The construction and negotiation of identity and face in post observation feedback

Helen Donaghue

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Thesis summary

Identity influences the practice of English language teachers and supervisors, their professional development and their ability to incorporate innovation and change. Talk during post observation feedback meetings provides participants with opportunities to articulate, construct, verify, contest and negotiate identities, processes which often engender issues of face. This study examines the construction and negotiation of identity and face in post observation feedback meetings between in-service English language teachers and supervisors at a tertiary institution in the United Arab Emirates.

Within a linguistic ethnography framework, this study combined linguistic microanalysis of audio recorded feedback meetings with ethnographic data gathered from participant researcher knowledge, pre-analysis interviews and post-analysis participant interpretation interviews.

Through a detailed, empirical description of situated 'real life' institutional talk, this study shows that supervisors construct identities involving authority, power, expertise, knowledge and experience while teachers index identities involving experience, knowledge and reflection. As well as these positive valued identities, other negative, disvalued identities are constructed. Identities are shown to be discursively claimed, verified, contested and negotiated through linguistic actions. This study also shows a link between identity and face. Analysis demonstrates that identity claims verified by an interactional partner can lead to face maintenance or support. However, a contested identity claim can lead to face threat which is usually managed by facework. Face, like identity, is found to be interactionally achieved and endogenous to situated discourse. Teachers and supervisors frequently risk face threat to protect their own identities, to contest their interactional partner's identities or to achieve the feedback meeting goal i.e. improved teaching.

Both identity and face are found to be consequential to feedback talk and therefore influence teacher development, teacher/supervisor relationships and the acceptance of feedback. Analysis highlights the evaluative and conforming nature of feedback in this context which may be hindering opportunities for teacher development.

Key words/phrases:

Institutional interaction, English language teaching, teacher development, teacher evaluation linguistic ethnography, conversation analysis

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List of abbreviations

ELT   English language teaching

UAE   United Arab Emirates

CA   Conversation analysis

LE   Linguistic ethnography

CELTA   Certificate in teaching English to speakers of other languages

DELTA   Diploma in teaching English to speakers of other languages

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Language teacher identity

Teacher identity is '*central to the beliefs, assumptions, values and practices that guide teacher actions both inside and outside the classroom*' (Farrell, 2011: 55). A deeper understanding of teacher identities can therefore provide insight into teachers and their practice, as Varghese et al. attest:

> *to understand teaching and learning we need to understand teachers; and in order to understand teachers, we need to have a clearer sense of who they are: the professional, cultural, political and individual identities which they claim or which are assigned to them* (Varghese et al., 2005: 22)

For teachers, professional identity perceptions will affect their efficacy, their ability to cope with educational change, and their ability to incorporate innovation into their practice (Beijaard et al., 2000). Identity, '*the social positioning of self and others*' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 586), is also a key part of professional development (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009, Cheung, 2015, Trent, 2015). For teachers, engaging in identity work is important in order to exercise professional agency and maximise potential for development and growth (Clarke, 2008). For teacher educators, understanding teacher identity is an important aspect of supporting both novice teachers as they move from the periphery towards the centre of the teaching community (Riordan and Farr, 2015) and experienced teachers as they engage in professional development (Farrell, 2011). Teacher educators' own professional development and practice will also, in turn, be enhanced by a deeper understanding of their own professional identities. For researchers, a greater understanding of how teachers and teacher educators negotiate professional identities will enhance knowledge of teacher development processes (Beijaard et al., 2004, Cohen, 2010, Farrell, 2011) as well as help illuminate how teachers and teacher educators respond and adapt to their teaching context (Clarke, 2008, Eren-Bilgen and Richards, 2015, Lui and Xu, 2013, Trent, 2012).

Professional identities are, however, usually held at a tacit level of awareness (Farrell, 2011). This means that teachers and teacher educators need opportunities to reflect in order to consciously make sense of experiences, beliefs, knowledge and emotions and to '*integrate what is socially relevant into their images of themselves as teachers*' (Bejard et al 2004: 114). Teachers' talk can provide a window onto their professional identities (Golombek, 1998) but talk is also an important means of identity construction as people articulate, realise, explore, construct, verify and challenge identities through talk (Cohen, 2010, Varghese et al., 2005, Widdicombe and Woofit, 1995). Identities emerge and develop in interaction (Gee, 2000). As a site of talk, the post observation feedback meeting may be

one event in which we can examine how teachers and supervisors construct and negotiate professional identities.

1.2. Post observation feedback

Previous researchers have highlighted the potential benefits of post observation feedback. Talk during the feedback meeting can be the locus of '*help-giving and receiving*' (Wajnryb, 1994) and can also give teachers the opportunity to reflect and '*critically assess their performance to mediate judicious change'* (Farr, 2011: 73). Soslau (2015) suggests that the feedback meeting also gives participants opportunities to situate themselves in and contribute to professional communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) as teachers '*pose problems, identify discrepancies between theories and practices, challenge common routines, and attempt to make visible much of that which is taken for granted about teaching and learning*' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999: 293). Post observation feedback meetings therefore present '*recurrent opportunities for teachers to construct a sense of themselves in relation to their teaching environments*' (Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008).

Feedback, however, is complex (Farr, 2011), and meetings can often be '*difficult discoursal events'* (Copland, 2008b:67), challenging to negotiate (Copland, 2008b, Wajnryb, 1994), especially when evaluative, in which case feedback can be '*fraught with risk which may damage, rather than nurture, the fragile enthusiasm and commitment to continuous improvement*' (Riera, 2011: 54). More than twenty five years ago, Holland (1989) lamented the imbalance between theory and 'solid' research into the post observation conference and called for more qualitative research to be done in this area:

> *to explore the interpretive aspects of the supervisory conference promises a new understanding of a dimension of conferencing often cited in the theoretical literature but as yet not researched in any thorough, systematic way. (Holland, 1989:378)*

Since then, within the field of English language teaching (ELT), various aspects of the observation and feedback process have been discussed in the literature, including models of supervision (e.g. Freeman, 1982, Gebhard, 1990, Randall and Thornton, 2001, Wallace, 1991), observation (e.g. Allwright, 1988, Howard, 2008), and observation instruments (e.g. Fanselow, 1977, Wajnryb, 1992). Research on feedback *talk*, however, is scarce (Copland, 2012, Vásquez, 2004), resulting in a lack of knowledge about what actually happens in the feedback meeting, making it a '*black box*' (Clifton, 2012: 284) which has remained '*largely unexamined in the literature*' (Copland, 2012: 1). Scarcer still is the investigation of professional identity construction through feedback talk.

1.3. Study context

One reason for this paucity of research may be that post observation feedback meetings are, in nature, private, and so gaining access to them is difficult. My interest in feedback began with my job in a tertiary institution in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) providing support and training for teachers. In this job I had unique access to feedback meetings (albeit second hand) in the form of accounts from in-service teachers and their supervisors. As part of an annual appraisal process, teachers were observed once a year by their direct supervisor who used an institutional observation form (see Appendix 1) to evaluate their teaching. This observation was followed by a feedback meeting. The process of observation and feedback was often stressful for these teachers as much was at stake, including passing a probationary year or, subsequent to this, having their three year contract renewed. Losing a job is especially salient in this context because these teachers are all expatriates and a visa, accommodation, medical insurance and children's school fees are all included in the employment contract. Teachers' worry about contract renewal is made clear in Extract 1.1 below in which a teacher (in a post observation feedback meeting with his supervisor) expresses concern about a low score given to him against one criterion on the observation form, making reference to the fact that if his probationary contract is not renewed, he and his family will have to leave the UAE:

Extract 1.1

1	Teacher	also cos I was a bit concerned by this cos obviously I'm sort of probation and you
2		know my wife and the kids are here and I want to come back (*laughs*)

Teachers whose lessons were deemed unsatisfactory were given an opportunity to have a second observation but were under extreme pressure to meet institutional standards. Part of my job was to meet these teachers to help plan for this second observation. Although the official purpose of these meetings was to give advice in planning and teaching techniques, they often also involved counselling. As well as being worried about the consequences of a second unsuccessful observation, teachers' distress seemed also rooted in the fact that, having 'failed' an observation, their professional identities were threatened. Teachers often spent much of our meetings talking about their pedagogical experience, knowledge and expertise, as if to re-affirm positive identities. This sparked my interest in identity and I began to wonder how these teachers and their supervisors negotiated identities during feedback and why teachers felt the need to index positive professional identities in their meetings with me.

Supervisors, too, found the process difficult. In my role as teaching advisor, supervisors would often talk to me about problematic observations and a recurrent topic was the difficulty

of giving feedback. To illustrate, one supervisor (Supervisor 3 (S3): see Section 3.3.2. for details of study participants) likened giving critical feedback to telling someone that their baby is ugly. The following interview extract makes clear that she finds giving feedback difficult:

Extract 1.2

1	S3	I hate it.
2	I	Do you?
3	S3	Absolutely hate it.
4	I	Why?
5	S3	Nine out of ten feedbacks I have to give are negative (0.5) well, largely negative.
6	I	Is that because of the
7	S3	[context, yeah.
8	I	And the type of people that you're observing, mostly?
9	S3	Yeah, probationers and contract renewal and trouble. Umm because of my
10		position of power, they're terrified to have me in the class, they're terrified of
11		the feedback (0.5) and it's almost impossible to make them feel at ease (0.5)
12		and if you can't make them feel at ease, you don't know how much they're
13		actually listening. And I know that, umm so I've got to try and find a way to
14		make them feel at ease **and** give them the bad news without smothering the
15		bad news in, you know, feeling at ease (*laughs*)

These comments show that feedback meetings can be challenging for supervisors because they have to give critical (or 'corrective' (Kurtoglu-Hooton, 2008)) feedback. S3 adds the difficulty of balancing this with ensuring teachers '*feel at ease*' (14), pointing out a tension between *'social and goal-orientated imperatives'* (Wajnryb, 1995:72). This extract also shows the influence S3's identity and her '*position of power*' (10) have on the understanding and therefore uptake of feedback: '*you don't know how much they're actually listening*' (12-13).

The other three supervisors in my study also talked about the difficulty of giving critical feedback and the often profound consequences it can have. Supervisor 4 (S4) talked about a teacher who reacted badly to negative feedback:

> *I had a case with a person (0.5) I actually tempered my feedback … I spent all weekend putting that person's um putting it into language that I thought would be constructive and helpful (1.0) and then running through and even having notes about what I was going to say (0.5) and I thought I'd done a good job. I thought I did it very very well, patted myself on the back and thought it went fine (0.5) and it ended up in [the name of the college director]'s office.* (Extract from S4's interview)

Supervisor 1 (S1) described how a teacher threatened to resign after critical feedback:

> *She said 'this is my profession and my integrity's been ruined. If I'm that bad then I shouldn't teach' I said 'but you're not that bad. That particular lesson was not good, but you can't just quit over this.* (Extract from S1's interview)

The teacher's comment in the extract above shows that she perceived negative feedback as a threat to her professional identity. Supervisor 2's interview comment reinforces this idea that professional identities can be challenged in feedback:

> *We're dealing with human beings, so if you're undermining their very being because they've been teaching so long in a way that is not satisfactory (0.5) and I've had that on a few occasions (0.5) then that's a difficult conversation.* (Extract from S2's interview)

Despite these difficulties, supervisors recognised the value of feedback. S4 highlighted the fact that the post observation feedback meeting was often the only time he was able to talk to teachers individually, making feedback a precious opportunity for both participants to interact: '*Observation feedback is one of the few times we get serious one-to-one time together and it's about building relationships*' (Extract from S4's interview). I later talked to Supervisor 4 about identity construction in specific data extracts taken from his feedback meetings and he made a particularly perceptive comment:

> *Feedback is a time to construct positive identities … perhaps this needs to be done in different ways with different people. With newer people like Aisha maybe I'm allowing **her** to build the experienced identity, perhaps with Jake it's **me** that's in need of building it.* (Extract from participant perspective interview with S4)

This comment highlights the importance of identity work for *both* participants i.e. supervisors as well as teachers, an aspect which tends to be forgotten in the literature on language teacher identities.

Feedback meetings, therefore, seem to be an event where teachers and supervisors articulate, construct and negotiate identities. Although this can be a positive process with the potential to help participants develop professionally, negative and disvalued identities seemed also to be indexed during feedback talk and this seemed to resonate with teachers. I therefore began this study with an interest in finding out how in-service ELT teachers and their supervisors negotiated identities in talk during post observation feedback meetings in the institution where I worked.

1.4. Face

My interest in the effect that critical feedback may have on identity negotiation led me to studies which have uncovered how observers mitigate their feedback as a way of dealing with critical comment (Farr, 2011, Vásquez, 2004, Wajnryb, 1994). I was especially influenced by Wajnryb's (1994) detailed study of mitigated criticism and her argument that despite supervisors being in an institutionally powerful position, they often mitigate their messages of bad news to attend to face needs. However, by doing so they can threaten clear and efficient communication and therefore the instructive goal of the feedback meeting: '*the lack of supervisory explicitness runs the danger of fuelling misconceptions*' (Wajnryb, 1998: 541). Crucially, this study also introduced me to the concept of face. Very few researchers have studied face in feedback. In fact I know of only three: Copland (2011) Roberts (1994) and Vásquez (2004). Copland's (2011) study of the negotiation of face in CELTA[1] group feedback meetings is of particular interest because it shows the situated, discursive nature of face, highlighting the importance of context. Copland also shows that speech acts such as giving advice and criticizing, which can conventionally be considered face threatening acts, are oriented to as generic norms by feedback participants. This extended my thinking about negative feedback and increased my interest in its effect on identity negotiation. If negative feedback is an expected part of feedback and therefore not inherently face threatening, when/how does it become face threatening, and how is this related to identity?

To explore these questions, I widened my reading to include studies of face carried out in other areas of institutional interaction such as appraisal interviews (Asmuβ, 2008, Clifton, 2012), interviews (Miller, 2011, Joseph, 2013), and public meetings (Tracy, 2008), as well as more theoretical discussions of face (Arundale, 2006, Arundale, 2010, Bousfield, 2013, Haugh, 2009, Locher and Watts, 2005). These studies helped me see beyond a Brown and Levinson (1987) view of positive and negative face threatening speech acts towards a discursive view of face as a situated judgement according to the norms of a specific community of practice (Mullany, 2008, Mills, 2003). These studies also led me to a conviction that face and identity are linked. This belief was strengthened after reading articles from a special issue of the Journal of Politeness Research (2013, 9 (1)) in which various researchers considered the relationship between the two. Although these researchers failed to reach a consensus (see section 2.4 for further discussion), I was nevertheless left with the conclusion that '*it is not possible to conceptualize face without taking identity into consideration*' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 8) because '*facework, at*

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[1] Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages: University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations Teaching Awards

once rational and emotional, is fundamental to the workings of identity, as human positioning is always sensitive to the reflection of one's image in the eyes of another' (Hall and Bucholtz, 2013: 130). The focus of my study therefore widened to include the construction and negotiation of face as well as identity.

1.5. Research methodology

As well as deciding *what* my research would focus on, I also had to decide *how* to do it. An obvious source of data was feedback meeting recordings. However, because my interest in identity and face in feedback had started as a member of this institutional community interacting with feedback participants, I wondered if this data alone would give a full enough picture of the process of identity/face negotiation. The identities constructed in feedback meetings had already spilled over into my meetings with teachers, and an interview comment with S2 showed that identity negotiation extended to the written observation form:

Extract 1.3

1	S2	The good teachers want the validation.
2	I	Ahh, really? The good ones?
3	S2	Yeah.
4	I	Ahh, interesting.
5	S2	They don't want me to give them any negative feedback, and in the couple of
6		occasions where I've made suggestions, I've had teachers come back to me
7		after they've read it and ask me to take it out.
8	I	Oh, really?
9	S2	Yep, the good teachers.
10	I	Why do you think that is, then?
11	S2	Because they want validation and they don't want anything on their rec-
12		because everything on their record to that point has been perfect (0.5) until I go
13		in and make a suggestion, and they don't want it in there (*laughs*).

As well as this circulation and retextualising of identities, I also recognised that feedback talk did not exist in a vacuum but was influenced and shaped by contextual details such as relationships, prior interactions, institutional processes and artefacts, as Erickson confirms:

> *the conduct of talk in local, social interaction is profoundly influenced by processes that occur beyond the temporal and spatial horizon of the immediate occasion of interaction.* (Erickson, 2004: viii)

I therefore wanted a research methodology which allowed me to investigate the nuanced detail of situated feedback talk within its broader institutional context. This led me to linguistic ethnography which explores the links between people, encounters and institutions (Rampton, 2007a: 3) by giving attention to *'lived experience wrapping around language, and*

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vice versa' (Rock, 2015: 149). Many of the identity studies I had read combined analysis of both linguistic and ethnographic data (e.g. Mullany, 2008, Rampton, 2006, Schnurr and Chan, 2011, Schnurr and Zayts, 2011), and Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) seminal article about identity construction highlighted the fact that linguistic ethnography can reveal the nuanced and flexible identity relations emergent from situated interaction. Copland (2011) showed that contextual, ethnographic detail is also relevant to the analysis of face. Using a linguistic ethnography framework, she was able to provide a detailed and nuanced analysis of data located within its educational and social context, enabling greater insight into what was happening in talk and why. I have therefore adopted a linguistic ethnography framework for the collection and analysis of my data.

1.6. Research Gaps

My study aims to contribute towards a number of research gaps outlined below.

1.6.1. Research contexts and participants

Previous research on post observation feedback in ELT has been carried out almost exclusively in the context of a formal teaching course such as an initial teaching certificate (e.g. Copland, 2008b) or master's degree in English language teaching (e.g. Farr, 2011, Vásquez, 2004, Vásquez and Reppen, 2007, Waite, 1992, Waite, 1993). Previous research is also mostly situated in an English language speaking country, for example the UK, Ireland, Australia or the USA. In addition, most of the literature focuses on pre-service teachers (e.g. Copland, 2008a, Copland, 2008b, Copland, 2011, Engin, 2013, Farr, 2011, Kurtoglu-Hooton, 2008, Phillips, 1999, Soslau, 2015, Waite, 1993). Thus research into feedback in ELT has concentrated on a small set of student teachers at the beginning of their career but largely ignored those more representative of the profession i.e. in-service teachers often working in a country where English is not the principal language. Teacher educators and supervisors are also under-represented. My study aims to bridge these gaps. My research participants are in-service teachers and supervisors, most of whom have more than ten years' teaching experience and my study is situated in their workplace (a tertiary institution located in the UAE).

In addition, post observation feedback studies tend to look at feedback which is time bound by an event such as a particular course (e.g. Copland, 2008b, Louw et al., 2014, Roberts, 1992, Vásquez, 2004, Vásquez and Reppen, 2007). This study, however, is longer term as data were gathered over a period of approximately three and a half years (November 2009 – April 2014) and, being longitudinal encompasses information that studies conducted within a

bound event may not reveal. For example, the data include feedback meetings with the same supervisor over a period of three years, enabling me to notice differences such as the ways the supervisor negotiates identities with teachers new to the institution and with teachers who have worked there for more than ten years.

1.6.2. Face and identity in post observation feedback

Research on identities has become a major field of investigation in discourse oriented linguistic analysis (de Fina, 2011), prompted by a '*growing realization that identity negotiations are at the heart of many social encounters in a variety of contexts*' (ibid. p.223). Various institutional interaction based studies have shown that identity work is influential and consequential to the unfolding discourse, for example in research interviews (de Fina, 2011, Johnson, 2006), meetings (Angouri and Marra, 2011, Hall and Danby, 2003, Schnurr and Chan, 2011, Schnurr and Zayts, 2011, Svennevig, 2011) and medical consultations (Atkinson, 1999, Erickson, 1999, Heritage and Sefi, 1992). Despite the recognition of the importance of identity in institutional interaction studies, little research has been carried out into the construction and negotiation of language teacher identities in post observation feedback. Literature searches have so far brought to light only two: Riordan and Farr (2015) and Urzuá and Vásquez (2008).

Within research into language teacher identities, most of the focus is again on pre-service teachers, investigating, for example, identity shifts from student to practising teachers (Clarke, 2008, Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013, Thomas and Beauchamp, 2007) or the development of teacher identities during teacher education courses (e.g. Riordan and Farr, 2015, Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008). Experienced in-service teacher identities remains an under-researched area (Eren-Bilgen and Richards, 2015, Farrell, 2011). To date, I have found no studies which focus on the identities of supervisors, mentors or teacher educators in ELT. Much attention has also been devoted to non-native English speaker teachers' identities (e.g. Lui and Xu, 2013, Park, 2012, Pavlenko, 2003, Reis, 2015, Varghese et al., 2005, Zhang and Zhang, 2015) while the identities of native English speaker teachers have been neglected in comparison (Cheung, 2015, Eren-Bilgen and Richards, 2015, Farrell, 2011). As my study focuses on the identities of experienced language teachers and supervisors (most of whom are native English speakers), it is hoped that this research will contribute towards filling these gaps.

Within research on post observation feedback, little attention has been given to face (Copland, 2011). The wider field of institutional interaction highlights the importance of the

link between identity and face (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013, Georgakopoulou, 2013), but despite this few studies have looked at the relationship between the two (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013, Georgakopoulou, 2013, Joseph, 2013). This study aims to address these gaps by focusing on the construction and negotiation of identity and face in post observation feedback.

1.6.3. Empirical and ethnographic research

Much of the discussion about face is theoretical (e.g. Arundale, 2006, Arundale, 2010, Locher and Watts, 2005) but scholars such as Garcés-Conejos Blitvitch and Copland have highlighted the need for more empirical research. Garcés-Conejos Blitvitch believes that an important step in furthering the line of enquiry into the relationship between face and identity is to gather empirical evidence and include analysis of '*actual, occurring discourse of the realization and possible relationship between the two constructs*' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 4) i.e. the use of 'real-life' data. She further points out that analyses of face among '*intimates or people who are in constant contact with each other*' are infrequent, resulting in a need for '*more empirical evidence of face emergence and maintenance in long term relationships to be able to see how it unfolds under those conditions*' (ibid. p.6). My research involves 'intimates' who work with each other on a daily basis. It also involves 'real' discourse as the recorded feedback meetings take place independent to my research as part of the study participants' jobs.

Copland (2011), Garcés-Conejos Blitvitch (2013) and Haugh (2007) highlight the value of ethnographic data in the analysis of face, while lamenting the fact that this type of research is relatively rare. Copland discusses the lack of studies which '*explore or invoke … situated and contextual factors*' (Copland, 2011; 3833), pointing out that much of the research into face relies on data from sources such as television programmes and courtroom transcripts, probably because gathering situated data is time consuming and requires researchers having access to the site of study. Being in an ideal position to collect such data, however, I am able to adopt a linguistic ethnographic framework and include ethnographic detail gathered from interviews and my knowledge and observations as a participant researcher to enhance linguistic analysis.

1.7. Research Question

Based on the discussion above, my overarching research question is:

- How do participants construct and negotiate identity and face in post observation feedback?

I have broken down this 'big' question into four sub-questions:

- Which identities do teachers and supervisors make relevant during post observation feedback talk?
- How are these identities constructed and negotiated?
- What is the relationship between identity and face in this talk?
- Are face and/or identity influential or consequential to feedback talk?

I believe these questions to be original and also anticipate that the results will add theoretical and practical value to the ELT profession and to the field of institutional interaction. It is also hoped that contributing to the existing literature on feedback from an in-service perspective will help teachers and supervisors at my research site (and perhaps beyond) manage what is often a problematic event. This study proposes identity and face as useful concepts with which to view and think about feedback as an alternative to predominantly theoretical discussions which still dominate in ELT literature. The study also aims to add to a growing body of literature interested in the relationship between face and identity within the field of institutional interaction.

1.8. Definition of terms

Before concluding this chapter, it is useful to define key terms. My definition of 'institutional interaction' uses criteria proposed by Drew and Heritage (1992: 22): institutional interaction is goal orientated (participants attend to the task of analysing a lesson or lessons); there are constraints on allowable contributions (participants do not have the freedom to talk about anything they like but mostly attend to the business at hand); talk is associated with particular ways of reasoning or making inferences. As post observation feedback meets all of these criteria, it can be considered institutional interaction.

To distinguish between pre and in-service contexts, I use the terms trainer and trainee teacher or trainee to refer to participants in pre-service contexts and teacher and supervisor to refer to participants in in-service contexts. I use the term teacher educator as a general referent for both trainers (pre-service) and supervisors (in-service).

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter has described the development of my research interest in teacher identity, has proposed the post observation feedback as a site of identity construction and negotiation, and has raised the possibility of a link between identity and face. I have briefly explained my decision to use a linguistic ethnographic framework for the collection and analysis of

recorded and ethnographic data, believing that this will provide a fuller, more nuanced picture of feedback at my research site. I have identified gaps in the literature on teacher education and institutional interaction and outlined ways in which this study aims to address these gaps. Finally, I have detailed the theoretical and practical value of this study. The remaining chapters are organised as follows. Chapter 2 contextualises this study in the relevant literature. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology employed in this study. Chapter 4 looks at how participants construct and verify identities while Chapter 5 examines what happens when identities are contested or challenged. In Chapter 6, implications of this research for teacher education and institutional interaction are considered.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter details relevant literature which has helped me better understand post observation feedback, identity and face, and has influenced my choice of research design. The studies discussed in this chapter have also given me a clear view of how I aim to inform and develop existing knowledge.

My study is situated within two broad areas: language teacher development/evaluation and pragmatic discourse analysis of institutional interaction and explores how supervisors and teachers (an asymmetrical relationship in terms of institutional hierarchy) negotiate identity and face in dyadic feedback meetings. I have organised this chapter under three main headings:

- Identity
- Face
- The relationship between identity and face

Both the identity and face sections are structured in the same way. Both start with an explanation of my theoretical understanding of the concept and then move on to review empirical studies which have investigated how this is manifested and negotiated in feedback talk. However, research into identity and face in post observation feedback is limited so each section also includes discussion of studies carried out in other workplace contexts. The third section in this chapter looks at the relationship between identity and face and proposes a link between the two based on the proposition that identity verification or challenge can lead to evaluations of face support, face maintenance or face threat. The chapter concludes with a brief description of the analytical framework I have chosen for my own analysis.

2.2. Identity

In this section I outline the literature which guided me to an understanding of identity and helped me to recognise and describe the ways in which interactants construct, use and negotiate identities. This section begins by outlining my theoretical understanding of identity. This is followed by a review of empirical studies of identity; first, research into post observation feedback talk which is relevant to identity; second, studies focusing on language teacher identity; and third, studies which investigate identity in other institutional contexts.

2.2.1. Theorising identity

Identity has become an important focus of study in social sciences research and public debate (de Fina, 2011, Rampton, 2012, Richards et al., 2012) prompting Hall and Bucholtz

(2013) to declare '*the age of identity is upon us*' (p. 608). I find Gee's explanation of identity an accessible and useful starting point:

> *When any human being acts and interacts in a given context, others recognize that person as acting and interacting as a certain "kind of person" or even as several different "kinds" at once ... Being recognized as a certain "kind of person" in a given context, is what I mean here by identity.* (Gee, 2000: 99)

Within the field of social psychology, social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986) distinguishes between individual and social (group or collective) identities. Group identification rests on a process of social categorization by forming an awareness of social identity, making social comparisons and searching for psychological distinctiveness. Within a social context, individuals learn to recognise linguistic or other behavioural cues which allow them to allocate category membership to themselves and others. These social identities can include categories such as profession, class, gender, sexuality and age. People apply favourable comparisons resulting in ingroup and outgroup social categorisations. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) comment: '*From the perspective of SIT, identity is something that lies dormant ready to be 'switched on' in the presence of other people*' (p.26). This comment highlights the importance of context in making relevant or 'switching on' a particular identity. It also highlights the essentialist nature of SIT which is at odds with the more recent discursive turn in social and discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis and sociolinguistics against the idea of an internally located or group identity and the reorientation of identity to social practice and talk, with individuals seen as actors participating in multiple communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). Within this view, identity is seen as an accomplishment rather than a pre-existing fact (Bucholz and Hall, 2005). Tracy (2013) seems to reconcile both views:

> *Identities are …both stable features … that exist prior to any particular situation and as dynamic and situated accomplishments, enacted through talk, changing from one occasion to another. Similarly identities are social categories and are personal and unique.* (Tracy, 2013: 21)

Similarly, Simon (2004) believes that all identities, individual and collective, are both cognitive (i.e. stable and enduring) and social (i.e. constructed and negotiated in interaction). However others see identity as a performative act (Butler, 1990) realised when people engage in interaction (Erickson, 1992; Schiffrin 1993; 1996) in a negotiated process (Ochs 1992, 1993) with individuals positioning themselves differently depending on time, location, situation, interlocutors, topics and roles (Woodward, 1997).

The rise of post-structuralist theories of language and meaning in recent decades has therefore seen a parallel shift in the understanding of identity, moving away from a core, essentialist view of identity towards the idea of identity as contingent, multiple and discursively constituted. I am in broad alignment with the later view. This means that rather than a pre-determined, fixed psychological attribute that a person *has*, I see identity as active and performative. Like Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) and Sarangi and Roberts (1999a), I view identity as a verb, something that a person *does* in situated social practices whilst pursuing practical goals (Svennevig, 2011). Identities can be viewed as performative (Butler, 1990), that is: '*socially constructed, self-conscious, ongoing narratives that individuals perform, interpret and project in dress, bodily movements, actions and language*' (Block, 2008: 27). Although recognising the importance of other semiotic ways of performing identity, my interest lies in how identity is discursively accomplished and, like Varghese et al. (2005), I believe that '*identity is constructed, maintained and negotiated to a significant extent through language and discourse*' (p. 23). For the present study, therefore, identity is '*a practical accomplishment achieved and maintained through the detail of language use*' (Widdicombe and Woofit, 1995: 133). Joseph breaks down 'language use' into three elements:

> *…first, the categories and labels that people attach to themselves and others to signal their belonging; secondly, as the indexed ways of speaking and behaving through which they perform their belonging; and, thirdly, as the interpretations that others make of these indices.* (Joseph, 2013: 40)

The third aspect - the interpretations of others - is key. In order to be sustained, identities need to be verified and upheld by interactional partners i.e. identity construction is a multi-party process. Identities are also relational: '*identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors*' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 598), and plural (Bauman, 2000, de Fina et al., 2006). For example, Hall et al. (1999) detail social workers indexing identities of gatekeeper (evaluating clients' eligibility) and supporter within the same interaction. Finally, identities are fluid and contingent (Fairhurst, 2007), can change from moment to moment, and can be ambiguous or unstable (Gee, 2000).

This brief theoretical summary of my view of identity is best illustrated through studies that I have found particularly influential in my understanding and approach to investigating identity negotiation. The next section therefore starts with consideration of post observation feedback research which has relevance to identity, followed by a review of language teacher identity studies and research carried out in other areas of institutional interaction.

2.2.2. Identity in feedback

Although none of the studies in this section focus explicitly on identity (to date I have found very little research into identity in feedback with the exception of Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008 Riordan and Farr, 2015 both of which are discussed in the next section), the feedback literature reviewed below features aspects which are relevant to identity: power, supervisory styles and participant roles in feedback. These three aspects have emerged as relevant to the identity construction and negotiation of the participants in my study and power also plays an important role in studies carried out in other institutional contexts (see Section 2.2.4 below).

2.2.2.1. Trainer/supervisor power

In many studies investigating post observation discourse, trainers (pre-service) or supervisors (in-service) enact powerful identities through interactional dominance. Trainers typically control the floor and have longer turns (Copland, 2008b, Hyland and Lo, 2006, Vásquez, 2004, Waite, 1992, Waite, 1993) with trainee teachers often uttering only single minimal responses (Vásquez, 2004). Waite's (1992) study discusses the ways in which trainers gain control over the meeting by initiating the talk and topics, maintaining control of the floor in an initial reporting phase and using questioning in the trainee teacher's response phase. Interestingly, Waite (1992) found that trainers' presentation of observational data (for example, from observation records) meant that trainees had little time left for discussion of topics not initiated by supervisors or for reflection (Waite uses the term 'supervisors' but in a pre-service context):

> *Supervisors who take the lead in the presentation and analysis of observational data severely limit the teacher's potential for participation, reflection and growth*. (Waite, 1992:369)

Surprisingly, few studies discuss the use of observation data and the influence of institutional documents on feedback talk (although see Donaghue, 2014, Engin, 2014) but my own data indicate differences in the way supervisors use the institutional observation instrument in feedback meetings and, more importantly, show that in some cases this document has a significant influence on identity construction (for example, see Sections 4.3.3.4; 5.4.3; 5.4.4). In Copland's (2008b) study, asymmetrical power is displayed through the contextual understanding that trainers will grade the teaching practice. Furthermore, they often position themselves as experts in terms of language teaching pedagogy and language use. Trainers disseminate the idea of best practice in English language teaching and express confidence in their own opinions during feedback with no evidence in the data of their '*conceding a point, admitting they might be wrong or acknowledging that another point of view might exist in parallel*

with theirs' (Copland, 2008b:281). Copland found that although participants mostly oriented towards conventionalised expectations in feedback, generic feedback boundaries were sometimes challenged by trainees resisting the hegemonic order. Trainers' power was contested by trainees, who sometimes refused to take part or accept pedagogic practice, challenged the trainers' view of classroom practice or used inappropriate naming strategies. However, trainers responded to these challenges by negotiating back to powerful positions. My data also reveal shifting power relations as participants negotiate identities, especially those which involve knowledge and experience.

2.2.2.2. Supervisors' styles and roles

Supervisors or trainers also make relevant different identities through the style of supervision they adopt during feedback. Within English language teaching, different models of supervision have been proposed (Freeman, 1982; Gebhard, 1990; Wallace, 1991). These models are often visualised on a continuum with prescriptive and collaborative styles (Wallace, 1991) at either end. In a prescriptive (or directive) approach, the supervisor is an authority and will offer opinions and prescribe suggestions for the teacher to adopt. A collaborative style of supervision involves the teacher and observer in a more equal relationship, working together to solve problematic classroom issues in a process of observation and discussion, exploration and resolution. However, although these proposed styles seem to suggest that supervisors adopt different identities, for example authority or collaborator, the models themselves tend to be discussed theoretically with little focus on the language used to construct them (Knox, 2008). Within the limited number of empirical studies looking at supervisory styles, many have identified a discrepancy between supervisors' espoused beliefs about the most appropriate style of feedback and the way it is actually conducted, revealing a contradiction which is interesting to the present study.

Most discrepancies involve supervisors professing to value a collaborative, reflective approach to feedback, but in practice adopting a directive approach and being typically the more dominant interactant (e.g. Donaghue, 2014, Farr, 2011, Hyland and Lo, 2006, Louw et al., 2014). For example, although trainers in Hyland and Lo's (2006) study expressed the belief that trainees should be active participants, evidence from average turn length, number of topic initiations, interruptions, redirections and attempted redirections found that teachers tended to take a passive role, mostly contributing information and accepting tutors' comments, whereas tutors spoke for longer and were more likely to initiate topics and to interrupt than trainee teachers. Farr's (2011) study reports that although participants believed that collaboration and student teacher reflection was important, a significant part of

the feedback she reviewed was directional with trainers assuming a dominant role evident in the uneven levels of participation and tutor control of talk and evaluation. In Louw et al.'s (2014) study, although the four trainers interviewed held dialogic beliefs and principles, the practice of only one trainer was actually dialogic while the others were more authoritative, for example, one trainer's evaluations were single-authored by himself and imposed on trainee teachers. (Louw et al.'s findings are particularly interesting because this is the only study I have found which details differences between individual trainers, an important feature of my data). Thus trainers in these studies seem to prioritise institutional identities involving authority and assessment over that of facilitator and helper, despite valuing reflection and collaboration. Waite (1992), noticing that nondirective supervisory behaviour was uncommon, suggests that a collaborative post observation meeting, or indeed relationship, is difficult to achieve (Waite, 1992:370). These findings are relevant to the present study in which supervisors often index identities of authority and control and rarely adopt identities involving collaboration and equality.

Participants' role expectations also seem to influence identity construction. Several studies have included investigation into what feedback participants believe their roles to be. Hyland and Lo (2006) found agreement between trainers and trainees. Trainees interviewed about their expectations of the feedback meeting were clear - they saw the trainers as teachers and facilitators and expected '*a 'frank' and 'friendly' relationship, which could offer 'emotional support' as well as 'constructive feedback''* (Hyland and Lo, 2006:169). Most of the trainees expected a '*directive session, but one in which they would be full participants, able to express their view and justify their actions'* (ibid, 2006:169). Similarly, the trainers expressed the desire for trainees to be active participants. In contrast, interview data from Copland's (2008a) study revealed that trainers and trainees disagreed. Trainees wanted guidance and expected evaluation from the trainer: '*They were performance focused and more interested in the teaching product than the teaching process*' (Copland, 2008a:10). However, trainers saw the purpose of feedback as a way to encourage trainees to reflect and evaluate their lessons, help trainees to develop, and support them in their discovery of teaching. Copland's study reflects a recurrent confusion in the post observation feedback literature about participant roles and the purpose of feedback, a result, it is suggested, of the underlying tension between evaluation and development (Brandt, 2008, Holland, 1989, Louw et al., 2014). Louw et al. (2014) summarise these two '*fundamentally irreconcilable tensions'* (p.8): first, the tension of role expectations that trainers will provide feedback and the contradictory expectation for trainee reflection and self-evaluation, and second, the incompatibility of two trainer roles: evaluator/gatekeeper and nurturing developer. The

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identities of self-aware and reflective teacher and assessor are also manifested by participants in my study which makes these tensions of relevance to the present study. (These tensions are further discussed in Section 6.4.1. and 6.4.2).

Although these feedback studies do not focus explicitly on identity, they nevertheless highlight recurrent identities which often parallel those found in studies of identity in other areas of institutional interaction (see Section 2.2.4), in particular those of assessor, manager and authority.

2.2.3. Language teacher identity research

Although the explicit investigation of identity construction is virtually absent in post observation discourse research, within the wider field of teacher education, teacher identity has become an important field of research during the past 20 years, especially among those concerned with enhancing understanding of professional development and teacher education processes (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009, Beijaard et al., 2004, Varghese et al., 2005). Researchers are recognising that '*teachers' talk about and experience of professional identity is central to the beliefs, values, and practices that guide their engagement, commitment, and actions in and out of the classroom*' (Cohen, 2010: 473). Within this wider educational field, language teacher identity is an under-researched (Tsui, 2007) but growing (Varghese et al., 2005) area.

Much of the recent literature related to language teacher identity has focused on the development of pre-service teacher identities, either while on teacher education courses (e.g. Riordan and Farr, 2015, Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008) or during the first few years of teaching (Clarke, 2008, Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013, Thomas and Beauchamp, 2007), while the identities of experienced in-service teachers remains an under-researched area (Eren-Bilgen and Richards, 2015, Farrell, 2011). The literature has also given much attention to non-native English speaker teachers' identities (e.g. Lui and Xu, 2013, Park, 2012, Pavlenko, 2003, Reis, 2015, Varghese et al., 2005, Zhang and Zhang, 2015) but the identities of native English speaker teachers have received less attention (Cheung, 2015, Eren-Bilgen and Richards, 2015, Farrell, 2011). To date, I have found no studies which focus on the identities of supervisors, mentors or teacher *educators* in ELT. In contrast, my study focuses on the identities of experienced language teachers and supervisors, most of whom (20 out of the 23 participants) are native English speakers. Despite these differences, the literature on language teacher identities has much of interest and relevance to my study.

2.2.3.1. Talk, practice and context

Many teacher identity researchers seem to align with Olsen's (2008) view of identity as:

> *…the collection of influences and effects from immediate contexts, prior constructs of self, social positioning, and meaning systems …that become intertwined inside the flow of activity as a teacher simultaneously reacts to and negotiates given contexts and human relationships at given moments.* (p. 177).

For example, Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) view teacher identity as both product (a result of influences on the teacher) and process (a form of ongoing interaction within teacher development). This is similar to the discursive and experiential nature of Varghese et al.'s (2005) view that identity construction involves a dual process of identity-in-discourse, discursively constituted through language, and identity-in-practice, action-oriented and focusing on concrete practices and tasks. Context is shown to be influential to teacher identity construction in a number of studies. Rodgers and Scott (2008) note the external aspects (contexts and relationships) and internal aspects (stories and emotions) of identity and Eren-Bilgen and Richards (2015) look at external factors (the impact of redundancy) on teachers' personal and professional identities. Clarke (2008) highlights the dynamic and context-dependent nature of novice teachers' developing identities during educational reform in the UAE. Similarly, in studies located in China, Tsui (2007) examines institutional and personal influences on teacher identity during change in an English department and Lui and Xu (2013) describe a teacher's identity change in response to a new work order of liberal pedagogies. My data also suggests that the institutional context is influential to the identities made relevant by the participants in my study (further discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).

2.2.3.2. Language teacher identity constituted through talk

A growing number of researchers investigating teacher identity subscribe to the belief that teachers talking about experience can provide a window onto their professional identities (Chamberlin, 2002, Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008) and that narratives and storytelling in particular provide teachers with opportunities for exploring and revealing aspects of themselves, and for negotiating shared meanings for professional identity and practice (Cohen, 2010).

Much of this research uses researcher-elicited narratives such as interviews (e.g. Eren-Bilgen and Richards, 2015, Lui and Xu, 2013, Trent, 2012). However, as Vásquez (2011) points out, this approach may be problematic as identities are contingent and relational: '*who we are as humans varies according to who we are talking to, where, and for what purposes*' (p. 539). Vásquez suggests an alternative focus on 'small stories' (Georgakopoulou, 2006),

i.e. stories told in everyday conversational contexts: '*small stories illuminate how identities are constructed in situ and the various ways in which identities are performed in local, situated contexts*' (ibid. p. 539). Similarly, Freeman (2007) believes 'small stories' to be '*extremely valuable for showing how identity gets renegotiated and reconstructed in and through social interaction*' (p. 156). As my interest lies not in teachers talking *about* identities for research purposes but rather identities as they emerge in the ongoing flow of workplace based discourse, jointly co-constructed, negotiated and accomplished with interactional partners, the limited number of studies which focus on naturally occurring teacher identities narrated in 'small stories' are of particular interest.

2.2.3.3. Small stories

One example of 'small story' narrative analysis is Farrell's (2011) examination of 'professional role identities' which he defines as:

> *…the configuration of interpretation that language teachers attach to themselves, as related to the different roles they enact and the different professional activities that they participate in as well as how others see these roles and activities.* (p. 55)

Within this triple layer (professional role identity), the difference between (and combination of) role and identity is difficult to unpack. For Farrell, identity seems to refer to how individuals see themselves and role seems to involve a practice element with relation to others. Hall et al. (1999) believe that identity should not be conflated with role and in fact there is often a tension between institutional roles and the identities negotiated in situated interaction, as observed by Sarangi and Roberts: '*local identities that are **brought about** in the meeting context override the professional hierarchical positions that are **brought along** to the meeting*' (1999b: 63). Using 'role' to qualify 'identity' seems therefore confusing (and perhaps unnecessary). This aside, Farrell's study has much of interest.

Farrell recorded three experienced teachers engaged in regular discussions in a teacher development group i.e. the talk was not elicited for the purposes of research. Transcripts were coded for '*explicit and implicit references to professional role identities*' (p. 56). Farrell found 16 recurring 'professional role identities', including three which also emerge from my data: 'Motivator' (motivates students to learn), 'Learner' (continuously seeks knowledge about teaching and self as a teacher) and 'Knowledgeable' (about teaching and subject matter). Interestingly, the teachers in Farrell's study resisted some of these identities (for example the identities of 'vendor' and 'entertainer'), leading Farrell to conclude that these were '*thrust upon them, possibly by the administration*' (p. 59). Farrell then debates whether

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the resisted identities were formed from pre-existing institutionally created patterns (i.e. the influence of context) which he calls 'ready-made', while the valued identities were 'individually constructed' by the teachers (i.e. developed over time through interactions with other teachers):

> *Do [teachers] just fit into these roles by following pre-existing patterns, or have these roles developed over time through their interactions with other teachers?* (Farrell, 2011: 59)

The notion of pre-existing patterns and identities developing over time implies permanence, or at least the idea that identity exists outside of situated interaction, and this is at odds with other researchers who view identity as discursively achieved (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998, Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, de Fina et al., 2006). A view of identity as endogenous to situated talk also problematises Farrell's 'ready-made' label which seems to contradict the idea that identities emerge from interaction and are constructed, in situ, by interactants. It is perhaps significant that Farrell refers to ready-made 'roles' (not ready-made identities), perhaps linking them to action and professional activities. Farrell also acknowledges that distinguishing the '*degree to which identity roles are either predetermined or negotiated through interaction*' (Farrell, 2011: 60) is not easy, which raises the question of whether this is in fact possible (or necessary). Setting aside these difficulties, this distinction between 'ready-made' and 'individually created' roles draws attention to negative, disvalued identities which very few teacher identity studies discuss. This has relevance to my study in which participants often constitute negative identities for each other (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 9).

Urzúa and Vásquez (2008) looked for instances of professional identity in post observation feedback interaction between novice teachers and supervisors, '*as constituted in any utterances which include first person reference to one's activities, knowledge, beliefs and attitudes related to teaching*' (Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008: 137). Focusing on future-oriented discourse, Urzúa and Vásquez used a concordancing programme to identify and extract all occurrences of the future forms 'will' and 'going to' and then sorted these according to function. The authors claim that the functions of planning and prediction '*appear to be tied to distinct strategies of self-presentation and perspective taking which in turn can be considered as instances of teacher identity construction*' (p. 1943). By engaging in prospective reflection, teachers communicated an image of themselves in various future or potential teaching 'roles' (note again the conflation of role and identity): confident, knowledgeable, assertive, hesitant and inexperienced teachers. The authors conclude that: '*Future-oriented talk, thus, constitutes an index of constructed views of self, as teachers*

position themselves along various continua of control, authority, and expertise' (p.1944). Of interest to the present study is the connection between identity and control, authority and expertise, all of which emerged as highly relevant in my data.

Urzúa and Vásquez excluded supervisors' talk despite asserting that '*the role of the mentor is unquestionably essential in these interactions*' (p. 1938). This seems problematic because on one hand the authors align themselves with Gee's (2000) view that identities emerge and develop in interaction but on the other they ignore contributions from interactional partners, and look at teachers' utterances containing 'going to' and 'will' in isolation and out of context. In contrast, other studies, such as Racelis and Matsuda (2015) highlight the importance of investigating language teacher identity though analysing the complete discourse of participants i.e. how teachers construct and negotiate identities *together* through talk about course goals, practice and their job of writing teachers which seems more in alignment with the view of identity as something interactionally accomplished.

Riordan and Farr (2015) also focus on the discursive nature of identity in their study of teacher identities in narratives during face to face and online discussions between student teachers and tutors on a teacher education course. Through 'small stories' (Georgakopoulou, 2006) such as recounting difficulties, and through linguistic resources such as reporting mental states and thoughts in hypothetical direct speech, teachers construct the identities of novice and knowledgeable/confident teacher. However, unlike Urzúa and Vásquez (2008), this study shows identity co-constructed by interactants as the authors analyse discourse on a turn by turn level, a methodology consistent with the view that identity is jointly constructed (Johnstone, 2008). Riordan and Farr illustrate this interactive process with data extracts, one of which shows how during post observation feedback a mentor denies a novice teacher's 'inexperienced' identity and re-constructs a more positive one involving knowledge and experience, thereby helping the novice teacher move from the periphery towards the centre of the teaching community (Wenger, 1998). This analytic method not only reveals the importance of an interactional partner in identity construction but shows a process of identity challenge (absent in many other studies) which resonates strongly with my data in which participants continually contest each other's claimed identities. Interestingly, Riordan and Farr's example illustrates a process where a negative identity is re-formulated into a more positive one, whereas my data feature participants mostly recasting positive identities into more negative ones (although see section 4.3.1.3. for one example of a reformulated negative identity).

A final example of 'small story' language teacher identity again rests on the interactional nature of identity construction. Cohen (2010) observed and audio-recorded teachers' planning meetings, professional development workshops, and informal conversations outside school. She focused on instances of teacher reflection during personal storytelling and analytical talk. While engaged in this talk, teachers made and recognised identity bids for the professional identity of teacher as learner. Teachers used a range of conversational strategies such as co-constructing stories, warranting identity claims with observable evidence, and building on, reiterating and extending shared themes across contexts to co-construct this identity. Cohen's notion of an 'identity bid' highlights the interactional nature of identity construction and the fact that the hearer is key to sustaining and verifying a claimed identity (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al., 2013, Joseph, 2013). The other important idea that Cohen's study underlines is the implicit nature of identity work: '*Rather than making explicit statements about identity, speakers make use of ways of interacting to display and recognise particular identities*' (Cohen, 2010: 475).

I take from these studies a great interest in the identities uncovered, especially those linked to knowledge (Farrell, 2011, Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008), experience (Riordan and Farr, 2015, Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008), expertise (Racelis and Matsuda, 2015, Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008), control, and authority (Urzúa and Vásquez, 2008). Also relevant is the influence of context on identity construction (Clarke, 2008, Eren-Bilgen and Richards, 2015, Lui and Xu, 2013, Tsui, 2007), the fact that teachers resist identities (Farrell, 2011) and the idea of identity challenge and reconstruction (Cohen, 2010, Riordan and Farr, 2015). Methodologically, my study has similarities with 'small story' narrative research in that I view identity as a situated, discursive, conjoint accomplishment during work-based talk. However, my approach is different from most of the studies discussed in this section because I use micro-analysis and CA tools to look in detail at how identities are constructed and negotiated, and supplement this linguistic analysis with ethnographic data gained from interviews and participant knowledge. To date, I have found no other study within the field of education with a similar methodology. The next section therefore widens the review of discourse analysis based identity research to include fields other than education.

2.2.4. Identity discursively accomplished in institutional settings

This review of discourse analysis based identity studies in institutional settings is organised according to Joseph's (2013) breakdown of how identities are manifested in language use:

- Identities signalled by categories and labels
- Identities indexed by ways of speaking

- Identities interpreted by others

Length restrictions prohibit a comprehensive review of studies which examine how identities are constructed through talk. Instead, I have chosen examples which have guided my own analysis of identity. These examples illustrate how employees in institutional contexts construct and negotiate identities and in many cases the action and reaction processes are similar to those of my study participants. This section concludes with a discussion of the methods used by researchers to uncover and examine identities in institutional interaction and how these have influenced my own methodological decisions.

2.2.4.1. Identities signalled by categories and labels

One way of indexing identity is by claiming or ascribing membership of a particular category. Membership categorisation devices (Sacks, 1992) are ways of referring to people by categorizing them into classifications of social types, for example mother, talk show host, teacher, Celtic supporter. Linked to categories is the inclusion or exclusion of self and others as well as the identification they have with typical category-bound activities expected to be done by incumbents (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998). For example, a talk show host introduces topics for discussion, introduces callers, asks questions and makes transitions between callers (Fitzgerald and Housely, 2002).

In the realm of education, Hall and Danby (2003) looked at how, during meetings, teachers and academics laid claim to membership of the category 'expert' by participating in activities associated with this category such as using educational terms or jargon, and referring to activities that belong to the category of teachers such as achieving desired student outcomes. Native English speaker teachers in Trent's (2012) study positioned themselves during interviews as belonging to the category 'real English teachers' through identifying with typical category-bound activities such as using games, songs and drama and experimentation in their lessons. They excluded from this category 'old fashioned teachers' who were ascribed activities such as memorization and practice exams.

As well as interactants claiming membership for themselves, it is also possible for identities to be instigated by a co-interactant. Johnson (2006) reports on a case in which a research interviewer initiated an identity for one interviewee by positively contrasting her with other teachers in the study whom she constructed as *not* critically reflective, thus assigning membership of 'critically reflective teacher' to this interviewee. In an instance of negative assigned identities, Varghese et al. (2005) report on how a teacher struggled with the assigned categories 'Latina' and 'non-native speaker teacher' and how these identities

marginalised her and affected her relationship with students. (This teacher laer re-evaluated these identities positively though membership of a professional group of non-native English speaker teachers).

2.2.4.2. Identity indexed by ways of speaking

As well as speakers establishing identities for themselves through the groups they identify with, they can also index identities through ways of talking. This section looks at identities linked with power and authority, knowledge and experience as well as two professional identities: manager and interviewer. These identities are also constituted by the participants in my study.

Firstly, 'experienced' identities are made relevant in medical settings, as experienced and inexperienced doctors construct identities through various linguistic actions. Attending physicians in Atkinson's (1999) study employed the (usually dispreferred) action of interrupting and initiating repair sequences during a case presentation to discursively enact their senior identity. In Erickson's (1999) study of case presentations in which clinically inexperienced residents are supervised by experienced attending physicians, he identified three discursive practices that attendants used (and residents learned to use) to signal an experienced and knowledgeable identity: the use of ellipses, switching between medical and more informal vocabulary (including 'quasi-lay' vocabulary such as using 'bleeder' for haemophiliac), and becoming more direct both in asserting a diagnosis or admitting uncertainty. The fact that residents learned to use these linguistic actions shows the importance of a linguistic repertoire for progressing from the periphery to the core of a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991) as these linguistic acts index membership of the category 'experienced doctor'.

Secondly, identities involving knowledge are also indexed by participants engaged in institutional interaction in various contexts. Knowledge is important at work: *'being knowledgeable is crucial in most institutional roles; it is something people care deeply about'* (Tracy, 2013: 202) and 'knowledgeable' identities are often constituted via knowledge display (Clifton, 2012) or by participants claiming the right to evaluate, as Raymond and Heritage attest:

> *The management of rights to knowledge and, relatedly, the rights to describe or evaluate states of affairs can be a resource for invoking identity in interaction.*
> (Raymond and Heritage, 2006: 680)

For example, Atkinson (1999) and Erickson (1999) show how interns or junior doctors claim medical practitioner identities by displaying professional knowledge in the form of evidential accounts of illness during case presentations. Cook-Gumperz and Messerman (1999) report how nurses take on the powerful identities of meeting chairs and record keepers as a result of having superior access to organisational and institutional information. In Svennevig's (2011) study, business managers constituted a leader identity through displaying superior situational and expert knowledge, which gave them the right to be explicitly directive and to disagree or place impositions. Interestingly, however, at other times managers elicited expert opinions from co-workers, marking an equal access to knowledge, thus enacting an intricate balancing act between solidarity and knowledgeable identities.

Sometimes, however, identity claims based on epistemic authority can be contested or disputed which makes the process more complicated. For example, Heritage and Sefi (1992) report how health visitors and mothers claim and resist an 'expert' position in advice giving sequences during home visits. Most advice sequences were initiated by the health visitor, a discursive move which asserted their 'expert' identity. Mothers commonly responded to advice with competence assertions (i.e. 'I already do this') which resisted the 'expert' identity claim of health visitors and projected an identity of competence for themselves. They also resisted an identity of incompetence by rarely soliciting direct advice. Instead they managed their requests indirectly, seeking advice by describing a problematic situation or by embedding their advice request in a proposal about an appropriate course of action. Mothers also employed a strategy of passive resistance by receiving the advice without acknowledging it as advice.

A third important workplace identity is related to power or authority. In a study by Holmes at al. (1999) of how managers 'do power' in informal one-to-one meetings in a New Zealand government workplace, the identity of manager was actively produced by various discursive means including issuing direct orders, instructions and advice, expressing overt approval, and making critical or challenging statements. Svennevig's (2011) investigation into managers' professional identity construction in meeting interaction looked in particular at sequences in which managers responded to presented reports. This is especially relevant to my study as the pattern (i) initial report request (ii) report (iii) manager's response is similar to account requests made in my data set (for example, see Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2). Three types of action were carried out by participants to constitute and confirm their identity of manager: diagnosing the situation, evaluating the subordinates' efforts and giving directions for future action.

Rees and Monrouxe (2010) investigated laughter in bedside teaching encounters involving student doctors, consultants and patients, looking at teases of various kinds. They found that the teases functioned primarily to construct power. Teases were mostly directed at students, indicating they were the most subordinate participants. As the butts of teases, students and consultants typically laughed along but students sometimes responded with un-laughter, signalling their disapproval. Interestingly, this illustrates the tension between invoking a capable, authoritative identity and a non-threatening, congenial, good humoured in-group identity. Promoting both types is not always possible:

> *Speakers who choose to adopt the role of authority or expert may well in consequence have to forfeit common ground with their audience.* (Partington, 2006: 97)

Thus, students who respond to teases with un-laughter are perhaps indicating their desire to maintain their competence identity at the expense of risking their affective identity.

Laughter was also a resource used to index power in Glenn's (2010) study of interaction in job interviews (an event which has similarities with post observation feedback meetings in terms of power asymmetry and the rights and obligations corresponding to questioners and respondents). Glenn details how the organisation of shared laughter sequences shows power asymmetry in employment interviews, clearly indexing the identities of interviewer and interviewee. He found that interviewers routinely invite shared laughter which prompts the interviewee to laugh along. The interviewer may produce a next laughable or briefly topicalise the laughable materials but the interviewee does not do so. Instead, the interviewee will wait for the interviewer to resume the business of the interview. Thus, while laughing together might appear to reduce power distance and bring participants together, the organization and distribution of these shared laughter instances reflect and reinscribe the hegemony of interviewer and interviewee identities. In addition, the interviewer's topic control also reinforces his/her identity as the more powerful interactant.

The final example of power/authority identities also takes place during interviews but this time in the context of police interviewing suspects. Heydon (2002) reports on the resources police officers use to constitute the professional identities of interviewer and authority in voluntary confession interviews. Police officers are shown to have greater turn taking rights and also to constrain topic management rights for suspects, resulting in the conversation orienting to a police preferred version of events. For example, police interviewers initiate new topics and even use abrupt disjunctive topic shifts. Suspects cannot do this but must adhere to the more usual 'stepwise' (Jefferson, 1984a) shifts. This restricts the suspects' access to

the floor so limits their opportunity to provide new information voluntarily so: '*suspects are in a vastly disadvantageous position when trying to support their version of events*' (Heydon, 2002: 95).

As well as demonstrating identities of authority and power, the last two examples also show participants indexing the identity of 'interviewer'. In a different setting, the same identity is also indexed by news interviewers through the linguistic actions of asking questions and allowing interviewees to give answers, and taking up a neutral stance (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). However, not all news interviewers adopt a neutral stance as Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2009) illustrates in her study of 'new' American TV news interviewers who flouted conventions by taking and defending a position and attacking their interviewees' positions i.e. they were far from neutral. As well as asking questions, they also monopolised the floor, answered their own questions, gave their own views and engaged in the debate, indexing an identity of 'new interviewer'. This example shows that specific linguistic actions cannot be correlated with a particular identity, for example neutrality is not always part of a news interviewer's resource for indexing identity. Interactants' ways of invoking identities is therefore endogenous to situated interaction.

The final identity considered in this section is the professional identity 'leader'. Of particular interest is a body of work examining the identity of 'leader' constructed in business meetings, a type of institutional interaction which has parallels with post observation feedback meetings. These studies show that 'leader', like any other identity, is '*not an a priori label that participants carry with them*' (Clifton, 2006: 290) but is dynamically and discursively achieved: '*participants literally talk themselves into being as the leader*' (ibid). Leaders draw on a repertoire of discursive practices to index leadership during workplace meetings. In Schnurr and Zayt's (2011) study, interactants enacted a 'leader' identity by opening and closing meetings, moving on with the agenda, designating responsibilities and assigning tasks to the other team members. Angouri and Marra (2011) report that meeting chairs discursively performed a leader identity through moves such as summarising steps, attending to matters arising from minutes, introducing and closing topics and announcing decisions.

In conclusion, professional identities such as interviewer and leader are shown to be manifested through linguistic actions such as asking questions, and introducing and closing topics. Identities linked to experience, knowledge and authority are made relevant by linguistic actions such as interrupting, initiating repair sequences, controlling topics shifts and

making decisions. Interestingly, these actions parallel those of trainers during feedback talk in the studies reviewed in Section 2.2.2.

Three important issues arise from the studies reviewed in this section. The first is the relational nature of identities where often a positive identity is accomplished by showing it in relief to an (often negative) 'other identity': identities co-occur in relational patterns (Tracy, (2013). For example, in Heritage and Sefi's study, the health visitor *'defines herself as a knowledgeable and authoritative "expert" vis-à-vis an advice recipient who is relatively ignorant or noncompetent'* (Heritage and Sefi, 1992: 389). In Atkinson's (1999) study, medical professionals construct an identity of competence via a defensive discourse involving an identity of incompetence for others.

The second issue is the connection between identity and rights afforded to the person making an identity claim. Identities constituted via knowledge display often grant the claimant rights to evaluate or assess others. For example, health visitors' claim to an 'expert' identity based on superior knowledge gives them the rights to evaluate and judge the mothers' competence. Identities of authority or power often afford the claimant discursive rights such as topic control. These rights reify power (and indeed identities) and influence the trajectory of conversations. Finally, these examples show that identities are often contested, an issue which is explored in more detail in the next section.

2.2.4.3. Identities interpreted by others

We can see in the example of health visitors and mothers (Heritage and Sefi, 1992) that claiming an identity is merely the first step in the process of identity negotiation. The next step is the hearer's reaction. Claimed identities can be either verified and legitimated, or resisted and contested. Schnurr and Zayt's (2011) study illustrates the latter process. The authors focus on how Cheryl, a newly promoted leader of a small administrative team in an international financial corporation, constructs an identity of team leader. Like S4 in my study, Cheryl had previously been an ordinary member of the team and her new role of team leader is often resisted and challenged by other team members as they signal a lack of support for her decisions, question her authority and decisions, undermine her display of power and authority and take up identities of power and authority for themselves. Thus her leader identity construction often involves antagonistic and challenging reactions. Cheryl, as a newcomer to a leadership role must constantly negotiate her position and professional identity with the other team members.

