# Emergence and Development of a Dialogic Whole-class Discussion Genre

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*Abstract*

*Prior research across disciplines has established the value of dialogic, whole-class discussions. Previous studies have often defined discussions in opposition to the notorious triadic pattern called recitation, or IRE/F, focusing on variations to the teacher's initiating question or evaluative follow-up on students' responses. Recent scholarship has also identified variations on recitations and dialogic discussions that suggest these categories might be flexible, containing types of interaction associated with particular contexts. However, research remains to be done on how such types, or genres, of dialogic, whole-class discussion emerge and develop over time. In this article, I take up this line of inquiry, analyzing the classroom discourse of five lesson excerpts generated by a prospective teacher and his students in a US secondary History classroom between October and March. I illustrate how, over time, teacher and students repeatedly renegotiated the nature of a recitation-style textbook review activity using similar patterns of language that suggested an emergent discourse genre. These five interactions did not all lead to dialogic, whole-class discussions; I explain their relative success or failure in terms of how they constructed participants' relationships to historical and classroom events. I argue that even failed attempts at generating dialogic discourse may be part of a developing genre.*

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## Introduction

Education researchers agree on the value of whole-class discussions in which students develop and refine their ideas in relation to what others have already written or said. Such "dialogic" (Bakhtin, 1981), whole-class discussions can help students learn to consider multiple interpretations, and even to disagree, and can shape students' notions of themselves and their learning in ways that prepare them for participation in a literate, democratic society (e.g., Alexander, 2006; Matusov, Soslau, Marjanovic-Shane, & von Duyke, 2016). Moreover, dialogic, whole-class discussions, according to several national studies, have been associated with student literacy achievement (e.g., Applebee, Langer, Nystrand, & Gamoran, 2003; Cambridge Primary Review Trust, 2017).

Researchers across disciplines who study dialogic, whole-class discussions have often contrasted them with the classroom discourse pattern commonly called recitation, in which the teacher initiates a question, a student responds, and the teacher evaluates or "follows-up" on the student's response; this recurring triad is often abbreviated as IRE/F (e.g., Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979; G. Wells, 1999). The IRE/F pattern, perhaps because of its persistence over time (e.g., Hoetker & Albrand, 1969) and its prevalence across disciplines (e.g., Lawrence & Crespo, 2016), has been called "a sort of genre" (Lemke, 1990) and "the dominant discourse genre" found in teaching (G. Wells, 1993). However, researchers have identified variations on the IRE/F pattern (e.g., Mortimer & Scott, 2003; Rees & Roth, 2017) that suggest it is not a reified, stable category. Likewise, though much prior research on "dialogic," whole-class discussions has defined them in opposition to the typical IRE/F pattern, attending primarily to types of teacher questions (e.g., Nystrand, Wu, Gamoran, Zeiser, & Long, 2003) and evaluative follow-ups on student responses (e.g., Aukerman, 2007; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993; Sherry, 2014), recent studies have suggested that dialogic discussions may also be a flexible category that includes variations or types depending on purpose (e.g., Parker, 2010) or academic discipline (e.g., Sherry, 2016). Research remains to be done on how such genres of dialogic, whole-class discussion emerge and develop in classrooms over time.

In this article, I examine five examples from lessons in a US secondary History classroom that took place between October and March during one school year. In each example, I analyze how teacher and students negotiated the nature of the activity, collaboratively creating relatively stable patterns of discourse. Across these examples, I track the emergence and development of a dialogic discussion genre, and the potential reasons for, and relative effectiveness of, its variations. Based on these findings, I discuss connections to prior classroom discourse studies and propose implications for future research and teaching.

## Literature review

### *IRE/F vs. Dialogic Discussion*

Research on the pattern of classroom discourse called recitations extends back to the early 20th century (Applebee et al., 2003; Gallimore, Dalton, & Tharp, 1986; Hoetker & Albrand, 1969; Nystrand, Gamoran, Kachur, & Prendergast, 1997; Thayer, 1928). Although recitation, in the late 19th century referred to another kind of oral examination (e.g., Rice, 1893), research on recitations since then has associated this term with the recurring triadic pattern in which a teacher Initiates a question, a single student Responds, and the teacher immediately Evaluates/Follows-up on that response: researchers have thus named this pattern IRE/F (Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; G. Wells, 1993). Much prior research has addressed this pattern as a relatively stable category, focusing on individual turns in the IRE/F triad.

For example, Nystrand and his colleagues have found that questions initiated by the teacher during the first turn of IRE/F tend to be "inauthentic," asking for information previously furnished to students; such questions typically involve "lower-order thinking" (Nystrand et al., 2003), requiring only "the routine application of previously learned knowledge" (Newmann, 1990, p. 44). Such inauthentic, lower-order thinking questions, often delivered at a rapid-fire pace (e.g., Blosser, 2000) leave little time for students, particularly English Language Learners, to consider possible answers, not to mention their own ideas and interests (Cazden & Leggett, 1981). Similarly, Nassaji and Wells (2000) have studied teachers' evaluative follow-ups (the third turn of IRE/F), suggesting that when teachers' follow-ups evaluate students' responses as right or wrong they tend to "suppress extended student participation" (p. 400), implicitly sending the discouraging message that there is a single right answer students must produce.

In contrast, researchers who study "dialogic" whole-class discussions—conversations that encourage multiple perspectives, in which speakers build on what others have already written or said—

have identified techniques intended to transform the IRE/F routine. For instance, instead of inauthentic "test" questions, teachers can pose open-ended, "higher-order thinking" questions (Ernst-Slavit & Pratt, 2017; Nystrand et al., 2003) that encourage multiple, complex interpretations. Likewise, teacher follow-ups that involve "uptake" (Collins, 1982) of students' responses or that share responsibility with students for evaluating interpretations (Aukerman, 2007) can shift interpretive authority to students (Chisholm & Loretto, 2016) and even invite productive disagreement (Sherry, 2014). The focus in prior research on transforming the teachers' first- and third-turn participation in IRE/F is warranted: two large-scale national studies of hundreds of US classrooms (Applebee et al., 2003; Nystrand et al., 1997) have suggested that dialogic, whole-class discussions often arise from conversations that began with recitation. However, beyond first- and third-turn transformations of the IRE/F pattern, research remains to be done on the emergence and development of types of dialogic, whole-class discussions.

## Beyond Variations on IRE/F

Because IRE/F is a pattern both long-standing and wide-ranging (appearing in classrooms across grade-levels and academic disciplines), some researchers have proposed that recitations are a characteristic educational routine that should be intentionally implemented by teachers (Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman, & Smith, 1966; Hoetker & Albrand, 1969). Indeed the IRE/F pattern parallels the structure of most lesson plans and assignments, in which a teacher initiates activity, students' respond, and the teacher evaluates their performance; this may be one reason some researchers have called IRE/F a "teaching genre" (Rockwell, 2000) and "the dominant discourse genre" found in teaching (G. Wells, 1993). Gordon Wells and his colleagues (2000; 1993, 1999, 2007) were among the first to suggest that the pattern initially identified as IRE might include variations on the third-turn "follow-up," categorizing functional moves that associate the teacher with the role of facilitator, rather than primary knower. Mortimer and Scott (2003) have similarly identified a variation pattern, IRFRF, in which elaborative feedback from the teacher invites further responses from students. Other Science education researchers (e.g., Hsu, Roth, & Mazumder, 2009; Rees & Roth, 2017) have identified additional variations, such as Initiate-Clarify-Respond (ICR) and Initiate-Respond-Clarify-Respond (IRCR), arguing that IRE/F and other variations are cultural patterns that arise in relation to contextualized types of conversations, independent of the participants. Likewise, Boyd and her colleagues (2015; 2006) have suggested that teacher questions during what appears to be IRE/F can nevertheless foster dialogic discussion when they are contingent on prior student responses in a particular context. Sherry (2018) has shown that variations in students' responses (the second turn of IRE/F) can also dialogize recitations. Together, these researchers have illustrated that variations in interactional form may be less important than how participants in a particular context understand the nature of an interaction like recitation, and its available roles, relationships, and responses.

## Variations on Dialogic Discussion

Similarly, researchers have begun to identify various types, or genres, of dialogic, whole-class discussions associated with particular contexts. In English Language Arts, research has indicated that dialogic discussions may arise from a sequence of oral narratives, as students respond to stories with other stories (Juzwik, Nystrand, Kelly, & Sherry, 2008; Juzwik & Sherry, 2005). Science education researchers have noted that dialogic discussions in that subject area may include "teacher revoicing" (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) or "reflective discourse" (van Zee & Minstrell, 1997) that reformulates student interpretations to encourage collaborative theorization. Parker (2010) has suggested that dialogic discussions in History may differ according to the content and purposes of the conversation, distinguishing among two types—seminars and deliberations. Other History/Social Studies research has identified a third type in which students enter imaginatively into a historical situation (Sherry, 2016) or "problem space" (Reisman, 2015) in order to explore multiple interpretations. These researchers have indicated that dialogic

discussions may differ according to academic discipline. Research remains to be done on how such dialogic, whole-class discussion genres emerge and develop over time in classrooms.

