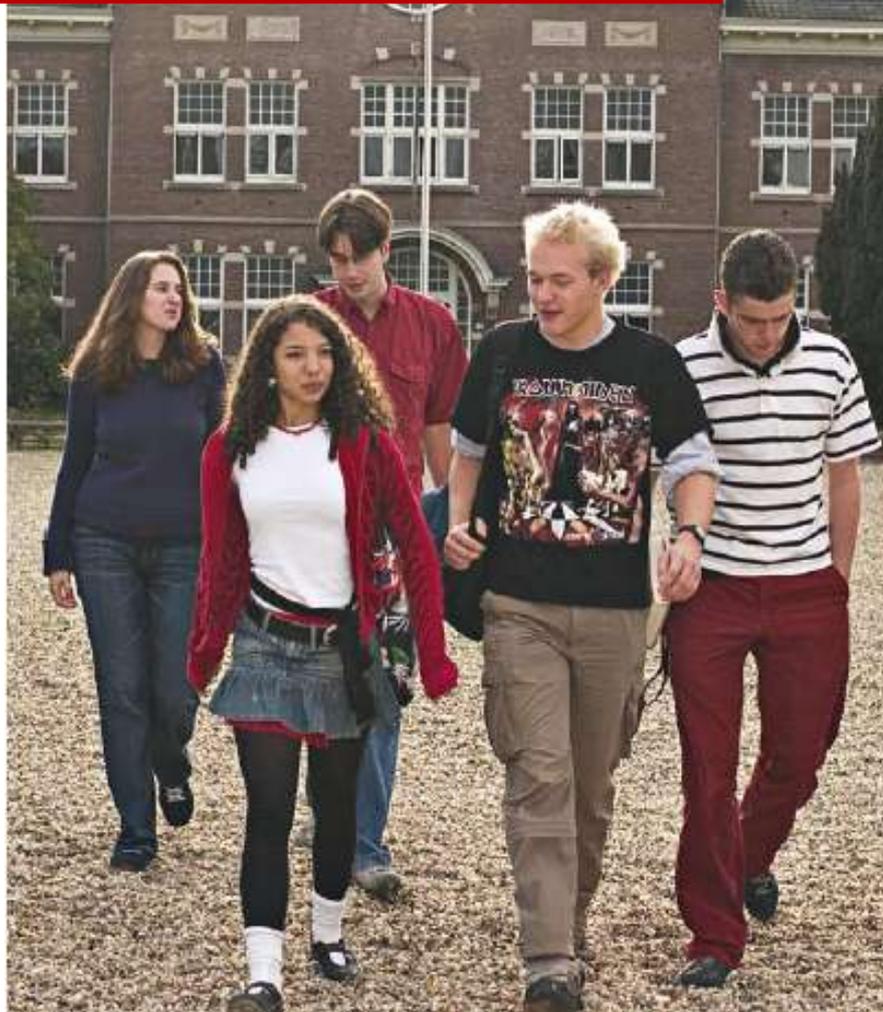# Classroom Interaction between Gifted International Students: A Case Study

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Summary

This is a qualitative explorative research about classroom interaction between gifted international students. The research is placed within the context of student-teacher interaction at a Liberal Arts & Sciences (LAS) program at University College Utrecht. This international institution was established in 1997. Currently, there are four different universities like University College Utrecht in The Netherlands. This study is part of a larger research framework called the 'Sirius Project' which strives to stimulate excellence in Bachelor programs of the University of Utrecht. This research is focused on investigating the learning environment of UCU and how excellence and students' cultural diversity play a role in the learning process. The object of research is classroom interaction. Discourse analysis is used to distinguish the institutional discourse patterns of classroom interactions at UCU. Exceptional usage of institutional action patterns are identified and explained in the light of students' above average abilities. The researcher uses Renzulli's (1979) three-ring conception of 'giftedness' to explain the identified elements of excellence. The researcher also aims to identify in which situations cultural differences are apparent. Thus, how is the cultural diversity of UCU's students expressed during classroom interaction? Ten Thije's (2006) theory of perspectivizing and discourse tactics such as thematizing and unthematizing racism (Koole & ten Thije 1994, 2000) are used to explain the cultural elements in interaction. The findings show that excellence in classroom interaction is expressed in two ways; creativity and task-commitment. In addition, the students of UCU clearly take control over the institutional action patterns thereby changing the patterns entirely. Accordingly, the learning process is enriched by satisfying the students' individual goals (Ziel) while preserving the social purpose (Zweck) of classroom interaction; to transfer and acquire knowledge. The students continue their learning process even though the action patterns are transformed. This extraordinary phenomenon can be considered another sign of excellence. Such cases rarely co-occur with explicit expressions of cultural diversity. Only one instance showed that the usage of perspectivizing triggered the expression of excellence in interaction. It is the ultimate goal to reproduce such conditions in the future and thereby enhance UCU's learning environment.

Preface

This master thesis is the final part of my master program Intercultural Communication at the Faculty of Dutch Language and Culture, University of Utrecht. Before explaining the exact content of this research report, I would like to take this opportunity to thank my supervisor at the University of Utrecht, Jan ten Thije. He guided me throughout my research and writing process. Jan has always pointed me in the right direction by providing a critical eye on my work and challenging me to be the best I can be. I am grateful for the things I have learned during this master program and I am certain that I will use this acquired knowledge during my future career as well. In addition, I would like to express my appreciation towards my peer master students for giving me the occasional support and advice during our monthly meetings.

I would also like to thank my second supervisor, Fried Keesen at the University College of Utrecht for giving me the opportunity to research the learning environment of this remarkable program. Without Fried's permission, I would not be able to study the classroom interactions at UCU. I am very grateful for the fact that Fried has put his trust in me and I hope to have lived up to the expectations. I would also like to express my appreciation towards the students of UCU, for letting me into their classes and enabling me to witness the exciting and sometimes amusing interactions.

It has been an interesting process of reading, observing, and analyzing. This thesis is an account of this interesting process and aims to encourage other students to further look into the subject of international education in relation to intercultural communication. It is yet an undiscovered area which is just waiting to be uncovered. I hope to have contributed to exposing a small piece of this area and making other scholars curious to find out more about this topic.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Sirius project

In 2008, the University of Utrecht (UU) proposed an initiative to perform an overall research on a variety of bachelor programs in order to stimulate excellence and attract gifted students to such programs. Since then, fifteen research projects have been designed to analyze the quality and stimulation of excellence at different bachelor programs of the UU. One of these projects is aimed at analyzing the Liberal Arts & Sciences program of University College Utrecht (UCU) and to see how the students at UCU can be stimulated to excel even more. This project is focused on three different themes; the student, the teacher, and the learning environment. The first theme involves the analysis of a typical UCU student profile, the identification of such "excellent" students in the selection procedure, and the motivations and ambition of such UCU students. Secondly, the teacher's didactic competence is analyzed in order to understand which methods of teaching promote students to excel in class and which methods do not work as effectively. Finally, the learning environment of UCU is analyzed to see in which contexts excellence is most often expressed and stimulated. More specifically, what are the requirements or conditions a learning environment should fulfill in order to optimize the results of this program and stimulate the expression of excellence to its fullest? Also, which working methods or environment fit best to the interdisciplinary approach of UCU's education? (Siriusprogramma, 2008: 47).

The latter theme is the focus of this study. The aim of this research is to answer the last question and thereby provide useful information for the Sirius program at large. By investigating the expression of excellence during classroom interaction, it will be possible to conclude in which type of interaction or discourse pattern, excellence is most prominently present and can be promoted.

From now on, giftedness and excellence are considered synonymous for the purposes of this research. However, it is now important to define excellence within the context of student-student and student-teacher interaction. What does excellence mean in interaction? And more importantly, how can one measure excellence during interaction? Lastly, how can teachers stimulate excellence during interaction?

Fig. 1 Three-ring conception for giftedness.

1.2 Sociolinguistics & education

Sociolinguistics can shortly be defined as a field which focuses on the usage of language and how this fits into different social structures (Extra, 1974: 198). Before one starts answering the posed questions above, it is necessary to provide some background information about the field of sociolinguistics and its connection to educational programs.

In the sixties, many scholars were interested in distinguishing different usage of language and connecting these differences to the speakers' social class. In the United States, Bernstein (1958) was researching this issue extensively. According to him, learning motivation, learning ability and school success are not only connected to one's intelligence. Instead, he claimed that one's learning success was partly dependent on a person's usage of a specific language form. These language forms are subsequently a result of one's socio-cultural background. Thus, ultimately, a person's socio-cultural background has a strong impact one's school success. Bernstein went one step further by

differentiating the language use of lower and higher social classes in The United States. He created a dichotomous coding concept which categorized low class language use as 'restricted code' (RC) and high class language use as 'elaborated code' (EC) (Extra, 1974: 202). His claim was that a child's socialization process *can* be changed by teaching it the EC code and thereby enhancing its chances of increasing the child's school success (ibid., 1974: 204).

As a result of Bernstein's dichotomous coding of language use, many scholars proposed to compensate the lower classes language use by creating so-called 'language compensation-programs'. The starting point was that the lower classes' language usage was impaired or lacked something. In order to compensate these deficits the new educational programs were introduced. (ibid., 1974: 207). These programs were aimed at eliminating the language-barriers for children from the lower classes and integrating the linguistic minorities into one monolingual American society (ibid., 1974: 198, 200). Monolingualism in The United States would stabilize the society which was desired during such instable times as Cold War (ibid., 1974: 200-201). The field of sociolinguistics initially stimulated the design of language compensation programs. It stimulated the idea that hidden talents in the working classes could be discovered and stimulated to adjust their language usage and thereby create an upward social mobility (ibid., 1974: 201-202). Political and economic factors played an important role as well, because children from minority groups were not sufficiently moving up to higher education programs in the United States. In order for the United States to keep up their economic growth and stay ahead in the competition against the USSR, it had to attract talents from the lower social classes. The lower class' cultural and linguistic deprivation was considered the reason for their lack of school success; language compensation programs were seen as the solution (Giesbers et al., 1977: 27-28).

Later in the sixties, scholars started to object against the idea that the people's inferior language usage in lower social classes caused lower school success. In 1964, William Labov published his research on "The social stratification of English in New York City" (republished in 1966). In this research he showed that the there *were* differences in the language usage by African American children in Harlem New York in comparison to the higher class Caucasian Standard English speaking people (ibid., 1974: 200). From a linguistic perspective, however, both language usages were equally logical. They were simply different. Furthermore, the different surface structures represented an identical underlying structure (ibid., 1974: 209-210). Accordingly, Labov attacked the deficit hypothesis which was constructed from Bernstein's dichotomous language-codes and offered the differentiation hypothesis instead. Labov strongly opposed the deficit hypothesis, because it implicitly blamed the lower classes for their lack of school success, while the educational system itself was to blame. As a result of Labov's objections, new 'language activation programs' were created instead of 'language compensation programs' in order to change the educational system and ensure equal status to language usage by all social classes (ibid., 1974: 216). Since then, scholars have connected the interactionist approach to education, stating that teaching and learning occurs in interaction and that a teacher's expectations of his or her students will always be confirmed in students' performance; it's a self-fulfilling prophecy. If a teacher thinks highly of a student, this student will usually perform better, because he or she has received sufficient recognition and attention from the teacher. Conversely, if the teacher believes a student is 'weak' or 'incompetent' this student will often perform less successfully because he or she did not get the recognition he or

she deserved from the teacher. Thus, education occurs in interaction and is a two-way street between the teacher and student.

In the nineteenth century and in the first part of the twentieth century, many immigrants in the United States organized mother-tongue education. "In the Soviet Union educational innovations were introduced immediately after the Revolution to promote the use of various national languages besides Russian in the schools" (Appel & Muysken, 2005: 60). In other countries of the world, minority languages became equally important to teach at schools and in 1951, during a UNESCO meeting, it was stated that a child's mother tongue is the best medium to be taught in (ibid, 2005: 60). Five points were written down in the UNESCO statement in which the first language of the child was considered the best medium of instruction to guarantee academic progress and a healthy development of the child's personality and self-image. One of the arguments for teaching in a minority language is that it would relieve the child's culture shock which can be experienced in the transition from home to school. "It is the minority language that is the link between child and his/her community" (ibid, 2005: 61). However, in the 1980s, things started to change and the position of minority languages became less important. This might have been caused by the world-wide economic recession during that time. In order to promote the cultural identity of the country, and create political unity, countries decided to educate all children in the same national language. "In the USA the slogan 'one nation, one flag, one language' was used in this context" (ibid, 2005: 62). Political leaders were afraid that the use of minority languages would strengthen the identity of the minorities and endanger the social unity of a country. Thus, from then onwards, children from were taught in the majority language. Accordingly, minority children from a lower socio-economic level would become proficient in the majority language which was crucial for academic achievement and success (ibid, 2005: 63). The medium in which such underprivileged children were taught, was considered the key to improving their chances of success.

One can clearly see the historical shifts in the field of sociolinguistics, changing the focus from social class to minority languages, to language identity as a vehicle to achieve success, either academically, socially, or politically. The research presented below is focused on helping one group in particular; gifted adolescents from different national and cultural backgrounds. They want to enroll in an educational program which can challenge them more than the normal bachelor programs. This study goes one step further than the sociolinguistic developments discussed above by getting a better understanding of how 'gifted' education can be improved in order to stimulate excellent students. One might wonder whether Bernstein's dichotomous coding of language use (i.e. elaborated and restricted code) has something to do with the language usage in classroom interaction at UCU (1958). Could it be that UCU students are more inclined to use a so-called elaborated code when speaking with their peers? If so, *does* Bernstein's approach to social class and language use still stand in the context of academic interaction or is the fact that these students are considered gifted, causing them to speak so eloquently? Furthermore, Labov (1966) claimed that the education system was to blame for the linguistic differences in social classes. Can UCU be considered a program which unifies different social classes or is it actually reinforcing the dichotomy between lower and higher classes? Appel & Muysken (2005) focused on the linguistic differences between the majority and minority groups and how this is reflected in the education system. At UCU, the majority of the students is Dutch while the minority groups can have different nationalities and cultural backgrounds. Is this noticeable in the classroom? Does it worsen the learning process or enhance

students' learning? The findings of this study can be used as a basis for improving UCU's learning environment to encourage its students to excel during interaction with their teachers and peers. This research follows the tradition of sociolinguistics and can be seen as a contribution to improve gifted education programs around the world.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Giftedness

The topic of giftedness has been widely discussed by many scholars (Renzulli, 1979; Baldwin, 2002; Dan, 2001; Mandelman et al. 2010; Dan, 2001). They have tried to summarize the gathered knowledge concerning this topic and come up with a definition which combines several variables for giftedness. Most theories rely on intelligence as the core trait determining giftedness. However, many scholars have further developed the theory of giftedness and added additional components to identify giftedness. Also the developmental aspect of giftedness has been taken into consideration, claiming either the stability or developmental transformation of giftedness over time (Mandelman et al., 2010, p. 290-291; Dan, 2001). Baldwin (2002) states that some important assumptions must be embraced to identify giftedness in interaction (142):

"Giftedness can be expressed through a variety of behaviors" and "intelligence is a broad concept that goes beyond language and logic to encompass a wide range of human abilities. Carefully planned subjective assessment techniques can be used effectively along with objective measures" (Baldwin, 2002: 142).

