness of the hearer to perform a particular act e.g.:

- **Can you please raise your voice so that the other groups will hear what you are saying?**
- **Can somebody correct her?**
- **OK then, you can cover it with your slides.**

Here the directive is less authoritative than the imperative because of the use of modals.

a) Ervin-Tripp (1977:166) uses the term 'imbedded' rather than 'embedded'. The two seem to have the same meaning.

b) Modifications to imperatives were utilized such as *please, titles, address terms, postponed tags like OK and could you* (Ervin-Tripp 1977: 166).

3.3.1.5 Permission Directives

Here the speaker uses the modals *may/might* or *can/could* with the first person, e.g.

- **Can I have a person to report back?**
- **Can we borrow these tweezers here?**

3.3.2.6 Question Directives

This type of directive resembles information questions, and misunderstanding is therefore possible. Comprehension rests on shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer, e.g.

- **Are you drawing something?**
- **Are you listening so that you don't repeat what has already been said?**

3.3.1.7 Collaborative Directives

The hearer includes himself or herself in the performance of the desired act through the use of pronouns 'we', 'us', 'our'. True collaborative utterances have been identified by Trosborg (1998), as those beginning with the collaborative marker '*let's*', as in the following examples:

- **Let's have two groups this row.**
- **Let's use the high powered one.**

3.3.1.8 Hints

These directives require inference. Like question directives they rely on shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. Very few of these were found in the classroom discourse under study.

- **You are a group there.**
- **That's all?**

3.3.2 Comparison of findings in terms of gender

After categorisation, I then counted the number of times each directive type was used by each educator. These were thereafter classified according to gender, so that I could establish how frequently each directive type appeared in the data from educators of different gender. This method enabled me to determine the directive type commonly chosen by educators of a different gender. However, given the low number of respondents, data was also entered separately for each respondent, which enabled me to identify idiosyncrasies.

3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Having explored the kind of choices male and female educators make to issue directives to their learners, I then used critical discourse analysis (CDA) to determine the context under which these choices were made. My aim was to determine the social value of each directive type in an utterance, and also to examine how the grammatical choices for expressing directives build up and reinforce the identity of interlocutors.

3.4.1 Analysis of data in terms of CDA

Utilising CDA to complement my formal analysis, I then analysed my data according to the framework of critical linguistics which assumes that the linguistic choices made consciously or unconsciously by speakers/writers, reflect or are constrained by aspects of the situational context in which they occur. Systemic functional linguists refer to these aspects of the situational context as 'field', 'tenor', and 'mode' of discourse. Butt et al (1996:13), define these three aspects in the following way:

- Field: What is to be talked about or written about, the long and short-term goals of the text;
- Tenor: The relationship between the speaker and the hearer, writer and the reader;

- Mode: The kind of text that is being made.

In my investigation I have, however, decided to analyse only the tenor of discourse which, according to Butt et al (1996:13), explores interpersonal meanings or the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, writer or reader because those are the issues on which I wish to focus.

In the next section I discuss the tenor of discourse and also explain how this was identified from the data collected.

3.4.2 The Tenor of Discourse

When people speak or write they use language to express interpersonal meanings, in addition to referential meanings. The tenor of discourse reflects these interpersonal meanings. Geslin (1995:201) however cautions that:

“the interpersonal function of discourse is not concerned solely with the articulation of what is commonly referred to as the writer’s ‘attitudes’ or ‘beliefs’. Rather, the interpersonal features also function to construct participant roles with specific social relations to one another, and to articulate value judgements towards both the experiential content of discourse and the various possible discourse position/s towards that content”.

The tenor of discourse involves the analysis of the grammatical choices speakers and writers make with regard to mood, modality and person. It is these grammatical choices which indicate the attitude speakers and writers

have towards self, subject, and hearer or reader. These choices also function to create subject positions between speakers/writers and hearers/ readers.

3.4.2.1 Mood

In the context of my analysis I will simply use the term 'mood' to distinguish between the declarative, interrogative, and imperative. According to Butt et al (1995:73) a declarative mood choice generally signals a statement, an imperative mood choice a command, and an interrogative mood choice a question.

However, Butt et al (1996:78) caution that there is not necessarily any strict correlation between the mood of a clause and its function. For example one can command someone using an interrogative mood. In their words:

“the relation between lexicogrammar and interpersonal meanings is not always straight forward – information can be sought using the imperative and declarative Moods as well as the interrogative”.

This can be exemplified from the data under examination. Different moods are used to express the same function, as in the following examples:

FE 1

- **Correct her.**
- **Can somebody correct her.**

FE 2

- **Raise your voice please.**
- **Can you please raise your voice so that the other groups will hear what you are saying.**

It is this use of different moods to express the same function that enable us to draw interesting conclusions about what exactly informs such choices.

Having identified the mood selections by each educator, I then attempted to determine the subject positions or conventional voices that these choices set up. In doing so, I viewed the imperative as more authoritarian than the interrogative and the declarative Mood. The conclusions I made were however mostly guided by the context of the situation in which each mood selection was made.

3.4.2.2 Modality

The term 'modality' refers to all signs of the speaker's opinion in a text (Butt et al 1996:82). The speaker's opinion can be expressed through his or her choices of modal verbs, adverbs and adjectives. The following questions can help to determine the attitude of the speaker or writer in a text:

What modal verbs (would, could, should) and adverbs (probably, possibly, definitely) and adjectives (probable, possible, definite) are selected?

What do these choices reveal about attitudes, identities and relationships?

The speaker's choice of a modal is most of the time guided by his or her age in relation to the hearer, role relationships, and also the location of the interaction. Modality in general establishes the degree of authority of an utterance, and choices made are linked to politeness levels. Modal choices speakers and writers make also function to create subject positions. Butt et al (1996:84) state that the use of modality in some texts may allow the speaker to appear openly persuasive or even bossy as in the following example:

- **You shouldn't fold your hands, you must take something.**

The following example however, shows that modality can also allow speakers or writers to be polite:

- **Can you please raise your voice so that the other groups will hear what you are saying?**

In this study I limit my analysis of modality to modal verbs because very few adverbs and adjectives were used by teachers in my study.

3.4.2.3 Person

Person refers to all pronoun choices speakers make. Like mood and modality these reveal the attitudes speakers have about hearers. Hodge and Kress (1993:92) point out that the use of 1st person pronouns 'I' and 'we' gives an utterance reliability, and its source of authority is absolutely clear. Leech (1971:174) argues that the use of the pronoun 'we' establishes solidarity between the speaker and the hearer/writer and the reader. On the other hand with 'you' as a subject, the speaker is setting him/herself up as an authority on another person's actions. For example:

- **I want groups to answer the first question over the page.**
- **We'll have another group there.**
- **You choose there.**

Having identified the different pronouns selected by different educators when issuing directives as well as how these were used to refer to self (educator) and subjects (learners), I attempted to determine the effect of such choices by analysing the learners' responses to them.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the different research methods used to collect and also to analyse data. I mentioned interviews and video recording as the methods I used to collect data.

I explained that I used Ervin-Tripp (1977) to identify directives used in my data. I further explained that the directive types identified were then analysed according to the methods of critical discourse analysis but only focusing on tenor of discourse. In doing so I discussed the grammatical choices speakers

and writers make with regard to mood, modality and person as well as how these may indicate attitude to self, subject, and hearer or reader.

Using the analytic methods discussed in this chapter, I now proceed to the analysis and interpretation of the data collected.

CHAPTER 4.

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the corpus of DRSS produced by male and female educators with the aim of comparing their discourse practices during group work. The data consisted of transcripts of directives issued by the four educators, two females and two males, as well as the responses of learners to these.

4.2 Classification and interpretation of data

To facilitate my analysis I start by classifying my data according to Ervin-Tripp's classification scheme (1977:166-167). As mentioned in section 2.3.4, Ervin-Tripp does not include deontic expressions and collaborative directives in her classification scheme, and I have added them to my classification scheme. The transcripts of these group interactions can be found in Appendix A and an overview of all directives used, according to different categories, in Appendix B.

4.3 Female educators

I begin with an analysis and interpretation of data collected from the two female educators. Below in Table 1, I present a summary of the frequency and percentage for each directive type, for each female educator. The dominant directive type for each educator has been highlighted:

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY (F) AND PERCENTAGE (%) FOR EACH DIRECTIVE TYPE USED BY FEMALE EDUCATORS

| | NS | | I | | DE | | II | | PD | | QD | | CD | | H | | Total |
|-----|----|-----|----|------|----|------|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|------|---|------|-------|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | |
| FE1 | 5 | 9.2 | 18 | 33.3 | 9 | 16.6 | 4 | 7.4 | - | - | 1 | 1.8 | 11 | 20.3 | 6 | 11.1 | 54 |
| FE2 | 6 | 25 | 2 | 8.3 | 2 | 8.3 | 2 | 8.3 | 1 | 4.1 | - | - | 8 | 33.3 | 3 | 12.5 | 24 |

(The following abbreviations are used:

I: Imperatives

DE : Deontic Expressions

II: Imbedded Imperatives

PD: Permission Directives

NS: Need Statements

QD: Question Directives

CD: Collaborative Directives

H: Hints

FE: Female Educator)

Table 1 shows that the two female educators in this study display different interactional styles when issuing directives. I will now analyse each educator's directive choices. Some background information on each educator will also be included.

4.3.1 Female Educator 1(FE1)

FE1, an English teacher, is also the principal of the school. She has done an extensive study of the use of groupwork in the classroom at university and also through her involvement with non-governmental organizations (NGOs). She has, herself, facilitated many workshops which call for the use of groupwork in the classroom. She is an intelligent and committed educator. In the lesson

recorded she is teaching a poetry lesson and the poem under discussion is entitled 'Warning'.