## Theoretical framework

Broadly, the assumptions I make in this study belong to the field of interactional sociolinguistics, and to what might be considered a precursor of that field: Bakhtin's theory of dialogism (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984, 1986a). Whereas some linguists might study language in terms of stable systems that apply across contexts and across particular instances of communication in order to characterize cultural populations, as a Bakhtinian, I am concerned with discourse, or language in use (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999). I assume that classroom discourse, or language in use among teachers and their students, is never quite the same from interaction to interaction (Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972). That is, the meanings of an utterance depend on contexts.

For Bakhtin, those contexts include not only the accumulation of cultural habits and procedures, but also the utterances that immediately precede and follow a turn in conversation (1981, 1986a). "Dialogic" discourse is both "filled with others' words…which we assimilate, rework and re-accentuate" (1986a, p. 89) and also "constructed…in anticipation of encountering [a] response" (p. 94). Dialogic discourse thus depends on contextual collaborations. And these collaborations do not necessarily result in consensus. As Nystrand et al. (1997) point out, "discourse is not dialogic because the speakers take turns, but because it is continually structured by tension, even conflict, between conversants, between self and other, as one voice 'refracts' another" (p. 8). That is, each time speakers use language, they both resist and affirm other influences on those words, adopting and adapting what others have already written or said. This dialogic struggle occurs during classroom discourse interactions, as teachers and students negotiate the nature of an interaction, like whole-class discussion, and their participation in it over time.

## Theoretical Concepts: Interactional Frame, Animation/Double-voicing, Emergence, Genre

**Interactional frame.** One way to describe teachers' and students' dialogic struggle to negotiate the nature of an interaction is through the sociolinguistic concept of the "ínteractional frame" (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1981, 1986). Drawing on Bateson's (1972) concept, Goffman (1986) defines the interactional frame as the definition of a situation, which organizes participants' experience of and involvement in that situation (p. 10-11). That is, the meanings of words and actions, as well as the roles, relationships, and responses that are possible in an interaction, depend on how it is framed. For example, teacher moves like questions or follow-ups may indicate frames for interactions—like recitations or discussions—that students recognize, based on their previous experiences.

Though prior work has associated frames derived from previous interactions with cognitive schema (e.g., Schutz, 1971; Tannen, 1979), I do not use "frame" here in terms of a psychologistic script, mental representation, or underlying principle[1]. In keeping with my dialogic assumptions, I do not conceive of the frame as merely an instantiation; nor does honoring the "eventness" of the event (Bakhtin, 1986b) mean that all frames are relative. Past experiences with similar situations condition but do not determine the interactional frame and its accompanying roles, relationships, and possible responses. For example, when a speaker asks a question, s/he "makes producing an answer to that question an appropriate thing to do next" (Goodwin, 1990, p. 5). Asking a question thus proposes a (re)framing for the interaction. However, the (re)framing is a "proposal" because the respondent can choose to participate in ways other than those

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

anticipated by the question—for example by answering with an unexpected response or even by resisting, reinterpreting, or dodging the question.

**Animation/Double-voicing.** (Re)framing proposals are sometimes explicit. Particularly in classrooms, teachers often use language like "So you're saying…" or "Now, we are going to…" or "For homework, you will…"; in Goffman's (1986) terms, such language "animates" other participants in an interaction, explicitly proposing roles, relationships, and possible responses. When speakers animate another person by attributing words or actions to him, they always also imbue that other person's discourse with their own purposes, voicing their own intentions as well (Bakhtin, 1984; Tannen, 2007; Voloshinov, 1971). Through this "double voicing" (Bakhtin & Holquist, 1981; Morson & Emerson, 1990), a speaker intends for multiple voices (her own, as well as another's) to be heard within an utterance. Thus, (re)framing proposals can also be implicit, relying on contextualization cues, such as syntax, accent, dialect, intonation, speech rhythm, gestures, laughter, and other methods of signaling situation and relationship (Gumperz, 1982). In these ways, speakers can subtly negotiate the nature of an interaction, like whole-class discussion, through their participation in it.

**Emergence**. If participants need not agree upon the nature of the frame for their interaction, negotiating it as it unfolds (Matusov, 1996) then the frame can be emergent: it cannot be understood solely in terms of an individual mental conception. Neither is the frame a static definition of the situation. This does not mean that "anything goes" (consider what is involved in changing the subject of a conversation once that topic has been established over several turns). Reframing proposals must be accepted by other participants in an interaction. But once they are, established features of the frame can take on a life of their own and exert an influence on subsequent participation (Sawyer, 2003). Thus, some possibilities and constraints of the frame are emergent: irreducible to prior qualities, intentions, or contributions of individuals. Put differently, dialogic, whole-class discussions are not the product of any one participant's intentions, but rather a result of emergence: the whole is greater than the sum of its parts (Sawyer, 2003, 2005).

**Genre**. So far I have drawn on Bakhtin's dialogism to describe the way discourse shapes and is shaped by interaction (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 166, 1986a, pp. 121–127): an utterance has connotations from prior use and is geared toward anticipated audiences; because utterances can be reinterpreted by subsequent discourse that proposes to redefine the interaction, the interactional frame is emergent. This logic can be scaled up: what an utterance is to an interactional frame, the frame for a particular situation is to a genre, or recurring pattern of social interaction (Bakhtin, 1984; Devitt, 1993; Miller, 1984; Swales, 1990).

By genre, I do not refer to a category characterized by a set of rules, nor solely to the historical variations in the discursive features of literary texts (Freedman & Medway, 1994, p. 1). Rather, like other North American genre theorists, I am interested in connecting regularities of discursive form and content to social relationships and to participation in communities with shared practices (as in a classroom). For example, classroom practices like taking attendance, engaging in peer review, completing a lab experiment, or participating in whole-class discussion might be considered genres that involve recognizable roles, relationships, and responses established over time in that community.

Bakhtinian genre theory suggests that an activity like whole-class discussion is subject to the influence of "relatively stable" social conventions which have accumulated over time, but such a "genre" is nevertheless "flexible…and free" (Bakhtin et al., 1986, p. 121-127): conventions developed over time in particular contexts remain open to variations. Classroom routines do not always unfold the same way. Much research has already applied this approach to genre to written classroom discourse (Bazerman, 1997; Bazerman, Bonini, & Figueiredo, 2009; Hicks, 1995; Prior, 1998), However less attention has been paid to

oral classroom discourse genres (cf., Juzwik et al., 2008b; Lawrence & Crespo, 2016). Bakhtinian dialogism, and its focus on flexible "speech genres" (1986a), helps to describe emergent, recurring patterns of discourse associated with the repeated (re)framing over time of similar interactions like dialogic, whole-class discussions.

## Methodology

### Site/Participant Selection

In 2007-8, while observing a US prospective secondary teacher (PST) from Mid-Western University[2] who had graduated to MWU's fifth-year internship, I generated discourse data in a suburban ninth-grade History classroom. For the PST I observed there, I was not only a researcher but also his "field instructor."

MWU is somewhat unique in offering a fifth-year internship during which PSTs who have graduated from the Teacher Preparation program are placed in local secondary schools where they gradually take over full responsibility for a host teacher's classes. During this year, they are visited on a bi-weekly basis by "field instructors" who have been hired by MWU to observe and discuss their lessons with them ten times over the course of the year.

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

Rick's room was located just down the hall from the school's TV studio, where students used state-of-the-art cameras, blue-screen technology, and video editing equipment to run a local news station. The clean, bright hallways sported the occasional message about extracurricular activities, particularly the various teams that played on the expansive fields and courts of Talbott's campus. An athlete himself, Dave Weber helped Rick coach the women's basketball team that included many students from his ninth-grade History class. The school's emphasis on news/sports, and Weber's relationships with his student-athletes, may have shaped the findings described below.

**Researcher positioning.** I recognize that my position as both instructor and researcher may also have affected the data generated. Because I was an instructor/evaluator, Weber's instructional practices and his responses during interviews may have been influenced by a desire to meet my expectations. I tried to reduce this influence in several ways. First, as a videotaping observer, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible, dressing in casual clothes and minimizing my interactions with students. Second, I made it clear to Weber that I saw my role as that of facilitator of his reflections: since I observed a lesson only every other week, I caught a mere glimpse of his day-to-day interactions, and so as a field instructor would primarily ask questions about why he had made certain moves, how those moves related to his goals for the lesson, and what other ways he might have accomplished those goals. Third, I worked in several ways to separate my pedagogical role from my researcher role; I always gave Weber the option to decide not to allow a

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[2] All names of people and places are pseudonyms; informed consent was obtained from participants after they were no longer students in MWU's internship program. MWU and its partner schools' procedures made video recording of interns' lessons standard practice; videos were stripped of identifying information during transcription.

particular lesson or interview to be included in my research; and I employed procedures in my field notes and interviewing to explicitly separate these two agendas, when possible. For example, I adopted a fieldnote system (e.g., R. M. Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) that distinguished between questions/comments in which my goal was to evaluate certain behavior, thinking, or attitudes, and those for which my goal was to clarify the relationship between lesson plan, lesson discourse, and the (re)framing of lesson interactions.

## *Data Sources/Procedures*

Data I generated during Weber's internship year included lesson plans, fieldnotes taken as I sat in the classroom and observed, written reflections composed by Weber about his teaching of the lesson, classroom discourse transcribed from videotape of each lesson, and transcripts of open-ended, retrospective, stimulated-recall interviews (Nguyen, McFadden, Tangen, & Beutel, 2013) held with Weber immediately after each lesson. (For a thorough explanation of transcription conventions, please see Appendix A). These data allowed me to see from Weber's plans how he had intended to frame interactions during lesson activities, to observe during his lessons how those activities unfolded between Weber and his students, and to hear in interviews and reflections how Weber described the opportunities and constraints he experienced during those moments, including his perceptions of how whole-class discussion practices emerged and developed over time.