Renzulli (1979) defines excellence as a combination of three traits which are on an above-average level; intelligence, task-commitment, and creativity. Still the question remains: how does one measure above-average ability on all three traits? In order to know what to measure, scholars have come up with definitions for intelligence, task-commitment, and creativity. Renzulli states that intelligence can be measured by selecting students who have above intermediate scores on the previous education reports. However, this is simply a rough indication of how well students can perform on tests and do not always ensure success in their future career (ibid, 1979: 3). Therefore, another component has to be taken into the equation; task commitment. Task commitment can be defined as "a refined or focused form of motivation" and "energy brought to bear on a particular problem or specific performance area" (ibid, 1979: 3). Many gifted people have shown to be able to commit themselves to one specific issue and to devote a long period of time to solve the problem. The difficulty of this trait is that it is not as objectively identifiable as general cognitive abilities. However, one should take this trait into consideration when determining whether a person is gifted or not (ibid, 1979: 4-5). Creativity is the third trait which has to be considered when identifying giftedness. In many studies on giftedness, the persons studied always possessed an above average creative ability. Like task commitment, creativity is difficult to measure objectively, because many different definitions have been assigned to this term. Although it seems obvious to include this trait as a requirement for giftedness, it remains disputed how this component should be measured. Renzulli proposes that educators should consider developing more careful procedures for evaluating the products of candidates for special programs and thereby identifying creativity in a rather subjective manner (ibid, 1979: 5). This study will provide a case study of a gifted education program in which the selection procedure plays an important role for identifying gifted candidates. Renzulli's

(1979) definition for giftedness is helpful in identifying 'excellent' characteristics in the applying candidates.

2.2 Gifted education

Overall, it is safe to say that giftedness or excellence can be measured according to different features, depending on the "cultural, philosophical, and political contexts of the educational systems in which they are used" (ibid, 2010, p. 290). Educational systems around the world have incorporated "gifted education" to their educational structure. Gifted education is especially designed for students who have a higher ability than their peers. However, the nature of gifted education can differ across countries, depending on the educational doctrine of that specific system. Two examples of such doctrines are meritocracy and egalitarianism. A meritocracy for example "assumes that access to educational opportunities is and should be provided based on ability and accomplishments (merit)" (Mandelman et al., 2010, p. 288). In practice this means that the students, who perform best, will ultimately continue to higher educational institutions and will contribute more profoundly than others to their society (ibid., 2010, p. 288). Egalitarianism on the other hand means that "that all individuals should be treated as equals and have the same educational opportunities and privileges" (ibid., 2010, p. 288). Essentially this means that all students have abilities and therefore all students should have equal educational opportunities to develop these abilities (ibid., 2010, p. 288). Most systems have combined features of both systems within one system (ibid., 2010, p. 289). Now, one is able to identify the essential traits of education for gifted students. This study can be considered a case study concerning such a gifted education program. The interactions between the students and the teacher will show whether such giftedness is also present during classroom interaction.

2.3 Discourse structures

There are many methods to identify discourse patterns in interaction (Ehlich et al., 1993; Wiesmann, 1999). However, there are few studies about interaction in the classroom. Most of them are part of the field of functional pragmatics. For this reason, this study will use terms and methods from the field of functional pragmatics to investigate classroom interaction in the academic context. Teacher-student interaction has been researched thoroughly. A number of reoccurring patterns have been distinguished such as a task-completion-pattern or a teacher monologue. Furthermore, the processing of knowledge or the so-called "Wissenverarbeitung" (processing of knowledge) is a reoccurring phenomenon in classroom interaction (Wiesmann, 1999). Such patterns can also be found in the interaction between students only, regardless of the input of the present teacher. In the case of UCU, many classes involve student discussions in which knowledge is shared and processed in interaction, without the teacher's input. This research applies the aforementioned approach of discourse analysis to investigate how UCU students interact in the classroom.

Wiesmann (1999) has conducted a thorough research using functional pragmatics to investigate the oral interactions at a university in Germany. She is one of the few researchers who has focused on classroom interaction on a university level. By categorizing the oral interactions into different action patterns, Wiesmann (1999) has come up with a way to map out the available action patterns within oral interaction at a university. The following action patterns were found; assertion, task-completion-pattern, substantiation, assessment, refutation, to explain, to elucidate, didactic question, request for clarification, and proposal (Mikkers, 2008: 32). Wiesmann (1999) also provided an outlook on the discursive differences between different academic disciplines of Humanities, Social Science, and

Science. She claims that within the Science department, the theories are usually accepted and known globally (ibid, 1999). The interpretation of these theories, however, is open to discussion (1999: 39). In the Humanities and Social Sciences, on the other hand, the theories are competing and therefore provide an immediate basis for discussion (ibid., 1999: 39). Accordingly, one would except students to disagree more often in Humanities and Social Science classes in comparison to Science classes.

The aim of functional pragmatics is to reconstruct the underlying purposes of interaction. Within the institute of a school or university, the main underlying purpose of communication is to transfer knowledge. In addition, accelerated knowledge acquisition is also one of the fundamental goals of communication at school. Accelerated knowledge acquisition shortly means speeding up the transfer of solutions for problems and confronting the actants with standard solutions to use in problem situations (Ehlich et al., 1993; Mikkers, 2008: 33). In this case, however, not every actor goes through all the steps of the action pattern. Instead, an interactive communal process takes place in which all actors play a part in the action pattern when acquiring new knowledge. The goal of accelerated knowledge acquisition is no longer directed at solving the problem, but on the actual transfer of knowledge. This can lead to a motivational problem for the pupils or students, because they come to understand that solving the problem by providing the right solution is not really the aim of the lesson. Moreover, this means that the teacher is not really interested in getting the right solution. In practice, the teacher is not evaluating the content of the attempted solutions. Instead, he or she wants to initiate a process of thought in which student can internalize the knowledge which is jointly created. Students participate in such joint efforts, to receive recognition and appreciation from the teacher. Thus, for a student, the underlying reason for attempting to solve a problem is to show his or her presence in the classroom and in the action-space in particular (Ehlich et al. 1993; Mikkers, 2008: 33).

Unlike Wiesmann (1999) Ehlich et al. (1993) did research on the oral interaction at a high school in Germany. They claim that the institution of a school is aimed at transferring knowledge, but also to reproduce existing power structures or class hierarchies in society. Furthermore, Ehlich et al. (1993) state that knowledge can be divided into different fractions or "acting domains" which create the division between societal classes and subclasses. Such fragmentation of knowledge therefore recreates the societal structure in which different classes acquire different knowledge (Ehlich et al., 1993: 189). In the case of UCU, the knowledge transfer is of a higher order, because it involves a university level for gifted students only. In other words, this subclass in society acquires a different kind of knowledge than the students at the lower professional 'HBO' programs in The Netherlands. In a way, school is used as a device for reproducing the formation of society which is comparable with Bernstein's (1958) language compensation programs which were really recreating the status quo and preserving the division of the social classes as they were (Labov, 1966).

At school one can find a reflection and transformation of society's internal contradictions and struggles. School uses language's action patterns to transfer knowledge to its pupils (Ehlich et al., 1993: 198). The action patterns realized during school communication are in fact practical forms used by actors outside of school as well. Thus, school often uses outside-the-school knowledge to teach something within the school. The action patterns from outside are used for educational purpose. Fortunately, pupils are already familiar with the patterns because they use it repeatedly with friends, at home or in other situations. Such patterns could be a QUESTION, an ASSERTION, an APOLOGY, a

NARRATIVE, to CLARIFY or to EXPLAIN. Thus, the origin of such patterns can be found in everyday life (ibid., 1993: 196).

Although the communicative tool for acquiring knowledge is considerably equal inside as well as outside the school, the content of the knowledge is not. According to Ehlich et al. (1993) there is a paradox between the official purpose of the institution school which is to transfer knowledge and prepare pupils for their future roles in society and the actual practice within the school where pupils acquire a "translated" version of this knowledge. In a way, pupils acquire knowledge which is *not* a one-to-one reflection of practice in society. Teachers and pupils use action patterns to acquire a translation of society's knowledge which is not directly comparable to reality.

Ehlich and his colleagues (1993) are mostly interested in finding out the internal structure of educational communication and how it is characterized by a systematic usage of action patterns to transfer knowledge (p. 197). In their research, it became clear that besides action patterns, there are also specific tactics to be used by the teacher within the institution of a school. Such tactics can be considered teaching strategies which enable the teacher to elicit a specific reaction from the pupil (e.g. give an answer). Ehlich et al. (1993) have called these tactics "institution-specific subpatterns" (Mikkers, 2008: 32). Shortly, a tactic means that an actor, in this case the teacher, has a number of action pattern possibilities. Each action pattern would set off a different reaction from the pupil and will encourage him or her to act out an action pattern which completes the action pattern of the teacher. Such tactics are only useful if all actors are sufficiently familiar with the institution-specific pattern-knowledge. Otherwise, problems could occur during interaction in class (ibid, 2008: 32). Thus, the pupils have to know the 'rules of the game' before the teacher starts using specific teaching strategies or tactics.

Compared to the action patterns used in everyday life, the patterns used within the institution of a school of university entail different pattern positions for the actors. For example, the action pattern QUESTION–ANSWER used in everyday life has a different function than the pattern of an EXAMINATION QUESTION which is used in the context of school. A QUESTION–ANSWER can be used by any actant outside of school to ask something one still does not know. An EXAMINATION QUESTION, on the other hand, is only used within a school and by the teacher with the purpose of transferring knowledge. The teacher already knows the answer to the examination question. He or she wants to check whether the knowledge transfer has been successful and whether the pupil has acquired the appropriate knowledge to answer the exam question (Ehlich et al., 1993: 196). This comparison clearly shows the difference between the pattern positions and usage of action patterns in everyday life versus at school.

Another common action pattern used within the context of the classroom is a TEACHER MONOLOGUE (Ehlich et al., 1993). This pattern is used by the teacher to transfer knowledge to the students in the form of a one-way monologue. In this case, the students acquire the knowledge passively by listening to the teacher. This knowledge is considered 'new' and unknown to the students. In the field of linguistics, there is a distinction made between the 'known' and 'new'. Known information is called 'thema' while unknown new information is classified as 'rhema'. This distinction is also used within the context of a school or university (ibid., 1993: 104). In practice, students are considered listeners, while the teacher is expected to steer the lesson into the right

direction and cover all the knowledge which has to be transferred to the students. For the teacher, this knowledge is known. For the students, however, this knowledge is new and has to be acquired.

"The mental activities of the listeners (students) are primarily controlled by the decomposition of thema and rhema" (ibid., 1993: 105, translation by Halevi). When the teacher asks a QUESTION he or she informs the listeners of the domain to which knowledge is lacking. By inserting the rhema-position, the teacher indicates which exact knowledge-elements are missing. Accordingly, the teacher can control the listeners' mental activities and steer them towards providing the missing information. This procedure is identical for the action pattern of a DIRECTING QUESTION, which is often used as a formal language tool in school contexts. Such a DIRECTING QUESTION should not be confused with a simple question. A DIRECTING QUESTION involves a thema and empty rhema position. The person who asks it already knows the right answer. In simple questions, however, the person who asks it is genuinely interested in the answer because he or she does not know the answer yet. Teachers use the DIRECTING QUESTION simply to check their students' understanding of the topic and transfer the appropriate knowledge. The effect of a DIRECTING QUESTION is that it brings something into motion, which can only designate one particular type of response. The person who asks the question, the teacher, therefore limits the type of possible answers the students can give (ibid., 1993: 106).

	Thema	Rhema
Asking questions: teacher	filled in the content	quasi-dummy
Giving answers: student	(repetition)	filled in the content

Fig. 2 based on scheme of Ehlich et al. (1993: 108)

When a teacher executes a lesson plan, he or she often uses a TEACHER SPEECH. Another action pattern can be used as well, in which the teacher's ASSERTIONS are decomposed in their thema's and a rhema's with the help of a DIRECTING QUESTION which is divided over different interactants (ibid., 1993: 115). This is called an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE because it is similar to a normal monologue while using at least two interactants to cover the statements of the speech. This discourse type involves a speech action which is usually performed by only one speaker but is now performed as a discourse type with several speech action sequences and a systematic role-switching between at least two speakers (ibid., 1993: 115). In a way, the teacher and students jointly ensure the continuation of the TEACHER MONOLOGUE; the teacher by asking DIRECTING QUESTIONS and the students by providing ANSWERS. By continuously asking DIRECTING QUESTIONS, the teacher is controlling the propositional course of the lesson which conforms to his or her overall lesson plan. The control over the course of the lesson is realized by structuring the questions in such a manner that the thema and rhema decomposition is clear and the students can understand which knowledge is known and which knowledge is new to them (ibid., 1993: 115-116). One should note that the initiative for using any of the aforementioned discourse elements in the classroom, always depends on the teacher's input (Ehlich et al., 1993: 118).

In some cases, however, the students *can* take over control in the classroom and steer the lesson into a different direction. In such cases, the teacher stands the risk of losing control over the lesson plan and the desired learning process he or she was planning to achieve (Ehlich et al., 1993: 119). One of the undesired results can be that the students change the pattern of INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE into a pattern which is more similar to a discussion instead of a directed lesson.

In case a classroom interaction turns out to become a discussion between the teacher and students or between the students only, a different discourse type has to be used to analyze such interactions. In other words, a discussion within the context of a university is different than an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. More specifically, one has to introduce the terms of 'Zweck' (social purpose) and 'Ziel' (individual goal) to explain the pattern break between an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE and a DISCUSSION. 'Ziel' shortly means the individual objective each interactant has in mind when communicating. In the aforementioned INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE, the 'Zweck' is always the same; the speaker wants to transfer knowledge, while the listeners want to acquire knowledge. In discussions, however, this is not the case. In a discussion, the speaker and listener have conflicting goals. They have different opinions in mind and do not want to transfer or acquire knowledge, but *convince* the other of their point. The 'Zweck', the interactive purpose, is disrupted in this case, because the interactants are no longer interested in transferring or acquiring knowledge (Trautmann, 2001: 124-125). In order to identify such disruptions, one must search for the break between a conventional lesson plan with an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE and a DISCUSSION with negating statements. The latter discourse structure is not be part of the teacher's lesson plan any longer and usually happens spontaneously. As a consequence, the teacher has to adjust his or her course of the lesson. A teacher can apply different measures to get back on track by inserting DIRECTING QUESTIONS or by using more rigorous measures and explicitly terminating the discussion.