Her class is really big. It is a group of about 45 learners. As she enters the classroom the learners are already seated in groups, but for some reason, she changes the groups around. It takes her a long time to organize the learners into new groups, and they are also very noisy. FE1 is therefore compelled to do a lot of interactive work, so she uses need statements, imbedded imperatives, collaborative directives, deontic expressions and a few other directive types interchangeably to achieve the desired effect, as in the following examples:

- a) The imperative: to scold or to call the learners to order.
 - **Get seated please.**
 - **Please people, Msomi listen.**
- b) The collaborative directive: to be supportive.
 - **Let's hear from this group.**
 - **Let us read the poem 'Warning'.**
- c) The imbedded imperative: to plead with them to do the desired task.
 - **Can you please listen so that if they have the same idea that you have you don't have to repeat that, ok.**
 - **Can you please raise your voice so that the other groups will hear what you are saying.**
- d) A deontic expression: for emphasis.
 - **You must have this work-sheet with you.**
 - **You don't have to repeat that, ok.**

The analysis of this educator's use of directives suggests that what one wishes to achieve through language use plays a major role in the directive choice.

Table 1 above shows that her most frequently used directive type is the imperative (I), which forms 33.3% of all her directive choices:

Examples:

- **Don't forget the numbers I will be giving you.**
- **So take your jotter, your pen, just leave everything there in your place.**

These are open commands/orders where the speaker does not attend to the face needs of the hearer. This is somewhat surprising, in that many linguists such as Coates (1986) and Tannen (1990) have associated the use of such direct commands with male discourse practices.

Her second most favoured directive type is the collaborative directive (CD). These form 20.3% of all her directives. As mentioned in 2.2.1, this directive type is usually associated with female discourse practices. The fact that this educator chooses to use more imperatives than collaborative directives shows deviation from the accepted gender norm.

A close examination of her utterances shows that each directive type tends to be used at different stages of her lesson. This is not coincidental, there is a need for her to use a particular directive type at particular times because of the different language functions that she has to perform at different stages of her lesson. This is likely to be one of the factors which cause her to deviate from the gender norm. At the beginning of her lesson she uses a need statement: "**I want you to change these groups that you have**". This, according to Ervin-Tripp (1977), is a very explicit form of a directive, which expresses the addresser's needs and desires. Because the learners are already in groups she has to use a power-loaded directive form to make them move. The learners confirm the teacher's position of power by forming new groups as directed, though some of them were reluctant to move and thus needed to be urged to do so.

As she proceeds with the organization of groups, she switches to imperatives, which though still very authoritative, are said to be less aggravated than need statements (Ervin-Tripp 1977:166-167):

- **So don't forget the numbers I will be giving you.**
- **So take your jotter, your pen, just leave everything else there.**

The high-pitched voice which accompanies these imperatives functions to draw the attention of the listener. Since the level of noise in the classroom is very high I think the choice of the imperative is informed by the need to draw their attention to what she has forgotten to tell them. I think this is a good choice, because the learners immediately respond by going back to their original places to collect their jotters, but still take a long time settling down. So, once again the teacher uses an imperative to call them to order:

- **Get seated please.**
- **Please, Msomi listen.**

When the need arises for students to be reprimanded this educator chooses to employ an imperative. Although an imperative is considered as an authoritative form, such a label cannot be automatically attached to this educator. Looking at the kind of imperatives she uses shows that she attempts to play down her role of power by mitigating them with the word 'please'.

Only when the learners have finally settled down in their new groups does she start teaching. For teaching and learning to be successful, the classroom atmosphere needs to be non-threatening and relaxed. To create that kind of an environment she relinquishes her position of power and takes on the role of being involved in the performance of the directives she is issuing. I mentioned earlier that group-work is a democratic activity in which learners exercise their rights to speak and be listened to. Speaking in the classroom, however, is risky and a face-threatening act. Collaborative directives enable this teacher to be viewed not as a person to judge the correctness of the learners' responses, but as a supportive co-participant. When a teacher is viewed in this sense the learners' fears are alleviated and they are encouraged to speak. In this lesson FE1 is teaching the poem entitled 'Warning', and through her use of collaborative directives she is successful in involving the learners in the discussion of the poem.

To determine interpersonal meanings embedded in directive choices, I now examine the choices FE1 makes of mood, modality and person.

Mood

FE1 uses all three moods (declarative, imperative, interrogative) interchangeably to express directives to her students. The imperative mood, as already discussed above, is however her favourite.

- **T: Have your worksheet with you – ‘Warning’.**
- **P: (Some go back to their original places to collect their work sheets)**

- **T: So, take your jotter, your pen, just leave everything there.**
- **P: (Some take jotters and others take pieces of paper and move)**

- **T: Read what is there.**
- **P: (Reading) Spokesperson.**

The imperative in the above utterances shows that the speaker (teacher) demands action and the other participants (learners) comply, so the relationship created in this kind of discourse is asymmetrical.

The declarative mood is also used quite frequently. Some instances co-occur with ‘*want*’, and most of them with modulation: ‘*must*’, ‘*should*’, ‘*have to*’, and ‘*will*’ as in the following examples:

- **T: I want you to change these groups that you have.**
- **P: Yes**

- **T: You must take something.**

- **P: (The learner takes a piece of paper).**

- **T: People shouldn't keep quiet.**
- **P: (Discussion continues)**

A declarative mood is usually used for giving information, but here it is used as a command (to tell the learners what to do or what not to do). Like the imperative mood, the use of a declarative suggests that the speaker possesses enough authority to impose action upon the hearer.

The interrogative mood is used on a very small scale, in only four utterances out of 54. The use of an interrogative mood mitigates a directive. It makes an utterance sound tentative, and authoritative speakers would not choose this directive form because it makes speakers sound as though they are unsure of their facts. The fact that there are fewer utterances in this mood suggests that the teacher (FE1) views herself as a confident educator who is sure of what she is doing.

Modality

I now look at the various modal verbs used by FE1, and consider how these function to determine the teacher's attitude towards the learners.

FE1 used a total of 13 modal verbs in her lesson: five instances of '*must*', four of '*can*', three of '*should/n't*', and one of '*have to*'. The modals '*must*' and '*should/n't*' are strong modals which signal obligation. Coates (1983:31-83) states that '*must*' and '*have to*' correspond with strong obligation whilst '*should*' corresponds with weak obligation. The data suggests that FE1 uses strong modals not to emphasise her role of power, but rather to emphasise some points, so as to get things done, as in the following examples:

- **T: With you, you must have this worksheet (showing them).**
- **P: (Some go back to their original places to collect their worksheets)**
- **T: You shouldn't fold your hands.**

These were used to emphasise the sense of duty and obligation on the side of the learners.

Person

I now examine the speaker's attitude (FE1) towards her listeners (students) as revealed by her choices of pronouns.

Throughout this text there is interplay of the first person singular 'I', the first person plural 'we', 'us' and the second person pronominals 'you' and 'your'. To be more specific, FE1 has used 61 second person pronouns 'you', and 'your', 14 first person plural 'us' and 'we', and eight first person singular 'I'. The predominance of the 2nd person pronouns and the lack of resistance to these by the learners suggests the accepted and the accustomed world of authority in the classroom. This pronoun, like the modal 'must' creates an obligation to perform the intended action. In this lesson the use of this pronoun is found mostly during the organizational stage, where the teacher uses her authority to organize students into groups. I mentioned earlier that the learners took their time in moving to new groups and that the level of noise was very high, so considerable interactive work was required in order for the learners to comply.

It is noteworthy that the teacher selects the 1st person plural more frequently than the 1st person singular. The choice of this pronoun signifies the teacher's solidarity with the learners. Since she used this pronoun type during the actual teaching and learning phase of her lesson to facilitate group discussion, it appears clear to me that she did not want the learners to feel threatened by her position of power. I think she intended the learners to view her as a participant in the performance of intended action. I think this strategy worked well because the learners were very participative.

To show that she did not intend being authoritative in her directive choices, very few of the directives she issued involved the 1st person pronoun 'I'. The use of

this pronoun is very authoritative in that the directive is made to sound 'speaker-interested'. It is made clear that it is the speaker who wants the action performed.

In conclusion, I wish to point out that even though most grammatical choices may reveal asymmetrical relations of power in this classroom, the presence of hints in this data signifies familiarity between the teacher and her students. This together with some of the factors I have mentioned functions to minimize the status differential between this teacher and her students.

4.3.2 Female Educator 2 (FE2)

The lesson under examination here is in Geography where the educator is teaching the water cycle. This lesson is taught by FE2, a young and energetic educator who has been teaching for more than eight years. She is very familiar with the use of groupwork as one of the approaches to teaching. She has been exposed to this approach at college and also through in-service training.

When she enters her classroom the desks are arranged in rows. This is not surprising since I mentioned earlier that most educators in this school do not use groupwork; most classes are still teacher-fronted. Before she starts teaching, FE2 has the task of arranging the learners into groups. This is a fairly small class of 26 very co-operative learners, and they take very little time in organizing themselves and the furniture into groups

She is new in this school and she is teaching this class for the first time. It is for this reason that she is accompanied by the class teacher, a male (ME1) who introduces her and then stays and helps in controlling the class. They end up practicing team teaching, an approach whereby two or more educators work together, helping and supporting each other in a lesson.

Table 1 above shows that FE 2 favours the use of collaborative directives. They form 33.3% of all directives she issued. Collaborative directives, as shown

earlier, are identified by the use of the collaborative markers 'let's' and the inclusive pronouns; 'we', 'us', 'ourselves' as in the following utterances:

- **Let's have two groups this row.**
- **We'll have another group there (pointing).**

When this directive type is used the educator plays down her role of power over the pupils, and views herself as one additional actor in the performance of the activity she is giving the learners.