## *Data Analysis*

To address my research focus, I drew on approaches to discourse analysis (e.g., Goffman, 1986; Sawyer, 2002) compatible with my Bakhtinian perspective to identify turns of conversation that proposed elaborations or revisions to a possible frame for an activity, and to track discursive patterns associated with dialogic, whole-class discussions that emerged within and across activities. My analysis here focuses specifically on discourse data from lessons that included recitations and/or dialogic, whole-class discussions: four of the ten lessons in the dataset. In analyzing the discourse of these four lessons, I attended in particular to how participants proposed and accepted revisions to the interactional frame, negotiating the roles, relationships, and possible responses available in an activity. I have chosen these four lessons not only because they include several extended dialogic, whole-class discussions (rare, according to Nystrand et al., [2003]), but also because the discourse of the activities I relate across these four lessons followed similar patterns, despite variations in form, content, and their relative success at generating dialogic, whole-class discussion. In so doing, I follow Mercer (2008) in attempting to move beyond atemporal categories like "types of questions"—or even the distinction between recitations and discussions—toward a "dialogic trajectory" (p. 39) that tracks the emergence and development of a dialogic, whole-class discussion genre.

Because these conversations, recorded in a History classroom over time, often involved stories about past or future events, I attended to narrative discourse. Narratives often included explicit animation ("Now I'd like you to…"), reported speech ("So you're saying that…") and so used nouns and pronouns to refer to historical figures and to class members. During these moments, I also paid close attention to how featupres of spoken discourse like tone, facial expression, gesture, and the reactions of other listeners (like laughter) contributed to double-voicing and to (re)framing the interaction. In noting, transcribing, and coding these moments, I began to look for recurring patterns, especially repetition of certain verb tenses and nouns/pronouns, as well as the presence of conflicting details and perspectives. I also attended to when and why these patterns seem to recur with regard to the prior and subsequent discourse within and across similar interactions.

# Tracking the Emergence and Development of a Dialogic Discussion Genre

Below, I analyze transcripts of five examples from four lessons in Dave Weber's ninth-grade History classroom that took place between October and March of one school year. In the first lesson, recitation gave rise to two back-to-back, dialogic, whole-class discussions in which students voiced and debated the different perspectives of participants in events associated with WWI. The second lesson, which addressed the stock market crash of 1929, did not produce dialogic, whole-class discussion of different perspectives on the historical event; however, this example exhibited some of the same discursive features as the first two. A third lesson, in which Weber's students imagined themselves into a scenario about collective bargaining, also failed, but for different reasons; here, too, similar discourse patterns appeared. In a fourth lesson, Weber and his students addressed the Berlin airlift in a dialogic, whole-class discussion whose features closely resembled those of the first two. Across these examples, I examine not only the emergence of more-or-less stable patterns that might characterize a dialogic genre in this classroom, but also how variations in discursive features like verb tense and noun/pronoun use positioned speakers in relation to the historical topics. I argue that this positioning, explored by the teacher and students over time, may have contributed to the relative success/failure of the activity in generating dialogic, whole-class discussion.

## *Invasion of Talbott/Belgium and Football/Trench Warfare*

In this first section, I describe an activity that began as a review of textbook questions assigned for homework; the interactional frame for this review activity appeared to be recitation, focused on a single account of an historical event (the textbook's), which allowed little room for voicing and debating other perspectives on that event. Thus, although students mostly had the correct answers to the textbook questions, it became clear that they did not understand how those answers might have been composed from the experiences of participants in the historical event. Weber proposed a reframing of the activity that helped students to identify with the different perspectives of participants in the historical events and to debate those perspectives in a dialogic, whole-class discussion. In Figure 1, below, I present the transcript in its entirety; the analysis that follows refers to specific moments of this transcript. For ease of reference, I have numbered lines in the transcript and cited them in my analysis.

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|---|---|
| **Initial Frame** | LESSON PLAN: <br> *Standards:* All students will describe and explain the causes, consequences, and geographic contexts of major global issues and events…will reconstruct the past by comparing interpretations…and creating narratives from evidence…. <br> *Activities:* "Work as a class to get the answers from their homework to match the chart on the board. <br> 1. MR. WEBER: …What was the Schlieffen plan? <br><br> 2. BECCA: Um… <br><br> 3. MR. WEBER: Yeah, Becca? <br><br> 4. BECCA (reading from book): "It called for holding action against Russia." |
| **Challenges to Initial Frame** | 5. PENNY: I didn't really understand that. <br><br> 6. AMY: Yeah, I didn't remember that at all. <br><br> 7. MR. WEBER: OK, that's what it says in the book, right? And then, while they're <br> 8. holding action, just holding the line against Russia. On the East. They've got <br> 9. this (drawing on board). There's Russia…. We've got Germany here, and <br> 10. we've got Belgium here. Alright, and they decide they want to hold this line <br> 11. against Russia, but while they're doing it, they want to start marching into <br> 12. Paris, France. After that, they go over and attack Russia. Does that help? |

| | |
|---|---|
| | 13. BECCA: No. |
| | 14. PENNY: Well, yes. |
| | 15. AMY: But what are the three…? |
| | 16. OLIVIA: Yeah, what are the three little bubbles? |
| | 17. PENNY: Yeah, what are the rocks? |
| | 18. STUDENTS: (laughter) |
| | 19. MR. WEBER: Rocks? (going back to map drawn on board) Germany, Belgium, France. |
| **Proposed Reframing** | 20. SHIRIN: Question: When they go through all those places, do they like try to 21. get them to go with them? Or are they, like--? |
| | 22. MR. WEBER: Are they trying to ask people to go with them? Is that what you're--? |
| | 23. SHIRIN: Kind of, yeah. |
| **Response to Reframing Proposal** | 24. MR.WEBER: Well, I don't know they were necessarily trying to gain military 25. strength through grabbing people as they went. But say there was another 26. country's army marching through Talbott. What impact would that have on 27. Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers…it'd be kind of weird? |
| **Discussion** | 28. PENNY: Um people would maybe follow them? |
| | 29. MR.WEBER: OK. |
| | 30. PENNY: To see where they're going? |
| | 31. MR.WEBER: Some might follow them? |
| | 32. AMY: Maybe freak out? |
| | 33. MR.WEBER: What kind of impact would it have on the roads? |
| | 34. PENNY: A lot! |
| | 35. MR.WEBER: On traffic? |
| | 36. STUDENT: Well, they'd break them. |
| | 37. STUDENT: They'd screw everything up. |
| | 38. MR.WEBER: I couldn't even imagine how bad Glen Road would be. |
| | 39. STUDENTS: (laughter) |
| | 40. STUDENT: Oh my god! |
| | 41. AMY: We'd have to, like, walk everywhere. |
| | 42. MR.WEBER: They'd have to eat something, right? |
| | 43. LAURA: Yeah, they'd take all our food! |
| | 44. MR.WEBER: They'd take all our food. They'd take a lot of our stuff…. |
| | 45. MR.WEBER: And here they are just marching through, and say they were trying to 46. get to [the neighboring town of] Burch: would it be our fault that we were in 47. between? |
| | 48. GARY: Yeah, I would— |

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

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

52. STUDENTS: No!

53. TOM: I'd fight them.

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

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

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

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

59. SHIRIN: No, not really.

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

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

*Figure 1.* Reframing of the WWI homework review activity; progression from darker to lighter shading corresponds with shifts from recitation to dialogic, whole-class discussion.

The frame for this activity, as Weber described it in his lesson plan and announced it to his students, was that of a brief homework review in which he would elicit known answers from students to fill into a chart with facts from their textbook reading. Weber's initial question (line 1) asked students to recall a textbook answer about the Schlieffen plan. Such questions are typical of IRE/F and are cues that the interactional frame is recitation. However, Penny's and Amy's responses (lines 5 and 6) to Weber's question showed that they (and perhaps others, like Becca) had not fully understood the textbook's explanation of the Schlieffen plan.

Although students had correctly answered the question, Weber departed from his lesson plan and attempted to clarify. Drawing a map on the board, he tried to show how the German invaders were "hold[ing] the line against Russia" (line 8) and "marching into Paris, France" (lines 11-12) via Belgium. Shortly afterward, a student asked an unexpected question about part of the Schlieffen plan: Germany's invasion of Belgium. Like Weber's first attempt at explanation, Shirin's question (line 20) animated the German invaders, attributing intentions to them. But unlike Weber's map explanation, which animated events associated with the Schlieffen plan at the level of countries on a map, Shirin's question addressed the actions of the German soldiers and the people of Belgium. Moreover, instead of animating events associated with the Schlieffen plan in terms of its intended outcome (as Weber had), Shirin's question "when they go…do they…or are they…?" (lines 20-21) raised the possibility of alternative courses of action that the invaders might have taken.

Weber could have ignored Shirin's question, which was not ostensibly related to clarifying the Schlieffen plan within the interactional frame of the homework review. Instead, his response to Shirin took up this idea of possible alternatives, proposing a different kind of interactional frame, in which other roles and responses were possible. His hypothetical "what impact would that have…?" (line 26) proposed a change in the frame from a recitation review of historical past events to an activity in which students were encouraged to envision a fantastical present event, which had not actually occurred (and was not likely to

occur), in their hometown. This emergent transformation of the frame thus invited students to draw on their own perspectives, even as they identified with participants in the historical event.