Trautmann (2001) distinguishes interactions in seminars as having specific characteristics when it comes to their purposes. She claims that the aim of seminars is to transfer knowledge on societal and scientific topics. More importantly, she clarifies how such knowledge is acquired by claiming that seminars fulfill a certain social purpose (Zweck); "Formen und Verfahren der Erkenntnisgewinnung werden hineingetragen" (the forms and procedures for knowledge acquisition are incorporated in it) (Trautmann, 2001: 128-129; translation by Halevi). Wiesmann states that the social purpose of learning and practicing the "scientific act" usually remains implicit (ibid, 2001: 128-129).

Trautmann's analyses of seminar-discourse is similar to Ehlich and Rehbein's (1993) approach in that she sees knowledge acquisition as the main social purpose of interactions in seminars. Trautmann (2001) adds to this that scientific techniques are also acquired in seminar interaction. One such technique is scientific arguing or 'discussions'. Trautmann's analyses show that when students apply an action pattern such as TO JUSTIFY in interaction, they do so for different interactive purposes. On the one hand, students use arguments when it is considered the appropriate action in response to the linguistic situation they are in. On the other hand, the actions of arguing is a technique or subject to be acquired as well, which is largely mediated through "learning by doing". The teacher has the responsibility to achieve both objectives when he or she controls the course of the lesson; to structure the knowledge of the students and to facilitate the practice of arguing or discussing. The teacher has to initiate such action patterns by introducing DIRECTING QUESTIONS or other fitting speech action patterns (Trautmann, 2001: 138).

Overall, arguing or discussing is used as a heuristic process in which students interactively learn through discoveries that result from their own investigations. Scientific arguing can be seen as a process by which scientific knowledge is developed. It is characteristic for hermeneutic sciences and their connected theories (Trautmann, 2001: 182). In scientific discussions, students do not *directly*

aim at acquiring knowledge. Instead, the social purpose is to show their understanding of the topic. The student is required to use knowledge which has already been established. Thus, the student has to appropriate the knowledge presented to him or her and apply this knowledge in his or her arguments. Accordingly, the learning process is implicitly facilitated (Trautmann, 2001: 183-184).

Vogt (2002) has thoroughly investigated the topic of 'discussions' as well. He claims that one can differentiate between different levels of analyses when it comes to researching discussions between people; the communicative order which includes the discussed theme and is of interest to all interactants, the different perspectives of the interactants, and the process of verbal interaction. Vogt proposes that a researcher should not focus on the communicative order in discussions, but rather investigate the divergent perspectives of the interactants. Vogt distinguishes three different sequence types which can occur in a discussion. The first one involves convergent sequences in which the 'Ziel' or individual goal is to unify them and find a consensus between all perspectives. The second type involves divergent sequences of diverse perspectives but the individual goal is to develop different perspectives around one particular subject. The social purpose of the convergent sequence is to find a common solution through unifying the offered perspectives. In a controversial sequence, on the other hand, it is the social purpose to accentuate the different positions surrounding the topic. These different positions are seen as the result of the discussion. These sequences do not always result in success; the efforts to achieve a unifying perspective can end up in understanding, in reaching a consensus, but also in a conflict or disagreement. In the figure below, a systematic scheme of the different sequences is shown (Vogt, 2002: 89-90).
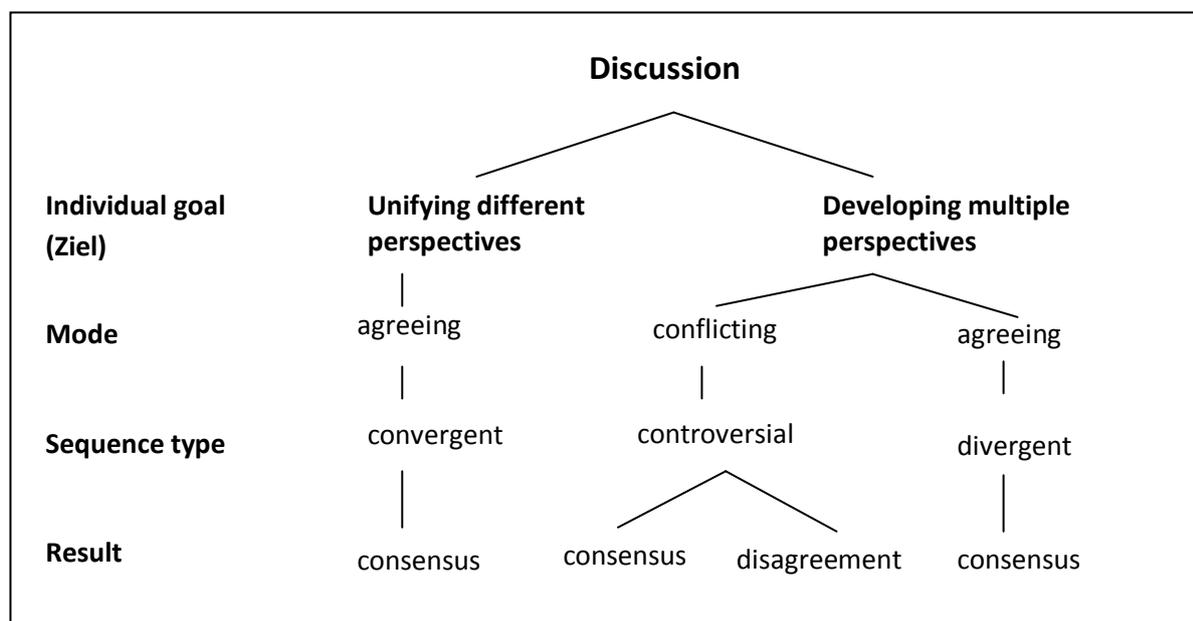
Fig. 3 based on "Systematik von Diskutieren" (Vogt, 2002: 90)

Roughly speaking, a discussion is an interaction between people in which different opinions on a topic are shared, without leading to a conflict. The difference between a discussion and a conflict is that a conflict involves personal attacks while a discussion is aimed at attacking an opinion or statement made by the other. It should be noted there is always a danger that the discussion will turn into a conflict. In order to avoid this from happening, there are many tactics to remain polite and save 'face' while making a statement or accusation during a discussion. Brown & Levinson's

(1987) Politeness Theory explains these tactics as 'face threatening acts'. Now, one is able to identify different action patterns in academic classroom interaction. The action patterns offered by Wiesmann (1999) and Ehlich et al. (1993) are focused on conventional classroom interaction in which the underlying social purpose is to transfer knowledge and acquiring knowledge. On the other hand, the action patterns offered by Vogt (2002) and Trautmann (2001), involve DISCUSSIONS which can be found in different situations; also in classroom interaction. The social purpose of a DISCUSSION is not necessarily focused on the transfer of knowledge. This study will show which of the aforementioned action patterns can be found in academic classroom interaction and in which departments and course levels they can be identified.

2.4 Cultural Diversity

In addition to the analysis of excellence, this study is also interested in the role of cultural diversity in student interaction. Besides providing general profiles of the cultural and intellectual background of the recorded students, the researcher will also apply different theories to investigate the role of culture in interaction. Before analyzing the recorded fragments, however, it is important to get an understanding of what culture is and how educational institutions are accommodated to teach a culturally diverse student body.

Culture comes from the Latin word 'colere' which can be defined as 'to build' or 'to cultivate'. Therefore, 'culture' always refers to something which is created, built, cultivated by humans (Dahl, 2004: 1). In the anthropological sense, culture can be defined as "customs, worldview, language, kinship system, social organization, and other taken-for-granted day-to-day practices of a people which set that group apart as a distinctive group" (Scollon, 1995: 126). Many other definitions have been created for the concept of culture; culture as "the essence of how were are and how we exist in the world" (Hollins, 1996: 18) or culture as "man's medium" meaning how we think and express ourselves (ibid., 1996: 18) (Baldwin, 2002, 140). According to Hofstede (1994) culture is defined as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the member of one group or category of people from another (5). In his definition, Hofstede states that culture is situated between human nature and the individual's personality. Accordingly, he can account for individual differences within one culture, as a result of different individual personalities. Overall, several characteristics can be attributed to the concept of culture. First of all, culture "is man-made and can be learned" (Koole & Ten Thije, 1994: 55). Second of all, "culture is related to human groups instead of to individuals" and finally "culture can be attributed a locus with respect to human activity" (ibid., 1994: 55).

This means that any human activity or the knowledge connected to it is a product of culture, because it is man-made and can be learned. An example of such an activity could be a classroom discussion. A classroom discussion, however, is placed within a certain institutional context. Therefore, the institutional element of a university or school should be taken into account as well. In addition, the participants of a discussion are forces which change the direction and shape of the discussion. In other words, an activity such as a discussion is interactive and dynamic, as is culture. This study will look at classroom discussions as a locus of culture and see how the cultural diversity of the participating students influences the course of the discussion.

2.5 Intercultural communication

The academic field of Intercultural Communication was founded in 1959, when Edward T. Hall first used this term in his book 'The Silent Language'. This book is now regarded as a classic in the field of intercultural communication. Since then, intercultural communication has been interpreted differently by many scholars (Ten Thije, 2003: 197). Initially, this field grew through research about interaction between people from different linguistic and/or cultural backgrounds and reconstructing the misunderstanding as a result of their different backgrounds (Gumperz, 1982; Gudykunst & Kim 1992). Nowadays, however, the focus of the field has shifted to intercultural communication beyond misunderstanding (Koole & ten Thije 1994). This means that researchers are now analyzing the "interactive impact" of cultural and linguistic differences of the actors on the discourse during interaction (Ten Thije, 2003: 200). Thus, the objective is to find out how actors react to the input given by the different speakers. In some cases this might result in misunderstandings, but in many cases a common ground or consensus is reached; a new discourse structure is created from intercultural communication (ibid., 2003: 200).

Intercultural communication is also interested in the interaction between actors of a dominant and non-dominant group within one society. Expressions of explicit or implicit prejudice in interaction are accounted for in this field. Furthermore, the contextual situation in which such interaction occurs, is taken into consideration. It has been observed that intercultural communication increasingly takes place within societal institutions and that therefore, an analysis of this communication must take off from the characteristics of institutional communication (e.g. Ehlich et al., 1993; Koole & ten Thije, 2001: 573).

Discursive interculture can be reached when interlocutors share their differing individual cognitive concepts with one another and ultimately arrive at a construction of knowledge that is shared by all interlocutors (ibid., 2001: 575). Reaching a consensus by sharing each other's thoughts is a common phenomenon at school and at the university (Wiesmann, 1999). It is a way to transfer knowledge interactively.

In this research intercultural communication is regarded as a dynamic process in which culturally diverse people can learn from one another through sharing their different outlooks on matters. One should emphasize that "intercultural communication is not solely constituted by the fact that interactants from different cultural groups interact. Each analysis should detect to what extent instances of discourse are institutionally and/or interculturally determined" (Ten Thije, 2003: 197). In order to avoid overgeneralization and categorize all phenomena as 'intercultural' it is important to first distinguish the institutional discourse structures in interaction. .

When looking at cultural diversity during classroom interaction, one should first take into account the institutional context in which the interaction takes place. Thus, before distinguishing the cultural aspects in interaction, one should extract the institutional patterns in the discourse. These patterns have been widely discussed in chapter 2.3. After distinguishing the institutional part of the interactions, one can start searching for the intercultural elements. Koole & ten Thije (1994) offer useful tools to distinguish cultural positions in interaction. Their theories about discourse positions are developed in light of their assumptions about intercultural discourse. Within discourse analysis, one can look into specific segments of a fragment by looking at the role an actor takes within interaction. Such a role is called a discourse position which is "a discourse structure which consists of a speech action potential bound to the actor who takes that position" (Koole & ten Thije, 1994: 157). This means that the role an actor has in the interaction has to be considered according to the

situation in which he or she "acts". The institutional constellation, the other actors, and what is said are all factors which have to be taken into consideration. In other words, a discourse position is "a product of interaction" (ibid., 1994: 157). Important to note is that assigning this position can be done by the speaker himself (self-identification) or by the other actors (other-identification) (ibid., 1994: 157). A speaker can be assigned different kinds of discourse positions for example a specialist position or a representative position. The first one is done as an act of other-identification. An actor could see the other as a specialist, because he or she is part of a specific cultural subgroup. The latter occurs when the speaker identifies himself as a representative of a specific subgroup (ibid., 1994: 158, 167).

Another interesting approach to identify the role of culture in interaction is Ten Thije's communicative apparatus of "perspectivizing" (Ten Thije , 2006: 114). This method applies discourse analysis to investigate interaction, but also analyzes the propositional content of utterances. "The communicative apparatus modifies the knowledge that is verbalized in the propositional content in two different directions. It modifies the relationship between the knowledge of the speaker and reality or it modifies the relationship between the speaker's knowledge and the propositional content" (Ibid.). .

In practice, this means that the speaker's response depends on whether the hearer's reactions reflect or correspond with the speaker's view of reality. An utterance or "verbalization of knowledge about social reality" can either be understood or not by the hearer. In case the hearer fails to understand what is meant, the speaker can adapt his or her speaker plan (ibid., 2006: 115). In short, perspectivizing can be seen as a step-by-step process which consist of three components: generalizing, perspectivizing, and contrasting cultures. Generalizing means that the speaker utters a speech action in which he or she generalizes a topic as a cultural standard solution. The second step is to perspectivize the utterance, by locating the propositional content of the speech action, "taking into account the cultural standards of the other" (ibid., 2006: 117). Finally, the speaker enables the hearer to 'contrast the cultures' by comparing the speaker's cultural standards with his own cultural standards. Accordingly, the hearer can acquire an adequate interpretation of the discourse (ibid., 2006: 117). Essentially, this means that one can reach a consensus during intercultural interaction. Thus, intercultural communication can go beyond misunderstanding, by reaching a consensus. Although two interlocutors might have a different outlook on things, because their cultures have shaped their worldview, they can still put these different outlooks into perspective and accept them both as true for the other (ten Thije, 2003). "The communicative apparatus of perspectivizing concerns discursive means that interactants use in the ongoing discourse in order to reconsider assumptions about the foreknowledge shared with each other" (ten Thije & Beermann, to appear: 4). Mazeland and Zaman-Zade (2004: 26) have created a similar three-step model to organize the clarification process between interactants. The following three steps are distinguished: 1) the clarification basis, 2) the clarification path, and 3) the clarification target. The first step is the assertion which has to be explained or clarified. The second step refers to a narrative characterization related to the type of event which contains new information. The final step covers the applicability of the new information to the clarification basis (ten Thije & Beermann, to appear: 4). This seems rather abstract, but it simply is a step-by-step process to reach mutual understanding. "The clarifier gains maximal control over the process in which the recipient is working towards understanding the components and instructions provided in the successive steps of the clarification"

(ibid, to appear: 4-5). In classroom interactions, one might expect to find these clarification processes, because the underlying goal of education is to transfer knowledge to the students which sometimes requires further explanation from the teacher or student. It is important to emphasize that there are many other ways to identify cultural diversity in interaction. However, for the purpose of this study, the researcher will use perspectivizing as the most important sign for identifying the role of cultural diversity in classroom interaction.