The second most popular directive type with this educator are need statements (NS), which form 25% of the corpus of directives she issued. These are regarded by Ervin-Tripp (1977) as the most authoritative or direct way of issuing a directive. Blum-Kulka (1989) however, views these as a fairly polite strategy. Despite the contrasting views of these two linguists, the examination of most of the utterances where this directive type is used by FE2 shows some form of politeness; they are mitigated by their co-occurrence with the collaborative directive (CD), as in the following examples:

- **I want us to divide **ourselves**.**
- **I want us to look at the question ehh.... How water is formed.**
- **That is the questions that I want us to look at right now.**
- **That is the question that I want us to tackle in **our** groups.**

All the above need statements elicited compliant responses. It is however important to note that the utterances in which the need statements were not mitigated did not elicit a compliant response:

- **T: I want you to have ehh--- each group to have a piece of paper where you are going to write, this is point number 1.**
- **P: (They sit and listen)**
- **T: Number 2, I want you to choose a person who will be able to report back what we have been discussing.**

- **P: (They sit and listen)**

When the educator issued the above directives the learners did not interpret them as directives; they just sat there looking at her. It is only after the intervention of the male educator (ME1) that the intended action of getting a piece of paper and choosing a spokesperson was performed. In this situation it is the use of an imperative and a deontic expression with a strong modal *'must'* that finally elicit a compliant response.

It is on two occasions only that FE2 herself uses an imperative, which according to Ervin-Tripp (1977) is the second most authoritative form of issuing a directive:

- **Correct her.**
- **Again.**

Even in these examples I think she is not actually emphasizing her power as an educator. To me, the first one is more of a plea to help the learner who has not been able to give the correct answer, whilst the second one seems to be the quickest way of requesting the learner to repeat what she has said without interrupting the lesson with a lengthy speech.

Like FE1, FE2 uses different directive types to perform different language functions. To illustrate my point, after being introduced she makes use of a collaborative directive:

- **T: OK, let's sit down.**
- **P: (They sit)**

In section 2.3.4.2 collaborative directives were defined as proposals for joint action in which the speaker involves him/herself in the performance of the desired act. However, my analysis of the instances in which this directive type was used shows that they are used in most cases as a strategy to coerce learners to perform the desired action. For instance, here she does not actually take part in performing the directive she has issued. As Leech et al (1982:178) suggest, I think her choice of a collaborative directive at this stage serves to

create a bond with her interlocutors. I also think in choosing this directive type she bridges the gap between herself and the learners, thus creating some kind of a rapport and also minimizing her status in relation to that of her students.

It is only after she has established her relationship with her students that she starts organizing them into groups. To do that, like FE1 she uses need statements:

- **T: I want us to divide ourselves into groups.**
- **P:(They move and start organizing themselves into groups)**

However, unlike FE1 she mitigates this with the inclusive pronouns 'us' and 'ourselves'. Ervin-Tripp (1977) suggests that familiarity and relative rank of addressor/addressee are some of the factors that affect directive choice. The possibility here is that since she is new to the learners, whilst she sees the need to express her own desire, she still feels the need to play down her role of power.

Analysis of mood, modality and person

The analysis of mood, modality and person reflects very closely the teacher-student interaction. I now look at how these were used and also at the kind of responses they invoked from the learners.

Mood and person

The investigation of mood choices used here reveals that the interaction is between unequals, a teacher and her students. Most of her mood choices are in the declarative mood in the form of 'I want you/us to' or 'Let us' as in the following examples:

- **I want you to choose a person who will be able to report back what we have been discussing.**
- **I want us to divide ourselves into groups.**
- **Let us discuss this question.**

The choice of these forms makes her sound professional in the demands she is making, and thus the relationship created is an institutionalized one (teacher to student). This kind of relationship is, however, minimised by her pronoun choices. She uses mostly collaborative pronouns and thus presents herself as a participant in the performance of intended action. To me these grammatical choices reveal that the educator has presented herself as both a specialist having enough authority to make demands of her learners, and also as an equal.

Modality

In this text FE2 used very few modal forms. She uses the modal verb '*can*' three times and a contracted form of '*will*' only once, as follows:

- **Can** somebody correct her?
- We'll have another group there.

I think this is due to the fact that her class is very co-operative and she therefore has very little interactive work to do, since she does not have to reprimand her students. I mentioned earlier that the modal '*can*' in a text may suggest the informality of the situation. Its use here shows the teacher's attempt in creating a more relaxed classroom atmosphere. The strong modal '*will*' in the second utterance above is mitigated by its use in the contracted form as well as its co-occurrence with the collaborative pronoun '*we*'.

It is therefore clear that through the grammatical choices of mood, modality and pronoun this educator has managed to minimise the status differential between herself and the learners.

4.4 Male educators

This section discusses the frequency and percentages for each directive type used by each male educator as summarized in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY (F) AND PERCENTAGE (%) FOR EACH DIRECTIVE TYPE CHOSEN BY MALE EDUCATORS

| | NS | | I | | DE | | II | | PD | | QD | | CD | | H | | TOTAL |
|-------------|----|-----|----|-------------|----|------|----|----|----|-----------|----|-----|----|-----------|---|-----------|-------|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | |
| ME1 | 1 | 2.1 | 25 | 54.3 | 5 | 10.9 | 6 | 13 | 1 | 2.1 | 3 | 6.5 | 5 | 10.9 | - | - | 46 |
| ME 2 | 1 | 10 | 2 | 20 | - | - | 1 | 10 | 2 | 20 | - | - | 2 | 20 | 2 | 20 | 10 |

(ME = male educator)

Table 2 shows that the male educators in this study also display different interactional styles for issuing directives. The analysis of each male educator's directive choices follows:

4.4.1 Male Educator 1 (ME1)

ME 1 is a dedicated Science educator. He is about 34 years old and has been teaching for six years. During the interviews it became clear that he had learnt the use of groupwork at college and also through attending in-service workshops. The lesson he is teaching is a scientific experiment where learners are doing a practical investigation of the epidermal tissue of an onion. When he enters the classroom the learners are already in their groups and the required science equipment, such as the microscope and slides, is already in the classroom.

The statistics in table 2 above show that he is a very authoritarian educator, who favours the use of imperatives. These form 54.3% of all the directives he issued. All the other directives are used at a low level. Collaborative directives form 10.9%, whilst the imbedded imperatives form 13% of all the directives he

issued. Need statements and permission directives are his least popular directive types, each used once only.

Imperatives, as mentioned in 2.2.1, exhibit linguistic behaviour that is traditionally considered to be masculine (Lakoff 1975; Holmes 1992; Ochs 1992). The speaker who chooses this directive type does not attend to the face needs of the hearer, but rather chooses to emphasise his own power. However, James and Drakish (1993:99) suggest that to understand people's discourse practices, it is important that we take into account the specific cultural settings, and discourse contexts in which communication takes place. I think it is crucial therefore to look at the discourse context in which this educator issues the imperatives.

As mentioned earlier, the educator here is conducting a scientific experiment. For the learners to do the experiment themselves, they have to follow a particular procedure, and that procedure must be issued to the learners in the form of imperatives as in the following examples:

- **Steal a--- steal a very thin strip from the epidermis of an onion.**
- **Place this on a glass slide.**
- And with a razor blade or a sculptor, **cut a thin piece of this and place it in a drop of water.**

Butt et al (1995:74) say that speakers and writers of procedural texts usually select imperative mood because they are giving orders which should be followed to accomplish the task. My observation is that it is neither his gender nor his position of power that makes him choose imperatives, but primarily the role he has to play in the lesson. To support this claim, it should be noted that when he is not explaining procedure, he either mitigates a directive with a modal or uses a collaborative form, as in the following examples:

mitigated by the use of the modal '*can*':

- **Ok, then you can cover it with your slides.**

- This group here can come and examine.

use of the collaborative marker 'let's':

- Let's do it step by step.
- Now let's go through.

One further indication that he is not actually an authoritarian person is his use of deontic expressions. These take the form of strong modals 'should', 'must' and 'have to', as in the following examples:

- It should be on the center of the slide.
- You must move it until you see the thing.
- You must be very careful not to break your slide.
- What we have to do now, add another drop of water --- on top of the epidermal tissue.

Such strong modals are usually associated with powerful speakers. In this case however, ME1, like FE1, uses these not to emphasise his own power, but to put an emphasis on what needs to be done for the task (experiment) to be accomplished.

I now proceed to the analysis of the tenor of discourse.

Analysis of tenor

In this section I examine the selections that ME1 made of mood, modality and person. In doing so, I attempt to explore the social relations of power embedded in such choices.

Mood

In my examination of the mood selection made by this educator I discovered that out of 46 utterances the imperative mood was used 25 times, the declarative 17 times and the interrogative mood 4 times. As I mentioned earlier, it is clear that ME1 favours the use of the imperative mood, but it would seem

that his choices are guided not by his role of power, but the task he is performing – that of conducting a scientific experiment.

Modality

Very few modals were used in this text. Those that were used are '*can*', '*must*', '*should*' and '*have to*'. The most favoured one was '*can*' which was used 8 times, then '*must*' was used 3 times, whilst '*should*' and '*have to*' were each used once only. In the instances where these are used by this educator, they are not speaker-centred but hearer-centred in the sense that they do not emphasise his role of power, but rather what needs to be done to accomplish the task (Ross 1968:38 and Coates 1983:31-83).

It could therefore be argued that this educator's frequent use of the modal '*can*' reveals his attempt to create a more relaxed atmosphere, hence, as mentioned earlier, this modal is usually used in informal settings. Its use here rather than the strong modals '*must*' or '*should*' makes the teacher sound friendlier and minimizes the social distance between him and the learners.