Weber's comments during a subsequent interview revealed his thoughts at this moment of the lesson: "We had some people, you know, she's thinking about the army, thinking about the march, and I could hear them all talking about it, and I'm thinking *Right now, I need to relate them to something*. And this is right before I do the Talbott thing, and that was a conscious effort on my part to say, 'Let's talk about something we all know.'" According to his comments, Weber sought on the spur of the moment to clarify confusion and respond to Shirin's unexpected question by making a hypothetical comparison that would help students relate to the historical event. To help students to empathize with the people of Belgium, and to enter into this historical event, Weber juxtaposed the invasion of Belgium with a hypothetical scenario occurring in their hometown of Talbott. It is worth noting that Weber's strategy differs from other activities that cast students as figures in a past event (e.g., "imagine that you were living in Belgium when the Germans invaded"). Instead of imagining themselves into the historical event, Weber asked students to imagine a similar event occurring in their hometown. I address the benefits of this localizing, hypothetical scenario for restoring the contingency of a past event (and thus helping students to see that history is not inevitable) in the Discussion/Implications section of this article, as well as its benefits and limitations (including presentism) compared to other activities like the ones that follow.

Weber's question proposed a reframing of the classroom interaction as one in which students could "talk about something we all know." But it also cued to students that their talk would be double-voiced, referring simultaneously to an actual past event that had happened to other people and to a hypothetical present scenario in which students, themselves, would be animated as figures. In contrast with Weber's map explanation, students accepted this proposed reframing of the review activity: like Weber, Penny and then Amy contributed from their own perspectives to the hypothetical scenario based on the historical event. As the discussion took off, other students, like Weber, animated both the invading army and the inhabitants of Talbott. From these perspectives, they built on each other's contributions, elaborating the imagined scene with multiple, concrete, and even conflicting details of the army's impact on the town's infrastructure. In terms of the lesson activity, students had ratified a shift from an interactional frame in which they responded to Weber's recitation review questions with textbook answers to one in which they all contributed from their own perspectives to dialogic, whole-class discussion of an imagined scenario. The resulting activity was emergent: together, teacher and students had reframed the possibilities for participation by animating class members as participants in the hypothetical/historical event and thus inviting discussion of multiple perspectives on it.

Having charted one lesson activity in Weber's classroom, I now turn to analysis of a second example that occurred later in the same October 15 lesson. As before, I present the transcript in its entirety first (alongside the preceding one) and then refer back to specific line numbers in my subsequent analysis in order to compare features of these two examples. In this two-column transcript, I focus on patterns of verb tense and noun/pronoun use that emerged across these two interactions.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Present tense and "they"** | 45. SHIRIN: Question: When **they** go through all those places, do **they** like try to<br>46. get them to go with them? Or are **they**, like--?<br><br>47. MR. WEBER: Are **they** trying to ask people to go with **them**? Is that what you're--?<br><br>48. SHIRIN: Kind of, yeah. | 64.MR. WEBER: So when they are--**they** have the Schlieffen plan, **they** start 65.setting up these wars, battles. And **they** decide on…on a different type<br>66. of battle. What's that type?<br><br>67. TOM: Trench warfare.<br><br>68. MR. WEBER: Trench warfare. So this is-- |
| **Conditional Mood and "We"** | 49. MR.WEBER: Well, I don't know **they** were necessarily trying to gain military<br>50. strength through grabbing people as **they** went. But say there was another<br>51. country's army marching through Talbott. What impact would that have on<br>52. Talbott if tens of thousands of soldiers…it'd be kind of weird?<br><br>53. PENNY: Um people would maybe follow **them**?<br><br>54. MR.WEBER: OK.<br><br>55. PENNY: To see where **they**'re going?<br><br>56. MR.WEBER: Some might follow **them**?<br><br>57. AMY: Maybe freak out?<br><br>58. MR.WEBER: What kind of impact would it have on the roads?<br><br>59. PENNY: A lot!<br><br>60. MR.WEBER: On traffic?<br><br>61. STUDENT: Well, **they'd** break **them**.<br><br>62. STUDENT: **They'd** screw everything up.<br><br>63. MR.WEBER: I couldn't even imagine how bad Glen Road would be.<br><br>64. STUDENTS: (laughter)<br><br>65. STUDENT: Oh my god!<br><br>66. AMY: **We'd** have to, like, walk everywhere.<br><br>67. MR.WEBER: **They'd** have to eat something, right?<br><br>68. LAURA: Yeah, **they'd** take all our food!<br><br>69. MR.WEBER: **They'd** take all **our** food. They'd take a lot of **our** stuff….<br><br>63. MR.WEBER: And here **they** are just marching through, and say **they** were | 68. what if all of a sudden **we** decided **we** were going to<br>69. take it out to the football field and **we** were going to get into a<br>70. battle with Mr. Abbott's fourth hour?<br>….<br>79. ERICA: Wouldn't they like see, if they're running, wouldn't they like see 80. that there's a hole?<br><br>81. MR. WEBER: OK, they would see the hole, but how would they get to **us**?<br><br>82. ERICA: Um run.<br><br>83. CHELSEA: Run and climb.<br><br>84. LAURA: Jump.<br><br>85. TOM: Dig.<br><br>86. MR. WEBER: Would there be any--<br><br>87. AMY: Couldn't **we** just shoot them before they got over anyways?<br><br>88. STUDENTS: (laughter)<br><br>89. AMY: I'm dead serious.<br><br>90. MR. WEBER: No, Amy, you are dead serious, go ahead and say it again.<br><br>91. STUDENTS: (laughter)<br><br>92. AMY: They probably wouldn't be able to get over anyways because if<br>93. **we**'re just like sitting there we could probably just like shoot them before 94. they could get over a fence.<br><br>95. TOM: What if they had guns, too?<br>… |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 64. trying to get to [the neighboring town of] Burch: <u>would</u> it be **our** fault that<br>65. **we** <u>were</u> in between? | |
| **Conditional/ Present Tense and " You" /" I"** | 66. GARY: Yeah, **I** <u>would</u>—<br><br>67. BECCA: No, because **we** just <u>happen</u> to be there.<br><br>68. MR.WEBER: And what impact <u>would</u> it have on all of **us** if these people <u>were</u><br>69. violent? <u>Would</u> **you** <u>want</u> to stay here?<br><br>70. STUDENTS: No!<br><br>71. TOM: **I'**<u>d</u> fight them. | 106. MR. WEBER: It would be tough to hide. So let's think about it: what would it 107. be like if we're in the trenches? How would it feel?<br><br>108. TOM: Boring.<br><br>109. MR. WEBER: Boring.<br><br>110. BECCA: **I** would feel claustrophobic....they're like right on top of **you**.<br><br>111. MR. WEBER: Alright.<br><br>112. PENNY: Yeah but they're--<br><br>113. AMY: But **you'**d kind of feel powerful.<br><br>114. PENNY: --because they couldn't get to **you**.<br><br>115. AMY: Yeah, **I'**d feel safe.<br><br>116. MR. WEBER: OK, **you** would kind of feel safe, sometimes.<br><br>117. BECCA: Hiding in a hole?<br>.... |
| **Past tense and " they"** | 72. MR.WEBER: So it <u>did</u> have--it <u>did</u> have very profound impact on the people of<br>73. Belgium, a very important impact. That <u>will</u> later <u>factor</u> into the war.<br><br>74. BECCA: Wait, so what <u>was</u> the impact? Negative?<br><br>75. MR.WEBER: I would say there <u>was</u> a lot of negative impact of that.<br><br>76. AMY: But some positive: **they** <u>were</u> safe.<br><br>77. SHIRIN: No, not really.<br>78. MR.WEBER: You <u>don't</u> necessarily <u>know</u> **these** people <u>are</u> trying to protect<br>79. **you**, right?<br><br>80. BECCA: **They** <u>could</u> be, like, protecting you.... | 202. MATT: You're probably going to run out of ammo.<br><br>203. MR. WEBER: No **they** <u>did</u> have supplies and they did have ammo. But. I<br>204. mean, food and bullets, it takes a whole lot more than that to live<br>205. comfortably. At least for me. So this was probably not the best place… |

*Figure 2.* Shifts in verb tense and pronoun use during dialogic, whole-class discussions of the Invasion of Talbott/Belgium and of Football/Trench Warfare. (Verbs are underlined and pronouns bolded; shading indicates progression toward more present, personal uses of language).

The frame for this activity, as outlined in Weber's lesson plan, also suggested a recitation: Weber had planned to "pass out the document packets" of photocopies from the textbook with a description of trench warfare and "begin talking about it, that it was a new style." Weber's initial question, "what's that type?" (line 66), asked students to recall information about trench warfare they had already read. This

seemingly inauthentic, lower-order question produced a two-word response from Tom that Weber followed-up by repeating it—a typical IRE/F triad. However, though Weber's initial comment and question referred to an actual historical event, he used the present tense, as Shirin had done earlier to pose her question about the people of Belgium. Here, Weber also animated the armies engaged in the historical event with the pronoun "they" and described their actions "setting up these wars" (lines 64-65).