2.6 Lingua Franca

A lingua franca is used "when speakers do not share each other's language but can resort to a third language for communication purposes" (Meierkord, 2005: 1). Important to mention in this respect is the fact that speakers who use a lingua franca represent different cultures and/or nationalities while using the same language to get their message across. Therefore, ELF communication can be considered intercultural communication as well. The research fields of ELF and Intercultural Communication have different histories however. The former has been focused mostly on the phonological and morphosyntactic aspects of language usage while the latter has been aimed at investigating the pragmatic issues related to language usage in intercultural circumstances (Knapp, 2011: 980). Meierkord (2005) considers the usage of lingua franca a "cooperation rather than misunderstanding" (11). Knapp (2011) states that the general ELF discourse which has been researched in the light of pragmatics, has shown that this particular discourse is characterized by "negotiation of meaning, supporting comprehension, and establishing common communicative ground with the help of the shared linguistic resources of ELF" (980). This is comparable with ten Thije's (2006) interpretation of intercultural communication which includes misunderstanding, but also reaching a consensus and establishing a common ground beyond misunderstanding.

Interaction in lingua franca has been widely researched, especially in informal small-talk situations (Meierkord, 2005). However, it is also used within the context of education. Globalization has had its impact on education. The usage of a lingua franca as the language of instruction is becoming more and more common in education, especially in international academic programs such as UCU. Universities around the world are increasingly promoting internationalization of their programs and choose to use English as their lingua franca in academic contexts. "English-medium instruction has gained momentum in universities of many non-English-speaking countries" (Knapp, 2011: 978). Overall, English remains unchallenged as the current lingua franca in academic contexts. Studies about lingua franca have shown different characteristics to its usage. Especially in informal situations, speakers tend to use the strategy of "let it pass" in case one did not entirely understand an utterance made by the interlocutor. In classroom interaction, however, such a strategy is not accepted. It cannot be used "as a feasible option in instructional discourse at universities - just as in many other institutional and professional contexts, where complete and detailed comprehension on the semantic as well as the pragmatic level may be crucial, and where quite a lot is at stake, be it contracts or credit points" (Knapp, 2011: 979). Thus, misunderstandings in classroom interactions cannot just be overlooked and passed. Instead, speakers will demand explanations or clarification for unclear utterances. Finally, two more characteristics of face-to-face lingua franca communication have been distinguished; speakers wish to save face by trying to avoid conflicts in interaction and refrain from using expressions the interlocutors might not understand. Lingua franca interaction is also characterized by the usage of many positive or supportive back-channels in order to ensure a benevolent atmosphere and attitude towards to other speakers. This can be seen as a reaction to the

uncertain situation created by interacting with speakers with different cultural norms and standards (Meierkord, 2005: 10-11).

Some scholars claim that using English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the context of education, could be disadvantageous for non-native English speakers, because they will have difficulty explaining themselves and will be more likely to misunderstand subjects (Ehlich, 2009). Other scholars claim that the monolingual English speakers are disadvantaged in lingua franca communication in English, because they are "less likely to be able to code-switch, less good at making use of accommodation strategies, and less free and flexible in their use of English than non-native speakers" (Jenkins, 2011: 934). In a way, one can claim that native English speakers have to acquire ELF as an additional language too, because ELF can be considered a shared communicative resource within which interactants can accommodate their utterances to each other by code-switching and creating new forms that are different from native English and are not necessarily 'wrong' (ibid, 2011: 931):

"a skilled English user is no longer someone who has 'mastered' the forms of a particular native variety of English, but someone who has acquired the pragmatic skills needed to adapt their English use in line with the demands of the current lingua franca situation" (ibid, 2011: 931-932).

Especially in international universities, one can clearly detect small global academic ELF communities where a form of ELF is used for communication between the students and teachers. Some scholars claim that using a lingua franca in such a microcosm requires the speakers to co-construct a so-called 'third space' in which the lingua franca speakers negotiate their specific 'lingua franca cultures'. This is highly dependent on the situation in which it occurs and draws on the lingua cultures of the participants. It also enables participants to stay connected to their own cultures while constructing a so-called transcultural identity when interacting with others (Smit, 2010: 73). Ehlich (2009) opts that one should create concepts which go beyond the national or native and take on supranational standardized concepts. This could be a basis for developing new structures in transnational communication. In this development, Ehlich (2009) distinguishes between three dimensions of linguistic communication; goal-oriented communication (i.e. teleological dimension), knowledge-structuring dimension (i.e. gnoseological) and the identity forming (i.e. communautair) dimension. In a way, the usage of a lingua franca in a academic context, facilitates the forming of a transnational identity *and* enables the transfer of knowledge (i.e. knowledge-structuring). The usage of English as a lingua franca in educational contexts is of interest for this study because the researcher aims to improve the learning environment of UCU by looking at classroom interaction. In this interaction, the students use the lingua franca of English. Perhaps the usage of ELF creates a kind of discursive interculture (Koole & ten Thije, 1994) in which students from different nationalities and cultures find a common 'language'. The opposite could also be possible, in which the usage of ELF creates misunderstandings between the students and actually stands in the way of proper understanding.

3. Case: University College Utrecht

3.1 Establishing UCU

University College Utrecht, founded in 1997, is formally a joint activity of all University Utrecht faculties. Thus, it is an integral part of UU, and therefore forms a part of the Dutch educational system. The Dutch educational system is in essence an egalitarian system, because it offers educational opportunities to all people. However, its divisionary characteristics can be considered rather meritocratic. In The Netherlands, pupils are assigned to different high school levels, depending on their performance on the CITO-exam at the end of primary school. This exam is an indication to which level a pupil should go, when entering the high school. The high school levels subsequently determine to which higher education institution one can go. Thus, a division according to a pupil's ability is enforced from the age of 12 onwards. This is a clear example of appointing one's educational opportunities according to his or her performance or merit. Another example of Dutch meritocracy is reflected in the way that a pupil *can* be promoted to a higher high school level if he or she has proven to perform much better than his or her peers. Accordingly, a pupil can move up from HAVO to VWO for example and have a chance to enter a university right after finishing high school.

Since UCU is a university level program which offers an Honors degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science in Liberal Arts & Sciences (LAS), Unlike the vast majority of university programs in the Netherlands UCU is selective. It will only accept students who have finished the VWO level or an equivalent of this. In addition to this minimum education level, one should also possess a combination of traits which makes a student "gifted". Thus, the selection procedure of UCU uses "giftedness" as one of the requirements for accepting new students into the bachelor program. Selecting students who fulfill these requirements will enhance the chances of achieving UCU's goal which is "to produce graduates who excel in combining academic disciplinary breadth with depth" (University Utrecht, 2007: 19). For this reason, a three-year honors program has been created in which ambitious students are offered a liberal arts and sciences (LA&S) education at a stimulating academic environment. An academic environment which aims to transform students' "broad academic and social interests and their international orientation into academic excellence, intellectual independence and world-citizenship within the UCU community" (University Utrecht, 2007: 15). The creation of a UCU community is stimulated by the existence of a campus, where all UCU students are obliged to live during the course of their enrollment. On campus, the dormitories are mixed gender wise and nationality wise to promote social cohesion and widen students' perspective on the world. Overall, the learning environment of UCU is characterized by a liberal arts and sciences philosophy in the curriculum, an international residential learning environment, and performance at honors level (ibid, 2007: 15).

3.2 Selecting gifted students

Measuring giftedness has been the focus of many studies and is often subject of discussion, because traits such as creativity and task commitment are abstract concepts and therefore difficult to measure. Renzulli sums this issue up by stating the following:

"The issue boils down to a simple and yet very important question: How much of a trade-off are we willing to make on the objective/subjective continuum in order to allow recognition of a broader spectrum of human abilities?" (ibid, 1979: 2).

UCU has tried to minimize the confusion by using only Renzulli's (1979) definition of giftedness to assess the candidates abilities and judge whether they are fit for the program or not. Mandelman and his colleagues (2010) have called this "a gatekeeper" which clarifies the distinction between gifted and less gifted individuals. "This will determine the percentage of the population that will be selected and subsequently served differently from the rest of the population" (ibid., 2010, p. 290-291).

The positive aspect of UCU's selection procedure is the fact that it bases its requirements on more than one component for giftedness. Furthermore, it considers the educational history of students evaluated for giftedness (Mandelman et al., 2010, p. 291). Also the sources of information are selected carefully. Besides a grade list and a letter of motivation, a candidate should also include a letter of recommendation from one of his or her high school teachers. The content of the letter is confidential and should not be read by the candidate. "It has been reported that teachers and parents are more accurate in reporting on motivation and leadership skills during the process of identification than on intelligence and creativity" (Mandelman et al., 2010, p. 292). For this reason, UCU uses grade-lists to get an indication of the candidate's intelligence and a letter of motivation to identify the creative ability a candidate. After this first round, a candidate is either rejected or invited for an interview of approximately 45 minutes in person or by phone. One should note that this rather subjective selection procedure is conducted by the faculty members of UCU. In case of doubt of a first reader a second member is assigned as reader for identifying the candidate's abilities on the basis of an application form, letter of motivation, grade list and a letter of recommendation. Accordingly, the amount of subjectivity is reduced by taking two perspectives into consideration. In case the candidate passes this round, he or she is interviewed. In order to calibrate and share standards, ten percent of the interviews are conducted by two other members of the faculty in random combinations. "The interview report is added to the candidate's file. On the basis of an individual assessment of the candidate's file, the dean decides whether to invite the candidate to join UCU, in consultation with the director of education" (University Utrecht, 2007: 72). Roles of reader, interviewer and decision maker are strictly separated. This way, the selection procedure involves the judgments of at least three members of the faculty and the subjectivity of the process is reduced as much as possible.

Renzulli's (1979) "three-ring conception" of giftedness is also reflected in the underlying factors which are measured during selection. The readers as well as the interviewers are assigned to grade the candidate's intelligence, task-commitment, and creativity by giving the candidate a certain amount of points and providing arguments for this grading. In addition, the selectors determine whether the candidate will fit into the liberal arts and sciences program and special living and learning environment of UCU. It should be noted that possessing one of these traits does not make a person "gifted", rather an interaction of the three abilities can lead to being more gifted than one's peers. This specific definition of three dimensions of human functioning ensure the rather exclusive nature of the program, since only a small portion of the world's population performs relatively high on all three abilities.

A limited number of scholarships are available for excellent international students who are not able to pay for UCU's tuition and campus fee. Accordingly, UCU aims to attract students regardless of

their economic backgrounds (ibid, 2007: 72). Other aspects which are taken into consideration are the cultural and educational backgrounds of the candidates. Prospective majors are also considered in order to guarantee that future students will choose different majors in either the departments of Humanities, Social Science, or Science. This Honors college enrolls a limited amount of students each year, adding up to approximately 650-700 students at any time (ibid, 2007: 23). This Honors college enrolls a limited amount of students each year, adding up to approximately 650 students at any time (ibid, 2007: 23).

3.3 Liberal Arts & Sciences

University College Utrecht is known for its interdisciplinary education. It is a real Liberal Arts & Sciences (LAS) program which offers a wide range of courses. Studies have shown that "students at liberal arts colleges report more frequent experiences with diversity than do their peers at other types of institutions. In part, this may be because many liberal arts colleges have policies and practices designed to prepare their students for a diverse democracy" (Kuh et al., 2005: 20-21).

A diverse curriculum is the core value of programs for the gifted; "however, differentiation must be inclusive of the histories and significant events of the cultures of students selected for the program" (Baldwin, 2002: 143). UCU has created a curriculum which guarantees the inclusion of people from different cultural backgrounds by offering courses which cover a variety of topics and include different worldviews. UCU students are expected to take courses in all of the academic departments; Humanities (HUM), Social Science (SSC), and Science (SCI). "The broad and interdisciplinary character of the college means students gain depth in one or more disciplines and the ability to think beyond paradigms" (University Utrecht, 2007: 88).

In practice, UCU students have to design their own individual curricula, while ensuring both in-depth development as well as interdisciplinary growth. Students have to complete at least one course in each academic department and fulfill the general requirements which are focused on academic skills such as writing, presenting, argumentation, methodology and quantitative analysis. They are in this way exposed to different subjects and methodologies to ensure an interdisciplinary outlook on different topics. Besides these general requirements, students should choose a major in Humanities, (HUM), Social Science (SSC) or Science (SCI) that includes at least two academic fields. Thus, in-depth knowledge development is fostered by following a complete 'track' of courses in at least two specific disciplinary fields. Accordingly, the curriculum ensures that students have completed the range of subjects in a field to be able to qualify for graduate programs in that field (University Utrecht, 2007: 19). A track is coherent series of courses starting from a beginner, to an intermediate, to an advanced level course in one particular (sub-) field. Admission to courses at the intermediate and advanced levels requires prior successful completion of the specified prerequisite courses (University Utrecht, 2007: 23). Overall, there are four courses per semester and two semesters per academic year. The program adds up to six 16-week semesters over a period of three years. There are also summer courses offered between the end and the beginning of each academic year. "The liberal arts educational philosophy allows students a great degree of freedom in constructing individual curricula" (University Utrecht, 2007: 24). An overview of the departmental fields and examples of disciplines are provided in figure 4 below.

HUM	SCI	SSC
History	Mathematics	Sociology
Art History	Physics	Psychology
Literature & Classics	Chemistry	Anthropology
Linguistics	Life Science	Geography
Philosophy	Earth & Environment	Political Science
Religious Studies	Medical Science	Economics
Performing Arts	Cognitive Neuroscience	Law
Chinese Language & Culture		

Fig. 4 from: University Utrecht (2007: 24)

A large part of UCU's graduates received a cum laude diploma by the end of the Bachelor program. This study success is special in comparison to the regular university programs at the UU. "Because most UCU teachers are teaching in regular UU programs as well, they are aware of the difference between the achievement of UCU students and UU students, and they grade consequently albeit within the UCU 4 point (letter grade) system instead of the traditional Dutch 10 point system"(University Utrecht, 2007: 73). The assessment at UCU goes from an outstanding grade (A+) to a failing grade (F). The grades symbolize a total of points ranging from 4 points (A) to 0 points (F). A grade point average (GPA) is computed by adding up the grade points and dividing them by the number of classes. The classes from which withdrawal was granted are not included in this calculation. In figure 5, a more elaborate explanation of the grade system is provided.

Letter grade	Grade point	Letter grade	Grade point
A	4.0	C⁻	1.7
A⁻	3.7	D⁺	1.3
B⁺	3.3	D	1.0
B	3.0	D⁻	0.7
B⁻	2.7	F	0.0
C⁺	2.3	NC	0.0
C	2.0	W	0.0

Fig. 5 from: UCU Student Handbook (2006: 18).