Person

The analysis of this educator's pronoun choices gives the impression that he is an authoritarian person. The 2nd person pronoun '*you*' is used 15 times. This usage generally emphasises who needs to perform the action, and it is usually people in positions of authority who choose this pronoun. A further examination of the pronouns reveals that very few of the collaborative pronouns were used. The pronoun '*we*', which includes both the speaker and the hearer in the performance of the utterance, was used only three times.

It would however be wrong to conclude that this educator is authoritarian just because of his pronoun choice. The analysis of the other aspects of tenor have revealed that despite his choices of authoritarian word and syntactic forms, his choices appear to be largely informed by the scientific experiment he is conducting.

4.4.2 Male Educator 2 (ME2)

ME2 is an Economics educator. Being 26 years old, he is the youngest of all the educators in my study. He has however, been teaching for five years. During the interview he pointed out that whilst at university, he was exposed to groupwork as one of the approaches that can be used in the classroom, but when he started teaching he realized that not many educators were familiar with this approach. It was only when he became a teacher union's site steward that he personally started using this approach. He explained that during union workshops teachers worked in groups, and as teachers, they were also encouraged to use this approach when teaching.

This educator integrates three teaching approaches within one lesson. He starts by using question and answer to elicit what the learners already knew, he then moves to groupwork, and finally to a lecture method. When he starts teaching the learners are seated in rows. It is only when he wants them to discuss a particular point that he organizes them into groups. My transcription and analysis include only that portion where groupwork was used, and thus his lesson seems to be very short.

ME2 seems to balance his choice of directive forms. His directive choices (only 10 in all) can neither be associated with the male nor the female discourse practices according to West (1990). The analysis of his directive choices shows that he used imperatives, permission directives, hints and collaborative directives equally. They each formed 20% of all the directives he issued. The remainder, which are need statements and imbedded imperatives, each formed 10% (one instance each).

The close analysis of his utterances shows that he is seeking to be democratic in his directive choices. Most of his directives, including need statements which according to Ervin-Tripp (1977) are the most authoritative directive types, co-

occur with the inclusive pronouns 'we', 'us' and 'our' as in the following examples:

- **NS** - I want us to look at the six characteristics of.....
- **PD** - Can we then quickly sit around the table.
- **CD** - Let's raise our hands.

Having discussed the directive types he uses when talking to learners I now proceed to analyse the tenor of discourse embedded in such choices.

Analysis of tenor

The analysis of tenor of discourse confirms that this is not an authoritarian educator. His choice of mood reveals little, in that his choices were balanced: two imperatives, three interrogatives, and three declaratives. Let us therefore turn to the other markers such as modality and pronoun choices.

While this educator did not use many modal types in this text, the only type used 'can', is revealing as to his attitude. The use of the modal 'can' here, may be considered as the teacher's attempt to make the classroom atmosphere more relaxed, since this modal is generally used in informal settings (Coates 1983:106). Further evidence for this educator's attempt to sound less formal, is this modal's co-occurrence with the interrogative mood:

- **In groups can you please discuss whether you really know the 6 characteristics?**
- **Can we then quickly sit around the table?**
- **Can we move a little bit over here (pointing with a finger)?**

Firstly, the interrogative mood sounds less authoritative than the other mood choices. And, secondly the effect of the interrogative is that it allows the hearer to either accept or reject the command. Lastly, both of these discourse

strategies (i.e. the interrogative and 'can'), are usually used by tentative speakers who do not want to sound domineering.

His pronoun choices further confirm his attempt to democratize the classroom situation. The most frequently used pronouns are the collaborative ones 'we', 'us', and 'our'. As he mentions in the interviews, I think it is his involvement in politics in the form of a teacher union (SADTU) that has equipped him with more democratic interactional styles.

4.5 Comparison of data from male and female educators

One of the aims of this study was to determine similarities and/or differences in the directive choices made by male and female educators. West (1990) in her study of DRSS between male and female doctors and their patients discovered that male doctors issued directives differently from females. She pointed out that female doctors used mostly collaborative directive forms, while the male doctors were authoritarian. Collaborative directives, which are said to emphasise co-operation, support and equality among interactants are associated with female discourse practices, whilst authoritarian forms are linked to male discourse practices. This is, however, not so clear-cut in my study.

Starting with female educators, my comparison of the two educators revealed that they used different interactional styles in their realization of directives. Contrary to West's findings, FE1 seemed to favour the use of imperatives, which formed 33.3% of all her directive choices. FE2 on the other hand,

seemed to favour the use of collaborative directives, which, quite incidentally, also formed 33.3% of all her directive choices. From these differences we can deduce that the directive choices made by female educators are not solely informed by their gender, but some other factors must also play a role in the selection of appropriate directive forms.

The same can also be said about male educators. My analysis of male educators' directive choices also does not reveal any particular pattern of directive choices. ME1 used many imperatives and his choices therefore seem to conform to typically male discourse practices which are said to be more direct and authoritarian. ME2, however, mitigated most of his directives, and his choices would therefore rather seem to be associated with typically female discourse practices. Once more, as these are both males it is clear that their choices cannot be explained solely in terms of gender. Rather an explanation can be sought in terms of the linguistic functions required by the interactional contexts, such as have been listed in 4.3.1:

- To scold or to call the learners to order imperatives were used.
- To be supportive, collaborative directives were used.
- To plead with them to do the desired task, imbedded imperatives were used.
- For emphasis, deontic expressions were used.
- To give procedure to be followed e.g. in a scientific experiment, imperatives were used.

In many cases the more authoritarian directive forms such as the imperative were also used as a repair strategy, that is, their choices were guided by:

- Whether the learners had interpreted the directive intent correctly and responded appropriately, and
- Whether they had actually responded to it or not.

This study does not challenge the view that, when issuing directives, females are more supportive, nurturing and co-operative, whilst males are authoritarian. It does however, serve to reveal an awareness by teachers of different gender of the need to democratize classroom discourse. This is shown by the use in all lessons analysed of less authoritarian directive forms. At the same time, in the process of transforming classroom discourse, the more authoritarian ways of issuing directives cannot be discarded as they may well still be required for specific interactions.

4.6 Learners' responses to educators' directives

In this section I examine the learners' responses to the various directives used by their educators. I trace the types of directives that elicit more compliant responses from the learners.

Since this study was prompted by my reading of West's (1990) study of directive-response speech sequences between doctors and their patients, I use this as my frame of reference. While these are two very different situations, a comparison of the two sets of findings revealed that the directive choices people make, as well as the responses to these, are determined (*inter alia*) by the location in which they occur.

In her study West (1990) discovered that patients complied more readily with those directives that were less authoritarian. In the school context, however, learners generally complied most quickly to those directives that were very authoritarian. There was a tendency not to take seriously those directives in which less authoritarian linguistic forms were used. Hence learners' non-compliance with some of the directives cannot be associated primarily with the linguistic forms chosen by speakers as in West's study, but rather is more a function of the speakers' (educators') intended meaning.

In the following examples learners appear not to take seriously those directives in which the modal 'can' was used:

Example 1

FE1

- **T: Can you please listen so that if they have the same idea that you have you don't have to repeat that, ok?**
- **Ps: Yes (some continue talking)**
- **T: Please listen!**
- **Ps: (Some continue talking)**
- **T: Are you listening so that you don't repeat what has already been said?**
- **Ps: (They finally become quiet)**

In this example it is the question directive (QD) that finally quietens the learners down. In West's study (1990) non-compliance to directives reflects attitudinal problems, but this case requires a different explanation. During groupwork

learners have a tendency to focus primarily on the accuracy of their presentation, such that when it is time to report back they continue with the discussion to perfect their own work.

Example 2

ME1

- **T: You can bring yours to the microscope and see if you can see the cells.**
- **Ps: (They just stand next to the microscope)**
- **T: Bring yours to the microscope.**

The above example reflects the teacher's attempt to transform classroom discourse by choosing less authoritarian directive forms. In the first utterance the directive is mitigated by the use of the modal 'can'. The learners however fail to interpret this as a directive until the teacher rephrases it into a more familiar form: an imperative.

Example 3

ME 2

- **T: I want us to look at the six characteristics of wants and further explain as to what does each one mean.**
- **Ps: (Listen)**
- **T: So, in groups, you can discuss whether you really know the six characteristics. In fact look at them.**
- **Ps: (They sit and listen)**

- **T: In groups, discuss.**
- **Ps: (They start discussing)**

This example, like the previous one, shows the teacher's attempt to issue a directive, as required by his teaching function, but without being directly authoritarian. He tries various directive forms, starting with a need statement and moving to an imbedded imperative and then an imperative. It is finally the direct imperative which leads to the desired response. The educator moves from a less to a more authoritarian directive type in his attempts to elicit the intended action.

The above examples suggest that there exists a particular type of discourse associated with classrooms and schooling. Learners appear to have internalized these discourse practices and traditions and to accept them as the 'correct' teacher-pupil way of interaction. It is evident here that the learners are used to a teacher (regardless of gender) being the figure of authority who will order them around during the learning process. This kind of behaviour is in line with FE1's view that no learning would take place if teachers were to stop giving orders to students. My analysis of directives however, shows that it is possible to give orders without choosing directive forms that emphasise one's authority.

With the introduction of OBE in South African schools, some teachers (both males and females) are attempting to transform classroom discourse by moving away from authoritarian ways of speaking towards more democratic ones. However, their attempts tend to be thwarted by the learners' failure to interpret

these reshaped utterances as directives, and so teachers are forced to revert to the explicit types of directive that most learners still relate to, in the main, the imperative. My difficulties in finding teachers who did utilize groupwork suggest that these changing practices are not yet widespread.