In his next turn, Weber proposed a "what if...?" scenario, much like the first example, that asked students to imagine themselves into a double-voiced, hypothetical situation based on historical events. With this question, Weber's animations shifted verb tense from present to the conditional mood ("what if we were going…?), and his pronouns changed from "they" to "we" and "Mr. Abbott's fourth hour," (lines 68-70). Weber also proposed a concrete, contemporary setting for the fantastical comparison scenario, as he had in attempting to make the German invasion of Belgium more relevant to students' hometown experiences in Talbott.

Because Weber's "what if…?" invoked the conditional mood, calling for a complementary "then…" and inviting reactions about "what it would be like," his question also elicited subsequent temporal clauses and evaluations—narrative discourse—about the hypothetical situation, just as in the first example. In the ensuing narrative, he and students imagined what it would be like hypothetically if they dug a hole in the field and fenced it for protection in order to continue the battle against the rival class. As they had in the first example, Weber and students continued to use the "would" and "could" of the conditional mood (lines 79-81, 86-87, 92-94). This fictional condition described trench warfare with a rival class on the football field—events that were unrealized and unlikely to happen, as in the previous discussion of the imagined army's hypothetical invasion of Talbott. As before, Weber and his students referred to themselves as "we" in the double-voiced, hypothetical football-field battle they described, thereby simultaneously identifying with the WWI American soldiers whose experiences in the trenches their narrative invoked. As before, the details they contributed also suggested different perspectives on the interaction described in the narrative: Erica wondered why their opponents wouldn't simply attack them in the trench, Amy doubted such an attack would survive their defenses, and Tom pointed out that attackers would have their own advantages.

As the narrative went on, however, Weber and his students made another shift in verb tense and pronoun use similar to that made during the discussion of the hypothetical invasion of Talbott. As in that previous discussion of hypothetical events based on historical ones, Weber and students began to move from the "would" and "could" of the conditional mood (lines 106-107) to present tense "are" (lines 110-113), and shifted from "we" (line 107) to using "you" and "I" (lines 111-116) to identify themselves as subjects in the narrative. And as in that previous example, speakers contributed conflicting details that suggested different perspectives toward the event: here students disagreed about whether life in the trench would be "boring" (line 108), "claustrophic" (line 110, 118), "powerful" (line 114), or "safe" (line 116).

Finally, Weber made a move to close the narrative (line 203) and transition to another activity. This transition, like the initial move from the actual, historical event to the imaginary, hypothetical one, was also marked by a shift in verb tense and pronoun use, as in the previous example. Here, Weber used the past tense to refer to the situation of the soldiers entrenched in No Man's Land. And he once again referred to them as "they." And though his response to Matt's comment about supplies of ammunition seemed to discourage further discussion, he also affirmed, with his "at least for me," (line 205) the interpretive quality of the contributions he and students had made to the narrative during discussion.

In summary, attention to changes in verb tense and pronoun use suggested the following patterns in these two interactions from the same lesson in Mr. Weber's ninth-grade Talbott History class: A prologue using present tense and "they" (referring to the characters in the historical event) prompted the teacher to

propose a fantastical "What if…?" scenario using the conditional mood. That scenario sequenced unrealized, unlikely events in a double-voiced narrative that simultaneously invoked a historical, past event and a hypothetical, present event. In that hypothetical narrative, speakers initially used conditional "would" and pronouns like "we" or "our" to position themselves in relation to the action. As the narrative progressed, the present tense also appeared, and speakers used "you" and "I." The narrative ended with a return to past tense and "they."

The patterns presented in Figure 2, above, were emergent: none were explicitly proposed or directed by a single participant. Nevertheless, speakers in both discussions made coordinated shifts in verb tense and pronoun use that followed a similar progression from past to present tense and from "they" to "you"/"I" during both hypothetical narratives. Similarly, both examples contained conflicting but related details that suggested different perspectives on the historical/hypothetical events: in the first example, students imagined that the army's presence would inspire people to "follow them" and "freak out," to flee and to "fight them," and to feel threatened and "safe"; over the course of the second example, life in the trenches was described as "claustrophobic," "powerful," "safe," "cold," "hot," "with all your friends," "hungry," "tired," "trying to fight," "going to get sick," and "waiting." These shifts in verb tense and pronoun use suggested that, through the juxtaposition of historical and hypothetical events, the past may have become more present and personal for the participants. Moreover, their first-person participation in the hypothetical narratives may have been encouraged by their disagreement about the nature of the narrated event, as they imagined it from multiple, "insider" perspectives rather than elaborating an authoritative account from a single, "objective" point of view. Further, this disagreement seemed to exert an influence on subsequent turns in the discussion as speakers responded to different perspectives on the imagined events with contradicting phrases like "wouldn't they…" and "yeah but…" (lines 79-81, 87-95, 113-115). In both examples, the juxtaposition of events and of conflicting perspectives thus seemed to promote further discussion.

Additionally, the regularities of verb tense and noun/pronoun use suggested a coordination of the telling of the narrative among speakers. This coordination, as well as the influence exerted on the discussion by disagreement among different perspectives, suggested a relationship between the narrative frame and the classroom interactional frame. Figure 3 represents the relationship among these interactional frames (see next page).

While the juxtaposition of past and present, and of narrative frame and classroom interactional frame, produced positive results, the examples that follow are not as successful. Next, I describe conversations in two subsequent lessons that, while they contained features recognizable as belonging to the same genre, did not result in dialogic, whole-class discussions. Their similarities and differences compared to these first two examples are important to understanding the development of this emergent genre, as well as its relative success or failure at producing dialogic discourse.
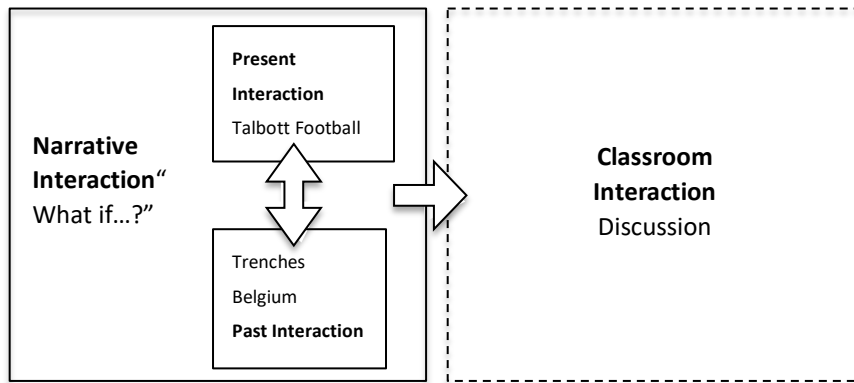
*Figure 3.* Relationship between narrative frame and classroom interactional frame in Invasion of Talbott/Belgium and Football/Trench Warfare conversations.

## The Stock Market Crash: Collapsing into the Past

A second example from Mr. Weber's class occurred during a November lesson on the 1920's "Black Tuesday" US stock market crash. During the lesson, Weber intended to "Begin the class by reminding the students of the [stock market simulation] game that we played over the past two days…" and then "Begin discussing the nature of the Great Depression, and some causes/effects in brief." However, Weber and his students soon departed from this "reminder" to attempt a clarifying explanation. Below, I present a complete transcript. Afterwards, I describe the framing of this interaction, its discursive features, and the relationship between the narrated event and the classroom activity.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Authentic student question** | 1. VICTORIA: How are [stockbrokers] getting any money off of it? They're<br>2. just giving people help. |
| **Hypothetical scenario about a past event that has already happened** | 3. MR. WEBER: OK. Very good point. So it works like this. Uh, we're going to go<br>4. with Tom right here…. You owned a lot of Rylant stock [during the stock<br>5. market simulation game], right?<br><br>6. TOM: Yeah, me and Jon had like eight of them.<br><br>7. MR. WEBER: Eight of them? So, in the very beginning though, we're just going<br>8. to start in the beginning. Say you guys together, you had most of the Rylant<br>9. stock. Now in a real company, a big company like Rylant, if you own the<br>10. majority of the stocks, in a situation like that, all of a sudden they start-<br>11. they're very interested in what you think, because when you own stock,<br>12. like,that certificate proves that you own part of that company. I-I think<br>13. you guys understood that as we went through it, right? You are buying<br>14. into that company. So if all of a sudden if you guys combined had like<br>15. fifty-one percent of it they're really interested in what you have in what<br>16. you have to say about Rylant Motors.<br>17. OK. So the problem we have here is that Tom starts taking partial<br>18. money from Matt because…Whitney is lending money to Matt…. Now,<br>19. Matt, you still have like zero dollars to your name, right? You don't have any<br>20. money, you just own that stock and the stock keeps going up, and you're<br>21. pretty happy about it. Now all of a sudden, Whitney, you need your money,<br>22. right? Because he owes you money. So what do you do? |
| **Recitation** | 23. WHITNEY: Ask him to turn it in? |

| | |
|---|---|
| | 24. MR. WEBER: You ask him for it. And Matt, Whitney comes up to you and says, 25. "Can I have my money please?" And what do you pay her with?<br><br>26. MATT: The stock?<br><br>27. MR. WEBER: You could. Maybe. Whitney, do you want stock? You're a bank.<br><br>28. WHITNEY: No?<br><br>29. MR. WEBER: You want money right?<br><br>30. WHITNEY: Yeah.<br><br>31. MR. WEBER: Matt, she's not taking your stock. What are you going to do?<br><br>32. MATT: Turn it in.<br><br>33. MR. WEBER: Now all of a sudden people…start losing money. Because now the 34.  bank is dependent on the company and the company is dependent on the 35.  bank. And you get caught in the middle. |
| **Closing** | 36. AMY: Is that why it all crashed?<br><br>37. MR WEBER: That is a good part of why it crashed.<br><br>38.  AMY: Because it was like all built on itself but nothing was really there? |

*Figure 4.* Hypothetical scenario in which factual conditional narrative (an event that *has already happened*) resulted in recitation. Lighter to darker shading indicates progression from open question to more constrained recitation-style question-and-answer.