3.4 Cultural diversity in student body

The student body of an educational institution has to reflect the cultural characteristics and preferences of the larger educational system. The aim of UCU is to attract candidates from different countries all around the world to create a student body in which students can consider themselves global citizens. UCU students must have an international and outlook on the world:

"This includes not only being able to communicate in English as well as other languages, but also seeing oneself and one's culture from the perspective of others, living with different value systems, reflecting on one's own values, understanding and appreciating cultural differences, and recognizing the role of culture in societal problems" (University Utrecht, 2007: 19).

In a way, one can consider UCU to be part of the Dutch education system as well as the larger global community of liberal arts and sciences programs (Mandelman et al., 2010, p. 293). UCU's international student body and international residential learning environment are ways to stimulate the learning process. Other studies have shown that liberal arts colleges such as UCU have students which interact more often with peers from "diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds" (Kuh et al., 2005:

16). Furthermore, LAS students are more likely to have "serious conversations with other students who hold political and social views very different from their own" (Kuh et al., 2005: 16).

Besides the residential setting and the international campus environment, UCU offers a learning environment which represents both genders and different global regions;

 "In a group of otherwise equally qualified candidates, candidates from underrepresented categories tend to receive higher priority, and on the border between invitation and no invitation, individual cases are compared meticulously" (University Utrecht, 2007: 72).

In the academic year of 2010-2011, a variety of nationalities are enrolled. This is the same academic year in which the class interactions for this study are recorded. In figure 6 and 7 an overview of the gender representation and most common nationalities are presented. These nationalities do not guarantee cultural diversity, but *can* be used as an indication for the students' diverse cultural backgrounds. In appendix 9 a list of all the represented nationalities in 2010-2011 is provided.
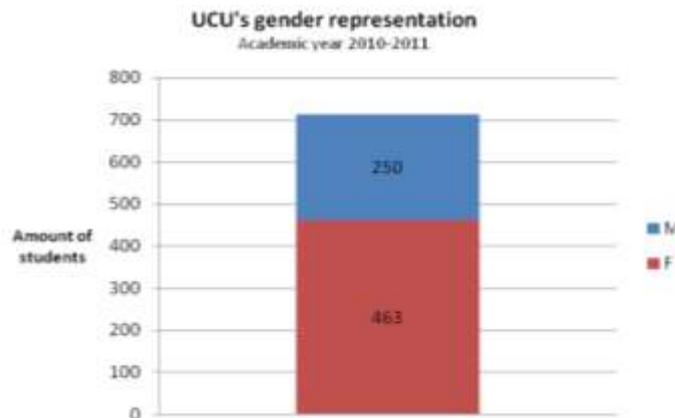
Fig. 6 UCU's gender representation in academic year 2010-2011
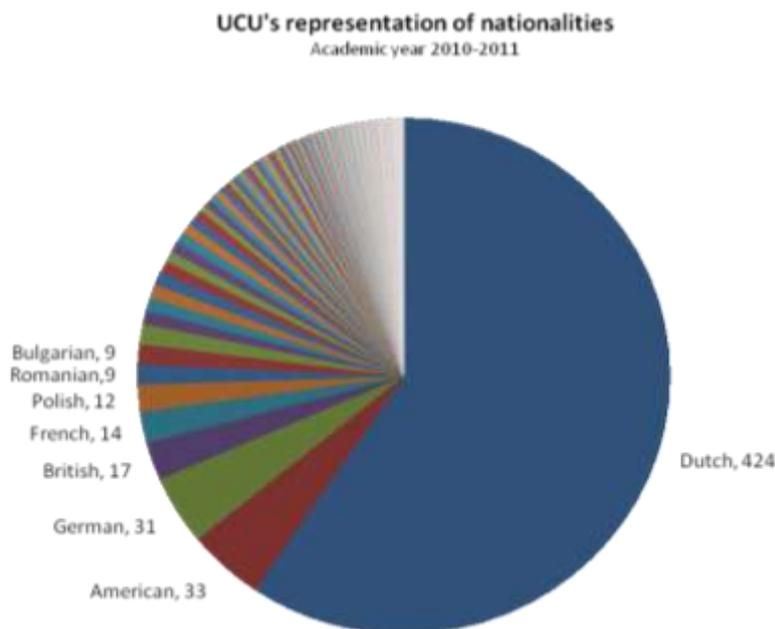
Fig. 7 UCU's nationalities in academic year 2010-2011

3.5 Teaching methods

One can claim that UCU's teaching method consists of two models which "enhance the instructional planning and make it inclusive for culturally diverse students" (Baldwin, 2002: 143). The first model is 'sensitivity enhancement' and second model is called 'concept development' (ibid, 2002: 143).

Sensitivity enhancement involves activities such as debates, analysis of rhetoric, different approaches to problems (ibid, 2002: 143). Student discussions play an important role in education of UCU. It is an interactive way to give all students the opportunity to share their worldview on a specific subject. Students are encouraged to develop primary skills like debating, analyzing different social or scientific positions and to develop a personal problem-solving ability. This is considered an important part of the social and intellectual *community* of UCU (QANU, 2007: 17-18).

The second model UCU uses in its educational method is 'concept development' which means that the curriculum of a school uses materials from different cultures to teach its students (ibid, 2002: 143). Scholars from around the world are used as sources to rely on when explaining a new method or phenomenon to UCU students. Furthermore, some courses are entirely devoted to comparing different cultural perspectives on a topic, for example the course called 'World's Philosophies'; a 100-level Humanities course.

UCU's educational program is designed in such a manner to stimulate the already gifted students and promote their talents. The teaching and learning process are characterized by mutual commitment from both the teacher as well as the student. With a maximum of 28 students per classroom, each student receives the attention he or she deserves. Accordingly, teachers can encourage and monitor individual students and provide assistance if necessary. More importantly, small classes allow for a high degree of student-teacher and student-student interaction in the classroom. Classroom discussions and group work assignments are a viable part of UCU's educational program to strengthen mutual commitment and social cohesion between the students. Classroom discussions and debates are also used to promote asking questions and being critical while staying respectful towards other people's views (University Utrecht, 2007: 29-30). Accordingly, the key elements of UCU's educational philosophy are promoted; active learning, interdisciplinary thinking, critical thinking, and creative thinking.

The first element accounts for the learning process at UCU which encourages teaching methods stimulating active student involvement. Passive lectures are not part of UCU's philosophy. Instead, students are expected to analyze concepts and apply theories which are offered in the course material or taught by the lecturer.

The second element emphasizes the fact that students need to be inspired to extend their arguments beyond their field of interest and combine theories from other disciplines to make a point. "Synthesis between disciplines leads to new insights and innovative solutions. This kind of thinking requires not only knowledge of the disciplines, but also the ability to think creatively" (University Utrecht, 2007: 90).

The third element is an integral part of all UCU courses. Critical thinking involves "activities like analyzing arguments, judging the credibility of sources, identifying the focus of the issue and answering and asking clarifying or challenging questions" (ibid, 2007: 90). UCU applies several teaching methods to enhance critical thinking, like questioning, oppositional debates, or compelling students to reflect on their core ideas (e.g. generation of hypotheses).

Lastly, creative thinking, which is equally important as critical thinking. This element is more difficult to teach, but can be enhanced by focusing on problem finding instead of problem solving (Nickerson,

1999). The conventional way of teaching is focused on solving assignments, however creative achievements often result from restructuring or redefining the problem from different perspectives. This approach is used at UCU (ibid, 2007: 90).

An important part of UCU's curriculum is devoted to classroom interaction. Classroom interaction facilitates active learning, which is one of the key elements of UCU educational philosophy. Classroom interaction often appears in the form of a discussion or debate between the students, while the teacher is present. This method is helpful to encourage active student involvement and participation. "Learning is not regarded as a spectator sport, with students listening to lectures, but as an active and constructive process in which students are expected to shoulder responsibility for their own learning processes and to contribute to the quality and content of the courses" (University Utrecht, 2007: 30).

Discussions or debates are also useful tools to stimulate critical and creative thinking, which is another key element of UCU educational philosophy. Such discussions can last from 5 minutes to an entire hour, depending on the teacher's assignment. It is an efficient way to activate the student and stimulate him or her to use his or her knowledge and share it with the rest of the students. Some scholars would consider such discussions a form of cooperative learning in which academic material is learned through students' collaboration in small groups (Tassel-Baska et al., 1992: 405). In such contexts, learning success depends on the commitment of the entire group to ask questions and provide elaborate explanations (ibid, 1992: 406).

Although the students at UCU are perceived to be relatively gifted in comparison to normal Bachelor programs, differences between the students still remain. Such differences are partly caused by the fact that the cultural background of the students is rather diverse. Thus, each classroom consists of a rather culturally heterogeneous group of students. One should note that because of these differences, students will contribute differently during class discussions: "The assumption that all students in a heterogeneous group will be equally and actively involved in both teaching and learning is naive. Regardless of the reinforcement offered for individual achievement within a group, some students will be primarily cast in the role of 'teacher' with the others being regarded as 'students'" (Tassel-Baska et al., 1992: 407). This is also true for the classroom interactions at UCU; although the teacher is always present during the interactions, students may take on the role of 'the teacher' when speaking to their peer students. This rather peculiar 'role switching' and will be further analyzed by using the method of discourse analysis.

3.6 English as lingua franca

UCU has especially designed its curriculum and selection policy to guarantee that future students will be able to use high-level English in the classroom as well as on campus:

"English is the language of the classroom and the community, and in order to enhance the prospects of intercultural communication, students are also required to learn a foreign language in addition to English" (University Utrecht, 2007: 16).

Candidates who want to apply for enrollment at UCU should have a minimum level of English equal to at least the following scores in the following tests:

test	CAE	CPE	IELTS	TOEFL
minimum score	B	C	7.0 overall band	computer based 237
				internet based 92

Fig. 8 minimum English level for UCU enrollment

Candidates who went to an international or European high school and received an International Baccalaureate or European Baccalaureate diploma in English are exempted. "Dutch students with a 5 VWO average of 8 or higher for English can also be exempted if they include a letter from their English teacher stating their level of proficiency" (UCU website, last retrieved in August 2011).

Upon selection, students are required to follow one mandatory course in "Academic Skills & Practice" , half of which focuses on in academic English. Mauranen et al. (2010) call this a "secondary socialization into academic discourses" (184). They claim that students, regardless of their linguistic background, must undergo a socialization process to become accustomed to the international academic character of the world of research. They question whether new students should adjust to the native way of speaking English (e.g. British or American English) or whether such a standard should not be imposed (ibid., 2010: 184). At UCU, no such standard exists. A UCU student is allowed to write essays in American or in British English as long as he or she consistently sticks to one of the two forms. In interaction, however, students use English in different varieties at UCU which is accepted by all staff members.

4. Research Question

How is excellence expressed in student interaction at University College Utrecht (UCU) and what role does cultural diversity play in this?

In order to answer the aforementioned research question, the researcher will first answer a number of sub-questions to creative a more broad view of the classroom interactions at UCU.

Sub-question 1: In the classroom interactions, are there any characteristic discourse patterns to be found per academic field? If so, what are these characteristics?

Discourse patterns used within the context of a university are diverse. Wiesmann (1999) already provided an overview of which patterns are possible. Wiesmann (1999) used the discourse patterns proposed by Ehlich and his colleagues (1993) to analyze the interaction between students and teacher at the university level. She also provided an outlook on the discursive differences between different academic disciplines of Humanities, Social Science, and Science. Wiesmann claims that within the Science department, the theories are usually accepted and known globally. The interpretation of these theories, however, are open to discussion (1999: 39). In the Humanities and Social Sciences, on the other hand, the theories are competing and therefore provide an immediate basis for discussion (ibid., 1999: 39). Accordingly, one would except students to disagree more often in Humanities and Social Science classes in comparison to Science classes. Wiesmann's study has shown that certain discourse patterns are more prominent in one discipline than they are in others (1999: 230). This study will also investigate prototypical student interactions in classes of different departments (i.e. Science, Social Science, and Humanities). All in all, it will be possible to verify whether there any general tendencies in interaction per department at UCU.

Sub-question 2: In the classroom interactions, are there any characteristic discourse patterns to be found per course level? If so, what are these characteristics?

In addition to the departmental differences of the discourse patterns, the researcher is also interested in investigating whether the level of the courses has anything in common concerning their discourse patterns in interaction. One would expect new UCU students, who have to follow beginners' courses to have to rely more on their own instincts and life experience than on theoretical knowledge gained during their enrollment at UCU. Conversely, one would expect third year UCU students who have acquired sufficient knowledge during their enrollment at UCU, to apply theories during their rhetoric in classroom interactions. In other words, it could be true that 100-level (beginner) courses would contain more anecdotal elements in interaction, than the 300-level (advanced) courses where second and third year students are enrolled. Accordingly, one will be able to see whether there are any similarities in the discourse patterns among the same level of courses.

Sub-question 3: Which phenomena in the student-student and student-teacher interactions at UCU are clear reflections of UCU students' excellence?

In identifying signs of excellence in interaction, the researcher will use Renzulli's (1979) definition for giftedness in order to pinpoint behavior which corresponds with excellence. Renzulli's three-ring conception of giftedness distinguishes between an above average ability in three different traits; intelligence, creativity, and task commitment. The latter two traits can be witnessed during

interaction between students or between the student and teacher in cases where the students continuously asks questions, combines theories to make a point, and where the student is committed to convince the other students or the teacher. Thus, curiosity and combining theories are considered signs of creativity. Perseverance to convince the other interactants is considered a sign of task-commitment.

Sub-question 4: Which discourse patterns reflect cultural diversity in student-student interaction and student-teacher interaction at UCU?

In using ten Thije's (2006) concept of 'perspectivizing' and Koole & ten Thije's (1994) idea of discourse positions related to the students' cultural background, it is possible to detect explicit expressions of the interactants' diverse cultural backgrounds. Thus, in cases where the cultural differences of the speakers are explicitly uttered, the researcher will investigate whether one can detect a case of perspectivizing and whether the underlying discourse positions can be traced in the interaction. Again, perspectivizing is not the only phenomenon signifying cultural diversity when conducting discourse analysis. However, this study focuses on finding this particular phenomenon in order to identify explicit forms of cultural diversity.

Sub-question 5: Does cultural diversity in the classroom interaction influence the expression of excellence in interaction? If so, in what way?

In cases where the interactants' cultural backgrounds are explicitly uttered, the researcher will investigate whether the interactants show to become more involved in the interaction by intensifying their expressions of creativity and/or task-commitment (Renzulli, 1979). These expressions are detected in students' ability to combine theories in their rhetoric and their perseverance to convince the other speakers.