Although not specifically focused on identity negotiation, Mullany's (2008) study of impoliteness strategies used in meetings in a UK manufacturing company to challenge a manager's power is a clear case of co-workers challenging a claimed identity. The women managers in this workplace used impoliteness strategies such as whistling, throwing paper, banging cups (although not strictly speaking linguistic, these actions are nonetheless semiotic and communicative) as well as humour to enact power over their male colleague and undermine his identity of meeting leader. I find this study interesting, firstly because it illustrates what I believe to be a link between face threat/impoliteness and identity challenge and, secondly, because it shows a connection between identity negotiation and power. This study also flouts the stereotypical idea that impoliteness is associated with masculinity (Mills, 2003) which has interesting parallels with my study because in my data, the participant who indexes power most overtly and the only participant to openly threaten face (with a male subordinate) is a woman. This study also highlights the importance of how hearers signal their judgement of speaker intentionality. This again underlines the notion that the hearer's perception and uptake of an identity is as important (if not more) than the speaker's initial identity claim (Joseph, 2013).

2.2.4.4. Methodological congruity

This final section looks at the methods used by researchers to uncover identity. As well as sharing a common underlying belief that identity is discursively and locally achieved, the studies discussed in this section also share similar methodological orientations. All prioritise naturally occurring spoken data, employ micro analysis techniques to conduct a fine-grained turn by turn analysis of interaction, and all illustrate their conclusions by means of data extracts. These studies also highlight the usefulness of CA as a method for studying identity. For example, Svennevig uses CA as an analytic framework, clearly illustrating its benefits as a bottom-up, data-driven approach for analysing how identities are enacted and negotiated. He explicitly (and helpfully) details the procedure of analysis:

> *First, I investigate the sequential structure of the responses in order to identify the constituent actions and phrases. Second I discuss how the way of performing those actions presents different conceptualisations of the roles and identities of the senior manager.* (Svennevig, 2011: 18)

Several of these studies highlight the use of CA to focus on participants' orientation, following Schegloff's advice that identity should be linked to what participants make relevant through actions in talk (Schegloff, 1992: 192). For example, Svennevig (2011) stresses the importance of looking at how *participants* (rather than the analyst's) understanding is displayed by interactants' reactions and responses. Similarly, Mullany (2008) places

importance on how *hearers* signal their judgement of speaker intentionality. Analysts therefore examine how speakers '*orient to what has gone before and what might come after*' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 60).

The methods employed in other studies are perhaps less convincing. For example, Schnurr and Zayts (2011) provide a wealth of information about the data, setting and background, but give no information about how they approached their linguistic analysis. Schnurr and Chan (2011) are similarly vague about their methods of analysis: '*we employ the analytic concepts of face and identity and describe some of the complex processes through which leadership is enacted*' (p.187). However, rather than analytic methods, identity and face are discursive accomplishments, making this description seems almost tautologous in that the authors claim to use the analytic concept of identity to describe how an identity (leader) is enacted. The clarity of the CA studies and vagueness of some of the others has convinced me of the methodological warrant of CA for investigating identity.

Of particular interest to me is the fact that many of the studies discussed above draw on a '*thick description of talk*' (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999a: 2) by supplementing their recordings with ethnographic data. Schnurr and Chan (2011) used interviews to provide extra insight into their video data to uncover team members' perceptions of Cheryl in her new role as the team leader. Mullany's analysis of her primary source of audio-recorded meetings was enhanced by data gathered from shadowing, interviews and institutional documents which helped her gain a detailed picture of the organisation. The interviews in particular provided insight into participants' attitudes and evaluations about gender and language in relation to professional identities, as well as revealing how managers perceived '*the enactment of each other's professional identities through gendered lenses*' (Mullany, 2008: 240). In Schnurr and Chan's (2011) study, their recorded data were supplemented by interviews, participant observation and institutional documents which added valuable insight into what was happening in the interaction, helped understand how the co-leadership performance was perceived by others in meetings and gave a detailed picture of the workplace cultures of the two companies their study participants worked in. These studies confirm my decision to adopt a linguistic ethnographic framework for data collection and analysis.

2.2.4.5. Summary of identity in institutional contexts
In sum, this section has discussed literature which shows how identities are realised through linguistic actions and participants claiming or being ascribed membership of categories such as 'critically reflective teacher'. Related issues of context, power, relational identities, rights

and obligations have been discussed, as well as the methods used by researchers to investigate identity. Most importantly, the idea of identity legitimation has been considered. The studies discussed above show that identity claims depend on verification by an interactional partner. Identities can be co-constructed and legitimated by other people but can also be contested and challenged. I believe this process of identity negotiation engenders face evaluations. The following sections explain this position with reference to the literature on face, giving special attention to the literature on face in feedback, and the (limited) literature on the links between identity and face.

2.3. Face

In this section I outline the literature which influenced my understanding of face and helped me to identify and describe the negotiation of face. This section begins by describing my theoretical understanding of face. This is followed by a review of empirical studies of face looking mostly at studies which investigate how participants negotiate face threatening acts (FTAs) in post observation feedback. The last part of this section widens the scope of the literature reviewed to examine how face can be identified and analysed in institutional interaction.

2.3.1. Theorising face

Goffman's seminal and much cited definition of face:

> *The positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.* (Goffman, 1981: 5)

suggests an individual's claimed self-image which is interpreted by others. This message was later obscured by Brown and Levinson's (1987) re-interpretation of face as something cognitive and individualist within a model person. Later still, the shift to a constructivist epistemology brought about an interpretation of communication as interactional, co-constructed and situated and with this a revision of face conceptualised as a relationship that is interactionally achieved (Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini, 2010). In this revised understanding, face does not reside in an individual, as suggested by Goffman, but rather it is emergent, situated, co-constructed and therefore something which should be analysed at the level of interaction (Arundale, 2010). My understanding of face draws on Arundale's Face Constituting Theory which views face as '*participants' interpretings of relational connectedness and separateness, co-jointly co-constituted in talk*' (Arundale, 2010: 2078). Interpretations of relational connectedness and separateness involve ideas such as solidarity, congruence, differentiation and divergence, and face interpretings are evaluated

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as threatening to, maintaining or supporting relationships (Arundale, 2010). Unlike Arundale, however, I also believe that face achievement is often linked to situated identity construction. Identities can be verified and co-constructed by a conversational partner, which leads to participants making an interpretation of solidarity and an evaluation of face support. However, when invoked identities are challenged or contested or when an alternative, disvalued identity is proposed, participants make an interpretation of divergence and an evaluation of face threat (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al., 2013, Tracy, 2008):

> *...people only feel a threat/loss/gain in face when they perceive that an attribute they are claiming is not ascribed to them by others (or vice versa for negatively evaluated traits).* (Haugh, 2009: 14)

This theoretical understanding of face is best illustrated by reviewing empirical studies (albeit limited in number) which examine face in post observation feedback.

2.3.2. Face in feedback

This section begins with a review of studies examining mitigation as a way of managing negative feedback in post observation meeting talk. Following this, three studies which investigate face threat in feedback are reviewed and critiqued.

2.3.2.1. Mitigation

Although feedback talk can be confirmatory i.e. recognising positive aspects of an observed lesson, it can also be 'corrective' (Kurtoglu-Hooton, 2008), focusing on weak skills, behaviour, teacher qualities and decisions. It therefore includes evaluation (Copland, 2008b, Farr, 2011) and criticism (Wajnryb, 1994). Negative feedback is potentially face threatening so participants need to find ways to manage this. For example, Farr (2011) found that feedback interaction was often influenced by face needs as participants in her study used hedging and boosting to build relationships during meetings. Mitigation devices such as hedging and attenuation are '*important resources for managing problematic talk*' (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003b: 146) and are particularly relevant to face.

Within the limited number of studies analysing the discourse of the post observation conference, mitigation is frequently identified as a common strategy employed by tutors/supervisors to soften critical feedback. Linde refers to mitigation as '*a kind of social oil*' (1988:396) which helps prevent conflict, making it relevant to issues of face threat and support. More specifically, Wajnryb defines mitigation as:

> *..a term used for various linguistic means by which a speaker deliberately hedges what he/she is saying, by taking into account the reactions of the hearer.* (1995:71)

In an impressively thorough and insightful study of redressive face work, Wajnryb (1994) found that mitigation is a pervasive feature of supervisors' talk as they address both transactional (instructional) and interpersonal (affective) goals. Situated within the competing goals of clarity and politeness, mitigation (unconscious and spontaneous) is an attempt to reconcile these conflicting goals. Wajnryb believes, however, that too much or too little mitigation can lead to problems in that both extremes can have adverse effects on communication. By mitigating criticism in order to protect face, it is possible that trainees or teachers may receive an ambiguous message or not realise they are being criticised, believing that their teaching requires no change or further attention. Conversely, bald, unmitigated language sometimes leads to teacher resistance or rejection. Wajnryb also believes that mitigation may be deliberately employed by supervisors as a means of avoiding or retreating from a critical message.

As well as identifying linguistic (structural, semantic and strategic) features of mitigation, Wajnryb also looked at differences between participants. Less experienced supervisors tended to deliver more negative criticism and use more mitigation than more experienced supervisors who seemed to be more selective in criticism, which leads her to suggest supervisory training for beginning supervisors in order to:

> *…leave less to fate and the passage of time the processes by which supervisors are successfully able to resolve the clash-of-goals intrinsic to conferencing.* (Wajnryb, 1994:332)

Interestingly, 'neophyte' teachers in her study received nearly double the amount of criticism and nearly 50% more mitigation strategies than student teachers. As well as supervisors being perhaps more forgiving of beginners, Wajnryb also suggests that the neophyte teachers, as salaried employees, had observations which were '*tainted by quality control'* (ibid p.36) as supervisors tried to ensure a satisfactory standard of professional competence, thus making criticism more institutionally expected. This is very relevant to my study as quality control is institutionally mandated and the reason for the observations taking place.

Knox's study (2008), albeit on a small scale, contests Wajnryb's concern that the journey along the '*gradient of indirectness away from the pole of explicitness'* can terminate in '*pragmatic failure'* (Wajnryb, 1998:542). Knox correctly points out that all talk, not only mitigated supervisory discourse, is potentially ambiguous to all parties involved and that

competent speakers (including those in her study) have strategies for clarifying ambiguity (Knox, 2008, Heritage and Watson, 1979) such as back-channelling, questioning and formulation. Phillips (1999) also contests the view that mitigation obscures critical feedback. Phillips, examining the language used by supervisors to give positive and negative criticism and how this criticism is received by teachers, found overwhelming evidence that supervisors were unambiguous in their mitigated criticism:

> *..the criticism, although unambiguous, was not 'bald-on-record' but tempered by use of a range of politeness strategies.* (ibid:155*)*

Mitigation is clearly a pervasive feature of feedback discourse, with some believing it problematic because of the potential for impeding a recipient's understanding of critical feedback (Vásquez, 2004, Wajnryb, 1994), while others see it as a valuable resource to enhance interpersonal aspects (Farr, 2011, Knox, 2008, Phillips, 1999). For me the issue of whether or not mitigation weakens or obscures criticism is less important than the fact that mitigation is part of facework. The following sections examine research which specifically investigates facework in feedback, within which mitigation plays an important role.

2.3.2.2. Face as a situated, discursive accomplishment

Vásquez (2004) presents a variety of politeness strategies used by supervisors in feedback meetings when giving suggestions and advice in order to mitigate potentially face-threatening acts (FTAs). Like Wajnryb (1994), Vásquez suggests that the use of politeness strategies may have led teaching assistants to believe they had not been given constructive criticism. Vásquez identified FTAs of advice, suggestions and critical evaluations and then identified positive and negative politeness strategies which were used to mitigate these FTAs:

> *Specific linguistic/discourse features associated with negative and positive politeness strategies were informed by literature on pragmatics, as well as sources which have commented on politeness in post-observation meetings.* (p. 44)

Vásquez relies on Brown and Levinson's (1987) interpretation of politeness which involves a model person trying to reach a communicative goal while assessing and choosing strategies to minimise face threatening dangers: a strategic speaker. However, this view has been criticised for being too deterministic (Eelen, 2001, Watts, 2003) with commentators arguing that politeness (and indeed impoliteness) is not inherent in speech acts (Culpepper, 2010) but rather a question of judgement in relation to appropriateness norms of interactants:

Politeness cannot be investigated without looking in detail at the context, the speakers, the situation and the evoked norms. (Locher, 2004:90)

Thus *'(im)politeness does not reside in a language or in the individual structures of a language'* (Watts, 2003:98) but judgements about polite behaviour are dependent on situational and discourse contexts (Eelen, 2001, Mills, 2003, Watts, 2003). Werkhofer (1992) suggests that politeness can be viewed as a medium like money which mediates between individuals but which does not have any particular force or value itself; like money, it is only important for what can be achieved through its use. Brown and Levinson's model which proposes that politeness is universal and can be described in terms of specific behaviour (for example, strategies such as hedging and indirectness makes utterances more polite (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 145)) must be reconceptualised as '*something which emerges at discourse level*' (Mills, 2003:70). The focus of politeness should therefore be on discourse rather than utterance, looking at how politeness is achieved by the '*sequential unfolding of interaction*' (Haugh, 2007: 295). If politeness is a dynamic, discoursal concept, open to adaption and change within groups, we must problematise Vásquez' application of pre-identified politeness strategies to her data.

Vásquez identified negative politeness strategies such as lexical hedges and modal auxiliaries which minimised the imposition of supervisors' suggestions and advice, as well as positive politeness strategies like positive evaluation adjectives and expressions of inter-subjectivity, which created a sense of collegiality or solidarity between supervisor and teacher. This division again relies heavily on Brown and Levinson's (1987:70) theory of politeness which posits a distinction between speech acts which mitigate threat to positive (the desire to be approved of) and negative (the desire for freedom of action and from imposition) face. However, the distinction between positive and negative strategies has been questioned (Harris, 2001, Watts, 2003). In her study of British MPs talk during Prime Minister's Question Time, Harris (2001) gives examples of positive and negative face strategies co-occurring within the same utterance and her data show negative politeness strategies co-existing with deliberate threats to positive face. This is perhaps an extreme example of a context in which systematic impoliteness is sanctioned and rewarded but it shows that the notion of politeness as a universal set of strategies is problematic and that face threats should be understood in context. In addition, her analysis also questions the usefulness of the notion of positive and negative politeness strategies as units of analysis. Questionnaires and interviews from Vásquez's study revealed that teachers felt they had received much positive feedback but that constructive criticism was absent. Vásquez suggests that this is surprising because supervisors provided direct and indirect, solicited

and unsolicited suggestions. What, then, accounts for participants believing they had received no constructive criticism? Vásquez offers two explanations. Firstly, that the significant amount of positive feedback in the meetings was salient in recall. Secondly, that suggestions were '*indirect and attenuated*' (p54) and did not, therefore, leave an impression. However, instead of (or in addition to) these explanations, it could be that to this group of teachers, suggestions are not impolite, not construed as FTAs and thus not interpreted as criticism. Suggestions may be an expected and perhaps even welcome expectation in a feedback meeting (Chamberlin, 2000, Farr, 2011, Vásquez, 2004) and thus may not be face threatening. Harris (2003) argues that some institutional norms of interaction may be legitimate in particular contexts and this might result in a particular speech act losing its face threatening aspect. She points out that acceptable utterances may vary according to institutional norms and gives the examples of doctors issuing explicit, 'on record' and often imperative directives at the end of a consultation. The legitimacy of this behaviour means that doctors and patients may not perceive their directives as face threatening acts. In a similar vein, Linde (1988) gives the example of air crews in the cockpit where requests are not viewed as face-threatening, even when made by an inferior to a superior. Tracey (2008b) proposes that certain types of face-attack can be legitimate and even desirable in local government situation, labelling them 'reasonable hostility' in this context. Tracy (2011) also details how US courtrooms are places of minimal politeness, for example disagreements are done straightforwardly with little hedging and interruptions are common. However, she argues that in this context these practices go unmarked. Within this context, a different facework system is in place: that of an impersonal, professional face in which politeness is uncalled for. A further example of how particular groups can have very different judgements of polite or appropriate behaviour is illustrated by Harris (2001:469) who discusses the British House of Commons Prime Minister's Question Time, arguing that participant expectations play a part in judging what is polite. These expectations enable members of the House to expect FTAs as part of their normal interaction. Lastly, and perhaps most relevantly, Copland (2011) suggests that within the generic conventions of feedback meetings, negative evaluation is acceptable i.e. the interactional norms of feedback include negative feedback.

If judgements of face threat are context dependent, it seems then that Mills is justified in believing that the process of an analyst such as Vásquez categorizing utterances as face threatening is '*rendered problematic*' (Mills, 2003: 79).

2.3.2.3. Power and face

Roberts (1992) investigated the idea that face-threatening acts (FTAs) in post observation meetings determine the levels of politeness employed by participants by looking at what (and when) politeness strategies are employed by supervisors. Like Vásquez (2004), Roberts bases her analysis on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. She uses their formula for calculating the weightiness or seriousness of an FTA which involves taking into account social distance, power and the degree to which the FTA is considered an imposition (Roberts uses the term '*threat*') in the participants' culture. This calculation of weightiness then determines the level of politeness with which an FTA needs to be communicated (1987:76). Roberts concludes:

> *Thus a supervisor who asks an experienced but familiar teacher to make a significant and difficult change in teaching methods would probably employ a higher level of politeness because of the increased weightiness or riskiness of the FTA. (Roberts, 1992:289)*

Having calculated weightiness, Roberts uses Brown and Levinson's distinction between positive and negative politeness strategies to categorise speech acts.

However, a number of assumptions underlying Roberts' analysis need to be challenged. Watts (2003:96) asserts that Brown and Levinson did not mean their formula to measure politeness strategies. Instead, he believes they mean it to indicate the reasons a speaker may choose one strategy over another: this is at variance with Roberts' interpretation. In addition, Watts et al. (2005:9) point out that the degree of imposition depends on the power and distance factors and therefore the variables are not additive, as Roberts indicates:

> *Politeness theory posits that the use of politeness increases with coordinate increases in the three variables that can be combined additively: distance, power and threat.* (Roberts, 1992:288)

Roberts seems to assume that the variables of power, distance and imposition are equally clear and salient to all participants and are static and easily calculated. However, her assumption that power relationships are pre-existing and stable should be questioned. Power is dependent on a range of factors which go beyond the simple institutional role which Roberts takes as constituting power. As well as (and sometimes instead of) attributed, pre-existing power from institutional hierarchy and status, power is also enacted and negotiated in discourse (Thornborrow, 2002: 136). Power relations are therefore not '*frozen societal roles'* (Mills, 2002:74). Power can be seen as '*dynamic in performing interaction'* (Harris, 2001:452) or '*an emergent reality that is mutually and dynamically achieved by participants*

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in and through social interaction' (Norrick and Spitz, 2008: 1663). For example, according to Diamond (1996), local rank is an aspect of power which can be achieved by, for example, winning an argument, introducing a new topic, leading a discussion (all linguistic processes), so power is not static nor merely assigned or earned; it is an interactional skill and process (Diamond, 1996:12). In addition, social distance is not achieved or stable (Mills, 2003: 101) but is negotiated in each interaction and interactants can have quite different perceptions of distance. Similarly, imposition may not be ranked equally by interactants. Roberts believes, for example, that imposition can include supervisors '*interfering'* with self-determination (p. 288) but teachers often expect and even want direction in the feedback meeting (Farr, 2011, Vásquez, 2004), meaning such behaviour may not present an imposition.

We must also question Roberts' use of use of pre-determined codes. Using a coding system, Roberts searched for speech which included contrasting dimensions of distance, power and intrinsic threat FTAs. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that these categories were based on the assumptions above and thus questionable. Speech was searched for instances of redress, including sub strategies of positive and negative politeness and evidence related to estimated risk of face or weightiness (although details of how these utterances were chosen is not given). Roberts comments '*Codes were developed and tested for interrater reliability'* (page 291) which also implies multiple raters. However, as discussed above, recently the study of face has moved away from a focus on individual wants which guide language choices to a more interactional understanding where face is emergent and situated, relational and dialectical (Arundale, 2006): it is negotiated between participants within a particular context. This results in a:

> *… shift in emphasis away from the attempt to construct a model of politeness which can be used to predict when polite behaviour can be expected or to explain post-factum why it has been produced and towards the need to pay closer attention to how participants in social interaction perceive politeness.* (Watts, 2005: xix)

If we accept the premise that FTAs should be assessed and judged by interactants and assessed as part of the '*discursive struggle'* (Locher and Watts, 2005) within a context, then raters coding predetermined examples of linguistic politeness is a problematic notion. Participants' interpretation of face threats or face support are constructed, maintained or changed as the interaction proceeds: relationships are conjointly co-constituted within and socially constructed across communication events (Arundale, 2006: 202). Therefore, utterances are not inherently face threatening:

> *No utterance inherently marks, signals or encodes any specific face meaning or action. The particular interpreting of face that become operative for one participant's utterance are evident to both participants only in the uptake of that utterance.*
> (Arundale, 2006:208)

An utterance or action is face-threatening if participants in a particular interaction make that evaluation or response in the context of their shared history and broader sociocultural expectations (Chang and Haugh, 2011). As an example, within Brown and Levinson's (1987) construction of face as the personal wants of an individual, jocular mockery would appear to be a paradox as it can be interpreted both as disaffiliative but also as indexing solidarity and building rapport (Haugh, 2010). However, if face is reconceptualised as being conjointly co-constituted, jocular mockery can be constructed as both face threatening and face supportive as the interaction unfolds (Haugh, 2010: 2112).

Roberts' study finds that more risky FTAs demand higher levels of politeness from supervisors. However, many of her conclusions rest on her definition of high and low risk meetings, using the factors of power, distance and threat. This measurement may not be as accurate or stable as she assumes. More interesting, perhaps, is the discovery that supervisors differ in relation to the quality and quantity of the FTAs and their use of politeness strategies. This difference is most marked between experienced and inexperienced supervisors whom she construes as '*too soft'* or '*too hard'* (p. 299). She concludes that problems with face threat and politeness in feedback meetings may reduce the effectiveness of learning from feedback. The last part of her article questions whether reflection and critical enquiry is possible in the feedback meeting:

> *Thus, we may be left with the disquieting suspicion that deep reflection is difficult to enact, at best, and that free exchange is potentially tantamount to shared error. (p. 301)*

which seems a leap from the data analysis of her study but an interesting thought.

One further issue related to face arises from Robert's study. Like others (e.g. Vásquez, 2004, Wajnryb, 1994), Roberts focuses only on how participants maintain face by the use of redressive strategies (e.g. mitigation). However, balancing threat with support to maintain equilibrium is only part of the full scope of face work (Arundale, 2006, Eelen, 2001, Locher and Watts, 2005). Both outright face threat and face support are also frequently carried out. Studies into the discourse of the feedback meeting tend not to include these aspects but they deserve attention.

2.3.2.4. Face and generic conventions

Unlike the studies outlined above, Copland (2008b) does not use a pre-conceived typology of linguistic speech acts to interpret face but rather analyses face in terms of the ongoing discourse and the context of the feedback conference. Within the unfolding interaction, she identified FTAs pertinent to the feedback event: suggestions, advice, warnings, criticism and challenges. Trainers demonstrated awareness that these speech acts could be face damaging, as well as awareness of the importance of relational communication, and therefore used a number of strategies to mitigate their force by using eliciting, hedging and claiming common ground. Similarly, trainees demonstrated respect for each other:

> *Face is taken into consideration: criticism is avoided and description and praise dominate in peer feedback.* (Copland, 2008b: 276)

Copland believes that generic conventions of feedback make acceptable some face threatening talk, such as negative evaluation. Other face threatening acts flout the boundaries of the norms of interaction particularly those which are face attacking. When this happens, the participants negotiate face as the discourse unfolds, '*sometimes mitigating the face threats post-hoc, sometimes intensifying the face threats, sometimes contesting the face threats and sometimes accepting them*' (Copland, 2011:3842).

This review of the (albeit limited) research into face construction and negotiation in feedback has helped clarify that face is a situated, discursive accomplishment which is influenced by the ideas and norms of a context. The next section extends the scope of the literature reviewed to include other areas of institutional interaction in order to help ascertain ways of identifying face in feedback talk.

2.3.3. Identifying face in interaction

Identifying face threat is not easy. Some studies have bypassed this difficulty by looking the context of TV shows such as *Idol* (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al., 2013) and *The Weakest Link* (Culpepper, 2005) where face threat's more extreme and deliberate form, impoliteness (see Section 2.4.3 for further discussion of impoliteness), is explicitly and deliberately manufactured, expected and even desirable, for the purposes of entertainment. Conclusions from these studies may however be of limited relevance to institutional interaction in which, by contrast, face threat is not usually intended to hurt the hearer but rather is a '*by-product of needed criticism rather than its central goal'* (Tracy, 2008: 184). In 'real life' contexts it is also much more difficult to identify whether or not a speaker intends to be impolite or to threaten face. Three options are open to the analyst. First, we can ask the speaker in retrospective

interviews (see Section 3.1.3.3). Second, we can analyse the hearer's reaction to see if they display an orientation to face threat. Third, we can use knowledge of contextual norms to decide if behaviour is sanctioned by the genre or if it lies outside that which is considered acceptable. Contextual norms and the importance of the hearer's reactions will be discussed in turn.

2.3.3.1. Contextual norms

Face (and impoliteness) judgements are situated. A face-threatening utterance is judged so by participants in a given social situation (Miller, 2013) in the context of their shared history and broader sociocultural expectations (Chang and Haugh, 2011). The same utterance produced in a different context or with different participants could be interpreted as face-maintaining or face-supporting. This raises the important notion of genre and the kind of talk which is sanctioned or not within specific genres. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al. (2013) show how Simon Cowell is able to perform a kind of mediated verbal aggression that would be problematic, i.e. breaching acceptable norms, in other interactive domains. Face and identity are therefore constructed within and constrained by culturally recognised genres of talk. A more relevant example is given by Copland (2011) who shows how negative evaluation, possibly considered face threatening in other situations, is acceptable in group post observation feedback conferences:

> …feedback conferences conform to generic conventions, within which a degree of face threatening talk, such as negative evaluation is acceptable. (p.3842)

If face threats are not intrinsic to an utterance or action, for example negative feedback, and this linguistic action is sanctioned by genre and participants then it is not face threatening. Knowledge of contextual norms (gained, for example, from ethnographic data such as interviews or participant validation) is therefore very useful in determining face threat (see Section 2.3.3.5 below).

2.3.3.2. Participants' interpretations

The view of face as a situated, discursive, interactional achievement highlights the importance of showing that face is demonstrably relevant to *participants* (Schegloff, 1991), and ensuring their judgement is involved in the identification of facework (MacMartin et al., 2001), as Arundale attests:

> Because participants' face meanings and actions are conjointly co-constituted as interaction proceeds, it is the participants' interpretings, not the analyst's, that comprise the evidence in studying facework. (Arundale, 2006: 209)

The analyst must therefore focus on how participants signal their interpretation of one another's talk by looking at uptake and response to previous turns: '**participants' analyses of one another's verbal conduct** – *on the interpretations, understandings and analyses that participants themselves make, as displayed in the details of what they say*' (Drew, 1995: 70, original emphasis). Although speaker intention is important in the analysis of identity projection and face work, as Mullany (2008) points out, this intention '*on its own is difficult to interpret*' (p. 234). The importance of how the hearer perceives and constructs speaker behaviour is therefore key to identifying face work because the analyst can use the hearer's reaction to evidence the hearer's perception of an utterance being face threatening or supporting:

> *If identity, face, stance or politeness are to be investigated empirically, it must be in terms not of the speaker's intentions, which are impervious to observation, but of hearers' interpretations, which are open to observation, questioning, cross-checking and other methodological reassurances.* (Joseph, 2013: 38)

Arundale (2010) argues that sequence and recipient design, two key notions in conversation analysis (CA), are therefore useful in the analysis of face. Section 3.1.2.2 in the following chapter outlines in detail the tenets underpinning CA and the relevance of CA to this study. In addition, the next section examines one CA principal of particular significance to the analysis of face: preference.

2.3.3.3. Preference

Preference is an important feature of sequence and recipient design. CA researchers have helped us see how talk is often ordered sequentially in adjacent pairs (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). Within these pairs, there are preferred and dispreferred responses to the initial turn (Heritage, 1984b, Levinson, 1983, Sacks, 1987, Pomerantz, 1984). For example the preferred response to an invitation is acceptance and the dispreffered response is refusal. Through preference organisation, interactants manage courses of action that either promote or undermine social solidarity (Lerner, 1996, Pomerantz and Fehr, 1997, Sacks, 1987, Schegloff, 2007). Preferred responses (those maximising affiliation or social solidarity) are unmarked so tend to be direct, whereas dispreferred responses (those which result in disaffiliation or social division) are marked by delays, prefaces, accounts, indirectness and mitigation (Levinson, 1983). If these features are absent, it can indicate that participants do not view the talk as dispreffered. Because preference can influence affiliation or social division (Heritage and Raymond, 2005), it is linked to face (Heritage, 1984b). For example, Lerner (1996) shows how the anticipatory completion of a turn by another speaker is used to pre-empt an emerging dispreferred action and change it into an alternative preferred action,

showing a clear orientation to face concerns. Similarly, Chevalier (2009) shows how unfinished turns characterised as delicate or problematic provide a mechanism for managing misalignment and divergence between participants and minimising possible face threat. Preference is therefore useful in the analysis of face.

2.3.3.4. 'Delicate' or problematic talk

Linguistic features such as delays, prefaces, accounts, indirectness and mitigation can indicate a dispreferred turn or '*socially problematic activities*' (Asmuβ, 2008). 'Doing delicacy' allows speakers to go on record as doing relational work and indicates their awareness that an utterance could be interpreted as face threatening. These indicators are therefore useful in identifying participants' face evaluations. This '*doing of delicacy*' (Miller, 2013) or '*perturbations of talk*' (Silverman and Peräkylä 1990) can be manifested in various ways. Silverman and Peräkylä (1990) found that participants indicated '*pertubations of talk*' by pauses, hesitations, repairs, laughter and repetition of another person's language. Miller's (2011) study of how delicate topics were introduced and negotiated in interview talk identified delicacy markers such as '*well'*-prefaced responses, hesitation, repetition of parts of interview questions, delaying the production of delicate topics ('predelicate sequences' Schegloff, 1980), and universalizing experience. Linell and Bredman (1996) show how midwives and expectant mothers embedded delicate talk within longer syntactic or interactional turns to neutralise it.

Two studies in particular illustrate how the notions of preference and social delicacy can be used to identify facework. Asmuβ (2008) and Clifton (2012) both employed CA tools in the analysis of face in appraisal interviews. Appraisal interviews are very similar in content and purpose to post observation feedback meetings (in fact perhaps even more so than pre-service feedback). Like the feedback meetings in my study, appraisal interviews focus on employee performance and development, they are two-party interactions consisting of an employee and his/her supervisor and both use a set of criteria to measure performance. They are also sites where professional roles and identities are performed and negotiated and power asymmetries are made evident. Asmuβ (2008) examined assessment sequences in which the supervisor assesses the employee's performance and investigated critical feedback, '*one of the crucial and most delicate activities*' (p. 410). As critical feedback is also an important action in my data, the parallels with Asmuβ's study are strong. Asmusβ points out the usefulness of preferred and dispreferred actions for identifying participants' perceptions of face relations. Supervisors in Asmuβ's study often oriented to their negative assessments as a dispreferred action (despite the fact that negative feedback is an integral

part of appraisal interviews) by using prefaces, hesitation or delays, for example, and, crucially, the employee co-constructed the action as socially delicate by, in turn, marking it with further interactional work, for example with further preambles and delays. Asmuβ sees this as problematic because these prolonged sequences limited the employee's opportunities to address the criticism directly, to demonstrate understanding of the problem or to offer solutions. This has some similarities to Wajnryb (1994) and Vásquez (2004) who identify mitigated feedback as problematic because it obscures the critical message.

In Clifton's (2012) fine-grained analysis of talk in appraisal interviews, participants orient to appraisal interviews as delicate situations. As a way of dealing with them, participants use a variety of linguistic devices to do face work. They preface delicate talk with accounts, use laughter to create alignment and solidarity, leave vagueness unrepaired so delicate topics are not developed, and co-construct turns in which a hearer completes a speaker's dispreferred turn. Participants also do category work to mitigate face threats by indexing institutional identities, for example by orienting to paperwork as an active participant and using inclusive pronouns (we and us) to build team identity.

2.3.3.5. Ethnographic detail

Haugh (2009) argues that the analysis of facework requires recourse to non-sequential as well as sequential aspects of talk which may include '*aspects of the currently invoked identity of the participant*' (p. 11) and the history of their relationship within and prior to the interaction. Widening the context of the interaction to include ethnographic detail such as prior or subsequent talk, artefacts, contextual information and retrospective participant interpretations is:

> *… arguably crucial to warranting a detailed explication of how face has been co-constructed in interaction since face exists not only as a theoretical construct but has real import for 'ordinary' folk as well*. (Haugh, 2009: 11).

Copland (2011) argues that '*it is through conjoining linguistic and ethnographic approaches that detailed, contextualised analysis emerges*' (p. 3832). Very few researchers have done this (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013). The combination of ethnography and linguistic analysis is common in identity studies (see Section 2.3.4. in this chapter) which makes it all the more surprising that studies of face tend to focus exclusively on linguistic data. A notable exception is Copland's (2011) study of face in pre-service feedback which drew on both feedback talk and ethnographic detail gathered from interviews, focus groups and fieldnotes, resulting in a contextualised and nuanced analysis, resulting in '*viability of the analyst's interpretations*' (Haugh, 2007: 311).

Having looked at identity and face separately, the next section considers the relationship between the two.

2.4. Face and identity

While I agree with Copland (2011) that '*face threats are those utterances/actions which challenge the expectations of the participants of their relational connectedness or seperateness*' (p.3833), I also believe this judgement is often linked to identity i.e. judgements of relational connectedness or seperateness can be made in response to identity verification or identity challenge. This section aims to explain how I arrived at this interpretation.

2.4.1. Differentiating identity and face

Joseph (2013) refers to the similarities between identity and face in interaction: '*Identity and face have much in common. Each is an imagining of the self, or of another, within a public sphere involving multiple actors'* (p.35). Defining and distinguishing face and identity may be difficult but failing to do so can lead to unconvincing conclusions. For example, Schnurr and Chan's (2011) report on the way that leader and co-leader identities are performed when participants challenge and threaten their own and each other's face seems to sit on shaky foundations. While the authors question the difference between face and identity and acknowledge that this warrants discussion, they side step the issue, citing space limitations for not clarifying the distinction between them. Instead, they report their focus as: '*how the two concepts of face and identity can be productively combined in order to shed light into the complexities of co-leadership'* (p.191). However, analysis suggests confusion between identity and face. For example, their comment: '*by doing face-work and orienting to their own as well as each other's face needs, [interactants] at the same time (co)-construct their own as well as each other's identities*' (p.191) is vague. This comment suggests that face and identity happen simultaneously and that facework contributes to identity construction. However, the difference between the two is unclear.

Schnurr and Chan's reluctance to differentiate between identity and face is not unusual. Despite the recent shift in im/politeness research to an interactional model, few researchers in the field of im/politeness have considered the relationship between face and identity (Georgakopoulou, 2013, Hall and Bucholtz, 2013, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013, Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Spencer-Oatey (2007) maintains that although theories of identity can offer insights into the conceptualisation and analysis of face, '*there has been very little explicit*

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consideration of the interrelationship between the two concepts' (p. 639). The turn towards conceptualising face as a concern for identity has started (e.g. Joseph, 2013, Ruhi, 2010, Spencer-Oatey, 2007) reflecting the '*emerging plea…for politeness research to be brought together with the analysis of identities*' (Georgakopoulou, 2013: 55). Despite these studies, however, the relationship between identity and face is still unclear, perhaps because of the limited number of empirical studies providing examples of what these two phenomena look like. I believe that identity and face are linked and that the insights gained from the study of identity can inform the analysis of face. I agree with Garcés-Conejos' assertion that '*it is not possible to conceptualise face without taking identity into consideration*' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 8). In this section I will explain my understanding of the difference between them.

Arundale (2009) believes that the difference between face and identity is that face is punctual i.e. something which becomes relevant in interaction, and identity is more enduring. Similarly, O'Driscoll's (2011) idea of identity as '*an image that other people have when calling this type of person to mind*' (p.25) suggests something more permanent, and opposed to '*the fleeting nature of face*' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 6). Arundale (2010) also suggests that identity, unlike face, is a '*person-centered attribute'* (p. 2091) whereas face is more social.

However, the interpretation of face as relational and social, and identity as enduring and individual has been contested by more recent understandings of identity as something constructed, dynamic, emergent and rooted in interaction (see Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2). Identity has moved '*from the private realms of cognition and experience, to the public realms of discourse and other semiotic systems of meaning-making*' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013; 6). As a result of the '*discursive turn in identity theory*' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 5), identity is now seen as a socially constructed process of negotiation located in situated interaction. Identity is now also viewed as constellations of identities, rather than individual, monolithic constructs (de Fina et al., 2006), and is seen as temporary, not durable:

> *…identity does not precede interaction but emerges within it, as speakers jointly construct temporary identity positions to meet the socially contextualized demands of ongoing talk.* (Hall and Bucholtz, 2013: 124)

Identities are negotiated, not pre-existing: they have to be '*forged - created, transmitted, reproduced, performed - textually and semiotically*' (Joseph, 2013: 41). Identities are signalled through language in various ways but also, crucially, depend on the interpretations

and evaluations made by others. So, if the construct of identity as '*accomplished, disputed, ascribed, resisted, managed, and negotiated in discourse*' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 4) makes the distinction of durative (identity) and punctual (face) untenable, what then is the difference?

Spencer-Oatey (2007) believes that although face and identity both relate to the idea of self-image and both allow multiple aspects or attributes, face, unlike identity, is invested with affectivity and emotion and linked to positive attributes claimed by an interactant or negative attributes the interactant disassociates with. This suggests that identity is a broader concept than face. However, Barker and Galasinski (2001) describe identity as '*an emotionally charged description of ourselves'* (p.28) and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2013) believes both identity and face to be affective phenomena associated by interactants with certain attributes and not others. The difference between identity and face therefore is not that affectivity is invested only in face.

Geyer (2008) asserts that an interactant's face:

> *… manifests itself as his or her interactional self-image determined in relation to others, discursively constructed during a particular contact, and closely aligned with the participant's discursive identity.* (p. 50)

and while I accept the idea that face is discursively constructed and closely aligned with identity, self-image is also part of identity (Spencer-Oatey, 2007, Joseph, 2013). Geyer gives the examples of 'authority' and 'expertise' as possible face categories evoked in the construction of the identities of teacher or doctor. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al. (2013) uncovered similar categories ('authoritative judge', 'cruel but honest judge' and 'witty executioner') constructed by Simon Cowell in *Idol* TV shows but, unlike Geyer, described these as identities. Similarly, in my data set, the identities of experienced teacher and inexperienced teacher are co-constructed by participants. Like Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al., I see experience and authority as identity constructs rather than 'face categories' (2008). Face, therefore, is not a description or modification of identity.

Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al. (2013) agree with Spencer Oatey that identity is a broader phenomenon: '*We argue that relational work is part of identity work and see face as closely related to identity, indeed embedded in identity'* (p. 101). This description seems to inch us forward in the quest to differentiate between face and identity. Miller (2013) suggests that face ('relational work') and identity occur in a concurrent and co-constitutive process:

(a) relational work is understood as a constitutive aspect of identity construction and (b) identity construction is understood as a necessary process for mobilizing relational work. (p.76)

This distinction seems to be somewhat circular but nevertheless reinforces the inter-dependence of the two.

2.4.2. Identity claims and face evaluations

Returning to Arundale's (2010) proposal that face is a relationship or understanding of the relational connectedness and separateness conjointly co-constituted in the course of interaction may help distinguish face from identity. Interpretations of relational connectedness and separateness involve ideas such as solidarity, congruence, differentiation and divergence, and face interpretings are evaluated as threatening to, maintaining, or supportive to relationships (Arundale, 2010). Identity seems to be a broader concept, a 'human positioning' (Hall and Bucholtz, 2013) which is constructed or projected. Because face evaluations can be made in response to an identity claim, the difference may therefore be that identity is a (discursive, situated, co-constituted) claim that people make to be recognised as a certain type of person (Gee, 2000) and face is a (discursive, situated, co-constituted) evaluation of connectedness and separateness, which can be made in response to an identity claim. This is supported by Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's (2013) belief that identity is constructed whereas face is managed.

I believe that identity claims can engender face evaluations. On one hand, face threat can occur when a projected identity is not verified by an interlocutor (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al., 2013, Tracy, 2008). On the other, if an identity claim is verified or legitimated by an interactional partner, this can prompt an evaluation of face support. This judgement is situated and depends on the participants, genre and context. For example, my data shows participants claiming positive, valued identities such as 'experienced teacher'. These identities are sometimes verified and co-constructed by a conversational partner, which leads to participants making an interpretation of solidarity and an evaluation of face maintenance or support. However, when these invoked identities are challenged or contested or when an alternative, disvalued identity is proposed, participants make an interpretation of divergence and an evaluation of face threat. As Haugh attests:

...people only feel a threat/loss/gain in face when they perceive that an attribute they are claiming is not ascribed to them by others (or vice versa for negatively evaluated traits). (Haugh, 2009: 14)

This is supported by Spencer-Oatey (2007) who agrees that face threat/loss/gain results from a mismatch '*between an attribute claimed (or denied, in the case of negatively evaluated traits) and an attribute perceived as being ascribed by others*' (p. 644).

2.4.3. Impoliteness

Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2013) suggests that there is a further possible step on the trajectory of *identity claim – non-verification of identity – face threat*: impoliteness:

> *Assessments of impoliteness, in turn, can ensue when a given identity/subject position is not verified and/or the face attached to it is threatened.* (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 20)

Definitions of impoliteness seem to involve three central ideas: impoliteness is intentional, face threatening behaviour which breaches social norms. According to Bousfield, impoliteness issues from '*intentionally gratuitous and conflictive face threatening acts that are purposely performed*' (Bousfield, 2008: 132), an idea which is echoed by Culpepper who defines impoliteness as '*communicative behaviour intending to cause the "face loss" of a target or perceived by the target to be so*' (Culpepper, 2008: 36). This comment also underlines the importance of the hearer's perception. Locher and Watts add that impoliteness is found in '*behaviour that has breached a social norm*' (Locher and Watts, 2008: 79). These three defining characteristics are summarised by Mills' (2005) definition of impoliteness: '*any type of linguistic behaviour which is assessed as intending to threaten the hearer's face or social identity, or as transgressing the hypothesized Community of Practice's norms of appropriacy'* (p. 268). Perhaps unsurprisingly, my data shows only one possible instance of impoliteness (see Section 5.2.2).

2.4.4. Summary of identity and face

In sum, my understanding of the distinction between identity and face is based on a process of face evaluations of relational connectedness and separateness made in response to how an identity claim is received by an interactional partner (or partners). Identity is a situated claim to be recognised as a certain type of person. This claim can be verified and legitimated by an interlocutor which can lead to an evaluation of face maintenance or support. If the initial identity claim is contested, however, this can lead to an evaluation of face theat. Face work can help manage evaluations of face threat i.e. face work can mitigate face threat and help interactants maintain connectedness or solidarity despite identity challenge (although facework does not guarantee this). If a challenge is seen to breach contextual norms or is perceived to be intentionally face threatening, this can cause an interpretation of

impoliteness. Although difficult to represent, Figure 2.1 below attempts to illustrate these processes:

```
                        ┌─────────────────┐
                        │  identity claim │
                        └────────┬────────┘
                ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
        ┌───────────────┐                 ┌───────────────┐
        │identity verified│                │   identity    │
        │               │                 │   contested   │
        └───────┬───────┘                 └───────┬───────┘
        ┌───────────────┐                 ┌───────────────┐
        │     face      │                 │potential for face│
        │maintenance/fac│                 │    threat      │
        │  e support    │                 └───────┬───────┘
        └───────────────┘         ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
                          ┌───────────────┐             ┌───────────────┐
                          │  no face work │             │   facework    │
                          └───────┬───────┘             └───────┬───────┘
                       ┌──────────┴──────────┐       ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                ┌───────────┐       ┌───────────┐  ┌───────────┐    ┌───────────┐
                │face threat│       │impoliteness│  │face threat│    │face threat│
                └───────────┘       └───────────┘  │  managed  │    └───────────┘
                                                   └───────────┘
```
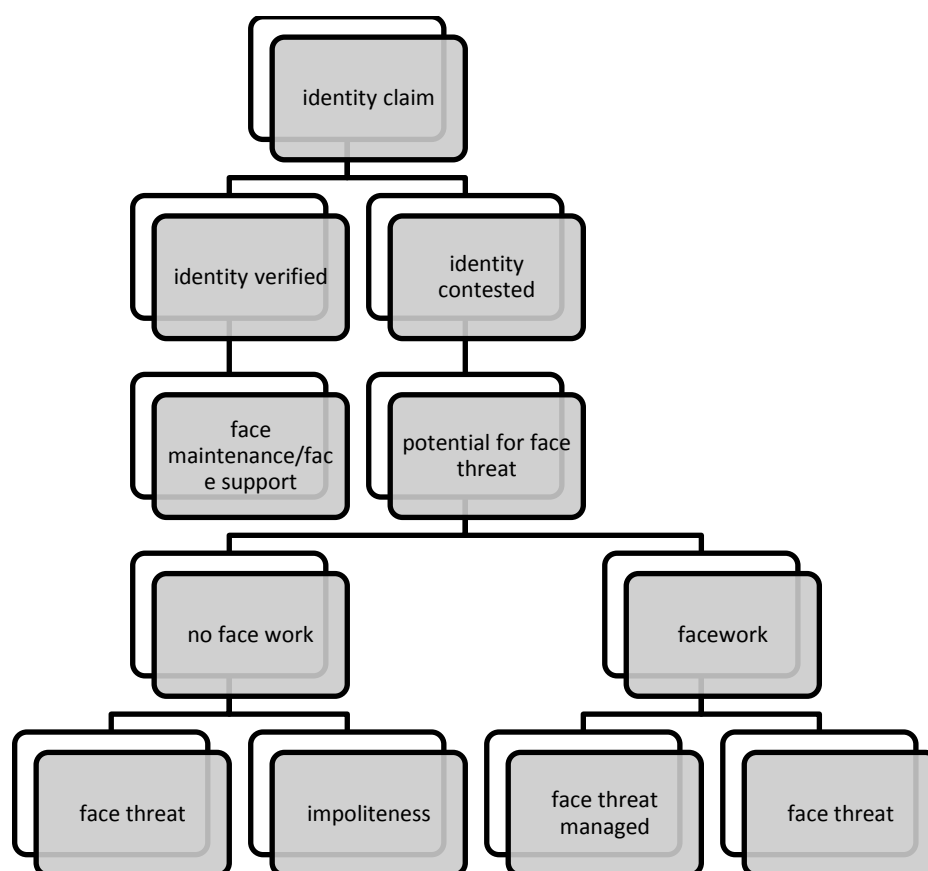
Figure 2.1. Identity and face processes

2.5. A methodological framework

Having established an understanding of the relationship between identity and face and considered ways of identifying face in interaction, the final part of this chapter proposes a methodological framework for this study which will be further detailed in Chapter 3. This chapter concludes by positioning the research within the areas of language teacher education and the pragmatics of institutional interaction by outlining the contribution this study aims to make to knowledge within these two fields.

This literature review has influenced my choice of methodological framework. First of all, the view of identity and face as situated, emergent and discursively achieved means that the methodology used in this study must include attention to talk in naturally occurring conversation. Secondly, many of the studies reviewed in this chapter have achieved a nuanced understanding of identity and/or face through a fine grained microanalysis of

interaction (e.g. Atkinson, 1999, Copland, 2011, Erickson, 1999, Heritage and Sefi, 1992, Schnurr and Zayts, 2011, Tracy, 2008) with some demonstrating the benefits of CA tools such as sequential design (e.g. Svennevig, 2011) and dispreferment (e.g. Asmuβ, 2008, Clifton, 2012). Thirdly, by combining linguistic analysis with emic ethnographic detail, researchers such as Copland (2011), Mullany (2008) and Schnurr and Zayts (2011) are able to provide a fuller, contextualised picture of identity and face and a stronger basis on which to validate their claims. I have therefore decided to combine linguistic analysis using microanalysis and CA tools with ethnographic data gathered from interviews, post analysis participant interpretations and the knowledge gained from being an 'insider' and working closely with my study participants at the institution for 13 years. This methodological framework will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.6. Conclusion

This literature review has enabled me to position my study within the fields of teacher education and institutional interaction. I aim to contribute to these bodies of literature in a number of ways. Firstly, I aim to enhance knowledge of post observation feedback discourse by focusing on (previously under-researched) experienced teachers and supervisors and by looking at feedback in the context of my study participants' working lives. Secondly, I aim to add to the (limited) literature on the negotiation of face in post observation feedback which has tended to use an outdated model of face (Brown and Levinson, 1987), with the exception of Copland (2008b, 2011). Using a linguistic ethnographical approach and a view of face as emergent, situated and discursive, I aim to add to Copland's discussion of face in pre-service group feedback by exploring in-service dyadic feedback, linking face with identity. Thirdly, within the literature on language teacher identity, very few studies have used micro-analysis to trace identity construction on a turn by turn basis and to my knowledge none have linked this with the negotiation of face, a concept which I believe is strongly related to identity. My study aims to fill this gap.

Finally, I aim to make a contribution to knowledge about the relationship between identity and face in institutional interaction. The literature on face is often theoretical with limited empirical research to substantiate models of face (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013). Data are often gathered from sources other than naturally occurring conversations and therefore miss the situated, contextual nature of talk:

> *Most studies of face …do not explore or invoke these situated and contextual factors to any great extent. Instead researchers take data from television programmes …courtroom transcripts … or use recorded interactions from research participants.* (Copland, 2011: 3833-3834).

This empirical study aims to add to existing knowledge by showing how face is manifested in real-life institutional interaction. This study also attempts to extend the theoretical reach of face to include identity. Analysis of empirical data featuring identity and face negotiation in action, shows how face can be a relational judgement made in response to identity construction.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into three parts. Part 3.1 outlines the research methodology I have chosen to answer my research questions. Part 3.2 discusses ethical issues involved in this study. In Part 3.3, a research design grounded in linguistic ethnography will be outlined, detailing the research setting, participants, data collection and the process of analysis. The chapter concludes with a diagram representing the stages and processes of analysis.

3.1. Methodology

My overarching research question is:

- How do participants construct and negotiate identity and face during post observation feedback meetings?

At a very basic level, this question requires attention to both social and linguistic practice. Underpinning the question is an interest in how people use language to achieve institutional goals while maintaining a working social relationship. In addition, an interpretive approach is needed to help make '*the familiar strange*' (Erickson, 1992: 92) because the setting, participants, institutional processes, texts, practices, routines and interactions are all familiar to me and are thus often taken for granted and unquestioned. Methodology also needs to be ontologically and epistemologically congruent with the underlying approach of the study. The ontological assumption underlying my research is that social reality, relations and order are created and reproduced through interaction and that our social worlds are jointly constructed through the detail of talk and interaction:

> *Reality is not 'out there' waiting to be discovered in an unproblematic way but is socially constructed by the everyday practices of speaking, interacting and writing.*
> (Roberts, 2006: 9)

The epistemological position I take is broadly aligned with social constructivist and post-structuralist approaches in that I view knowledge as something constructed by people and groups. These considerations suggest a qualitative approach which includes linguistic and ethnographic data. For the study of institutional interaction, Sarangi and Roberts (1999a:1) believe that a *'thick description'* (Geertz, 1973) of talk, text and interaction is necessary in order to understand the workplace as a social institution where '*resources are produced and regulated, problems are solved, identities are played out and a professional knowledge is constituted*' (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999a:1). They suggest that this thick description of communication should extend Geertz's original scope and '*reach down to the level of fine-grained linguistic analysis and up and out to broader ethnographic description and wider political and ideological accounts*' (ibid p.1). Thus two types of data and analytic methods are

needed to interpret and describe my study participants' construction and negotiation of identity and face in their real, situated environment. First, the interaction between participants during feedback and the interaction between the researcher and the study participants needs to be captured. In addition, information which influences and is relevant to this talk is also needed in order to inform and explain the linguistic data. This includes knowledge of institutional processes, artefacts and systems, relationships between participants, prior interactions, current innovations and changes to practice and participants' perspectives. To analyse these data I need to employ two methods: systematic discourse analysis of the linguistic data and a more open investigation of participants' emic perspectives and contextual information. This need to combine linguistic and ethnographic data and analysis has led me to linguistic ethnography (LE), '*an interpretive approach which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures*'(Copland and Creese, 2015: 13).

In the following sections, I begin with an examination of LE as an overall framework and then discuss linguistic and ethnographic data collection in turn. It is with some reluctance that I separate these two strands as not only are they intricately connected and often overlapping but discussion of one often entails consideration of the other. However, it is hoped that discussing each separately will provide a stabilising structure and help the reader and writer navigate the complex concepts involved.

3.1.1. Linguistic Ethnography

There has been a growing interest within sociolinguists in combining linguistic analysis and ethnography '*in order to probe the interrelationship between language and social life in more depth*' (Tusting and Maybin, 2007:576). Rampton's description of the kind of research that linguistic ethnographers are interested in reflects my own study focus:

> *Persons, encounters and institutions are profoundly inter-linked and a great deal of research is concerned with the nature and dynamics of these linkages – with varying degrees of friction and slippage, repertoires get used and developed in encounters, encounters enact institutions and institutions produce and regulate persons and their repertoires through the regimentation of encounters.* (Rampton, 2007a: 3)

My research interest lies in the links between my study participants, their institution, their encounters and interaction, and the repertoires they produce and reproduce. LE allows me the freedom to combine an ethnographic, descriptive enquiry with the analysis of language and communication, and enables me to situate my study in an *'interdiscliplinary region'*

(Rampton, 2007b). In addition, I believe that a combination of linguistic and ethnographic analytic tools '*offers a greater set of resources than each field of study could offer on its own*' (Creese, 2010: 151). According to Rampton et al. (2004), a healthy tension exists between linguistics and ethnography - ethnography can open linguistics up, bringing openness, holism and reflexive sensitivity to the processes involved in making linguistic claims, and linguistic discourse analysis can tie ethnography down by including the analysis of data which may uncover salient details in the discursive processes that produce cultural relationships and identities.

LE seems particularly suited to the investigation of identity and face**.** Bucholtz and Hall (2005) believe that LE studies '*frequently provide a better empirical account of linguistic practice*' (p. 591) and can uncover the nuanced and flexible identity relations that emerge from situated interaction. Furthermore, with its emphasis on the role of language in social and cultural production and its tools of linguistic, semiotic and discourse analysis, LE can facilitate the analysis of fine-grained aspects of organization and categorization to uncover the ways in which identities get constructed, accepted and contested. The analysis of face, too, can be enhanced by combining linguistic and ethnographic data and analysis. Linguistic analysis can demonstrate participants' face evaluations by analysis of conversational features, for example language use and turn taking organisation. Ethnographic data such as shared history or participant relationships can help validate this interpretation and provide further insight into participants' judgements, as Haugh comments:

> *One way in which to tease out aspects of the context beyond those available from the micro-analysis of talk-in-interaction data might be to draw from more ethnographically-informed interactional analyses and thereby establish the viability of the analysts' interpretations in relation to a particular theoretical framework.* (Haugh, 2007: 312)

Several studies have done this. First, Copland's (2008b) study of pre-service feedback demonstrates the benefit of using the combined methodological approach of linguistic ethnography. Copland researched pre-service group feedback and in particular looked at how power was negotiated and how hegemony functioned in this environment. Her use of LE, which views context as an important part of understanding interaction and '*demands a high level of reflexivity from researchers in their description and analysis of data*' (Copland, 2008a: 6), resulted in a detailed and nuanced analysis of data located within its educational and social context, enabling her to explain what is happening in talk and why it is happening. Second, Mullany (2008) adopted a combined linguistic and ethnographic approach to her case study of a manufacturing company in the UK. Audio recorded business meetings were

the primary data set but these were supplemented by observation, shadowing, interviews and analysis of company documents which provided a detailed picture of the organization and enhanced linguistic analysis of business interactions. For example, interview data provided important background information about relationships between participants and uncovered how managers viewed projections of professional identities through gendered lenses. A third example is Geyer (2010) who combined a CA approach with ethnographic information to investigate face considerations involved in teasing within a community of teachers. These studies show that in trying to understand identity and face construction, the combined force of linguistic microanalysis and ethnography can help guide and illuminate analysis:

> *Analysis of linguistic data alone, as many researchers have shown, can enhance our theoretical understandings of face (and of politeness). However, bringing the ethnographic data to bear provides distinctive insights into 'the dynamics of social and cultural production' … which a linguistic analysis alone does not always deliver.* (Copland, 2011:3842)

Using an LE framework, I have recorded, transcribed and analysed feedback meetings using microanalysis and CA techniques. I have collected ethnographic data by conducting interviews with the supervisors and selected teachers and by inviting participants to comment on transcription excerpts. These data have been coded and cross referenced with linguistic analysis and this has been supplemented with knowledge of the setting and participants gained from having worked at the institution for thirteen years. It is hoped that the combination of these two arguably complementary fields of study has strengthened analysis and brought a nuanced understanding of how participants in this study construct and negotiate identity and face.

The next part of this chapter looks in more detail at linguistic analysis and ethnography. The linguistic section discusses microanalysis, Conversation Analysis (CA) and the contentious issue of context in relation to CA. The ethnographic section considers the difference between traditional ethnographic models of data collection and my study and then discusses the relevance and affordances of my chosen data types.

3.1.2. Linguistic analysis

3.1.2.1. Microanalysis
Microanalysis involves open-ended immersion in data by engaging in repeated examination of interaction in a process of '*detailed transcription, inhabitation, description and analysis*' (Rampton,

2007b: 2). Rampton et al. (2006) suggest approaching microanalysis by moving slowly through the recording and transcript, line by line, with four key questions: What kinds of activity type do we have here? What is the speaker doing here? Why that now? What else might have been done here but wasn't? In this way, microanalysis can '*trace the ways in which social relations, positions and identities are constructed and contested on-line from one moment to the next'* (Rampton et al., 2002: 373). Section 3.3.5 below gives an in-depth account of the microanalysis stages of listening, transcribing, reading the transcript, 'inhabiting' and 'describing' that I carried out with my data, using Conversational Analysis (CA) as an analytic tool to show how identity and face are constructed and negotiated. The next section looks at CA in more detail and discusses the benefits and limitations of CA for my particular study.

3.1.2.2. Conversation Analysis

CA focuses on the social aspect of language, recognising:

> *the complex interplay between knowledge, interaction patterns, social relations and power which constitute an important intersection between studies of language and of social relations.* (Drew and Heritage, 1992:52).

CA is ontologically congruent with the aims of my study as CA is an empirical, etic approach to analysing naturally occurring interaction to find out how speakers jointly construct conversation and how they reach a shared understanding of it. Meaning is not produced by a single speaker but is made interactively. Contributions to interaction are context-shaped (so cannot be understood except with reference to what has been previously said) and context-renewing (speakers contribute to the sequential environment by setting up a limited range of utterances for the interlocutor (Heritage, 2005)). This process is assumed to be a product of shared and structured procedures. Thus CA looks at how people move from one moment to the next, and attends to sequences of actions, tracking the interaction turn by turn. CA aims to uncover the organization and order which is produced by interactants and to which they orientate themselves:

> *CA analysts aim to provide a 'holistic' portrayal of language use which reveals the reflexive relationships between form, function, sequence and social identity and social/institutional context. That is, the organisation of the talk is seen to relate directly and reflexively to the social goals of the participants, whether institutional or otherwise.* (Richards et al., 2012:38)

CA requires the analyst to provide empirical evidence for participants' orientations by showing how they use language and turn taking organization to create and negotiate topics, tasks and identities (Piirainen-Marsh, 2005). This process is useful in investigating how

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participants construct identities and do facework because it directs analytic focus to the participants' interpretation and evaluation of talk. For example, Piirainen-Marsh (ibid) explains how a CA informed analysis helped her to describe how participants '*produce, make use of, depart from and resist the positions and identities that the institutional setting makes available*' (Piirainen-Marsh, 2005: 215), enabling her to uncover how participants invoked institutional identities to engage in argumentative political discourse and invoked non-native speaker identities to deal with competitive talk.

Empirical CA studies have evidenced claims about formal features of talk and I have appropriated these findings to conduct a CA influenced microanalysis of my data. CA studies have found that turn taking is an organised activity and participants generally follow 'rules': one person speaks at a time and the next speaker takes over with minimal gap and minimal overlap at a 'transition relevance place' (Sacks et al., 1974). Identity and face issues can be constructed within these turn-taking conventions and can also arise when participants deviate from these norms, for example when they interrupt each other or hesitate or leave a long silence before taking a turn. In particular, two CA tenets have proved particularly useful to the analysis of identity and face: recipient design and adjacency pairs. Recipient design refers to the way participants locally and interactionally manage the organisation of turn taking aspects such as turn length and turn order. Features such as topic choice, the order of sequences and options and obligations for starting and finishing conversations are especially relevant to the study of identity construction and face because these features can illuminate the ways participants construct or organise talk which displays an orientation and sensitivity to each other (Sacks et al., 1974). The CA notion of adjacency pairs was also used to uncover participants' understanding of each other's utterances by examining their reactions and responses in next turns. Pairs of utterances, in which the first part of a pair requires a second, are common in my data (for example, account requests – accounts) and the obligation to produce a second pair in response to a question or challenge has proved to be important in the analysis of the construction of identity and face. A particularly significant aspect of adjacency pairs is the idea of 'preference' and the 'dispreferred second' (Pomerantz, 1984) (see Section 2.3.3.3). The notion of a dispreferred turn is significant in my data, especially the ways that speakers mark this. Subtle analysis of the use of interactional features such as delays, prefaces, accounts, indirectness, mitigation, hesitation and laughter to mark 'delicate' 'dispreferred' or problematic talk has proved invaluable in identifying participants' orientation to identity construction and the doing of facework.