4.7 The classroom as a community of practice

The kind of expectations the learners display about classroom discourse (teacher-pupil interaction) depict a relationship between language and a community of practice. In this way the classroom can clearly be seen as a COP, in which educators and learners together shape a repertoire of shared practices; which will include the classroom setup, the behaviours expected of both educators and pupils, and the discourse(s) used. For example, authoritarian ways of speaking which mostly prevailed in traditional teacher-fronted classrooms were regarded as typical teacher-pupil ways of interaction in the past.

At the same time, South African classrooms are currently COPs in transition, in that some educators are seeking to democratize relationships within the classroom. In this study teachers are attempting to transform classroom discourse by employing less authoritarian (more democratic) ways of issuing directives. However learners' reactions to the reshaped directives reflect that teachers' choices sometimes violate their understanding of discourse appropriate to a classroom. I have mentioned that learners in this study complied promptly with those directives in which imperative forms were used. The imperative is an explicit authoritarian directive associated with traditional teacher-fronted classrooms.

Reactions to these changed forms suggest that the learners are not actually familiar with the new ways. Hence very few educators seem to have adopted

this new way of interacting with learners. The presence of less authoritarian directive types in the data of these 4 educators indicates that the classroom as a COP is not static, but it constantly changes with time to meet new challenges.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have coded the Directive-Response Speech Sequences (DRSS), between male as well as female educators and their students at Lenkasi and at Nathaniel Sabelo secondary schools. In doing so I used Ervin-Tripp (1977) as my frame of reference. I then compared the choices made by different educators and thereafter examined the pupils' responses towards these choices.

I analysed my data according to the methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA). In my analysis I have shown how the directive choices contribute to determine role relations between the speaker and the hearer. I also raised the issue of a classroom as a community of practice. By tracing the similarities and the differences in the directive choices I have shown that classrooms are COPs in transition; educators who in the past, have over a long time developed similar ways of issuing directives to their learners are in the process of developing new ways.

My analysis of the learners' responses has shown that the learners' view of classroom discourse contrasts with that of the educators in this study. The learners still expect their educators to be authoritarian whilst the educators are becoming more democratic. I have shown that their choices are not guided primarily by their gender but by the language functions they wish to perform in a particular directive.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study has investigated DRSS between educators of different gender and their students in two schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The subjects of my study were four educators, two males and two females. These were investigated whilst giving directives to their students during groupwork.

Since the focus of this study is on language and gender, I had to start by reviewing previous research on men's and women's discourse practices. This furnished me with useful insights into the different discourse practices as well as the factors informing the choices people make. Ervin-Tripp's classification scheme (1977), with some modifications, was used as a framework for the classification of directives issued by educators in my data. I used this framework to determine the level of directness of each directive issued. Since there is no local study of DRSS, I used the findings of West's study of DRSS between doctors of different gender and their patients as my framework for the analysis of learners' attitudes towards different directive types.

This was followed by the definition of the concepts of 'directive' and 'DRSS'. Definitions of these concepts by Mitchel-Kernan and Kernan (1977), Fairclough (1989), Coates (1995), Thimm et al (1995) as well as Trosborg (1998) gave useful insights into the role played by the context of the situation in the interpretation of the true intentions of the speaker. This kind of insight was of crucial importance in the analysis of the directive choices made by educators in this study.

Finally, the review of critical discourse analysis provided useful insights into the role of power and ideological perceptions in the linguistic choices speakers and writers make and the effects these may have on the hearer/s and the reader/s.

Below I present a summary of the main findings of this study. This will be followed by a set of recommendations.

5.2 Summary of the main findings

I begin this summary with a reminder as to the limited generalisability of my findings. At the same time, however, I believe that they will add useful insights to the study of the language used by teachers.

The two tables in my analysis (Table1 and 2) show the directive types chosen by different educators. The differences and the similarities displayed in these tables are not however, readily generalisable because of the following factors:

- This is a small-scale study; the increase in the number of subjects under examination might produce different results.
- The teachers are teaching different subjects, and it is possible that some of their choices are informed by the subject being taught.
- The lessons taught are not of the same length.
- They are not teaching the same students and the possibility is that some of the choices were informed by the behaviour of particular students.
- The number of students within each class differs, and that might have had a bearing on the teachers' choices.

My findings indicate that both similarities and differences exist in the way in which male and female educators issue directives to their learners during groupwork. This study does not confirm the findings of previous research as to men and women's discourse practices; that men are more direct whilst women usually choose more cooperative discourse practices (Lakoff 1975, Fishman 1993, Tannen 1990, West 1990, Coates 1995, 1996, Goodwin 1980, 1990 etc.). It suggests that discourse practices are not tied to a particular gender. Some

educators displayed the use of some discourse practices which are associated with the opposite gender. Such contradiction of stereotypes confirms that language is a form of continuing social activity capable of modification and development (Williams, 1977:39).

Critical discourse analysis of the corpus of all directives issued revealed that the imperative was the most frequently used mood. The pronoun 'you' which emphasizes social distance between the interlocutors was also the most frequently used pronoun. Whilst it is true that these most authoritarian directive forms were used a great deal by educators in this study, the analysis of the context in which these were used showed that educators were not primarily concerned with emphasizing their role of power as educators, but rather with getting learners to perform intended actions, which in turn, was going to assist the learning process.

It was also interesting to note in the data of most educators in this study less authoritative forms, such as imbedded imperatives, collaborative directives etc. The presence of these forms suggests that South African classrooms are COPs in transition, in that some educators are attempting to eradicate the stereotype that educators need to be authoritarian, and are seeking to democratize relationships within the classroom.

Finally this study also suggested that the directive choices people make as well as the responses to these cannot be explained solely in terms of gender. Rather an explanation should be sought in terms of (inter alia):

- The location in which directives occur, and
- The linguistic functions required by the interactional context.

5.3 Suggestions for further research

I mentioned earlier that this was a small-scale study, and that the findings are not conclusive. For further research I would thus develop the very same topic. In doing so I would increase the number of my research subjects.

This research revealed that the directive choices made by male and female educators during groupwork are informed by the behaviour of the learners, and the learners in this study displayed more or less similar behavioral pattern. In future I would not limit my study to secondary schools, but I would involve tertiary institutions as well. Furthermore, I would extend the study to involve first language speakers (educators and learners). Such a study would not only provide more conclusive generalizations as to the male and female educators' discourse practices, but it would provide useful insights as to the learners' responses towards different directive choices. My hypothesis is that adult learners, unlike children in this study, may react differently to different directive types.

5.4 Educational implications and recommendations

In South Africa the relations of power are in a state of transformation, as a result of change in government in 1994. A more democratic system of government, adopted by the ANC, is in the process of replacing the extremely authoritarian system of government established by the Nationalist government. The implementation of this democratic system of government has had enormous implications for the education department.

The whole system of education, including teaching strategies, had to be revised. The more traditional teacher-pupil relations (with greater emphasis on whole class teaching) are in the process of being replaced by more progressive approaches, which provide opportunities for small group discussion. These involve the Communicative approach, and more recently, Outcomes-Based Education (OBE).

In addition to the change from the traditional teacher-fronted classroom to groupwork, there is also a need for educators to change their discourse practices to suit the new dispensation. The act of democratizing the classroom for instance (through groupwork) means the adoption of more democratic

discourse patterns. This need for democratization of classroom discourse came with the realization that teacher-pupil relations of the traditional approach reinforced, amongst others, competitive and authoritative discourse practices associated with male discourse styles. In terms of the preamble to the interim core syllabus of 1995, "South Africa is now a democratic country in which all people are guaranteed equality, non discrimination, cultural freedom and diversity..." The collaborative strategies associated with female discourse practices can be considered (more) beneficial in the classroom, in that they promote greater equality between speakers and more democratic procedures in decision-making.

When employing directives, educators should bear in mind that directives are authoritarian by nature. So, for teachers to be in line with the new developments, they should seek to employ directive forms that are facilitative towards the democratisation process, which calls for the use of less authoritarian directive forms, such as collaborative directives. When these are used, asymmetrical relations between the educator and learners are reduced, and equality rather than authority, is emphasized. Above all, the educator displays sensitivity towards the face needs of the learners.

However, in their attempts to democratize classroom discourse, educators should not be discouraged by learners' responses to more democratic directive forms, and should anticipate that these may well initially be ignored by learners. Changing learners' mind-sets, like the process of democratization, will clearly take time. In the interim, teachers should seek to help learners to appreciate and to respond appropriately to these reshaped forms.

Lastly, in their efforts to democratize classroom discourse, educators will also need to understand that some authoritarian directive forms, like imperatives, cannot be completely discarded, as they may still be required in certain contexts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Transcription of groupwork interactions

To facilitate analysis, data is coded in the following way:

- Need Statements – underlined lower case
- Imperatives – UPPER CASE
- Deontic Expressions – **underlined bold lower case**
- Imbedded Imperatives – underlined italics
- Permission directives – ***bold italics***
- Question directives – UNDERLINED UPPER CASE
- Collaborative Directives: **bold lower case**
- Hints – *italics*

Transcription 1: Female Educator 1 (FE1)

An English lesson: A poem –'Warning'

FE1: Today I want you to form groups. I want you to change these groups that you have. So I'm going to count, I just give you numbers, ok?

Ps: Yes.

FE1: So, DON'T FORGET THE NUMBERS I WILL BE GIVING YOU, alright?

Ps: Yes.

FE1: So, TAKE YOUR JOTTER, YOUR PEN, JUST LEAVE EVERYTHING THERE IN YOUR PLACE.

Ps: (Some take jotters and others take pieces of paper and move)

FE1: **So all number ones please let us stand up, let us go in front of the classroom.**

Ps: (They all move)

FE1: *The number ones at the corner, the number twos here, and threes, the 4's, the 5's, the 6's, the 7's, the 8's,* (pointing) fast please.