5. Key Concepts

5.1 Excellence in interaction

Excellence has been defined as having a combination of three traits which are on an above-average level; namely intelligence, creativity, and task-commitment (Renzulli, 1979). One would expect such visible signs of excellence to be more present in certain contexts than in others. In order to identify these signs, one would need clear definitions for signs of excellence. Therefore, the latter two interacting components for excellence are used to identify expressions of excellence in interaction (Renzulli, 1979). The trait of above-average creativity is distinguished during UCU's selection procedure by looking at a candidate's transfer of concepts, openness to experience, and curiosity and broad interest. Transfer of concepts, curiosity, and broad interest are also used as reflections of above-average creativity during classroom interaction. Transfer of concepts can be reflected in students' classroom interaction when they combine theories from other UCU-courses for making a statement or asking a question during a discussion. Curiosity and a broad interest can be expressed during interaction through asking questions which go beyond the discussed topic. Indications of the trait of above-average task-commitment are love of learning, perseverance and responsibility, and ambition. Perseverance can be perceived during interaction. The motivation to make one's point during a discussion or to get an answer to one's question are clear indications of a student's commitment to the task.

The institutional action patterns which can be found in each individual action pattern might also provide information about students' excellence in interaction. After providing the underlying discourse structures and institutional action patterns, the researcher will verify whether these patterns are considered 'normal' for university interaction, or whether there are any irregularities to be found. In case such extraordinary phenomena can be detected, the researcher will verify whether these phenomena could be the result of UCU students' above average abilities.

5.2 Cultural diversity in interaction

Although the students at UCU are perceived to be relatively gifted in comparison to normal Bachelor programs, differences between the students still remain. Such differences can partly be caused by the fact that the cultural background of the students is rather diverse. Thus, each classroom consists of a rather culturally heterogeneous group of students. In addition, the teachers of UCU also have a diverse national and cultural background and are always present during interactions in the classroom. One should note that students contribute differently during classroom interactions:

"The assumption that all students in a heterogeneous group will be equally and actively involved in both teaching and learning is naive. Regardless of the reinforcement offered for individual achievement within a group, some students will be primarily cast in the role of 'teacher' with the others being regarded as 'students'" (Tassel-Baska et al., 1992: 407).

The main method for analyzing the recorded classroom interactions is the usage of discourse analysis. Within this, one can also look into specific segments of a fragment by looking at the role an interactant takes within interaction. The discourse roles or 'discourse positions' (Koole & ten Thije, 1994) have to be seen in light of the cultural backgrounds of the students.

Another interesting approach to identify the role of culture in interaction is ten Thije's communicative apparatus of "perspectivizing" (Ten Thije, 2006: 114). This phenomenon will be used in the discourse analysis to identify and analyze the propositional content of utterances. Finally, thematizing and unthematizing racism is one of the many discourse tactics used during intercultural communication ((Koole and Ten Thije, 1994). In case such tactics are used in UCU classroom interaction, one will be able to detect an expression of cultural diversity in interaction.

6. Methods

This is a qualitative explorative research which used methodic triangulation (Baarda et al., 2005). A sample test, observations, and interpersonal documents are applied to achieve a higher reliability than when using only one method of measurement. Accordingly, it is possible to have a more holistic view of the interaction between the gifted international students at UCU. In the sample test, one interaction fragment has been chosen for further analysis. The observations form the basis for this test, while the interpersonal documentation is used as an additional source of information about the students' backgrounds. The data used for the major research is a total of 14 classes recorded on video. Overall, 8 video fragments are chosen in which the students interact with one another and/or with the teacher. The background information about the students who appear in the 8 fragments is provided in the form of interpersonal documents. These documents are applications forms of the students when applying for enrollment at UCU. Overall, their application form, motivation letter, grade point average, and the teachers' reactions about the student after reading his/her motivation letter or interviewing him/her are taken into account for the purpose of this research. This way, one has more information about the students' linguistic, cultural, and educational background which is useful for understanding the phenomena or patterns in interaction.

6.1 Choosing the university, students, classes, and interactions

This research aims to distinguish expressions of excellence and cultural diversity in interaction between gifted international students. The researcher has chosen UCU as its location for research, because UCU is a Honors Bachelor program which enrolls only gifted students and preferably from different nationalities. The subjects of the research are students observed in interaction in the classroom at UCU. They are all enrolled at UCU as either first, second, or third year students or exchange students. Exchange students can be enrolled at UCU for one or two semesters. The classes filmed for the purpose of observing interactions are all classes offered UCU. The classes belong to different disciplines and different levels.

The data used for this research are video recordings of 14 classroom interactions of a total of 13 different courses which belong to one of the three academic disciplines of Humanities (HUM), Social Science (SSC), and Science (SCI). Active learning is an important part of UCU educational philosophy. Therefore, classroom interaction between students occurs often at UCU. The recordings have an average length 1:21:39 (one hour and twenty-one minutes). This encompasses almost the entire lesson which is one and half hours long at UCU. The scheme below shows an overview of the 14 recordings in their respective course names and their connected departments; Social Science (SSC), Humanities (HUM), and Science (SCI). In addition, the level of the recorded course is indicated; beginner (100), intermediate (200), and advanced (300). The total number of students enrolled in the course and the male:female ration of students is presented. In addition, all represented nationalities are shown. Finally, the sex and nationality of the teacher along with the total length of the recording are provided.

Gathered data

Rec.	Course	Dep.	Level	Nr. of students	Male : Female	Nationality students	Sex/ Nationality Teacher	Length of rec. hour:min:sec
1	Introduction to Political Theory	SSC	100	21	9:12	14 Dutch, 2 German, 1 Lithuanian, 1 Canadian, 1 American, 1 Austrian, 1 Bulgarian	male/Italian	1:26:16
2	International Relations	SSC	200	28	6:22	19 Dutch, 2 Chinese, 1 Dutch/French, 1 Dutch/Senegalese, 1 American, 1 Israeli, 1 Turkish, 1 British, 1 Austrian/British	male/Dutch	1:31:06
3	Clinical Psychology	SSC	200	28	4:24	11 Dutch, 4 American, 1 Macedonian, 1 Belgian, 1 Irish, 1 Nepalese, 1 American/Mexican, 1 Indian, 1 Bulgarian, 1 French, 1 Hungarian, 1 Italian, 1 American/Israeli, 1 Dutch/Lebanese, 1 Canadian	male/Ameri-can	1:43:48
4	Psychology of Ethnic Relations	SSC	300	18	1:17	7 Dutch, 3 German, 1 Israeli, 1 Swiss, 1 Russian, 1 American/French/ Venezuelan, 1 Bulgarian 1 Romanian, 1 Indian, 1 Canadian	male/Dutch	1:39:41
5	Comparing Cultures	SSC	300	28	8:20	16 Dutch, 4 German, 2 Romanian, 1 Bosnian, 1 British/German, 1 American/Mexican, 1 Hungarian/Vietnamese, 1 Israeli, 1 French	female/Polish	1:30:50
6	Christianity & Society	HUM	100	21	7:15	6 Dutch, 4 American, 1 Dutch/Japanese, 1 Dutch/Croatian, 1 Israeli, 1 Macedonian, 1 Ghanaian, 1 French/Israeli, 1 American/British, 1 Canadian, 1 British, 1 French, 1 American/German	male/Dutch	1:24:13
7	World Philosophies	HUM	100	23	6:17	10 Dutch, 2 German, 1 South African, 1 American, 1 Swedish, 1 Surinam, 1 British, 1 Dutch/French, 1 Indian, 1 Romanian, 1 French, 1 Dutch/Spanish, 1 Canadian	female/Italian	1:24:53
8	History & Philosophy of Science	HUM	100	20	11:9	8 Dutch, 5 American, 2 French, 2 Polish, 1 German, 1 Dutch/Spanish, 1 Italian/Ecuadorean	male/Dutch	1:21:09
9	Language Contact &	HUM	300	10	4:6	8 Dutch, 1 British, 1 Israeli	female/Dutch-	1:39:53

	Change						Israeli	
10	That's Life: Biology Today	SCI	100	27	6:21	14 Dutch, 1 Hungarian, 1 Turkish, 1 Bulgarian, 1 British/Canadian, 1 Lithuanian, 1 German, 1 French, 1 Danish, 1 Spanish, 1 Surinam, 1 British, 1 Singaporean, 1 American/French	male/Dutch	1:27:20
11	That's Life: Biology Today	SCI	100	27	6:21	14 Dutch, 1 Hungarian, 1 Turkish, 1 Bulgarian, 1 British/Canadian, 1 Lithuanian, 1 German, 1 French, 1 Danish, 1 Spanish, 1 Surinam, 1 British, 1 Singaporean, 1 American/French	male/Dutch	1:04:02
12	Cognitive Neuroscience	SCI	100	26	6:20	15 Dutch, 3 American, 2 German, 1 Hungarian, 1 Indian, 1 Albanian, 1 Dutch/American, 1 Surinam, 1 Polish	male/Dutch	00:51:22
13	Human & Animal Biology	SCI	100	26	2:24	18 Dutch, 1 Dutch/Spanish, 1 Irish, 1 Spanish/Paraguayan, 1 Romanian, 1 Dutch/American, 1 Belgian/Canadian, 1 Indian, 1 American/German	female/Dutch	1:27:55
14	Earth & Environment	SCI	300	10	5:5	3 Dutch, 1 French/Swiss, 1 Swiss, 1 Taiwanese, 1 Canadian, 1 Swedish, 1 American/French, 1 Malaysian	male/Dutch	1:09:59

In order to ensure that the chosen fragments for further analysis represent the larger data-set and UCU classroom interaction in general, the researcher has tried to represent all departments, course levels, students' sex as well as nationality as close to reality as possible. Eight video fragments are chosen because they are quite evenly spread over the three departments of Humanities, Social Science, and Science. Each department is represented with at least one course. The scheme below provides an overview of the 8 chosen video fragments taken from the larger data-set of 14 recordings. The recording number in the first column corresponds with the recording-numbers of the first scheme. The second scheme provides information about the speakers who interact in the chosen fragment and the male:female ratio of the speakers. In addition, their nationality is provided. Finally, the most important action patterns of each fragment are presented along with the total length of the fragment in minutes and seconds. The shortest fragment is 1 minute and 39 seconds long, while the longest fragment is 4 minutes and 40 seconds long.

Research corpus

Rec.	Course	Dep.	Level	Nr. of speakers (excl. teacher)	Male : Female	Nationality speakers	Action pattern	Length of fragment min:sec
1	Introduction to Political Theory	SSC	100	4	3:1	3 Dutch 1 American	-INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE -DISCUSSION	4:40
4	Psychology of Ethnic Relations	SSC	300	3	0:3	2 Dutch 1 Canadian	-TASK COMPLETION PATTERN -PERSPECTIVIZING	3:22
5	Comparing Cultures	SSC	300	4	3:1	2 Dutch 1 German 1 Bosnian	-TASK COMPLETION PATTERN	2:57
6	Christianity & Society	HUM	100	5	2:3	1 Dutch 1 German/American 1 American 1 British 1 Israeli-French	-DISCUSSION	4:25
7	World Philosophies	HUM	100	2	1:1	1 Romanian 1 Dutch	-QUESTION-ANSWER	1:39
8	History & Philosophy of Science	HUM	100	1	1:0	1 Polish	-TEACHER SPEECH -QUESTION-ANSWER -DISCUSSION	3:44
9	Language Contact & Change	HUM	300	2	2:0	2 Dutch	-INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE -PERSPECTIVIZING	2:50
11	That's Life: Biology Today	SCI	100	3	0:3	2 Dutch 1 Turkish	-ANECDOTE -DISCUSSION	3:17

The Social Science department is represented by analyzing one beginners course and two advanced courses. The Humanities department is represented by three beginners courses and one advanced course. And finally, the Science department is represented by only one beginners course, because the rest of the recorded courses did not include much student-teacher interaction. For the sex ratio of the students, the researcher has chosen to ensure that both the male as well as the female UCU students are represented equally in the research, with a total ratio of 12 male and 11 female students in the research data. One should note that the actual ratio of male:female students at UCU in the academic year of 2010-2011 is 35 % male and 65 % female students of the total population. Thus, the used data does not resemble the actual gender division of the population. Instead, it aims to represent both genders equally. The speakers who are recorded in the fragments are from different nationalities, although the Dutch nationality is always more represented than the other nationalities. This is comparable with the total UCU population, which consists for more than 50 percent of Dutch students. The other two major nationalities are American and German, which are both represented in the research data.

6.1.1 Sample test

A selected sample test is conducted to see whether notions such as excellence and cultural diversity in interaction can be found in the recorded fragments. The recorded fragment of an advanced Social Science course called 'Psychology of Ethnic Relations' has been used for the sample test. This fragment includes a discussion between three female students about the topic of multiculturalism in Canada compared to The Netherlands. The method of discourse analysis is applied during the sample test. This test case was completed successfully. After the sample test, all other case studies have been analyzed in the same manner to be able to compare the final findings with one another and draw general conclusions about the classroom interactions at UCU.

6.1.2 Major research: observations

The classes to record were selected in a stratified manner, ensuring that all three disciplines and course levels were represented evenly. Teachers were e-mailed by the researcher to ask permission to join the class and film the interactions. If permission was granted, the researcher introduced herself before the class and explained the purpose of her research shortly by mentioning the interest in filming class discussions at UCU and emphasizing that the students' performance was not being assessed. Limited information was provided about the purpose of the research. After receiving consent from the students, the researcher installed the camera in the back or front corner of the classroom.

The 14 video recordings approximately cover the entire length of the classes, except for the second recording of the Science course 'That's Life: Biology Today' which was only recorded for half the lesson, because the researcher already acquired enough material of this specific course. Not all material can be used for analysis, because some recordings involved lectures only, which are not considered interactional between the students or between the students and teacher. These recordings are removed from the corpus for further analysis. Most of the removed recordings are video-recordings of Science courses, which involved teacher speeches and occasional questions from the students. Thus, the courses from this department are rather unidirectional in terms of classroom interaction, and are therefore not used for further analysis.

Eventually, a second stratified sample is selected from the 14 recordings to ensure that all disciplines and course levels are represented evenly (Baarda et al. 2005: 162). The researcher has formed a corpus which is a representation of UCU's diverse course offerings. A selection of 8 recordings has been chosen for further analysis. The aim is to have a corpus which is as diverse as possible when it comes to the level and department of the course. A diverse corpus might result in a diverse set of findings as well. Therefore, the selection of fragments is set out to achieve a maximum amount of variety in the results (ibid, 2005: 157). The selected 8 video recordings involve student-student and/or student-teacher interaction (see scheme on page 35).

6.1.3 Major research: interpersonal documents (Baarda et al., 2005; translation by Halevi)

Besides these chosen fragments, also another type of data is used to create a more holistic view of the classroom interactions at UCU. This holistic approach can partly be achieved by finding out what the educational, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds of the students in the recorded fragments are. Thus, knowing their background, will also provide a more well-rounded basis of why a student might react in certain manner during classroom interaction. These data are interpersonal documents;

record of grade point average, applications forms, and motivation letters which the students' wrote when applying for UCU. In addition, the reaction of the readers and interviewers are used as an indication of what the staff of UCU thought of these candidates before they were accepted into UCU. These documents can be considered 'interpersonal' because they are records of correspondences between people or written evaluations of people (Baarda et al, 2005). During each analysis of a fragment, one should consider the information provided by the interpersonal documents as relevant background information about the interacting students in the fragment. However, one cannot draw a direct connection between the recorded behavior in the fragment and the provided background information. Thus, it is simply used as additional information providing a more holistic profile of the analyzed interactants.