3.1.2.3. Context

While recognizing the significant strengths of CA analytic tools, I believe this detailed linguistic analysis can be strengthened by adding an investigation of the social and situated aspects of the interactions. Ethnographic detail such as information about the institutional context, participants' shared history, interpretation of talk and relationships will result in a more descriptive, nuanced study of the ways face and identity are constructed and negotiated. This argument has been made by other researchers, for example Moerman who states:

> *[CA's] description, explication, and analysis require a synthesis of ethnography – with its concern for context, meaning, history and intention – with the sometimes arid and always exacting techniques that conversation analysis offers for locating culture in situ* (Moerman, 1988: xi)

However, although like ethnography CA '*avoids premature theory construction'* and is '*essentially inductive'* (Levinson, 1983:286), these two disciplines do not always sit comfortably together. One difference arises from the issue of how much data is drawn upon in analysis. CA analysis stops at the boundary of discourse. Rather than starting with a '*bucket theory'* of context (Heritage, 1987) in which pre-existing institutional circumstances are seen as enclosing and unaltered by interaction, a CA approach regards context as interactionally accomplished in talk (interactants' understanding of context is documented in their talk) and aims to demonstrate how participants orient to and reproduce salient features of the '*external and constraining'* (ibid.) organisational structure. According to Psathas, the task of analysis is:

> *to show how [context] is accomplished, not to offer a constructive analytic theorist's account that seeks to explain everything in the interest of providing a broad, generalizing, interpretive gloss.* (Psathas, 1995:66)

CA's location of context in the interaction between participants means therefore that only empirically evident details can be made relevant:

> *In an interaction's moment-to-moment development, the parties, singly and together, select and display in their conduct which of the indefinitely many aspects of context they are making relevant, or are invoking, for the immediate moment.* (Heritage, 1987: 219)

Many conversation analysts therefore deny the relevance of any contextual details not derived directly from evidence in participants' talk and would, for example, regard an ethnographer's use of participant observation as irrelevant. Many believe that CA's greatest strength lies in the fact that analysis of context is restricted to what is locally produced

between participants in an interaction: context is built and managed through interaction, and through the interaction participants realise and enforce salient contextual factors. The analyst's job is to show how participants build this context through talk.

This '*sequential purism*' (McHoul et al., 2008) conflicts with an ethnographical approach where researchers often use data such as field notes and interviews to investigate context. Some researchers have questioned whether interactional structures should be treated separately from the wider structures of the social and institutional world (Mehan, 1979). Hak (1999), questioning the centrality of talk and the abstraction of texts from their social context, argues that a narrow CA orientation could lead to '*distorted representations of the work setting and of the work activities in them*' (p.430) and recommends that linguistic analysis should be embedded in and regulated by an '*overarching (…) ethnographic endeavour*' (p.448). Although linguistic analysis assumes prominence in my study, I find Hak's assertion that the '*'observability'* of CA is '*considerably enhanced by the analyst's detailed knowledge of the work activities and the work setting, and in particular also of the participants' perspective of the tasks at hand, acquired by ethnographic fieldwork and interviews*' (p.448) convincing.

In this vein, there is perhaps, as McHoul et al. suggest, a 'both-and' rather than 'either-or' way of combining ethnography with CA:

> *there is no point in gazing at single utterances without considering their place in their local sequence of utterances, thereby relying purely on the context (independently of what was actually uttered) in order to understand a stretch of talk. … Equally, there is no point in relying on a purely sequential analysis if the details of the context happen to be independently available in some obviously i.e. empirically, ascertainable manner.* (McHoul et al., 2008:831)

This sentiment is echoed by Peräkylä (2004a) who believes that ethnography can provide information necessary to understand recorded interaction, especially in institutional interaction research:

> *The conversation analyst may need to make ethnographic observations, conduct interviews or collect questionnaire data. This information is used to contextualize the CA observations, in terms of the larger social system of which the tape-recorded interactions are a part. Even though ethnography, interviews or questionnaires cannot substitute for the tape recordings, they can offer information without which also the understanding of tape-recorded interactions may remain insufficient.* (Peräkylä, 2004a: 169)

Although my study does not fit neatly into the parameters of the CA research tradition, I believe that adapting and '*hybridizing*' (Rampton et al., 2002: 375) CA and ethnography results in a greater understanding of participants' construction and negotiation of identity and face. This decision is consistent with LE which does not view different approaches as necessarily conflicting but rather looks for ways in which they can be complementary. Creese (2010) suggests that CA, which looks '*closely and repeatedly at what people do in real time as they interact*' (Erickson 1996: 283 cited in Creese (2010)), can be successfully combined with ethnography which brings '*interpretative detail to explain and give depth to the linguistic analysis*' (Creese, 2010: 141). This 'disciplinary bilingual' approach is similar to Blum-Kulka's (2005) '*discourse pragmatics*' which:

> *derives from conversation analysis its systematic modes of transcription and close attention to sequential organization, without accepting its theoretical stance toward context as restricted to the sequential unfolding of utterances as displayed or to context as commonly achieved.* (p. 277)

Rampton et al.'s assertion that '*paradigms don't have to be swallowed whole*' (Rampton et al., 2015: 36) reflects my approach to CA. Instead of a full blown CA analysis, I have appropriated CA tools for the purposes of a fine grained, systematic analysis of interaction and combined this with the collection and analysis of ethnographic data. I have thus deviated from a 'purist' approach to CA and instead embedded CA analytic tools within a linguistic ethnographic framework. This (perhaps unconventional) move is supported by Rampton et al. who believe that:

> *it is easy to make very productive use of CA findings on the sequential organisation of talk **without** refusing to consider the participants' ideological interpretations.* (Rampton et al., 2015: 36 original emphasis)

I have decided to use observation feedback meeting recordings as the core data in my study and worked on a '*from-inside-outwards trajectory*' (Rampton, 2007b: 591), following the same order as Shrubshall et al. (2004) in their study of classrooms and learners where they analysed recorded classroom discourse using micro-ethnography, drawing on CA tools, but also used the wider ethnographic context (accessed via observation and interviews) for interpretation. Roberts describes this process:

> *So far, the focus has been on the core data of audio-recorded classroom interaction. In order now to ask the question 'What is the significance of these pieces of data for understanding these types of classrooms and these learners?' another question has to be asked: 'What counts as relevant ethnographic detail?' So other, more extended*

> *ethnographic data is needed and the process of connecting different data types begins.* (Roberts, 2006: 15)

In a similar process, Rampton (2006), in his study of pupils' interaction in an urban school also treated recorded data as central but moved outwards to look at contextual features – in his case individuals and institutions.

3.1.3. Ethnography

Ethnography and CA have basic procedures in common (Roberts, 2006) - they share a commitment to maintaining a connection between claims, evidence, inference and interpretation. Both comprise of:

> *cyclical rhythms of immersion and detachment. . . The movement back and forwards between a close reading of situated action and the formulation of higher-level claims* (Rampton et al., 2002: 374)

Ethnography is a method of description which looks for meaning and rationality in practices by trying to understand the tacit and explicit understandings of people engaged in certain processes or activities. Ethnographers try to enter the world of their participants and to abstract structuring features and uncover participants' understanding of the process or activity studied by alternating between involvement in local activity and orientation to exogenous audiences and frameworks (Todorov, 1988). As a participant researcher investigating the feedback meetings in one research site, the reflexivity and particularity of ethnography is relevant to my study.

Despite this epistemological congruity, my study does not fit neatly into a traditional ethnographic model for several reasons. Firstly, a broad description of culture in which, for example, a researcher uses participant observation to learn and adjust to cultural practices, is not my focus. A comprehensive cultural description of the institution is neither needed nor feasible. I do not aim to provide a full picture of the study participants' institutional lives but rather to examine the intersection of a particular type of communicative event with social and cultural processes. This narrower scope is consistent with Hymes' '*topic-oriented ethnography*' (1996: 5). Rampton (2007b) points out that there has been a reassessment of ethnographic representation in the form of a critique of the pursuit of a totalizing description. This, he believes, paves a way for LE's:

> *proclivity for 'topic-orientated' … ethnographies of specific types of professional interaction, literacy event, speech style etc. rather than comprehensive descriptions of speech communities.* (Rampton, 2007b: 592).

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The second departure from a traditional view of ethnography involves the lack of documented observation. According to Delamont, (2004) 'proper ethnography' requires participant observation done during fieldwork. She raises an important issue: Can a study which does not include observation and field notes be considered ethnographic? Of the three central and well established means of data collection which feature in most ethnographic studies (observation, field notes and interviews) only interviews will feature in mine.

According to Sarangi and Roberts, workplace practices:

> *are illuminated by finding out how professionals or workers construct them and orientate to them and this involves a triangulation of data sources including traditional participant observation, audio and video recording and the collecting of documentary evidence* (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999c:27)

Participant observation is usually viewed as a mixture of observation and interviewing although Richards et al. (2012) use a more modified description: '[*spending] time with those involved, using observation **and/or** interviews to understand the nature of their social worlds and experiences'* (p. 33, my emphasis). Semantics aside, the crucial question is '*What counts as relevant ethnographic detail*?' (Roberts, 2006: 15). My study involves a 'topic-orientated' ethnography of the feedback meeting and I have chosen a path which starts from the inside (the interaction in the feedback meetings) and moves outwards – '*trying to get analytic distance on what's close-at-hand, rather than a more traditionally ethnographic move from outside inward or trying to make the strange familiar'* (Rampton et al., 2007b: 584). This trajectory places less emphasis on the importance of my understanding of the cultural context, for example by participant observation, and more on gaining insight into the participants' understanding of the feedback event and the feedback discourse they construct within their institution. To gain this insight, I used two methods of data collection which are discussed in the following section: interviews and information gained from my position as a participant researcher.

Observing the feedback meetings themselves may have informed analysis with the inclusion of data such as gesture, gaze or seating arrangements and my own observations via field notes. However, I believe that the possible affordances of this information would be outweighed by the harm an imposed observer would bring. A defining aspect of the feedback meetings is their private, one to one nature and the presence of a third observer would change the nature of the meeting and participants' interaction (Labov, 1972), perhaps rendering it inauthentic or atypical. A small audio recording device is unobtrusive but the

presence of a third person at a one-to-one meeting will change the dynamic and perhaps make participants (and the researcher) self-conscious. In addition, I believe that of the teachers approached to take part in the study, more would have refused had agreement meant consenting to an observer sitting in on what could be a potentially face-threatening encounter. I also had to consider logistics. As I did a full time job at the research site, it was impossible for me attend all meetings (due to other commitments such as teaching), which would result in patchy observation.

In sum, I believe that ethnography can accommodate a research design which moves away from more traditional methods of data collection. The ethnographic data I gained from working closely with my research participants for many years and from participant interviews has yielded insight into the context, participants, their relationships and their interpretations of the feedback meeting event and has proved to be a valuable element in my research design. The next sections discuss these two methods of ethnographic data collection.

3.1.3.1. Participant Researcher

Ethnographic researchers aim to immerse themselves in the social world of their study so that they can understand participants' practices, values, beliefs and understandings to '*develop a rich, situated understanding of it and how it is constituted through its members*' (Richards et al., 2012: 33). Being there is important (Geertz, 1988): '*it is intrinsic to any ethnographic research that the researcher as participant-observer is part of what is going on'* (Tusting and Maybin, 2007:578). Much advice to novice ethnographic researchers assumes that an ethnographic researcher comes to their site of study as an outsider:

> *The researcher **almost by definition** arrives as an outsider: someone who is not part of the social environment in which s/he will do research, has limited knowledge of the people, the normal patterns of everyday conduct, the climate and culture of the place* (Blommaert and Jie, 2011: 27, my emphasis)

I challenge this. Many researchers choose to investigate questions prompted by their own working experience and choose to base their research in contexts in which they are established, known or familiar with (e.g. Farr, 2011, Garton and Copland, 2010, Howard, 2008). I was already situated in the world of my participants and was a member of the research site community. I worked closely with my research participants on a daily basis for thirteen years and therefore had an intimate knowledge of them, their workplace context and institutional processes and structures. I was perhaps better able than an 'outsider' to produce accounts which were relevant to the participants in my study because I was closely connected to the cycle of observation and feedback by my job at the research site which

involved teacher development and support. This is demonstrated by participants referring to me directly in some of the meetings, for example:

Extract 3.1: Meeting with S3 and Eric

1	S3	and () a- d- have you done the teaching like a champion with Helen?
2	Eric	no I haven't no
3	S3	see **that's** what you need
4	Eric	ok () ok

Extract 3.2: Meeting with S1 and Eric

1	S1	great rapport with the boys everyone got along nicely I suggest meeting with Helen
2		from c- CTL to get some ideas on making (xx) a little more student centered it could
3		just be that particular lesson being that that was in a lab but they **do** have so many
4		good ideas you know

Being part of the institution also meant I could bypass negotiating access and having to develop relationships. My job involved one-to-one counselling as well as planning and delivering professional development workshops and courses so teachers were already used to talking to me about their job, their problems, and their ongoing development and learning. As this is a study involving identity, it is also worth mentioning that one critique of ethnography is the partialness construed by the identity relationship of researcher and subject (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). My position as an institutional employee as well as researcher alleviates this criticism somewhat as it allows for other identity relationships, for example colleague (and in some cases friend).

I acknowledge, however, that while this 'insider knowledge' is beneficial, being a participant researcher also has drawbacks. As an insider, I am not used to trying to understand what is happening from a researcher's perspective and I may not question as much as I should. According to Blommaert and Jie (2011), '*rich points*', which are things that surprise or are strange, are the start of ethnographic investigation. This, however, concerns me as I am convinced that outsiders would be constantly surprised by things that happen in my research site but which I accept as normal. I do believe, though, that I have achieved some distance by assuming the role of a researcher and looking objectively at my data and this researcher's lens has enabled some 'rich points' and moments of insight, re-evaluation and improved understanding.

3.1.3.2. Interviews

As well as participant researcher knowledge and reflection, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with the four supervisors and one teacher (Eric), asking them about their

perceptions about observation and feedback both in general and in the college in particular. The order and wording of questions was flexible, and I was able to deviate from the script and introduce or omit questions or topics, and respondents were encouraged to expand, add or introduce new topics and their responses. During these interviews, participants also talked about specific feedback meetings, for example Eric talked at length about his feedback meetings with S1, S2 and S3.

Researchers using semi-structured interviews hope to yield a '*rich account of the interviewee's experiences, knowledge, ideas, and impressions'* (Alvesson, 2003:1). However, it is important to guard against viewing interview data as a '*transparent window on life beyond the interview'* (Rapley, 2001:305). Interviewing has become not only a powerful force in modern society (Briggs, 1986) but also so commonplace that many researchers unquestioningly accept a dominant notion of the interview as a pipeline for transmitting knowledge (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003:113), viewing the interview as a research instrument which uses language to channel information or to reflect the influence of sociological variables (Woofit and Widdicombe, 2006:33): '*you ask, they answer, and then you know*' (Hollway, 2005: 312). Talmy questions the status often ascribed to interview data:

> *interview data are ontologically ascribed the status of reports of respondents' biographical, experiential, and psychological worlds, with the interview thus conceptualized as the epistemological conduit into these worlds.* (Talmy, 2011:27)

Interviews are thus often under theorised (Briggs, 1986, Mann, 2011, Talmy and Richards, 2011). Literature on interviewing tends to focus on procedures for data gathering and ways to avoid collecting biased or irrelevant data. This view of the interview as a data gathering tool aligns closely with a positivist view of research where the aim is to access context-free, valid and reliable 'facts' about the world. However, I need to theorise the interviews in a way which is consistent with the epistemological and theoretical assumptions underlying my study. I must also question the assumption that semi-structured interviews can provide independent, coherent and reliable accounts:

> *Individuals are not able to simply provide uncontested knowledge about their social world. Much more commonly, interviews contain apparent contradictions, gropings, suggestions.* (Aull Davies, 1999:96)

Interviews can result in misinformation, evasion, lies, fronts, incomplete knowledge, faulty memory, subjective perceptions, and superficial or cautious responses (Roulston, 2010). More recently, the research interview has been reconceptualised and the idea of an

empirical data gathering tool is being replaced (marginally but increasingly influentially (Alvesson, 2003)) with the idea of the interview as situated action (Cicourel, 1964, Silverman, 1973) and involving data generation rather than data collection (Baker, 2003). In sum, this means moving from an interview-as-technique position to an '*interview-as-local-accomplishment'* perspective (Silverman, 2001). This interpretation sees the interview as a communicative event with presupposed metacommunicative norms which can shape the form and content of what is said (Briggs, 1986) and even impose ways of understanding on participants (Cicourel, 1964). Participants construct knowledge together and draw on resources which may alter or develop during an interview as they adopt different social identities:

> *Meaning is not merely elicited by apt questioning, nor simply transported through respondents' replies; it is actively and communicatively assembled in the interview encounter.* (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003:114)

An interview is a socio-culturally loaded communicative activity which can place moral demands on participants (Rapley, 2001) and therefore shape how participants conduct themselves. Some interviewees, for example, may feel the need to present themselves favourably as a moral person. Interviewees can also use interviews to promote themselves and/or their organization, they can be politically motivated and act in their own interests or in the interests of their social group (Alvesson, 2003:22) or use an interview to promote a certain identity:

> *This is not necessarily the "true self" that emerges but may be seen as an effort to construct a valued, coherent self- image.* (Alvesson, 2003:20)

For example, Rapley (2001) questions the construction of moral talk in Shiner and Newburn's (1997) study of drug users. Interviewees presented drug use as problematic but, Rapley argues, this is a product of a specific interview interaction in which they may be presenting themselves in a favourable light. In another context, interviewees (and interviewers) '*can and surely do, produce talk-about-drugs with alternative moral trajectories*' (Rapley, 2001:308). Thus data are dependent on and emergent from a specific interactional context and produced through talk and identity work jointly constructed by both participants.

Alvesson (2003:20) also alerts us to the fact that '*cultural scripts'* (available vocabularies, metaphors, genres and conventions for talking about issues) may be shared across a society or by specific segments within it, for example an industry, occupation or organisation. He gives the example of an interviewee who described the lack of hierarchy in his

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organisation, which reflected the script of the corporate culture he belonged to, but then went on to talk about layers of management in his own department (Alvesson, 1995).

Research studies need to be more open in accounting for how membership roles and relationships (including previous or personal ones) can affect the way talk develops as this can have an effect on what is generated. When invited to take part in an interview, participants orientate to different category identifications depending on how they have been approached. For example, being asked to contribute to an interview as a mother or teacher will mobilise different sets of category relevances and activities (Baker, 2003). Different identities are invoked which affects interpretation of the interview situation and can have an impact on the questions asked and responses given (Alvesson, 2003:20).

Whilst recognising that meaning and identity are socially constructed during interviews, content also assumes importance as the purpose of semi-structured interviews is to elicit answers to questions posed by the researcher. I therefore take a position similar to Alvesson's:

> *My ambition is then to use the interview as a site for exploring issues broader than talk in an interview situation, without falling too deeply into the trap of viewing interview talk as a representation of the interiors of subjects or the exteriors of the social worlds in which they participate* (Alvesson, 2003:17).

I regard the interview as a situated speech event in which context is relevant and with the potential to produce knowledge, insights and opinions from participants about the post observation feedback meeting. This reflects Fairclough's (1989) suggestion that interviews must be understood at three levels; the discourse (text) produced, the interaction and interpretation by participants, and the context (social conditions that affect both interaction and text). This view also aligns with Holstein and Gubrium's (2003) '*active interview'* where the '*whats'* (content) and the '*hows'* (interaction) of the interview are both important. In sum,

> *We still need to focus on 'what' is said; we just require more attention on 'how' this is constructed and how interaction is managed* (Mann, 2011: 21)

I remain healthily sceptical about how much interviews can help answer my research question and heed Alvesson's advice that interview data is best viewed as illustrative or corrective:

> *realizing that the shoulders of interviewees are meager and the capacities of interview talk to mirror or say something valid about reality are limited…[we] should*

limit our hubris and encourage the use of empirical material for inspirational or illustrative purposes or as ambiguous correctives for bad ideas, rather than provide a robust basis for the determination of the truth, meaning, or development of (grounded) theory. (Alvesson, 2003:29)

Although data recorded from post observation meetings assumes primacy in this study, interviews have provided important contextual information about the institution, participants, participants' relationships and history and influential events occurring around the time of data collection. This information has helped both the analysis of situated linguistic interaction and in corroborating more general claims made about the institution, feedback, identity and face. The limitation of these interviews, however, was that they were carried out before analysis and therefore I had only general notions of feedback, face and identity to guide me in deciding what questions to ask. I now realise that these interviews would have been better timed after analysis when I had more specific questions.

3.1.3.3. Participant interpretation

Participant interpretation can involve research participants looking at selected excerpts of data and saying what they think was going on during talk or can involve researchers sharing insights from data analysis with their participants. Both are carried out with a view to uncovering participants' perspectives on the data and analysis. For example, in retrospective interviews Copland (2008b) found that what she as an analyst perceived as face threatening was not necessarily seen as such by the participants. There is some scepticism about the value and validity of participant interpretation interviews in the literature. For example, Mullany discusses the difficulty of persuading busy participants to give time to examining and discussing data extracts:

> *Convincing busy managers to sit down and tell an interviewer about what they thought their intentions were in previous interactions would be extremely difficult to achieve.* (Mullany, 2008: 237)

This indeed was problematic for me, especially as I had left the research site by the time I wanted to do post analysis interpretation interviews so these had to be conducted by Skype and fitted into my research participants' busy days, severely limiting the number of people willing to do this. Researchers have also made the point that a participant interpretation interview is an additional text with its own range of problems:

> *It is getting no nearer in essence to what really went on, as it is simply another text, another conversation, only this time the conversation is with the analyst* (Mills, 2003: 45)

Thus all the issues related to interviews described in the section above will be relevant, including the '*vagaries of self-reporting'* (Terkourafi, 2005: 244). However, while being careful not to accord the participant interpretation interview account the status of a definitive account of what happened (Mullany, 2008), I nevertheless gained valuable information from these interviews.

Holmes and Schnurr (2005) raise the related problem of participants not having the metalanguage to describe their intentions. Social discourse is highly complex and although participants might be skilled interactants, asking them to explain what they are doing at a point in discourse might reveal information about them and their beliefs and understanding but may not necessarily help identify such sophisticated and unconscious actions like identity projection and face work. However, the participants in my study were extremely fluent in describing the talk, their intentions and were highly perceptive in discussing aspects of identity and face, perhaps helped by the fact that they are English language teachers used to talking about language and familiar with the notion of discourse analysis.

I conducted post analysis interviews with three of my study participants: S4, Niamh and Jake. I chose particularly salient or interesting episodes (each was only 1-2 minutes long) and made short audio clips which I emailed to the research participants with written transcriptions. The participants listened to and read their extracts and then we had a Skype interview (a separate interview for each) where we talked about the extracts and then I told them about my analysis and we discussed that. These participant perspective interviews were so interesting, useful and illuminating that I deeply regret not having the opportunity to do more. Participants' comments both confirmed my interpretations and added further insight and interpretation and I believe the analysis of these excerpts is deeper and more nuanced than those (the vast majority) which had no participant interpretation interviews (see Sections 5.3.2 and 5.4.2 for analysis of these extracts).

3.1.4. Conclusion

In sum, within an overall framework of LE, a combined approach of linguistic microanalysis of audio recorded feedback meetings (using CA tools) and cross referencing of ethnographic data (gathered from participant researcher knowledge, pre-analysis interviews and post-analysis participant interpretation interviews) was used to investigate how supervisors and in-service teachers at a tertiary institution in the UAE construct and negotiate identity and face in post observation feedback meetings.

The next section (Part 3.2) discusses ethical issues relevant to this study. Part 3.3 details the research design, providing information about the research setting, participants, data collection and analysis.

3.2. Ethical issues

The ethical considerations in this study centre mostly around participants giving me access to a normally private and sometimes face threatening and difficult event and my decisions about representation. My aim has been to comply as much as possible with the basic ethical requirements of minimising damage and inconvenience to the research participants and acknowledging their contribution (Cameron et al., 1992). This section outlines the ways in which I have tried to maintain a relationship of trust and cooperation with study participants by ensuring informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity but also outlines ethical issues which I have found problematic and with which I continue to struggle.

3.2.1. Access to data

At the time of data collection, my job involved both confidential one to one teacher support and being a part of the institutional appraisal process. If an observation was judged unsatisfactory by the supervisor, a teacher could ask me to observe them (with or without the knowledge of the supervisor) to provide feedback and advice in preparation for their next observation and/or ask for help to plan for this second observation. In addition, I ran and organised courses and professional development workshops for teaching staff, some of which were attended by teachers as a result of post observation feedback. The fact that teachers associated me with the cycle of observation and feedback may have helped me gain consent from teachers to participate in the study. My job also involved direct contact with supervisors who often talked to me about 'difficult' observations and teachers that needed help and in fact these supervisors discussed some of the observations from the recorded data as part of my job (i.e. not as a researcher). I believe this role helped me obtain consent to participate from the supervisors with whom I had a close working relationship.

Participants were informed that data would be confidential and accessed only by myself but that selected data might be used in the thesis or subsequent publications (see Appendix 2). Teachers' knowledge of my job, which involved confidential counselling, may have helped to convince participants of the confidentiality of their recordings. I am very aware that teachers at the institution are in a vulnerable position and that information gathered could potentially compromise their job security because lesson observations and subsequent feedback forms are part of their annual appraisal and can influence whether teachers are renewed at the end of their three year contract. I made sure that absolutely no study data was shared with

management or colleagues. Teachers were also informed in writing that they could withdraw from the study at any point, for example they could delete the recording after a feedback meeting (or later). This has not happened although one supervisor decided not to record a meeting even though the teacher had given permission because feedback was anticipated to be very negative. Six and ten months after I left the institution to work elsewhere, two of the study participants, voluntarily and unprompted, emailed me to tell me about their recent observation feedback. I believe this demonstrates the close association and connection teachers made between myself and the observation cycle and their belief in the confidentiality of information provided to me.

3.2.2. The consent process

A procedure of consent was implemented:

- Institutional authorization – before data could be collected permission was sought and given by the director of the college to collect data.
- Details of the study were submitted to Aston University Ethics Committee and approval for the study was given.
- Information was given to supervisors (see Appendix 2) detailing the general focus of the study, assurance of confidentiality and anonymity for participants, opportunity for retrospective opt-out, name and contact details of researcher and an option to share a summary of results if required.
- Written consent from supervisors was gained.
- Information was given to teachers (see Appendix 2) which gave the general focus of the study, assurance of confidentiality and anonymity for participants, opportunity for retrospective opt-out, name and contact details of researcher, an option to share a summary of results if required.
- Teachers were emailed several weeks prior to being observed and invited to participate in the study. Email was chosen to make it easier for teachers to refuse by simply not replying to the request.
- Written consent from teachers who consented to participate was gained.
- An undertaking was communicated that only the researcher would have access to the recordings and no personal names would be used in transcriptions of interaction.
- A guarantee was given that recordings, transcriptions and notes would be kept in a password protected personal computer.

However, although this process was an essential step in carrying out this research, as Guillemin and Gillam (2004) and Kubanyiova (2008) point out, adhering to general ethical

principles and professional codes of ethics does not necessarily ensure ethical research conduct:

> *Although research ethics committees do play an important role in highlighting ethical principles that are relevant to, and important for, social research, their role is necessarily limited. Research ethics committees cannot help when you are in the field and difficult, unexpected situations arise, when you are forced to make immediate decisions about ethical concerns, or when information is revealed that suggests you or your participants are at risk.* (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004: 273)

This is especially true in qualitative, situated research that may require an '*expansion of the ethical lenses'* (Kubanyiova, 2008: 503) to include 'microethical' perspectives i.e. ethical dilemmas which arise during the process of research and from roles adopted by the researcher and research participants in their situated context.

3.2.3. Ethical concerns

I have four micro-ethical concerns. Firstly, full disclosure of my goals and area of study was not possible at the beginning of the data collection period when consent was given. At this time, the scope and focus of my study was not defined. My research question evolved slowly as I became interested in identity and face through reading. I was also reluctant to reveal information about the research that may have influenced how participants talked during their feedback meetings. For example, I wanted to avoid making them consciously aware of mitigating criticism. As Dörnyei (2007) points out, there is some controversy about how 'informed' consent should be, or in other words '*how little information is enough to share in order to remain ethical*' (p.69) with the implication that withholding full disclosure is sometimes justified. The description of the study on the information sheet given to participants (see Appendices 2 and 3) before they gave consent was therefore general. I tried to redress this initial lack of information in interviews which took place after post observation meeting recordings. I explained in more detail the focus on identity and face, asked participants to comment on transcript extracts and talked to them about some of my initial analysis.

The final three ethical dilemmas are grounded in the notion of reflexivity. Researchers must look at the ways in which the product of research is affected by the participants (including, of course, the researcher), context, relationships and processes involved. Broadly defined, reflexivity means '*a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference*' (Aull Davies, 1999:13) and is particularly salient in studies where the researcher is closely involved in the culture of those studied:

> *Reflexivity emphasizes that the researcher is part of the social world that is studied, and this calls for exploration and self-examination.* (Alvesson, 2003:24)

The second ethical issue involves my relationship with the study participants and how this affected data collection, in particular during interviews. Interviews are interactional so the relationship between interviewer and interviewee can affect data generation. For example, Roulston et al. (2001) found that '*cocategorial incumbency'* (where interviewer and respondent belong to the same group) resulted in respondents producing a certain type of talk (in their case, complaints). Garton and Copland's (2010) study looked at '*acquaintanceship interviews'* which they define as semi-structured within an ethnographic insider researcher culture where the interviewer and interviewee have a prior relationship (which has obvious parallels with my study). Garton and Copland found that by participants invoking prior relationships, data were generated which may not have been available to outside researchers. Shared worlds were also invoked, made relevant and used as a resource by participants. Similarly, I believe that my prior and close working relationships with my study participants meant that interviews generated information which would have been inaccessible to an 'outside' interviewer. My understanding of the context, my knowledge of participants' relationships and my job as a type of counsellor bounded by confidentiality meant that participants, who were already used to talking to me about work problems, were very honest during interviews and often talked about confidential, sensitive information they would perhaps not have revealed to a different researcher. I am aware of the importance of recognizing and making this explicit, as advocated by Garton and Copland:

> *We would suggest that reflexivity be extended to the analysis of the construction of the interview itself and to a consideration of how the data is generated as a result of previous relationships. (*Garton and Copland, 2010: 548)

This point leads to the final and most important ethical issue – that of representation:

> *Representation is a reflexive activity because who we are shapes what we notice, pursue analytically and end up writing about. We shape the research context and the research context shapes us. This means that as researchers we exercise power in determining which narratives are told and which are not. How we tell people's stories, what we report on during these methodological and analytical journeys and why we choose to engage with some audiences and not others in our final written accounts are all issues of representation.* (Copland and Creese, 2015: 209)

The first issue of representation concerns which data to include and how to represent it. For example, in their separate interviews, S3 and Eric both talked about their relationship with

each other and how this affected the feedback meeting. It emerged that they had different ideas about the nature of their relationship. S3 believes that Eric perceives their relationship to be close:

> *He was (0.5) when he arrived new in the January break there was no one else here, and I took him around (.) met his wife, met his kids, had lunch with them, introduced them to the UAE, all sorts of things (.) which I **never** do with new teachers. So he also perceives a relationship with me that isn't as close as he thinks it is. So he's a lot more relaxed around me than most people, and I probably relax a bit more with him because I know there isn't that distance.*

She also viewed the feedback meeting as fairly relaxed and friendly: '*I remember a lot of laughter, which you don't get in my feedback, normally*'. Eric, however, recalled feeling '*terrified*' during the meeting:

Extract 3.3

1	Eric	I mean, I just remember not enjoying (0.5) I wouldn't say I enjoyed any of this. I
2		was sort of wanting to umm get out probably as quickly as possible.
3	Int	So you felt uncomfortable?
4	Eric	Definitely, yeah. Definitely, definitely.

(Extract from Eric's interview)

When Eric looked through the transcript of his feedback meeting with S3, he commented '*Probably I sounded sort of very incompetent in this one, and useless*' which was then picked up on by myself (the interviewer):

Extract 3.4

1	I	You've said that maybe you were a bit scared in this one with S3. What would
2		you say about with S2 and-
3	Eric	[I think (0.5) yeah, no, it's interesting. I mean, this was definitely like a
4		senior
5	I	[S3.
6	Eric	A senior management person to a lower, you know? And it's really someone
7		high directing down on someone low, and it's very much like that. Umm it's
8		almost like (0.5) I've not (0.5) maybe because of reputation, I've tried not to
9		argue my case too strongly.
10	I	Yeah. I do that as well. (*Eric laughs*) I don't argue with her much. Really. It's
11		useless. It really is useless. It just makes her angry.
12	Eric	Well at least that's what I've heard (0.5) it's only going to make her worse.
13	I	It's true.

What is interesting about this extract is the way that Eric and I co-construct the idea of the futility of disagreeing with S3 and our recognition of her position of power. Also of interest is the fact that I am eliciting sensitive and confidential information from Eric. These extracts illustrate the ethical question of which data to include. I have decided to include some of Eric's comments about the feedback meeting in the analysis and discussion of data because S3 is no longer employed at the institution and therefore her knowledge of Eric's views cannot harm him professionally and his comments are relevant to my linguistic analysis. However, I will be extremely cautious in future if I have the opportunity to publish material from this thesis and will think very carefully about what material to include and how.

The scenario described above illustrates my third ethical dilemma: a tension between the interests of the researcher and the interests of the research participants, between reporting research results honestly thereby contributing knowledge to the field while on the other hand being alert to how participants may be harmed by decisions made by the researcher about data and how they are represented:

> *The problem is that what needs to be reported out of responsibility to academia is not necessarily what needs or even should be explicitly articulated in trusting relationships* (Kubanyiova, 2008: 514)

I worry about this all the more as my study participants are ex-colleagues whom I respect and some are personal friends. The information reported and the image of participants that I portray in my analysis could be seen as negative or may contradict how participants see themselves. For example, my data suggests that Eric deliberately negotiates the feedback event by consciously portraying the identity of a reflective, self-critical teacher who welcomes feedback while in reality he seems to be 'playing a game', teaching the same 'safe' lesson for every observation and not incorporating feedback into his practice. I have also noticed that S1 misses opportunities to engage in real debate about teaching and uses the observation form to deliver critical feedback (rather than personally in the feedback meetings). In addition, S1 does not pick up on weaknesses in Eric's teaching identified by both S2 and S3. S3 seems sometimes to step over the boundaries of acceptable negative feedback which seems to hinder teachers' uptake of feedback. All of these points portray participants negatively. However, not using the data and not reporting these conclusions would mean the research is compromised and its contribution is weakened. As Kubanyiova (2008) points out, if the welfare of the research participants is always prioritised above the contribution to knowledge that the research might make, '*there is a risk that this type of*

situated research ...could never contribute fully to the advancement of theoretical knowledge in any discipline' (p.515).

Kubanyiova recommends that, in the end, researcher reflexivity must be called upon and a decision made which addresses both considerations. However, I find this unconvincing. In some circumstances, the two are in direct conflict with each other making it impossible to address both. I believe that sometimes the researcher's job is much more difficult because it involves choosing one or the other. For example, Copland (described in Copland and Creese, 2015: 93) observed and recorded an emotional and tense feedback conference which she identified as an '*ethically important moment*' (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). She then had to decide whether or not to include this in her study as it risked participants possibly feeling exposed or compromised if the data were made public. She decided to seek consent from participants to include this potentially sensitive data but despite consent being given and although the data was included in her PhD thesis, she omitted the episode in published work because she felt the participants had not properly understood the potential ramifications of making the event available to an academic and professional audience. I have decided not to include all data concerning Eric in this thesis or in any future publications because I believe that it portrays Eric in a negative light and although every effort to preserve his anonymity has been made, I worry that someone in the institution may recognise him (for example, his current supervisor). I have, however, decided to include the information described above about S1 and S3 as I believe it is important to the claims and conclusions of my research. In this instance, however, my decision to favour the research has not been taken lightly and remains an uneasy worry.

The last ethical issue concerns the interpretation of data and the responsibility involved in this i.e. the reliability and validity of analysis. In a qualitative case study such as this, I, as a lone researcher, am responsible for ensuring the quality and scope of the data and interpretation of results (Dörnyei, 2007: 56). I am keenly aware of the importance of checking that my analysis and conclusions represent participants and events fairly and reliably. It can be argued that the analysis of qualitative data is subjective so I have attempted to verify analysis and interpretation. Firstly, I have attempted, as described above and in Section 3.3.5 below, to maintain an ongoing cycle within the 'thick description' approach of going continually back and forth between data and analysis, often going back to the first stage of listening to the recordings to cross reference and check interpretations. Secondly, in Section 3.3.5 below, I have tried to provide an 'audit trail' by making explicit and transparent the types of data I used and the processes and stages of analysis that I carried out. I have provided examples of each stage of the analysis and

summarised the layers of analysis in a diagram on page 100. It is hoped that this detail will help the reader understand how claims and conclusion were reached. Thirdly, I enlisted the perspectives of other people. I took data extracts and conclusions back to study participants and although I could only do this with three participants, I still managed to verify some of my interpretations and gain further insights from this process (see Section 3.1.3.3 above). I also took three salient data extracts (Extracts 5.1, 5.3 and 5.7) to a language and literacy research group I belong to. This group is based at the university where I work and members include novice and senior researchers, many of whom are experienced in analysing spoken interaction. Their group analysis discussion proved reassuring as they drew similar conclusions to mine. This has given me more confidence in my data interpretation. Finally, I made a conscious effort to maintain a critical investigation of the data which included seeking information or examples that countered my claims and conclusions. I have also tried to ensure that extracts chosen to illustrate analytic themes represented commonly occurring phenomena across the whole data set.

These dilemmas illustrate Kubanyiova's point that situated research cannot be limited to the application of the macroethical principles of respect for persons, beneficence and justice, important though they are. Also required is continual ethical decision making in a reflexive process which draws on microethical principles, ethics of care and virtue ethics (Haverkamp, 2004). I have tried to maintain '*a continuous process of critical scrutiny and interpretation*' (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004: 275) of research methods, data and of myself as a researcher. These processes are ongoing and are certain to extend beyond the duration of this thesis.

3.3. Research Design

This section gives information about the setting, participants, data collection and analysis. The process of data collection and analysis is summarised in Figure 3.5 at the end of the section.

3.3.1. Setting

The setting for this study is a federal tertiary institution in the United Arab Emirates where the language of instruction is English and teachers are mostly expatriates from a variety of countries. Students are all young Arabic speaking Emirati nationals and, depending on their level of English on entry to the college, study from six months to two years in a foundation programme aimed at improving their English before they start their degree courses. The teachers in my study are all English language teachers from this foundation programme. These teachers are well qualified and experienced. Almost all of them have a master's degree in TESOL or Applied Linguistics and all have at least ten years of teaching experience. During the course of my data collection (November 2009 – April 2014) the

department had three supervisors (they replaced each other and did not work concurrently) who reported to one of two associate directors, herself originally an English language teacher. Supervisors and this associate director carried out lesson observations which form part of every teacher's annual appraisal. This process helps determine if a new teacher passes the first probationary year and whether post-probationary teachers can renew their three year contract. If a teacher has a poor observation evaluation, there is usually an opportunity for the teacher to do a second observation in which it is hoped they will be evaluated more favourably.

3.3.2. Participants

The three supervisors and associate director who were involved in observing teachers over my three year data collection period agreed to have their feedback meetings recorded. Supervisors observe teachers half way through a 20 week semester (typically in October/November or March/April). About two weeks before they started observing, supervisors sent me a list of all the teachers they planned to observe that semester. I excluded all new teachers because I thought it unfair to ask them to be recorded in their first year, which tends to be stressful as they are on probation and have to get used to the heavy work load, the students and the significant amount of technology used in the college. I contacted the remaining teachers by email to ask for permission to record their feedback meeting (teachers know in advance that they will be observed and negotiate the observation date and time at least a week before with the supervisor). Most teachers refused (understandably) so I have used no sampling: I recorded everyone that gave permission (17 teachers and 19 recordings in total). The teachers' number of years at the college varies from between two to over ten years. Numbers of recordings with different supervisors vary for a variety of reasons: two supervisors and the associate director left during the data collection period, two of them after only two recordings; the associate director does fewer observations than the supervisors (and teachers are less willing to have their meetings with her recorded because of her position); and one supervisor started the job towards the end of the data collection period. Supervisors all view observation and feedback as evaluative (see section 6.3.3.) and see the feedback meeting as part of an annual appraisal process. They complete an institutional observation form (see Appendix 1) which they send to the observed teacher by email before the feedback meeting. Supervisors have all been English language teachers prior to their current role and all have at least 10 years' teaching experience. All have master's degrees in TESOL and some have teaching qualifications.

3.3.3. Data collection

I have two main data sets: audio recorded post observation meetings and audio recorded interviews (four interviews pre-analysis and three interviews post analysis). These are supplemented with my own knowledge of the research site and participants gained from working in the institution for 13 years.

3.3.3.1. Recordings

Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 detail recordings made during the data collection period (November 2009 – April 2014). To ensure anonymity, supervisors are referred to by number and teachers by a pseudonym. I originally included dates in these tables but have removed them as supervisors could be identified by this information by anyone familiar with the institution. For the pre-analysis interviews I decided to interview only the supervisors in order to obtain a general overview of their perspectives on observation and feedback. Lack of time influenced my decision not to interview the teachers (as well as being aware that not all teachers would agree to participating in the study if an interview was required) but I subsequently decided to interview Eric because I had recorded him with three different supervisors and thought it would be interesting to talk to him about the differences between these three meetings.

Table 3.1. Post observation meetings

sup.	teacher	mins.	sup.	teacher	mins.
S1	John	13	S2	Anisa	23
	Lance	13		Eric	27
	Michael	22	S3	Eric	35
	Eric	25		Anna	23
	Selina	17	S4	Aoife	19
	Greg	14		Jake	20
	Niamh	12		Dan	25
	Senan	13		Stuart	24
	Jim	17		Aisha	18
				Jospeh	30

Table 3.2. Pre-analysis interviews

Participant	length of meeting
S1	52
S2	22
Eric	111
S3	33
S4	31

Table 3.3. Post-analysis interviews

Participant	length of meeting
Niamh	22
Jake	16
S4	30

3.3.3.2. Recording and transcription

I audio recorded the feedback meetings. Interference with the private, one to one nature of the meetings contributed significantly to my decision not to video, as did logistics. Having to arrange video equipment in advance means I would have missed many recordings as supervisors either used their own audio recording device at a feedback meeting they arranged without my knowledge or often collected my audio recorder minutes before a meeting they had just arranged. In addition, permission to film is more difficult to obtain than audio recording, especially nowadays:

> *The durability and ease of sharing video (particularly in a context of access to social networking and YouTube) can raise participant concerns when negotiating research access.* (Jewitt, 2011:172)

Having decided upon (and circumstances having dictated) audio recordings, raw data then had to be transformed into an accessible form: transcription. As Edwards observes:

> *Recordings are essential tools in discourse research, but are not sufficient by themselves for the systematic examination of interaction. It is simply impossible to hold in mind the transient, highly multidimensional, and often overlapping events of an interaction as they unfold in real time.* (Edwards, 2001:321)

A transcription is the written representation of speech between participants but may also include some non-verbal features, for example laughter. A recording makes an event less ephemeral and a transcription takes this one stage further as it is concrete and can be read repeatedly. Speech can be verified and participants (and other researchers) can be asked to read parts and comment, enabling a greater insight into people's thoughts and actions. A transcription may also lend credence to research as transcription extracts can enrich and confirm a researcher's analysis and illustrate and provide evidence to support findings.

However, transcribing is subjective as it involves deciding what to select and omit and this reflects the aims, attitudes and preferences of the transcriber so it is '*not theory-neutral or without bias*' (Edwards, 1993:3). It is important to ensure faithfulness to the original interaction on which the transcriptions are based, as well as ensuring readability and clarity:

> *the transcript should be so constructed as to facilitate [the] process of increasing understanding, providing good visualisation of the interaction and the interactional dynamics.* (Ehlich, 1993:124)

I had to make decisions about what features of the interaction to include, how to represent them and how much detail should be included, for example, how to represent speaker turns,

intonation, pauses, silence, and laughter, trying to balance *'the tension between accuracy, readability and representation'* (Roberts, 1997:168). It was important to use a system which was not too complicated or difficult to produce, a system of standard orthography supplemented by additional significant information about vocal and contextual features. I looked at various transcription systems and adapted Richards et al.'s (2012) system which is clear and easy to use, is similar to transcriptions used by CA analysts and includes features such as hesitation, pauses, overlapping speech and repetition which are pertinent to the analysis of identity and face (see Appendix 4 for transcription conventions and see Appendix 5 for an example transcription).

I transcribed 17 of the meetings in full (those highlighted in red in Table 3.4below) and all the interviews and post-analysis participant interpretation interviews. The remaining two meetings I transcribed partially, leaving out talk that was not directly related to the observed lesson: in one meeting the participants talked mostly about the teacher's resignation, in another a large part of the meeting concerned problem students and the fact that students had recently been restreamed into different classes.

Table 3.4. Post observation meetings transcribed

sup.	teacher	mins.	sup.	teacher	mins.
S1	John	13	S2	Anisa	23
	Lance	13		Eric	27
	Michael	22	S3	Eric	35
	Eric	25		Anna	23
	Selina	17	S4	Aoife	19
	Greg	14		Jake	20
	Niamh	12		Dan	25
	Senan	13		Stuart	24
	Jim	17		Aisha	18
				Joseph	30

3.3.4. Initial case study

My research project has not followed a neat, linear process with a predetermined research design but rather research questions, methodology and data collection have all emerged concurrently, stumbling over each other in an organic fashion. The greatest challenges in this process were managing the considerable amount of data generated by recording, and focusing analysis. I decided, therefore, to start by selecting a portion of the data and treating this as an initial data set. I used data collected from three post observation feedback meetings with the same teacher (Eric) and three different supervisors (S1, S2 and S3), a

fortuitous coincidence which arose from recording feedback meetings recordings over three years. By chance, Eric was observed by three different supervisors during this time period (again dates have been deleted to preserve anonymity), details in Table 3.5 below:

Table 3.5. Eric's post observation meetings

	mins.	lesson focus
S1	26 mins	reading skills
S2	27 mins	reading skills
S3	36 mins	reading skills

I used a multi-layered approach to analysis, starting (and experimenting) with the case study data set and then repeating the process with the rest of the data set.

3.3.5. Analysis

This section describes stages of analysis and provides examples to illustrate each stage.

3.3.5.1. Level 1 Analysis: Transcribing and making notes

Level 1 involved transcribing the audio recorded meetings and making notes about anything interesting I noticed which related to identity and/or face. I decided to transcribe the feedback meetings myself (see Appendix 5 as an example of a full meeting transcription) despite the large amount of data and time involved because I quickly realised the benefit of this first level engagement. As I listened and replayed the audio files over and over again while transcribing, I noticed features of interest and relevance to identity and face and made notes on the transcripts in different colours. I also added information from my knowledge as a participant researcher to the transcripts. Figure 3.1 is an example of this annotation:

Figure 3.1 Annotated transcript extract from meeting between S3 and Anna

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When a transcription was complete, I read through it repeatedly, trying to take an 'unmotivated' look. Peräkylä (2004a) recommends starting discourse analysis with an '*unmotivated exploration of the data*' (p. 170) to try to identify the phenomena to be examined. Although this was impossible given the fact that I had a pre-determined research question, I nevertheless tried to approach the data with a mind open to noticing similarities, differences, themes, actions, meeting stages and how identity and face were constructed and negotiated and anything else of interest. I made notes on the paper copy of 'noticings' that seemed relevant or were interesting. Figure 3.2 is an example of notes made from this stage of analysis:

Figure 3.2. Transcript with notes

This process was interesting and these notes proved invaluable at the microanalysis stage outlined in Section 3.3.5.4 below. However, I found that the 'unmotivated looking' stage generated so much information that it was difficult to process and manage. The next stage, therefore, was a way of managing the data so I could make better sense of and work with the data and orientate myself to what was happening in the discourse.

3.3.5.2. Level 2 Analysis: Segmenting the discourse

Level 2 involved marking off the transcripts according to what participants were talking about, i.e. every time they changed topic, I made a new segment. This level of analysis involved segmenting the discourse using Blum-Kulka's (2005) notion of a *discursive event* (the joint accomplishment of a social episode) and Gumperz's (1999) suggestion of locating *sequentially bounded units* which have some degree of thematic coherence with beginnings and endings evident through co-occuring shifts in content, prosody, or stylistic and other formal markers. Like Lefstein and Snell (2011) who segmented the data they recorded in classrooms into bounded units '*according to transitions between activity structures or topics and also by means of boundary marking cues'* (p. 45) I segmented my data into bounded units which were marked by a variety of means such as intonation, discourse markers (for example 'Let's move on to') and topic shifts. I also described what was happening in these units or episodes. Even at this descriptive stage, themes and commonalities started to emerge and I found I was engaging with the data and noticing more.

Figure 3.3 below is an extract from a segmented feedback meeting.

001 - 008:	preamble: [S3] apologises for delay, [Eric] says it's ok
011 - 014:	she asks who starts, [Eric] starts (implied structure – you say & I'll say).
015 - 037:	[Eric] gives his opinion & explains why he chose the lesson focus.
038 - 060	Criticism 1: ss weren't listening + crit 2: level of Arabic
061 - 075	[S3] praises [Eric] (they like you / well-behaved)
076 - 139	Crit 3: they don't understand / not doing what you say cos instructions not clear 117 - 121: insertion sequence (praise).
140 - 161	PERHAPS cont. of previous section? Crit 4: why didn't you model / inst / delivery.
162 - 213	they didn't do anything right – back to instructions
214 - 277	one student (Saeed) did nothing – not engaged – sudoku
277 - 289	my expectations of you are high
290 - 332	but I didn't get engagement. cos of lesson plan / focus LOs.
333 - 339	[Eric] justifies : exam.

Figure 3.3. Extract from segmented meeting

3.3.5.3. Level 3 Analysis: Identifying and categorising salient episodes

Level 3 involved describing each segment in a transcript and then looking across transcripts for similarities. Having segmented the discourse into episodes and described each episode, I then went back to look for common themes, actions or discourse stages and coded the episodes according to:

- what participants were talking about (content), for example students, exams, stages and activities in the lesson, technology, other teachers, language skills;
- what participants were doing through talk (actions), for example justifying, explaining, criticising, advising, suggesting, questioning, demonstrating knowledge;
- clearly projected identities, for example experienced supervisor/teacher, inexperienced supervisor/teacher, assessor, self-critical teacher

This very basic coding was fairly straightforward so I felt that coding software and other coders were not necessary although I enlisted the help of other researchers at the more complicated and sophisticated micro-analysis stage (see p. 101 below). This approach is common in linguistic ethnography (Copland and Creese, 2015). Coding resulted in a list of categories. Figure 3.4 below shows an early list of categories:
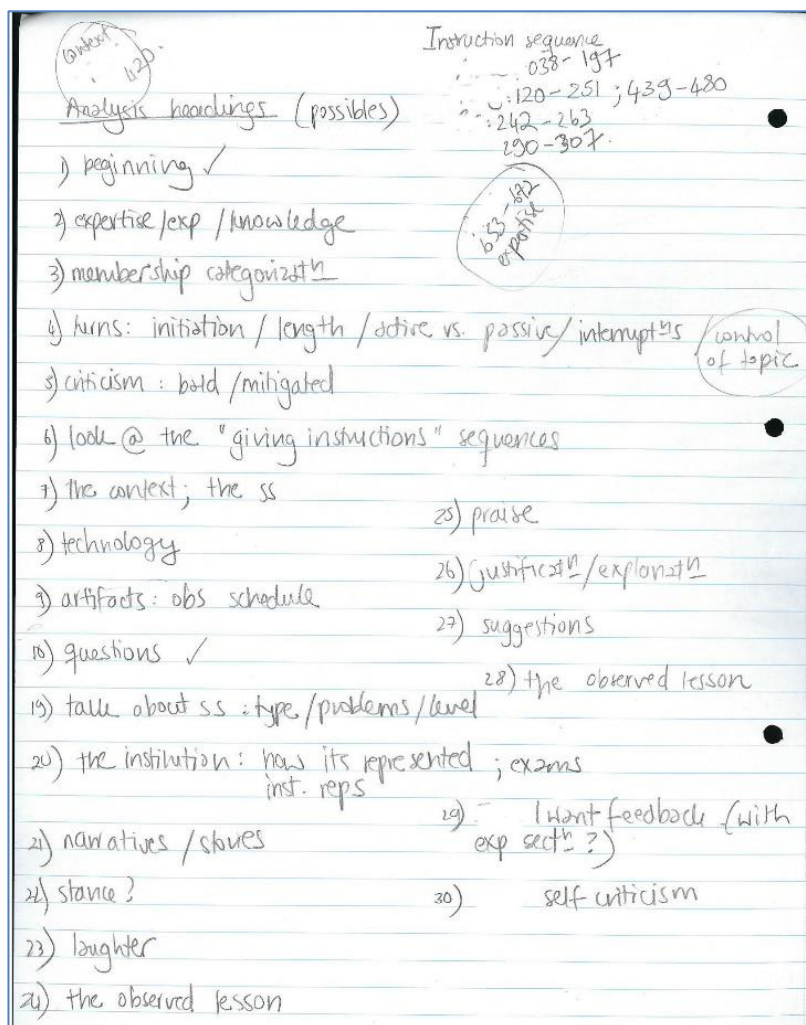
Figure 3.4. Early list of categories

The scope of my research could not accommodate all these categories so I had to narrow the focus and choose categories on the basis of commonality (i.e. present in different meetings) and relevance to identity construction. This led to the categories in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6 Chosen categories

Category	Description
the beginning of meetings	participants establish identities participants set up a trajectory of action for the meeting
experience	participants talk about supervisory experience, experience giving feedback, experience in teaching, previous teaching experience, experience in this context, experience with Emirati students, experience in giving feedback
context: unique and difficult	participants construct the institutional context and the students in the institution as unique, difficult, not immediately accessible and something to be learned and managed through experience.
interest in feedback/willingness to improve	the observed teacher talks about his/her interest in improving by gaining from the supervisor's feedback.
the institutional observation process	meetings structured around the observation schedule, reference to the schedule or criteria, reference to the 'observed lesson' or observation process
praise	the observer praises the teacher for teaching skill, personality, classroom management, use of technology
teacher explanation/ justification	the observed teacher explains teaching decisions such as lesson aims, stages, activities, decisions made during the lesson. The observed teacher gives information about students (for example, strengths/weaknesses/personal information/difficulties such as behaviour issues/history), the class, the course, exams, the stage of the semester to defend/explain teaching decisions
self-criticism/reflection	the observed teacher talks about being reflective and/or self-critical. The observed teacher critiques or evaluates his/her lesson
teacher support	the supervisor refers to a means of teacher support, for example observing other teachers, talking to other teachers, visiting the teacher support centre, eliciting the help of the coordinator of the teaching support centre, doing a course run by the teacher support centre, giving suggestions or advice

I decided to reduce the categories further to help manage the data and to enable me to fully exploit my rich data. I chose three broad categories which emerged as the most salient and relevant to identity and face within my data set:

- teachers explaining/justifying actions or decisions (account requests)
- the beginning of meetings
- contextual experience

These three broad categories encompassed all of the categories listed above, with the exception of teacher support. Firstly, a common action sequence in which identity and face work was especially salient was the 'account request'. This comprised of one participant (usually the supervisor) asking why something happened and the other participants (usually the teacher) explaining or justifying an action or decision. These account requests are common across meetings (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 7), perhaps unsurprisingly as

feedback meetings often feature participants questioning and explaining classroom actions. In addition to their commonality, account requests engender identity and face issues as they convey a challenging stance towards the addressee (Bolden and Robinson, 2011). Chapter 5 details analysis of account request data extracts. Secondly, because identity construction is particularly apparent at the beginning of meetings, I chose this category. Choosing this category also allowed me to systematically analyse identities projected by supervisors and teachers. During the first few turns speakers invoke and negotiate relevant identities. Identities claimed at the beginning of meetings remain relevant and prominent throughout the rest of the meeting, even though they can be challenged and may need to be re-claimed. Analysis and discussion in section 4.2 feature extracts from the beginning of meetings. Thirdly, contextual experience is made relevant and valued by both supervisors and teachers and is used to claim positive valued identities involving expertise. Contextual experience is also used to challenge the identities claimed by a conversational partner, making this category relevant to face threat. Contextual experience is discussed in all analysis sections in Chapters 4 and 5.

These categories emerged loud and clear in the case study analysis of the three meetings with Eric. They then became increasingly salient as I found them influencing identity and face in other meetings. The importance and frequency of these categories are evidenced in the analysis sections which show how relevant and influential they are to identity and face. Analysis also shows, through data extracts taken from different meetings, that this importance extends across meetings and participants.

3.3.5.4. Level 4 Analysis: Microanalysis

Having chosen the categories, I now had a smaller, more organised set of data to subject to microanalysis. I collated all the episodes related to a particular category in one document, for example all the 'explaining/justifying' sequences from all the meetings were copied and pasted into one document. At the microanalysis stage, I worked with one category over several months, reading slowly and repeatedly through episodes and asked myself questions suggested by Rampton et al. (2006):

- What kind of activity type do we have here?
- What is the speaker doing here?
- Why that now?
- What else might have been done here but wasn't?

I added these questions:

- **How** is the speaker performing the action? i.e. what linguistic devices are being used?
- How does the other participant react?
- What identities are being made relevant?
- Are these identities confirmed or rejected by the other participant?
- How is this confirmation or rejection managed?

I conducted a fine-grained, turn by turn sequential analysis, using CA tools, to identify the actions being accomplished by participants and the way they choose to accomplish this: the 'packaging' (Pomerantz and Fehr, 1997) of their actions. For example, I looked at turn taking norms and deviations such as interruptions, relinquishing and keeping the floor, silences and hesitations, all of which are relevant to both identity construction and facework. I also used CA tools such as adjacency pairs and the associated notion of preferred and dispreferred turns to help analyse identity and face negotiation, for example by analysing the use of interactional features such as delays, prefaces, accounts, indirectness, mitigation, hesitation and laughter to mark socially problematic talk. An important part of this turn by turn analysis was writing up the analysis, re-drafting, leaving and going back to extracts in my analysis sections. I began to see patterns, similarities and differences in the discourse which gave me more insight into the tiny part of talk I was working on and was constantly amazed at how much more insight I could gain from an extract through repeated visits.

My supervisor read the data extracts and we discussed my analysis. I also took extracts to four different groups of researchers at the university where I work and groups listened to clipped recordings, read the transcripts and conducted detailed micro analysis. This work confirmed my own analysis and added other aspects that I had not noticed. I also gave selected extracts to participants and invited them to comment before showing them my analysis. This again confirmed my own analysis and added valuable insight into what was happening.

3.3.5.5. Ethnographic analysis

Ethnographic analysis involved using ethnographic data to explain and give depth to linguistic analysis. For example, as a participant researcher I knew that Dan had done an in-house classroom management course (and knew that S4 also knew this) which gave me insight into S4's question designed to elicit expertise from Dan (see section 4.3.1.2). Without this knowledge, I may have seen this question as a genuine request for information. I also knew that the institution had initiated federally mandated changes in the form of laptops and then iPads as the main teaching and learning resources. This information helped explicate participant talk. The ethnographic analysis stage included layering information from

interviews and participant interpretations into the linguistic analysis (see for example sections 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.3.2 and 5.3.5). As I worked on writing up the micro analysis of chosen excerpts, I went back and forth between this and the interview data, looking for comments related to the identity themes. For example, when I was writing about episodes featuring Eric and S3 I read and re-read their interview transcripts and added related comments. Working on both the linguistic and ethnographic analysis simultaneously helped me to see parallels and connections between the two data sets and each informed the other. I integrated ethnographic and linguistic analysis by adding contextual details, participants' interview comments and my own understanding of the institution and participants to linguistic analysis. At the end of this process I was also able to elicit participant interpretation of some of the extracts (see Section 3.1.3.3 above). Participants' comments were then added into the microanalysis.

3.3.5.6. Conclusion

Although this description sounds logical, linear and organised, in reality the process was much more difficult, messy, frustrating and, above all, fraught with anxiety and doubt over the decisions I was making. Added to this was the uncertainty about how to 'do analysis' due in part to the surprising lack of advice about conducting analysis in the literature (although I found the worked examples in Copland and Creese (2015) extremely helpful). However, despite this ignorance, anxiety and chaos I believe that the following chapters demonstrate a thorough and nuanced analysis of identity and face construction and negotiation. From the initial stage of 'unmotivated looking' and the slow and careful investigation of the reflexive relationship between action, linguistic form and sequence, I believe linguistic analysis has helped me arrive at a better understanding of the relationship between talk, identity, face and context. Interview data, my knowledge of the research setting and participant interpretation have confirmed, added, strengthened and extended this analysis.

Figure 3.5 below is a summary of the entire process of analysis.

Ethical Procedures
- Ethical considerations submitted to Aston University Ethics committee
- Approval given by Aston University Ethics Committee
- Permission sought and received from supervisors to participate
- Email sent to teachers
- Teachers willing to participate given information letter and consent form to sign

Recordings
- Nov 2009: 3 post observation meetings (POMs)
- Feb/Mar/Apr 2010: 6 POMs
- Oct/Nov 2011: 6 POMs
- Jan 2012: 1 supervisor interview
- Mar 2012: 2 POMs
- May 2012: 1 POM, 1 supervisor interview
- Oct/Nov 2012: 2 POMs
- Mar/Apr 2013: 1 supervisor interview, 1 teacher interview
- May 2014: 1 supervisor interview
- March 2015: Participant interpretation interviews

Analysis
- level 1 analysis: transcription, annotation, 'noticing'
- Level 2 analysis: segmenting POMs, coding segments
- Level 3: identifying categories relevant to identity and face, creating new documents with collated epiosdes coded by category
- Level 4 analysis: turn by turn microanalysis using CA tools
- Level 5 analysis: integration of linguistic and ethnographic data

Figure 3.5. Analysis process summary

4. ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION: ESTABLISHING AND VERIFYING IDENTITIES

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 and 5 present analysis and discussion of data extracts with a view to answering my research questions:

- Which identities do teachers and supervisors make relevant during post observation feedback talk?
- How are these identities constructed and negotiated?
- What is the relationship between identity and face in this talk?
- Are face and/or identity influential or consequential to feedback talk?