Ps: (They move)

FE1: **Let us do that fast.**

Ps: (They move)

FE1: Oh! Something that I forgot to tell you, **with you, you must have this worksheet** (showing them). I gave you this work sheet. **You must have this worksheet with you.**

PLEASE HAVE YOUR WORKSHEET WITH YOU, AND TRY TO BE FAST.

HAVE YOUR WORKSHEET WITH YOU- 'The Warning'

HAVE SOMETHING TO WRITE ON.

Ps: (Some go back to their original places to collect their worksheets).

FE1: GET SEATED PLEASE.

Ps: (They sit but some are still moving)

FE1: YOU JUST TAKE ONE. YOU OPEN IT, YOU READ WHAT YOU HAVE TAKEN, Ok.

PS: Yes

FE1: YOU CHOOSE THERE.

P: (Learner chooses)

FE1: READ WHAT IS THERE.

P: Spokesperson.

FE1: YOU CHOOSE HERE.

P: (Learner takes a piece of paper)

FE1: TELL ME WHAT YOU HAVE CHOSEN.

P: Spokesperson.

FE1: **You shouldn't fold your hands. You must take something.** Hey, DON'T JUST FOLD YOUR HANDS, COME ON.

P: (The learner takes a piece of paper)

(The teacher goes around making learners choose roles. Those were spokesperson, scribe, presenter, timekeeper and facilitators. These roles were then explained to the learners).

FE1: Please people, DON'T WASTE TIME. If I say report back people who have to do that know themselves, Ok.

Ps: Yes.

FE1: I want you to tell me, is it nice to be old or is it bad?

PS: (They all respond at the same time giving different views). It is nice/bad.

FE1: **Let us hear the advantages first.** Which news would you like, the nice ones or the bad ones?

Ps: (Shouting at the same time). Bad.

FE1: **Let's hear from this group.**

P: You are always tired.

FE1: **Let's hear from this group, they haven't said anything.**

P: The face changes.

FE1: **Let us read the poem –'Warning'**

Ps: (They look at the poem in front of them)

FE1: **Ok, let us look at the last verse or the last stanza.**

Ps: (They all look at the worksheets in front of them)

FE1: So **what you should do, just underline that to show that that's supposed to be two stanzas.**

Ps: (They underline)

FE1: **Let us read the poem** and when you have read the poem I want groups to answer the first question over the page.

Ps: (They look over the page)

FE1: I want the groups to discuss just for 3 minutes and then give us feedback.
Let us read the poem.

Ps: (They follow as the teacher reads the poem aloud)

FE1: **Let us tackle question number 1. Groups must discuss the first question**, what do **we** understand by the title of the poem? Who is she warning?

I want all of you to have responses on this.

Though **we** are working in groups but **each and everyone of you must have your own work so that you put it in your file.**

So, you can discuss, THE SCRIBE WRITES YOUR RESPONSES AND THEN YOU WRITE WHEN YOU HAVE AGREED, YOU HAVE COME TO A CONSENSUS.

Ps: (They discuss)

FE1: And please FACILITATORS MAKE SURE THESE PEOPLE CONTRIBUTE.

Ps: (Discussion continues)

FE1: **People shouldn't keep quiet.**

Ps: (Discussion continues)

Report – back stage

FE1: Can you please listen so that if they have the same idea that you have you don't have to repeat that, Ok.

Ps: Yes (Some continue talking)

FE1: PLEASE, LISTEN. ARE YOU LISTENING SO THAT YOU DON'T REPEAT WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID?

Ps:(They finally keep quiet)

FE1: **Let us start with the first part of the question.** What do you understand (inaudible) the title of the poem?

P: The first part ---.

FE1: RAISE YOUR VOICE please.

P: The first part of the poem is about warning ---.

FE1: *And then this group.*

P: Warning is like advising.

FE1: *And then there!*

P: (Inaudible) --- abstain.

FE1: *And then you!*

P: (Speaks very softly)

FE1: *Can you please raise your voice so that the other groups will hear what you are saying?*

P: The warning is --- it's about young ones---

(The class starts making noise)

FE1: Please people, *can you keep quiet and listen what they are saying?*

Ps (They become quiet)

FE1: *And this group.*

P:(As one learner begins to speak there is noise again)

FE1: PLEASE, PEOPLE MSOMI LISTEN.

Ps: (They keep quiet)

P: It's about advice.

FE1: RAISE YOUR VOICE.

P: (Raising her voice) the things that we should not do when we are old.

FE1: OK, *the last.*

P: Think about being old before you grow.

FE1: AND THEN NOW YOU ANSWER THE NEXT QUESTION AT HOME, AND THEN YOU WILL SUBMIT THIS TOMORROW MORNING.

Ps: (They listen)

Transcription 2: Female Educator 2 (FE2)

A Geography lesson – The Water Cycle

Two teachers are in the classroom during this lesson: a female (FE2) and a male (ME1). Though the lesson is taught by FE2, ME1 speaks sometimes to give directives or to clarify the directives given by FE2.

FE2: **Ok, let's sit down.** Thank you very much.

Ps: (They sit)

FE2: I want us to divide ourselves into ehh--- 4 or 5 groups (pause) please if you can.

Ps: (They move)

FE2: **Let's have 2 groups this row** (pointing).

Ps: (They move around organizing themselves into groups)

FE2: *You are a group there (pointing), and we'll have another group there (pointing)*

Ps: (Move around organizing themselves)

FE2: Right ehh--- I want you to have each group ehh--- to have a piece of paper where you are going to write, this is point number 1.

Number 2, I want you to choose a person who will be able to report back what we have been discussing.

Ps: (They listen)

- ME: Get a piece of paper where you are going to write your points, and you must choose one person who is going to report back what we have discussed with Miss Shibe.
- Ps: (They get themselves pieces of paper)

FE2: Right, thank you very much. Right, I want us to look at the question ehh--
-How water is formed or where does water come from. That is the question I want us to look at right now. (Writes the question on the board –Where does water come from?)

This is the question I want us to tackle in our groups.

Let us discuss this question – Where does water come from.

Let us look at that question in our groups.

Ps: (They discuss the question)

- ME: And we must discuss.
- Ps: (They discuss)

FE2: **Right, let's stop.**

Let's stop.

Right, ehh--- **let's have this group as group number 1. You are going to be number 2, number 3, and number 4.** (pointing)

Right, ehh--- where does water come from?

Can we have a person to report back?

P: (Stands up) Water formed by water vapour.

FE2: *That's all?* (Writes the learner's response on the board)

FE2: **Let's move on to the second group.**

P: Water comes from the wind that blows from the sea and go to the sky wind wet the sky and rain falls down the earth.

FE2: *AGAIN.*

P: (The learner repeats the above utterance).

FE2: Ok, thank you very much. **I think we have to give her a big clap.**

Ps: (They clap their hands)

FE2: Thank you very much. **Let's move on to the next group.**

P: Water comes from the atmosphere or water vapour.

FE2: Water comes from the atmosphere or water vapour, right.

Right, *next group.*

P: Water come from atmosphere.

FE2: What is this atmosphere **we** are talking about here?

P: Atmosphere is the mixture of gases.

FE2: Is this the mixture of gases? CORRECT HER. What is the atmosphere?

She says it's the mixture of gases, partly she is correct. *Can somebody correct her?*

(The teacher then changes to the question and answer method to elicit definitions of concepts like atmosphere and water vapour from the learners.

This is coupled with the lecture method as she explains the water cycle.

Transcription 3: Male Educator 1 (ME1)

A Science lesson: A practical investigation of the epidermal tissue of an onion

ME1: JUST READ THROUGH THAT PRACTICAL INVESTIGATION 1.1

Ps: (They look at their books)

ME1: STEAL A VERY THIN STRIP FROM THE EPIDERMIS OF AN ONION. PLACE THIS ON A GLASS SLIDE---AND WITH A RAZOR BLADE OR SCULPTOR, CUT A THIN PIECE OF THIS AND PLACE IT ON A DROP OF WATER ON ANOTHER SLIDE.

Ps: (They follow as he reads)

ME 1: This means that on your slide what do you have now?

Ps: A drop of water.

ME1: **Let's --- let's do it step by step.** What do you have, you have a drop of water on a glass slide. So now what do **we** have to do?

CUT A VERY SMALL PIECE OF THE EPIDERMAL CELL OF THE ONION.

Ps: (They place a drop of water on their slides. The teacher goes around helping them)

ME 1: HAVE A DROP OF WATER. **It should be on the centre of the slide.**
(Helps them)

P: (Tries to put a drop of water on a slide).

ME1: CUT A PIECE OF THIS SIZE (showing them), of my size, on the fresh part of the onion, the inside part of the onion.

Ps: (They cut)

ME1: **Now let's go through.**

Ps: (Some are still cutting onions)

ME1: ADD A DROP OF IODINE (inaudible).

Ps: (Pupils listen)

ME1: Ok, what you need to do now is to use your tweezer. USE YOUR TWEEZER AND PEEL OFF, PEEL OFF THE --- SKIN.

Ps: (They listen)

ME1: USE ONE OF YOUR TWEEZERS HERE.

Ps: (As they listen they also try to peel off the onion skin).

ME1: USE YOUR TWEEZER LIKE THAT --- (demonstrating).

Ps: (They look)

ME1: Eehh--- HOLD IT UP THERE AND REMOVE THE EPIDERMAL TISSUE, REMOVE THE SKIN. You see that?

Ps: Yes.

ME1: HOLD IT UP LIKE THAT AND REMOVE THE SKIN because **we** are looking for a transparent, something that is transparent and tiny small, so that we will be able to investigate how small is the cell, ok?

Ps: Yes.

ME1: Now I'm taking the epidermal cell and I'll place it on top of my drop of water, ok, (demonstrates), Now I've got it on top of the drop. It's in there.