This example began with a seemingly authentic student question—an open-ended inquiry, rather than a query with a single right answer—about the stock market crash (1). Research has shown that such authentic student questions often lead to dialogic discussions (Nystrand et al., 2003). In response to Victoria, Weber once again proposed a hypothetical scenario as a means of clarifying the historical event: "Say you guys together, you had most of the Rylant stock. Now in a real company...." (8-9). However, this hypothetical scenario differed from the previous ones in animating students as figures in a generic re-enactment of the historical event. Students were simply cast as buyers and investors in a typical stock market exchange. That is, there was no simultaneous, double-voiced comparison between a past event and a present context that might have been more familiar to students, and thus little opportunity for them to contribute from their own perspectives.

The lack of relationships between students' contemporary experiences and the historical event being elaborated seemed to influence the subsequent discourse of the interaction. This influence can be seen in Matt and Whitney's responses (lines 23-32), which were short and often ended with the rising intonation more typically associated with questions. The brevity and tentativeness of these responses suggested that they were attempting to guess the answer Weber was looking for. Despite their participation in the stock market simulation the day before, they had limited means of relating to the interaction between lender and investor being described. In short, though this interaction began with an authentic question (often a means of disrupting IRE/F and promoting dialogic discussion), and included a hypothetical scenario that cast students as imagined participants, the frame was not emergent, and bore more resemblance to recitation than to discussion.

Closer attention to the discursive features of this interaction allowed further comparisons. Like the previous two examples, this narrative used a conditional "if…then…" (lines 9-11, 14-16) inviting students to imagine themselves into a hypothetical situation about a stock market exchange. And like the previous examples, it began with a similar prologue and launching of the narrative using present tense and "they" before shifting into a conditional mood. But unlike the invasion of Talbott/Belgium and Football/Trench Warfare examples, which featured events known to be fictional, the situation Weber proposed was a factual conditional narrative, retelling events that had, in fact, taken place leading up to the stock market crash. In this narrative, although students were cast as first-person participants, they could not draw from their own experiences as investors or lenders and thus could not take up multiple, conflicting perspectives on the event. And although this narrative moved from conditional to present tense and used "you/I," those verbs and pronouns were used by Weber to narrate on behalf of students, rather than by students to provide progressively more individualized impressions of the event. Thus, although it resembled the previous two examples, this conversation's framing and the discursive features, overall, seemed to emphasize a single, authoritative interpretation of the historical event through participation in a hypothetical re-enactment of that past interaction.

I do not mean to devalue this interaction as an attempt to clarify the dynamics of the historical event. Indeed, Amy's response at the end of the hypothetical scenario suggested that she had achieved a better understanding of "why it all crashed" (lines 36-38). However, this hypothetical scenario did not answer Victoria's initial question about how stockbrokers benefited. Moreover, although it began with an authentic student question, this interaction did not result in dialogic, whole-class discussion. Perhaps discussion did not occur because there was little relationship between speakers and the event under study: the way students were framed in the narrated event (as investors and lenders in the stock market exchange) did not promote their participation in the classroom interaction. That is, their participation as figures in the narrative did not encourage them to participate in whole-class discussion.

## Collective Bargaining: Merging with the Future

During a December lesson on the Roosevelt era, Weber's goal was "for the students to gain a contextual understanding…of FDR's new deal," including "how everyday people would feel effects." Students had answered a series of warm-up questions about the previous night's textbook chapter, and as Weber reviewed the answers with them, he stopped to explain the 1935 Wagner Act, and the concept of collective bargaining, by calling on Mary (a student whose last name also happened to be Wagner).[2]

| Recitation | 1. MR. WEBER: …that's something that the Mary Wagner Act helped do. Thank you, 2. Mary, for your time helping all workers like that. Now explain why the Mary 3. Wagner act was important. Besides the fact that it had your last name. |
| --- | --- |
| | 4. MARY: Because it protected the right of workers to form unions and engage 5. in collective bargaining with their employers. And also it prohibited unfair 6. labor practices. |
| | 7. MR. WEBER: This was a big effort of the second hundred days…and workers, 8. looking more at workers, trying to protect workers a little more, and um, 9. collective bargaining, do you guys know what it is? |
| | 10. TOM: Something that a union does? |
| Hypothetical scenario about an event likely to happen | 11. MR. WEBER: There you go. Uh, it's something that a union does, quite often it's 12. why a union is so strong: they can bargain as a group. It's the reason why, like, 13. if I tell you we have a test next Thursday— |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Breakdown of the classroom interactional frame** | 14. AMY: For real? |
| | 15. MR. WEBER: You see how I combined— |
| | 16. PENNY: Are you serious? |
| | … |
| | [student worker delivers attendance slips] |
| | … |
| | 18. PENNY: But we can use our notes. |
| | 19. AMY: For real? |
| | 20. MR. WEBER: See— |
| | 21. AMY: Are we able to? |
| | 22. TOM: No. |
| | 23. MR. WEBER: No. |
| | 24. AMY: Oh. |
| | 25. MR. WEBER: We're going to talk more about it when we get there, but this would 26. be a perfect example of collective bargaining: Penny, you said we should be 27. able to use our notes, right? OK, I value your opinion a lot, but if you get all 28. thirty people in the room all of a sudden that voice is— |
| | 29. TOM: Let's take a vote. |
| | 30. AMY: Yeah, can we take a vote on—? |
| | 31. MR. WEBER: (speaking in higher voice) It's not even voteable. 32. (shrugging) I'm sorry, I'm very cruel. |
| | 33. TOM: I'm going on strike. |
| | 34. STUDENTS: (laughter) |
| | … |
| **Closing** | [Weber regains control of the class] |
| | … |
| | 45. MR. WEBER: Many times a company would not hear people's single voices or 46. people coming up and saying "Hey you guys should pay us more" they're like 47. "yeah yeah" but… um, you, as more people get involved with something, all 48. of a sudden the voice gets stronger, and that's something that the Mary 49. Wagner Act helped do. Thank you, Mary, for your time helping all workers like that. |

*Figure 5.* Activity in which a factual conditional narrative (an event that is *likely to happen*) resulted in breakdown of the classroom interactional frame.

As in the previous examples, this interaction occurred during review of textbook questions students had answered as part of their homework the night before. Thus Weber's exchanges with Mary and Tom about collective bargaining (lines 2-11) followed the IRE/F pattern, implementing a recitation-style recall of what students already knew. And as before, preliminary exchanges about an actual historical situation during this review were followed by the proposal of a hypothetical "What if…?" scenario meant to clarify the event. As in previous lessons, this "What if…?" scenario proposed a reframing of the activity from one in which the teacher posed review questions for students to answer from their reading of the textbook to one in which a double-voiced hypothetical scenario—in this case, Weber bargaining with his students about a test—would be dialogically juxtaposed with an historical event in order to explain the Wagner Act.

Students took up this reframing proposal, animating themselves as figures in the hypothetical/historical scenario. In this case, Penny asserted that students should be able to use their notes during the test (a practice teachers at Talbott sometimes allowed), and thus took on the role of negotiator (line 18). Details that participants contributed to this hypothetical scenario conditioned and constrained subsequent contributions. Penny's negotiation led to Weber's response about strength in numbers (line 26-28) and Tom's call for a vote (line 29). In this way, some details of the emergent narrative frame exerted influence on its subsequent elaboration, illustrating the historical concept of collective bargaining. In contrast with the previous example, the interactional frame in the narrative empowered students in the classroom interaction: in their roles as union workers, students continued to attempt to bargain even after Weber tried to postpone (line 25) and discourage (lines 31-32) negotiation.

At the end of the narrative, Weber's comments made explicit this double-voiced connection between the present negotiation over the guidelines for the test and a generic past event made possible by the establishment of the Wagner Act. Thus this interaction, in which Weber's "what if…?" proposal was taken up by students and elaborated with details that illustrated collective bargaining, referred simultaneously to both a hypothetical event and a generic historical one. The resulting interaction could not be attributed solely to Weber's proposal, Penny's negotiation, or Tom's resistance, and was thus emergent.

As in the previous examples, the discourse of this collective bargaining conversation included shifts in verb tense and pronoun use that implied changes in the participants' relationships to the historical event. From the past tense (lines 1-8) and "workers" (lines 7-8) to the conditional "if…" (lines 13, 27) and the pronoun "we" (line 13)the scenario quickly shifted to one in which Weber and students were positioned as "you" and "I" (lines 26-27, 33) in a present-tense negotiation about whether students would be able to use their notes during the test. And at the end of the narrative, Weber transitioned back to the use of past tense and "they" (line 48). These shifts in verb tense and pronoun use resembled the genre patterns in the preceding examples. However, the collective bargaining conversation ended quickly and, like the stock market conversation, did not result in dialogic, whole-class discussion. And though conflicting perspectives appeared on the issue of whether students could use their notes, the conflict seemed less like productive disagreement over interpretations of the past event (as in the Invasion of Talbott/Belgium and Football/Trench Warfare examples), and more like a breakdown of the classroom interactional frame. Though the narrative frame and the classroom interactional frame were related, as in previous examples, that relationship did not promote dialogic, whole-class discussion.