Rather than discrete chapters, analysis and discussion have been integrated for two reasons. First, micro-analysis inevitably generated interpretation and trying to separate the two (to produce a purely descriptive analysis) was both difficult and unnatural. Secondly, an integrated approach provides the reader with a comprehensive picture and understanding of each section without having to turn back and forth between chapters.

This combined analysis and discussion comprises of two chapters. This chapter presents analysis and discussion of data extracts organised into two themes: identity construction and identity verification. Section 4.2 examines identities claimed at the beginning of meetings and Section 4.3 demonstrates how participants verify positive, claimed identities. In contrast, Chapter 5 looks at what happens when identities are not verified and instead are challenged or contested.

4.2. Establishing identities

4.2.1. Introduction

Teachers and supervisors establish identities at the beginning of meetings. These identities are not permanent: they are constantly negotiated and re-negotiated and other identities are claimed as the meeting progresses. However, the claimed identities that are invoked at the beginning of meetings remain relevant and often prominent throughout the data set which means they are salient identities valued by participants.

The beginnings of meetings are consequential to the unfolding interaction, as Svinhufvud and Vehviläinen (2013) found with the beginnings of academic supervision meetings: *'[beginnings] play a major role in how a supervision encounter will progress*' (p. 144). The opening turns of an encounter are also important in terms of identity construction because this is where speakers establish and orientate to a '*set of articulated identities they have projected or assumed in the local strip of interaction*' (Zimmerman, 1992: 44): speakers

invoke relevant identities and negotiate who they are and what is happening. For example, Torras (2005) shows how participants in service encounters establish the identity of 'service seeker' and 'service provider' in the first few turns at talk and this projects a particular line of interaction and an agenda aimed at achieving a service goal: '*participants establish, through their first turns, a mutually oriented-to set of identities implicative for what is to follow*' (Torras, 2005: 110).

This section looks therefore at how supervisors and teachers establish identities and initiate a trajectory of interaction within the first few turns of the post observation meetings. The section is structured as follows:

- Analysis of supervisors' identities
- Analysis of teachers' identities
- Discussion

4.2.2. Analysis of supervisors' identities

There are four supervisors in this study and extracts from their meeting beginnings will be discussed in turn.

4.2.2.1. Supervisor 1

The following extract is from the beginning of the feedback meeting between Eric and Supervisor 1 (S1):

Extract 4.1 (see Appendix 4: Transcription Conventions)

1	S1	so Eric the way I do this (.) is I'm gonna call up the hard copy I mean the soft copy
2		you have the hard copy in front of you (.) we just kind of go through the
3		observation em before we do it a three is what I give myself when I teach so three
4		is **good** anything that's a 3 is normal acce- accep- you know accepted ex- expected
5	Eric	[ok [expected
6		yeah
7	S1	in the classroom if there's anything **above** that it's something that either stood out
8		or that you do very **well** or maybe I'll share with other **teachers** anything below
9		that is something you might want (.) to look at em I know that (this is) your first year
10		so I don't know if you've taken (.) any em of the special courses from Helen or had
11		her come into the classroom or even videotape your class which a lot of new
12		teachers do so you might want to just think about it just to get some ideas and it's
13		always good to see yourself teaching back on video even though you don't like the
14	Eric	[yeah yeah yeah
15	S1	way you look but em this is a **living** document so we can (.) change things clarify
16		things you can argue sometimes I'll change sometimes I won't it just depends (.) on
17		the on your point but I can type the stuff in the comments in the bottom (.) so we'll

18	start on the first page↑ which is mostly about the class and the s- em says and
19	student behaviour and management (.) everything here was good the only one was
20	the first one 4.1.1. it says the teacher made good use of available resources I think
21	you could do **more** but I understand you only have lab access once a week so your…

There are three sequences in this meeting beginning:

- S1 outlines the structure and content of the meeting: '*we just kind of go through the observation*' (2-3);
- S1 refers to the scoring system of the institutional observation form. The form is introduced in the first turn (1-2) and then S1 explains the scoring system (3-9) and talks about negotiating scores (15-17);
- S1 makes reference to Eric being a new teacher and to support being available to him from the teacher support unit ('*Helen'* 10) (9-13).

S1 begins with '*so Eric the way I do this is*' (1), immediately setting the scene, getting straight to business, and focusing on the use of the observation form criteria to guide the structure and content of the meeting. Despite the shift in person from 'I' to 'we' (1-3), it is clear that S1 controls what will happen in the meeting. At the end of the opening sequence, S1 moves to the first criterion: '*so we'll start on the first page*' … '*the first* [criterion] *4.1.1.*' (20). Eric's opinion of the lesson is not solicited and S1 sets up a trajectory where his own evaluation of the lesson is the meeting focus. S1 also establishes an evaluative aspect to the discussion by introducing and explaining the scoring system (3-9). During this, S1 hints that aspects of Eric's teaching may have been below standard in a matching clause: '*anything above*' followed by '*anything below*' (7-8), arguably a way to introduce bad news.

S1's immediate orientation to the observation form and scoring criteria is unique to him - no other supervisor does this (S2 and S4 rarely mention either). This focus features in all S1's meetings which all start in a very similar way. Appendix 6 lists transcripts of S1's meeting beginnings, colour coded according to common 'moves' (Swales, 1990) including:

- S1 describes the scoring system.
- S1 describes the institutional observation form as a '*living document'* and talks about negotiating scores and clarifying points before signing and printing the document.
- S1 moves to the next stage of the meeting by signalling that he will '*start on the first page*' of the form which concerns 'teaching competencies' criteria, for example classroom management.

Within each move, the language is noticeably similar which suggests that these meeting beginnings have become routinised. As an example, Table 4.1 below lists S1's descriptions of a three score in all of his nine meetings which (curiously) is expressed in terms of his own teaching:

Table 4.1. S1 describes a 3 score

Meeting with:	S1's description of a 3
Eric	*a three is what I give myself when I teach so three is **good** anything that's a 3 is normal … you know accepted …expected in the classroom*
John	*a three is what I give myself when I teach which is you're doing what you're supposed to be doing and everything's fine*
Greg	*when I do the observation …I look for any teaching that would be similar to the way I teach so anything that's a 3 is what I would give myself*
Jim	*anything that's a three is what I consider good teaching that's what I would rate myself*
Niamh	*a **three** is the way I would teach myself so to me a three is I'm doing my job and I'm good and everything's fine*
Michael	*a **three** is what I would grade myself …that's a good classroom anything that's a 3 is what I expect you know*
Lance	*I rate myself as a three when I do a good normal lesson what I expect in the classroom*
Selina	*a three is the way I would rate myself … that's good normal teaching that's what I expect*
Senan	*so on this scale of one to four three would be good teaching what's expected*

S1 makes relevant various identities at the start of his meetings. His identity of supervisor and institutional representative is evident by his immediate reference to the institutional observation form in all his meetings and to the teacher support centre, an institutional service, in the meetings with Eric (10-13), Michael (21-22) and Selina (19-20) (see Appendix 6), all three of whom are in their second year at the institution. He projects an 'assessor' identity, the person who decides what is 'normal' 'acceptable' or 'expected'. His identity includes aspects of dominance and power, both in the way he takes and keeps the floor and by the content of his talk. S1 indicates that he controls what happens in the meeting, and although he allows that there is room for negotiation in scoring, he makes it clear that the scores will ultimately be his decision. He also refers to sharing teachers' ideas or good

practice without asking for their permission to do so. Finally, S1 positions himself as an experienced teacher and seems to imply that he is a standard to be measured against.

Thus, Supervisor 1 constructs an identity which manifests experience, authority, power, assessment and control.

4.2.2.2. Supervisor 2

Two meetings with S2 were recorded. Extract 4.2 below is from the beginning of his feedback meeting with Eric. S2 initiates the talk and immediately sets up an agenda by outlining the structure and content of the meeting, stating in the opening lines that both participants will give of an account of the lesson (1, 5, 11-15) and also an evaluation (4-5):

Extract 4.2

1	S2	ok (.) e:m what I want you to do in a sec is just go through the em the lesson
2		yourself eh how you felt it went
3	Eric	yeah
4	S2	[ok just eh talk me through it what you think went well what you think perhaps
5		didn't go quite so well or what you think you might change having done it and
6	Eric	[yeah
7	S2	thought about it ok?
8	Eric	[yes ok
9	S2	now what **I** normally do is I em I I do it in a sort of DELTA way
10	Eric	yeah
11	S2	so I I talk about what **you're** doing
12	Eric	yeah
13	S2	I talk about what the **students** are doing
14	Eric	yeah
15	S2	and then I make general comments
16	Eric	ok
17	S2	about the overall about the overall delivery of the lesson and the students as well
18	Eric	yeah ok [ok
19	S2	[ok
20	S2	so you fire ahead em
21	Eric	[**ok**
22	S2	yeah (.) go ahead
23	Eric	ok e::m (.) I would say gen- generally °sort of° **re**:latively happy with it but I think …

S2 informs Eric about the meeting but also directs him: '*what I want you to do in a sec*' (1) and sets up an obligation for Eric to comply. S2 thus establishes a trajectory of action which then unfolds as Eric responds to his directive and starts to evaluate his lesson from line 23 onwards. There is no social interaction at the beginning of this meeting and S2 starts directly with the task at hand, immediately focusing both participants on the goals of the meeting. Unlike S1, no reference is made to institutional documents or scoring systems. However, like

S1, S2's initial talk indexes power. He controls the meeting content and structure, he assumes a role similar to a meeting chair (to the extent that he explicitly invites Eric to speak: *'so you fire ahead'* (20)) and he is interactionally dominant. S2 initiates all turns and keeps the floor for the first few minutes whereas Eric's turns are minimal responses consisting of tokens of agreement and understanding.

Although S2 sets up a sequence asking Eric for opinion of the lesson (1-7), Eric's response does not start until line 23. Instead, S2 extends his turn with what seems to be an insertion sequence (9-19). Rather than immediately giving Eric the floor to respond to his request at line 9, S2 widens the meeting focus to outline his own contribution:

9	S2	now what **I** normally do is I em I I do it in a sort of DELTA way
10	Eric	yeah
11	S2	so I I talk about what **you're** doing
12	Eric	yeah
13	S2	I talk about what the **students** are doing
14	Eric	yeah
15	S2	and then I make general comments
16	Eric	ok
17	S2	about the overall about the overall delivery of the lesson and the students as well
18	Eric	yeah ok [ok

This insertion sequence allows S2 to continue to index authority as he invokes an additional identity of experienced (*'what I normally do'* (9)) supervisor. His use of the present simple tense in the rhetorically powerful 'I + verb' clause structures '*I do it; I talk about; I make general comments'* highlights the fact that this procedure is a habitual and repeated action which emphasises his experience. By making reference to DELTA (Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) (9), a universally recognised in-service teaching qualification, S2 implies that the way he conducts a feedback meeting is sanctioned and correct and by claiming membership of this professional body of teacher educators, S2 strengthens his experienced, authoritative identity. S2 then continues to index power as he resumes the initial sequence by directing Eric to give his opinion: '*so you fire ahead'* (20).

The start of S2's meeting with Anisa is almost exactly the same as Eric's (see Extract 4.3 below), including the insertion sequence, which suggests that, like S1 above, meeting beginnings have become routinised, confirming S2's experience of the observation and feedback process.

1	S2	ok Anisa eh
2	Anisa	yes
3	S2	could you take me through the lesson first
4	Anisa	right
5	S2	as you recall it if that's ok
6	Anisa	yes
7	S2	and em then what I'll do it I'll just I'll just come in and make comments as you go
8		through the class as you describe it to me
9	Anisa	mmhm
10	S2	ok so just start off at the very beginning and take me through to the end you
11		know
12	Anisa	right
13	S2	em what I normally do is is I do it in a sort of DELTA fashion so on side I look at
14		what the students are doing on the other side I look at what you're doing and
15		how they're interacting and how they're interacting
16	Anisa	mmhm
17	S2	and then I make some general comments about the em the overall performance
18		of the class all those sorts of things
19	Anisa	right
20	S2	so if you just kick off
21	Anisa	mmhm
22	S2	start from the very beginning tell me what you were tell me what you were
23		doing and why you were doing it
24	Anisa	all right em I focused on verbs the usage regular and irregular after doing a lot of
25		research that why e:h Arabic speaking students do the mistakes they do (.)

Thus, at the beginning of his meetings with Eric and Anisa, Supervisor 2 '*talks into being'* (Heritage, 1984b) the identity of an experienced supervisor in control of the meeting's content and structure.

4.2.2.3. Supervisor 3

Two meetings were recorded with S3. The opening sequence of her meeting with Eric (Extract 4.4 below) sees S3 assuming the less powerful position of 'apologiser' and Eric in the more powerful role of 'forgiver':

Extract 4.4

1	S3	ok, so (.) can you I'm sorry it to- taken a little while
2	Eric	[no that's fine that's fine
3		no I think you did quite well to do it as quickly
4	S3	did you (xxxx) (*laughs*)
5	Eric	yeah no I did (*small laugh*)
6		well I know how busy it is and with the (xxx)
7	S3	[Can you remember it?
8	Eric	yeah yeah no fine fine
9	S3	all right em (.) now (.) are you comfortable telling me (.) what you thought of
10		it or do you would you rather I just went in to what **I** thought of it

11	Eric	em (.) m- whichever you prefer really I mean I can start if you (xxxx)
12	S3	[ok

The initial turn indicates some delicacy as S3 pauses, re-starts and hesitates, perhaps because her utterance is an apology, and Eric orientates immediately to the apology with a preferred response downplaying it (lines 2-3). However, the second half of this sequence (lines 3-6) is slightly strange:

3		no I think you did quite well to do it as quickly
4	S3	did you (xxxx) (*laughs*)
5	Eric	yeah no I did (*small laugh*)
6		well I know how busy it is and with the (xxx)

Unlike the meetings above with S1 and S2, Eric is fairly agentive: he praises and 'forgives' S3 which could be seen as inappropriate and possibly face threatening as he is a subordinate in terms of institutional hierarchy and this perhaps explains S3's fairly odd remark 'did you' and her laughter (an invitation which Eric responds to, perhaps indicating that he has recognised some kind of social delicacy (Kangasharju and Nikko, 2009)). Eric then implicates an important and busy identity for S3 and one of deference for himself, and S3 mirrors this construction as she takes control of the meeting by interrupting Eric at line seven to shift the focus of talk from the delay to the observed lesson by asking '*Can you remember it*?' (7). She retains this control as she introduces a new topic, signalled with the discourse markers '*all right*' and '*now*':

9	S3	all right em (.) now (.) are you comfortable telling me (.) what you thought of
10		it or do you would you rather I just went in to what **I** thought of it

Although S3 does not explicitly set out the meeting agenda, she seems to take it for granted that the structure will consist of both participants contributing their opinion of the lesson, thus a trajectory of action is initiated. It is difficult to decide whether the comment above is a genuine question about preference over who should start to discuss the lesson or whether it is a request for Eric to begin. S3 hesitates – '*em (.) now (.)*' and her choice of language '*are you comfortable telling me*' followed by a pause seems to indicate a dispreferred turn and Eric also seems to orient to social delicacy - he complies by going first but with a whole turn devoted to interactional work (hesitation and delay) before beginning his discussion:

11	Eric	em (.) m- whichever you prefer really I mean I can start if you (xxxx)

12	S3	[ok

The beginning of S3's meeting with Anna is similar, with very little preamble before Anna gives an account of her lesson:

Extract 4.5

1	S3	now, I don't know how you (0.3) like to do this I don't have any particular
2		structure (.) so if you wanna tell me (*sounds of stapling*) what you thought of it
3		that's fine if you don't that's also fine
4	Anna	[(no xx)
5	Anna	°mm that's good° (0.1) em well ok so, I thought overall it went well and the
6		students were engaged (.) and we eh (.) completed most of our goals

Both Eric and Anna seem to orient to S3's question as a request to evaluate their lesson and this happens almost as soon as the meeting starts. As a result, S3 talks less than the other supervisors at the beginning of meetings which means she has less opportunity to construct an identity. However, she is clearly the person in control even though she 'allows' the teacher to choose, so she manifests power in the control of turn taking and the meeting trajectory.

4.2.2.4. Supervisor 4

Extracts from meeting beginnings with S4 and Joseph, Dan and Jake are discussed below. S4 often starts his meetings in a similar way to S2 by asking the teacher to '*talk me through the stages of the lesson*' (line 3 below), which appears to be S4's idea of the '*proper'* way to conduct feedback (1):

Extract 4.6

1	S4	ok I think that's recording↑ (.) I've pressed R and the red button's on anyway (.)
2		hello Helen
3	Joseph	(laughs)
4	S4	**ok** so um (.) I'll do this properly as were being recorded (*smile voice*) what I
5	Joseph	[(*laughs*)
6	S4	usually do is (.) I want you to talk me through the stages of the lesson
7	Jospeh	ok
8	S4	to start with an I'll I'll step in with anything that I notice (.) in particular
9	Jospeh	ok
10	S4	ok↑ so↓ eh if you'd like to start↑
11	Jospeh	all right em started with the Socrative quiz eh (.) on different things in the UAE
12	S4	mhmm↑
13	Joseph	idea was that (.) it would be something they knew about and usually they're a bit
14		more interested in local things than things that are (.) you know in the UK or
15		something or (.) or just not (meant to) them (.) so I thought they'd (ought to
16		com-) they'd do comparatives there <you know> what's the longer road

S4 starts with a joke and laugh invitation (Jefferson, 1984b), Joseph laughs and their shared laughter indexes affiliation (Glenn, 2003). The next few turns, however, clearly show an asymmetrical power relationship. Although S4 hands the floor to Joseph almost straight away, he maintains the right to '*step in*' (8) and the fact that he controls turn taking and directs Joseph to speak (10) clearly indexes an authoritative, powerful identity, with the teacher positioned as the less powerful person obligated to respond (11). S4 also projects an experienced supervisor identity by referring to the post observation meeting as a habitual action: '*what I usually do is …*' (6).

This opening seems to be typical as it is replicated in the beginning of the meeting with S4 and Dan, starting with a joke and laughter (3-4):

Extract 4.7

1	S4	em so Dan we've been through one of these before
2	Dan	yeup
3	S4	so the first thing is I'll do is in true TEFL style I'll throw it over to you
4	Dan	(*laughs*)
5	S4	a:nd I mean what did you think about the lesson as a whole? Is there anything
6		you particularly you thought went particularly well y- you thought (.) you'd do
7		differently
8	Dan	um (.) let's see I what went well↑ was I think the timing was better than my first
9		one and (.) I was more strict with myself about limiting **sections** of the lesson and
10		making it work (.) that way e:m (.) might've come up a little bit short at the end
11		but that wasn't a huge problem cos I planned something which was kind of
12		meant to (.) carry over eh (.) so I think that worked better em (.) what else? I
13		thought the students were (.) responsive and it was a pretty normal class they
14		were they're a good group so
15	S4	yeah
16	Dan	that helps a lot um but they were interested in it and I know this isn't part of the
17		observation **lesson** but we we looked at the writing after that and they were still
18		interested in the topic when it wasn't being observed so it's something that I can
19	S4	[uhuh
20	Dan	remember for fu-for the future u:m (sighs)
21	S4	shall we shall we go through the lesson?
22	Dan	what didn't go well (laughs)
23	S4	well let's go through it bit by bit and see I mean I agree with you about your
24	Dan	[oh ok
25	S4	timing …

The shared laughter between S4 and Dan seems to create a feeling of solidarity (Kangasharju and Nikko, 2009). S4 indicates again that his interpretation of a '*true TEFL style*' is '*throwing it over to you*', and suggests they '*go through the lesson*' (21) '*bit by bit*' (23). This time, however,

S4 adds an evaluative element: '*what did you think about the lesson as a whole? Is there anything you particularly you thought went particularly well … you'd do differently*' (5-7), setting up an obligation for Dan to respond with an evaluation. The same process happens in S4's meeting with Jake (Extract 4.8 below), suggesting that the beginnings of meetings have also become routinised for S4:

Extract 4.8

1	S4	ok so sorry it I didn't get back to you last week but obviously we weren't here em
2		the week before was a bit chocka so em but I have got a record of everything
3		you did in the class and I've written it up and I've got your plan here (.) so: I
4		mean let's s- start overall I mean did you think it was a successful lesson?
5	Jake	yeah yeah I mean em the students performed the tasks well and I said the eh (.)
6		they were a bit slow but em as I said in the plan that was gonna be expected
7		with with some of the things but there they they did the tasks well and and how I
8		expected so
9	S4	is there anything in particular you might do differently next time?
10	Jake	e:m (0.3) well I mean the (0.2) the actual class would've been em (.) a probably
11		something that would have gone f- em a start of a double rather than the last
12		class because there were other activities that that were (*sighs*) that I had to do
13		after that anyway so

This time the meeting starts with an apology about timing, similar to S3's apology in Extract 4.4 above, but despite the delay S4 seems keen to reassure Jake that he can remember the lesson and procedures have been followed '*I have got a record of everything you did in the class and I've written it up*' (2-3), indexing an identity of competence and professionalism. S4 again directs the trajectory of the conversation by asking Jake questions: '*so: I mean let's s- start overall I mean did you think it was a successful lesson?*' (3-4), '*is there anything in particular you might do differently next time?*' (9) and initiating the meeting structure '*let's go through the lesson piece by piece*' (20-21).

In these meeting beginnings, S4 invokes an identity of power – he controls the meeting structure and content and sets up an obligation for teachers to respond to his directives. He also indexes experience by indicating that adopts a habitual meeting structure which he believes is sanctioned and 'proper'.

4.2.3. Analysis of teachers' identities

Having examined the identities that supervisors index at the beginning of feedback meetings, this section looks at identities constructed by teachers. Length restriction prohibits discussion of all the 17 teachers recorded in this study. Instead, I have chosen to focus on Eric because he is recorded with three different supervisors (S1, S2 and S3) and Stuart, Joseph and Aoife (all in

meetings with S4) because they manifest identities common to the teachers in this study and they are also given the floor at the beginning of their meetings so can immediately start to construct identities.

4.2.3.1. Eric

Little seems to be expected interactionally from Eric in the opening turns of his meetings with S1, S2 and S3 and his minimal contributions display that he is orienting to the more powerful status of the supervisors. Eric's opportunity to establish an identity happens after the initial turns when he becomes more involved in the interaction. For example, in the meeting with S2, after S2 has outlined the meeting structure (see Extract 4.2 above), he initiates a sequence which requires Eric to 'talk through' his lesson: '*ok just eh talk me through it what you think went well what you think perhaps didn't go quite so well or what you think you might change having done it'*. The fact that this is mitigated with indirect language (*perhaps*, didn't go *quite so* well, you *might* change) indicates that S2 is orienting to social delicacy, perhaps due to the suggestion that parts of Eric's lesson may have been less successful. Eric responds to S2's directive and starts a long turn expressing his opinion of the lesson, starting with a heavily mitigated positive evaluation (line 29):

Extract 4.9

29	Eric	ok e::m (.) I would say gen- generally °sort of° **re**:latively happy with it but I think
30		that there's some some of the things that I **di:d** e:m (.) that I planned to do that i- is
31	Eric	I'll be interested in your opinion in **that** because there was (.) I think it was
32	S2	°I I will close the door actually°
33	Eric	°yeah°
34	S2	°ok sorry°(*door closes*) keep going
35	Eric	so I think em in hindsight at the end I I felt it was very teacher centered↓ e:m
36		also I think em that the students I <I'm aware in the back of my mind is that I
37		feel that> reading is a weak skill so I I planned in my lesson plan to give the
38		students ten minutes reading em I think was it s- sign- sustained silent reading
39		is what I said
40	S2	mm mmhm↑
41	Eric	em I think it's a good idea and it's valuable em because <at the end of the day>
42		we're thinking of the HEATE and the IELTS and we want them to read em but but I
43		think you know maybe for an observed lesson maybe I could've presented that
44		differently and made it more of a jigsaw reading em maybe've had sort of I don't
45		know parts of the reading broken it up more had some had some things on the
46		wall had it a lot more interactive em and I did **think** about doing that em but but
47		also I was sort of thinking from the from the point view of you know I'd like them
47		to sit down and read a reasonably long chunk of paragraph so I I think you know if
48		I was giving feedback on the lesson I I would definitely sort of (*phone rings*) I
49		would discuss that or debate it em you know I think it's valuable to do some time
50		(*phone rings*) but I wouldn't want to do that all of the time
51	S2	right ok
52	Eric	em so I I do think it was teacher centered (*phone rings*) em also I I read the text out
53		with the class asking (*phone rings*) them questions and again that's that's very

54		teacher centered but I I found that *(phone rings)* I I sort of felt that them listening
55		to my pronunciation sometimes with me reading helps with **their** pronunciation
56		and reading em and it again it's not maybe not a good technique to use too
57		often↑ and it is certainly open to criticism but I think for the level of learners I
58		I think it's valuable for them em you know if I if you're talking about an IELTS
59		level six you wouldn't do that with a higher band of student
60	S2	that's right
61	Eric	but I I think for them that's that's why I did it em and I would say it **is** quite
62		teacher centered but I felt that it has value for those students

Eric's preamble before getting to the evaluation of his lesson: '*ok e::m (.) I would say gen-generally sort of*' and his repetition, pauses and hesitation show he is orienting to problematic interaction, probably because he is about to produce a dispreffered turn in the form of self-praise (albeit heavily mitigated). Immediately following Eric's hesitant positive evaluation '°*sort of*° **re:***latively happy with it*' is the contrast conjunction 'but' which again mitigates the positive evaluation as Eric then indicates that '*some of the things I* **di:d**' may be open to criticism. Eric's next utterance is important:

| 31 | Eric | I'll be interested in your opinion in **that** because there was (.) I think it was |

By eliciting and seeming to value S2's opinion, Eric reinforces the experienced identity Supervisor 2 has made relevant in previous turns (see Extract 4.2). This co-construction of identity is crucial because S2's identity projection depends on Eric's verification. At the same time, Eric projects an identity for himself of a teacher eager to learn, a move which narrows the power gap between him and S2 because Eric invites comment rather than waiting to receive it. After indicating that he welcomes feedback, Eric weaves a self-critical thread throughout his following long turn, maintaining the emergent idea that the lesson had flaws (shown in bold below) but at the same time continuing to project a reflective, analytic, self-aware identity with the use of mental verbs and phrases, and by presenting alternative ideas (indicated in red):

35	Eric	so I think em in hindsight at the end **I I felt it was very teacher centered**↓ e:m
36		also I think em that the students I <I'm aware in the back of my mind is that I
37		feel that> reading is a weak skill so I I planned in my lesson plan to give the
38		students ten minutes reading em I think was it s- sign- sustained silent reading
39		is what I said
40	S2	mm mmhm↑
41	Eric	em I think it's a good idea and it's valuable em because <at the end of the day>
42		we're thinking of the HEATE and the IELTS and we want them to read em but but I
43		**think you know maybe for an observed lesson maybe I could've presented that**
44		**differently and made it more of a jigsaw reading em maybe've had sort of I don't**
45		**know parts of the reading broken it up more had some had some things on the**
46		**wall had it a lot more interactive** em and I did think about doing that em but but

47		also I was sort of thinking from the from the point view of you know I'd like them
48		to sit down and read a reasonably long chunk of paragraph so I I think you know if
49		I was giving feedback on the lesson I I would definitely sort of (*phone rings*) I
50		would discuss that or debate it em you know I think it's valuable to do some time
51		(*phone rings*) but I wouldn't want to do that all of the time
52	S2	right ok
53	Eric	em so I I do think it was teacher centered (*phone rings*) em also I I read the text out
54		with the class asking (*phone rings*) them questions and again that's that's very
55		teacher centered but I I found that *(phone rings)* I I sort of felt that them listening
56		to my pronunciation sometimes with me reading helps with their pronunciation
57		and reading em and it again it's not maybe not a good technique to use too
58		often↑ and it is certainly open to criticism but I think for the level of learners I
59		I think it's valuable for them em you know if I if you're talking about an IELTS
60		level six you wouldn't do that with a higher band of student
61	S2	that's right
62	Eric	but I I think for them that's that's why I did it em and I would say it is quite
63		teacher centered but I felt that it has value for those students

In addition, by talking about his students, their weaknesses and needs, Eric also constitutes an identity of a responsible, knowledgeable, experienced teacher (indicated in blue above) and by using teaching jargon, for example *teacher-centred, sustained silent reading, jigsaw reading, HEATE, IELTS* (both English language exams), he projects a professional identity involving teaching knowledge (Hall et al., 2010).

Eric also indicates his familiarity with the feedback event in various ways. For example, his discussion of how he could have done things differently (43-45) is a type of talk which is central to post observation feedback discussion (Wallace and Woolger, 1991). The ability to provide alternatives also indicates experience as this is something inexperienced teachers often struggle with. His acknowledgement of the display element of the observed lesson: '*maybe for an observed lesson maybe I could've presented that differently*' (43-44) adds to this sense familiarity. Eric also casts himself briefly in the role of assessor (47-51), adding to his experienced identity projection. This 'double-voicing', i.e. talk which shows that the speaker has a heightened awareness of, and responds to, the concerns and agendas of others, is also an anticipatory move to dilute possible criticism (Baxter, 2014).

Thus at the beginning of his meeting with S2, Eric constructs the identity of an experienced, reflective, knowledgeable teacher who welcomes feedback.

4.2.3.2. Stuart

The opening sequence of the meeting between Stuart and S4 sees Stuart keeping the floor for extended turns:

Extract 4.10

1	S4	so Stuart thinking back to the lesson
2	Stuart	it's hard to remember (*laughs*) quite that far back (xxx)
3	S4	[yeah I know what you
4		mean (*smile voice*)
5	Stuart	a lot has happened
6	S4	yeah it's it's fairly high speed here↓ I mean in general though I mean how
7		how did you feel?
8	Stuart	ok um on th:e minus side I think there were two problems that *I* was aware of
9		one of them is that I think my board work (.) I had to go back over this to
10	S4	[mmhm
11	Stuart	try remember (.) um the board work was a little kind of sloppy↑ and the
12	S4	[uhuh
13	Stuart	second point is that I forgot I didn't notice it until after the lesson I'd
14		forgotten to put th:e a:hh learning outcomes↑ at the top of the OneNote
15	S4	[uhuh
16	Stuart	other than (that)
17	S4	[yeah the objectives yeah
18	Stuart	those were the mine-those were the minuses on the plus side eh (.) thank you
19		for the idea of (.) playing with a video which I'd not done before I was really
20	S4	[mmhm
21	Stuart	happy with how it worked although it took some hunting to **find** a video
22	S4	yeah
23	Stuart	u:m that didn't have words on it I specifically wanted them to come up with
24		the words from the visual prompt I was really happy with the way that
25	S4	[uhuh
26	Stuart	worked and I'm **loving** working with Blackboard 9 it has **s:o** much potential
27	S4	yeah
28	Stuart	I just use it **all** the time now it's it's become a really central feature now eh I
29		love it because students are reading and responding to everybody else's work
30	S4	mmhm
31	Stuart	and you might remember with this particular (.) activity the students they
32		watched the visual prompt video then they went off and and we linked it to I
33	S4	[mmhm
34	Stuart	actually **wrote** the text to go along with the with the video and they read that
35		as a blog entry
36	S4	yeah
37	Stuart	they were actually when I checked it they were **commenting** on it just of their
38		own accord (.) without me even **asking** them to comment so I thought well
39		that's good they're **interested** in it you know like I don't even have to say
40	S4	[yeah
41	Stuart	listen you must write a comment
42	S4	mmhm
43	Stuart	they were just be- we we'd done a little bit of work on blogs already so
44		they've already got it oh that's interesting I'll add my my two bob's worth↓

45	S4	ok that's good
46	Stuart	[so I was really happy to see that **I** didn't have to **push** it
47	S4	mmhm
48	Stuart	they were naturally just interested i:n (.) in it themselves
49	S4	yeah↑
50	Stuart	the blogs are d- really suitable for the kind of work that we're doing I think

The initial turns (1-4) contain a reference to the delay between the observation and feedback which is not unusual (the same happens at the beginnings of meetings between S4 and Jake (Extract 4.8 above) and Aoife (Extract 4.12 below) and between S3 and Eric (Extract 4.4 above)). However, in this episode the teacher raises the issue while in all the other episodes the supervisor apologises for the delay and often gives a reason. The fact that Stuart mentions the delay three times (2, 5, 9-11) suggests he is not happy about it, especially as he indicates that a significant amount of time has elapsed: '*it's hard to remember that far back*' (2) and '*a lot has happened*' (5), implying that the effectiveness of the meeting may be compromised by memory loss. S4 acknowledges Stuart's point '*yeah I know what you mean*' (3) and '*it's fairly high speed here*' (6) but, curiously, does not apologise or give a reason for the delay and this may be why Stuart returns to the point again: '*I had to go over this to try to remember*' (9-11), perhaps still seeking an apology. Stuart's persistence indexes an identity of assertiveness and confidence, as he is willing to risk the potentially face threatening move of an implied criticism of S4. These comments represent the only challenge to a supervisor in the opening turns of these meetings and S4's lack of apology may be because he recognises and resists the criticism.

S4 asks Stuart to evaluate his lesson and Stuart begins with the negatives '*on the minus side*' (8-18): '*sloppy*' board work and forgetting to put the lesson objectives on his OneNote page. This brief discussion of (relatively minor) faults projects the identity of a self-aware teacher. Stuart then turns to the '*plus side*' and starts by thanking S4 for an idea from his previous observation feedback about using video (18-19), verifying S4's supervisory identity of 'advisor' while also demonstrating his own learning and development. There follows a long turn with Stuart describing the positive aspects of his lesson. Within this sequence, Stuart constructs the identity of a committed teacher, willing to invest time in lesson planning: '*it took some hunting to **find** a video*' (21) and he spends much time talking about technology: the video, Blackboard (VLE) and blogs, becoming quite effusive at one point (note the stress and use of the verb 'love' twice):

26	Stuart	worked and I'm **loving** working with Blackboard 9 it has **s:o** much potential
27	S4	yeah
28	Stuart	I just use it **all** the time now it's it's become a really central feature now eh I
29		love it because students are reading and responding to everybody else's work

He also emphasises his repeated use of technology (highlighted in red above) which aligns with the importance and priority given to educational technology within the institution. This point is important because the teachers in this programme are working in classes where all students have laptops (later iPads), reflecting a federal push to fund and promote technology in universities and colleges in the UAE. By stressing his use of technology, Stuart is doing identity work, signalling alignment with the institution but also indexing the (institutionally highly valued) identity of a teacher experienced, proficient and confident with technology.

Stuart also does work to portray himself as incorporating popular trends in education by aligning himself with the currently fashionable idea of students collaborating and sharing work (often via technology): '*students are reading and responding to everybody else's work*' (29). He also comments on students' interest, motivation and independence, all highly valued attributes in education:

37	Stuart	they were actually when I checked it they were **commenting** on it just of their
38		own accord (.) without me even **asking** them to comment so I thought well
39		that's good they're **interested** in it you know like I don't even have to say
40	S4	[yeah
41	Stuart	listen you must write a comment
42	S4	mmhm
43	Stuart	they were just be- we we'd done a little bit of work on blogs already so
44		they've already got it oh that's interesting I'll add my my two bob's worth↓
45	S4	ok that's good
46	Stuart	[so I was really happy to see that **I** didn't have to **push** it
47	S4	mmhm
48	Stuart	they were naturally just interested i:n (.) in it themselves

Stuart gives a very positive account of his lesson, repeating three times '*I was really happy*'. He spends less time on negative aspects and it could be argued these are more mechanical than pedagogical and therefore more minor, in contrast to the positive aspects which address 'big', on-trend issues. Thus, in the opening turns of this meeting, Stuart constructs a professional identity of confidence, experience (with technology in particular) and effectiveness (his students are motivated and independent).

4.2.3.3. Joseph

Like Stuart in Extract 4.10 above, Joseph is given the floor almost immediately:

Extract 4.11

1	S4	ok I think that's recording↑ (.) I've pressed R and the red button's on anyway (.)
2		hello Helen
3	Joseph	(laughs)
4	S4	**ok** so um (.) I'll do this properly as were being recorded (*smile voice*) what I
5	Joseph	[(*laughs*)
6		usually do is (.) I want you to talk me through the stages of the lesson
7	Jospeh	ok
8	S4	to start with an I'll I'll step in with anything that I notice (.) in particular
9	Jospeh	ok
10	S4	ok↑ so↓ eh if you'd like to start↑
11	Jospeh	all right em started with the Socrative quiz eh (.) on different things in the UAE
12	S4	mhmm↑
13	Joseph	idea was that (.) it would be something they knew about and usually they're a bit
14		more interested in local things than things that are (.) you know in the UK or
15		something or (.) or just not (meant to) them (.) so I thought they'd (ought to
16		com-) they'd do comparatives there <you know> what's the longer road or which
17	S4	[mmhm
18	Joseph	area's colder or gets more rain so they were doing comparatives (.) anyway but it
19		was Socrative so it was a bit interactive and (.) they (.) got to use their ipads and
20	S4	[mmhm
21	Joseph	yeah it was yeah more (.) better than me just sort of standing there (.) getting
22		them to do comparatives eh
23	S4	[yeah
24	Joseph	so that went ok () em still you know it was alright I thought (.) e:h Socrative I'm
25		som- sometimes still kind of (.) have a bit of trouble to timing of it when I'm
26		pushing questions and they're answering them an (.) °you know° so I still (.) you
27	S4	[mmhm [mmhm
28	Joseph	know (.) eh maybe need to use that a bit more (.) but <you know> e:h then I
29		moved onto **pictures** of places in the UAE cos again I I find that (.) different types
30	S4	[uhuh
31	Joseph	of learners people like to have some- vi- something **visual** (0.1) so it was just
32		something for them to look at and then we could (.) go round the class getting (.)
33		you know eliciting and (xxx)
34	S4	[no it moved on nicely as well I think from the Socrative
35		quiz and then on to the pictures

S4 asks Joseph to '*talk me through the stages of the lesson*' (6) which is a common move
with S4 (see Extracts 4.6 and 4.7 above) and also S2, (see Extracts 4.2 and 4.3 above). At
the beginning of this lesson description, Joseph manifests an identity of a teacher who is
aware of his students, of their knowledge: '*it would be something they knew about*' (13), their
interests: '*usually they're a bit more interested in local things than things that are (.) you
know in the UK or something*' (13-15) and their learning styles '*different types of learners
people like to have some- vi- something visual*' (29-31). Although like Stuart in Extract 4.10

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above Joseph highlights the fact that the students '*got to use their iPads'* (20) and that the Socrative (an online voting tool) quiz was '*a bit interactive',* and '*better than me just sort of standing there (.) getting them to do comparatives*' (22-23), his evaluation of the activity is much less effusive than Stuart's: '*so that went ok'* (25). Joseph goes on to acknowledge that the activity had problematic aspects (24-26) and seems to attribute this (at least partially) to his lack of experience with the tool '*maybe [I] need to use that a bit more*' (28). Joseph's positive identity construction of a teacher using technology is therefore more moderated than Stuart's in Extract 4.10 above. At the end of this extract, S4 co-constructs a positive identity for Joseph by praising the transition between activities: '*no it moved on nicely as well I think from the Socrative quiz and then on to the pictures*' (34-35).

4.2.3.4. Aoife

In contrast to his meeting with Stuart (Extract 4.10), S4 apologises for a delay at the beginning of Aoife's meeting and gives a reason (Eid holiday and being busy). Aoife's response clearly indicates acceptance and alignment (3):

<u>Extract 4.12</u>

1	S4	em sorry it's taken a while to get round to this but you understand with Eid and
2		everything we've been busy
3	Aoife	[oh I know I know
4	S4	so section nine↑ level three
5	Aoife	yes (°*laughs*°)
6	S4	and and going back we- the theme was weddings
7	Aoife	yeah yeah
8	S4	[yeah so why had you chosen that particular theme?
9	Aoife	well (.) I thought it would interest them because em I'm sure you picked that up
10		pretty quickly they're a **really weak** class
11	S4	mmhm
12	Aoife	and em (.) (*tuts*) eh also a bit difficult to manage so as much as possible I try to go
13	S4	[yeah
14	Aoife	for s- subjects that will engage them
15	S4	mmhm
16	Aoife	and they all like weddings so (.) and we had done e:m we had done a reading text
17		about Korean weddings the week before
18	S4	it's the one from what a world yeah?
19	Aoife	mm yeah yeah so I thought this would link in with it but it would also recycle some
20		of the vocabulary that they had already done cos I think (.) what really em (0.2) well
21		(.) their vocabulary's really low so when they read it's like every fourth or fifth word
22		they don't understand
23	S4	yeah
24	Aoife	so this semester em I've been trying to focus a lot more on vocab
25	S4	mmhm
26	Aoife	than maybe on reading skills
27	S4	ok so you have to try and get them through that way

S4 asks Aoife to explain her choice of lesson focus and her account demonstrates knowledge of the students: their level (weak), their interests (weddings), their behaviour ('*a bit difficult to manage'* 12) and their lack of vocabulary, thus projecting the identity of knowledgeable, responsive teacher. Aoife's professional identity includes agency - she has made a decision to focus on vocabulary building, and effort: *'As much as possible I try to go for subjects that will engage them'* (12-14) as well as planning and coherence: she is building on previous lessons and recycling vocabulary. Aoife is therefore constituted as an agentive, thoughtful professional intent on optimising student learning.

4.2.4. Discussion

The beginnings of these feedback meetings are goal oriented with no social talk, showing participants' orientation to the institutional nature of the interaction and enabling them to move efficiently to the business at hand. In all these extracts, the supervisors are easily identifiable. By taking the opening turn, setting the agenda, controlling proceedings, initiating topics and obligating teachers to respond, they convey power and index their role as supervisor (Angouri and Marra, 2011, Ford, 2008, Pomerantz and Denvir, 2007, Svennevig, 2011). In the meeting beginnings with S1 and S2, talk is asymmetrical: the supervisors have longer turns and the teachers' contributions are limited mostly to tokens of agreement and understanding which indicates the supervisor's elevated interactional status (Holmes et al., 1999). S3 and S4, in contrast, give the floor to teachers almost immediately, but only after setting up an obligation for teachers to evaluate their lessons. S4 often keeps this pattern going with more questions and in some cases S4's turns are significantly shorter than the teachers'. However, despite length of turns, S3 and S4 still index an identity of power and authority by displaying interactional moves that are indexed for leadership such as claiming the right to direct the conversation and asking questions.

Supervisors also index identities involving experience. S1, S2 and S4 indicate that they have been involved in enough feedback meetings to establish a recurrent, habitual pattern of interaction: '*the way I do this is*' (S1); '*now what I normally do is*' (S2); '*what I usually do is*' (S4). Although S3 claims '*I don't have any particular structure*' her question to Eric '*are you comfortable telling me (.) what you thought of it or do you would you rather I just went in to what **I** thought of it'* indicates an implicit habitual structure. Supervisors' experience and familiarity with the event is also emphasised by the fact that opening turns seem routinised to varying degrees which is perhaps typical of often repeated institutional events. S2 and S4 also claim membership

of or links with professional bodies or practice, for example '*I do it in a sort of DELTA fashion*' (S2) and '*in true TEFL style, I'll throw it over to you*' (S4).

These opening turns show habitual meeting trajectories. S1's meeting structure typically follows the observation criteria with a preamble explaining the scoring system (see Extract 4.1). S3 starts her meetings by asking for an evaluation (see Extracts 4.3 and 4.4). S2 and S4 tend to structure their meetings around a chronological description of the lesson (see Extracts 4.2, 4.3 and 4.6) combined with a focus on evaluation (for example, Extracts 4.2, 4.7, 4.8 and 4.10). Thus the opening turns and ensuing meeting trajectory highlight the evaluative nature of these feedback meetings and supervisors' claimed identities therefore include that of assessor or evaluator.

All of the teachers in the extracts above project an identity of experience and knowledge. Eric, Joseph and Aoife claim knowledge of their students, for example their weaknesses, knowledge, learning styles and interests. This knowledge informs teaching decisions such as the content and focus of lessons. Joseph and Stuart highlight the institutionally valued use of technology and Stuart claims experience and expertise which enhances his students' classroom experience and fosters collaboration, motivation and independence. Eric and Stuart show the ability to identify weaknesses in their lesson (although in Stuart's case the weaknesses are minor and may therefore be token) and Eric explicitly indicates that he welcomes feedback, invoking the identity of a self-aware, critically reflective practitioner.

These identities are repeatedly made relevant, both across and within meetings by the same participant, for example S1 constitutes identities of assessor, institutional representative and authority in all his nine meetings, and by different participants, for example all supervisors index identities of manager, assessor and authority and all teachers project identities of knowledgeable and experienced teacher.

In the extracts above, no face issues are made relevant. This seems to be because identities are claimed but not contested or verified by an interactant. Thus the absence of face threat or support ratifies the idea that face evaluations are made in response to reactions to identity claims.

4.3. Verifying identities

The analysis above shows how interactants establish valued identities at the beginning of meetings. This, however, is just the first step in identity negotiation. Identities are discursively constructed and negotiated in a conjoint process involving other people (Antaki

and Widdicombe, 1998, Joseph, 2013, Schnurr and Zayts, 2011, Tracy, 2013) so they depend on the interpretations and evaluations made by their interactional partner(s). Cohen's (2010) analogy to a card game is a useful way of illustrating this process

> *I find it helpful to apply the notion of identity recognition by thinking of talk as a series of identity bids that depend on recognition from others to be successful … Like players in a card game, we put out identity bids through particular forms of social interaction. The ways in which these bids are recognised by other relevant players influence both the determination of the game being played and the stakes of the game.* (p. 475)

The verification of an identity bid by an interactional partner is essential for a speaker to maintain an identity (Joseph, 2013) so identity verification is a central process in identity negotiation (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013). The following section discusses analysis of selected extracts chosen to show how teachers' and supervisors' identities are verified and legitimated.

4.3.1. Verification of teachers' identities

4.3.1.1. Praise

Supervisors commonly use praise to verify teachers' positive professional identities. Two aspects in particular are often praised: classroom management and the use of technology (see Appendices 7 and 8). The institution experienced two major changes with technology during the data collection period: the issue of laptops to all students and teachers in the first year of data collection and the issue of iPads in the third year of data collection. The institution (and in fact all federal tertiary institutions) invested a great deal of money in technology as well as in training for teachers. The use of technology in the classroom was therefore expected (if not mandated), a push which is reflected in the first criterion on the observation form: '*The teacher makes good use of available resources and technology to aid student understanding*' (see Appendix 1).

Some teachers less competent with technology, including Aoife, found this transition difficult (see Donaghue, 2015 for more discussion of this) and struggled with the new technology. It is therefore significant that in Extract 4.13 below, S4 praises Aoife's use of PowerPoint, despite the fact that PowerPoint is considered so basic a requirement that is has become a taken for granted competency in this institution.

Extract 4.13

1	S4	you got into the topic by using the power point
2	Aoife	yes yeah yeah
3	S4	and how comfortable are you with power point because you seem very
4		comfortable with it
5	Aoife	well em I've made myself a bit more comfortable and on Richard Black's advice I
6		bought myself one of those gadgets which Helen has and I don't know what you call
7		it (*laughs*) em (.) um I I don't know what you call it but it moves on it moves
8	S4	[oh like a a
9		clicker
10	Aoife	a clicker yeah and so you can stand at the back of the room and move it on and i-it
11	S4	[mm
12	Aoife	Richard said he thought that would be a really good idea especially with a class like
13		that
14	S4	yeah it means you can stay amongst them and you don't have to keep going back to
15	Aoife	[mm yeah yeah
16	S4	that (the thing) yeah
17	Aoife	[so since I've purchased that () I feel I'm em a bit more au fait with technology
18	S4	no I mean I was pleased to see it em () because also you you em you had a Hot
19		Potatoes exercise as well

In this extract, S4 and Aoife co-construct a positive identity for Aoife of a teacher '*au fait*' with technology. This identity is initiated by S4's question about using PowerPoint (3), accompanied by positive comment: '*you seem very comfortable with it*' (3-4). The question gives Aoife the opportunity to narrate her growing confidence but also to construct a positive identity involving agency and responsibility for development: '*I've made myself a bit more comfortable*' (5). This positive co-construction is reinforced several turns later by praise from S4: '*I was pleased to see it*' (18) and by his mentioning Aoife's use of Hot Potatoes (an online quiz making application).

In Extract 4.14 below, S2, like S4 in extract 4.13 above, praises Eric's use of technology (1-5) and asks a question (5) which allows Eric, like Aoife, to describe how he has become more proficient with technology (8-13) after a previous observer (Lena) highlighted this need (8-10):

Extract 4.14

1	S2	well they did that they did that reasonably well and it was nice to see
2	Eric	[yeah
3	S2	them using their laptop em pens as well
4	Eric	[yeah yeah
5	S2	(which) is that something you normally have them do↑
6	Eric	it's something that I s- been doing this semester
7	S2	°good°
8	Eric	em () I I think you know wh- I think when I came in I certainly my my first em

9		observation with Lena was that you know I it's need to make more use of the
10		technology this is like a year ago so I feel gradually you know I I've finished my ICDL
11	S2	yes
12	Eric	and I'm y- ye- obviously laptops this year I feel quite comfortable with the
13		technology but there **is** a way of trying to () y- y- I suppose blend it into the lessons
14	S2	[good
15	Eric	to get the balance right as well
16	S2	oh yes yes I mean it shouldn't lead the class it should be it sh- should support it and
17		[so [yeah [yeah yeah
18	S2	**enhance** it
19	Eric	yeah so I've I've definitely and OneNote as well I fi-I've found em you know in the
20		last couple of months I'm definitely much **happier** with it and sc- copying stuff to
21		OneNote as well it's quite useful

Eric describes his progress as he contrasts himself as a teacher new to the college ('*when I came in*', 8) '*a year ago*' (10)) and inexperienced with educational technology with his current identity of a teacher using technology confidently '*I feel quite comfortable with the technology*' (12-13). This journey, like Aoife in Extract 4.13 above, has involved agency because he has done a certified computer course: '*I've finished my ICDL*' (10). Eric's familiarity with the technology extends to his being able to judiciously select when to use technology: '*but there is a way of trying to () y- y- I suppose blend it into the lessons to get the balance right as well*' (13-15). Thus Eric constructs an identity of a teacher 'comfortable' with technology, a teacher willing to develop professionally by doing a training course and a teacher who can evaluate when and how to use technology effectively. S2, having initiated this positive identity, co-constructs it throughout Eric's turn with praise: '*good*' (7, 14) and by agreeing with and echoing Eric's comment about balancing the use of technology: '*oh yes yes I mean it shouldn't lead the class it should be it sh- should support it and enhance it*' (16-18).

Extract 4.15 below, which is from a meeting between S1 and Michael, also contains explicit praise for the use of technology (highlighted in red), in this case a Smartboard:

Extract 4.15

1	S1	you're obviously very competent in the use of smartboard em you know you it just
2		was (.) s- seamless just moved along and the students even know how to use it cos
3		they came up and did some work on it themselves (.) em you had the objectives
4		listed on the smartboard which a lot of teachers neglect to do em there were
5		visuals (.) aah you did integr- interactive paragraph building where the students had
6		to come up themselves and and eh use the board (.) none of the technology was
7		forced it just fit with the lesson you know I don't like to go in and see that people
8		oh well here we're gonna use technology now because it's required for the
9		observation but it fit the lesson

Michael's identity as a competent teacher is also verified through comparing him favourably to other teachers who are cast in a more negative light (highlighted in blue), including a comment which echoes Eric and S2's point about the selective use of technology: '*I don't like to go in and see that people oh well here we're gonna use technology now because it's required for the observation*' (7-9). This comment is perhaps somewhat disingenuous as around the time of these observations S1 sent an email to teachers telling them that the use of technology was expected in lesson observations, but it nonetheless contributes to a positive identity construction for Michael.

Classroom management is also frequently praised (see Appendix 7), often accompanied by the recurring discourse that these participants are working in a unique and difficult context with problematic, unmotivated and difficult to manage students. In Extract 4.16 below, S4 uses overt praise to construct a positive identity for Aoife (highlighted in red):

Extract 4.16

1	S4	one thing I've mentioned in there that I was impressed with is (.) I thought you
2		managed that class very well you didn't (.) they're obviously (.) at times over
3		enthusiastic shall we say and you didn't dampen their enthusiasm↑ but you
4	Aoife	[mm mm
5	S4	curbed it enough so you could manage the class you know they didn't get **away**
6	Aoife	[mm
7	S4	from you
8	Aoife	yeah
9	S4	[you know and you were dealing with the chatter you were dealing with the Arabic
10	Aoife	[mm
11	S4	you were dealing with the on or off task you know I thought (.) tha:t's (0.3) you
12		know that's a good skill if you if you've **got that** (.) <I mean> obviously I mean a lot
13		of that's from your experience you (.) you being here all that time
14	Aoife	mm
15	S4	you know getting used to it but (0.2) y- when I see new faculty coming in (.) I think
16		some- it's something they fi- find harder I know it's something I found hard cos you
17	Aoife	[yeah [yes
18	S4	don't normally in your previous incarnation classroom management isn't an
19	Aoife	[yeah [(xxx)
20	S4	issue

S4's euphemistic description of the students as '*over enthusiastic shall we say*' (3) is phrased more explicitly by Eric in his interview when he refers to students in general: '*students can be quite challenging*' and to one class in particular: '*these guys are a nightmare*'. Aoife's skill in containing students is therefore not insignificant and although S4 does not explicitly refer to the criterion on the observation form, S4's description of Aoife's student management matches one of the criteria: '*The teacher stops inappropriate behaviour*

promptly and consistently, but with respect to the student's dignity' (see Appendix 1). S4 also refers to Aoife's length of time at the institution (12-15) (she had been working in the institution for over 15 years at the time of the meeting) and contrasts her favourably with new, inexperienced 'faculty' (teachers), thereby assigning her membership to the category 'contextually experienced teacher'.

Praise for classroom management skills is also used to verify Joseph's identity as a competent professional in Extract 4.17 below:

<u>Extract 4.17</u>

1	S4	pace was cracking (.) you know and you've got great energy and it's that being up↑
2	Joseph	[ok mm
3	S4	and and and banging through stuff I mean that keeps it keeps them on task keeps
4	Joseph	[yeah
5	S4	them (.) awake and it from an observer's point of view it's good to see you bring
6	Joseph	[yeah
7	S4	that (.) when you step in with energy
8	Joseph	mm
9	S4	and you keep those energy levels up↑ I know it's far more hard work for you
10	Joseph	mm
11	S4	but it kee- it does engage the students
12	Joseph	yeah yeah yeah

The lexical set describing action and energy, for example '*cracking pace'* (1), '*energy'* (1, 7, 9) and '*awake'* (5) echoes one of the criteria on the observation form: '*The teacher conducts the lesson or instructional activity at a brisk pace, slowing presentations when necessary for student understanding but avoiding unnecessary slowdowns*' (see Appendix 1), thereby aligning Joseph to institutionally valued practice and thus verifying a positive identity for him.

4.3.1.2. Eliciting knowledge and expertise

As well as praise, supervisors use questions designed to elicit knowledge and expertise to verify positive teacher identities. In Extracts 4.13 and 4.14 above, supervisors' questions give Aoife and Eric an opportunity to describe a process of developing confidence and proficiency while also indexing the additional identity of a learning and developing teacher. This section features two extracts from S4's meetings with Aisha and Dan in which questions which elicit expertise (interestingly, again in the area of classroom management) are used to verify teachers' professional identities. These 'display questions' do not convey a challenging or disaffiliatory stance, nor are they intended to elicit unknown information. Instead, they seem designed purely to allow both teacher and supervisor to display their knowledge and experience and therefore function as a means of identity construction and verification.

Interestingly, in the extracts analysed below, this process seems to engender evaluations of face support.

In Extract 4.18 below, S4 asks Aisha to explain a strategy she uses to stop students speaking Arabic:

Extract 4.18

1	S4	you set up your class management
2	Aisha	mmhm
3	S4	could you explain to me what you did there?
4	Aisha	e:hh
5	S4	[for the Arabic
6	Aisha	ah usually this is what I do every time I I do something new
7	S4	mmhm
8	Aisha	ah but I have this this plan usually works for them I just do circles on the board↑ if
9		they speak Arabic the thing that they hate doing is homework or having a quiz so if
10		they speak Arabic they have a quiz the next day and I really do that with them if
11	S4	[mmhm
12	Aisha	they if they speak Arabic they have **extra** homework so they're very careful about
13		speaking Ara- they have ten Arabic words throughout the whole hour so they're
14		always careful is somebody speaks Arabic they would really get to her they will say
15		why did you say that word in Arabic? so they're very careful about that so I just
16		exes
17	S4	yeah I thought that was very successful throughout I mean normally with a (.) a
18		lower level class particularly when they've got an Arabic speaker is
19	Aisha	[mm [yes they take
20		advantage
21	S4	they take advantage of that and there tends to be a lot of Arabic in the class but
22		there was almost none so that's to be commended

S4 was present in the classroom, observing the lesson and could presumably see Aisha's strategy in operation so his question '*could you explain to me what you did there?*' (3) is not intended to elicit unknown information. In addition, S4's clarification after Aisha hesitates (4): '*for the Arabic*' shows that he already knows what her answer should be. The question has a formal construction and is reminiscent of an oral language exam where the examiner uses a 'tell me about X' construction to elicit spoken language from a candidate. Similarly, S4's question seems to function as a means of demonstration – in this case for Aisha to demonstrate expertise. Aisha complies and gives a detailed account of her strategy (6-16). S4 then makes evaluative comments (17-18, 22), the second of which has an oddly formal tone: '*that's to be commended*'.

S4's managerial identity of evaluator is being made relevant in this short extract. Holmes at al. (1999) report that expressing approval is one way that managers in their study 'do power'

and this extract shows the rights afforded to S4 to evaluate Aisha's performance. S4's identity of manager is also evident in his control of the conversation – he controls the topic and obligates Aisha to give an explanation. Aisha co-constructs this identity by willingly explaining her successful strategy. Both participants are indexing an identity of expertise and knowledge not only for Aisha as she explains her strategy but also for S4 as he demonstrates knowledge of the context: '*normally with a … a lower level class particularly when they've got an Arabic speaker …they take advantage*' (17-21). Both participants show alignment as Aisha completes S4's turn (19) (Lerner, 1996) and S4 repeats and thus confirms Aisha's utterance (21). Both these interactional moves of alignment and solidarity suggest that participants are orienting to an evaluation of face support (Arundale, 2010).

A similar trajectory is played out in the extract below from the meeting between S4 and Dan:

Extract 4.19

1	S4	u:m it was nice to see the (.) you started with a Do Now activity is that something
2		you've learned here or-
3	Dan	yes definitely yeah
4	S4	and I mean how do you how do you find that your class benefits from that
5	Dan	oh it's it just it gets them focused on what's coming up without me having to i- it it
6		puts the onus on the students to do something first of all instead of me just saying
7		oh eh come on sit down u:h if if I just literally I don't even say anything of-often
8	S4	[mmhm
9	Dan	I just point at the board and ew- (*laughs*) so I don't do it every single but em when
10		I've got a s- specific thing I'm trying to get to often you know I'll do that sometimes
11	S4	yeah I thought I thought it worked well
12	Dan	[I think it's it's great yeah I like those

The sequence starts and ends with a positive evaluation made by S4 (1 and 11) which again indexes a managerial identity (Holmes et al., 1999). S4 asks two questions to which he knows the answer (2 and 4). S4 knows that an in-house teacher development course drawing on Lemov's (2010) book of teaching techniques includes a strategy called '*Do Now*' where students are given a short writing task as soon as they enter the classroom in order to focus their attention and establish a working atmosphere. He also knows that Dan attended this course. Therefore, as in Extract 4.18, there is no epistemic gap to be filled. Another similarity with the previous extract is that the second question is rather formally constructed: '*how do you find that your class benefits from that?*' and seems intended solely for Dan to demonstrate knowledge and expertise, which he does (5-10).

S4's display question fosters a positive identity for Dan and a relationship of affiliation between the two participants evidenced by their overlapping positive comments at the end of the sequence (11-12). On reading this extract, S4 confirmed this interpretation:

> *I think I'm trying to get him to realise that he's improved as a teacher during his time with [the college] and look at how what he's doing helps his class.* (Extract from S4's participant perspective interview)

4.3.1.3. Teacher initiated, supervisor co/re-constructed

This section examines two data extracts which show how the supervisor (S4 in both cases) co-constructs a positive identity (Extract 4.20 below) and re-constructs a negative identity into a more positive one (Extract 4.21 below).