6.2 Data collection

6.2.1 Sample test

Like all other fragments, the fragment for the sample test is recorded during one of the offered classes at UCU. After recording 14 different classes, one fragment is chosen for the purpose of the sample test. The chosen fragment is part of an advanced Social Science class called 'Psychology of Ethnic Relations'. The entire video-recording of this class is revisited and only a small fragment of 3:22 minutes is chosen for further analysis. This fragment involves a discussion between a Canadian exchange student (female) and two Dutch students (female) about the topic of multiculturalism in Canada compared to in The Netherlands. This fragment is chosen, because it clearly shows an interaction between students trying to represent their own country and interactively finding out what the differences between their home countries are. In this fragment, the expression of cultural diversity between the UCU students is clearly shown in interaction. By applying the method of discourse analysis, one can achieve an even better understanding of how cultural diversity is expressed in interaction.

6.2.2 Major research: observations

To be able to observe the classroom interactions directly, a so-called participative observation is applied (Baarda et al., 2005). The researcher explained why she would like to film the class by mentioning her interest in classroom interaction. Furthermore, the researcher emphasized that the students' identity would remain anonymous in the research report and that their performance was not assessed in any way. After receiving consent from the teacher (by e-mail) and from the students (in person) the researcher installed a steady camera in the front or back of the classroom and remained present during the entire length of the classes. The researcher did not participate in the classroom interaction, but simply observed quietly. Accordingly, an unobtrusive measurement has been achieved and the students speak as freely as possible in the recordings (Baarda et al. 2005: 178). In all 14 recorded classes, it takes the students a few minutes to adjust to the presence of a camera and researcher in class. However, within a few minutes all students get adjusted to the new situation and discussions take place naturally.

6.2.3 Major research: interpersonal documents

Interpersonal documents are used to complete triangulation and ensure a more holistic approach to the data gathering. The interpersonal documents are retrieved from UCU's College Hall, in which all UCU student documentation is stored. Interpersonal documents "are messages written as a personal initiative to inform others about one's feelings, thoughts, or experiences" (Baarda et al., 2005: 215).

In the case of this research, documents such as application forms, motivation letters, records of grade point averages, and teacher's written reactions to reading the motivation letters or interviewing the applying student are used. Such documents reflect how a person thinks about certain problems or issues and how a person might behave in a certain situation. Important to note is that the candidates who write the forms and letters do so with a specific goal in mind: to get accepted into UCU. Thus, they might portray themselves as more capable than they really are. This fact is important to take into account, when using information from the forms and letters for the purpose of gathering background knowledge about the recorded student.

Two staff members have to read the forms and letters to decide whether the candidate can move on to the second selection round. The evaluation of the two readers is also used as background information for the purpose of this research. This is second-hand information about the student's ability and background. This has to be considered, when using this source as background information about the student.

UCU has another selection round after selecting the candidates with the best application forms and motivation letters. In this round, the candidate is interviewed (via phone or in person) by two staff members of UCU. The candidate's performance and behavior during the interview is then graded and provided with an explanation from both interviewers. These explanations are also used as a source of information about the speakers in the research corpus.

Overall, the interpersonal documents are not made for the purpose of research, but for the purpose of selecting new students for enrollment at UCU. This is an important fact to take into account when using the information provided in the documents. Moreover, all the interpersonal documentation is about students who have been accepted into UCU. Therefore, even if some students received negative feedback from a reader or interviewer, the student still got accepted into UCU's Honors Bachelor program. Thus, information about application which students did not get accepted into UCU is not taken into account. However, some of the students recorded during interaction were not accepted immediately. They were put on the waiting list before being enrolled into UCU. These students *can* in fact be considered as group which was considered less of a priority to be accepted immediately into the program.

6.3 Registering, processing, and preparing the data

6.3.1 Sample test: observations

The teacher of the advanced Social Science course of 'Psychology of Ethnic Relations' was first approached by e-mail in which he was asked whether the researcher could join the class to film classroom interactions. The teacher approved this request by e-mail. Afterwards, the researcher entered the classroom and asked the students for their permission to film the class. The research provided limited information about the purpose of the recordings by only mentioning her interest in classroom interaction. The researcher also emphasized that the students' identity would remain anonymous in the final research report and that their performance was not being assessed in any way. Afterwards, the researcher sat in the front of the classroom and used a steady camera to film the interactions during the entire length of the class. The recording lasted one hour and 39 minutes long. Afterwards, the recordings were watched and one fragment of 3:22 minutes was chosen for further analysis (recording number 4). The fragment was divided into segments for the purpose of conducting a discourse analysis. The entire fragment was transcribed by using the Exmaralda

Partitur-Editor program. The three female students who interacted in this specific fragment received aliases to ensure anonymity.

6.3.2 Sample test: interpersonal documents
The interpersonal documentation about the three female students consisted of application forms and motivation letters of all three students. Also reactions of the two readers were provided for all three students. The reactions of the interviewers were available for the two Dutch female students only. Also records of grade point averages at UCU were available for the two Dutch students only. The application form and motivation letter are used to create a more realistic view of the students' linguistic and cultural identity. The records of grade point average are used as indications of intelligence, because an above-average intelligence is one of the traits for giftedness (Renzulli, 1979). Furthermore, the readers' and interviewers' evaluations of the candidates are used as second-hand information about the students' identity and academic ability. All this information is only used as a back-up check to see whether specific traits of the speakers are also mentioned in their student files.

6.3.3 Major research: observations
Originally, a total of 14 classes were recorded on video and on voice-recorder. Each class lasted one and half hours. The classes were recorded for the entire time, except for the 10 minute break in the middle of each class. Besides the recordings, notes have been written down describing the actions and peculiarities taking place in the classrooms. Transcribing all 14 recordings of one and half hours requires too much time for the purposes of this study. For this reason, a selection of 8 recordings has been chosen for further analysis. The selection is based on the peculiarities taking place during the classes, which were written down in the researcher's notes. Another decisive factor for choosing these 8 recordings is the fact that all three academic departments and course levels should be represented equally in the data. Therefore, at least one class of each department has been picked for further analysis. The chosen 8 recordings were reviewed and split up into several fragments. A number of fragments have been transcribed following Ehlich & Rehbein's conventions (1993). These transcriptions are further analyzed to answer the formulated research questions.

6.3.4 Major research: interpersonal documents
The selection of interpersonal documents was made after selecting the specific fragments for transcription. Only the student files of students who verbally interacted in the transcripts are used as a source of background information about the students. The names of the students have been changed in the research report in order to ensure their anonymity.

The student files were not all complete. In some cases a student file only consisted of an application form, motivation letter, and the reader's comments after reading the candidate's motivation letter. The most complete files also contained a review of the interviewers after having interviewed the candidate. A complete student file also contained a grade point average of the student, showing his or her performance until now at UCU.

6.4 Data Analysis

6.4.1 Describing and justifying the analysis
Taking into account the research questions and sub-questions of this study, it is possible to distinguish several approaches to analyzing the video fragments of classroom interaction at UCU. The overall approach consists of discourse analysis in which one should consider the institutional context

in which the interactions take place. Thus, the hierarchical differences between teacher and students are important to consider when categorizing the fragments into different discourse genres.

This study will apply the interactive intercultural approach to analyze the classroom interactions at UCU. This approach is concentrated on the discourse of people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds interacting either in a lingua franca or in the language of one of the interactants (Ten Thije, 2003: 200). In the case of UCU, the lingua franca is English. More information about lingua franca in educational institutions is provided in chapter 2.3. This study will apply both an inductive as well as a deductive analysis. The inductive approach will insure that the discourse phenomena in classroom interaction at UCU are distinguished and clearly analyzed. The deductive method will make sure that the discourse phenomena *can* be categorized as intercultural. "This can only be done on the basis of biographical and ethnographic information on the communicating actors and the groups or communities of which they are members" (Koole & ten Thije, 2001: 571-572). For this reason, the actors who appear in the analyzed fragments will be described according to their linguistic and national backgrounds. On the basis of the actors' profiles, it will be possible to judge whether the analyzed interaction is intercultural or not. Interactive failure as well as interactive success will be considered in the analyzed fragments. Interactive success means "that interlocutors have succeeded in establishing a mutual basis for their communication" (Koole & ten Thije, 2001: 572). In case such success is reached, one can speak of achieving a 'discursive interculture' (ibid., 2001: 572).

In order to avoid overgeneralization and categorize all phenomena as 'intercultural' it is important to first distinguish the institutional discourse structures in interaction. In the case of classroom interaction at UCU it is therefore crucial to find out the institutional patterns first, and then identify the intercultural elements in the discourse structures. Ehlich and his colleagues (1993) and Wiesmann (1999) have come up with a way to distinguish the institutional discourse structures in interaction. After applying these analytical methods, one can start revealing the intercultural aspects in the interactions.

Overall, all fragments will be analyzed using discourse analysis in order to extract the general underlying discourse structures of the fragments. The researcher will categorize the fragments according to the available institutional action patterns of a university (Ehlich et al., 1993; Wiesmann, 1999) or the action patterns related to a discussion (Vogt, 2002; Trautmann, 2004). The chosen fragments will be transcribed and shown in the form of a partitur-model (see appendix) (Ehlich et al., 1993: 207). This partitur-model is used a basis for further analysis.

The next step is to find interesting *sections* in the transcripts and to investigate which characteristics these *sections* have (ibid., 1993: 207). Furthermore, one can make assumptions about the discourse-internal semantic structures by connecting the underlying meaningful sections which are shaped by what was said before and in which context the interaction occurs (ibid., 1993: 210). The transcript can be further divided into different *segments*. This process is called "segmenting" and will be used to analyze parts of the transcripts (ibid., 1993: 211). The segments are numbered according to the location within the partitur-model (e.g. s12, s34, s35-38 etc). After segmenting the fragment, it is possible to make an abstract division of a segment by assigning it's illocutionary type. An illocutionary type means what kind of speech action a segment portrays (e.g. question, answer, assertion) (Ehlich et al., 1993: 215). Thus, it exceeds the actual meaning of the sentence by offering a more abstract description of what is meant. One can simplify a part of the transcript by making this

abstract division of illocutionary types and qualities. These illocutionary types follow one another and form a specific discourse pattern. Such a pattern can be symbolized in an elementary structure or scheme providing a clear sequence of illocutionary types (see appendixes 1-8) (ibid., 1993: 218-221).

The patterns in the fragments will distinguish whether the interaction is a TASK COMPLETION PATTERN sequence or whether it is a DISCUSSION. In the latter case, Vogt's (2002) and Trautmann's (2004) theories about a discussion will be used to analyze the phenomena. In case the fragment involves a TASK COMPLETION PATTERN, Wiesmann (1999) and Ehlich et al.'s (1993) approach to institutional discourse patterns will be applied to analyze the existing phenomena. All the analyzed fragments will include a section before and after the researched interaction. These short sections should not be taken into consideration when analyzing and extracting the action pattern. However, responses of the listener (e.g. confirmations and repetitions) or reasons of the actors are considered part of the discourse and should be taken into account when analyzing the action patterns. One of the most common action pattern used in school (Ehlich et al. 1993), but also at the university (Wiesmann, 1999) is the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN (Mikkers, 2008: 34). This pattern but also other action patterns are found in the data of this research and will be explained further in the results section.

6.4.2 Answering the research question

Research question: *How is excellence expressed in student interaction at University College Utrecht (UCU) and what role does cultural diversity play in this?*

After going through the aforementioned analytical steps, it will be possible to answer the overall research question. However, first it is necessary to answer all the sub-questions in order to be able to answer the general research question. On the basis of these answers, advice will be provided about how to stimulate excellence during classroom interaction. The academic staff of UCU and of any other similar honors program could benefit from these answers and incorporate the offered advice in their future academic program. An explanation of how one can analyze the data and arrive at answering the sub-questions is shown below.

Sub-question 1: *In the classroom interactions, are there any characteristic discourse patterns to be found per academic department? If so, what are these characteristics?*

Wiesmann's study has shown that certain discourse patterns are more prominent in one academic discipline than they are in others (1999: 230). This study also investigates prototypical student-teacher interactions in classes of different departments (i.e. Social Science, Humanities, and Science). Accordingly, it will be possible to verify whether there are any general tendencies in discourse patterns per department at UCU as well.

Sub-question *2: In the classroom interactions, are there any characteristic discourse patterns to be found per course level? If so, what are these characteristics?*

Besides verifying whether there are any departmental characteristics in the discourse patterns of the courses, it is also interesting to see whether the level of the courses have anything in common concerning the discourse patterns in the corpus. For this reason, the results of the discourse patterns per course will be compared to one another in relation to their connected course levels. Perhaps one

can detect discourse patterns which are similar across the departmental boundaries, because of their course level.

Sub-question 3: *Which phenomena in the student-student and student-teacher interactions at UCU are clear reflections of UCU students' excellence?*

The researcher will use the found action patterns of all eight fragments as a representation of how classroom interaction at UCU occurs. Accordingly, it is possible to find the most dominantly existing action patterns and underline the prominent characteristics which were present across the dataset. The three-ring conception of giftedness (Renzulli, 1979) will be used as a guideline for distinguishing excellent students during interaction. In addition, the researcher will shed light on the irregularities found in the discourse structures which can, in some cases, be explained in light of students' above average abilities. In case one would find such extraordinary structures, it will be possible to answer the first sub question by explaining the reoccurring phenomena as an expression of giftedness at UCU.

Sub-question 4: *Which discourse patterns reflect cultural diversity in student-student interaction and student-teacher interaction at UCU?*

Second of all, the fragments will be analyzed in the light of intercultural communication and how cultural diversity plays an important role during classroom interaction. Theories such as pespectivizing (ten Thije, 2006) and discourse positions in the light of cultural diversity (Koole & ten Thije, 1994) are used to identify the points at which the actors' diverse cultural backgrounds are explicitly expressed in classroom interaction. After analyzing all the fragments in the light of intercultural communication, it will be possible to see whether the diverse cultural backgrounds of the students *do* play a role in interaction and in what way. Accordingly, it will be possible to answer this sub-question.

Sub-question 5: *Does cultural diversity in the classroom interaction influence the expression of excellence in interaction? If so, in what way?*

In the cases where cultural diversity is explicitly expressed in interaction, the researcher will analyze whether the students' abilities are further stimulated as a result of the apparent cultural differences or whether there is no such direct relation to be found. In case one *can* detect a clear shift of the students' behavior as a result of explicitly expressing cultural differences, one can claim that the cultural diversity at UCU is used as a force to stimulate the expression of excellence during interaction. Asking questions, combining theories, and committing to a specific standpoint will be considered signs of explicit excellent behavior, corresponding with Renzulli's above-average traits of curiosity, creativity, and task-commitment. In case one would detect such expressions of excellence as a result of students sharing their cultural backgrounds, it will be possible to answer this sub-question.