The failure of this activity about collective bargaining to produce dialogic, whole-class discussion may have been affected by the fact that, unlike the previous example, the proposed hypothetical scenario concerned an actual, future event: the class *did*, in fact, have a test scheduled for next Thursday. Amy's repeated "for real?" (lines 14, 19) and Penny's "are you serious?" (line 16) suggested that they were not sure initially about the relationship between hypothetical and actual events. Indeed, Weber's response (line 15) may have been an attempt to explain how he was combining past and present. This uncertainty regarding the relationship between the hypothetical event and actual classroom events is unlike the previous example, in which students seemed to understand and accept the stock market exchange as a hypothetical re-enactment of a past event. This uncertainty may be explained by the fact that this discourse sequenced events that, though hypothetical because they had not yet taken place, were also *likely to happen* in the context of Weber's classroom. In this way, the collective bargaining narrative was another factual conditional narrative like the one generated about the stock market crash, in which the events under discussion had *already happened*.

Further parallels between the narrative figures and students' actual roles may also have contributed to overlap between narrative frame and classroom interactional frame. For example, though student Mary

Wagner has no actual relation to the senator, Robert F. Wagner, who originated the National Labor Relations Act (or "Wagner" Act), her name was used in association with the legislation. Penny Novak, who took on the role of negotiator was not only an obvious choice because she is an outspoken student and because she had already made an assertion (not a question!) on behalf of the students ("But you can use your notes"), but also because she is the daughter of the superintendent of schools for Weber's district (a fact which Weber mentioned in a post-lesson interview). In short, both students had roles in the narrative that also reflected, to a greater or lesser degree, aspects of their actual identities in Weber's class.

In this respect, the factual conditional narrative in this collective bargaining example differed from the one about the stock market. In the stock market narrative, the hypothetical scenario seemed to collapse into a past event that *had* actually happened; that is, the explanation of the crash became little more than a re-enactment of the past. In contrast, the collective bargaining narrative's hypothetical scenario merged with a future event that *would* actually happen: that is, the illustration of collective bargaining became an actual negotiation about the future. Both activities differed from the examples about the Invasion of Talbott/Belgium and about Football/Trench Warfare, which seemed to balance past with present (and narrative frame with classroom interaction) in a way that allowed for dialogic, whole-class discussion. Regardless of their result, these two conversations seemed to depend on the nature of the narrated events being addressed—and how those narratives discursively constructed students' relationships to past events. Moreover, these two "failed" attempts to generate dialogic, whole-class discussion also suggested explorations of the boundaries of a developing genre.

### *The Berlin/Capital City Airlift: Hypothetical Narrative and the Balance of Past and Present*

A final example of the development of this dialogic, whole-class discussion genre took place during a lesson in March. The lesson addressed the post-WWII division of Germany and Berlin that led to Stalin's blockade of the Western part of the city and forced the Allies to fly in supplies. Weber's lesson plan called for students to "open up their books to 'The Berlin Airlift,'…read the page out of the book, and summarize it in three to four sentences. Ask students to volunteer to read their sentences. Discuss. Move onto the smart board note packet that was worked on the day before. Pick back up on the Berlin Airlift." Thus, Weber's lesson plan, as in the preceding examples, proposed to frame the activity as a recitation-style review of textbook information. A complete transcript appears in Figure 6, below, followed by analysis referring to specific line numbers.

| Present tense and "They"/ "We" | 1. SHIRIN: So. Um does are--Why <u>are</u> **we** there?<br>2. Since it's like Communist and everything?<br><br>3. MR. WEBER: Why <u>were</u> **we** in Germany to start with?<br><br>4. SHIRIN: In Berlin.<br><br>5. MR. WEBER: OK. After World War II, it <u>was</u> <u>decided</u> that the fairest way to make<br>6. sure that Germany wouldn't reconsolidate power and start World War III<br>7. would be if each Ally took a zone of Germany. And then when **they** <u>were</u><br>8. <u>trying</u> to figure out who should get Berlin, it <u>was</u> <u>decided</u> it's not fair, Berlin<br>9. is—if |
|---|---|
| Conditional Mood and "We" | 9. , if **we**'re talking about [**our** state] it <u>would be</u> like [a major industrial<br>10. city]. Or actually I guess **we**'ll say [the capital city]. It's closer. And the<br>11. capital. We'll say it's like [the capital city]…. It's not fair, right? If one section<br>12. of the state…if someone <u>got</u> [the capital city]…. say you, Laura, Takara, and<br>13. Amy <u>were</u> <u>dividing</u> up the state, right? It's not fair if just you get [the capital<br>14. city] right? |

| | |
|---|---|
| | … |
| | 26. MR. WEBER: So **we** <u>would</u> need to supply from here to **our** [part of the city]. |
| | 27. …What if they shut off the roads? Closed the railroads? |
| | 28. LAURA: OOOH! |
| | 29. TAKARA: How <u>would</u> **we** get supplies? |
| **Present Tense and "You"** | 30. MR. WEBER: Shirin, if **you** <u>have</u> that part of--if **you** have, **you** <u>know</u>, this general<br>31. area of [the state]. What'<u>s</u> the advantage of closing it off so that the other<br>32. three girls <u>can't get</u><br>33. into the city? |
| | 34. SHIRIN: That **you** <u>have</u> it. They <u>can't get</u> in. |
| | …. |
| | 47. AMY: Why <u>can't</u> **you** fly? |
| | 48. MR. WEBER: So. Wha<u>t's</u> our one solution, Amy? |
| | 49. AMY: Fly. |
| | 50. MR. WEBER: **You** <u>have to fly</u> supplies in. Berlin airlift? Alright. |
| **Past tense and "They"** | 51. PENNY: That's what **they** <u>did</u>, didn't **they**? |
| | 52. MR. WEBER: That's exactly what **they** <u>did</u>. |

*Figure 6*. Shifts in verb tense and pronoun use during dialogic, whole-class discussion of the Berlin/Capital City Airlift. (Verbs are underlined and pronouns bolded; shading indicates progression toward more present, personal uses of language).

During the explanation of the division of Berlin, a student, Shirin, asked for clarification about why a city that was clearly located in the Eastern (Soviet) half of the country would also need to be divided between East and West (lines 1, 4). In response to Shirin's question, Weber proposed a "what if…?" scenario which compared the past event to a hypothetical situation set in a fantastical, contemporary context (lines 9-14). This proposal reframed the sharing of textbook summaries as an activity that animated students as figures in a hypothetical scenario. That double-voiced hypothetical scenario paralleled post-WWII events in Germany.

As in previous examples, students took up the proposed hypothetical scenario, elaborating it with details that enabled and constrained subsequent responses. Some of the proposed details became established features of the scenario: for instance, Takara's question about the desperate conditions (line 29) seemed to prompt Amy's solution (line 47). From Shirin's point of view, however, the blockade was an advantage (line 34); the narrative thus contained multiple, even conflicting perspectives on the event. And as before, comments by Weber and students at the end of the narrative suggested that these double-voiced details applied simultaneously both to the present, hypothetical event and to the past, historical one. Neither Shirin's initial query, nor Weber's proposed scenario, nor Takara's question alone were solely responsible for the emergent scenario. Thus what began with a review of textbook summaries about the Berlin airlift emerged as a dialogic, whole-class discussion.

As in the first two examples, this conversation sequenced unrealized events that were unlikely to happen—a fictional conditional. The narrative that unfolded contained a pattern of shifts in verb tense and pronoun use. As in the October narrative about an army marching through Talbott, Shirin's question, in present tense (line 1), acted as prologue. Weber's response shifted from past tense (lines 5-8) and "they" (line 7) to the conditional mood and "we" (line 9-11). From Takara's "How would we get supplies?" (line 29), to Shirin's "…you have it. They can't get in" (line 34), and to Amy's "Why can't you fly?" (line 47), verb tense shifted from conditional to present tense, and the use of pronouns shifted from "we" to "you." At the end of the narrative, Weber's and Penny's comments returned to using the past tense and "they" (lines 51-52). This progression from past to present to past, and from "they" to "you" to "they" resembled that of the first two dialogic, whole-class discussions. As in those prior examples, this progression suggested that the past became more present and personal for the participants during the course of the activity.

Additionally, students' participation in the narrative interaction affected their participation in the interaction of the discussion, much as in the earlier examples. As figures in the narrative, students were able to contribute from their own first-person perspectives, like Takara, who wondered how they would get supplies, or Amy, who proposed flying as a solution. Participation in the interactional frame of the narrative thus shaped students' participation in the classroom interaction of the discussion. While this was also true of the Stock Market and Collective Bargaining examples, the way students were framed in those narratives produced resistance, perhaps because the narratives were either too far or too close with regard to the classroom interaction. In this respect, the dialogic, whole-class discussion about the Berlin/Capital City airlift most resembled those about the Invasion of Talbott/Belgium and about Football/Trench warfare: In all three, the framing of the narrated event affected the framing of the discussion, promoting participation through a balance between elaboration of a fantastical, hypothetical event and an actual, historical one.