Extract 4.10 above showed how Stuart established the identity of an effective teacher who fostered motivated, independent students. In the extract below, taken from the same feedback meeting, S4 and Stuart co-construct and reinforce this positive identity as they talk about Stuart's ability to engage students. This aspect is particularly valuable in this context where, as discussed in section 4.3.1.1, students are positioned as difficult to manage and motivate. Prior to Extract 4.20 below, S4 and Stuart have been talking about using OneNote (a Microsoft application) to record lesson notes and S4's initial turn below refers to OneNote:

<u>Extract 4.20</u>

1	S4	I think it is the best use of it (.) really and you'll find it it helps and it eng- really
2		does engage the students not that you have a problem engaging the students
3		but you'll find it's (.) it's giving them the material that you're using in class
4		straightaway is there and accessible in front of them and they they can start
5		interacting with it
6	Stuart	engaging the students is not a problem I've got (.) the opposite really it's
7		like ok settle (.) settle down (*smile voice*)
8	S4	[mm [(*laughs*)
9		well they they we:re (.) they were good I mean the atmosphere's good and the-
10		they were all keen to answer and you were probing you were pushing and it's
11		you've obviously got the rapport with them (.) I think
12	Stuart	there- that wasn't so much at the beginning they were some of them **quite**
13		withdrawn at the beginning. but I would like to think that I've created an
14		[mmhm
15		environment there now where even the quieter ones and I'm thinking of a
16		couple in particular as I (see) it (.) are now quite happy to just jump in and put
17		their hand up
18	S4	that's good
19	Stuart	so this certainly something that that e- (.) you know has come about

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20    S4       mmhm
21             gradually (those) quiet students they're often following
22    S4                    [that's good they'll they take time
23    S4       yeah
24    Stuart   what's happening but (.) the louder students tend (.) to give all the answers em
25    S4       yeah
26    Stuart   I've tried to to move away from that
27    S4       yeah yeah and you were nominating and (.) you know not letting the quiet ones
28             hide so I mean I think that's good↓
```

After S4's first turn, Stuart picks up on his comment '*not that you have a problem engaging the students*' (2) even though this is almost an aside, sidestepping the more negative comment about his use of OneNote and giving Stuart the opportunity to constitute a more positive identity, one which S4 then co-constructs and strengthens. Stuart cleverly adopts a students' perspective, which might explain why his utterance is direct and does not feature any of the delicacy markers which would usually indicate this dispreferred option of self-praise:

```
6     Stuart   engaging the students is not a problem I've got (.) the opposite really it's
7              like ok settle (.) settle down (smile voice)
8     S4         [mm  [(laughs)
9              well they they we:re (.) they were good  I mean the atmosphere's good and the-
10             they were all keen to answer and you were probing you were pushing and it's
11             you've obviously got the rapport with them (.) I think
```

S4's laughter shows alignment (Glenn, 2003, Kangasharju and Nikko, 2009) as he responds to Stuart's humorous tone (and Stuart then responds to the 'laugh invitation' (Jefferson, 1984b) which strengthens their alignment (Glenn, 2003). S4 then explicitly verifies Stuart's positive identity as he shifts from praising the students: '*they were good*' to praising and giving credit to Stuart (9-11). S4 uses 'probing' and 'rapport', both words which feature in criteria on the institutional observation form (see Appendix 1) and this re-voicing serves to evaluate Stuart positively and further his professional identity by aligning him with institutionally valued attributes. Stuart then strengthens his identity of a skilled teacher as he explicitly takes credit: '*I would like to think I've created an environment*' (13-15) for transforming quieter students: '*some of them [were] quite withdrawn at the beginning'* (12-13) and building their confidence: '*now quite happy to just jump in and put their hand up*' (16-17). The phrase '*I would like to think*' (13) is interesting as Stuart seems to be presenting an ideal which he has achieved while at the same time perhaps using this phrase as a delay, mitigating a dispreferred turn of self-praise. S4 twice responds positively with '*that's good*' (18 and 22) and ends the episode by continuing to verify Stuart's positive identity: '*yeah and you were nominating and (.) you know not letting the quiet ones hide so I mean I think that's*

good' (27-28). In sum, this extract shows the process of co-construction and verification of an initial positive identity claim by both interactional partners.

The following extract shows the supervisor (S4) recasting a slightly problematic identity initiated by the teacher (Aoife) for a more positive one:

Extract 4.21

1	S4	so y- you weren't sure about that exercise was there anything else that y-you
2	Aoife	[mm
3	S4	thought didn't work or you would do differently next time↑
4	Aoife	we:ll em (.) **one** thing that I had planned↓ and it was to do with the vocab was to
5		go back (.) into the powerpoint
6	S4	mmhm
7	Aoife	em and I I em scuppered that because we were running out of ti- well no I was
8	S4	[that's right
9	Aoife	running out of time↑ and I hadn't realised that I would spend tha- I would milk the
10		first part quite so much so eh again it's my time management maybe em
11	S4	[mm [yeah I (xx)
12		I wouldn't say that's necessarily a criticism I think that showed good (0.2) good
13		foresight because you know I think sometimes if you stick rigidly to everything
14	Aoife	[mm [mm mm
15	S4	and then you don't wrap the lesson up at the end that for me is (.) is worse
16	Aoife	[mm
17	S4	because then it the lesson doesn't have the natural (.) start middle and end
18	Aoife	[yeah
19		yes yeah
20	S4	[and if you chop a little bit out of the middle as you're going along I think that's
21	Aoife	[mm mm
22	S4	probably more sensible approach
23	Aoife	[yeah well what I did the next day was the same se- eh
24		set of power points but with wi- but the word was was em gone↓
25	S4	ok
26	Aoife	I took the word out (.) and they had to try and **guess** what the what (0.1) what the
27		missing word was (.) em and that was just again to reinforce the vocabulary (.) em
28	S4	and how did they do were they-
29	Aoife	eh actually well then it was only the next morning yeah they were pretty good
30		[yeah

Prompted by S4, Aoife identifies 'time management' (10) as an area of weakness and she both stresses her own responsibility for this: '*we were running out of ti- well no I was running out of time*' (7-9) and hints that this may be a recurrent problem with the use of '*again'* (10). However, S4 then re-constructs this problem as the teacher making an informed and 'sensible' (22) decision. S4 thus shapes a more positive identity for Aoife. She then co-constructs this at the end of this sequence with evidence that students could remember the vocabulary she had taught them.

4.3.1.4. Supervisor initiated, teacher co-constructed

This section analyses extracts in which a positive teacher identity is initiated by the supervisor (S1 in both cases) and then co-constructed by the teacher. The first set of extracts come from a meeting between a long-serving teacher, John, who has been teaching at the institution for over 10 years, and S1, who is fairly new (in his second year) to the institution. S1 starts the meeting in his usual way, explaining the scoring system and setting up the meeting structure:

Extract 4.22

1	S1	John the way I do it i:s (.) we just kind of go through point by point (.) eh a three is
2		what I give myself when I teach
3	John	right
4	S1	[which is you're doing what you're supposed to be doing and everything's fine
5	John	mm hmm
6	S1	anything above that is stuff that I think oh this is cool or I can learn from this or I
7		can use this with other teachers anything below is something that maybe (.) you
8		know (.) could be worked on or improved or made better eh the last page is kind of
9		odd (.) the one about (.) quality and communication (.) almost everybody gets only
10		3s for that I mean as native speakers and having done this for a long time I find it
11		kind of odd that they would actually have that many bullets about quality of
12		communication but that's only that's my personal thing
13	John	right
14	S1	and then this is still like a living document so at any time throughout you can
15		question things we can modify things you can clarify you can say [S1] you forgot
16		this or I don't agree with that and I ty- I actually type it into here so that the final
17		one that we type up and sign is one that we've actually discussed and gone back
18		and forth
19	John	[ok

S1 indexes an identity of authority by setting the agenda, managing access to the floor (Ford, 2008, Pomerantz and Denvir, 2007, Svennevig, 2011) and by indicating his right to evaluate the lesson (Holmes et al., 1999). However, by criticising the observation form (8-12) and using the deictic '*they'* in line 11, S1 also distances himself from the institutional hierarchy and indicates alignment with John. S1 places emphasis on the negotiation aspect of the feedback form ('*it's a living document*' line 14), allowing the possibility that John may not agree with him and that the comments or scores may be changed, further indexing a relationship of equality. S1's next comment clearly constitutes John as an experienced teacher:

Extract 4.23

1	S1	so but you've been doing this a long time so you probably just wanna get out of
2		here right (laughs) as quickly as possible
3	John	[no that's fine

4	S1	em
5	John	I think my em lesson plan on my hard drive was: number sixteen so I must have
6		done nearly sixteen times
7	S1	◦wow◦ really yeah so you're an old hat at this em (.) now let's see start off with the
8		first part you had mostly everything was positive I think

S1's initial comment (1-2) seems to indicate that both he and John consider this feedback meeting a necessary institutional evil with limited value to John, presumably because of his experience: '*you probably just wanna get out of here right*' (1-2) with '*right'* functioning as a solidarity marker, assuming agreement. This is an example of 'double-voicing' (Baxter, 2014) as S1 anticipates John's concerns (that the meeting is a waste of time) in order to deflect criticism. This strategy is often used to resist threats from more powerful others and so by double-voicing, S1 casts himself in a less powerful role. S1's laugh invitation (Jefferson, 1984b), coming directly after '*right'* (2) seems to be seeking alignment but is not shared by John who downplays the suggestion that his time is being wasted, saying '*no that's fine'.* This is significant: both seem to orient to the idea that the supervisor is apologising to the teacher for the inconvenience of the feedback meeting, and John accepts the apology and seems to give permission for the meeting to proceed, subverting expected power relations and strengthening indications of equality in S1's previous turn. Emergent, thus, are shifting power identities and relations as S1 indexes authority, but also alignment and deference to the teacher's experience. John then co-constructs the identity of 'experienced teacher' by referring to the fact that he has been observed 16 times in this institution (5-6), and S1 ratifies this identity '*wow… so you're an old hat at this*' (26). The delicate balance of power then tips back to S1 as he initiates a topic change '*now let's see*' (26), turns their attention to the observation form: '*start off with the first page*' (7) and makes an evaluative comment: '*you had mostly everything positive I think*' (8).

What follows this opening sequence is a short meeting: 13:16 minutes, of which 7:33 is spent talking about the lesson and the rest of the time talking about other topics. The 7:33 minutes consist almost entirely of S1 praising John's lesson thereby reinforcing the 'experienced teacher' identity, for example:

Extract 4.24

1	S1	it's a clear you've been working with Gulf students for a long time (.) questions are
2		clear to the point you know and they have to self-correct by probing em (1) you
3		repeated slowed down you did everything you're supposed to do

1	S1	everything was stated clear I mean you've been doing this a long time you could
2		give a lesson on how to run the class you know (.) it's funny they still make you do
3		after all these years (xxx) observations

Note the deictic referent 'they' (2), signalling disalignment with the institution (despite the fact that S1 belongs to the management team that 'makes' teachers do observations), and alignment with John.

S1 gives no negative feedback. At one point, he attempts to make a suggestion that John could have used a YouTube video:

Extract 4.26

1	S1	you had good use of resources you had eh the photos the little power point set up I
2		did find some YouTube stuff about that Brunel guy which I thought you know but
3		your class is not laptop yet cos you're not foundations haven't moved up
4	John	eh these are level 3 students
5	S1	right so
6	John	and they're IT so they do have laptops
7	S1	oh so they do ok so they can they do have that kind of stuff all right so as they
8		come up
9	John	I just have to be a little bit em aware of time you know
10	S1	yeah
11	John	because we've got so much time pressure
12	S1	right right
13	John	..other stuff I can't spend too much time
14	S1	having fun (laughs) showing 8 minute YouTube videos
15	John	yes exactly

S1's suggestion at the beginning of the sequence (1-2) is half formed and tails off mid-construction: '*I did find some YouTube stuff about that Brunel guy which I thought you know but your class is not laptop yet cos you're not foundations haven't moved up*' (3). S1 is unwilling to complete his suggestion and stops after '*which I thought*'. His use of the addressee-oriented pragmatic particle '*you know*' shows S1 choosing a verbal strategy of solidarity (Holmes et al., 1999) over the more powerful stance of giving advice, despite the fact that S1's role requires this. S1 goes on to suggest that the video may not have been possible without students using laptops but as every classroom has a projector for the teacher's computer this comment seems to function as a mid-utterance opt out. John then corrects him, demonstrating superior knowledge and adding to his powerful identity of a knowledgeable teacher:

4	John	eh these are level 3 students
5	S1	right so
6	John	and they're IT so they do have laptops
7	S1	oh so they do ok so they can they do have that kind of stuff all right so as they
8		come up

John's slight hesitation '*eh*' before doing this and S1's fairly incoherent response (7-8) both indicate awareness of a dispreffered turn. John makes relevant his greater knowledge of the class and programme and then gently rejects S1's suggestion: '*I just have to be a little bit em aware of time you know*' (9) which is a reference to the pressure teachers feel to get through the syllabus at this level as they have only 4 hours a week with their class. John's use of mitigators (indicated in red) seems to suggest that he is orienting to delicacy and is aware of the potential face threat in rejecting S1's suggestion. The fact that he offers an explanation in lines 9 and 11 reinforces this interpretation. S1's subsequent concession is extreme - he performs an about turn, exaggerating and denigrating his suggestion: '*having fun (laughs) showing 8 minute YouTube videos*', as he completes John's turn and animates his voice, a move which demonstrates alignment with John (Lerner, 1996). S1 laughs but this laugh invitation (Jefferson, 1984b) is rejected by John who instead makes the interactionally more powerful move of agreeing with S1 (thereby agreeing with himself): '*yes exactly*' (15). This short exchange shows S1 co-constructed as the less knowledgeable, less powerful participant despite his institutional position, contrasting with a co-constructed identity of an experienced and knowledgeable teacher for John.

The extracts above show that by initiating and then co-constructing an 'experienced teacher' identity for John, S1 sets up a trajectory which makes giving negative feedback difficult. Analysis of S1's meeting with another experienced teacher shows a similar pattern. Like John, Greg has been teaching at the institution for over 10 years. The meeting, like John's, is very short (14.19 minutes) and again both participants make relevant an identity of 'experienced teacher' for Greg. For example, during their meeting Greg takes control both of the floor and S1's computer and spends four minutes demonstrating his ideas about using OneNote for lesson outlines, an interactionally powerful move. S1's response is to suggest that Greg gives a professional development session about this for other teachers, clearly indexing an identity of expertise for Greg. Greg finishes this sequence by saying:

Extract 4.27

1	Greg	and I think we should look at homework portfolios you could call it a homework
2		portfolio
3	S1	[uh hum
4	Greg	but it's not really it's a learning portfolio and I think we should be giving that whole

5		thing not just that little bit on independent learning tasks
6	S1	right right
7	Greg	but we should be giving the whole thing em a a mark on you know of this 8 percent
8		that goes to independent learning it's managing your learning and displaying what
9		you it's really an important part of the whole thing sorry
10	S1	ahh very cool
11	Greg	[back on track

Greg has initiated this discussion and keeps the floor with extended turns while S1's responses are minimal, subverting expected interactional patterns and also power relations. The repetition of '*we should'* (1, 4 and 7) shows confidence and assertiveness (compare this with 'could') and the fact that Greg talks about changing assessment practice indexes authority and knowledge because decisions involving assessment are normally made by supervisors. At the end of the turn, Greg says 'sorry', ostensibly apologising for taking the floor and dominating the talk with his own ideas. However, he again indexes power by turning the conversation '*back on track*' (11), as topic shift is normally the domain of the supervisor.

This meeting also shows S1's inability to maintain responsibility for the critical feedback he has written on the institutional observation form. The start of the meeting sees S1, as usual, outlining the scoring system:

Extract 4.28

1	S1	right so I'll just do this like I usually do (.) em when I do the observation (.) I look
2		for any teaching that would be similar to the way I teach so anything that's a 3 is
3		what I would give myself (.) anything that goes above that like I sometimes I do a
4		3/4 or a solid 4 is something that I have not seen before or I think this is
5		something I will share with other teachers or there's something that really stands
6		out and anything that falls below a 3 is something you might want to think about
7		or work on (.) in your case I don't think there was much I think it was very very
8	Greg	[yeah [yeah (xx)
9	S1	positive eh classroom
10	Greg	[language eh and eh clarity of eh aims and jumping through too many activities
11	S1	[maybe language [ok
12	S1	ok (laughs) yeah but that's in your personality so that's Greg (*smile voice*)
13	Greg	[in the lesson (xxxxx) valid eh (.) valid points well made (*small laugh*)

S1 moves very quickly from raising the issue of below standard teaching (6) to indicating that Greg's lesson was very good: '*in your case I don't think there was much I think it was very very positive eh classroom'* (7 and 9). However, the observation form (completed by S1 as he observed the lesson) has clearly been read by Greg before the meeting because he can pick out the negative feedback S1 has provided in written form: '*language eh and eh clarity of eh aims and jumping through too many activities*' (10). This is immediately downplayed by

S1, first by modifying: '*maybe language*' (11) and then by attributing them to Greg's personality (12), accompanied by a laugh and smile voice. S1 seems to be reluctant to confirm or pursue his negative comments in the meeting despite the fact that the language of instructions and too many activities have been flagged as problematic on the observation form. It is interesting that despite S1 downplaying his own criticism, Greg reminds S1 of these points (10) and also acknowledges the fairness and legitimacy of the observations: '*valid points well made'* (13).

This downplaying of written criticism is present throughout the meeting. In the extract below, S1 spends some time praising the lesson and making much of Greg's use of technology despite the fact that the observation form has highlighted too many activities as a problem:

Extract 4.29

26	S1	everything here was good↑ there were threes and fours em (.) you had a lot of
27		activities the technology that the students were able to use I was very (0.1)
28		shocked actually to say for Foundations em (.) you know they were making their
29		movie makers and they were showing me the stuff they had already produced (.)
30		em I hadn't seen anyone use the Macmillan online dictionary before (.) people
31		mention it↑ but em (0.1) I don't see it that often so it was good to see all the
32		different things and the hot potatoes and th- the vocabulary cloze I remember that
33		you created on your own I mean that takes a lot of time and effort (0.1) that stuff
34		makes class fun I mean the time **flew** (.) I couldn't believe how quickly it went by
35		

Later in the meeting, as S1 goes through the observation form point by point, he reads out his written comment about the number of activities (lines 1-2 below):

Extract 4.30

1	S1	learning objectives were referred to but the quick pace of the class and so many
2		different activities yeah left some of them behind
3	Greg	[yeah yeah it was too ambitious
4		definitely
5	S1	but you know you had mixed levels in there too (.) and most of them kept up↑
6	Greg	[yeah [yeah
7	Greg	but I think it was eh I think it was a bit much
8	S1	was it? Ok

The institutional power gap between S1 and Greg seems to have narrowed to such an extent that their roles are reversed: Greg produces the criticism, S1 seems almost to justify Greg's actions in line 5 and only after Greg twice insists that the activities were problematic does S1 accept his own written comments. Even then, his acceptance (8) is phrased as a question first as if dependent on Greg's evaluation of the lesson, not his own.

In the extract below, S1's reluctance to engage in criticism during the feedback meeting occurs again when they get to the part of the observation form concerned with giving instructions:

Extract 4.31

1	S1	the only one that was a 2.5 was 'the teacher speaks in a clear voice and uses
2		language appropriate'
3	Greg	mm
4	S1	I put 'sometimes your words are above the students level'
5	Greg	mm
6	S1	[especially when joking (.) but then I was in the audience so I was catching
7	Greg	[mm
8	S1	you know the humour in it (.) not sure if they did but then that's ok but you
		know
9	Greg	[mm [yeah no they
10		all definitely don't

S1 reads aloud his written criticism (1-2, 4) but then is reluctant to sustain the critical comment as he then defends Greg's problematic language use by suggesting that it is acceptable to use language and jokes which are above the level of the students because an observer is present (note the lexical choice 'audience' with its connotation that Greg is performing for S1).

4.3.2. Verification of supervisors' identities

The previous section showed ways that interactants verify positive identities for teachers. This section looks at how supervisors' identities are verified. Teachers often do this by complying with the rights afforded to supervisors by their institutional position and verifying supervisors' 'discourse identities' (Zimmerman, 1998). For example, teachers never refuse to answer a question, a compliance which verifies the supervisor's managerial identity as the person with the prerogative to ask questions and expect answers. Teachers rarely resist supervisors' agendas and rarely try to introduce new topics, again verifying the supervisors' 'manager' identity. Teachers verify supervisors' identities of expertise by agreeing with their suggestions, an example of which can be seen in Extract 4.32 below, highlighted in red:

Extract 4.32

27	S2	whe- when they're using em words that they have to memorise for a start
28		especially the irregular verbs it's often a good idea if they
29	Anisa	[yes
30	S2	**speak** it they're much more likely (.) to remember it
31	Anisa	mmhm

32	S2	and then use it in in the right context as well
33	Anisa	[yes true
34	S2	and they hear it and they hear each other speaking it as well and then you
35	Anisa	[mmhm
36	S2	mentioned sentences it wouldn't have done any harm for them to put together
37		you know maybe some simple sentences again like you did earlier on like I have
38		played football or I met my friends yes it wouldn't have taken (.) very long
39	Anisa	[yes initial yes [ah another
40		two or three minutes yes
41	S2	[yeah that's all
42	Anisa	ok all right yes↑

Teachers also verify the supervisory identity of advisor by explicitly recognising the value of suggestions (indicated in red in the two extracts below):

Extract 4.33

1	Eric	I see what you mean I think it's a good idea no I think it's a good idea
2	S2	[but something simple to (.)
3		to to add clarity and purpose to the speaking exercise
4	Eric	[yeah yeah
5	S2	**then** (.) you could have gone round the class
6	Eric	and just see how they were doing yeah that's a good idea actually
7	S2	[yeah
8		so you could've A guaranteed (.) speech
9	Eric	yeah
10	S2	and B elicited interaction to ensure that the concept had gone through
11	Eric	[yeah
12		yeah no I think that's a good idea
13	S2	as it wa:s (.) I wasn't completely convinced that (.)they were able to-
14	Eric	yeah no I-
15	S2	make the most of it
16	Eric	I think I think that's a very helpful observation I would say
17	Eric	[yeah
18		and again in coming in from the outside it's quite useful em you know as you
19		coming in to the classroom to observe you can ›(kind of sit there)‹ that sort of thing

Extract 4.34

1	Stuart	I'm happy for the nit-picking because it gives me ideas of (.) and otherwise we
2		tend to (.) to be honest we tend to teach in a vacuum often where you know
3		some of us are more self-directed than others possibly but we are still in a
4		vacuum (.) nit-pick please I'm happy to get it because it gives me ideas of things
5		to kind of play around with in the future (.) if it wasn't for your idea before I
6		probably wouldn't have been fiddling around with the video in the first place so
7		you know it's good ideas to kind of play with

Teachers therefore verify supervisors' identity claims with compliance and by accepting (and sometimes explicitly appreciating) supervisors' suggestions.

4.3.3. Discussion

This chapter illustrates how supervisors construct identities involving knowledge, power and authority and teachers constitute identities connected to professional competence, experience, knowledge, reflection and learning. The data extracts show that identities are discursively accomplished and rely on an interactional partner to be verified. In all the extracts above, identities are legitimised and supported. This is achieved by, for example, explicitly praising aspects of teachers' lessons, including use of technology and classroom management techniques (often linking this praise to criteria on the observation form), by contrasting teachers with others less proficient, and by asking questions which allow teachers to display their knowledge, experience and learning. Positive identities can be self-claimed. For example, Stuart establishes a positive identity by picking up on and expanding S4's aside and ignoring his more critical comment, and supervisors index authoritative, managerial identities by asking questions, initiating the meetings, outlining the content and structure of meetings and initiating new topics. These identities are then co-constructed by interlocutors. For example S4 verifies Stuart's identity claim with praise and positive evaluation and teachers legitimise supervisors' authoritative identities by acceptance and compliance. Positive identities can also be other-initiated. For example, S4 asks display questions which initiate a process of positive identity construction for Dan and Aisha, and S1 initiates an 'experienced' identify for John and Greg which is then verified by both interactional partners throughout the meetings.

Because these identities are uncontested, there is little evidence of face threat. For example, John and Greg do very little facework because S1 is complicit in co-constructing (and in fact often initiating) their 'experienced teacher' identity construction. In fact, the extracts with S4, Aisha and Dan show instances of face support, an area neglected in the literature (especially when contrasted with the attention given to face threat). On reading these extracts S4 talked about reassuring teachers and building relationships in the feedback meetings:

> *Observations are a big thing [in this institution] … they are the most important part of your evaluation so people are under enough pressure without adding to it. I think [feedback] should also serve to reassure…with a large team, observation feedback is one of the few times we get serious one-to-one time together, and it's about building relationships.* (Extract from S4's data interpretation interview)

This lends strength to the interpretation that his display questions are designed to highlight teachers' strengths and initiate positive teacher identities. The absence of face threat is

significant and supports the contention of this thesis that identity challenge engenders face threat. Chapter 5 comprises of extracts in which identity is challenged, causing face threat. Thus the fact that face is discussed more in Chapter 5 and hardly at all in this chapter point to the same conclusion: if identities are not challenged, face threat evaluations are not made.

Identity verification can, however, have negative consequences, as the extracts with S1, Greg and John show. The co-construction of a strong experienced identity for John and Greg overpowers S1's institutional role and seems to put him in a position of weakness which restricts his repertoire of actions to the extent that he is unable assert an identity of advisor and expert and to carry out his institutional duty of delivering negative feedback. His feedback instead consists almost entirely of description and praise, the usefulness of which is questionable.

The identities constructed in these meetings provide a picture of the institution and its values and priorities. Two specific identities are recurrent in the data and are consistently constituted as positive, clearly marking them as institutionally valued: the identity of a skilled, proficient, enthusiastic user of educational technology and the identity of a teacher experienced and able to manage the 'over enthusiastic' students. Supervisors maintain the prominence and positive aspect of these identities by repeatedly praising technology use and classroom management skills (in fact there are so many examples of this in the data that it was difficult to choose extracts to include in this chapter), often linking this praise to criteria on the institutional observation form. Teachers are also complicit in foregrounding these two identities by repeatedly claiming them and co-constructing them when initiated by the supervisor. Identity work therefore reflects, illuminates and inculcates institutional values.

These institutionally valued identities are also linked to teacher development. As teachers construct these valued identities, they make evident processes of learning and development (while at the same time constructing the positive identity of a developing teacher). For example, teachers experiment with technology (e.g. Stuart with videos, Aoife with a clicker, Joseph with Socrative), and learn from courses (e.g. Eric with ICDL, Dan with the in-house classroom management course). S4 paints a very positive picture of technology-related teacher development:

> *And with like the use of the tech in class, for example (0.2) I was behind a lot of these*
> *annoyances or innovations, depending on which side of the fence you sit. But when*

you see people making good use of Blackboard or tech or the iPads (.) particularly
people for whom you know it's a challenge (.) you know aren't naturally techy (2.0)
that I find satisfying. It's not all down to me, but I've been behind a lot of it (0.5) and
it's good to see people embracing it and improving as teachers as a result. (Extract
from S4's interview)

This comment makes clear S4's influence in the push to use technology: '*I was behind a lot*
of these annoyances or innovations, depending on which side of the fence you sit… It's not
all down to me, but I've been behind a lot of it'. His comment also shows that he equates
technological expertise with good teaching: '*it's good to see people embracing [technology]*
and improving as teachers as a result'. It is therefore unsurprising that S4 values a 'techy'
identity. Like all observers, S4 has his own prejudices and preferences which influence his
judgement and feedback. This in turn may influence teachers' choices in what to learn and
how to develop – it seems at least to influence what learning and development they choose
to highlight in the feedback meeting. Context therefore shapes identities (Clarke, 2008, Eren-
Bilgen and Richards, 2015, Lui and Xu, 2013, Rodgers and Scott, 2008, Tsui, 2007) as
teachers position themselves in relation to contextual values.

The data also suggest that a function of feedback is conformity. Feedback in this institution
seems to be part of a process of fitting teachers into a particular identity mold, the shape of
which is summarised by S3's description of 'poor' teachers:

…if they are poor, if they have weak technical skills, or aren't culturally-sensitive, or
classroom management issues. (Extract from S3's interview)

The preferred identity is therefore a culturally-sensitive, technologically savvy teacher able to
control the students. For S1, a supervisor in his second year at the time of data collection,
contextually experienced teachers such as John and Greg are already shaped and fit for
purpose, as he makes clear in his interview when he relates a conversation he had with a
teacher new to the institution:

I said 'No, we want to make you into the super teachers that we have that have been
here for 10 or 15 years.'

His inclusive pronoun 'we' and the verbs of desire and agency: '*we want to make you into*
super teachers' shows that (for S1 at least) feedback is part of an institutional process of

transforming or 'normalising' teachers. This process includes the expectation that new teachers will have to conform to a particular way of teaching, clarified in interview comments from S3 and S1:

> *…identifying basically if the teacher is teaching in a manner that is deemed by the administration to be the most appropriate and culturally-sensitive to the area* (S3)

> *If it's [new teachers'] first year, we have to make sure that they're teaching the way that we expect them to teach in [name of the college]* (S1)

The institution ('*we*') will monitor or check the transformation: '*we have to make sure*' against standards, '*the way that we expect them to teach*' '*in a manner that is deemed by the administration to be the most appropriate'.* Observation and feedback is one way that the institution applies a 'normalising gaze' (Foucault, 1979).

4.4 Conclusion

The extracts in this chapter show that a set of common identities are negotiated during feedback through various means which include asking questions, praising, directing, complying with requests and claiming membership of groups. Participants' construction of their own and each other's identities reflect and reiterate wider discourses and values. One major finding of the analysis in this chapter is that interlocutors have a profound effect on identity construction. Chapter 5 develops this idea by looking at what happens when positive claimed identities are challenged and examines how participants negotiate identity challenge and the ensuing risk of face threat.

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: CHALLENGING IDENTITIES

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter analysed data extracts in which identities are claimed, verified and co-constructed. In contrast, this chapter illustrates what happens when identities are challenged or contested. The first section looks at challenges to teachers' identities involving knowledge and experience. The next two sections investigate how supervisors' identities are contested, firstly identities concerning expertise and knowledge and secondly, identities invoking authority and power. The chapter concludes by summarising the findings from Chapters 4 and 5, and by highlighting the importance and influence of identity and face in feedback talk in this data set.

5.2. Challenging teachers' identities

This section features extracts in which teachers' positive identities are challenged by supervisors. This is the most common identity challenge within the data set as supervisors frequently comment critically on the teacher's observed lesson. This is unsurprising as a supervisor's job involves identifying areas for improvement. In challenging a teacher's actions and drawing attention to poor teaching practice, however, supervisors altercast the teacher's identity (Tracy, 2013) i.e. a positive identity constructed by the teacher is contested as the supervisor indexes an alternative, disvalued one. This action is potentially face threatening. Four extracts have been chosen to illustrate this dynamic. The first two extracts come from a meeting between S4 and Dan and have been chosen on the basis that they are fairly typical. Both extracts follow a common pattern in which, following critical comment from the supervisor, participants negotiate identities and seem to manage face threat fairly successfully. The third extract is from a meeting between S3 and Eric in which the supervisor's critical challenge to Eric's professional identity seems to result in him making an evaluation of face threat. The fourth extract with S2 and Eric has been chosen to show how the same critical challenge with the same teacher (Eric) can effect a very different result because the supervisor indexes a different identity and does face work to manage the challenge.

5.2.1. S4 and Dan

In Extract 5.1 below, S4 and Dan are talking about a speaking activity in which the target language was the modal 'would':

Extract 5.1

| 1 | S4 | ok then we moved on t:o (.) we'd done the listening (0.1) and then we had th:e |
| 2 | | the speaking which was trying to use would and some of the earlier vocabulary↑ |

3	Dan	[yeah
4	S4	now I mean how how well do you think the speaking activity went
5	Dan	ahh↑ (outbreath) I mean I think it went all right the main thing was I was trying to
6		get them (0.2) the modality↓ was the big thing instead of saying it is
7	S4	[mmhm↑
8	Dan	or it w- you know to to have this idea that (.) would is for things that are not real↓
9		necessarily so I **thought** I was hearing some pretty good stuff there
10	S4	[yeah
11	Dan	e:m some students were trying to even take it further
12	S4	mmhm↑
13	Dan	into like second conditional territory which we're not (.) there yet but if they can go
14		there great
15	S4	mmhm↑
16	Dan	e:m (.) *(tut sigh)* I mean it could've been maybe a little bit more focused I guess but
17		(0.2) *(sound of pages turning)* you know *(laughs)* I dah- I didn't have
18	S4	[well I mean there's
19		always there's always em
20	Dan	yeah I didn't have a **ton** of ideas for that em maybe you can suggest
21	S4	em↑ (0.1) yeah and I mean something I do mention in my feedback as well
22	Dan	[mm
23	S4	**formally** is about to think about how can you (.) facilitate this discussion I mean
24		think for yourself when you were eighteen if were doing a foreign language class
25	Dan	right
26	S4	and the:n let's imagine you and I are in this (.) I don't know Arabic class and then
27		they expect us to sit and have a discussion
28	Dan	mm
29	S4	in a lan- in another language it's very **alien** so (.) it's something I think you have to
30		build up to with small exercises in class (.) it needs (0.2) perhaps a a good model
31	Dan	[ok
32		all right
33	S4	of what's happening now how you model that is obviously up to you but there's
34		different ways I mean I've done it if it's perhaps a two or three person discussion I
35		play all three parts
36	Dan	mmhm
37	S4	and jump around and make them laugh a bit
38	Dan	*(small laugh)*
39	S4	you know and you can do things like when I was at the men's I used to have
40		different hats that I put on so they knew it was a different person or I'd sit in
41		different chairs (.) um I've seen other teachers use extranormal which is I don't
42		know if you're aware of?
43	Dan	mm mm *(indicating 'no')* °sorry°
44	S4	it's a it's great it's great fun *(smile voice)* um (.) it's a website where you can (0.1) it
45		has characters that you give dialogue and it animates them
46	Dan	oh I **have** seen that not in English teaching but I've yes (xxx)
47	S4	[yeah [yeah and it's you can
48		exploit it just stay away from the S and M pigs
49	Dan	*(laughs)*
50	S4	(xxxxxxxxxxx) them in there *(laugh voice)*
51	Dan	I've heard yeah eh-
52	S4	but it's that's quite good you know you can sort of i- cos it's it's very it's still very
53		sort of you know Stephen Hawking language *(imitates computer voice)* but you can

54	Dan	[mmhm
55		yeah
56	S4	you can at least you know you can get one of the animals says to the other one so
57		you know what's your dream house I I would live in
58	Dan	*(laughs)* right
59	S4	[you know that's (with the)
60	Dan	extranormal?
61	S4	yeah with an ex eh Sarah is a whiz kid with it Maureen uses it quite a lot as well
62	Dan	all right↑

At the beginning of this sequence, S4 initiates a new topic (1-2). S4's topic shift indexes an identity of authority and assertiveness (Angouri and Marra, 2011, Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris, 1997) but his use of '*we*' projects another more inclusive identity, as S4 seems to be aligning himself either with Dan or with the class as he describes the next stage of the lesson. S4's use of 'now' makes it clear that his previous utterance was a preamble and the focus of his turn will follow. S4 then asks an 'account solicitation' (Bolden and Robinson, 2011) question: '*How well do you think the speaking activity went?*'. These types of question differ from those which genuinely aim to elicit unknown information (K-, in Heritage's (2007) terms, i.e. lack of knowledge): they are evaluative rather than epistemic. Unlike K- questions, account requests are socially problematic because the speaker '*has (and is recognised to have) an epistemic capacity to "competently" assess the accountable event*' (Bolden and Robinson, 2011: 96). This means that the purpose of account requests is not to elicit unknown information but rather to convey a challenging stance towards the warrantability of an accountable event/conduct and/or to take a critical, dissafiliatory stance towards the addressee. These questions implicate the negatively valenced action of criticism: '*one person raises a question about the goodness or reasonableness of another person's action*' (Tracy, 2013: 92). S4's question, therefore, challenges the teacher's professional identity by calling into question a classroom decision.

Dan responds initially with a positive account '*I think it went all right*' (5) followed by a fairly strong and detailed defence showing awareness of what students were doing and indicating that they were using the target language, i.e. Dan projects an identity of a competent, aware teacher. However, Dan's defence is mitigated (indicated in red below) which suggests that he is orienting to S4's question as a reproach and knows he is producing a dispreferred response by disagreeing with S4's challenging stance:

5	Dan	ahh↑ (outbreath) I mean I think it went all right the main thing was I was trying to
6		get them (0.2) the modality was the big thing instead of saying it is
7	S4	[mmhm↑
8	Dan	or it w- you know to to have this idea that (.) would is for things that are not real↓

9		necessarily so I **thought** I was hearing some pretty good stuff there
10	S4	[yeah
11	Dan	e:m some students were trying to even take it further
12	S4	mmhm↑
13	Dan	into like second conditional territory which we're not (.) there yet but if they can go
14		there great
15	S4	mmhm↑

Throughout this short exchange, S4's response is non-committal with only brief response tokens at possible transition relevant places with a rising intonation which indicates a 'keep going' message. Perhaps because of S4's lack of engagement or explicit agreement, Dan then voluntarily concedes that the activity could have been more '*focused'* (16-17):

16	Dan	e:m (.) (tut sigh) I mean it could've been maybe a little bit more focused I guess but
17		(0.2) (*sound of pages turning*) you know (*laughs*) I dah- I didn't have
18	S4	[well I mean there's
19		always there's always em
20	Dan	yeah I didn't have a **ton** of ideas for that em maybe you can suggest
21	S4	em↑ (0.1) yeah and I mean something I do mention in my feedback as well

The concession is surrounded by markers of delicacy: a tut, a sigh, a laugh, a long preamble, hesitation and five modifiers (could've been; maybe; a little bit; I guess; but). These are interesting but difficult to interpret. As Dan now seems to be aligning with S4's hint that the activity may have been problematic, these markers do not indicate a dispreferred response. Instead, they may signal Dan's reluctance to concede that the activity had weaknesses. This interpretation is supported by Dan's comment '*I didn't have a **ton** of ideas*' (20) which suggests that he did however have *some* ideas. Alternatively, these modifiers may be self-protective facework, delaying his capitulation. Dan's next utterance is significant because he asks S4 for suggestions (20) which implicates an identity of expertise and experience for S4: S4 is positioned in the powerful role of expert and advisor. This also gives an opening to S4 to be able to proceed with the face threatening move of advice more easily. S4's aim from his initial turn is clearly directed towards giving suggestions for task improvement, evidenced by the fact that he has already written his suggestions on the observation form '*I mean something I do mention in my feedback as well formally*' (21).

Although Dan has given S4 'permission' to proceed with suggestions, S4 still does face work while delivering these. He delays the suggestion with a preamble, setting up an imaginary situation (note the inclusive '*you and I are in this I don't know Arabic class*' (26)) and the suggestion itself is mitigated with pauses, hesitation and a modifier: '*(.) it needs (0.2) perhaps*

a a good model (30). S4 uses jokes, for example '*just stay away from the S and M pigs*' (48), which provokes shared laughter, indicating alignment (Glenn, 2003). The sequence ends with Dan checking the name of the suggested software and his rising intonation on '*all right*' (62) suggests interest.

Identity and face are being negotiated in this short extract. S4's higher status position is signalled by his right to request an account and by obligating Dan to respond he is also indexing Dan's lower status. The fact that Dan's responding account is initially positive and his concession is much more heavily mitigated than his initial evaluation suggests he is working to protect his own professional identity. However, Dan seems to realise the trajectory of the conversation and co-constructs S4's 'expertise' identity by conceding and deciding to cooperate by asking for S4's suggestion (the outcome S4 is heading for). Face threat in the shape of criticism, disagreement and giving suggestions is recognised and managed (by both parties) through various means such as hesitation, delay, mitigators such as adverbs and modal verbs, and humour. This negotiation seems successful as alignment is indicated at the end of the sequence and Dan seems to accept S4's suggestions with interest.

Later in the same feedback meeting between S4 and Dan, this pattern is replicated. This sequence sees S4 and Dan discussing an activity where students had to talk about their dream house:

<u>Extract 5.2</u>

1	S4	do you think your students were having lots of ideas? (0.1) o:r (.) were they
2		struggling perhaps
3	Dan	I thought that they were I didn't hear a lot of stuff that was like shockingly original
4		but it did seem like they (.) at least (.) you know I mean ok a lot of people wanna
5	S4	[mmhm
6	Dan	live near the beach (*laughs*) you know s:o (*outbreath*)
7	S4	[(xx)
8	Dan	(0.2) that's a hard one to e- I don't know I mean I don't know if they just don't have
9		the ideas or if they just can't express interesting ideas that they have that's a good
10	S4	[yeah
11	Dan	question e:m
12	S4	[I mean maybe this is somewhere you could give them again a bit more
13		structure
14	Dan	ok
15	S4	like you know you could've had a again perhaps a sub page that went up with like a
16		spidergram of you know em location
17	Dan	mmhm
18	S4	e:m
19	Dan	[oh right ok different attri- yeah right
20	S4	[yeah you know location em (0.2) country I'm just

21		thinking off the top of my head now size yeah yeah
22	Dan	[or [size or style or whatever yeah ok
23	S4	just to structure it that little bit because they're (.) they they don't make these
24		connections themselves I mean if you were to do it with perhaps some
25	Dan	[right
26	S4	other nationalities it would (.) you know it would be a very natural yeah
27	Dan	[they're off and running
28		right
29	S4	they they'd just do with it
30	Dan	[yeah all right that's that's good (.) yeah sometimes with
31		speaking I think I tend sometimes I don't have that structure as I would with writing
32		where of course ok now here's paragraph body one and all where's the topic
33		sentence and all this…

This time S4's initial question more clearly indexes a critical stance. On the surface, the question seems to require Dan to choose between two opposing propositions. However, it is clear that S4 aligns with the second, negative evaluation. The two pauses and the modifier '*perhaps*' indicate that S4 is orientating to delicacy which strengthens this interpretation and his unusual use of the determiner 'your' in '*your students*' (participants almost always say *the* students) indicates Dan's responsibility for the (implied) lack of ideas. Dan can respond in two ways. He can choose the positive proposition and disagree with S4 which is face threatening for two reasons: first, this will threaten S4's professional identity of accurate assessor of teaching, and second, disagreement is a dispreferred response. Alternatively, he can choose the negative proposition, thus agreeing with S4, but this will compromise his own professional identity of a competent teacher and therefore entails face threat to himself. Dan starts with an unmitigated defence (indicated in blue below): '*I thought they were*' (3) and his comment that students' ideas were not '*shockingly original*' clearly conveys his opinion that they didn't need to be. He then starts to add something '*but it did seems like they*' (4), the construction of which suggests he wants to say that they did have ideas, but then he falters and hesitates before returning to his suggestion that it was unnecessary for students to produce interesting ideas (4-6):

3	Dan	I thought that they were I didn't hear a lot of stuff that was like shockingly original
4		but it did seem like they (.) at least (.) you know I mean ok a lot of people wanna
5	S4	[mmhm
6	Dan	live near the beach (*laughs*) you know s:o (*outbreath*)
7	S4	[(xx)
8	Dan	(0.2) that's a hard one to e- I don't know I mean I don't know if they just don't **have**
9		the ideas or if they just can't express interesting ideas that they have that's a good
10	S4	[yeah
11	Dan	question e:m

Delicacy indicators (highlighted in red) mitigate his resistance to S4's reproach and show his recognition of the social delicacy involved in disagreeing but he maintains his distinction between having ideas and having interesting ideas (8-9).

So far, there has been delicate negotiation of face. S4 produces an account request (a couched criticism) which challenges Dan's 'experienced teacher' identity. Dan then produces a defence and disagrees with S4, a face threatening move (Rees-Miller, 2000: 1089) which challenges S4's professional identity (Schnurr and Chan, 2011) but he uses a range of 'linguistic jewellery' (Tracy, 2008) (highlighted in red above) to mitigate this challenge. In the meantime, S4 again remains uncommitted and utters only brief response tokens. Dan then concedes a little with the face saving strategy of recognising merit in S4's question: '*that's a good question*' (9-11) which seems to extricate both parties from face threat, opening the door to further discussion. The last part of the sequence is then realised as S4 responds with the suggestion he has probably planned from the beginning of the episode:

```
12    S4              [I mean maybe this is somewhere you could give them again a bit more
13           structure
14    Dan    ok
15    S4     like you know you could've had a again perhaps a sub page that went up with like a
16           spidergram of you know em location
```

Dan's compliance has allowed S4 to make the suggestion but S4 still uses preambles and modifiers (indicated in red) to soften this interactionally powerful move. S4 chooses the modal 'could' rather than 'should' thus avoiding an expression of strong obligation and a critical stance i.e. by presenting his suggestions as possibilities or alternatives, S4 is communicating a more affiliative stance. S4 also makes another face saving move by modifying his criticism by indicating that the activity would have been successful with different students '*other nationalities*' who would not have needed the extra prompts, shifting the lack of success from Dan, somewhat, to the students.

The rest of this sequence suggests that face threat has been successfully negotiated. Dan completes S4's utterance twice (22 and 27) and S4 repeats Dan's utterance (29). These collaborative completions show alignment between the two participants (Lerner, 1996). Dan's final comment '*that's good (.) yeah sometimes with speaking I think I tend sometimes I don't have that structure*' seems to be a concession/recognition of the value of S4's suggestion but at the same time can also be understood as a reassertion of his professional identity as he projects himself as a good writing teacher.

These extracts show a delicate balancing act of criticism, defence and concession. S4's professional identity remains undamaged as, unsurprisingly (given S4's position and the purpose of the meeting), Dan concedes to the criticism and both times allows S4 to achieve his aim of giving advice, a move which confirms S4's identity of knowledge and expertise and helps fulfil the goal of the meeting. Dan manages to retain his professional identity to some extent, but he is unwilling to challenge S4's identity any further than a conceded mitigated defence and therefore allows S4 to keep his position of power which upholds their institutional roles of supervisor and teacher.

5.2.2. S3 and Eric

Extract 5.3 below follows a similar pattern, beginning with an account request followed by the teacher's account. Like Extract 5.1 and 5.2 above, this again manifests a challenge to a teacher's 'experienced' identity but in this instance, the resultant face threat is not managed and the teacher seems to orient to an evaluation face threat, if not impoliteness. One reason for this may be that the supervisor in this extract (S3) delivers criticism more openly and explicitly with less face work. This type of bald and direct criticism is unusual in the data set where supervisors mostly seem to try to balance evaluation with approbation in an effort to enhance teaching while maintaining teacher confidence. Furthermore, I had the opportunity to share this data extract with three separate groups of fellow researchers. A total of 21 people attended these three sessions and all reacted with incredulity at this extract which seems to indicate that S3 may go beyond the boundary of acceptable behaviour and cross into face threat or even impoliteness.

Extract 5.3

1	S3	a:m so the instructions for the pair work
2	Eric	mm
3	S3	(.) I mean I've written in here the very basics which you probably know↑
4	Eric	[mm [mm [mm
5	S3	but I've written them down again is why didn't you (.) get them to model
6		it↑ (*strong rising intonation*)
7	Eric	[mm mm
8	S3	(2.0) I mean (*laughs*)
9	Eric	[I think the only thing I can think is probably you know because
10		I'm thinking about the time and I'm worried about the timing then I'm I
11		think I was probably-
12	S3	yeah
13	Eric	wanting to kind of launch into it and-
14	S3	yeah but more time I think I said at the end
15	Eric	[and [yeah yeah
16	S3	more time↑ (.) spent on (0.2) more time spent on the actual **delivery**
17	Eric	mm

18	S3	and the instruction
18	Eric	mm
20	S3	will mean more time spent on the learning
21	Eric	[mm [mm mm
22	S3	because eh the (*sighs*) the other problem I had is it wasn't just that activity
23		that they didn't do right they didn't do any of it right
24	Eric	[mm
25	S3	(0.3) from my- where I was sitting
26	Eric	[mm mm
27	S3	I mean (.) they were (.) those who were doing it the two or three who were
28		doing it are were boys who could do it anyway
29	Eric	[mm [yeah yeah
30	S3	the **rest** were babbling in Arabic very quietly (.) to get the answers↓
31	Eric	[mm mm
32	S3	and they were then filling them in or they **weren't** filling them in
33	Eric	[mm
34	S3	but how did you **check** if they had done it? Can you remember? **Any** of it?
35	Eric	em (*sniffs*) (3.0) e:m
36	S3	can you remember? (*voice sounds further away*)
37	Eric	I think I I-
38	S3	cos it's the same method
39	Eric	yeah I mean I think I tried to go to different groups and to walk around to
40		keep an eye on what they were doing (*rustling sound*)
41	S3	yeah↑ (*voice from a distance*)
42	Eric	so I sort of felt as though they **were** (0.2) doing it
43	S3	no (*clipped, falling intonation*)
44	Eric	◦ don't think so◦ thank you *(she gives him something?)*
45	S3	a lot of the time↓ I mean you did you walked around the groups so you
46		were monitoring
47	Eric	yeah
48	S3	but what you monitoring and actually **saying** to them was you were telling
49		them the **task** again (.) because the instruction hadn't been clear enough
50	Eric	ok
51	S3	so although your **intent** was to monitor
52	Eric	yeah
53	S3	you ended up having to explain to them what to do (*short laugh*)
54	Eric	[explain again mm
55	S3	and **then** somebody else took your attention so what was actually
56	Eric	[mm
57	S3	happening was when you were getting feedback ok all right guys
58	Eric	[mm [mm mm
59	S3	like when you got the feedback and they had they had the question wrong
60	Eric	[yeah
61	S3	was one student
62	Eric	ok
63	S3	almost every time they choral responses were coming from one boy
64	Eric	[mm

S3 starts with a boundary marker 'so' to indicate a shift in topic (1). The fact that she has already written this feedback on the observation form (3) means that, like S4 in Extract 5.1

above, this account request is pre-meditated. One issue with a premeditated request is that supervisors have time to prepare what they want to say but teachers are at a disadvantage, being required to give their defence without prior thought so this adds to the existing power imbalance. As one of the teachers in this study commented during an interview:

> *When you're in front of a supervisor and they're asking you things you're kind of a bit tend to be a bit defensive and you're trying to pre-empt what they're thinking and I didn't really fully explain because it threw me a bit so I felt like I was trying to defend myself* (Extract from interview with Niamh)*.*

The account request: '*why didn't you (.) get them to model it*?' (5) differs from S4's questions in that it is direct and the strong rising intonation indicates surprise and even disbelief which makes the utterance face threatening. It is also a negative interrogative which is clearly a reproach as it presents 'modelling it' as the (not achieved) ideal. By asking the question in this way, S3 is projecting an identity of power i.e. a person who has the right to produce such a bald reproach. Added to this is the comment in line 3 that this is a '*very basic'* issue which S3 says Eric '*probably knows'*; however, the implication is that he should know but doesn't, has forgotten, or didn't care, any of which explicitly challenge Eric's identity of an experienced, professional teacher. S3's account request obliges Eric to respond but instead he only utters '*mm'* followed by a long, two second silence. Eric's silence could indicate an unspoken disagreement with S3's evaluation, a reluctance or inability to respond or a recognition of bald, on-record (Brown and Levinson, 1987) face threat, shock, or a mixture of any of these. S3 breaks the problematic silence with a filler and a laugh with which she seems to try to reduce tension (Kangasharju and Nikko, 2009). It is telling that Eric does not respond to the laugh invitation.

Eric's ensuing account (9-13) is a highly mitigated (highlighted in red) defence (highlighted in blue):

7	Eric	[mm mm
8	S3	(2.0) I mean (*laughs*)
9	Eric	[I think the only thing I can think is probably you know because
10		I'm thinking about the time and I'm worried about the timing then I'm I
11		think I was probably-
12	S3	yeah
13	Eric	wanting to kind of launch into it and-
14	S3	yeah but more time I think I said at the end
15	Eric	[and [yeah yeah
16	S3	more time↑ (.) spent on (.) more time spent on the actual **delivery**
17	Eric	mm
18	S3	and the instruction

19	Eric	mm
20	S3	will mean more time spent on the learning
21	Eric	[mm [mm mm

S3 then performs another face threatening move by interrupting Eric's account (14) and rejecting it. Following the norms of conversation, Eric as the account giver responding to an account request has the right to keep the floor to finish. S3's interruption indexes her power (Schnurr, 2013) and her authoritative identity is strengthened by the first pause in line 16 and the intonation before this pause, which indicates that she is making an important point and cannot be interrupted. S3 then goes on to give unsolicited advice (16-20) which is the culmination of a triple face threat (interruption, rejection, unsolicited advice). This is then followed by another face threatening move of direct criticism, this time not even couched in a question (22-23):

22	S3	because eh the (*sighs*) the other problem I had is it wasn't just that activity
23		that they didn't do right they didn't do any of it right
24	Eric	[mm
25	S3	(0.3) from my- where I was sitting
26	Eric	[mm mm
27	S3	I mean (.) they were (.) those who were doing it the two or three who were
28		doing it are were boys who could do it anyway
29	Eric	[mm [yeah yeah
30	S3	the **rest** were babbling in Arabic very quietly (.) to get the answers↓
31	Eric	[mm mm
32	S3	and they were then filling them in or they **weren't** filling them in
33	Eric	[mm
34	S3	but how did you **check** if they had done it? Can you remember? **Any** of it?

Her challenging stance is explicit: there is a sigh (22), there is an explicit acknowledgement of a problem and the criticism is stated baldly with no 'linguistic jewellery' (Tracy, 2008) to soften face threat: '*it wasn't just that activity that they didn't do right they didn't do any of it right*' (22-23) layering on the criticism with a 'not just X but Y' construction. This is followed by silence (25) which may indicate Eric orienting to face threat (or even impoliteness). S3 breaks the silence by commenting: '*from where I was sitting*' (25) which may be a modifier made in response to Eric's silence. However, this comment also implies observational evidence (as well as the implication that hers was the more perceptive view) which is difficult for Eric to argue with. S3 produces another account request, asked in triplicate: '*but how did you **check** if they had done it? Can you remember? **Any** of it*?' (34). This is confrontational. Eric is given no time to answer the first two questions and the stress on '*any*' in the third seems to suggest Eric's inadequacy. In addition, the use of 'hyperquestioning' i.e. repeated questioning within a turn leaving no opportunity for response, signals that the questioner considers the addressee problematic (Roberts and Sarangi, 1995).

Eric has now faced a list of evidence of his wrong doing so it is unsurprising that a reply is not immediately forthcoming. Indeed, his choices are limited. To disagree would effect a major disagreement and her clear indexing of power makes that very difficult. Eric hesitates ('*um*') and there is a three second silence followed by another hesitation clearly indicating that Eric is reluctant or unable to respond and evidencing the existence of face threat. In his interview, Eric commented on his reluctance to disagree with S3

> *I didn't want to get on her wrong side, so whatever she'd suggested [laughs] you know, I know to kind of go along with and not argue with*

Going on evidence from prior turns, he may also suspect his account will be rejected. S3 prompts Eric again, pushing him for a reply. Eric gives an account (39-42, highlighted in blue) but it is hesitant (indicated in red) and unconvincing – there is a long pause before '*doing it*' (42):

35	Eric	em (*sniffs*) (3.0) e:m
36	S3	can you remember? (*voice sounds further away*)
37	Eric	I think I I-
38	S3	cos it's the same method
39	Eric	yeah I mean I think I tried to go to different groups and to walk around to
40		keep an eye on what they were doing (*rustling sound*)
41	S3	yeah↑ (*voice from a distance*)
42	Eric	so I sort of felt as though they **were** (0.2) doing it
43	S3	no (*clipped, falling intonation*)
44	Eric	◦ don't think so◦ thank you (*she gives him something?*)

His account is then rejected baldly '*no*' with intonation clearly indicating confidence in her assessment. This disagreement is so bald that it produced gasps of horror from many participants in the data groups. This reaction suggests that S3 may be breaching social norms and going beyond what is acceptable in the genre of feedback meetings, and as such her behaviour runs to the risk of being interpreted as impolite (Bousfield and Locher, 2008, Culpepper, 2008, Locher and Watts, 2008, Mills, 2005).

S3 then goes on to explain why Eric's account is wrong:

45	S3	a lot of the time↓ I mean you did you walked around the groups so you
46		were monitoring
47	Eric	yeah
48	S3	but what you monitoring and actually **saying** to them was you were telling
49		them the **task** again (.) because the instruction hadn't been clear enough
50	Eric	ok
51	S3	so although your **intent** was to monitor

52	Eric	yeah
53	S3	you ended up having to explain to them what to do (*short laugh*)
54	Eric	[explain again mm
55	S3	and **then** somebody else took your attention so what was actually
56	Eric	[mm
57	S3	happening was when you were getting feedback ok all right guys
58	Eric	[mm [mm mm
59	S3	like when you got the feedback and they had they had the question wrong
60	Eric	[yeah
61	S3	was one student
62	Eric	ok
63	S3	almost every time they choral responses were coming from one boy
64	Eric	[mm

S3's epistemic authority in describing the situation is not mitigated (for example by using modal or mental verbs) and this suggests she feels her diagnosis of the situation is indisputable. S3 is making relevant an identity of a powerful authoritative superior: she has the right, knowledge and expertise to assess Eric's teaching negatively in a bald, explicit, unmitigated style. Eric's lack of response (consisting mostly of short response tokens like 'mm') during this extract shows that he recognises and co-constructs this, an interpretation supported by comments from his interview:

> *She wasn't interested in what I had to say or why I did what I did (laughs). A lot of it's about seniority and power and this is what I think, I think this you are wrong basically whatever your explanation is it's not as good because this is what I think.*

However, Eric's lack of engagement may also indicate an orientation to face threat or even impoliteness. Eric's identity of a competent professional teacher has been dismantled by a list of unmitigated criticism, baldly delivered. Eric becomes increasingly reluctant to speak and his turns towards the end of this extract consist only of agreement tokens. These indicators suggest an interpretation of face threat, demonstrating the link between identity challenge and face threat.

5.2.3. S2 and Eric

In Extract 5.4 below, S2 raises the same problem as S3 in Extract 5.3: Eric didn't model a speaking activity so the students didn't know what to do. However, this time there are two significant differences: S2 projects a different identity to S3 in the previous extract and S2 does face work when delivering his criticism. This results in a different outcome where face threat seems to be managed and Eric accepts S2's suggestions.

At the beginning of the extract, S2 raises doubt about instructions Eric gave for a reading activity about Dubai:

<u>Extract 5.4</u>

1	S2	and you asked the students to talk about it now this was an interesting stage↓
2	Eric	[yeah [mm
3	S2	because (0.1) y-you said two things you said **talk** about it
4	Eric	mm
5	S2	and then you said talk about the differences and changes
6	Eric	mm
7	S2	and then you gave them an option of pairs and possibly groups (.) and then you said
8		talk about it again
9	Eric	yeah (*rising then falling intonation, sounds uncomfortable*)
10	S2	ok
11	Eric	mm
12	S2	now then you came over to the **first** group
13	Eric	yeah
14	S2	and you were conducting the discussion
15	Eric	mm
16	S2	now what you **didn't** see
17	Eric	mm
18	S2	is that all **round** you
19	Eric	mm
20	S2	the other boys were just (0.2) looking
21	Eric	**yeah↑** (*quite loud*)
22	S2	at what was going on while you were (.) talking to that first group
23	Eric	yeah
24	S2	now if (there) had been a **model** (.) in the lesson plan
25	Eric	yeah
26	S2	then that would've been (.) ok but you'd given an instruction
27	Eric	yeah
28	S2	the s- you were d- y- you then went to a group to talk
29	Eric	yip
30	S2	and the other students weren't (0.2) carrying on what you wanted them to do
31	Eric	[yip w-
32	Eric	I I think that's I think that's in a way em maybe at the moment maybe my
33		teaching is more and again with this sort of level maybe more teacher centered is
34		with **higher** levels I I think and and sort of obviously different ling- well different
35		nationalities often you know if you set different groups or tables as it was
36		yesterday a discussion normally they get on with it whereas I do find **here** quite
37		often you know the group that you work with will then they'll discuss what you
38		want there but when you go to the next table or the next group to monitor **them**
39		you know I feel as though I'm sure that when I went on to the next one the first
40		group more or less stopped because I'd gone so I I do sort of feel as though that
41	S2	[°mm°
42	Eric	sort of exercise I I don't feel maybe with with lower levels here em wor- works as
43		well as it might elsewhere I I don't do it as much as I I as think be-
44	S2	[hh [(xx)
45	Eric	before I mean before I came I had a sort of lexical sort of style with lots of
46		communication but I I sort of feel **here** e:m () you know may - maybe with this level

47		›I'm trying to think of‹ higher diploma's slightly different
48	S2	mm
49	Eric	but I do sort of feel wi- with this one is that you know they'll talk when you're
50		with them but as soon as you leave them and go somewhere else they they tend to
51	S2	well you you're absolutely right so s s-
52	Eric	I'm not sure if you've got a solution or a suggestion
53	S2	[well yes because setting the I mean the () the
54		notion of or the concept of talking about
55	Eric	mm
56	S2	would would in fact be something you'd think about for one of your higher level
57		level four groups
58	Eric	[mm mm
59	S2	but really for eh a a group of this () level of ability in speaking you need to set them
60		[mm [mm
61		immediate and clear outcomes
62	Eric	ok
63	S2	so one of the things could've been we could've given them three questions
64	Eric	yeah ok
65	S2	[or you could've said report back on the four main things
66	Eric	mm
67	S2	yo- or you could've given them a little piece of paper wi- with that instruction or
68	Eric	[mm mm
69	S2	you could've given them headings like transport or culture or buildings
70	Eric	[ok ok ok
71	S2	and they would've had something tangible to discuss and when you went to each
72		group you could've pointed at something and then and done and directed them
73	Eric	[yeah [yeah ye:ah
74	S2	towards the discussion but as it was they just had this sort of (global) notion that
75	Eric	[(sov-) bit too general
76	S2	they needed to have a chat about the teacher wanted them to have a chat about
77		sort of Dubai then and now it was eh
78	Eric	yeah maybe maybe something just off the top of my head something like if you
79		had maybe four people's different opinions or something like that and tried to
80		match them or (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx) yeah but wi- with simple
81	S2	[that's possibly a little complex for [but that (xxxx)
82	Eric	language no I ca- I I see what you mean I think it's a good idea no I think it's a good
83		idea
84	S2	[but something simple to ()
85		to to add clarity and purpose to the speaking exercise
86	Eric	[yeah yeah
87	S2	**then** (.) you could have gone round the class
88	Eric	and just see how they were doing yeah that's a good idea actually
89	S2	[yeah
90		so you could've A guaranteed (.) speech
91	Eric	yeah
92	S2	and B elicited interaction to ensure that the concept had gone through

S2 starts this sequence with a description of how Eric set up the task (1-8 below). There is a
pause in the conversation (9-11) where S2 seems to expect a response from Eric, possibly

because S2 wants to allow Eric to pursue the idea himself and thus avoid having to deliver critical feedback. However, Eric utters only brief acknowledgement tokens, although the rise and fall intonation of '*yeah*' (9) suggest discomfort and perhaps indicates that he suspects S2's opinion may be critical. Supervisor 2 is therefore obligated to resume and Eric's anticipation of critical feedback is confirmed (20, 22) i.e. the students did not know what to do because Eric didn't model the activity (24) and his instructions were not clear (26-30). Thus S2 makes the same point as S3 in Extract 5.3 above.

Although S2's criticism is clear ('*the other students weren't (0.2) carrying on what you wanted them to do*' (30)), S2 introduces the idea of a model quite differently to S3's negative question in Extract 5.3. Firstly, there is a fairly long delaying preamble beforehand (1-23) and at one point S2 pauses which could be him giving Eric the opportunity to identify the problem himself (1-11). Secondly, S2 introduces the model in a conditional sentence, choosing to talk about a hypothetical positive situation: '*now if (there) had been a **model** (.) in the lesson plan … then that would've been (.) ok*' (24-26). This indirect, distancing strategy contrasts sharply with S3's bald challenge. Thirdly S2 signals social delicacy with pauses and hesitations (lines 20, 22, 24, 26 and 30).

Eric's response is very short and clipped (indicated here as 'yip', 29 and 31) which is not typical of his speech and this suggests that he understands S2's point. S2 has been direct in his description of the lesson and explicit about what Eric did. Eric is required to respond in some way but his choices are limited. He could disagree but this would be difficult because S2's description is evidence based and disagreeing would be face threatening to S2. If he agrees, he complies with the idea of incompetence. Eric tactically decides to provide an explanation (underlined below):

32	Eric	I I think that's I think that's in a way em maybe at the moment maybe my
33		teaching is more and again with this sort of level maybe more teacher centered is
34		with **higher** levels I I think and and sort of obviously different ling- well different
35		nationalities often you know if you set different groups or tables as it was
36		yesterday a discussion normally they get on with it whereas I do find **here** quite
37		often you know the group that you work with will then they'll discuss what you
38		want there but when you go to the next table or the next group to monitor **them**
39		you know I feel as though I'm sure that when I went on to the next one the first
40		group more or less stopped because I'd gone so I I do sort of feel as though that
41	S2	[°mm°
42	Eric	sort of exercise I I don't feel maybe with with lower levels here em wor- works as
43		well as it might elsewhere I I don't do it as much as I I as think be-
44	S2	[hh [(xx)

Eric's explanation (underlined) is fairly incoherent because it is couched in so much mitigation (indicated in red) and hesitation (indicated in brown), a clear indication that he is engaged in socially problematic talk. The beginning of Eric's turn is modified by a lengthy prequel which indicates he is producing a dispreferred turn (Pomerantz, 1984) and as his turn progresses we indeed see him produce a subtle disagreement: with students of other nationalities (i.e. not Emiratis) and of a higher level his activity would have worked.

Eric starts this long turn by saying that his teaching in this context is '*more teacher centred'* (33). This is not directly related to S2's criticism, but rather starts Eric's new narrative i.e. the notion of context ('*maybe at the moment'* 32) and level ('*with this sort of level'* 33) being responsible for the task failure. Eric has reframed S2's observation (students didn't know what to do because of unclear instructions) into students knowing what to do but not participating in the discussion unless a teacher is present. This reinterpretation constructs a problematic identity for the students allowing Eric to shift blame from himself to them. The stress on 'here' (36) reinforces the uniqueness of the current context (i.e. the students) as the reason for the lack of success of the activity. However, Eric's use of epistemic modality i.e. repeated use of the modal adverb '*maybe'*, mental process phrases i.e. '*I think' 'I feel'*, and hedges ('*sort of'*) communicates a stance of uncertainty and lack of confidence in or commitment to his explanation and also leaves wiggle room should S2 disagree.

Eric's long turn continues and with it more mitigation (highlighted in red) and hesitation (indicated in green):

45	Eric	before I mean before I came I had a sort of lexical sort of style with lots of
46		communication but I I sort of feel **here** e:m () you know may - maybe with this level
47		›I'm trying to think of‹ higher diploma's slightly different
48	S2	mm
49	Eric	but I do sort of feel wi- with this one is that you know they'll talk when you're
50		with them but as soon as you leave them and go somewhere else they they tend to

He again makes a comparison between '*before I came'* (45) and '*here'* (46) and describes his style of teaching in his previous context as '*lexical'* with '*lots of communication'* (45-46) which although vague is clearly meant as something positive. Eric's use of teaching metalanguage may be an attempt to assuage his obvious uncertainty and also re-establish himself as a knowledgeable, informed teacher (Hall et al., 2010). Eric uses the second person throughout his turn (35, 37, 38, 49, 50) when describing how the students stop talking '*as soon as you leave them'* (50). This suggests universality, a general rule, i.e. student behaviour not peculiar to Eric's class, which adds to shifting blame away from Eric.

S2's next turn of agreement seems affiliatory as he shifts from the face threat implied in his previous comment to face support:

| 51 | S2 | well you you're absolutely right so s s- |
| 52 | Eric | I'm not sure if you've got a solution or a suggestion |

However, his hesitation may indicate a 'but' i.e. it seems possible that S2 will point out that the problem was not the students or context but Eric's instructions. Eric's interruption is significant because he temporarily assumes a position of the more powerful interactant by interrupting (Schnurr, 2013) and initiating an obligation for S2 to respond. Linguistic clues in his previous turn indicate that he lacks confidence in his defence so he may anticipate disagreement from S2. His request for a solution or suggestion could therefore be tactical: he heads off critical clarification. He is also doing facework: he validates the construction of S2's 'experienced' identity, allows room for disagreement and sanctions the giving of suggestions or advice (a potentially face threatening move), all of which enable S2 to return to a critique of Eric's instructions:

53	S2	[well yes because setting the I mean the () the
54		notion of or the concept of talking about
55	Eric	mm
56	S2	would would in fact be something you'd think about for one of your higher level
57		level four groups
58	Eric	[mm mm
59	S2	but really for eh a a group of this () level of ability in speaking you need to set them
60		[mm [mm
61		immediate and clear outcomes
62	Eric	ok

S2 starts his turn with 'well' which suggests that he is about to produce a dispreferred turn (Pomerantz, 1984). This is confirmed as S2 makes the observation that the activity was unsuitable for Eric's low level class. There are some indications of social delicacy (highlighted in red) but S2's use of 'in fact' and 'really' (56 and 59) make his utterance definite and unambiguous. S2 starts with the deontic modal 'would' (56) which suggests an advisable, general state but this is strengthened and made more specific in line 59 with 'need to' which conveys a stronger sense of obligation. S3 then goes on to give Eric suggestions of ways of setting improving his instructions by setting clear outcomes:

63	S2	so one of the things could've been we could've given them three questions
64	Eric	yeah ok
65	S2	[or you could've said report back on the four main things
66	Eric	mm
67	S2	yo- or you could've given them a little piece of paper wi- with that instruction or
68	Eric	[mm mm
69	S2	you could've given them headings like transport or culture or buildings
70	Eric	[ok ok ok
71	S2	and they would've had something tangible to discuss and when you went to each
72		group you could've pointed at something and then and done and directed them
73	Eric	[yeah [yeah ye:ah
74	S2	towards the discussion but as it was they just had this sort of (global) notion that
75	Eric	[(sov-) bit too general
76	S2	they needed to have a chat about the teacher wanted them to have a chat about
77		sort of Dubai then and now it was eh

S2 chooses the modal 'could' rather than 'should' which would have expressed a stronger obligation and also a more critical stance. By presenting his ideas as possibilities or alternatives, S2 is managing the potential face threat involved in giving suggestions or advice. Despite this, he makes it is clear at the end of this excerpt that the problem lay not in the students or the context but in the task set up. However, although S2 does not comply with the idea of contextual differences that Eric constructs, both nevertheless seem to negotiate and manage face threat. In Eric's interview, he described his meeting with S2 positively:

> *Generally, I felt it was kind of relatively sort of positive and there was constructive sort of feedback that I thought was useful.*

This indicates that the possible face threat engendered by S2's criticism has been managed. This is also evidenced in the next part of the meeting where both participants discuss S2's suggestions further, allowing S2 to give more advice when Eric presents a complicated alternative activity:

78	Eric	yeah maybe maybe something just off the top of my head something like if you
79		had maybe four people's different opinions or something like that and tried to
80		match them or (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx) yeah but wi- with simple
81	S2	[that's possibly a little complex for [but that (xxxx)
82	Eric	language no I ca- I I see what you mean I think it's a good idea no I think it's a good
83		idea
84	S2	[but something simple to ()
85		to to add clarity and purpose to the speaking exercise
86	Eric	[yeah yeah
87	S2	**then** () you could have gone round the class
88	Eric	and just see how they were doing yeah that's a good idea actually

89	S2		[yeah
90		so you could've A guaranteed () speech	
91	Eric	yeah	
92	S2	and B elicited interaction to ensure that the concept had gone through	

This extract features a '*shared floor*' (Edelsky, 1981) i.e. equal distribution of talk, and at line 88 Eric completes S2's turn which indicates alignment (Lerner, 1996). In contrast with S3 in Extract 5.2 above who prioritises the construction of an identity of power, expertise and authority and talks about herself and Eric's mistakes with little advice on improvement, S2 projects an identity of collaborator or adviser, which gives Eric confidence and space to discuss critical feedback. This extract also differs from Extract 5.3 above because S2 gives suggestions about how Eric could improve task set-up whereas S3 gives no suggestions and Eric is left feeling inadequate.

5.2.4. Discussion

The frequency of the 'account request' pattern (see Appendix 7 for more examples) and the fact that teachers seem often to comply to this 'shape' (Pomerantz, 1984) suggests that challenges to teachers' identities are an accepted, even expected (Copland, 2011) move in post observation feedback.

In Extracts 5.1 and 5.2, although S4 subtly indicates criticism which challenges Dan's professional identity, the face threat engendered by this move seems to be managed fairly successfully, due in part to the teacher's compliance but also because S4 use resources such as humour, mitigation and hesitation to do face work. In Extract 5.4, S2 delivers a more critical message and therefore his challenge to Eric's professional identity is more serious. Like S4, however, S2 also does face work which seems to work as Eric engages in dialogue, explores suggestions and seems to accept S2's feedback.

In contrast, when addressing the same issues (no activity model), S3 does little facework. Pomerantz (1984) documented the fact that in ordinary conversation, disagreements are normally performed as dispreferred actions using linguistic devices such as mitigation or delay and other researchers have suggested that criticism in post observation feedback meetings is usually hedged or softened (Roberts, 1992, Roberts, 1994, Vásquez, 2004, Wajnryb, 1994). However, indicators of social delicacy are markedly and unusually absent in S3's talk. S3 seems to prioritise her identity of authority and expertise over creating an affiliative relationship with Eric. Assuming this identity, she seems to feel a responsibility and duty to correct fault in Eric's teaching, perhaps encouraged by worries about him at an institutional level, as this interview extract suggests:

[Eric] had been flagged by his supervisor as too casual, late with assignments, possibly not taking attendance and maybe having classroom management issues.

In her interview, S3 described the purpose of observation and feedback as '*to get [teachers] to improve*'. Her identity as institutional representative seems therefore to be manifested in her critical comment, which she seems to think will effect positive change. She makes explicit reference to this responsibility later in the meeting with Eric after she questions him about previous observations and wonders why basic problems had not been identified by previous supervisors:

Extract 5.5

1	S3	and that's what I'm saying **perhaps** as management we've let you **down**
2	Eric	[mm [mm
3	S3	by not saying what I'm saying now a lot earlier
4	Eric	[mm mm mm mm
5	S3	you know we have to take **some** responsibility for it (*laughs*)

However, serious reproaches (for example an experienced teacher unable to give effective instructions) are likely to be resisted and treated as unfair (Tracy et al., 1987) which suggests they need to be carefully managed and delivered sensitively. In their study of successful feedback conferences, Blase and Blase (1995) identified as important the opportunity for teachers to talk about their practice in a non-threatening environment: '*In this 'safe haven', risk is tolerated, suggestions are offered in a positive manner, and mutual goals are emphasized*' (p. 8). S3's confrontational '*clobbering*' (Randall and Thornton, 2001) power-laden style of feedback, however, does not produce a safe haven; instead S3's approach results in discomfort, as Eric indicated in his interview: '*I mean, I just remember not enjoying … I wouldn't say I enjoyed any of this. I was sort of wanting to umm get out probably as quickly as possible*'.

Eric's reactions to S3's bald and repeated criticism during interaction (i.e. his silence and reluctance to speak), as well as his interview comments, seem to indicate an orientation to face threat, if not impoliteness, as S3 seems to breach norms of acceptable behaviour within this community of practice. Eric's assessment of face threat/impoliteness is consequential to his development as a teacher. Firstly, because he stops talking, S3 cannot gauge his understanding or degree of acceptance of her criticism, they cannot explore solutions to problems and Eric loses opportunities to talk about and reflect on his teaching. Secondly, and more seriously, the orientation to face threat or impoliteness seems to cause Eric to resist S3's feedback. Based on her critical comment, S3 suggested that Eric did an in-house training

course but during his interview Eric interpreted her suggestion as resulting from the fact that S3 wanted teachers to join the course rather than his need to do the course:

> *I did sort of feel like she was always going into observations wanting teachers to do [the course]. 'Right, because you've done this, this and this, I want you to do this.' So I sort of think (.) it did strike me as though 'I've got the cure to whatever is going to be your problem before I've watched the lesson, and it's [the course] and subsequently I think I understand that the idea was that she or [the college director] wanted everybody to do it.*

Although S2 gave Eric the same feedback, Eric's interview comments show that this time he accepted the feedback:

> *But then [S2] sort of said … so I asked them to do that but I didn't really model so I went to the first group to work with them, whereas the others were kind of sort of weren't quite sure what to do … and he was saying that he didn't feel that I'd modelled an example. I'm thinking about then again now … how I do that. So maybe that's something about my instructions and giving directions that I could improve on. Umm and again, I think that was something that I did take away, that I thought about …you know, maybe I'm assuming that they understand, but they don't always.*

This means that face is not only consequential to the unfolding discourse but to the uptake of feedback.

These sequences also show that face is interactionally achieved as the same speech act (an account request) results in face threat with S3 and Eric but not with S4 and Dan. This problematises previous studies of face in post observation feedback in which a predetermined coding system was used to categorise specific speech acts as face threatening (e.g. Roberts, 1994, Wajnryb, 1994). Taken out of context, S4's challenging questions (and perhaps suggestions) and S2's criticism could be coded as face-threatening speech acts but when analysed as part the evolving conversation, although there are indicators of face threat the sequences end with a clear evaluation of alignment which suggest that face threat has been managed. Similarly, Dan's disagreements could also be coded as face threatening but S4 shows no signs of this orientation. Instead, the talk in these extracts seems to be more 'dialogic' (Copland and Mann, 2010), i.e. collaborative and purposeful, which may be because a safe space has been created by the interlocutors. These extracts show, therefore, that face is a dyadic accomplishment, endogenous to situated talk (Arundale, 2010) and that analysis of face must entail evidence of what participants achieve in talk.

Finally, these extracts also show supervisors invoking identities of power for themselves. They claim a more powerful identity through communicative rights and obligations: they can ask questions, give directives for future action and give unsolicited advice. Supervisors also claim superior knowledge both in identifying problems and in suggesting solutions, indexing an asymmetrical relationship where the supervisor has epistemic authority. However, these identities are indexed to different degrees with S2 prioritising and foregrounding them more explicitly and vehemently, at the expense of her goal of correcting Eric's faults.

5.3. Challenging supervisors' identities

This section looks at episodes in which the expected power relationship of more experienced/knowledgeable supervisor and less experienced/knowledgeable teacher is challenged or inverted. From the data set I have chosen two representative examples to illustrate how teachers and supervisors negotiate this challenge. In Extracts 5.6 and 5.7 below, the teacher assumes a stance of epistemic authority after the supervisor asks a question which challenges something the teacher did in the observed lesson. In both these extracts, teachers do not concede to the supervisor's critical comment but defend their actions by invoking an identity of knowledge and experience. The disagreements are potentially face threatening: disagreement is '*by its very nature … a face-threatening act that jeopardizes the solidarity between speaker and addressee*' (Rees-Miller, 2000: 1089) and also challenges interlocutors' professional identities (Schnurr and Chan, 2011). To mitigate their disagreement, teachers do considerable facework.

5.3.1. Anna and S3

In Extract 5.6 below, S3 produces an account request which communicates a critical stance. The teacher (Anna) claims superior knowledge of the students to successfully defend herself against this challenge. This defence is socially problematic and we see Anna indicating dispreferment and doing facework throughout the exchange.

Extract 5.6 comes after S3 has been talking about a video Anna used in the class which S3 liked (1). This positive comment is followed by '*but'* which signals a contrast, and a one second pause, both of which strengthen the interpretation that S3's question '*why didn't they use headphones?*' (2) involves a challenge, as does the fact that it is a direct, negative question (1-3):

Extract 5.6

1	S3	I **really** liked it (.) (*sound of paper*) but I've said here (0.1) with the video listening
2		and the listening whatever (.) but why didn't they use headphones? With the

3		laptops?
4	Anna	well because not all of them have headphones
5	S3	mm
6	Anna	so it becomes a problem when they **don't** have it and then you know they start
7		playing at different times
8	S3	a:hh
9	Anna	so it's I thought it was better if th- even when they practice *Road to IELTS*
10		sometimes we have ten minutes at the end I just tell them let's play you know I'll
11		play it and then you all do it in your own time (.) I think maybe (xx) like I think we
12		suggested that when we sell the laptops sell it with headphones
13	S3	(0.2) I think that you can insist that they bring headphones with the laptop
14	Anna	[(xxxx) [you could insist but
15		with the guys its
16	S3	you but you can! If we insisted they bring a laptop we can insist they bring a laptop
17		with headphones
18	Anna	well because I've (xx) yeah they
19	S3	[and if they **don't** they can't do the activity and if they can't do the activity↑
20	Anna	(1) °then they miss some?°
21	S3	they miss **out** but they **they'll** know that
22	Anna	but you know with all this other challenge and the pace and the curriculum
23	S3	[I know
24	Anna	it's just easier to have it as a as a whole class listening
25	S3	[mm
26	Anna	just to make sure that they all follow have to follow and answer and e- they can
27		even work you know wi- with together with partners this way it's not
28	S3	[yeah
29	Anna	completely individual I I think **ideally** could've been probably better but they
30	S3	[but
31	Anna	only listen once it's not like they can listen as many times as so I have more
32	S3	[yeah
33	Anna	control over it as well
34	S3	[yeah
35	S3	yeah
36	Anna	and that's probably better for them for their test taking skills as well
37	S3	true yeah but with the **video** they could've (.) again if you'd had more time
38	Anna	[but again yeah
39	S3	they could've gone through it
40	Anna	[because logistically by the time they open the video and find it and
41		like you said you know those weak ones they need individual help
42	S3	[mm
43	Anna	it will have taken I mean five minutes longer than you know for just for pre
44	S3	[or mm
45	Anna	listening and pre pre first stages so it's (0.2) I thought I mean I tried **both**
46	S3	[yeah [wa-
47	Anna	and I find it that when **I** play the video they they concentrate more because it's
48	S3	[ah- yeah
49	Anna	like oh you know she's looking around but when they're on their **own** they can play
50		anything and I wouldn't know so or they can play it twice and go back or
51	S3	[true mm ok it was a question that I- yeah
52	Anna	[mm
53	S3	ok the quality of communication is lovely (.) **very** nice (.) absolutely nothing to say

| 54 | | there other that it was very very nice (0.2) I mean the teach – the you know |
| 55 | | students are obviously very happy in your class |

Anna begins her defence immediately (4), prefaced with 'well', indicating awareness that her account is a disaligning action (Heritage, 1984b). Her account consists of a fairly long turn with a detailed explanation of why the students didn't use headphones. S3 produces two positive response tokens, the second of which '*a:hh*' sounds like a '*change of state token*' (Heritage, 1984a) i.e. from uninformed to informed. Despite this, however, S3 challenges Anna again, although this time the challenge is prefaced by a long pause and '*I think*' which is less direct than her previous negative question and therefore suggests this new challenge is less certain:

| 13 | S3 | (0.2) I think that you can insist that they bring headphones with the laptop |

Anna starts to disagree with this suggestion, but very indirectly:

14	Anna	[(xxxx) [you could insist but
15		with the guys its
16	S3	you but you can! If we insisted they bring a laptop we can insist they bring a laptop
17		with headphones

Anna's shift in tense from S3's 'can' to 'could' indicates tentativeness. Her disagreement is weak (Pomerantz 1984) i.e. prefaced with an agreement: '*you could insist but*' (14). She is unable to finish her account because S3 interrupts her with a direct contradiction '*but you can!*' (16), with a shift back to the present tense, indicating certainty, which is strengthened by her definite and emphatic intonation. Anna's unfinished comment is important because she is talking about the male students ('*the guys*') and it is clear that she thinks they cannot be depended on to bring headphones to class. This also brings to the surface a façade that teachers maintain with management about the nature of the male students. Teachers frequently complain that the male students are often absent or late, bring nothing to class with them except their phone and never do homework. There is an unspoken understanding, however, that this is not talked about with management who are reluctant to admit to the problem of student behaviour and even sometimes adopt the stance that teachers are responsible for students' actions. This is mentioned twice by Eric in his interview:

> *Umm but I do sort of think as well (.) and sometimes you sort of feel that within the organisation there's a sort of (.) you know, at high levels there's this umm denial about what a lot of the students are like. We know what it's like but we don't talk about it.*

> *These guys are a nightmare! I didn't want to say that* [to S3] *and I know that within the institution that's the worst thing to say*

Thus Anna is engaged in highly delicate talk as she is not only disagreeing with S3, a socially problematic action, but she is also crossing the line of 'denial' and doing so directly after S3 has indexed power by interrupting Anna (Schnurr, 2013: 111) with an emphatic disagreement. Anna is also using her knowledge of the students and her classroom experience to justify her actions which necessarily indicates a contrasting lack of knowledge on S3's part (Schnurr and Chan, 2009). This contests S3's previous identity projection of experience and knowledge and this move is therefore potentially face threatening (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013, Haugh, 2009, Tracy, 2008). Despite this, Anna maintains her stance but she uses a variety of linguistic and discursive structures to show that she recognises the social delicacy of her actions. In line 20, Anna pauses for a whole second before replying, her response is significantly quieter than previous turns and she produces a question which although more indirect than an outright disagreement, still challenges the worth of denying students the opportunity to develop their listening skills because they don't have headphones:

```
19    S3              [and if they don't they can't do the activity and if they can't do the activity↑
20    Anna    (1) °then they miss some?°
21    S3        they miss out but they they'll know that
```

Anna continues her disagreement (22), clearly signalled by '*but*' but her disagreement is delayed and she also pursues S3's agreement with '*you know*' and uses modifiers and hesitates (indicated in red):

```
22    Anna    but you know with all this other challenge and the pace and the curriculum
23    S3                                              [I know
24    Anna    it's just easier to have it as a as a whole class listening
25    S3                                                      [mm
26    Anna    just to make sure that they all follow have to follow and answer and e- they can
27            even work you know wi- with together with partners this way it's not
28    S3                                                                    [yeah
```

Anna layers on another reason for her decision, adding to her epistemic high ground, but although she has multiple reasons for not using headphones, Anna modifies her defence with an agreement (29) although evidence suggests that she does not believe this:

```
29    Anna    completely individual I I think ideally could've been probably better but they
30    S3                          [but
31    Anna    only listen once it's not like they can listen as many times as so I have more
32    S3                                          [yeah
33    Anna    control over it as well
34    S3                  [yeah
```

| 35 | S3 | yeah |
| 36 | Anna | and that's probably better for them for their test taking skills as well |

It is clear that Anna is doing facework to mitigate her socially problematic account but she also manages to keep the floor when S3 attempts to interrupt ('*but'*, line 30) by speaking louder (the stress on 'ideally' comes immediately after S3's overlapped speech) which shows a degree of confidence and interactional power. Anna's account seems successful as S3 accepts her account: '*true yeah*' (37). However, once again S3 resumes her challenge but with a modified stance. S3 assumes a new position - that the students could have used headphones in the video activity (37). This new challenge lessens the gap between her position and Anna's defence/disagreement. S3's new challenge is also less direct and is modified. However, this (possibly face saving) strategy does not work either because Anna has a sound rationale for not using headphones in this situation:

37	S3	true yeah but with the **video** they could've (.) again if you'd had more time
38	Anna	[but again yeah
39	S3	they could've gone through it
40	Anna	[because logistically by the time they open the video and find it and
41		like you said you know those weak ones they need individual help
42	S3	[mm
43	Anna	it will have taken I mean five minutes longer than you know for just for pre
44	S3	[or mm
45	Anna	listening and pre pre first stages so it's (0.2) I thought I mean I tried **both**
46	S3	[yeah [wa-
47	Anna	and I find it that when **I** play the video they they concentrate more because it's
48	S3	[ah- yeah
49	Anna	like oh you know she's looking around but when they're on their **own** they can play
50		anything and I wouldn't know so or they can play it twice and go back or
51	S3	[true mm ok

Anna's defence is again based on experience and again employs face-saving strategies (highlighted in red): a long pause in line 45, appealing to comments made previously by S3 as part of her defence (41), and pursuing agreement with the phrase '*you know'*. However, as well as these conciliatory moves, Anna has enough confidence in her account to be able to interrupt S3 twice (38 and 40), keep the floor and produce a lengthy turn all of which are implicative of a higher status identity. At the end of Anna's account, S3 is forced to concede (51) and Anna not only maintains her professional identity but also achieves a position of power as she stands her ground and also becomes the dominant interactant. This power shift is temporary, however, because S3 immediately initiates a topic change by returning to the observation form to comment positively on one of the criteria (quality of communication) which reasserts her identity of assessor and supervisor:

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51	S3	[true mm ok it was a question that I- yeah
52	Anna	[mm
53	S3	ok the quality of communication is lovely (.) **very** nice (.) absolutely nothing to say
54		there other that it was very very nice (0.2) I mean the teach – the you know
55		students are obviously very happy in your class

This extract shows the importance of knowledge and experience. Supervisors frequently make relevant an identity involving professional experience/expertise (see sections 4.2, 4.3.2, 5.2, 5.3) but the teacher often has more knowledge about the students and what happens in the classroom. However, the teacher explicitly invoking this identity (i.e. the participant with more knowledge) can be potentially face threatening to the supervisor as it challenges his/her professional identity. Anna employs pedagogical reasoning to defend her actions and considerable face work strategies to assist her to make relevant an identity of the participant with most knowledge and experience of the class.

5.3.2. Niamh and S1

The second extract in this section (Extract 5.7 below) shows a similar pattern with the teacher (Niamh) defending a decision in the face of a critical challenge by S1:

<u>Extract 5.7</u>

1	S1	I **was** curious to hear what their pronunciation would've been like so I
2		thought it would be if you had time to hear some of them read aloud
3	Niamh	[yeah [yeah pronunciation no that would've
4		been good yeah that's valid
5	S1	[em cos paragraphs were hard (xx) the text was very
6	Niamh	[yes
7	S1	very challenging
8	Niamh	but there's a (.) quite a lot of debate isn't there about reading aloud
9	S1	well I always use it and I will never stop so and you can quote me on that (xxx)
10	Niamh	[yeah [ok (*laughs*)
11	S1	I just think it's just really important
12	Niamh	yeah I mean I often think it it would be valid
13	S1	[um [yeah
14	S1	especially if (xxx)
15	Niamh	[the only thing I find with because I've never taught such a **big**
16		class because it's been mostly EFL (*aside about the phone*)
17	S1	[eh ok
18	Niamh	em eh it's (.) I've always taught EFL with classes of like fifteen and so
19	S1	[ok
20	Niamh	so I'm always a bit worried about some of them getting bored with listening
21	S1	[right what are they
22		doing ◦this is true◦
23	Niamh	to other people and their mistakes so I'm never really quite sure whether to do it but I I

24		do think about it
25	S1	all right em let's see (reads aloud from the observation form)' *perhaps the lesson could*
26		*have been split into two classes with the vocabulary and sentence writing saved for a*
27		*third lesson or for homework …*

S1 suggests an alternative course of action (having students read aloud) which implicates an indirect challenge:

1	S1	I **was** curious to hear what their pronunciation would've been like so I
2		thought it would be if you had time to hear some of them read aloud
3	Niamh	[yeah [yeah pronunciation no that would've
4		been good yeah that's valid
5	S1	[em cos paragraphs were hard (xx) the text was very
6	Niamh	[yes
7	S1	very challenging

The fact that the challenge (highlighted in blue) is embedded in pre and post modifications suggests S1 is orienting to social delicacy and this reinforces the interpretation that S1's comment conveys a critical stance. Niamh also interprets S1's initial turn as a challenge because although she appears to agree partially with S1 (that reading aloud would help develop improve pronunciation), her next utterance shows that this partial agreement is also a form of withholding her account from first position as she then produces a defence, clearly signalled with '*but*':

| 8 | Niamh | but there's a (.) quite a long debate isn't there about reading aloud |

Niamh's account begins with recourse to ELT literature, positioning herself as a member of an academic knowledge community. This is a disagreement, albeit in a modified form – her disagreement is indirect (i.e. not attributed to herself but to the literature), delayed and weak (her previous turn is an agreement), it is not stated explicitly, there is hesitation and modification. All of this face work indicates Niamh is aware of the potential for face threat in disagreeing with S1's suggestion. Niamh also seeks S1's agreement: '*isn't there*' which also seems to indicate a willingness to discuss the issue. This tag question also indexes inclusiveness as her falling intonation suggests she expects agreement. Although presented very tentatively with a great deal of facework, Niamh's appeal to the literature produces a vehement (but unsubstantiated) defence from S1 '*well I always use it and I will never stop so and you can quote me on that*' (9) in which he seems to orient to Niamh's previous utterance as face threatening. S1's response in line 9 is bald, direct and assertive, unlike his initial suggestion in lines 1-7 and Niamh seems to recognise the interpretation of face threat this outburst signals because she says 'ok' and laughs. S1 then produces a softening modifier

(perhaps recognising that the strength of his assertion was unmerited and his argument unconvincing) by saying '*I just think it's just really important*' (11). S1's reaction and his position of supervisor means that it is problematic for Niamh to pursue her disagreement so she then performs a 'weak' disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984) by again agreeing first (13) and then by qualifying her disagreement with an explanation:

```
13  Niamh   yeah I mean I often think it it would be valid
14  S1              [um                          [yeah
15  S1      especially if (xxx)
16  Niamh                 [the only thing I find with because I've never taught such a big
17              class because it's been mostly EFL (aside about the phone)
18  S1              [eh ok
19  Niamh   em eh it's (.) I've  always taught EFL with classes of like fifteen and so
20  S1                                                          [ok
21  Niamh   so I'm always a bit worried about some of them getting bored with listening
22  S1                                              [right what are they
23              doing  ∘this is true∘
24  Niamh   to other people and their mistakes so I'm never really quite sure whether to do it but I I
25              do think about it
```

She also uses modifiers (highlighted in red) to mitigate her account. Like Anna in the previous extract, Niamh draws on her experience of the teaching context which she uses to explain her decision, a less threatening move than her previous use of the literature to defend her actions. The disagreement is softened with a preface '*the only thing I find*' and she also ends with a softener '*I do think about it*' (24-25). This comment, as well as the one in line 13 '*I often think it would be valid*' are purely facework, as Niamh made clear in her interview:

> *I just said it because I thought it was what he wanted me to say. I thought it would be excruciating if someone's reading aloud it'll be bloody boring for the rest of them.*

Niamh's account raises questions about the merit of S1's suggestion which causes S1 to make an evaluation of face threat. Crucially, this influences the trajectory of the conversation. Despite his assertion that it is '*important*' (12) and despite the fact that Niamh has indicated a willingness to be persuaded (24) and a willingness to discuss the issue, S1 closes down the topic. In her interview Niamh talked about the fact that she hadn't understood why S1 had made the suggestion:

> *I didn't understand why he thought I should do pronunciation. If it was a reading comprehension if they're reading out loud they're not focusing on the comprehension*

and reading this extract transcript, she commented:

> *He doesn't give a valid reason for it. I don't understand why that would help them in any way. He doesn't give any justification - he just says I do it and you can quote me on that very defensive and doesn't give any reasons why he does it*

Niamh's account and disagreement has made relevant a reply from S1 and the most logical would be a convincing explanation of his position. However, although S1 concedes to Niamh's account (22-23), his topic shift (26) brings things to an abrupt end with no resolution, which Niamh highlighted in her interview:

> *The weird thing is that he doesn't really go anywhere with it …When I started talking about it he changed the subject*

Despite the initial challenge, it seems that face threat to S1 rather than Niamh has occurred and Niamh's considerable face work is not sufficient to alleviate this. The fact that S1 turns the conversation back to the observation form and his evaluation of Niamh's lesson may indicate a need to reassert his role of supervisor and assessor perhaps resulting from insecurity about his ability to defend his position which would threaten his supervisory identity. As a result, S1 misses an opportunity to discuss a teaching issue which he considers important, compromising an important goal of the feedback meeting. Identity challenge and face threat are therefore consequential to the trajectory of this conversation.

5.3.3. Discussion

A number of issues emerge from the analysis above. Firstly, these extracts show that supervisors and teachers do not 'have' identities but rather identities are discursively constructed in situated activities (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998). In the extracts above, the teachers have to work hard to claim an identity of knowledge and experience, thereby establishing their right to describe and assess events (Heritage and Raymond, 2005). Anna and Niamh claim superior knowledge of the situation and contest the supervisor's rights to negatively assess their actions thereby challenging supervisors' identities of experience, knowledge and expertise. Anna and Niamh produce convincing accounts, so the supervisors withdraw their challenges and concede. However, both supervisors then reassert their institutional identity of supervisor and assessor by taking control of procedures, referring to the next criterion on the observation form and introducing a new topic, thereby taking back their powerful identities. This demonstrates that identities are fluid (they can shift within a single conversation extract) and contestable (Angouri and Marra, 2011, Holmes and Stubbe, 2003a, Locher, 2004, Mills, 2002, Mullany, 2008, Schnurr and Zayts, 2011) and have to be constantly claimed and negotiated:

Identity, like freedom, must be won and rewon every day. Each identity must continually be legitimated. Legitimating one's self-structure is like dusting a huge old house: if he starts by dusting the parlour, by the time he gets to the upstairs guest room, the parlour is already badly in need of dusting again. (McCall and Simmons, 1978: 163)

These extracts also lend weight to my belief that potential face threat occurs when identities are not verified. When Anna and Niamh challenge supervisors' valued identities of the more experienced, knowledgeable interactant, they work hard to manage face threat. This is evidenced by their orienting to social delicacy and their use of mitigating resources or 'linguistic jewellery' (Tracy, 2008), skilfully employed and delicately chartered.

Identity and face are also shown to be influential in the content and direction of these feedback meetings. In the meeting with Niamh, face threat triggered by her challenge to his professional identity causes S1 to change the direction of the conversation, leaving the topic of students reading aloud unexplained and unexplored. Heritage and Raymond (2005) claim that the link between identity and conduct in interaction is fundamental and believe that analysts should seek to establish how '*participants' embodiment of different identities is relevant for actions in interactions, and is thereby consequential for the outcomes produced through them*' (p. 678). This extract shows the influence of identity on action in interaction, resulting in the goal of the feedback meeting being compromised.

Finally, these extracts show that identity negotiation affects power relations. Power is gained by Anna and Niamh as they successfully resist criticism by invoking a knowledgeable and experienced identity and positioning supervisors as less experienced and knowledgeable. Thus power is '*enacted through discourse when interactants engage in identity performance*' (Mullany, 2008: 238). Following these moves, S3 and S1 have to work to take back power by reasserting identities of authority and assessor, showing that power is fluid and contestable and discursively realised. As Mullany (2008) attests: '*Those who occupy formal positions of power in institutional hierarchies constantly have to re-enact their power through discourse*' (Mullany, 2008: 238).

5.3.4 Eric and S3

The previous sections show that when participants invoke identities of experience and knowledge, they are simultaneously negotiating power. This extract looks more closely at how the supervisor's identities of authority and power are contested and how through the negotiation of power, participants shape their identities. In Section 5.2.2 above, S3 very

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clearly indexes an identity of power, expertise and authority. In Extract 5.8 below from the same meeting, S3 again seems to prioritise an identity of power but this time it is subtly and skilfully challenged by Eric. Both participants co-construct an identity involving contextual experience for S3 and contextual inexperience for Eric. However, nuanced analysis shows that although Eric is complicit in constructing this dynamic, he uses it to his advantage to negotiate face threat and minimise criticism.

Immediately prior to this extract, S3 has said that Eric's lesson aim of practising scanning was not appropriate. This constitutes a challenge to the professional identity of 'competent teacher' Eric has previously indexed at the beginning of this meeting (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.1). Extract 5.8 then follows:

Extract 5.8

1	S3	so
2	Eric	mm (*a thoughtful mm*)
3	S3	mm (*she seems to be imitating him*)
4	Eric	(*laughs*) no it's I knew that your feedback would be valuable (xxx)
5	S3	[well the thing is
6		Eric it's just (.) 17 years of teaching these boys and working with them and the
7	Eric	[mm mm mm mm
8	S3	girls (.) it gives you an advantage (xxx) (*big laugh*)
9	Eric	[mm [yeah no exa-well no exactly
10	Eric	and it is you know it's a different kind of context here (xxx)
11	S3	[it's a **very** different
12		context
13	Eric	and it **is** it's sort of em (.) you know there's different things that you try and
14		certain things you know you think ok well we won't bother with that again or
15		this one works well you know
16	S3	[yes and there's also (.) how do you **know** it works
17		I mean the the going in to practice a skill before an exam would probably
		work
18	Eric	[mm [mm
19	S3	with the **girls** here
20	Eric	[mm ok ok
21	S3	because they are more intrinsically motivated
22		[yeah yeah yeah (.) yeah
23	S3	(.) it **never** works with the **boys** because (*dismissive sound imitating boys*)
24		why practise something I've already done (*dismissive sound*)
25	Eric	[(*small laugh*) yeah
26	S3	you know
27	Eric	yeah
28	S3	(.) so it's just↑ getting a hand a bit more of a handle on the boys
29	Eric	yeah

This extract starts with a pause where S3 seems to expect a response to her critical comment:

```
1        S3        so
2        Eric      mm (a thoughtful mm)
3        S3        mm (she seems to be imitating him)
```

However, Eric responds minimally: '*mm*' (2). S3 appears to imitate or mimic him, again seeming to expect a response which Eric then complies with, prefaced with a laugh and a false start '*no it's*' which perhaps indicate an orientation to S3's previous comment about the lesson aim as socially delicate (Asmuß, 2008, Clifton, 2012, Miller, 2013, Silverman and Peräkylä 1990). Eric's options are limited: challenge or accept her comment. To accept would strengthen the threat to his own professional identity but to disagree would be socially problematic, especially given S3's superior position. Eric chooses to accept but refers in general to S3's 'valuable feedback' (4) rather than comment on her specific point. This subtle shift allows Eric to avoid S3's criticism, to claim an identity of reflective practitioner able to accommodate feedback and to co-construct an identity of expertise for S3. Eric has managed to direct the conversation away from his faults to S3's strengths which she then develops:

```
5        S3                                                        [well the thing is
6                  Eric it's just (.) 17 years of teaching these boys and working with them and the
7        Eric                               [mm  mm  mm  mm
8        S3        girls (.) it gives you an advantage (xxx) (big laugh)
9        Eric      [mm              [ yeah no exa-well no exactly
```

S3 co-constructs an identity for herself involving expertise gained from contextual experience. This is a dispreferred response, so she uses various structures to downplay the self-praise. She starts her turn with '*well the thing is*' which often serves to moderate a statement (Delahunty, 2012). The use of the modifier '*it's just*' minimises Eric's 'compliment' and S3's use of the second person in line 8 makes the statement generic, i.e. this expertise can be achieved by anyone through time. The big laugh which follows seems to be self-deprecating (Glenn, 2003) and adds to the minimising effect. However, despite all these linguistic nods to a dispreferred turn, S3 also makes relevant the idea of contextual experience and uses this to strengthen her identity of expertise, an identity co-constructed by Eric who does not take up S3's laugh invitation (8) but instead agrees fairly seriously (9). The use of Eric's name in line 6 may signal alignment as S3 recognises Eric's verification of her own valued identity. In this short extract, participants move from a position of

disaffiliation and potential face threat engendered by S3's criticism to one of agreement as they collaborate in co-constructing a positive identity of expertise for S3.

Eric's next turn reinforces the emergent idea that their teaching context is 'different' and requires acclimatisation (10):

10	Eric	and it is you know it's a different kind of context here (xxx)
11	S3	[it's a **very** different
12		context
13	Eric	and it **is** it's sort of em (.) you know there's different things that you try and
14		certain things you know you think ok well we won't bother with that again or
15		this one works well you know
16	S3	[yes and there's also (.) how do you **know** it works
17		I mean the the going in to practice a skill before an exam would probably work
18	Eric	[mm [mm
19	S3	with the **girls** here
20	Eric	[mm ok ok
21	S3	because they are more intrinsically motivated
22		[yeah yeah yeah (.) yeah
23	S3	(.) it **never** works with the **boys** because (*dismissive sound imitating boys*)
24		why practise something I've already done (*dismissive sound*)
25	Eric	[(*small laugh*) yeah
26	S3	you know
27	Eric	yeah
28	S3	(.) so it's just↑ getting a hand a bit more of a handle on the boys
29	Eric	yeah

This point in the conversation is pivotal because it helps Eric move the conversation away from his personal failings into an area which is easier for him to manage. In Extract 5.3 above Eric is unable to respond effectively to S3's criticisms but here he finds safe ground by cleverly using the predominant institutional discourse that the students are unique and difficult, and invoking an identity of 'contextually inexperienced' (despite the fact that the meeting takes place in his third year at the institution) which contrasts with S3's contextually experienced identity, to help explain the criticism levelled at him. S3's repetition and stress on '*very*' (11) indicate her agreement which shows that his tactic is working as she moves from criticism to agreement.

Eric expands on the idea and talks about the process of finding out what '*works well*' (15). He uses the second person to generalise the problem so distances himself personally. He also pursues S3's agreement by using 'you know' three times. S3 does agree (16) and participants seem to have achieved a relationship of affiliation. However, S3 then brings the conversation back to the specific idea of practising scanning. Her previous criticism is slightly

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modified by recognition that practising a skill would work with the 'girls'[2] but her next utterance seems to undo all the affiliation of previous turns as her dismissive sounds and emphasis in '***never*** *works with the boys'* (23) indicate an unchallengeable, single perspective, indexing an authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1981). Her style of delivery and the fact that Eric's lesson with the 'boys' was based on practising scanning is potentially face threatening which Eric's laugh (25) seems to signal (Kangasharju and Nikko, 2009). S3 also appears to orientate to this interpretation because she does not participate in his laughter (Vöge, 2010, Thonus, 2008, Glenn, 2003). S3's subsequent appeal for agreement: '*you know*' (26) and second pause followed by mitigating features ('*just', 'a bit more'*, line 28) looks like an attempt to assuage face threat by playing down the criticism, so that her initial comment about knowing that practising a skill '***never*** *works with the boys*' is modified to a need for Eric to get '*a bit more of a handle on the boys'.*

In this extract, S3 and Eric shift and balance between disaffiliation and face threat (indicated in red below) occasioned by challenge to Eric's professional identity, and collaboration in co-constructing an identity of contextual inexperience for Eric, which promotes a tenuous and temporary affiliative stance (indicated in blue below).