Ps: (They try to do it following the instructions)

ME1: (Goes around checking) *Are you winning group A?*

Ps: (They observe as he helps them)

ME1: ***Can we borrow this tweezer here? Let me show you.***

Ps: (They give him the pair of tweezers)

ME1: Ok, we don't have iodine, **what we have to do now, add another drop of water, on top of the epidermal tissue of an onion.**

Ps: (They add a drop of water)

ME1: From there what do **we** have to do? COVER IT WITH A COVER SLIP IN THIS CASE WITH A SLIDE. *Then you can examine it.*

Ps: (They sit and listen)

ME1: Ok, *then you can cover it with a slide, another slide.*

Ps: (They cover it)

ME1: Can you see a thing?

Ps: No.

ME1: Did you cover it?

Ps: Yes.

ME1: *This group here is ready* (inaudible) *can come and examine the slide from the microscope.*

Ps: (The group goes to the front of the class)

ME1: *You can bring yours to the microscope and see if you can see the cells.*

Ps: (They stand next to the microscope)

ME1: BRING YOURS TO THE MICROSCOPE.

Ps: (One goes back to collect their slide)

ME1: USE YOUR CLIPPERS TO HOLD IT ON A SECURED POSITION, it will stay there, it won't move. (He helps them)

Ps: (They watch as he helps them)

ME1: Right, now you can examine it by using a low power ---BRING IT UP OR DOWN UNTIL ---. If you are a right handed what do you do? You can use your? You use your left eye. So if you are left-handed you use your right eye.

Ps: (They take turns looking through the microscope)

ME1: ARE YOU MOVING YOUR FOCUSING UP? Can you see a thing? What do you see? (Looks through the microscope) But there is nothing in here. USE YOUR FOCUSING, MOVE IT UP OR DOWN UNTIL --- **you must move it until you see the thing.**

PS: (They watch as one of them moves the microscope)

ME1: **You must be very careful not to break your slide** (he adjusts it).

Ps: (They watch as he adjusts the microscope)

ME1: TAKE A LOOK AND SEE IF YOU CAN SEE A THING.

Ps: (They take turns looking through the microscope)

ME1: Now you can examine it using the low power.

Ps: (They look through the microscope)

ME1: (To another group) COME AND TAKE A LOOK AND TELL ME WHAT YOU SEE.

Ps: (They look through the microscope)

ME1: (To another group) **Let's examine yours.**

Ps: (They put a slide on the microscope)

ME1: DON'T PLACE THAT ONE.

P: (Removes it)

ME1: TAKE A LOOK AND SEE IF YOU CAN SEE A THING.

Ps: (They look through the microscope)

ME1: USE YOUR FOCUSING UP OR DOWN UNTIL YOU CAN SEE SOMETHING.

Ps: (look through the microscope)

ME1: SIT ON YOUR PLACES NOW.

Ps: (sit)

ME1 TRY AND DRAW WHAT YOU HAVE SEEN IN YOUR SLIDES.

Ps: (They draw)

ME1: EVERYBODY GET BUSY.

Ps: (They draw)

ME1 : ARE YOU DRAWING WHAT YOU HAVE SEEN? TRY AND DRAW WHAT YOU HAVE SEEN. **Everybody must work.** ARE YOU DRAWING SOMETHING?

Ps: (They all draw)

ME1: What was on your slides? Now group A, we are discussing what was on your slide.

(The lesson becomes question and answer as the teacher elicits what the learners saw on their slides)

Transcription 4: Male Educator 2 (ME2)

An Economics lesson: 'Wants'

The lesson begins with the elicitation of what the learners already know through questions. That account is not included here. My transcription begins where ME2 starts using group-work.

ME2: Now that **we** have been able to discuss, ***can we then quickly sit around the table.***

Ps: (they put their desks together)

ME2: ***Can we move a little bit over here*** (pointing with a finger)

Ps: (They move their desks to the place they have been shown)

ME2: I want us to look at the 6 characteristics of wants and further explain as to what does each one mean.

Ps: (Listen)

ME2: So in groups, you can discuss, whether you really know the 6 characteristics. In fact, LOOK AT THEM.

Ps: (They listen)

ME2: IN GROUPS, DISCUSS.

Ps: (They start discussing)

ME2: What is the first one?

Ps: (They speak at the same time)

ME2: **Let's raise our hands.**

Ps: (They raise their hands the one responds) Wants differ from person to person.

ME2: What do we mean by this? Who can tell us?

We were discussing, **because we were discussing let us then recall what we were discussing.**

P: Wants are limitless.

ME2: Wants are limitless what do we mean? *Group 1.*

(The teacher then elicits what the learners were discussing through question and answer. This is coupled with the lecture method as he gives further explanations)

Appendix B: Overview of directives used

1. Female Educators

| | FE1 | FE2 |
|-----------|--|---|
| NS | <p>1. I want you to change these groups that you have.</p> <p>2. I want you to tell me, is it nice to be old?</p> <p>3. I want the groups to discuss just for 3 minutes and then give us feedback.</p> <p>4. I want all of you to have responses on this.</p> <p>5. When you have read the poem, I want the groups to answer the first question over the page.</p> | <p>I want us to divide ourselves into ehh--- groups --- please if you can.</p> <p>2. I want you to have ---each group --- to have a piece of paper where you are going to write.</p> <p>3. I want you to choose a person who will be able to report back what we have been discussing.</p> <p>4. I want us to look at the question ehh--- how water is formed.</p> <p>5. That is the question I want us to look at right now.</p> <p>6. This is the question I want us to tackle in our groups.</p> |

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>I</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Don't forget the numbers I will be giving you. 2. So take your jotter, your pen, just leave everything there in your place. 3. Have your worksheet with you –“Warning”. 4. Please have your worksheet with you and try to be fast. 5. Have something to write on. 6. Get sitted please. 7. You just take one, you open it, you read what you have taken, ok. 8. You choose there. 9. Read what is there. 10. You choose here. 11. Hey, don't just fold your hands, come on. 12. Tell me what you have chosen. 13. Time-keepers do your job, facilitators do your job, scribes do your job, and please people, facilitators make sure these people contribute. 14. The scribe writes your responses, and then you write when you have agreed, you have come to a consensus. 15. Please, please, Msomi listen. 16. Raise your voice please. 17. Please listen. 18. And then you answer the next question at home. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Correct her. 2. Again. |
|--|--|

| | | |
|-----------|--|---|
| DE | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. With you, you must have this worksheet (showing them). 2. You must have this worksheet with you. 3. You shouldn't fold your hands. 4. You must take something. 5. So what you should do, just underline that to show that that's supposed to be 2 stanzas. 6. Groups must discuss the 1st question. 7. Though we are working in groups but each and everyone of you must have your own work so that you put it in your file. 8. People shouldn't keep quiet. 9. If they have the same idea that you have, you don't have to repeat that, ok. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I think we have to give her a big clap. 2. You are going to be number 2, number 3, and number 4 (pointing). |
| II | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. So you can discuss, the scribe writes your responses and then you write when you have agreed, you have come to a consensus. 2. Can you please listen so that if they have the same idea that you have, you don't have to repeat that. 3. Can you please raise your voice so that the other groups will hear what you are saying. 4. Please people, can you keep quiet and listen what they are saying. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Can somebody help her? 2. Can somebody correct her? |
| PD | | 1. Can we have a person to report back? |
| QD | 1. Are you listening so that you don't repeat what has already been said? | |

| | | |
|------------------|--|--|
| <p>CD</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. So all the no.1s please, let us stand up, let us go in front of the classroom. 2. Let us do that fast. 3. Let us hear from this group. 4. Let us hear the advantages first. 5. Let's hear from this group, they haven't said anything. 6. Let us read the poem-'Warning'. 7. Ok, let us look at the last verse or the last stanza. 8. Let us read the poem, and when you have read the poem, I want the groups to answer the first question over the page. 9. Let us read the poem. 10. Let us tackle question no.1. 11. Let us start with the first part of the question- what do you understand of the title of the poem? | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ok, let's sit down. 2. Let's have 2 groups this row. 3. Let us discuss this question. 4. Right, let's stop. 5. Right, eh-- let's have this group as group number 1. 6. Let's move on to the 2nd group. 7. I think we have to give her a big clap. 8. Let's move on to the next group. |
| <p>H</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The no.1s at the corner, the no. 2s here, the 3s, the 4s, the 5s, the 6s, the 7s, the 8s (pointing), fast please. 2. And then this group. 3. And then there. 4. And then you. 5. And then this group. 6. Ok, the last. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. You are a group there (pointing). 2. That's all? 3. Right, next group. |