In a post-lesson interview, Weber revealed that he had thought carefully about selecting a city with which to make this juxtaposition between actual past and hypothetical present.

[I thought about using] the Vatican…just that idea of it's not fair if one person gets the Vatican. Not in a religious way, I just mean the Vatican city state…. But…I knew Vatican wasn't going to work. Then I moved to [the state capital] because…we had already done Washington D.C. Um, so I just had to pick something that was-that was relevant…. And I skipped the potential dividing of Talbott because that undermines the fact that it's a big city….

Weber first considered comparing the post WWII division of Berlin to what it would be like to divide up Vatican City, hoping that comparison to this more familiar, contemporary example would help students to better understand the historical event. However, he discarded this idea, as well as that of using Washington, D.C., another important, contemporary city perhaps more familiar to the experiences of American students. Weber also decided not to make a comparison to the division of Talbott. From his point of view, it was important that the comparison not "undermine the fact that it's a big city." Thus, the choice of a contemporary setting was important to the narrative framing of the hypothetical/historical event. Weber's reflections suggested that he, too, was aware of the delicate balance between narrative frame and classroom interaction, and the potential impacts of selecting a comparison that was either too far or too close to students' experiences.

Above, I have described the emergence of a dialogic, whole-class discussion about the Berlin/Capital City airlift, the discursive features of that interaction, and the relationship between the narrated event and the classroom interaction of the discussion. Unlike the November Stock Market conversation and the December Collective Bargaining conversation, whose hypothetical situations seemed to collapse into a re-enactment of the past and merge with an anticipated future, respectively, the

Berlin/Capital City airlift discussion appeared most like the initial October examples in overlaying a fantastical, contemporary context on a historical event. However, all five examples exhibited discursive features whose similarities suggested variations on a developing dialogic discussion genre. In the next section, I discuss connections to prior scholarship and implications for dialogic research and pedagogy.

## Discussion/Implications

In the examples above, I described the framing and the discursive features of five variations on a developing type, or "genre" of classroom interaction. In foregrounding the idea of a developing dialogic discussion genre, my findings respond to Mercer's (2008) call for research that moves beyond attention to dialogic discussions as discrete classroom events defined by stable features like types of questions or teacher follow-ups. Prior research on classroom discourse has applied the notion of genre, or recurring conventions of social interaction (e.g., Bakhtin, 1984; Devitt, 1993; Miller, 1984; Swales, 1990), not only to written discourse (Bazerman, 1988, e.g., 1997; Bazerman et al., 2009; Freedman & Medway, 1994; Hicks, 1995) but also to talk and behavior in classrooms. For example, previous classroom discourse research has identified as speech genres (Bakhtin, 1986a)"the lesson" (Wertsch, 1991, p. 110), IRE/F sequences (Lemke, 1990; Mortimer & Scott, 2003; Rees & Roth, 2017; Wells, 1993), and hypothetical narratives (Juzwik, 2006). While some scholars have wondered whether discussion could be discerned well enough to identify discussion genres (Mercer, 1995; Wells, 1999), subsequent research has identified "conversational narrative discussion" in secondary English classes (Juzwik, Nystrand, Kelly, & Sherry, 2008) and "seminars" and "deliberations" in History classes (Parker, 2001, 2006; Parker & Hess, 2001). Extending this prior research, my findings illustrate the emergence and development over time of a dialogic, whole-class discussion genre I call "hypothetical narrative discussions," through repeated (re)framing of recitations in a secondary History classroom. Researchers interested in dialogic pedagogies might examine how and why teachers and students succeed or fail at reframing recitations, and whether their attempts over time reveal emerging patterns that also blur the boundaries between recitations and dialogic discussions.

Previous History education research has defined discussions in terms of "purpose" (Hess, 2004). According to these studies, purpose shapes not only the topic and talk of the discussion but also the relationships of the participants (Dillon, 1994; Parker, 2006)—in my terms, purposes contribute to framing the interaction of discussions. Purposes also serve to distinguish different types of discussion: discussion can be aimed at interpreting a central text or deliberating on courses of action (Parker, 2001). In terms of this previous work, dialogic discussions in Weber's class resembled "seminars," which focus on interpreting a central text, not for the purpose of finding a "right" answer, but rather to articulate, challenge, clarify, and thereby improve one's understanding—"not to repair the world, but to reveal it" (Parker, 2001). My findings build on this prior research on distinguishing types of dialogic discussions; however, I also extend and challenge these previous studies in offering the possibility of other genres that emerge over time in particular contexts. Future research on dialogic teaching might identify other genres associated with disciplinary/cultural contexts.

This prior History education research is in keeping with my study in implying that purpose shapes the frame for a discussion, and that purposes that frame discussions differently can lead to different types of discussion. However, a focus on unitary purpose seems to imply that an individual's intention—the teacher's purpose—determines or "specifies" the frame for discussion, and that both that purpose and that frame result in stable features or "models for leading discussions" (Parker, 2001). In contrast, the examples above seemed to emerge collaboratively, and though they often seemed to have the same purpose (to clarify students' understanding of a historical event through comparison to a hypothetical one), the coordinated patterns of discourse that emerged were irreducible to individual participants' (often quite

different) intentions. I thus join Roth and his colleagues (e.g., Hsu et al., 2009; Rees & Roth, 2017; Roth & Gardner, 2012) in suggesting that these patterns are phenomena that arise in relation to contextualized types of interactions, rather than to particular participants and their purposes. My findings also extend these prior studies in examining how and why such types might arise in particular contexts over time. Subsequent studies of dialogic discussions might investigate other cultural factors, perhaps not apparent in social interactions, that contribute to the emergence, resistance, and persistence of whole-class discussion genres.

The conversations addressed above varied over time in their discursive features and in their relative success at producing dialogic discourse. These variations in form and result might be attributed to the fact that Weber was a prospective teacher, and thus perhaps less practiced at establishing a purposeful activity routine with students. Alternatively, Weber's status as a student-teacher may simply have made more visible the negotiation among teacher and students over time that can lead to the establishment of a dialogic discussion genre. Indeed, the fact that this developing genre of dialogic, whole-class discussion included variations is in keeping with notions of speech genres as "relatively stable" social conventions which have accumulated over time, but which are nevertheless "flexible…and free" (Bakhtin et al., 1986, p. 121-127). I argue that dialogic discourse genres are "unfinalizable" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 37) and may be discursively negotiated among teachers and students through repeated reframing of interactions like recitation or discussion. I call for further research on dialogic pedagogical genres that foregrounds their open, collaborative, unfinalizable qualities.

The variations in the developing, dialogic, discussion genre in Weber's class (and their relative success at generating discussion) might also be attributed to student interest: for example, students might simply have found war more interesting than the stock market. However, this explanation alone does not account for the relative regularity of the discursive features across these variations. I propose that these features in each conversation constructed participants' relationship to the hypothetical/historical and actual/classroom events, thus contributing to (and/or revealing) students' engagement with the topic. In each conversation, as speakers collectively elaborated a "what if…?" story, they seemed to enter more or less successfully into a narrative based on historical events. Prior research in History education has already established the value of "what if…?" stories (e.g., Husbands & Pendry, 2000), or "imaginative entry" activities (e.g., Barton & Levstik, 2004). Typically, these activities cast present-day students as characters in a generic past event (e.g., "what if you were soldiers in a WWI trench…?"). Such imaginative entry activities can be valuable when they allow students an "insider view" of History, making the unfolding of past events seem more contingent, and less inevitable (Bernstein, 1994; Morson, 1994; Schweber, 2004), though "presentism," in which students impose their own values on historical situations, is a potential pitfall. In Weber's class, the coordinated progression of verb tenses and pronoun use in the initial and final examples suggested that, as students entered into the hypothetical scenarios based on the Invasion of Belgium/Talbott, Football/Trench warfare, and the Berlin/Capital City Airlift, the past became more present and personal for them.

Additionally, I have shown that these three conversations resulted in dialogic, whole-class discussions because of the relationship between the narrative interactional frame and the classroom interactional frame: students' participation as characters/co-tellers of the story simultaneously affected their participation as speakers in the discussion. Conversely, in the other conversations in Weber's class about the stock market crash and about collective bargaining, the hypothetical situation either collapsed into the past or merged with the future, resulting in a breakdown of the dialogic balance between narrative frame and classroom interactional frame and a failure to generate whole-class discussion. Prior research on dialogic pedagogies has suggested that events (e.g., present/past, narrative/classroom) may be brought into dialogic relationship in ways that enable and constrain students' subsequent agency and participation

(e.g., Walker, 2018; Wortham, 1994; Zittoun, 2008, 2012). I add that even failed attempts to bring events into dialogic relationship may, over time, contribute to the development of dialogic discourse genres.

## Appendix A. Transcription conventions

| Definition | Code | Examples (Lesson and Interview Transcripts) |
|---|---|---|
| Cut-off | — | MR. WEBER: See— |
| Laughter (collective) | (laughter) | STUDENTS: (laughter) |
| Transcriber comment | Single ( ) | MR. WEBER: Rocks? (going back to map drawn on board) Germany, Belgium, France |
| Thoughts | *Italic text* | We had some people, you know, she's thinking about the army, thinking about the march, and I could hear them all talking about it, and I'm thinking *Right now, I need to relate them to something*. And this is right before I do the Talbott thing, and that was a conscious effort on my part to say, "Let's talk about something we all know." |
| Reported speech | " " | |

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