```
1      S3      so
2      Eric    mm (a thoughtful mm)
3      S3      mm (she seems to be imitating him)
4      Eric    (laughs) no it's I knew that your feedback would be valuable (xxx)
5      S3                                                      [well the thing is
6              Eric it's just (.) 17 years of teaching these boys and working with them and the
7      Eric                                    [mm  mm  mm  mm
8      S3      girls (.) it gives you an advantage (xxx) (big laugh)
9      Eric    [mm                     [ yeah no exa-well no exactly
10     Eric    and it is you know it's a different kind of context here (xxx)
11     S3                                                      [it's a very different
12             context
13     Eric    and it is it's sort of em (.) you know there's different things that you try and
14             certain things you know you think ok well we won't bother with that again or
15             this one works well you know
16     S3                      [yes             and there's also (.) how do you know it works
17             I mean the the going in to practice a skill before an exam would probably
18             work
18     Eric    [mm                                          [mm
19     S3      with the girls here
20     Eric              [mm        ok ok
```

[2] In this context, the female and male students are taught separately in two different campuses. It is common practice among staff to refer to the students as 'girls' and 'boys' even though they are young adults (aged 18-22) i.e. this is not peculiar to S3.

21	S3	because they are more intrinsically motivated
22		[yeah yeah yeah (.) yeah
23	S3	(.) it **never** works with the **boys** because (*dismissive sound imitating boys*)
24		why practise something I've already done (*dismissive sound*)
25	Eric	[(*small laugh*) yeah
26	S3	you know
27	Eric	yeah
28	S3	(.) so it's just↑ getting a hand a bit more of a handle on the boys
29	Eric	yeah

In this 'back and forth' negotiation between divergence and congruence, Eric emerges as a skilful negotiator who never fully capitulates to S3's criticism. Eric exploits S3's expression of oppressive power (Pateman, 1980) whereby she enhances and strengthens her position by emphasizing the difference in experience and knowledge between herself and Eric. He uses the emergent identity of 'inexperienced teacher' for himself and the co-construction of a valued identity of experience and expertise for S3 to his advantage. This strategy appears to be successful as at the end of the exchange, S3 modifies her initial criticism that scanning is not an appropriate lesson aim to Eric's need to get '*a bit more of a handle on the boys*' (28).

Section 5.2.3 above discussed Eric's resistance to S3's feedback as he rejected the idea that he needed to do an in-house training course on classroom management. Nevertheless, he pretended to comply and did the course, as recounted in his interview: '*and then I played the game, you know? I got you [the interviewer/researcher/person who ran the course] to come and watch me and I went to the course*'. Eric's reading of the situation is sophisticated and his response is strategic. Eric contests the orthodox position of supervisory power but he does so very subtly. He is able to manipulate S3's claimed identity of contextual experience and expertise to manage her criticism, showing a skilful '*feel for the game*' (Bourdieu, 1998). Eric's position at the institution is tenuous. His visa and therefore his family's right to live in and be schooled in the UAE are dependent on his job. At the time of his meeting with S3, Eric was in the last year of his first three-year contract so his contract renewal decision was imminent. S3, as gatekeeper, determined the outcome, but her evaluation of his observation was fairly negative as she indicates in the meeting (a score of two is unsatisfactory): '*this is going to be a bit painful for you I'm afraid (.) the actual form cos there's quite a few **twos'**.* Eric therefore strategically decides to follow S3's instructions:

> *I mean I was just (.) I didn't want to get on her wrong side, so whatever she'd suggested* [interviewer and Eric laugh] *you know, I know to kind of go along with and not argue with her'*

Eric's construction of contrasting identities for himself and S3 (i.e. inexperienced and experienced teacher) seems therefore part of his effort to survive this negative evaluation and ensure his contract is renewed (which it was).

5.3.5. Jake and S4

The two extracts below come from a meeting between S4 and Jake in which S4 asks 'display' questions similar to those discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1.2, in which S4 used display questions with Aisha and Dan to verify positive identities and create affiliation and face support. This time, however, these display questions result in a different trajectory and a different face evaluation. In these extracts, Jake very subtly resists S4's identity of supervisor and by doing so shifts the power balance in favour of himself.

Extract 5.9 comes near the beginning of a meeting between S4 and Jake and starts with a 'display' question (1) (highlighted in red):

Extract 5.9

1	S4	now the first thing (.) you did (.) is you got them to close their laptop lids why?
2	Jake	because I know that they can (.) they're listening and they are listening to me
3		rather than (.) looking at what's going on in front of them on the laptops↓
4	S4	yeah no I agree i- it's a good technique it's a good technique to use **I** use the lids
5		down and hands off is another one I use
6	Jake	°mm°
7	S4	and hands off (they've got to) put their hands in their lap (.) you know move
8		move away from the table (*smile voice*) sort of thing cos other otherwise you
9		know as you as you're
10	Jake	[°mm°
11	S4	well aware they'll keep tapping away
12	Jake	yeah
13	S4	um
14	Jake	and it just saves having to repeat the instructions (.) s:o (*sighs*) yeah

This is a curious episode because, unlike the extracts with Aisha and Dan, the display question doesn't seem to promote an orientation to alignment and affiliation. The intonation in Jake's answer (2-3) conveys slight impatience and his turn features conversational signals that convey uninvolvement (Tannen, 1986, Tannen, 2005): he talks slowly, pauses several times, his response tokens are so quiet they are barely audible, his intonation is flat and he is vocally unanimated. Jake does not respond to S4's joke '*move away from the table*' (7-8) and the way he tails off and sighs at the end of line 13 suggests disengagement. S4 makes it clear that not only does he find merit in the strategy but also uses it himself (4-9) and although an extension to Jake's strategy is mentioned ('**I** *use the lids down and hands off is*

another one I use', 4-5), at the end of his turn, S4 concedes that this adds little of value to Jake: 'as you're well aware' (9-11), possibly prompted by Jake's lack of response. Thus, although S4's turn may be intended as a vehicle for both participants to display knowledge, Jake resists this requirement and thereby indexes a more disaffiliatative stance.

The following extract is another example from the meeting between S4 and Jake:

Extract 5.10

1	S4	what's your technique for the (.) for the not given I mean how do you how do
2		you explain that to them can you remind me (.) cos you did explain it
3	Jake	yeah e:m well (*small sigh*) e:m I said yeah if it's not (.) in the text and even if they
4		think that it's it's right or wrong then the answer's not given they can't just (.) e:h
5	S4	[mm
6	Jake	assume that something you know is (.) you know just decide it's true or false
7		just because they **think** it's true or false you know it has to be stated in the (xxx)
8	S4	[mmhm [I
9		suppose as well because you were getting them to highlight the the part of the
10		text where the answer was so if you can't highlight a piece of the text then that's
11		that's a not given I use a (.) I've u- I've used similar techniques for that (.) works
12		nicely e:m

S4 asks Jake to explain his approach to helping students answer True/False/Not Given reading questions, specifically identifying 'not given' answers (1-2). Jake is obliged to answer but again his reply shows signs of uninvolvement: he hesitates and sighs: '*yeah e:m well (small sigh) e:m*' (3), signalling reluctance to give the obvious answer. His repetition of 'you know', although perhaps merely a filler, is ironically appropriate because S4 interrupts Jake to himself supply the answer (8) and also claims he uses the same technique (11-12). This again suggests that display questions are a resource for S4 to invoke an identity of experienced, practising teacher, described in his interview as 'kudos':

> *Something I should add here is kudos. I think with [other supervisors], for example, they don't have the classroom kudos. How long was it since they taught? And they definitely couldn't have hacked it with iPads, Blackboard etc. They would then lay into people about their teaching / curriculum and the like... I'm still in the classroom, and perhaps that helps. I'd like to think it gives me more kudos with people I'm giving feedback to.*

Jake's comment on reading and listening to Extract 5.10 confirms this interpretation:

> *He didn't allow me to finish, again he wanted to say what he does – possibly wanting to show me that he does a similar thing so we share good teaching techniques. Again I seem a bit reluctant to explain myself especially as it was mentioned in the class. S4 answered the question for me – either he was in a hurry or he just wanted to tell me again what he does.*

S4 is invoking an identity of experience and knowledge. Jake is reluctant to participate and co-construct this identity and by being disengaged and not playing along, he subtly contests S4's identity claim.

There is a difference, then, in the way that Aisha and Dan react to display questions (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1.2) and the way Jake does. This may be partly explained by context and relationships. Aisha and Dan co-construct display sequences willingly, perhaps because it is in their best interest to make a good impression on S4. They are fairly new to the institution and are in their first 3 year contract period. This puts them in a more vulnerable position than Jake who is in his fourth contract (i.e. he has been working at the college for over nine years, longer, in fact, than S4). Jake is also much respected by students, teachers and management, and widely regarded as one of the most committed and effective teachers in the English team, confirmed by S4's interview comments:

> *His lessons are so good anyway that unless I sit there and tell him he's wonderful there isn't much you can say, so I think perhaps we've moved more into discussing our teaching as a whole rather than the particular lesson.*

The confidence this affords Jake perhaps partly explains his reluctance to engage in mutual positive identity construction and face support - he doesn't need to. Despite this, S4 asks more display questions in his meeting with Jake than other teachers. His interview comments suggest one (interesting and insightful) possible reason:

> *With Jake, I probably am trying to impress him more than he me. I have huge respect for what he does in the classroom and out of it, so perhaps unconsciously I am trying to reassure him that I'm fit to lead him?*

Jake's resistance is an interactionally powerful move because he does not fully comply with S4's identity of manager and supervisor. These two extracts therefore show that, despite the status afforded by institutional roles, power is not static and '*possessed like a commodity*' (Locher, 2004: 37) but rather active, fluid and contestable (Mills, 2003, Mullany, 2008), and enacted within discourse (Holmes et al., 1999). These extracts also illustrate that identities of power and authority are relational: in order to claim an identity of leader, S4 needs an interactional partner willing to adopt the identity of 'being led'. Jake's interview comments suggest that he is unwilling to assume this identity:

> *I seem to be going through the motions with the feedback; I possibly felt awkward about the situation as this was the first time S4 observed me and at the time I still*

didn't really regard him as a person in a supervising role. Perhaps S4 in his new role also felt slightly awkward giving feedback to me.

As Jake mentions in his interview, the extracts above come from the first meeting between Jake and S4 after S4's promotion to supervisor, having previously been a teacher on the same team as Jake. This situation has some parallels with the meetings between S1 and John and S1 and Greg (discussed in Section 4.3.1.4). Both S1 and S4 recognise that they are in a precarious position with respect to good and experienced teachers and have to negotiate with these teachers to position themselves and construct their professional identities, which, as seen above, can be challenging.

5.3.6. Michael and S1

Most institutional discourse involves asymmetry (Drew and Heritage, 1992, Sarangi and Roberts, 1999c). Previous extracts show that higher status speakers (i.e. supervisors) usually have more rights to ask questions, especially those with a challenging stance, while the lower status speakers (i.e. the teachers) collude in their less powerful role of answerer so turn design reflects power asymmetry. In the two extracts below, however, this norm is reversed as the teachers produce a challenging account request and therefore assume a more powerful 'discourse identity' (Zimmerman, 1998). As might be expected, this is rare because as the lower status participant, it is more socially problematic for teachers to challenge or reproach supervisors.

In Extract 5.11 below, Michael challenges S1 with an account request at the end of their meeting. S1 indicates that he thinks the meeting has finished and begins to draw it to a close: '*ok*' (1), a discursive practice associated with power and leadership (Holmes et al., 1999). However, Michael stops this move and steps in with '*I have to ask some of the questions though*' (2), effectively challenging S1's authority to end the meeting. Michael also subverts power relations by positioning himself in the more powerful role of questioner and positioning S1 in the less powerful role of answerer.

Extract 5.11
1	S1	ok
2	Michael	I have to ask some of the questions though
3	S1	ok sure
4	Michael	em
5	S1	hopefully I can answer (°xx°)
6	Michael	[so things like I mean as I was reading I was thinking well
7		what would be a level 4 em

Michael's account request (highlighted in blue) is delayed (indicated in red) and he chooses to frame the question objectively (rather than ask directly why S1 didn't give him a 4 score) which shows that he recognises the delicacy of his action. S1 then asks Michael to identify one criterion from the observation form and Michael chooses: '*the teacher encourages students to participate in class discussion and ask questions*'. They proceed to use this criterion to discuss Michael's question:

Extract 5.12

15	S1	[with that
16		group (*small sigh*) they're probably (0.2) (*small tut*) em they were probably a
17		little bit too quiet↓
18	Michael	mm
19	S1	not not that has no reflection on you though in other words some of the
20		teachers will do something like em (0.2) (*sigh*) how can I give you a good
21		example if I saw and recently I'm thinking em
22	Michael	[no I know look I know I understand that
23	S1	the students themselves actually took over (0.1) which is weird it happened at
24		the
25	Michael	[right
26	S1	girls' with I believe it was (0.1) it was either Alice or Sh- no it was Sharon
27		Maine's class and she started off (0.1) with the lesson that she was you know
28		she started her
29	Michael	[mm
30	S1	on the lesson and then (0.2) she turned it over to the girls somehow I never
31		seen anything like it and the girls actually came to the front of the **class** and
32		started (.) they were leading the class and asking questions of the other
33		students and the students were responding back to them and she just kind of
34		sat back and (0.1) I mean it started with **her** asking a question
35	Michael	[it wasn't on the lesson plan it was challenge?

S1, cast in the less powerful role of account giver, produces a hesitant explanation for his lower score of 3 (16-17): '*with that group (small sigh) they're probably (0.2) (small tut) em they were probably a little bit too quiet↓*' but this is mitigated (indicated in blue) and then modified: '*not not that has no reflection on you*' (19) and his reply is uncharacteristically hesitant (indicated in red), which may indicate the difficulty S1 has in accounting for his score.

S1 seems to continue to struggle to give a justification for his score (19-21) which again highlights the disadvantage of the account giver having to come up with an explanation on the spot. Teachers are normally put in this position by supervisors who have the prerogative to ask account requests and who often pre-plan their questions so they have an idea of the trajectory of the conversation. Without this knowledge, teachers are disadvantaged and sometimes have difficulty accounting for their actions (for example, Eric in Extract 5.3 above.). This time the tables are turned and Michael's response (22) to S1's inadequate explanation seems to be

facework, acknowledging the difficulty of the question. S1 then gives a lengthy description of another class he observed where students 'took over the teaching' (this part of the transcript is omitted here because of length) as an example of a teacher who was given a 4 score for this criterion. After this account, Michael produces an indirect challenge '*it wasn't on the lesson plan*' (35) which seems to question the relevance of the example and S1 turns his focus back to Michael's lesson with what seems to be a concession '*but with your level you know it wouldn't happen*' (50). Thus, both seem to recognise the inadequacy of S1's account. S1 then tries again, this time focusing on Michael's lesson:

Extract 5.13

50	S1	but with your level you know it wouldn't happen so you know what I mean you
51		sure you asked them (kinds of questions
52	Michael	[and that would require
53	S1	about) cos you asked a bunch of questions about em the different souks
54	Michael	mm
55	S1	and they gave some you know they gave answers and (0.1) but (.) you (.) you
56		know you're you had to keep pushing them and making them
57	Michael	yes
58	S1	it seems like they they weren't I don't know if they weren't confident enough in
59		the language *or maybe they were just self-conscious with me sitting back there*
60		(0.2) they didn't (.) if you had stopped they would've stopped as well
61	Michael	yes
62	S1	yeah which you know but that happens in her class tha- it didn't it was weird they
63	Michael	[yes [yes
64	S1	(xx) the class took on (.) the students themselves took on like a roles of their own
65		it was really really kind of crazy

The account (56-60, indicated in blue) is delayed (50-55, indicated in green), hesitant (indicated in red), modified (59, indicated in italics) and conceded: '*but that happens*' (62). This indicates that S1 lacks confidence in his account, an interpretation which is strengthened by the fact that he immediately returns the conversation back to his previous story about the other class, despite both participants questioning its relevance a few turns before. Throughout the account S1 also pursues Michael's agreement with five instances of '*you know*' which indicates that Michael is temporarily assigned a more powerful position. Michael decides not to challenge this second account or push further for an explanation of the three score, which is probably facework because to do so would strengthen his challenge to S1's identity of competent assessor. Instead he asks about another criterion on the form:

Extract 5.14

66	Michael	°I'm just trying to find there's something you said° there was a 3 I mean I know 3
67		but em it was (0.1) something to do with and it really replied applied to if the class

| 68 | | lesson was (.) something that was going **wrong** (.) and I was I thought that was a |
| 69 | | strange one |

Michael's topic shift indexes power (Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris, 1997) which, coming directly after the obvious inadequacy of S1's account, tips the power balance even further towards Michael. The criterion that Michael now raises is also challenged by another teacher, Selina, in the next section below.

5.3.7. Selina and S1

This final extract follows a similar pattern to the extract above and again arises from a score given for one of the observation form criteria by S1. However, this time the teacher communicates a more challenging attitude. In this extract, Selina questions why she has not been given the highest score (four) for the criteria '*The teacher stops inappropriate behaviour promptly and consistently, but with respect to the student's dignity*'.

Extract 5.15

1	Selina	I believe that I'm quite strong with this
2	S1	ok
3	Selina	I can actually (.) **manage**
4	S1	right ok for this one it ah- usually is when there's stuff that is **bad**↓ when they're
5		having behavioural issues in yours they didn't↓ (.) so that's why I just gave it
6		neutral
7	Selina	[they didn't because I've been training them eh S1 (*laughs*)
8	S1	[ah ok [allright
9	Selina	honestly (*the phone starts ringing*) and eh and eh (.) the same thing em goes for
10		em the next point
11	S1	right
12	Selina	and eh I try very hard actually to em just eh (*S1 gets up*) °ok°
13	S1	(*S1 moves to the phone*) keep going I'm just gonna turn it off ok I c- mean ok
14		what I can do is I can change them to to not applicable if you want and explain
15		why
16	Selina	mmhm
17	S1	be-because they're re- I mean I couldn't judge (.) your (.) how can I say
18		dealing with the behaviour cos there wasn't any there were no problems
19	Selina	[if there is no problem
20	Selina	so that means I mean then em in order to get four here then that means that
21	S1	[ok
22	Selina	there should be some problems so next time
23	S1	[exactly there should be problems
24	Selina	next time I'll create some problems (xxx)
25	S1	[NO NO NO don't do that no no
26	Selina	so then I ca- I can never get a four
27	S1	[I can change (.) you're well↑ unless then a
28	Selina	[so in your case
29	S1	problem comes up in the class but lot of times a lot times people I just give a
30	Selina	[but

31	S1	three it's better to get a three and let me explain (.) that you know the reason
32		that everything was fine was because you've prepared them cos a four would
33		have to be an incident happens and how do you handle like with Ron we were we
34		were talking there was some girls in the back who were giving him problems (.)
35		and every few minutes he would just throw the question to them directly Moza?
36		What's what's the question for number three what's the answer for number
37		three? Or you know I know you speak Arabic but you gotta speak English cos I
38		don't understand Arabic
39	Selina	[this is what I do as well because
40	S1	[ok but they didn't it didn't come up in
41		this lesson it didn't have to
42	Selina	[but S1 do you understand my point what I'm saying in order to get a four
43		here
44	S1	right
45	Selina	then em next time I'll make sure that em there cause a problem?

The teacher (Selina) begins with a confident, strong assertion (1-3) which contains an implicit reproach i.e. I deserve a score of 4 and want to know why I didn't get it. Selina invokes an explicit identity of expertise '*I believe that I'm quite strong with this*' (1). There is no delay or hesitation and the only mitigation is '*quite'* which is counterbalanced by the strength of '*I believe*' and another strong statement 'I can actually (.) **manage**' (manage presumably referring to managing students). In addition to an identity of competence, Selina also assumes a stance of authority as she requires S4 to justify his score and creates an inversion of more typical power relations. S1 then produces an account (4-6) which is more confident than the one given to Michael above:

4	S1	right ok for this one it ah- usually is when there's stuff that is **bad**↓ when they're
5		having behavioural issues in yours they didn't↓ (.) so that's why I just gave it
6		neutral
7	Selina	[they didn't because I've been training them eh S1 (*laughs*)
8	S1	[ah ok [allright
9	Selina	honestly (*the phone starts ringing*) and eh and eh (.) the same thing em goes for
10		em the next point

S1's falling intonation indicates certainty and he seems to expect acceptance. However, this is immediately challenged by Selina. Her challenge is an unmitigated, direct disagreement which again indexes authority, but the use of S1's name with a slight pause and laugh afterwards indicate that she is aware of the social delicacy involved in the disagreement. S1's reply looks at first to be a concession: '*ah ok*' (8) but Selina then extends her challenge to include another criterion (9-10). After a telephone interruption (9-13) S1 makes a slight concession '*what I can do is I can change them to not applicable if you want and explain why*' (14-15). His next utterance, a return to the account, is more hesitant (indicated in red):

17	S1	be-because they're re- I mean I couldn't judge (.) you're (.) how can I say

18		dealing with the behaviour cos there wasn't any there were no problems
19	Selina	[if there is no problem

S1 has now conceded and seems less confident which suggests a loss of authority and power. This is magnified by Selina interrupting him, a powerful interactional move (Schnurr, 2013). Her next utterance looks at first as if she is checking understanding of S1's account and this seems to be S1's interpretation: '*exactly there should be problems*' (23):

20	Selina	so that means I mean then em in order to get four here then that means that
21	S1	[ok
22	Selina	there should be some problems so next time
23	S1	[exactly there should be problems

However, Selina's following turn indicates she has instead been leading up to another disagreement and direct challenge (24):

24	Selina	next time I'll create some problems (xxx)
25	S1	[NO NO NO don't do that no no
26	Selina	so then I ca- I can never get a four

the strength of which is reflected in S1's loud and emphatic plea (25). Selina's next response seems to sum up the sequence '*I can never get a four*' (26). The participants then repeat the same points with S1 giving the same account and Selina challenging the account in the same way:

31	S1	three it's better to get a three and let me explain (.) that you know the reason
32		that everything was fine was because you've prepared them cos a four would
33		have to be an incident happens and how do you handle like with Ron we were we
34		were talking there was some girls in the back who were giving him problems (.)
35		and every few minutes he would just throw the question to them directly Moza?
36		What's what's the question for number three what's the answer for number
37		three? Or you know I know you speak Arabic but you gotta speak English cos I
38		don't understand Arabic
39	Selina	[this is what I do as well because
40	S1	[ok but they didn't it didn't come up in
41		this lesson it didn't have to
42	Selina	[but S1 do you understand my point what I'm saying in order to get a four
43		here
44	S1	right
45	Selina	then em next time I'll make sure that em there cause a problem?

Selina, although the less powerful participant in terms of institutional role has directly challenged S3 in a confrontational manner. S1 is unable to reconcile the conflict between his and Selina's interpretation of the criterion so at the end of the sequence he changes the score

from 'not applicable' to 3 and he types an explanation onto the observation form as he reads it aloud '*There were no issues as Selina has them well trained*'. S1 partially relinquishes his identity of authority because he cannot persuade Selina to accept his scores and they reach an uneasy compromise with the 3 score.

5.3.8. Discussion

The last two extracts are interesting not just because they subvert existing power relations but also because they show participants challenging the authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1981) of the institution. Prior to the extracts, S1 has spent the meetings with Michael and Selina going through observation form criteria, reading aloud comments he has made on the form and reading aloud amendments he makes as he types. This behaviour is typical of S1 but not of the other three supervisors. S1 makes this document an important presence in the feedback meeting and he orientates to the document as an 'active participant' (Clifton, 2012) so his meetings give voice to the institutional document, the discourse of quality control, and power. By challenging the assessment criteria and scoring, Selina and Michael contest the underpinning institutional quality assurance process and S1's institutional identity of recorder of information, measure of abilities, judge of acceptable (i.e. normalised) behaviour and gatekeeper to their jobs.

It is telling that in both instances, S1 cannot produce a satisfactory account. The rise in managerialism in education has resulted in institutions seeking evidence that teachers are effective (Deem, 2003) and the ensuing quality assurance focus requires teachers to be accountable to measurable standards and outcomes (Sergiovanni, 2001). However, as White (1998) points out, education is intangible, abstract and contextual, making it difficult to operationalise the construct of 'good' or 'effective' teaching. In challenging the validity of the criteria and the institution's attempt to measure their teaching, Selina and Michael make the same point. Following Extract 5.14 above, Michael comments critically on the same criterion that Selina raises:

Extract 5.16

1	Michael	so it was basically the teacher then will will modify the lesson (0.1) it had
2		something to do with modifying the lesson (xxxx)
3	S1	[oh but you didn't need to cos it didn't apply in
4	Michael	[yeah so
5		so so notice that yeah it doesn't apply so it's just it just seems no it just seems
6		like a
7	S1	your class [oh I we can change it
8	Michael	strange (.) criteria because if it's you know if the lesson's going according to plan

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In his feedback meeting, Michael also talks at length about the student evaluation instrument, pointing out faults in criteria and the way it is analysed. These documents have a serious impact on teachers in this institution (they influence contract renewal) and by challenging them, Michael and Selina raise questions about the importance placed on poorly formulated criteria and faulty instruments.

Selina and Michael challenge S1's professional identity of someone skilled enough to fulfil the task of evaluating a lesson. It is unclear to what extent S1's unconvincing accounts result from faults in the criteria or from personal limitations. S1's feedback is constrained by the criteria (partly because he chooses to structure his meetings so closely with them) and in both cases Michael and Selina shift their exasperation from S1 to the form. However, by placing so much importance on the observational criteria, S1 seems to expose himself to a scrutiny of his marks that other supervisors do not experience. Section 4.3.1.4 shows S1 distancing himself from critical comments he has made on the observation form. However, these last two extracts show teachers forcing him to be accountable to the very thing he is reluctant to give voice to.

The extracts in this section feature institutionally weaker interactants, i.e. the teacher, challenging the identity and power of the institutionally more powerful supervisors. This shows that although institutional status gives supervisors certain privileges and rights, power is not the given property of an interactant with institutional status but rather it is '*contested, vied for and negotiated, and […] needs ratification from others'* (Diamond, 1996: 15). Both interactants negotiate power, regardless of their positions in the institutional hierarchy.

5.4. Conclusion

By performing actions such setting agendas, controlling proceedings, asking questions, initiating topic shifts, evaluating, criticising, and giving advice, supervisors invoke identities of power and authority. At the same time, they frequently index identities of experience and expertise. Teachers constitute identities of experience, knowledge, being a reflective practitioner and being aware of their students. However, these identities are not stable, nor are they simply a reflection of institutional roles. Rather, they are discursively constructed and negotiated, and are relational, relying on an interlocutor to be upheld. Power is negotiated through identities and, like identities, is contestable, fluid and can shift between interactants within a single conversation, even in pairings where one interactant has a higher status in the institutional hierarchy, as Diamond attests:

*There is thus no one person who is said to be in sole possession of power; likewise there cannot be one person who is said to be solely powerless or weak. (*Diamond, 1996: 15)

Identity and face are linked. Verification of valued identities can lead to affiliation, alignment and face support. Challenge, however, can cause disaffiliation. An evaluation of face threat is made when a speaker perceives that an identity they are claiming is not ascribed to them by their partner (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich et al., 2013, Haugh, 2009, Tracy, 2008) or when they are ascribed a problematic identity (Hall et al., 1999). Challenge to teachers' identities is more frequent and possibly expected as teachers often comply with this trajectory, but supervisors' identities are also challenged. Those who contest identities usually show awareness of face threat and do facework to mitigate it: '*management of face relations [is] an intricate part of identity negotiation'* (Hall et al., 1999: 297). Interactants use discursive means to help them manage face relations, for example institutionally relevant resources such as students, processes, forms and in-service courses; speech acts such as praise and suggestions; linguistic devices such as display questions, modality and mitigation, intonation and laughter. This often works and face threat is managed. There are two extracts, however, in which an evaluation of face threat seems to persist. S1, despite considerable face work on Niamh's part, seems to orientate to an evaluation of face threat triggered by a challenge to his identity of expert and advice giver. Eric clearly orients to an evaluation of face threat (if not impoliteness) as S3 seems to flout conventional norms by delivering bald, direct criticism. Face is therefore something interactionally achieved i.e. it is endogenous to situated talk.

Identity and face are consequential to the unfolding interaction of these post observation feedback meetings and to the meeting goal of improving teachers' practice. Both influence the content and style of talk. For example, identity challenge and face threat can shut down a line of conversation or cause resistance to feedback. Identity claims can 'backfire', for example Eric uses S3's authoritative, powerful, expertise identity to extricate himself from critical feedback, S1 gets into difficulty with Michael and Selina because of the institutional identity he projects by placing importance on the observation form and scoring criteria and S1's relinquishment of his own supervisory identity to ratify an experienced identity for John and Greg means that he is unable to talk about aspects of their lessons which he has identified prior to the meeting as problematic.

The analysis in this chapter shows the value of linguistic ethnography for uncovering the small detail of talk to enhance understanding. Analysis shows how supervisors and teachers

manage these interactions, for example how Eric manages criticism and protects his position in Extract 5.3.4. Analysis such as this could be used in training for supervisors. For example, through guided analysis of Extract 5.2.2 supervisors could be shown how features of critical 'clobbering' (Randall and Thornton, 2001) such as bald and layered criticism, hyper-questioning and interruption can lead to face threat which can have the undesired effect of the teacher resisting feedback. Contrasting this extract with S4's account requests with Dan, analysis could show the importance of 'linguistic jewellery' (Tracy, 2008) to manage face threat which then allows Dan to accept feedback and possibly incorporate new ideas into his practice.

In sum, identity and face are fascinating, complex and intertwined processes highly influential in the talk between in-service teachers and supervisors. To my knowledge, no previous studies have examined identity and face in feedback discourse despite the fact that in this data set both are consequential to relationships, to the evolving discourse, and to the way feedback is conducted and managed. Identity and face seems therefore important considerations in the analysis of post observation feedback discourse. Conclusions from the analysis above also suggest that identity matters when participants make face evaluations, a link which has also been neglected in previous studies of face in feedback (and other institutional) discourse.

The following chapter will consider the implications of these conclusions for post observation feedback.

6. CONCLUSION

This chapter begins by outlining the limitations of this research project in order to allow readers to take these into consideration whilst evaluating the claims and implications which follow. The next section gives a summary of findings organised by the research sub-questions outlined in Chapter 1. Following this, the contribution this research makes to the study of identity and face in institutional interaction is outlined. Implications of the findings within the field of language teacher education are then considered. Finally, practical applications of this study for participants and the institution at the research site are described.

6.1 Limitations of this project

This study has provided a detailed and concrete picture of feedback practice. This is, however, limited to one particular institution with a small number of participants and as such can be considered a case study (Peräkylä, 2004b). Although the results and conclusions are not therefore generalizable, it is hoped that by detailing analysis of interaction, in particular the construction and negotiation of identity and face, I have shown a link between identity and face that may have relevance and be of interest beyond this case study to others working in the field of teacher education and other institutional interaction contexts.

Weaknesses have resulted mostly from difficulties with time and circumstances. The first weakness is an uneven balance of recordings between supervisors (see Section 3.3.3.1) because two of the supervisors resigned and went to new jobs during my data collection, one after recording only two feedback meetings. In addition a third supervisor was sacked after only two recordings. The other major weakness of this study is that the ethnographic aspect has been less developed than I would have liked. Because I left the research site after the data collection period to move to a new job in the UK, it was difficult to carry out post-analysis interviews with the research participants. Although I interviewed the supervisors and Eric before most of the analysis, these interviews were necessarily generic and therefore limited in value. The three post analysis interviews I did with S4, Niamh and Jake via Skype, in contrast, were immensely satisfying, added a deep, nuanced ethnographic detail to the linguistic data (see Sections 5.3.2 and 5.4.2), and were rewarding and exciting as these participants verified my own interpretations as well as illuminating aspects of the data I had not seen. I very much regret not being able to do more post analysis interviews and believe the ethnographic aspect to this study, and as a consequence the study as a whole, would be stronger if I had.

6.2. Summary of findings

6.2.1. Research Question (RQ) 1: Which identities do teachers and supervisors make relevant during post observation feedback talk?

At the beginning of feedback meetings, supervisors initiate identities involving authority, power, expertise, knowledge and experience, while teachers index identities involving experience, knowledge and reflection. As the interaction is institution based, it is not surprising that identities reflect participants' jobs. Supervisors make relevant identities of manager, leader, assessor, advisor and institutional representative. Teachers invoke identities of competent, experienced professional and responsive, reflective, committed teacher. As well as these positive, valued identities, other negative, disvalued identities are constructed such as inexperienced teacher and teacher with more knowledge than the supervisor. These identities are constantly claimed, verified, contested, re-claimed and negotiated throughout the meetings.

Context influences identity work as participants make relevant identities which are institutionally valued. Joint construction of particular identities such as 'tech savvy' and 'skilled classroom manager' by both supervisors and teachers ensures the perpetuation and value of these identities. Identity is therefore '*constitutive of and constituted by the social environment*' (Block, 2006: 251) which confirms Eren-Bilgen and Richards' belief in the value of investigating teacher identities:

> *Exploring how teachers deal with identity negotiations and challenges that they encounter in their professional lives provides a valuable opportunity for understanding the complex relationship between context and identity. (Eren-Bilgen and Richards, 2015: 61)*

6.2.2. RQ2: How are identities constructed and negotiated?

Supervisors invoke the identity of experienced and knowledgeable supervisor by indicating their familiarity with the feedback event, referring to its habitual and often repeated aspect, and by using routinised verbal sequences at the beginning of meetings. They also position teachers as less experienced than themselves and claim membership of professional bodies concerned with teacher education. S1 tells teachers that he uses his own teaching as a standard with which to measure others. Teachers co-construct these identities by asking for advice and suggestions, explicitly recognising feedback as valuable, accepting advice and suggestions and by complying with patterns of interaction, for example Dan complies with a

'sequence shape' (Pomerantz, 1984) which culminates in the supervisor giving advice. However, these 'expert' identities are sometimes contested as teachers display more knowledge than supervisors. For example, Anna uses her knowledge of the students and pedagogic reasoning to defend her actions and Niamh refers to ELT literature to resist a suggestion from the supervisor.

Supervisors also invoke powerful, authoritative identities such as manager and assessor through actions such as setting agendas, controlling proceedings, asking questions, evaluating, criticizing and giving unsolicited advice. They control the floor, and are almost always the initiators of topic shifts. S1 is especially interactionally dominant and he also makes frequent reference to the institutional observation form and its scoring system and uses its criteria to structure his meetings, which emphasises his identity of institutional representative and assessor. Teachers co-construct these identities by answering questions, giving accounts and accepting scores. However, these identities are also challenged. For example, Jake refuses to cooperate with S4's display questions, and Michael and Selina both challenge S1's scores. Powerful identities can also be won back by supervisors. For example, after Anna and Niamh successfully contest the supervisors' position as the more knowledgeable interactant, the supervisors claim an authoritative 'assessor' identity by introducing a topic change and referring to assessment criteria. These power shifts show that identities are neither stable nor merely a reflection of institutional roles but rather are discursively constituted and negotiated.

Teachers claim the identity of a critically reflective, self-aware practitioner by presenting alternatives to classroom actions, asking for and welcoming feedback, and detailing positive and negative aspects of their lessons. They also index the identity of a responsible teacher by talking about students' weaknesses, interests and needs, and talking about work done beyond the observed lesson, for example planning lessons, looking for and preparing material, linking lessons, and recycling vocabulary. Teachers invoke the identity of a knowledgeable, experienced and effective teacher. For example, Eric and Stuart use teaching jargon and Stuart describes his students as independent and motivated. Supervisors co-construct these identities by recognising and praising positive aspects of the lesson, applying positive descriptors from the observation form criteria, and using 'display' questions designed to allow teachers to voice their experience and knowledge. Sometimes these positive teacher identities are initiated by the supervisor, for example S1 refers to John and Greg's years of experience and indicates that the feedback meeting has limited value for them (the implication being there is no further need for improvement). However, supervisors

also contest these identities. Some do so subtly, employing strategies such as asking implicitly critical account requests, or asking for alternatives to classroom actions. Others are more direct in challenging these identities, delivering bald, direct criticism, asking more challenging account request questions, positioning themselves as more experienced than the teacher, giving unsolicited advice, and rejecting explanations.

Thus, the data show that identities are discursively constructed in the situated activity of feedback but are fluid and contestable. Identities are also shown to be relational in two senses: firstly, an identity claimed by one interactant relies on an interactional partner to be sustained; and secondly, identities are often related to each other in pair dynamics, for example manager/subordinate; experienced supervisor/inexperienced teacher; leader/led.

6.2.3. RQ3: What is the relationship between identity and face in this talk?

The analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 shows that face, like identity, is interactionally achieved and endogenous to situated discourse. The fact that the same speech act (for example an account request) is face threatening in some instances but not in others shows that face threat is not inherent in a speech act but is rather a situated judgement. This also highlights the importance of evidencing face threat according to participants' evaluations and achievements in talk (rather than, for example, a researcher coding speech acts as face threatening).

Uncontested identities seem to involve little or no face threat and in fact there is some evidence that face support can ensue when identities are explicitly verified, demonstrated in S4's display questions with Aisha and Dan. However, the data show repeated manifestations of face threat when identities are challenged. This face threat is evident in the discourse as 'initiators' do facework via linguistic resources such as mitigation, hesitation, preambles, pauses and laughter and 'receivers' show orientation to face threat with indicators such as silence, hesitations, laughter and withdrawal from the conversation. Face threat resulting from identity challenge is usually softened with linguistic cladding such as mitigation, indicating 'socially delicate' (Miller, 2013) talk. For example, Anna and Niamh do considerable facework when positioning themselves as more knowledgeable than their supervisors and S4 does facework as he steers the conversation towards giving advice and suggestions to improve Dan's speaking activity.

In sum, both identity and face are discursively achieved in situated interaction. When interactants make a situated claim to be recognised as a certain type of person (Gee, 2000),

they are doing identity work. These identities can be accepted and legitimised or contested by an interactional partner. This response can engender face evaluations of alignment or non-alignment (or connectedness/separateness in Arundale's (2006, 2010) terms). For example, if a teacher makes a claim to be recognised as a competent teacher but this claim is contested by the supervisor criticising his or her actions in the observed lesson, the teacher may feel face threat. The supervisor may anticipate this and do facework as they criticise and the teacher may signal face threat in the way they respond. Facework may, or may not, mitigate the face threat.

6.2.4. RQ4: Are identity and face consequential to feedback talk?

The answer to this question is yes. There are many examples in the data which show that identity and face influence the content and direction of talk. For example, when S1 co-constructs an identity of 'very experienced teacher' with John and Greg, this hinders his ability to give negative feedback. John and Greg are therefore denied the opportunity to examine and explore S1's observations so potential learning opportunities are lost. When S3 challenges Eric's identity of competent, experienced teacher, Eric withdraws from the conversation and S3, despite trying to engage him, cannot maintain interaction, so again an opportunity for discussion and learning is lost. When Niamh contests S1's identity of expert by questioning his advice, S1 shuts down the line of conversation and moves on to the next observation form criterion and the two participants therefore have no opportunity to further explore his suggestion that students should read aloud. There is also some evidence that face threat resulting from identity challenge may be consequential beyond the meeting. For example, Eric's interview comments show resistance to S3's feedback, despite the fact that the problematic issues she raises also emerged in his feedback meetings with S1 and S2. This shows the importance of managing the potential face threat that feedback can engender, as summarised by S4:

> *I want to walk out of feedback with different ways to approach it, perhaps, but not at the expense of being pissed off.* (Extract from S4's interview)

The answers to these research questions show the importance and influence of identity and face on teacher development, teacher and supervisor relationships and on the acceptance of feedback. These answers also highlight the value of identity and face as analytic foci. Through the investigation of identity and face various important aspects of feedback have been uncovered including relations of power, the effect of and on context, and the way that participants buy into, inculcate and sometimes manipulate (for example Stuart and Eric) institutional discourses through identity work.

6.3. Institutional interaction: Identity, face and linguistic ethnography

This study adds to a body of work on institutional interaction by providing a detailed, empirical description of situated, 'real-life' institutional talk, micro-analysed with CA tools and supported by ethnographic detail.

6.3.1. Identity and Face

The data analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 has illuminated various ways in which participants construct and negotiate identity and face and suggests that these two concepts are highly relevant to feedback discourse and a useful perspective for examining and describing feedback talk. Despite their conceptual proximity, the paths of identity and face '*have seldom intersected*' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 4) so an important aim of his study is to add to existing knowledge by looking specifically at the relationship between identity and face in institutional interaction. In addition, the focus on 'real life' data helps address calls from researchers such as Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2013) and Haugh (2009) for empirical research into identity and face: '*we need, rather than staying at the theoretical level, to support our claims empirically*' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 24). This study provides empirical support for the view of identity as a process (rather than product), discursive (rather than individual), contextualised, and negotiated. The data also show that face is a situated evaluation of connectedness and separateness (Arundale 2006, 2010) which can be prompted by identity work, and that face threat happens only if participants in their particular interaction make that evaluation or response (Chang and Haugh, 2011).

This study challenges the image drawn in previous studies of a supervisor who often chooses to avoid or mitigate face threatening acts in order to maintain a social relationship with the teacher, at the expense of giving clear critical feedback (Roberts, 1992, Vásquez, 2004, Wajnryb, 1994). Underpinning this image are two biases. Firstly, these studies conceptualise face as production based: the concern of the speaker. As a consequence, they focus mostly on analysing the supervisor's talk. In contrast, the analysis in this study highlights the evaluative role of the hearer as fundamental (Culpepper, 2005, Eelen, 2001, Kienpointner, 1997, Mills, 2003, Mills, 2005, Mullany, 2008). To assess whether face threat has taken place, it is important to analyse the hearer's response and reaction. This study therefore conducts a turn by turn micro-analysis of *both* participants' talk. The second bias is towards an assumed goal of face threat evasion - a Brown and Levinson influenced model of conflict avoidance. The data in this study show that participants (supervisors *and teachers*) are frequently willing to risk face threat, supporting the view that face threatening (and

indeed impolite) behaviour is rational and common (Culpepper et al., 2003, Kienpointner, 1997, Mills, 2005, Mullany, 2008) and not a marked deviance from the unmarked norm of face threat avoidance.

There seem to be two reasons that participants willingly engage in face threatening behaviour. The first is identity based. Participants risk (or even choose) face threat to protect their own identities, for example as an authoritative supervisor with teaching expertise, knowledge and experience (S3), or as a knowledgeable, experienced teacher (Anna). They also risk face threat to contest others' identities, for example to contest a supervisor's authoritative identity (Jake with S4) or a teacher's competent professional identity (S3 with Eric). Sometimes participants risk face threat to do both, for example by questioning their scores, Michael and Selina contest S1's identity as assessor whilst protecting their own as 'good' teachers.

The second reason for risking face threat is goal achievement. As institutional interaction is more goal oriented than social (Drew and Heritage, 1992), participants are more willing to perform and accept face threatening acts than in social conversation. If institutional values are at stake '*people become willing to rupture relationships to see what they regard as right happens*' (Tracy, 2008: 184). The institutional purpose of evaluation and improved teaching legitimises moves such as account requests, critical feedback and directives focusing on changing teaching practice. For example, S3 chooses to perform face threating behaviour in order to correct faults in Eric's teaching. Contextual norms are also relevant. The feedback genre allows behaviour which might be considered face threatening (or impolite) in other circumstances (Copland, 2011). For example, turns designed to elicit explanations would be considered rude in ordinary conversational practices (Atkinson, 1999: 87) but the frequency of account requests in the data suggests that this practice is acceptable in feedback meetings.

However, even if face threatening moves are deemed acceptable or worth making for identity protection/challenge or goal achievement, it is common for them to be '*adorned with at least a piece or two of politeness jewellery*' (Tracy, 2008: 187) in the form linguistic strategies such as hedging and attenuation (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003b: 146). These serve to indicate that the purpose of the face threat is not to intentionally hurt the hearer but rather any hurt felt is a '*by-product of needed criticism rather than its central goal*' (Tracy, 2008: 184). Sometimes, however, participants in this study dispense with 'politeness jewellery' and choose bald criticism and explicit challenge, for example S3 with Eric and Selina with S1.

This bald face threat can help the recipient understand the message and then address it more overtly (Asmuβ, 2008), for example S1 can respond to Selina in an equally direct way, giving them both clear insight into the problem. However, it can also lead to an evaluation of impoliteness as in the case of Eric and S3. There seems to be a fine line between acceptable face threatening moves legitimated by contextual norms and an evaluation of impoliteness and offence, one that participants in this data set (except sometimes S3) seem able to successfully avoid crossing.

6.3.2. Linguistic Ethnography

As discussed in Chapter 3, two methods of data collection and analysis were combined. Firstly, micro analysis using CA concepts such as recipient design and adjacency pairs was conducted to examine how identities are projected and how interactional partners align or disalign their responses to these claimed identities, turn by turn. Secondly, in order to obtain a fuller picture of participants' face evaluations, ethnographic data from pre-analysis interviews and post-analysis participant interpretation interviews as well as participant researcher knowledge were drawn on, adding important detail about the broader context and the history of participants' relationships.

This study has been strengthened by this dual approach. Without either strand (linguistic or ethnographic), analysis would have been more limited. The combination of both has brought a deeper and more nuanced understanding of identity and face within this data set. Choosing to follow an LE approach has also made for a more satisfying experience as a researcher, and I have been particularly fascinated by the relationship between micro-analysis and post-analysis participant validation interviews in which I gave interactants short data extracts to study (excerpts of the audio recordings and corresponding written transcripts) which we then talked about. This process both validated my own analysis and brought further insight into participants thoughts, interpretations and feelings as well as important contextual detail such as prior relationships and key events happening before or around the time of data collection. My own knowledge of the research site, having worked there for 13 years, and close working relationship with the study participants was also an advantage, giving me contextual knowledge which helped me understand what was happening in the interaction.

6.4. Implications for teacher education

6.4.1. Models of supervision

The data show that feedback is a highly complex interactional activity influenced by different factors such as identity, face, power, relationships and context. This complexity suggests perhaps re-thinking the idea of supervisory styles presented in the ELT literature (see section 2.2.2.2). Several models of supervision have been proposed and discussed but these models tend to be viewed as a taxonomy and are often discussed in dichotomous terms, for example directive/collaborative (Wallace, 1991), dialogic/authoritative (Louw et al., 2014). These models are theoretical constructs and it is perhaps telling that there is no detailed description of how a collaborative or prescriptive supervisory style, for example, is realised in actual interaction (Knox, 2008). The results of this study raise some questions about the assumptions underlying these models, as well as questioning their usefulness as a way of describing feedback.

Firstly, the literature discussion of models of supervision seems to suggest that feedback style is the domain and decision of the supervisor and that supervisors are generally the more knowledgeable participant, therefore an important part of selecting a model of supervision is deciding how to impart that knowledge to the teacher, for example by being directive, suggesting alternatives or collaborating with the teacher to problem solve. My analysis shows, however, that feedback talk is negotiated and co-jointly constituted, moment by moment, by *both* participants, teacher and supervisor, and at times the teacher has more knowledge than the supervisor (this may be especially true of in-service teachers). Secondly, the literature suggests a more collaborative style of supervision is suited to experienced teachers (Copeland, 1982, Freeman, 1982). However, the extracts discussed in the previous chapters suggest that with these experienced teachers the supervisors' talk is more directive than collaborative, for example they tend to offer advice and suggestions and make evaluations rather exploring alternatives or collaborating with teachers. This overall tendency includes some instances of more dialogic, collaborative talk (for example S2 and S4) but this serves to demonstrate the unlikelihood of one particular style being sustained throughout a feedback meeting. Thirdly, despite all falling into the 'directive' category, the supervisors in this study approach and deliver feedback very differently. For example, S1 uses the observation form to structure his feedback meetings (a journey through the three pages, criterion by criterion) while the other three supervisors tend to discuss the lesson chronologically, and although S3 and S4 make occasional reference to the observation criteria, S2 never does. S1's talk is predominantly descriptive and evaluative but S2, S3 and S4 ask questions, make account

requests and offer advice and suggestions. S3 is also directly critical. If this 'directive' category is broad enough to include such variable behaviour, it may have limited usefulness as a description of what is happening in feedback.

In addition, the models of supervision proposed in ELT literature do not easily accommodate some of the features of S1's descriptive, evaluative feedback. For example, with contextually experienced teachers, S1's speech consist mostly of praise. It is difficult to see which of the suggested models of supervision this behaviour corresponds to. In this data set, therefore, these models of supervision seem empirically unsustainable, a finding which supports Farr's assertion that '*as with language teaching, we are in a post model era*' (p.23).

6.4.2. Supervisors' roles

Identity is linked to institutional role which Hall et al. (1999) define as a set of social expectations - indeed the two are often conflated. In the ELT literature, supervisors' roles are often described dichotomously (like supervisory styles) as supporter/advisor and evaluator (Copland, 2008a, Hyland and Lo, 2006, Louw et al., 2014), and researchers often describe these roles as conflicting (Brandt, 2008), paradoxical (Farr, 2011) and incompatible (Louw et al., 2014) with researchers such as Brandt (2008) and Holland (2005) believing that these conflicting roles of assessor and facilitator of development are a cause of tension in feedback. I believe the literature on post observation feedback stops at the level of the differentiation and delineation of role expectations without completing the process and looking at how roles are actually realised or confirmed by identity work. This study suggests that feedback can encompass many different identities performed by both supervisor and teacher. In this data set, identities constituted include assessor and facilitator but these dynamic identities co-exist with others and seem to be constructed and negotiated fairly seamlessly without evidence that they themselves are a source of tension or struggle for participants. Rather, tension in this data set is manifested when identities are not verified.

In conclusion, findings from this study suggest that examining participants' construction and negotiation of identities may be a more flexible, inclusive (encompassing all participants) way of describing feedback than supervisory models or roles. This study shows empirically that identity plays an important part in the way feedback is delivered and received and is influential to the interaction. An identity focus can explicate the complexity of feedback, and the numerous factors influencing talk such as its discursive nature, participants' experience, institutional processes and documents, contextual constraints and individual differences. Finally, a focus on identity can accommodate the situated, negotiated (and therefore endlessly variable) nature of feedback. However, more research is needed before this suggestion is

tenable, especially in the area of pre-service language teacher education, to make sure that identity is as important, illuminating and influential in other contexts.

6.4.3. The purpose of feedback

Data analysis raises some interesting questions about the purpose and value of feedback. Section 2.2.2.2 outlined discussion in the ELT literature of a tension between the goals of evaluation and development. When I interviewed the supervisors in this study, I asked them about the purpose of feedback (see the table below). There was a fairly consistent belief that feedback is evaluative (highlighted in red), with only S4 talking about support (highlighted in blue):

Table 6.1. Supervisors' views on the purpose of feedback

S1	*To tell the teachers what they're doing really well and what they need to improve on, if anything, and to let them know what the students are experiencing*
S2	*I certainly don't believe that class observation by a line manager is the be all and end all for assessing a teacher's abilities. I think it's just a very small part of it*
S3	*…appraisal of the* [teacher] *and identifying basically if the teacher is teaching in a manner that is deemed by the administration to be the most appropriate and culturally-sensitive to the area*
S4	*I am expecting the teacher's 'best China', and do not want to see what they do every day. I know it's slightly artificial, but I think it's a good exercise to sit down and plan a finite 50 minute lesson, all bells and whistles, to impress me with… I'm trying to get the teachers to reflect on what they did, rather than simply judge, to make it a supportive and constructive process*

The fact that all recognise the evaluative nature of feedback is unsurprising. In their context, the observed lesson and feedback meeting are carried out as part of a larger process of appraisal, as S2 indicates, the function of which is for administrators to assess and rate teachers' performance to determine whether teachers pass the probationary year and thereafter if their three year contract is renewed. This process was established by the college Quality Assurance (QA) office. Like many bureaucratic operations, the QA office has introduced a system of accountability with measurable standards and outcomes, including the criteria on the observation form which S3 makes reference to. Given the importance of the appraisal document, observation and feedback is a means of surveillance (Foucault, 1979); literally, via observation, but also as a system of record keeping via the appraisal form which is stored in the teacher's HR file. S4 highlights the importance of teachers

demonstrating their 'best china', a 'model' lesson in Howard's (2008) terms, one which is '*vastly different and improved in complexity and sophistication from their ordinary daily teaching*' (Holland 2005 p. 71). When teachers join the institution, they have a week of induction activities which includes a session on appraisal in which teachers are told explicitly to teach a 'model' lesson. Thus there is no doubt then that the purpose of observation and feedback at this institution is evaluative and much of the feedback talk reflects this, as supervisors frequently project identities of institutional representative and assessor.

Also emergent from the data is the (less discussed) evaluative goal of 'conforming' teachers. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, a predominant discourse running through the data is that the context and students are unique and difficult, so a special type of teaching is needed. S1's interview comments indicate that he adheres to this view:

> *Some of the new teachers (.) yeah, because they haven't seen how other teachers teach here. The way they taught in their last jobs doesn't work here so they get lower marks. The population they deal with is nothing they've ever dealt with before. It's not so much them, it's the style of teaching that doesn't match what our students need to receive. That's where there is a disconnect. And once they see that it's not them and more of just the environment, then usually they're OK.*

The institutionally valued style of teaching is made clear through identity work (as discussed in Chapter 4) with two aspects of teaching particularly highly valued: having good classroom management skills, and being able to use the current educational technology (for example, laptops or iPads and all their associated applications, the classroom equipment and the VLE). S1 seems to believe that contextual experience makes for better teaching and that once 'normalised', experienced teachers have no further need to develop: his interview comments hint that the process of observation and feedback is of limited value to them:

> *Umm the teachers have been here a long time, they'll send me their plan the morning of or the day before. Then I'll just go and watch it. Usually it's really good. Then I'll write it up. We may even talk for just a few minutes afterwards. I think the teachers who are really good and competent just see it as a little thing they have to do for [me].*

This point of view is stated more explicitly in his feedback meeting with John: '*but you've been doing this a long time so you probably just wanna get out of here right (laughs) as quickly as possible*'. S1 therefore seems to approach the feedback session with experienced teachers as a purely administrative duty. Eric's comment about his observation and feedback meeting with S1 supports this interpretation: '*I think [S1] was just ticking a box to sign off*'. Thus, for S1 in particular, the observation and feedback purpose seems limited to

an '*empty formality*' (Holland p. 67) with experienced teachers and a normalising process for teachers with less contextual experience.

An additional aim of feedback much discussed in ELT literature is continuing professional development for teachers. Interestingly, only S4 refers to this (see Table 6.1). One way of achieving development is through a process of reflection (Jay, 2003, Korthagen et al., 2001, Larriveé, 2000, Mann and Walsh, 2014) which prioritises self-monitoring and self-evaluation (Roberts, 1998). Reflective practice occurs when teachers subject their beliefs and views about teaching to critical analysis, take responsibility for their classroom actions and use this process to inform and improve their teaching practice (Farrell, 2007). Although this process highlights the importance of experiential knowledge as well as received knowledge (Wallace, 1991), this is only part of what is needed to foster development. Teachers need space to examine their own views and beliefs about teaching, reflect on teaching practice and talk with others, as numerous studies have shown (e.g. Hindin et al., 2007, Mann and Walsh, 2014, O'Connell and Dyment, 2006, Richards and Farrell, 2005, Robson and Turner, 2007). Although there is some evidence of dialogic and developmental talk in the meetings analysed in this study (for example between S4 and Dan), the institutional focus on evaluation results in supervisor talking more and their talk being mostly directive. While there is of course a place for direction and advice, one consequence of this orientation is that teachers are given little opportunity to reflect. Opportunities for teacher development are therefore limited.

In sum, the preoccupation with assessment procedures, criteria, accountability and prescriptive conformity in this institution may be hindering opportunities for teacher professional growth. This point will be included in a summary report of findings for the institution. I will draw attention to the consequences of focusing almost exclusively on evaluation and recommend that the institution give conscious attention to providing teachers with opportunities to properly discuss, evaluate and construct understanding of classroom events. I will recommend that in the two years between contract renewal periods, a system of development-focused peer observation be instated with a focus on encouraging teachers to take an active role in identifying individual goals for professional development and to '*reflect on and critically examine their own practice, and to explore alternatives for expanding their teaching repertoire*' (Holland p. 72). This would also bring the additional benefit of relieving the pressure on supervisors to get through 30+ observations a year. Supervisors are busy and as S4 suggested in his interview, fewer observations would relieve work load but may also make feedback more meaningful:

Actually, [feedback] sometimes ends up just being an add-on because you're doing so much else. I find that sometimes I'm sat in observations and I can see my inbox ticking over with major fires that need putting out and that type of thing (0.5) so that's a distraction. For me, if I had a smaller team, I could probably do it better (0.5) more in-depth.

6.4.4. The institutional observation form

The final implication in this section concerns the institutional observation form which emerged as highly influential in the feedback meetings with S1. It makes cameo appearances in feedback with S3 and S4 who sometimes refer to specific criterion or comments they have written on the form; S2 never refers to it. With S1, however, the observation form is an overpowering presence because it dictates the content and structure of his feedback meeting.

In his interview, S1 said his feedback style was more collaborative than directive:

I'm definitely not directive ... here our teachers are so experienced that I don't think I need to be cos they do know how to act …. I give alternatives more with their teaching method and style and content ... my collaborative [style] is more with the behaviour and classroom management

However, the data does not support this assertion. S1's meetings consist mostly of him explaining his scores on the observation form, often reading aloud written evaluative comments and 'typing aloud' additional comments. He rarely elicits teachers' opinions or explanations and he almost always initiates topic change, usually in the form of moving to the next criterion. He conducts meetings at top speed in his efforts to discuss all three pages of the observation form and keeps the floor for most of the meeting. Thus, despite his belief that he is collaborative, S1's talk is mostly descriptive and evaluative, due mostly to the influence of the observation form.

Much of the literature seems to take observation instruments for granted but these findings suggest that perhaps they should be questioned. Few researchers have examined or described the use and role of institutional documents (or artefacts) in feedback interaction (Engin, 2015, McDonald et al., 2005). Engin (2014) discusses the benefits that artefacts such as teaching transcripts, lesson plans and self-evaluation forms can bring to feedback. However, although institutional documents can mediate thinking and discussion (Wertsch, 1998) and prompt reflection (Bartlett, 1990), they can also constrain discussion. In the case of S1, the artefact in question seems to limit opportunities for discussion, rather than enhance feedback. As the data shows, the institutional document negatively influences the

way feedback is given by dominating proceedings and leaving little space for teachers to talk and reflect. A further concern is that institutional power and authority is embedded in the language, layout, format and use of the form (Engin, 2015), and the form embodies and gives prominence to the supervisor's perception of the lesson. S1's use of the form also reinforces the focus on evaluation discussed in Section 6.4.3 above, further limiting opportunities for interaction, collaboration, reflection and development.

S1's curious relationship with the institutional observation form extends to influencing identity construction. Although S1 indexes an identity of authority and control at the beginning of his meetings (see Section 4.2.2.1) this powerful identity construction seems largely based on his use of the form. His meetings start with an orientation to the form and the scoring system, giving the form, the criteria and the institution an immediate voice in his feedback meetings so the observation form becomes an active participant (Clifton, 2012) and important presence in the feedback meetings, similar to the way that doctors in Swinglehurst at al.'s (2011) study gave agency and voice to an electronic patient record document (EPR):

> *The EPR displays a pervasive material authority and contributes voices in its text which may remain silent but which are consequential to the interaction, both within and beyond the 'here and now'. It places significant demands upon the interaction and although it creates new opportunities … it also places constraints.* (p.12)

S1 gains much of his authoritative identity from the observation form so this powerful identity collapses when he abdicates authorship of the form's content. For example, S1's reluctance to challenge the 'experienced teacher' identity he co-constructs in-situ with John and Greg means he can no longer identify with the form's critical comments. Becoming severed from the form, he loses the authoritative assessor identity.

The summary report for the college will include a recommendation that managers re-visit the criteria on the observation form, suggesting that three pages of observation items are unwieldy and impractical for observers. In addition, and more importantly, I will recommend supervisors be given opportunities to examine their own practice, including looking at how they use the feedback form in their meetings (see Section 6.4 below).

6.5. Practical application in the research site

The end point of this study is not the completion of a thesis. Like Dornyei (2007), whose view of research ethics includes ensuring that study participants benefit from the research, and Sarangi and Roberts (1999a) who state: '*we believe that discourse analytic and sociolinguistic studies of workplace communication should be grounded in an ethics of*

practical relevance' (p.2), my research aim extends to using knowledge gained from the study for the benefit of my study participants and the institution where data was collected. As mentioned in Chapter 1, supervisors at the college receive little (or no) training in how to do feedback. Additionally, in contrast to teachers, supervisors have few institutional professional development opportunities and seldom, if ever, study aspects of their own practice such as giving feedback. Interestingly, however, all four supervisors welcomed the opportunity to talk about feedback in the research interviews (S3 commented during her interview '*I'm enjoying this*'). The supervisors in this study have expressed a keen interest in the results in general, as well as seeking comment on their individual interactions, leading me to agree with Kitzinger that '*practitioners value having the opportunity to watch/listen to their interactions and to reflect on performance*' (Kitzinger, 2011: 104). I therefore plan to disseminate results of this study by giving the institutional management team a summary of my results and key recommendations and providing workshops for supervisors (details below).

As part of my research, I have had post analysis discussions with S4 (the only supervisor still working at the college) based on short data extracts from his feedback meetings (for example, see Sections 5.2.1 and 5.4.2). These conversations were mutually beneficial, giving me added insight into my linguistic analysis and giving him a greater awareness of his actual practice. The extracts also stimulated much discussion about feedback in general and contextual difficulties, convincing me of the benefits of using discourse extracts with observers as a means of examining practice and promoting professional growth. I am currently working with S4 on plans for workshops which we will offer to supervisors working in the foundation programme at the college and its sister institutions throughout the UAE. We plan to use selected short clips from my recorded data as a stimulus to raise awareness of, encourage reflection on, and possibly change practice. We will also offer to collaborate with any supervisors interested in following up the workshop by recording and analysing their own feedback and will suggest that supervisors form peer partnerships to share data and perhaps observe each other's feedback sessions.

In planning these workshops we have been influenced by various researchers committed to the practical application of language research. Firstly, we drew on Roberts and Sarangi's (1999) study of hybrid modes of talk in gate keeping oral examinations for the Royal College of General Practitioners. The authors used videos of orals exams to facilitate a process of illustration and joint problematisation with practitioners. Rather than assuming the role of problem solvers or offering a set of tips on how to interview, Roberts and Sarangi saw their role as '*introducing a shift in gaze from an individual candidate's performance and the oral*

examination as a tool in their assessment to a critique of the activity itself' (p. 497). S4 and I aim to present findings in a similarly non-conclusive way, using the same strategy of illustration and problematisation. Secondly, we have been influenced by CA researchers such as Stokoe (2011), Kitzinger (2011), and Lamerichs and te Molder (2011) who have used a CA-based interventionist approach to training. Using data extracts, they help practitioners become critically aware of their professional talk and help them shape their own practice. Following Stokoe (2011), we intend to identify short data extracts in which an interactional problem arises or a successful outcome is achieved and present the transcription line by line synchronously, with the audio file (so workshop participants can 'live through' the conversation), stopping the recording at key moments to discuss possible trouble, perturbations and solutions (Stokoe, 2011).

Sarangi and van Leeuwen (2002) believe that a key gain in applied linguistics (AL) is that study participants are now more involved in research, taking an active part rather than just being the objects of study. Roberts (2002) makes a case for AL to become more practically relevant and reflexively grounded, not only in addressing real world concerns, but also doing so collaboratively in a situated way with the practitioners involved. In pursuit of this goal, I am also planning a collaborative project with Eric and S4 in which we will analyse a smaller data set of their feedback meetings with the aim of co-authoring a journal article describing this collaborative process involving teacher, supervisor and researcher. This project may also go some way to addressing ethical concerns discussed in Section 3.2.3, in particular the tension between potential harm to participants in reporting details of their lives in the ethnographic detail and the benefit of this detail in contributing to a deeper understanding of feedback. This concern may be slightly alleviated by engaging in a collaborative relationship and therefore, in a small way, creating a dialogue between practitioners and researchers and moving from a 'research on' to a 'research with' (Cameron et al., 1992) paradigm.

6.6. Conclusion
It is impossible to describe how much I have learned through doing this research. Instead I will highlight key areas which have contributed to my development as a researcher and teacher. Firstly, analysis, though time consuming and difficult because of the amount of data I had to manage and because I had no idea how to 'do analysis', was also exciting and fascinating as themes and patterns emerged from the data. I learned how to be patient and let ideas and 'noticing' develop. This experience has also helped me be a better MA supervisor, especially with candidates involved in qualitative research involving talk, as I appreciate the difficulty of managing such data and can now advise them how to break the

process down into steps and layers of analysis. I can also better help them cope with the uncertainty and anxiety engendered by such messy, unwieldy, unpredictable (but interesting) data.

I now work as a university lecturer in the UK, teaching on (mainly pre-service) teacher education courses so post-observation feedback continues to be an important part of my job. This study has given me a greater awareness of different issues and difficulties involved in feedback as well as the means to examine, monitor and improve my own practice. I now aim to bring knowledge gained through this research into my new institution as a co-researcher working with colleagues interested in exploring feedback talk with pre-service teachers and as a trainer running workshops for other lecturers involved in feedback. I am also interested in developing the study of the relationship between face and identity in other types of institutional interaction such as university department meetings. The third key area of personal development has been gained from increased opportunities to participate in the academic community of applied linguists through conference presentations and publications, an area which I hope to continue to develop.