2. Male Educators

| | ME 1 | ME2 |
|-----------|---|--|
| NS | 1.What you need to do is use your tweezers. | 1.I want us to look at the 6 characteristics of wants. |

| | | |
|----------|---|--|
| <p>I</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Just read through that practical investigation 1.1. 2. Steal a --- steal a very thin strip from an epidermis of an onion. Place this on a glass slide --- and with a razor blade or a sculptor, cut a thin piece of this and place it on a drop of water. 3. Cut a very small piece of the epidermal cell of the onion. 4. Have a drop of water. 5. Cut a piece of this size (showing them), of my size. 6. Add a drop of iodine. 7. Use your tweezers and peel off the--- skin. 8. Use one of your tweezers here. 9. Use your tweezers like that (demonstrating), eh--- 10. Hold it up there and remove the epidermal tissue, remove the skin. 11. Hold it up like that and remove the skin because we are looking for a transparent, something that is transparent and tiny small. 12. Cover it with a cover slip in this case a slide. 13. Bring yours to the microscope. 14. Use your clippers to hold it on a secured position. 15. Bring it up or down until--- 16. Use your focusing, move it up or down until--- 17. Take a look and see if you can see a thing. 18. Come and take a look and tell me what you see. 19. Don't place that one. 20. Take a look and see if you can see a thing. 21. Use your focusing up or down until you can see something. 22. Sit on your places now. 23. Try and draw what you have seen in your slides. 24. Everybody get busy. 25. Try and draw what you have seen. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Look at them. 2. In groups, discuss, |
|----------|---|--|

| | | |
|-----------|--|--|
| II | <p>1.Ok then, you can cover it with your slide, another slide.</p> <p>2.Then you can examine it.</p> <p>3.This group here is ready, can come and examine the slide from the microscope.</p> <p>4.You can bring yours to the microscope.</p> <p>5.Now you can examine it using a low power.</p> | <p>1.In groups can you discuss whether you really know the 6 characteritics?</p> |
| PD | <p>1.Can we borrow these tweezers here?</p> | <p>1.Can we then quickly sit around the table?</p> <p>2.Can we move a little bit over here (pointing with a finger)?</p> |
| QD | <p>1.Are you moving your focusing up?</p> <p>2.Are you drawing what you have seen?</p> <p>3.Are you drawing something?</p> | |
| H | | <p>1.Group 1.</p> <p>2. Then the second one.</p> |
| CD | <p>1. Let's do it step by step.</p> <p>2.Now let's go through.</p> <p>3.Let me show you.</p> <p>4.what we have to do now, add another drop of water --- on top of the epidermal tissue.</p> <p>5.Let's use the high powered one.</p> | <p>1.Let's raise our hands.</p> <p>2.Let us then recall what we were discussing.</p> |

Appendix C: Interviews

School 1: Lenkasi Secondary School

Six educators were interviewed: the three who used groupwork and three of their colleagues.

The three educators who used groupwork are the following:

ME1: T2

ME2: T3

FE2: T4

1. Do you use groupwork in your classrooms?
 - T1: Sometimes.
 - T2: Most of the time.
2. Can you please expatiate.
 - T1: We are still attending OBE workshops, at present we are not very clear how this approach works.
 - T3: Yes.
 - T2: But with the little knowledge that we have we do try sometimes to apply the theory that we collect from the workshops.
3. Do you attend these workshops regularly?
 - T2: Not all of us. But I would say I'm the lucky one because there are Science workshops almost every month, and we are always encouraged to use groupwork.
4. To me it seems like you have only just started hearing about groupwork from the in-service workshops, did you not learn anything about group-work at teacher training colleges and/or universities that you attended?
 - T1: We did, but it was all theory. Our lecturers simply talked about it and never applied it.
 - T4: True, it was only the English lecturer at Amanzimtoti (the college she attended), who used it practically in the classroom. I learnt a lot from her.
5. Do you apply that knowledge in the classroom?
 - T4: Yes, a lot.

6. So, to people like you Miss, who understands how groupwork works, OBE is not a monster, isn't it?

- T4: Yes, I would say that is true.

7. Thank you Miss, I hope you do share your understanding of groupwork and OBE with other teachers. Ok, let us come back to groupwork.

T5: Wathula nje Mabinza, engani (Why are you quiet Mabinza because) you were making a lot of noise about groupwork kuleya (in that) workshop ye (of) appraisal system. (Laughter)

8. Tell us about that Mabinza.

T3: Uyabona-ke mfethu (You see now brother), this is all your fault.

9. Can you tell us about that workshop, please?

T5: Wathula maje engani ezakho izingane zidlala isitolo (Why are you quiet now because your children play shop).

T3: Ngizokuphoxa wena. (I will embarrass you) What actually happened mam was that when we were running a workshop on Appraisal System we emphasized the use of groupwork.

10. When you say 'we' who do you actually mean? Who is 'we'?

T3: I mean SADTU (South African Democratic Teachers' Union)

11. Can you tell us why SADTU sees it important to emphasise the use of group-work in our classrooms?

T3: Ehh--- as a democratic union we believe learning is for learners not educators, therefore learners need to be given opportunities, through groupwork to talk and do things for themselves. We also believe, as in all democratic structures, issues need to be debated in small groups before they are accepted as correct.

T5: That's my man (laughter).

12. Very well said Mr Mabinza, a real union man. Whilst on that when we teach we always ask learners to do things, for example: '*Write the following sentences*', '*Do the following sums*', '*Clean the board*' etc. What I wish to know is if there is a place for directives in group-work, and whether you do use directives like the ones I have mentioned during groupwork?

- T2: Yes, that is what learning is all about.

13. Don't you think that if you order them/tell them to do things, you infringe on their freedom of choice?

- T1: Oh no, I think it is as Mr. Skhosana has said, teaching is all about telling learners what to do and how to do it. It is just like how a soccer coach tells the players how to play. As teachers we have a responsibility to guide the learners' behaviour by telling them how to do things.

14. That is true, but since group-work is a democratic activity, we need to be sensitive about each person's rights and feelings. I would like us to think if there isn't a better way of asking learners to do things rather than commanding them. For example how would you tell the learners in your classroom to keep quiet? How about you Sir, you've been urging Mabinza to speak now it's your turn.

- T5: Nakho-ke (There you go) I say: "Please keep quiet".
- T6: Keep quiet, please.
- T3: Can you keep quiet please?

15. Is that all? Do you ever start a sentence with "let's"?

- T2: You mean like: *'Let us keep quiet'*?

16. Yes, that is also another way of giving directives which is not threatening to the face of the learner. Ok, now that we have seen that we can use different forms and strategies for issuing directives, which one do you think is the best?

- T3: They all serve the same purpose but it is the behaviour of the learners that sometimes dictate our choices.

17. Can you explain what you actually mean by that?

- T3: I mean like if they are misbehaving, I would shout and say: "Keep quiet"! If I am not angry I can say: "Can you please keep quiet".

18. Thanks, I believe we all do that. Now I would like us to look at the role of the educator during groupwork. What do you think is his role?

- T1: The teacher has to give an activity and tell the learners to do it.

19. What do others think?

- T4: The teacher is a facilitator; he helps the learners to accomplish the task gives.

20. Yes, thank you very much, that was well said; the directive types that facilitate the learning process are therefore those that do not threaten the face of the learner.

School 2: Nathaniel Sabelo Secondary School

This is an account of an interview of two female teachers: the one who used group-work and her colleague. The one who used groupwork is coded as:

FE1: T1

1. Do you use groupwork regularly in your classrooms?
 - T1: Yes.
 - T2; Yes.
2. When you say regularly, do you mean in all your lessons?
 - T1: No, most of the time.
 - T2: It depends upon the activity, like when I have to introduce a new concept, I sometimes use a lecture method.
3. Is it not possible to use groupwork to introduce a new concept?
 - T2: It is, but when I want something to stick into their minds I simply tell them.
4. How about you Miss Maphanga, do you ever use the lecture method?
 - T1: Yes, but my reasons are different from hers. I usually use the telling method with grade 10 C because the class is overcrowded and they are not well behaved, so I find it difficult to control them during groupwork.
5. How about when you have to introduce a new concept, don't you find it difficult to use groupwork?
 - T1: It depends, sometimes I use group-work and sometimes the telling method.
6. How do you make that kind of a decision?

- T1: I sometimes want learners to discover things or information on their own.
 - T2: How long does it take for them to do that? That is why the Grade 9s do not know anything, for them everything is groupwork. How do you expect the learners do discuss something they don't know?
 - T1: Let me finish, I said I sometimes use groupwork to introduce new concepts, I don't want to comment about Grade 9 and OBE because there is a lot involved there. Sometimes I use both methods, I give them information and then give them an activity to do in groups.
 - T2: Yes, that is true, I also do that.
7. Ok, tell me, what do you think is the role of a teacher during groupwork?
- T1: He is the facilitator.
 - T2: Yes, a facilitator.
8. What does that mean?
- T2: To facilitate is to help when learners encounter problems.
9. Anything to add Miss Maphanga?
- T1: Ehh --- she is right, but I can also say a facilitator focuses the learners on the aims of the lesson. As he goes around in groups, he checks that they are focused on the lesson.
 - T2: He also makes sure that every learner speaks i.e., takes part in the discussions.
 - T1: As he goes around, he becomes a participant in every group.
10. Judging from what you have said so far, it seems to me that groupwork is a democratic activity, but I know that as teachers you sometimes have to give directives/commands to your learners i.e. you ask them to do something, like when ask them to do a particular activity, change groups, keep quiet, etc. When you expect someone to do what you ask him to do, don't you think you infringe on his freedom of choice?
- T1: Oh no!
11. Why do you say so?
- T1: As teachers we can't do away with that. It is our job to tell learners what to do.

- T2: Can you imagine how classrooms would be like if we can stop telling learners what to do? They would be noisy, and children would misbehave.
- No learning would take place because teaching is telling pupils what to do e.g. Take your books, do the following activity etc.

12. You have made it clear to me that directives are part and parcel of the teaching and learning process, and Miss Maphanga has given us some examples of directives that we use in our classrooms e.g. 'Take your books'. She has expressed this in the form of a command. I would like to know if there is any other way of expressing the above directive?

- T1: What do you mean?

11. I wish to find out from you if it is possible to ask learners to take their books without using an imperative form?

- T2: Oh yes; Please take your books.
- T1: Or, Can you please take your books.

12. I sometimes say, "Let's take our books". Do you ever use let's in your classrooms?

- T1: Yes, a lot.
- T2: Yes.

13. Now that we have given a number of strategies and forms for issuing directives, which one do you think works better during groupwork?

- T1: That's a tough one. But I think using *'please'* and *'let us'* is more polite, their use would not embarrass the learner.
- T2: That is true, since you mentioned that groupwork is a democratic activity, we shouldn't use orders because they sound like we are forcing the learners to do the activity.