Finally, this study has left me with a (probably lifelong) obsession with noticing identity and face negotiation in interaction. This has transformed previously dull staff meetings, for example, as I marvel over identity and face struggles (whilst trying to supress regret that I am not recording the talk). I even found myself noticing (with interest) facework when guests on the BBC Radio 4 programme 'A Good Read' disagreed with each other over a book. I consider this interest, as well as everything I have learned whilst during this research project, a most precious gift.

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4.   TEACHING COMPETENCIES[3]

Successful teaching occurs only when learning occurs, and learning occurs when both teacher and student are engaged in a process that is meaningful to both, and is undertaken in a relatively structured and controlled environment in which (a) learning outcomes are clearly articulated and understood; (b) rules and expectations are spelled out; and (c), the teacher is competent in subject matter, able to manage the learning physical space (e.g. classroom, laboratory), uses teaching/learning strategies that enhance learning, and shows enthusiasm for learning and teaching.

4.1 Quality of Class & Student Behavior Management	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**NA**
4.1.1 The teacher makes good use of available resources and technology to aid student understanding.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.1.2 The teacher has established a good rapport with all students.					
4.1.3 The teacher encourages students to participate in class discussion and ask questions.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.1.4 The teacher attends to the behavior of all students during whole-class and small group activities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.1.5 The teacher stops inappropriate behavior promptly and consistently, but with respect to the student's dignity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.1.6 The teacher has established a set of rules and procedures that govern student oral activities during different types of learning activities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.1.7 The teacher maintains clear, firm, and reasonable work standards and due dates.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Aims. By the end of the lesson, the ss will have:

(Add or delete aims as appropriate)

1.
Learning Outcome 3 sub outcome 1
2.
Learning Outcome 4 sub content 2:
3.
Learning Outcome (NOT linked to CMS course outline):

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[3] This is the fourth section of the institutional annual appraisal form – the fourth section applies to the classroom observation, sections 1-3 refer to other aspects of the annual appraisal

4.2   Quality of the Instructional Process

		1	2	3	4	NA
4.2.1	Learning objectives are linked to the course guide and stated clearly at the start of the lesson.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.2	The teacher refers to the learning objectives as needed and by the end of the lesson, there is clear evidence that the learning objectives were achieved by all students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.3	The teacher links instructional activities to prior learning.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.4	The lesson plan and classroom activities make a direct link between the instructional activities and the HCT Learning Outcomes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.5	The teacher provides practical and relevant examples and demonstrations to illustrate concepts and skills.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.6	The teacher uses a variety of teaching methods and activities to maintain motivation and interest, and caters for different learning styles.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.7	The teacher uses probing techniques that foster active inquiry, collaboration, and supportive interaction in the classroom.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.8	The teacher uses instructional activities that encourage the development of critical thinking, problem solving, and decision-making**.**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.9	The teacher encourages students to be engaged in, and responsible for, their own learning.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.10	The teacher conducts the lesson or instructional activity at a brisk pace, slowing presentations when necessary for student understanding but avoiding unnecessary slowdowns.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.11	The teacher makes transitions between lessons and between instructional activities within lessons effectively and smoothly.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.12	The teacher provides meaningful feedback after an incorrect response by probing, repeating the question, giving a clue, or allowing more time.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.13	The teacher ensures that relevant and sufficient content is covered in the lesson.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.14	The teacher ensures that student understanding is verified.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.2.15	The teacher gives students clear and consistent feedback on the accuracy and appropriateness of their English in all oral and written tasks.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Comments

4.3   Quality of Communication   **1   2   3   4   N.A**

4.3.1   The teacher speaks in a clear voice and uses language that is
         appropriate to class level.   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

4.3.2   The teacher establishes good eye contact with students and is able to
         read non-verbal clues about students' understanding and behavior.   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

4.3.3   The teacher listens to student questions and comments without
         interruption, and answers them clearly.

4.3.4   The teacher poses questions clearly, and allows students to answer
         without interruption.   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

4.3.5   The teacher treats all students in a fair and equitable manner.   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

4.3.6   The teacher uses student responses to adjust teaching.

4.3.7   The teacher shows enthusiasm for the teaching/learning process.   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

                                                               ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

                                                               ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

Comments

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INFORMATION SHEET

Helen Donaghue, a PhD student at Aston University, UK, is studying the language used by supervisors and teachers during the feedback meeting after a lesson observation i.e. the way teachers talk about their lesson and the interaction between themselves and the supervisor. The researcher aims to audio record lesson observation feedback meetings, transcribe these recordings and then analyse these data. It is hoped that the results of the study can be used to inform supervisors, making their feedback more effective. The results may also be published in academic journals.

Helen Donaghue would like to make an audio recording of your post-observation feedback meeting. If you are willing to allow this, please could you sign the attached Consent Form. The study will be completely CONFIDENTIAL and ANONYMOUS.

- Your name will not be used.
- The institution will not be identified.
- Only Helen Donaghue will hear the recordings which will be destroyed when the study is complete.
- Data will not be shared with HCT management or staff

If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact:

Helen Donaghue

helen.donaghue@gmail.com

056 7901 096

CONSENT FORM

Discourse Analysis of the Post Observation Meeting in English Language Teaching

Researcher: Helen Donaghue

PhD student

Centre for Language Education Research (CLERA)

Aston University, UK

helen.donaghue@gmail.com

I have read and fully understand the information sheet and am willing to take part in the research conducted by Helen Donaghue by allowing the post observation feedback meeting to be recorded.

I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time and also have the right to delete any recording after any feedback session. The collected data will be strictly confidential and used only for research purposes.

I wish/do not wish to receive a summary of the findings of this project.

Name ....

Signature...

Date..

Email address (if you would like a summary of the findings)
....

[	indicates the point of overlap onset
=	a) turn continues below, at the next identical symbol
	b) if inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and at the beginning of the next speaker's adjacent turn, it indicates that there is no gap at all between the two turns
(0.3)	an interval between utterances (3 tenths of a second in this case)
(.)	a very short untimed pause
word	indicates a stressed word
NO	capitals indicate a shouted word
we:ll	the::: indicates lengthening of the preceding sound
-	a single dash indicates an abrupt cut-off
↑	rising intonation, not necessarily a question
↓	falling intonation
!	an animated or emphatic tone
° °	utterances between degree signs are noticeably quieter than surrounding talk
< >	indicate that the talk they surround is produced more quickly than neighbouring talk
(xxxx)	a stretch of unclear or unintelligible speech
(guess)	indicates transcriber doubt about a word
(sighs)	additional information
(laughs)	indicates laughter
eh, ah, um	fillers
mm/mmhm	backchanneling indicators

non-standard forms included: cos (because); gonna (going to); yeah (yes); wanna (want to); ok

1	S2	ok (.) e:m what I want you to do in a sec is just go through the em the lesson
2		yourself eh how you felt it went
3	Eric	yeah
4	S2	[ok just eh talk me through it what you think went well what you think perhaps
5		didn't go quite so well or what you think you might change having done it and
6	Eric	[yeah
7	S2	thought about it ok?
8	Eric	[yes ok
9	S2	now what **I** normally do is I em I I do it in a sort of DELTA way
10	Eric	yeah
11	S2	so I I talk about what **you're** doing
12	Eric	yeah
13	S2	I talk about what the **students** are doing
14	Eric	yeah
15	S2	and then I make general comments
16	Eric	ok
17	S2	about the overall about the overall delivery of the lesson and the students as well
18	Eric	yeah ok [ok
19	S2	[ok
20	S2	so you fire ahead em
21	Eric	[**ok**
22	S2	yeah (.) go ahead
23	Eric	ok e::m (.) I would say gen- generally °sort of° re:latively happy with it but I think
24		that there's some some of the things that I **di:d** e:m (.) that I planned to do that i- is
25		I'll be interested in your opinion in **that** because there was (.) I think it was
26	S2	°I I will close the door actually°
27	Eric	°yeah°
28	S2	°ok sorry°(*door closes*) keep going
29	Eric	so I think em in hindsight at the end **I I felt it was very teacher centered**↓ e:m
30		also I think em that the students I <I'm aware in the back of my mind is that I
31		feel that> reading is a weak skill so I I planned in my lesson plan to give the
32		students ten minutes reading em I think was it s- sign- sustained silent reading
33		is what I said
34	S2	mmhm↑
35	Eric	em I think it's a good idea and it's valuable em because <at the end of the day>
36		we're thinking of the HEATE and the IELTS and we want them to read em but but I
37		think you know maybe for an observed lesson maybe I could've presented that
38		differently and made it more of a jigsaw reading (.) em maybe've had sort of I don't
39		know parts of the reading broken it up more had some had some things on the
40		wall had it a lot more interactive em and I did think about doing that em but but
41		also I was sort of thinking from the (.) from the point view of you know I'd like them
42		to sit down and read a reasonably long chunk of paragraph so I I think you know if
43		I was giving feedback on the lesson I I would definitely sort of (*phone rings*) I
44		would discuss that or debate it em you know I think it's valuable to do some time
45		(*phone rings*) but I wouldn't want to do that all of the time
46	S2	right ok
47	Eric	em so I I do think it was teacher centered (*phone rings*) em also I I read the text out

48		with the class asking (*phone rings*) them questions and again that's that's very
49		teacher centered but I I found that (*phone rings*) I I sort of felt that them listening
50		to my pronunciation sometimes with me reading helps with **their** pronunciation
51		and reading em and it again it's not maybe not a good technique to use too
52		often↑ and it is certainly open to criticism but I think for the level of learners I
53		I think it's valuable for them em you know if I if you're talking about an IELTS
54		level six you wouldn't do that with a higher band of student
55	S2	that's right
56	Eric	but I I think for them that's that's why I did it em and I would say it **is** quite
57		teacher centered but I felt that it has value for those students
58	S2	ok because one of the things that did s- come up almost all the way through
59	Eric	mm
60	S2	was that the students (.) weren't using the language
61	Eric	mm
62	S2	as much as they might have done
63	Eric	yeah
64	S2	and they were opportunities where they could've done it but still with s- you
65		know fairly clear direction and modelling
66	Eric	yeah
67	S2	so I think that was a (.) that was something that sort of progressed
68	Eric	yeah
69	S2	as we went through the class I felt there were a number of (.) missed opportunities
70	Eric	[yeah [yeah [mm
71	S2	but a- I'll cover that
72	Eric	yeah
73	S2	[as we go through it but I mean you've identified one of the main areas that I was
74	Eric	[mm [mm
75	S2	going to talk about which was the ten minute reading and (xx) we're gonna come
76	Eric	[mm
77	S2	on to that i- in a moment so you started (0.2) the class it look a little bit of time to
78	Eric	[mm
79	S2	log onto the (.) BBV
80	Eric	yeah
81	S2	e:m (.) and eh (0.2) then you you came into the warmer now the warmer was the **video**
82	Eric	yeah
83	S2	and that gave them an opportunity to well <I mean what was the> aim of the video
84		what did you really want it to do?
85	Eric	w- I mean the video was to sort of basically we we'd talked at the end of the
86		previous lesson and I kind of had I'd asked them on Edmodo for example what what
87		they felt was the biggest change (.) e:m so that that was the previous lesson of kind
88		of an introduction we'll looking at this next time (.) so the the video was really to
89		sort of show e:m the video was to show you know this is what Dubai looked fifteen
90		years ago and this is what it looks now and and the article reading was very much
91		about Dubai (.) you know a city of the future em past and present so I I felt the
92		video kind of yeah then and now I think I think the video I thought it was quite a
93		good link to the to the article I thought it linked in nicely with that
94	S2	yes of course the video was made in what two thousand and seven?
95	Eric	[two thousand and seven two
96		thousand and eight
97	S2	so it's not not **stri:ctly** em correct

98	Eric	[yeah
99	S2	cos there's a few things in there that-
100	Eric	haven't
101	S2	haven't actually materialised yet yes(x)
102	Eric	[materialised yeah exactly but but I still felt that the overall point I thought it was I
103		thought it fitted quite (xxxx)
104	S2	[yes it set the stage
105	Eric	yeah
106	S2	it did it set the stage (.) so you then introduce the class to the article↓
107	Eric	yeah
108	S2	past and present
109	Eric	yeah
110	S2	and you asked the students to talk about it now this was an interesting stage↓
111	Eric	[yeah [mm
112	S2	because (0.1) y-you said two things you said **talk** about it
113	Eric	mm
114	S2	and then you said talk about the differences and changes
115	Eric	mm
116	S2	and then you gave them an option of pairs and possibly groups (.) and then you said
117		talk about it again
118	Eric	yeah (*rising then falling intonation, sounds uncomfortable*)
119	S2	ok
120	Eric	mm
121	S2	now then you came over to the **first** group
122	Eric	yeah
123	S2	and you were conducting the discussion
124	Eric	mm
125	S2	now what you **didn't** see
126	Eric	mm
127	S2	is that all **round** you
128	Eric	mm
129	S2	the other boys were just (0.2) looking
130	Eric	**yeah↑** (*quite loud*)
131	S2	at what was going on while you were (.) talking to that first group
132	Eric	yeah
133	S2	now if (there) had been a **model** (.) in the lesson plan
134	Eric	yeah
135	S2	then that would've been (.) ok but you'd given an instruction
136	Eric	yeah
137	S2	the s- you were d- y- you then went to a group to talk
138	Eric	yip
139	S2	and the other students weren't (0.2) carrying on what you wanted them to do
140	Eric	[yip w-
141	Eric	I I think that's I think that's in a way em maybe at the moment maybe my
142		teaching is more and again with this sort of level maybe more teacher centered is
143		with **higher** levels I I think and and sort of obviously different ling- well different
144		nationalities often you know if you set different groups or tables as it was
145		yesterday a discussion normally they get on with it whereas I do find **here** quite
146		often you know the group that you work with will then they'll discuss what you
147		want there but when you go to the next table or the next group to monitor **them**
148		you know I feel as though I'm sure that when I went on to the next one the first

149		group more or less stopped because I'd gone so I I do sort of feel as though that
150	S2	[°mm°
151	Eric	sort of exercise I I don't feel maybe with with lower levels here em wor- works as
152		well as it might elsewhere I I don't do it as much as I I as think be-
153	S2	[hh [(xx)
154	Eric	before I mean before I came I had a sort of lexical sort of style with lots of
155		communication but I I sort of feel **here** e:m () you know may - maybe with this level
156		›I'm trying to think of‹ higher diploma's slightly different
157	S2	mm
158	Eric	but I do sort of feel wi- with this one is that you know they'll talk when you're
159		with them but as soon as you leave them and go somewhere else they they tend to
160	S2	well you you're absolutely right so s s-
161	Eric	I'm not sure if you've got a solution or a suggestion
162	S2	[well yes because setting the I mean the () the
163		notion of or the concept of talking about
164	Eric	mm
165	S2	would would in fact be something you'd think about for one of your higher level
166		level four groups
167	Eric	[mm mm
168	S2	but really for eh a a group of this () level of ability in speaking you need to set them
169		[mm [mm
170		immediate and clear outcomes
171	Eric	ok
172	S2	so one of the things could've been we could've given them three questions
173	Eric	yeah ok
174	S2	[or you could've said report back on the four main things
175	Eric	mm
176	S2	yo- or you could've given them a little piece of paper wi- with that instruction or
177	Eric	[mm [mm
178	S2	you could've given them headings like transport or culture or buildings
179	Eric	[ok ok ok
180	S2	and they would've had something tangible to discuss and when you went to each
181		group you could've pointed at something and then and done and directed them
182	Eric	[yeah [yeah ye:ah
183	S2	towards the discussion but as it was they just had this sort of (global) notion that
184	Eric	[(sov-) bit too general
185	S2	they needed to have a chat about the teacher wanted them to have a chat about
186		sort of Dubai then and now it was eh
187	Eric	yeah maybe maybe something just off the top of my head something like if you
188		had maybe four people's different opinions or something like that and tried to
189		match them or (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx) yeah but wi- with simple
190	S2	[that's possibly a little complex for [but that (xxxx)
191	Eric	language no I ca- I I see what you mean I think it's a good idea no I think it's a good
192	S2	[but something simple to ()
193		idea to to add clarity and purpose to the speaking exercise
194	Eric	[yeah yeah
195	S2	**then** (.) you could have gone round the class
196	Eric	and just see how they were doing yeah that's a good idea actually
197	S2	[yeah
198		so you could've A guaranteed (.) speech
199	Eric	yeah

200	S2	and B elicited interaction to ensure that the concept had gone through
201	Eric	yeah
202		yeah no I think that's a good idea
203	S2	as it wa:s (.) I wasn't completely convinced that (.) they were able to-
204	Eric	yeah no I-
205	S2	make the most of it
206	Eric	I think I think that's a very (.) helpful observation I would say
207	S2	[yeah
208	Eric	and again in coming in from the outside it's quite useful em you know as you
209		coming in to the classroom to observe you can <(kind of sit there)> that sort of
210		think well that would
211	S2	yeah
212	Eric	yeah
213	S2	the **more** direction em and the more pointers that eh a level a level two class have
214	Eric	[yeah
215	S2	the the better
216	Eric	[better yeah
217	S2	and then they have achievables and they go on to the next one and they go on to
218	Eric	[yeah
219	S2	the next one
220	Eric	yeah
221	S2	so th- you **then**↑ em directed the students **towards** the reading
222	Eric	yeah
223	S2	and the folder explorers unit five-
224	Eric	yeah
225	S2	city of the future
226	Eric	yeah
227	S2	and you asked the students to save it onto a OneNote which was (.) was quite
228		right you you have a (.) eh I'm gonna mention this a little later but you were
229		progressing (.) quite slowly
230	Eric	ok
231	S2	through the tasks
232	Eric	ok
233	S2	(xxx) the students weren't being rushed I felt that they c- had a capacity for
234		going perhaps up a gear?
235	Eric	ok ok
236	S2	at that point? em you you're quite (.) what's the best way of putting it
237		
238	Eric	pedestrian (*big laugh*)
239	S2	pedestrian is one way of putting it (*smile voice*) but you are quite what's the best
240		wa- deliberate
241	Eric	ok ok
242	S2	in your manner in moving through these tasks and for level **two** they the- you know
243	Eric	[ok [ok
244	S2	i- it really works if it's short sharp exciting interesting
245	Eric	[yeah sharp yeah yeah yeah yeah
246	S2	moving them around one minute you're in the corner over there the next minute
247	Eric	[yeah [yeah
248	S2	you're behind them and (.) you know they're
249	Eric	I I did feel as well I I thought at the time I did feel as though I was yeah I did feel as
250		though I was I was sort of (xxxxxxxx) and that I was maybe writing more on the

251		board and (0.1) yeah more deliberate than usual I think I I think that was maybe
252	S2	[yes
253	Eric	because you were there but a- you know but it's it's nice it's a good point as well
254	S2	[w- it's it's [it doesn't
255		(mean) to make it sort of snappy (*clicks fingers*)
256	Eric	no no I kno- yeah yeah I do know what you mean
257	S2	[specially with level two I mean you can
258		be a bit more pedestrian with a higher level class because you especially if
259	Eric	[mm
260	S2	you're doing sort of (.) broader and deeper work and comprehension and things
261	Eric	[mm [mm mm
262	S2	like that but I mean short sharp and interesting °in level two°
263	Eric	[yeah no no it's a good point
264	S2	so you got onto the (.) pre-task vocabulary which you had prepared yourself
265	Eric	mm
266	S2	ok (*falling intonation - sounds like he's confirming question*) (.) em and you moved
267		the students through the vocabulary and you asked them and they gave you the
268		[mm
269		responses but then you
270	Eric	[mm mm mm
271	S2	came on to (*small laugh*) a- a **second**↑ (*rising intonation - sounds surprised*)
272		vocabulary exercise which (.) I mean (.) was that deliberate or had
273	Eric	[no (.) no no no I I think
274		when I first when I'd looked at the lesson and I'd prepared the lesson I thought of it
275		and I sort of I didn't feel it was relevant to the **text** but then when I saw it yesterday
276		I sort of thought maybe it was so I I did change my mind I wasn't going to do it
277		(before) I didn't **plan** to do it (.) but then I sort of thought a- maybe I should do I I
278		think there was something (.) I think was it word merchants or something and I I
279		and it was more a spontaneous decision that (.) I I'd decided before I **wasn't** going
280		to do it I didn't think it was that valuable and then when I saw it yesterday I I I sort
281	S2	[right
282	Eric	of thought
283	S2	ok
284	Eric	I thought that it there were a couple of words that (suddenly I saw)
285	S2	[I gathered I gathered that'd (been) the case so you
286		ma- you made a decision on the (.) on the hoof as it were to be °ok°
287	Eric	[yeah yeah and maybe
288		that was the wrong decision I I-
289	S2	well I mean in a DELTA class you know if it's not in the lesson plan you fail
290	Eric	yeah (*big laugh*)
291	S2	(*laugh*) but I mean-
292	Eric	yeah
293	S2	i- it's entirely you know a valuable thing to do if you feel -
294	Eric	I think that was it it just struck me that (.) you know I think because I as I was with
295		them and I just sort thought o:h you know I saw I saw a couple and it just struck me
296		**then** that that i- that they might not know and i thought it was (.) yeah
297	S2	then there was a prediction exercise
298	Eric	yeah
299	S2	which you sort of you (.) you the prediction exercise was for them to very very
300		quickly (.) skim scan the (.) top lines of all the paragraphs
301	Eric	yeah

302	S2	but they didn't **do** that it was just a **guess**
303	Eric	yeah basically it was just a guess
304	S2	yeah
305	Eric	yeah (.) e:m I I –st kind of felt that if I'd asked them to skim it (.) to skim the titles
306		(xx) I felt they would've started reading and em
307	S2	ok
308	Eric	and got distracted that was why I didn't do that
309	S2	ok so
310	Eric	but may- I mean maybe going back I could've linked the titles somehow to a
311		warmer at the beginning (xxxx)
312	S2	[well that's (xxx) it would've been good for all the
313		vocabulary to be together so whatever you did with the vocabulary carried
314	Eric	[mm mm mm mm
315	S2	through↓
316	Eric	mm
317	S2	so there wasn't sort of a second vocabulary exercise cos that looked a little a little
318	Eric	[yeah yeah yeah
319	S2	a little (.) strange for them
320	Eric	[odd maybe yeah
321	S2	yeah (.) so the students gave you meaning and they told you what the words were
322		and it was good that they (.) they knew
323	Eric	mm
324	S2	what they all **were** so they'd obviously done some good pre-reading vocabulary
325	Eric	[°mm°
326	S2	which was good em (0.1) you moved onto the exerc- the next exercise which was
327		a↑ a- a gap fill
328	Eric	mm
329	S2	em (.) now they had to do the gap fill before↑ the reading↑ or after the reading
330		wh- what was the a- what was the idea of the gap fill (0.3) when they were filling in
331		the pl- filling in the spaces
332	Eric	[oh I think that was the extra
333		vocabulary that I (.) the:n sort of thought (.) whi- which one are you talking about?
334	S2	[ok↓ it
335		was a em (0.5) (*paper turning*)° I (xxx) it now (xxx)°
336	Eric	eh actually it might be on the other page I didn't (xx)
337	S2	[ok (xxx) it was-
338	Eric	[yeah no it was the gap fill I
339		think that was the
340	S2	[it was the gap fill under the vocabulary
341	Eric	[yeah and it it was a kind of an extra c- it
342		was the consolidation
343	S2	[so that wasn't on the plan?
344	Eric	no it wasn't no
345	S2	[ok (allright)
346	Eric	and that that was the bit that I then decided you know when I looked at the
347		vocabulary I thought before i thought oh no that that we don't
348	S2	ok
349	Eric	[I didn't want to do that (xxx)
350	S2	well they did that they did that reasonably well and it was nice to see
351	Eric	[yeah
352	S2	them using their laptop em pens as well

353	Eric	[yeah yeah
354	S2	(which) is that something you normally have them do↑
355	Eric	it's something that I s- been doing this semester
356	S2	°good°
357	Eric	em (.) I I think you know wh- I think when I came in I certainly my my first em
358		observation with Lena was that you know I it's need to make more use of the
359		technology this is like a year ago so I feel gradually you know I I've finished my ICDL
360	S2	[yes
361	Eric	and I'm y- ye- obviously laptops this year I feel quite comfortable with the
362		technology but there **is** a way of trying to (.) y- y- I suppose blend it into the lessons
363	S2	[good
364	Eric	to get the balance right as well
365	S2	oh yes yes I mean it shouldn't lead the class it should be it sh- should support it and
366		[so [yeah [yeah yeah
367	S2	**enhance** it
368	Eric	yeah so I've I've definitely and OneNote as well I fi-I've found em you know in the
369		last couple of months I'm definitely much **happier** with it and sc- copying stuff to
370		OneNote as well it's quite useful
371	S2	ok the students (0.2) so the students worked together they they were given
		another instruction
372	Eric	mm↑
373	S2	you **can** work together (0.1) in pairs if you like
374	Eric	ok so I think so my s-(0.3) b- was that half way through (xxxx)?
375		[
376	S2	no that was for the gap fill
377	Eric	ok
378	S2	so that was a bit loose
379	Eric	yeah that was yeah
380	S2	I mean they (*coughs perhaps smiles?*) they either work in pairs or they don't work
381	Eric	[(*laugh*)
382	S2	in pairs (*smile voice*)
383	Eric	yeah tha- that's true
384	S2	[you know what I mean (*smile voice*)
385	Eric	yes
386	S2	[especially for a level (xxx) I mean you're almost sort of tapping them on the
387		shoulder A B look do
388	Eric	[yeah yeah yeah yeah
389	S2	at that at that level
390	Eric	yeah
391	S2	you you can't politely suggest
392	Eric	yeah ok
393	S2	[to a level two section that they might consider the possibility of pairwork
394		should they (.) feel it appropriate (*small laugh*)
395	Eric	[yeah yeah no that's (xxx) I think I mean I think it would be better and
396		I think I should be clearer you know work on your own first of all and and then after
397		a period of time pairs and that's what I (would) do? should do?
398	S2	[yes [yes [or have them do both yeah work through
399		it and then and em and then check with each other you read it let me read it let me
400	Eric	[yeah and then check together yeah yeah
401	S2	hear you
402	Eric	yeah

403	S2	ok (.) so they were given the option of working together you then covered the
403		answers with them
404	Eric	yeah
405		[
406	S2	›which is again‹ so this this sort of vocabulary that you (*small laugh*) exercise that
407		you decided to put in actually took nearly ten minutes
408	Eric	[mm ok
409	S2	that you know came from nowhere
410	Eric	yeah
411	S2	ok (0.1) e:m °so the predictions were done° and then we came onto the
412		reading for ten minutes I'm getting to that because you missed the Edmodo bit out
413	Eric	[mm
414	S2	the end
415	Eric	ok I did do it in the second half
416	S2	[(you say that) all right cos I yeah cos I was I was hoping to see that as part of
417	Eric	[ok ok
418	S2	consolidation for the the beginning bit so (.) the students then read for ten minutes
419	Eric	[ok [mm
420	S2	and you (.) right at the beginning of ou- **our** conversation you said that that
421		**possibly** would've been something that you'd done a little differently
422	Eric	yeah
423	S2	how might you have
424	Eric	with the with the reading?
425	S2	with the ten minutes
426	Eric	[(xxx ten minutes) well I think em I mean again I I thought about it since
427		as well I think (..) I mean this is what I'm I ya- I'm interested in your sort of opinion
428		really because I I think a text like **this** bearing in mind that they're got HEATE and
429		IELTS I think that if they're in the class together and they're sitting there and they
430		they read it then it's reading that they have to do (.) em and I I just feel I feel that
431		they don't read enough texts like this on their own sitting down tha- that's my my
432		feeling and we've got the reading portfolio↑ but you know I I'm (.) I wouldn't say I
433		was confident that they read all six books
434	S2	no
435	Eric	em so so that's why I (.) **did** that as it was but I think you know maybe next time or
436		next time you come to observe me I think a text like **this** eh and again it is reading
437		so th- that's why I did it as a w- as I did but I think maybe some sort of like a jigsaw
438		exercise maybe something like that em
439	S2	(xx) well the reason I was d- wan- looking to see the Edmodo exercise (.) was
440		[mm [mm
441		because we had no way of learning (.) or finding out what they'd taken
442	Eric	[mm
443	Eric	yeah
444	S2	from the ten minutes
445	Eric	ok
446	S2	so we couldn't assess the value of the ten minutes
447	Eric	mm
448	S2	so it would've been good in an observed lesson
449	Eric	mm
450	S2	for them fo- for me to have **seen** them using strategies
451	Eric	[ok yeah
452	S2	that you had (.) sort of inculcated with them

453	Eric	mm
454	S2	to (.) almost immediately see
455	Eric	mm
456	S2	that they were getting meaning
457	Eric	ok
458	S2	and y-a- I mean you **mention** a couple of those when you say you'd like a jigsaw
459	Eric	[yeah
460	S2	reading or wha- what other things
461	Eric	[yeah e:m
462	Eric	well there was another one when I em I did this text with a different with another
463		group with two two level two two and with them I had a kind of on E- On Edmodo
464		you can do **polls** so I kind of gam- what does this word mean and they could vote
465	S2	[yes
466	Eric	on definitions
467	S2	yes
468	Eric	so that was what I did em with the other one em (0.2) and a- again (0.3) I I you
469		know I thought there wasn't time to squeeze into that one you know I di- I did it on
470		another lesson (xxx)
471	S2	[(°yeah°)well I mean there's a number o- there there's quite a few
472	Eric	[yeah yeah
473		yeah yeah yeah
474	S2	[things that couldve'(been) (xxx) I mean you could've allocated [paragraphs to
475		groups↑
476	Eric	yeah
477	S2	you could've got them to (.) take the main meaning from a paragraph
478	Eric	mm
479	S2	you could've split the sentences up
480	Eric	yeah and it again divided the text up a- I mean I did think about having you know
481	S2	[absolutely
482	Eric	maybe bits different bits on walls and putting it together
483	S2	[around the wall and they put it together↑
484	Eric	so I was thinking of things like that but but then I sort of thought em (0.1) y- I mean
485		I was kind of interested in your feedback of just doing the whole thing but
486	S2	does (xxx) in an observed lesson I would've liked to have seen them use the
487	Eric	[yeah
488	S2	strategies
489	Eric	ok ok
490	S2	[because I don't know now
491	Eric	yeah
492	S2	having walked out of that class
493	Eric	[yeah yeah
494	S2	what strategies they were using to engage with the text
495	Eric	ok
496	S2	cos I wasn- because they were just (.) sitting reading it if you like
497	Eric	[mm [yeah yeah yeah
498	S2	which is why the Edmodo exercise at the end would've would've shown
499	Eric	[yeah would (been) good °yeah yeah°
500	S2	that so that was a bit of a (0.1) that was a bit of a gap that we weren't able to fulfil
501	Eric	[yeah yeah
502	S2	(xxx) I'm sure they they were quite successful with the Edmodo exercise afterwards
503	Eric	[I know [yeah yeah

504	S2	I mean did they do well?
505	Eric	well the- they they wrote sentences
506	S2	yes
507	Eric	so that that that **are** there em I would like them to have written more em (.) I mean
508		there is the comprehension exercise as well which was a sort of checking (*paper*
509		*turning*)
510	S2	ok e:m (0.4) so I've mentioned the the use of language you're right I mean I did I
511	Eric	[mm
512	S2	put did put TTT down at that point as well and I did feel that there was a em (.) a
513	Eric	[mm mm
514	S2	little bit that the percentage of your (.) interactions and instructions was probably
515	Eric	[mm [mm
516	S2	just a little bit too high for a level two class I mean they really do need to be using
517	Eric	[mm mm [mm
518	S2	the language it's a a lot of the language is often a- new or only being newly recycled
519	Eric	[mm [mm
520	S2	so the more they **say** it (.) the better they remember it
521	Eric	[mm the better [yeah
522	S2	really
523	Eric	yeah
524	S2	not **read** it the more they **say** it the more they remember it and **then** you
525	Eric	[yeah no that's (xxx) [yeah
526	S2	consolidate on paper
527	Eric	yeah
528	S2	**then** you do the exercise then you do the build up but I mean they really need to be
529	Eric	[yeah [yeah yeah
530		speaking it so the more communicative activity at the lower levels the better really
531	Eric	[yeah [mm
532	Eric	yeah
533	S2	but it has to be (.) the consolidation has to be structured
534	Eric	mm mm mm
535	S2	[you really do have to ensure that you are you y- you are concept checking the
536		language that you've done at the end and there wasn't you know I felt that I wasn't
537	Eric	mm mm
538	S2	hearing enough language and tha- the students weren't (.) I mean they were very
539	S2	**quiet** and biddable and **nice**
540	Eric	(*laughs*)
541	S2	[(*laughs*)
542	Eric	unusually so (*laughs*)
543	S2	[unusually so (*smile voice*) but it would've been nice to just to hear
544		them interact perhaps just a little bit more
545	Eric	[yeah yeah ok ok
546	S2	does that make?
547	Eric	yeah no that does it's it's em I mean it's you know it's valuable sort of observation
548		really
549	S2	it is (.) well it's d- it's always something to have in mind in level two you need to be
550		(xx)
551	Eric	[no no it's good yeah yeah yeah
552	S2	e:m (*paper turning*)(.) the students **then** you came onto a a the final activity
553	Eric	°mm°
554	S2	which was (.) probably a little late to begin something new did you think I mean it

555	Eric	[mm
556	S2	was about fi- ten to
557	Eric	em
558	S2	(xx) class and you started another ac- activity set of questions with them
559	Eric	I would say that I think probably I wanted you to see as much as possible really
560	S2	right
561	Eric	I I think that at that stage normally I wouldn't have started something new before
562		the break I think I was very you know (.)I think I wanted you to see more
563	S2	[ok [ok
564	S2	well rather than (xx) have rushed into it it would've been nice perhaps **the:n** if they
565	Eric	[°mm° [mm
566	S2	were going to do all the questions to have seen a **model** for the first question
567	Eric	[mm
568	Eric	ok
569	S2	and then you know you just put the question out there
570	Eric	mm
571	S2	and then we could've **heard** some feedback rather than going on to yet another
572	Eric	[mm mm [mm
573	S2	calming exercise I mean they'd gone from the silent reading
574	Eric	[mm [mm
575		yeah yeah yeah yeah
576	S2	to eh a written exercise and we hadn't heard from them again
577	Eric	[yeah [yeah (0.1) yeah yeah
578	S2	if you see what I mean
579	Eric	no I do I do I do I do I do
580	S2	[yeah so (.) mixing it up a little bit more
590	Eric	[mm
591	S2	cutting the length of the activities down
592	Eric	mm
593	S2	moving the types of activities around (.) make sure they build on one another to to
594	Eric	[mm [mm [mm
595	S2	consolidate what's going on and always have the outcome that you want to hear
596	Eric	[mm
597	S2	them using language and you want to prove that they've used it and learnt it at the
598	Eric	[mm [mm mm
599	S2	end but em all the (.) sorts of bits were **there** for that to happen (.) but it just sort of
600	Eric	[mm [mm mm mm
601	S2	didn't
602	Eric	didn't yeah no that's right
603	S2	[yeah (0.3) s:o
604	Eric	again maybe the fact ›I don't know‹ I mean that it's a a poor excuse but the fact
605		that (.)I think the fact that it's **reading** (.) and I'm I'm just very aware of how little
606		reading I feel that they do you know may- maybe that means that I I've sort of gone
607		›I'm trying to think of the right word‹ t- too conservatively in this direction
608		whereas a- you know (whereas)it's still reading but in a more active sort of manner
609		(xxxxx)
610	S2	[well that's r- that's right at the end of the day they're gonna be doing their they're
611		gonna be doing their reading exercised where they've sat there for an hour
612	Eric	[mm
613	Eric	yeah (*laughs*) yeah yeah yeah
614	S2	[(xxxx) and they they need as many practices of the strategies for reading as as as

615	Eric	[yeah [°mm°
616	S2	possible
617	Eric	mm
618	S2	you know em you know they they do enough timed readings don't they?
619	Eric	[mm [yeah no em
620		well they they **do** em but I think I think as well maybe I wanted to do something
621		(*tapping noise*) e- I'm trying think yeah I mean I thi- think next time I'll definitely I
622		think your observations are very valuable and helpful really (.) em and and again it's
623		it's useful having someone to come in from the outside t- you know
624	S2	y- I mean there's there's you know you ca- you can as long as they're using the
625		language and it's it's going in I mean you can you can make a case for (.) you know
626	Eric	[mm [mm [mm
627	S2	e- almost any any sort of interaction with the text but em certainly in an observed
628	Eric	[mm [mm [mm [mm
629		several times they refer to the observed class
630	S2	class↓
631	Eric	[mm
632	Eric	yeah yeah yeah no definitely definitely
633	S2	°it would have been ° **anyway** the students were fine
634		are they normally that quiet and subdued?
635	Eric	no they're not no normally it takes a a little bit more persuasion (*big laugh*)
636	S2	[(*laugh*)
637	S2	I wondered about that (*smile voice*)
638	Eric	yeah no definitely
639	S2	[they're remarkably well behaved
640	Eric	yeah they were I mean most of them are q-
641	S2	[(xx) cos you there's a couple of criminals in there as well aren't
642		there?
643	Eric	yeah I mean I think every group most of them are kind of quite good (xxxx)
644	S2	[(*small laugh*)
645	S2	°mm° what's what's the ability range I I was picking up and I might be wrong but I is
646	Eric	[(xxx)
647	S2	it quite a broad range of ability even though it's a two three class?
648	Eric	I think it is I think that there's there's one or two that are much stronger and one or
649		two em one or two em one or two that are obviously much weaker em
650	S2	[ok is is that in
651		your experience is that more unusual in (.) in what what's the best way
652	Eric	I d- no I can answer the question what I would say is em a- I I was very impressed in
653	S2	[is that more prevalent in two three
654	Eric	a way that how well the students seemed to be placed if we go back to September
655	S2	yes
656	Eric	e- you know I I amazed really that yo- you kind of felt each group was
657	S2	mm
658	Eric	you know almost perfect I mean there are one or two individuals that we- you
659		know maybe came in later but I think maybe now it's ten months on some students
660		have worked harder than others
661	S2	[and made more progress than others
662	Eric	and and some you know em you know one of the ones Khalid that we spoke to this
663		afternoon a- you wonder if he's learnt **anything** almost
664	S2	yes
665	Eric	you know? so there are some that are you know and some you know that are

666		unfortunately maybe held back because (.)you know w- we're having to kind of wait
667		for the weaker ones °a little bit you know°
668	S2	yes
669	Eric	so I mean I would say that in in certainly in September there wasn't that difference
670	S2	[divide
671	Eric	no no whereas now I mean it's it's ten months later and
672	S2	[(xx)
673	S2	how many do you think in two three will get through?
674	Eric	em (.) I I think↑ (.) I'll have to check the list but I I think most most of them I think
675		will **pass** the course em and again this this is why I'm I'm keen you know for the at
676		risk to chase them and you know a few of them are already starting to think that
677		they're on holiday and you know they've not that's you know that's really what I've
678		been trying bring them for you to talk to this week
679	S2	ok well I still need to d- do you still want me to come and talk to two three two
680		two?
681	Eric	you've spo- no you've spoken to need to go
682	S2	[I spoke to the individuals is that as far as we need
683	Eric	[yeah the individuals the rest no the
684	S2	to go?
685	Eric	[rest of them
686	Eric	I think so for the time being
687	S2	and did it work with the individuals do you think?
688	Eric	well I hope so I hope so
689	S2	well there's not much more we can do
690	Eric	(I) no exactly
691	S2	(anyway)
692	Eric	[(xx) you know and again it's just hopefully they'll I think they'll all pass the course
693		work but the exam's still quite big
694	S2	yes
695	Eric	and it's thirty percent so if they have a bad day on the exam b- (xx)
696	S2	well you're doing a good job with them Ian
697	Eric	oh thanks very much thank you very much
698	S2	[that's clear [and em clearly they they respect you and you
699		have a good relationship (xxx)
700	Eric	[yeah no I do I mean most of them are pretty mu- most of
701		the students here are really nice guys (yes)
702	S2	[they are
703	Eric	and there's one or two are lively but they're kind of
704	S2	not in a bad way
05	Eric	no
706	S2	that's right (xxxxx) (xxxxx)
707	Eric	[(*laugh*)
708	S2	anyway the old adage don't smile till the second Eid is always the (xxxx)
709	Eric	[yeah [(*big laugh*)ok
710		I'll try to remember that
711	S2	[all right?
712	Eric	ok

KEY

- S1 explains the structure of the meeting: going through the observation form criterion by criterion (see Appendix 1)
- S1 explains the scoring system
- S1 refers to the oddity of one of the criterion (quality of communication)
- S1 refers to the form as a 'living document' and talks about negotiating its content
- S1 starts the feedback by referring to either the first criterion on the form or the overall comment at the end of the form

Eric: Second year at the institution

1	S1	so Eric the way I do this (.) is I'm gonna call up the hard copy I mean the soft copy
2		you have the hard copy in front of you (.) we just kind of go through the
3		observation em before we do it a three is what I give myself when I teach so three
4		is **good** anything that's a 3 is normal acce- accep- you know accepted ex- expected
5	Eric	[ok [expected
6		yeah
7	S1	in the classroom if there's anything **above** that it's something that either stood out
8		or that you do very **well** or maybe I'll share with other **teachers** anything below
9		that is something you might want (.) to look at em I know that (this is) your first year
10		so I don't know if you've taken (.) any em of the special courses from Helen or had
11		her come into the classroom or even videotape your class which a lot of new
12		teachers do so you might want to just think about it just to get some ideas and it's
13		always good to see yourself teaching back on video even though you don't like the
14	Eric	[yeah yeah yeah
15	S1	way you look but em this is a **living** document so we can (.) change things clarify
16		things you can argue sometimes I'll change sometimes I won't it just depends (.) on
17		the on your point but I can type the stuff in the comments in the bottom (.) so we'll
18		start on the first page↑ which is mostly about the class and the s- em says and
19		student behaviour and management (.) everything here was good the only one was
20		the first one 4.1.1. it says the teacher made good use of available resources I think
21		you could do **more** but I understand you only have lab access once a week so your...

Selina: Second year at the institution

1	S1	observation the way I do it before you you start (0.2) when I observe (.) you see
2		there's a four point scale↑ (.) a three is the way I would rate **myself** (.) that's good
3	Selina	[mmhm
4	S1	normal teaching that's what I expect (.) if it's a three point five or a four it's
5		something that stands **out** that I think wow I should share this with other teachers
6		or you did this very well↑ or I haven't seen this before (.) if it's a two point five or a
7		two or **lower** which in your case I don't there were any
8	Selina	
9	S1	then it's something that either needs to be worked on or maybe you need to look
10		at yourself or just think about you just g- a little red flag (.) um it's not all supposed
11		to be we're not supposed to agree about everything this is a living document so if

12		there's things that you disagree with or that you wanna clarify (.) all I do it type it in
13	Selina	mmhm
14	S1	and then I re-print a new copy and that's what we sign so basically it's just you °it's°
15	Selina	[ok
16	S1	constructive feedback you know if e-
17	Selina	[yeah we've done this before (xxxxx)
18	S1	that's right we've
19		done this before (.) if there were any major problems the first time I would've
20		already sent you to the Centre for Teaching and Learning and that wasn't the case
21		and actually I think **this** observation was even (.) **better** than the first one you just
22		seemed more relaxed and the students were a lot more talkative it was more
23		student centered
24	Selina	mmhm
25	S1	you know and I've noticed that with a lot of classes (.) second semester (.) the
26		students I don't know if they're more comfortable with you even if they weren't (.)
27		your students last semester just that I think the new teachers are getting better
28	Selina	yeah
29	S1	with time I've noticed that cos th- they're special stud- I mean Emiratis and they're
30	Selina	[yeah I agree with that
31	S1	all girls and (0.1) it's just a different population
32	Selina	[all the students are the same I mean
33	S1	yeah
34	Selina	[you need some time actually to get used to them
35	S1	ok so the observation was last week or two weeks ago (*date given*) and we'll just
36		start from the first page (.) em which is class e:h ins- quality of class and student
37		behaviour management (.) you have all pos- you had let's see em three point five
38		four four three three three point five and then (0.2) eh not applicable which I can
39		explain when we get to 4.1.7

Lance: Third year at the institution

1	S1	This is just a living document so we can modify stuff you can explain things we can
2		clarify id there's something you know that I missed or you're not in agreement with
3		(.) em it's not set in stone yet because it hasn't been signed (.) em you'll notice it
4		goes from one to four (.) I rate myself as a three (.) when I do a (.) a good normal
5		lesson what I expect in the classroom (.) if there's something that **stands out** (.) so I
6		give you like a three four or a four that's something that I'd like to share with other
7		teachers something that I've learned something that I think wow this is really great
8		if anything falls below a three (.) it's something you might want to improve on or
9		something that (.) you know could be better↓ um (0.2) it's a work in progress you
10		know sometimes you have a good day sometimes you don't it just depends (.) some
11		of the ones that I put NA is because (.) I didn't (.) I wasn't there long enough I'm
12		only there for fifty minutes so I c- I don't how you're you know you're plan goes to
13		the students meeting their deadlines i- it's impossible for me to tell especially with
14		the classes that we're teaching I'd have to have you know access more than just
15		one day to know how things are progressing (.) and em (.) of course I always put
16		comments at the end so we just go thought his↑
17	Lance	ok
18	S1	and I try to do point by point (.) em (0.2) so starting with the first page (0.3) is the
19		(.) classroom (.) student behaviour management all that kind of stuff

John: 10⁺ years' experience at the institution

1	S1	John the way I do it i:s (.) we just kind of go through point by point (.) eh a three is
2		what I give myself when I teach
3	John	right
4	S1	[which is you're doing what you're supposed to be doing and everything's fine
5	John	mm hmm
6	S1	anything above that is stuff that I think oh this is cool or I can learn from this or I
7		can use this with other teachers anything below is something that maybe (.) you
8		know (.) could be worked on or improved or made better eh the last page is kind of
9		odd (.) the one about (.) quality and communication (.) almost everybody gets only
10		3s for that I mean as native speakers and having done this for a long time I find it
11		kind of odd that they would actually have that many bullets about quality of
12		communication but that's only that's my personal thing
13	John	right
14	S1	and then this is still like a living document so at any time throughout you can
15		question things we can modify things you can clarify you can say [S1] you forgot
16		this or I don't agree with that and I ty- I actually type it into here so that the final
17		one that we type up and sign is one that we've actually discussed and gone back
18		and forth
19	John	[ok

Greg: 10⁺ years' experience at the institution

1	S1	right so I'll just do this like I usually do (.) em when I do the observation (.) I look
2		for any teaching that would be similar to the way I teach so anything that's a 3 is
3		what I would give myself (.) anything that goes above that like I sometimes I do a
4		3/4 or a solid 4 is something that I have not seen before or I think this is
5		something I will share with other teachers or there's something that really stands
6		out and anything that falls below a 3 is something you might want to think about
7		or work on (.) in your case I don't think there was much I think it was very very
8	Greg	[yeah [yeah (xx)
9	S1	positive eh classroom
10	Greg	[language eh and eh clarity of eh aims and jumping through too many activities
11	S1	[maybe language [ok
12	S1	ok (laughs) yeah but that's in your personality so that's Greg (smile voice)
13	Greg	[in the lesson (xxxxx) valid eh (.) valid points well made (small laugh)

Jim: Second year at the institution

1	S1	basically we're here to go over the eh classroom observation from last week↑ eh
2		before we start on this rubric anything that's a three is what I consider good
3		teaching that'[s what I would rate myself anything above that something that
4	Jim	[mmhm
5	S1	stands or that you do very well I might share with someone else anything below

6		that is something you might to be aware of or improve or you know ju- just think
7		about what we can so is actually go backwards from the (long) comments and
8		then move our way up
9	Jim	sure
10	S1	it's still a living document so there's stuff that we can clarify there is some
11		question I remember I have about the first few slides you showed it'll come back
12		to me as we go through this I have to say that when I look back I always look at
13		last year's to see and i- it (.) it was really I mean it was good this year was I mean
14		you've just taken the you took the tech- everything I commented on last year
15		about technology about you know making it student centered about not using
16		books so much letting them do you did all of it so I was really happy to see that
17		(*smile voice*) I left and I was like yes! (*laughs*) so that's good so I'm happy em all
18		right so let's look go backwards like I said it's a living document so as we go
19		through if there's stuff you wanna clarify or explain or this that and the other we
20		can go through it em and overall comments I wrote 'this was a good lesson better
21		than last year it was much more student centered the girls were far more active
22		in the learning technology (xxx) em (.) appropriate times throughout their
23		individual pair and class (xxx) activities which addressed various learning styles
24		students read aloud spoke in pairs several times the girls liked the activities they
25		were eager to participate they were well behaved mainly on task throughout the
26		lesson' I didn't write this in here but I remember I was surprised that they were
27		only year one diploma students I I was I was just really impressed you know
28	Jim	[mmhm
29	S1	you've done a good job with these girls you've been with them now for what just
30		this one semester?
31	Jim	that's right

Niamh: Third year at the institution

1	S1	before em we go through the (.) the evaluation a **three** is the way I would teach
2		myself
3	Niamh	ok
4	S1	[so to me a three is I'm doing my job and I'm good and everything's fine so anything
5		above three is stuff that really stands out↑
6	Niamh	mmhm
7	S1	that's like wow this is really great and anything that's below which I don't think you
8		have any is something that can be worked on and I use the like two three or three
9	Niamh	[no
10	S1	four if it's **more** than just the typical thing but not quite like superstar so it's like
11	Niamh	[yeah
12	S1	a three point five which I tend to use a lot
13	Niamh	ok
14	S1	and em I make comments on almost everything that's (0.1) above or below the three
15		or that's one of those hybrid you know three point five or just things that stand out
16	Niamh	[mmhm
17	S1	in general
18	Niamh	ok
19	S1	and the last page I think (.) is kind of **odd** because everyone seems to get three (.) on
20		everything you have a few above
21	Niamh	uhuh
22	S1	because if you're a native speaker of English and you've been doing this a long time I

23		don't see how you can (.) go **wrong** with your quality of communication or how
24	Niamh	[yeah
25	S1	you can be you know you speak the lang- how can be like
26	Niamh	yeah although sometimes it's just like clear instructions and things isn't it
27	S1	[how can you clear voice [ok could be
28		that here you talk about voice and language that are appropriate to class level things
29		like that I think the last page is really (.) kind of **odd** so most of my (.) efforts
30	Niamh	[°mm [yeah
31	S1	are in the first two four point one and four point two and as we go through↑(.) if
32	Niamh	[uhuh
33	S1	there's things that you wanna clarify cos this is like a living document or things that
34	Niamh	[uhuh
35	S1	I may've forgotten we can kind of (0.1) you know modify the text before we we go
36		ahead and print it (.) e:m the easiest way for me is to work backwards? to go back
37	Niamh	[ok
38	S1	and review what I wrote
39	Niamh	ok
40	S1	overall comments (0.1) I don't know if I need to read the whole thing
41	Niamh	no↑no but I've sa- I'm gonna (xxxx) this anyway
42	S1	(*reads aloud*) '*the lesson was very good combining easy to comprehend video with*
43		*challenging readings there was a nice balance …*'

Michael: Second year at the institution

1	S1	ok right so before I start (.) basically the way I do this Michael is I just go down↓ (.)
2		the list of you know objectives things I observe and just discuss them it's still a
3		living document so if there's something that you wanna clarify or that you don't
4		agree with we can you know go ahead and (.) type it up and (.) change it or or
5		modify it (.) em basically before we start a **three** is what I would grade myself ↓ (.)
6		that's a good classroom
7	Michael	mmhm
8	S1	anything that's a 3 is what I expect you know (.) if it's **above a three** (.) like
9		sometimes I do a 3 and a 4 which'll be like a 3.5 or a 4 it's something that really
10		stands out (.) that I think wow this is something I can share with other teachers
11		which I usually do or I may use **myself**↑ when I have to cover a class if I if I like
12		what I see (*smile voice*)
13	Michael	[(*laughs*)
14	S1	[anything below that is something that you might you know just wanna be
15		aware of (.) in your case I don't think there was anything
16	Michael	yeah there was there was speed of eh my my (xxx)
17	S1	[ah ok which is something very
18		minor ok speed of your lang- yeah I have the same problem I tend to talk **too**
19		quickly doesn't matter who my audience is (.) so but that I mean that's very minor
20		**if** there were a lot of (.) twos and ones or 2.5s then usually what we do is have you
21		discuss with someone at cen- centre for teaching and learning↑ to have them
22		come in and observe or video tape your class but I will note for the record that
23		Michael's class **was** videotaped because we knew it was going to be **good** and it's
24		going to serve as a model of you know how to handle the students so it went very
25		well so just to let you know from the beginning (..) all right so let's start with the
26		teaching competencies em and what I do is I make little comments for each bullet
27		and you can read along eh as I go you had mostly threes and fours here …

Senan: 10+ years at the institution

1	S1	I wanna start off by saying that (.) this year's observation was better than last
2		year's ↑ em not that last year's was deficient just that it wasn't as smooth I know
3	Senan	[mmhmm [yes
4	S1	the reasons for that were it was much earlier in the year it was eh a- late October
5		and s- I (didn't) believe that re-streaming had happened (.) right before that
6	Senan	right
7	S1	and the laptops were brand new (.) so there were some (excuse)
8	Senan	[right and we didn't have eh we didn't have a
9		lot of material for the laptops yeah
10	S1	[ok so that said let's go over this year's
11	Senan	so eh you were saying e:m (0.1) you you give threes fo:r something that you would
12		give yourself
13	S1	yeah
14	Senan	you would expect from yourself
15	S1	exactly so (xxx) on this scale of one to four three would be (.) good teaching what's
16	Senan	[ok
17	S1	expected and s- then anything **above** that so like a three point five
18	Senan	ok
19	S1	or even a four is something that either stands out in your class in particular or
20		something I could share with other teachers or something that I thought wow you
21		know I could use this
22	Senan	ok
23	S1	and anything below that would be something that you might wanna look at
24	Senan	yeah
25	S1	[you know that may be deficient either just in that particular lesson or maybe it's a
26		habit you know that could (.) use a little improving
27	Senan	ok
28	S1	so let's look at the first page which is eh 4.1 quality of class and student behaviour
29		management (0.2) e:h the scores here were threes three point fives and a four↑

Appendix 7: Praise for classroom management

Extract 1: S1 and Michael

1	S1	that's what makes sense em you knew all the student you always called on them
2		by **name** you walked around the **room** during eh the **class** to see what they were
3		doing (0.1) and for foundations boys they were very well behaved em and I liked
4		how you discipline because it didn't interrupt with the flow of the class I don't
5		know if you're aware of this but there were three different things that you did that
6		I really stuck in my mind (.) I mean you call their names yeah sure but then you
7		also were gentlemen are you **ready** which indicated to them that they were not
8		prepa- doing what they were supposed to be doing and then the last one which
9		was kind of interesting when you stopped speaking and just look at look at them
10		and it took the longest it took was about four and a half seconds but usually within
11		three seconds they were looking right back at you and they had stopped talking
12		and they were back on track (*laughs*) and eh so there was no discipline problems
13		in the class eh so it was very good and the students never you know lost face it's
14		not like you embarrassed anyone cos with the guys sometimes they're kind of
15		sensitive more than the girls even it's really kind of odd but (.) I mean you really
16		have control of that group is that your first semester with them or did you have
		them
17	Michael	had them last semester as well
18	S1	ok so they ok they know what's expected of them which I put in in your discussion
19	Michael	[yeah
20	S1	that you know the stud- it was just a very very good (0.1) well oiled machine the
21		way the class worked (.) it went very well and you you I'm sure you can tell did you
22		have trouble with them at the **beginning?** (0.1) the first semester

Extract 2: S1 and Michael

1	S1	ehh let's see °four point two point five point six° (0.1) oh the variety of methods
2		yeah you di- I mean there was everything going on the students you know who
3		was talking who was moving around table to table the colours were matching the
4		strips were going on and (.) you know they were just very very into it very hands
5		on very ah it was really a good lesson i- it was fun I would like to steal the actual
6		coloured strips to do the
7	Michael	°mm°

Extract 3: S1 and Greg

1	S1	There was a challenge with the behaviour (0.1) the back table was very **talkative**
2		ah but you kept ok you would call their names and ask them to rejoin the lesson
3	Greg	[yeah
4	S1	or you would direct a question at whoever was s-speaking about obviously not
5		about the lesson (0.1) so you **knew** that they weren't paying attention and that
6		always you know right and that didn't seem to offend anyone they were just like
7	Greg	[(xxx)
8	S1	ok sir and they knew they had to get back on task so so that was good

Extract 4: S1 and Senan

1	S1	you knew all of the students names there was a good rapport with the students
2		you were able to joke with them (0.1) eh a good feeling of respect and
3		cooperation and the class was pretty large so you know the fact that you were
4	Senan	[mm
5	S1	able to (.) connect with everyone is really important ah you always walked
6	Senan	[mm
7	S1	around the room as they were working on their em individual or pair work↑
8		(0.2) to see that they were on task make sure they understood what was going
9		on eh you handled the (0.1) two late girls quite well because they came in eight
10		minutes later but you didn't make a scene but you did go up to them and say you
11		know what happened where were you you know you're late

Extract 5: S1 and Lance

1	S1	You have a you have a big class you know
2	Lance	[yeah
3	S1	and eh some were more involved than others but you tried to get everybody to
4		do something to participate to speak you know you by calling on them raise their
5		hand or so they were they were involved in the lesson doing what they were
6		supposed to do

Extract 6: S1 and Selina

1	S1	the rules for calling on the girls it was very organised you either (.) did it by name or
2		em whoever raised their hand↑ (.) em and then there was one girl who started to
3		say something but the other girl had a stronger voice to the left and she completed
4		her thought and then you went back to the right and said what were you saying and
5		then you let her explain as well so everything was really positive

Extract 7: S1 and John

1	S1	I know it's true it's tough to squish it all in em you had a good rapport with the
2		students you asked everyone to come and participate even those that didn't want
3		to quite you know by calling on them I liked how you handled when they made
4		mistakes when they spoke about repea- repeating the error kind of saying is that
5		how you'd say it and even with the girl who came in late I thought that there's no
6		one who's ever done that before usually they come in late and they just like sit
7		down or why are you late but then you made her explain but she did it incorrectly
8		and you made her correct her own grammar (*short laugh*) on why she was late and
9		I cant tell you how many resit requests that I get through the portal of students
10		who've been for two or three years and they can't write a sentence in the correct
11		tense they can't even express themselves I'm thinking oh I wish everybody would
12		do this

Extract 8: S1 and Jim

1	S1	there were individual pair and class activities which addressed various learning
2		styles (.) students read aloud spoke in pairs several times the girls liked the
3		activities they were eager to participate they were well behaved (.) remained on
4		task throughout the lesson (0.2) I remember I was surprised that they were only
5		year one
6	Jim	mmhmm
7	S1	[(xxx) students I was I was just really impressed you know you've done a good job
8		with these girls

Extract 9: S2 and Anisa

1	S2	they followed your directions completely and there were no talking and there
2	Anisa	[yes
3	S2	were no **phones** (0.2) which is a nice eh
4	Anisa	yes eh this section is particularly absolutely wonderful in that yes
5	S2	mm good good

Extract 10: S3 and Anna

1	S3	yeah so that would be my only (0.2) comment on something that you haven't
2		mentioned that I saw and (.) everything **else** (.) the the atmosphere was great it
3		really was the atmosphere was good the rapport was lovely I love the classroom
4		layout it was good for you monitoring the groups I love it (0.1) the
5	Anna	[mmhm
6	S3	way you handled Mohamed with the mobile phone I **loved**!
7	Anna	(*small laugh*)
8	S3	(*smile voice*) that was just (.) lo:vely
9	Anna	[I don't know I tried different methods some (of it)
		works
10	S3	it was really nice it was very respectful assertive tactful it was lovely so (*sound of*
11		*pages turning*)

Extract 11: S3 and Anna

1	S3	it looked like it when I was there (.) I mean it did there was a there was a really
2		nice atmosphere (.) of respect
3	Anna	no yeah that's I mean they know that (.) they come there to learn
4	S3	[you know [well not every- not everyone has that
5	Anna	mm
6	S3	you know it's not something that comes naturally (.) e:m because in other classes
7		the the very same boys will play up if they sense a weakness
8	Anna	mm
9	S3	[in the teacher just because they're adolescent boys so (.) no no you've done well
10		with that classroom environment

Extract 12: S4 and Stuart

1	S4	well they were good (0.1) I mean the atmosphere's good and they were all
2		keen to answer and you were probing and pushing and you've obviously got
3		the rapport with them I think

Extract 13: S4 and Jake

1	S4	so again you elicited the techniques from them em you were insisting on you know
2		you were cold calling (.) nominating you know not letting them shout out which is
3		(0.1) which is good and they (xx) what I liked as well you were moving them
4		through at the same time you know I've watched some observations where a group
5		here finished the first exercise so they they get moved onto the second while this
6		group here hasn't even really started the first exercise and then and then of course
7		it all goes to pot I think once you've got (0.2) strung out across three of four
8		exercises that you know I think you kept them very nicely controlled

Extract 14: S4 and Jake

1	S4	I mean I've that one of the things that I've said in the manual you know you've got
2		the thing about inappropriate behaviour there wasn't any you know because they
3		were so engaged and you've got them so well drilled and you kept them all on task
4		you didn't have to stop any chatter or mucking around at any point you know and
5		that's (0.2) that combined with your classroom management it's you it is good to
6		see

Extract 15: S4 and Dan

1	S4	When the Arabic levels rose I think you dealt with it very well I mean it was just a
2		quiet word you didn't need to raise your voice you didn't need to (0.2) you know
3		lose your rage or anything (*smile voice*)
4	Dan	(*laughs*)
5	S4	and they and the fact that they respected you and and **did** you know it that
6	Dan	[mm
7	S4	moment the Arabic levels dropped straight away which shows you've got them
8		under control and they you know they're respecting you in the class and that wa-
9		that was great to see

Extract 16: S4 and Dan

S4	1	you **had** that hundred percent attention
Dan	2	mm
S4	3	and at times people can think you know it's not actually possible and it's a **trap** that
	4	you fall into where you sort of accept that ok half the class are listening half are
Dan	5	[mm
S4	6	completely **not** listening you know or twenty five percent are not listening and
Dan	7	[(*small laugh*) [mm
S4	8	those twenty five percent are on facebook anyway
Dan	9	yeah
S4	10	once you start accepting that so so don't and it's good to see you don't and you had

Dan   11   [no I won't accept that
S4   12   them there em I loved the way you checked the answers

Extract 1: S1 and Greg

1	S1	everything here was good you had a lot of activities the technology that the
2		students were able to use I was very () shocked actually to say for
3		Foundations em you know they were making their movie makers and they
4		were showing me the stuff they had already produced () em I hadn't seen
5		anyone use the Macmillan online dictionary before () people mention it but
6		em I don't see it that often so it was good to see all the different things and
7		the hot potatoes the vocabulary cloze I remember that you created on your
8		own I mean that takes a lot of time and effort tha- that stuff makes class fun I
		mean the time flew I couldn't believe how quickly it went by

Extract 2: S1 and Greg

1	Greg	every student's got a a homework OneNote file and eh I don't know let's have a
2	S1	[mm:::::: ok
3	Greg	look at Reem e:m she'd one of the weakest students (.) and em th- they're all the
4		same format basically
5	S1	ok
6	Greg	[em reading portfolio they have to describe (xxx) stuff here so I'm not chasing a
7	S1	[right
8	Greg	whole bunch of paper
9	S1	ok
10	Greg	e:m (xxxx)
11	S1	[you need to show do a PD on this
12	Greg	this is their writing portfolio and again they eh they screen clip their eh writing
13	S1	[a: h yeah
14	Greg	portfolio stuff in e::h
15	S1	you almost need to show this to the year one teachers because they are so
16	Greg	[yeah
17	S1	unprepared
19	Greg	well that's what I'm doing it in 175 this is what I'll take to eh I'll se- I'm putting this
20		up as a template they can use it if they want to
21	S1	ok
22	Greg	I'll do it today this screen clip their Clarity Tense Buster scores their Inside Reading
23		results in so basically eh (0.2) I can I can just mow through the class looking at one
24	S1	[m:::::h
25	Greg	thing or two things just looking at that folder yeah sorry
26	S1	wow no but this is stuff that's cool

Extract 3: S1 and Greg

1	S1	based on the activities and original materials created using hot potatoes and
2		the fact that it guided students in creating the (.) country project via movie
3		maker was just you know you're to- you're totally into that class
4	Greg	[yeah they love that

5	S1	(*reading aloud from comments on the observation form*) Greg's class showed
6		how much eh foundations are capable of if you guide them in their use of
7		technology their work on the country project using moviemaker was
8		impressive Greg has built the knowledge and patience to be so creative in the
9		classroom the students enjoyed the vocabulary web quest and tho- em though
10		the vocabulary cloze an original a Greg original via hot potatoes which I put
11		here you might wanna give PD for new teachers

Extract 4: S1 and Eric

1	S1	Anna and Safa's class when she uses the technology you know Anna blonde
2		Anna she had a some good ones and also em Sue's class when she did and she
3		has a **very** small group and they're they were post foundations **diploma** students
4		talk about you know she had to sit with them like
5	Eric	[ok
6	S1	third graders
7	Eric	yeah
8	S1	and make sure they w- but the class was a **lot** of really cool stuff to everything was
9		done on one gigantic it wasn't power point she had another name for it you have to
10	Eric	[mm
11	S1	ask her the whole lesson was done on it and some of the slides were interactive the
12	Eric	[em yeah yeah yeah I know yeah
13	S1	guys could come and do stuff some stuff she did it just flow- and it was like I think
14	Eric	[ok
		[note
15		book note book or something
16	S1	[I stayed for the whole class was it note book? or one Note Book very very cool so

Extract 5: S3 and Anna

1	Anna	yeah the listening was from BBV↑
2	S3	[this one this is from BBV?
3	Anna	mmhm yeah
4	S3	ah ok
5	Anna	(xxx)
6	S3	[cos I liked it
7	Anna	mmhm mmhm
8	S3	thought it was very good
9	Anna	yeah it its it was challenging but it em I mentioned to them
10	S3	[it was but it was nicely paced
11	Anna	yeah
12	S3	mm
13	Anna	em so the video also gave them sort of input
14	S3	the video was good too was that also BBV?

Extract 6: S4 and Stuart

| 1 | S4 | yeah so you're obviously more confident and I think it's improving all the time |

2		(0.2) the fact you're using BB9 trying out video all of that (0.5) and the fact
3		you're exploiting the technology to assist the learning process not just (0.5)
4		you know what can happen in observations (0.3) it's kind of like look at this
5		bright and shiny thing that I have and this bright and shiny thing and there's
6		no sort of link or connection between what's going on but you know it was
7		well done

Extract 7: S4 and Stuart

1	S4	well time's against us so what I'm going to do is go through the things I've
2		written here I mean I think it was a very successful lesson umm () and there's
3		a lot of positives that have come out of it I mean you're very comfortable with
4		the technology I like the way you've organised your OneNote I love the fact
5		you're using video and BB9 it's good to see that you're
6	Stuart	[is not everybody using that now
7	S4	most people have got it I'm not sure everybody's using it (.) the people I've
8		observed most people are using it and I think it's gonna be the way we go
9		next semester definitely

Extract 8: S4 and Stuart

1	S4	I also like the way you set up the OneNote (.) I ma:y (.) copy some bits out of that
2		and show them to people (.) I like the way how you had you know you had the
3		objectives for the lesson
4	Jake	mm
5	S4	on there obviously but you also had (xxx) you had like what the admin for that
6		week you know what assessments were coming and (.) everything it it's you know
7		very nicely organised
8	Jake	[yeah well I use that as the organisation and I use the em (0.2) eh the
9		smartboard software for actually delivering the class which I found is a lot easier
10		because there's more space (0.2) so:
11	S4	yeah and then you keep that and then do you save do you save what you do in the
12		class on the OneNote as well
13	Jake	e:m well they it's all saved on the em (0.2) on the smartboard
14	S4	ok
15	Jake	[thing which they they can access anyway so
16	S4	yeah so it's all there but it's nicely set up I thought

Extract 9: S4 and Dan

1	S4	um I've seen other teachers use extranormal which is I don't know if you're aware
2		of?
3	Dan	mm mm (*indicating 'no'*) °sorry°
4	S4	it's a it's great it's great fun (*smile voice*) um (.) it's a website where you can (0.1) it
5		has characters that you give dialogue and it animates them
6	Dan	oh I **have** seen that not in English teaching but I've yes (xxx)
7	S4	[yeah [yeah and it's you can
8		exploit it just stay away from the S and M pigs

9	Dan	(*laughs*)
10	S4	(xxxxxxxxxxx) them in there (*laugh voice*)
11	Dan	I've heard yeah eh-
12	S4	but it's that's quite good you know you can sort of i- cos it's it's very it's still very
13		sort of you know Stephen Hawking language (*imitates computer voice*) but you can
14	Dan	[mmhm
15		yeah
16	S4	you can at least you know you can get one of the animals says to the other one so
17		you know what's your dream house I I would live in
18	Dan	(*laughs*) right
19	S4	[you know that's (with the)
20	Dan	extranormal?
21	S4	yeah with an ex eh Sarah is a whiz kid with it Maureen uses it quite a lot as well
22	Dan	all right↑

Extract 10: S4 and Dan

1	S4	nice to see that the: (.) the writing is going up on BB9 I mean how much writing
2	Dan	[yeah
3	S4	are you doing
4	Dan	ah we do it all the time↓ (.) just did one today just like that I'll set up the forums
5	S4	mmhm
6	Dan	usually discussion (0.2) all right everybody submit that paragraph we just
7		wrote in class or whatever it might be sometimes it's homework em
8	S4	[what sort of
9		size pieces of writing are you getting
10	Dan	[so far e::h paragraphs usually sometimes two paragraphs
11		but not we haven't done
12	S4	I think that's that's fair enough though with this type of writing I think lots of little
13	Dan	[longer (xxx) [yeah
14	S4	bits every day get them into that habit and it's good to see em in **there** you know
15	Dan	[absolutely
16	S4	you've connected (0.2) three out of four skills into one lesson you know it
17		was a good
18	Dan	yeah and last semester I wouldn't've done that because (.) we didn't have BB9

Appendix 9: Account requests

Extract 1: I wished it had been one with audio so they could practise their listening

1	S1	I wished it had been one
2	Eric	[yeah
3	S1	with audio so they could practise their listening but I checked and I couldn't find
4		any in English there were a lot of them they were all in French or Arabic
5	Eric	[(laughs) [or Spanish yeah
6	S1	or Spanish yeah from Ma- Madrid
7	Eric	I'd also looked and I was hoping to get something em (I was) sure there must've
8		been a report on CNN about charity football match or something like that and I
9	S1	[about him
10	Eric	couldn't find anything on the web that was eh English based (xxxxxxxx) and that's
11	S1	[yeah ok
12	Eric	why I didn't do well one reason why I didn't do a listening em but also it's the main
13		their weak areas are reading and writing
14	S1	ok this is true
15	Eric	[em they've just done the progress test on the listening all of them
16		passed the listening
17	S1	did they? (sounds surprised)
18	Eric	eh the lowest I'm not sure that all of them passed I think most of them got 70 plus
19	S1	really? so they did well
20	Eric	yeah whereas the **reading** eight of them are at at ri- at risk for the reading
21	S1	(that's) half
22	Eric	so yeah so really m- my focus is more reading yeah so really that that was why I
23	S1	[ok [yeah it's gotta be more academic skills
24	Eric	**did** look for a listening I couldn't find it eh I couldn't find anything and and but the
25		important thing for these guys is to get them reading
26	S1	reading and writing right which they did the second half and they did read I mean
27	Eric	[yeah (xx)
28	S1	cos they had to read they had to do stuff on the internet
29	Eric	[yeah they did read yeah they did

Extract 2: 'Could the students have used the language in a different way?'

1	S2	you asked the students to copy the answers from the whiteboard onto the
2		worksheet ok
3	Anisa	[yes later on because I said that it's better that they do it themselves
4		first↑ and then I give the handout so they can copy it rather than first you know
5		initially if I would have given it to them so
6	S2	°that's right° now the students had produced some language at that point was
7		there any way in which you could've got them to use that language in a different
8		way rather than copying do you think?
9	Anisa	(0.1) m:m how so eh about that exercise on the whiteboard? [e:m
10	S2	[yes or how eh- I mean they
11		got they got the language they got the verbs was there anything you could've
12		done I mean you were reinforcing it by having them copying it
13	Anisa	yes↑
14	S2	[so was there anything another activity?

15	Anisa	[using it in a sentence maybe?
16	S2	[yes (xx) possibly
17	Anisa	[ahh yes yes it could have
18		been yes
19	S2	o::r maybe (.) maybe actually **speaking** the language instead of writing it? Could
20		that have occurred in some way?
21	Anisa	mm n-ye:s I believe so it could have been eh when I tend to first you know e-
22		introduce them to the grammar points and then have a speaking class later on
23		where I insist that we are focusing on using the same verbs which we wrote
24		about or you know we explained in the classroom so then during the speaking I
25		keep correcting them you know it has to be segregated **I** think that eh writing and
26		speaking (.) so they have
27	S2	well that's not when whe- when they're using em words that they have to
28		memorise for a start especially the irregular verbs it's often a good idea if they
29	Anisa	[yes
30	S2	**speak** it they're much more likely (.) to remember it
31	Anisa	mmhm
32	S2	and then use it in in the right context as well
33	Anisa	[yes true
34	S2	and they hear it and they hear each other speaking it as well and then you
35	Anisa	[mmhm
36	S2	mentioned sentences it wouldn't have done any harm for them to put together
37		you know maybe some simple sentences again like you did earlier on like I have
38		played football or I met my friends yes it wouldn't have taken (.) very long
39	Anisa	[yes initial yes [ah another
40		two or three minutes yes
41	S2	[yeah that's all
42	Anisa	ok all right yes↑

Extract 3: I felt that they had a capacity for going perhaps up a gear?

1	S2	and you asked the students to save it onto a OneNote which was (.) was quite
2		right you you have a (.) eh I'm gonna mention this a little later but you were
3		progressing (.) quite slowly
4	Eric	ok
5	S2	through the tasks
6	Eric	ok
7	S2	(xxx) the students weren't being rushed I felt that they c- had a capacity for
8		going perhaps up a gear?
9	Eric	ok ok
10	S2	at that point? em you you're quite (.) what's the best way of putting it
11	Eric	pedestrian (big laugh)
12	S2	pedestrian is one way of putting it (smile voice) but you are quite what's the best
13		wa- deliberate
14	Eric	ok ok
15	S2	in your manner in moving through these tasks and for level **two** they the- you know
16	Eric	[ok [ok
17	S2	i- it really works if it's short sharp exciting interesting
18	Eric	[yeah sharp yeah yeah yeah yeah
19	S2	moving them around one minute you're in the corner over there the next minute
20	Eric	[yeah [yeah

21	S2	you're behind them and (.) you know they're
22	Eric	I I did feel as well I I thought at the time I did feel as though I was yeah I did feel as
23		though I was I was sort of (xxxxxxxx) and that I was maybe writing more on the
24		board and (.) yeah more deliberate than usual I think I I think that was maybe
25	S2	[yes
26	Eric	because you were there but a- you know but it's it's nice it's a good point as well
27	S2	w- it's it's [it doesn't
28		(mean) to make it sort of snappy (clicks fingers)
29	Eric	no no I kno- yeah yeah I do know what you mean
30	S2	[specially with level two I mean you can
31		be a bit more pedestrian with a higher level class because you especially if
32	Eric	mm
33	S2	you're doing sort of (.) broader and deeper work and comprehension and things
		like
34	Eric	[mm [mm mm
35	S2	that but I mean short sharp and interesting °in level two°
36	Eric	[yeah no no it's a good point

Extract 4: Why had you chosen that particular theme?

1	S4	yeah so why had you chosen that particular theme?
2	Aoife	well (.) I thought it would interest them because em I'm sure you picked that up
3		pretty quickly they're a really weak class
4	S4	mmhm
5	Aoife	and em (.) eh also a bit difficult to manage so as much as possible I try to go for
6	S4	[yeah
7	Aoife	subjects that will engage them
8	S4	mmhm
9	Aoife	and they all like weddings so and we had done↑ (.) e:m we had done a- a reading
10		text about Korean weddings the week before
11	S4	it's the one from 'What a world' yeah
12	Aoife	yeah yeah so I thought this would link in with it but it would also we recycle some
13		of the vocabulary that they had already done cos I think (.) what really em (.) well
14		they're vocabulary's really low so when they read it's like every fourth or fifth word
15	S4	[yeah
16	Aoife	they don't understand
17	S4	yeah
18	Aoife	so this semester em I've been trying to focus a lot more on vocab
19	S4	mmhmm
20	Aoife	than maybe on reading skills
21	S4	ok so yeah to try and get them through that way
22	Aoife	mm mm