6.5 Reliability and validity

6.5.1 Reliability
By thoroughly presenting and explaining the research methods and the research context in the sections above, one has tried to maximize the possibility of replicating this research. The reliability of this study partly depends on whether it is replicable or not (Baarda, 2005). Through methodic

triangulation, it has been possible to increase the quality of the research and shed light on the topic of classroom interaction from different angles. One should note, however, that the interpersonal documents, which are used as background information about the students, are documents which were not produced for the purpose of this research. Thus, they are simply used as a check to see whether particular behavior of a student is also detected in his or her student file.

6.5.2 Internal and external validity
The internal validity of this research is guaranteed because the research context is entirely comparable to the real situation of classroom interaction. The correspondence between the gathered video-data and reality is great. By recording the interactions on video and applying an unobtrusive observation, one has strived to capture the real situation and avoid disturbing it in any way. The methodic triangulation also strengthens the internal validity of the research.
The external validity of this study is ensured by gathering a large dataset and choosing a research corpus which represents the diversity of UCU's student population and course offering. In this way, the results of the research can be transferred to comparable situations like UCU's classroom interactions (Baarda, 2005). In other words, the final conclusions of this research can be generalized to comparable gifted education programs where intercultural interaction takes place in the classroom. One could start by comparing the findings to the situation in other University College locations in The Netherlands.

6.5.3 Reflection on the role of the researcher
In qualitative research it is impossible for the researcher to stay entirely objective. It is more important for the researcher to remain credible, in order to arrive at interesting findings. For this reason, a short reflection of the personal background of the researcher is provided. The researcher is a woman, born in 1987. She has a Dutch/Israeli nationality and a bicultural background. The researcher is Caucasian, with brown hair and blue eyes. She herself is an alumna of UCU and has graduated in 2009. Currently, she is studying at the University of Utrecht, for her masters in Intercultural Communication. This masters program is part of an international program called Eurocampus ICC which is an initiative of different European scholars who wanted to teach Intercultural Communication to students from different European universities. Each academic year, the teachers of Eurocampus offer their courses at one of the participating universities. During the researcher's academic year, Eurocampus was based at Utrecht University, which is also an active participant of the program. The researcher experienced a different international group than at UCU, because this group was focused on learning one subject only; Intercultural Communication. Furthermore, the group was rather small, with approximately 15 students participating in the program. Like at UCU, Eurocampus uses English as its language of instruction. The researcher's English proficiency is good and her native languages are Dutch and Hebrew. Furthermore, she considers herself to be a citizen of the world with her bicultural and multinational identity. The researcher is born in Israel, but raised in The Netherlands. She has been enrolled in Dutch education starting with primary school, then high school (VWO level) and finally a Bachelor program at UCU. She has taken a gap year between high school and her Bachelor studies to travel in Israel. During her Bachelor program, she also joined an exchange program to study for half a year in Israel. After graduating from UCU, she lived in Israel again for another year until her enrollment in the master program of Intercultural Communication.

During the gathering of data, the researcher introduced herself in front the classroom before starting her video-recordings. She spoke in English, mentioning her name and the fact that she is an alumna of UCU. Her own enrollment in UCU makes the researcher very familiar with the educational philosophy and expected behavior at UCU. Accordingly, one can consider the researcher to be experienced and knowledgeable about the learning environment of UCU. Her familiarity with this educational program could be considered a reason to become biased about UCU's educational quality. However, the researcher has refrained from judging the students' behavior in interaction on the basis of her own experience at UCU. Instead, she has committed herself to using scientific methods to analyze the interactions and avoid inserting any subjective evaluations. In a way, her familiarity with UCU is used as an advantage to get more inside information about the students' background and to ensure that the students will feel as comfortable as possible when they are filmed in interaction. One student requested not to be filmed for the purposes of this study. The rest of the students all agreed to be recorded during interaction. One must note that the speakers in the research corpus are *not* personally known to the researcher.

6.5.4 Member check

This study has been checked by an informant of UCU for its accuracy, credibility, validity, and transferability. The informant is the current Head of Education of UCU, who can be considered an expert on matters concerning UCU's educational philosophy and selection policy. He has read the research rapport and the presentation of UCU as a case and has provided additional comments to ensure the credibility and accuracy of this rapport. Accordingly, one can be certain that a representative of UCU has agreed with what is stated about the institution and its policies. This way, one can consider the findings of this study to be valid for the case of UCU. In addition, one could transfer the findings and generalize them to similar international gifted education programs such as the other Liberal Arts & Sciences universities available in The Netherlands.

7. Results

In the results section, all the sub-questions of the research question will be answered individually by providing the results from the discourse analyses which are relevant for answering the particular question. The research corpus of eight fragments is used for answering the questions. The transcripts of all eight fragments are presented in the appendix. At the end of this section, the answers to the sub-questions will be combined to answer the overall research question. The relevant courses will be introduced before presenting the results for each sub-question, providing the context and background information of the speakers. The background information comes from the students' first appearance at UCU, as candidates who wanted to enroll in the Honors program. This information is only used as a back-up to check whether phenomena in the interaction, can also be found during the student's selection procedure.

7.1 Sub-question 1: action patterns per academic department

Each fragment is transcribed and broken up into illocutionary types. Afterwards, an underlying discourse pattern has been identified. The list of fragments is shown below with their identified patterns. The discourse pattern shown in **bold** letters can be considered the most prominent discourse pattern in the interaction. Obviously, there were also other action patterns found in the 14 recorded seminars. Each lesson had several different action patterns, however, the researcher chose to further analyze only those patterns which were most dominantly present during the chosen research corpus of 8 lessons. In this paragraph, the researcher makes a comparison between the academic departments. Afterwards, it is possible to underline the similarities and differences across the academic departments. In appendixes 1-8, the context of each fragment is provided and an outline of the interactants' background. In addition, schemes of the illocutionary types and their connected transcripts are shown. The appendix presents all the information per recorded lesson.

Course	Dep.	Level	Action pattern
Introduction to Political Theory	SSC	100	-INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE **-DISCUSSION**
Psychology of Ethnic Relations	SSC	300	**-TASK COMPLETION PATTERN** -PERSPECTIVIZING
Comparing Cultures	SSC	300	**-TASK COMPLETION PATTERN**
Christianity & Society	HUM	100	**-DISCUSSION**
World Philosophies	HUM	100	**-QUESTION-ANSWER**
History & Philosophy of Science	HUM	100	-TEACHER SPEECH -QUESTION-ANSWER **-DISCUSSION**
Language Contact & Change	HUM	300	**-INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE** -PERSPECTIVIZING
That's Life: Biology Today	SCI	100	-ANECDOTE **-DISCUSSION**

7.1.1 Action pattern DISCUSSION

Social Science: Introduction to Political Theory   (appendix 1)

After categorizing the illocutionary types in the fragment, it is possible to distinguish a specific action pattern which is prototypical for many classroom interactions at UCU. This fragment involves an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. The teacher aims to transfer knowledge by letting the students work out the different perspectives to the subject. He tries to maintain control over the course of lesson by inserting DIRECTING QUESTIONS. However, along the way, the so-called INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE turns into a real discussion in which there is no consensus reached but simply different perspectives are presented. The fragment is analyzed according to Ehlich & Rehbein's (1993) description of an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. Eventually Trautmann's (2004) and Vogt's (2002) approach to discussions in the classroom is used to explain the extraordinary phenomena in the fragment. This fragment starts off with a question from student AOR, in which she quotes a previous statement made by the teacher (1a). The statement relates to specific private matters in society (e.g. having a polygamous relationship or not) which are monitored and judged as inappropriate by the state. The student questions why the state gets involved in such private matters. Instead of answering her question, the teacher approaches it as a trigger to insert a DIRECTING QUESTION and initiates an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. This way, he tries to facilitate the students' understanding of the state's role in private matters and also encourage students to actively participate in the learning process:

AOR	**(1a)**	Eh you said that "why shouldn't the state be able to propel these two or three or four people or whatever eh express their love and affection for eachother" and the point of. Wha/why does the state have to be involved in the first place… (s1.1-4).
Teacher	**(1b)**	Right (s4.2).
AOR	**(1c)**	in matters of private affairs? (s4.3-5).
Teacher	**(1d)**	What do you think? ((laughs)) (s5.4).
	(1e)	How would you explain the fact that governments, even the most liberal, still keep on being involved in matters which is not their business directly? (s5.4-7).
AOR	**(2a)**	Ehm I don't know. I think that it especially if you look at the condition in the States where ehm ehrr Republi/the Republican party used to hold the line against ehm homosexual lenience. They say that the vast majority of people have said you know "they don't want gays to get married, so we're going to hold that line up or/ mo/ the morality of the country." They say: "we're a Christian nation and there's nothing in the Bible about a man and a man getting married." (s7.5-13).
Teacher	**(2b)**	Ok (s.13.6).
		And that's clearly a moral standard (s13.7-14).
AOR	**(2c)**	Yeah (s14.8).
Teacher	**(2d)**	Whatever we think of it, the Republican takes a moral position. Or if we prefer a moralistic position, depending on what we think (s14.9-16).

(3a)   What about Europe? (s16).

DDJ   **(4a)**   About private matters…(s16.10).

Teacher   **(4b)**   Hmhm (s16.10).

DDJ   **(4c)**   I think that private matters could indirectly affect the social structure of society. If you have polygamies and polygamy children. Children will also be eh raised in a different way than they would be being brought up by two people so then you will also have different people in society It might be not that beneficial, might be also the but…(s16.10-21).

The figure shows an abstract systematic way of portraying how the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE is used in the aforementioned interaction:
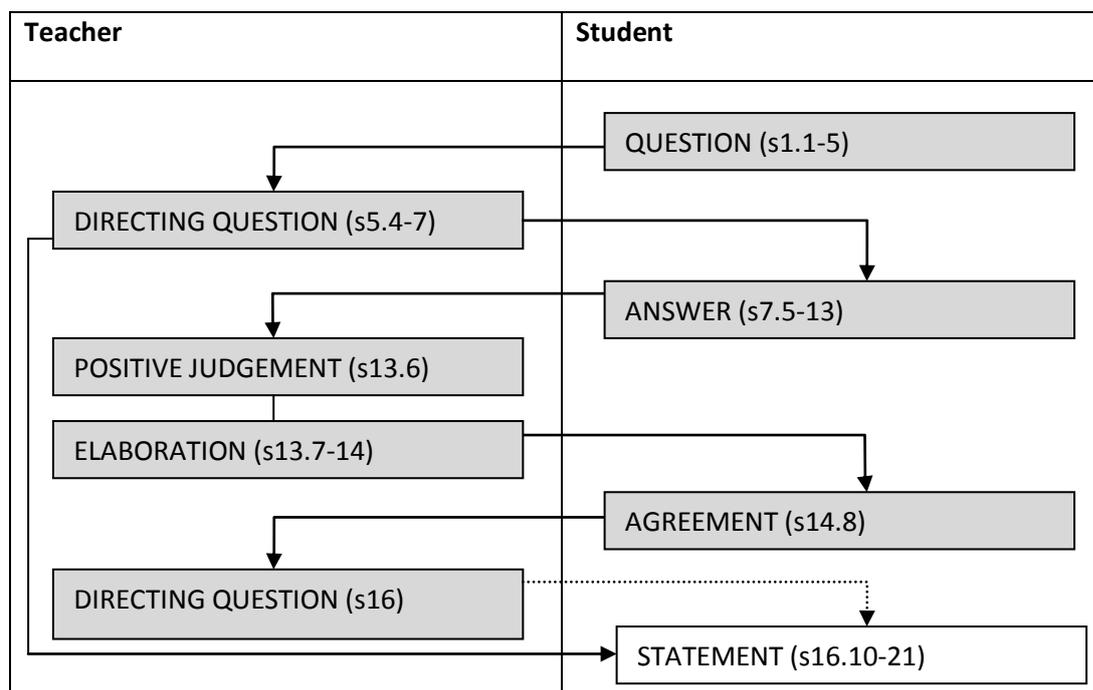
Fig. 9 INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE

In the figure one can clearly see that the teacher deliberately replies to the first question by inserting a DIRECTING QUESTION in which he repeats the question made by the student and asks her to figure out the answer. One can use the terms of thema and rhema in this sense by claiming that the AOR has used a thema to ask her question but the teacher has repeated that thema and asked AOR to fill in the rhema (unknown and new knowledge) herself. Accordingly, AOR becomes actively part of the process of transferring knowledge to her peers while also answering her own question. She does so by showing an example of a state's interference (i.e. the Republican party in the United States prohibiting gay marriage). The teacher makes sure that her answer is correct by providing a positive judgment in s13.6 and elaborating AOR's answer by adding additional information. This way, the teacher has divided his speech into sections and assigned AOR to provide part of the knowledge for the lesson. Finally, AOR agrees with the elaboration of the teacher and the teacher continues his speech with role assignment by asking other students to answer the second DIRECTING QUESTION concerning the case of Europe (s16). However, no one has offered to answer this question. Instead, DDJ interrupts the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE by inserting an ASSERTION concerning the previous topic. This topic still relates to the first DIRECTING QUESTION of the teacher. Thus, in a way,

DDJ wants to add his perspective to the DIRECTING QUESTION posed by the teacher in s5.4-7. He claims that some private affairs could have a negative effect on a society and for this reason the state should be able to interfere in personal affairs. His example goes back to the case of polygamy in society and how it would not be beneficial for a society at large. Afterwards, the teacher uses DDJ's statement as input for his INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. The teacher anticipates the outcome DDJ's statement by inserting a new DIRECTING QUESTION (5a). In this question he tries to sharpen DDJ's statement by asking him what the exact problem would be, if polygamy was allowed by the state (s21.11). Interestingly, the teacher *does* insert his personal opinion on the matter by stating that he is "playing the devil's advocate here" (s21.11) thereby implicitly showing that he is against polygamy. The student (DDJ) attempts to answer the teacher's question, but simply repeats his argument twice (see 5c):

Teacher **(5a)** And what's the problem with that? (s21.11).

(5b) I'm playing the devil's advocate here (s21.11).

DDJ **(5c)** Well if it affect/ if/if the development affects itself in a bad way, it's a bad development (22.12-23).

Teacher **(6a)** And what do you call…(s23.13).

AOR **(7a)** And how do you judge what's good or bad? (s23.14-24).

In 7a the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE is interrupted by AOR's inserted question. She cuts off the teacher and decides to ask DDJ a question following up to his previous statement in 5c. Although one might expect the teacher to have asked the same question in 6a, AOR is faster than the teacher in uttering her question. From this point onwards, the teacher slowly hands over the control over the course of the lesson to the students. He remains absent from the interaction between the students and a real discussion arises. This discussion can be seen in the light of Vogt's (2002) approach in which several different perspectives can be offered to one topic and that the final result does not have to be a consensus, but rather a multitude of perspectives next to one another leading to disagreement. This is exactly what happens in this fragment.
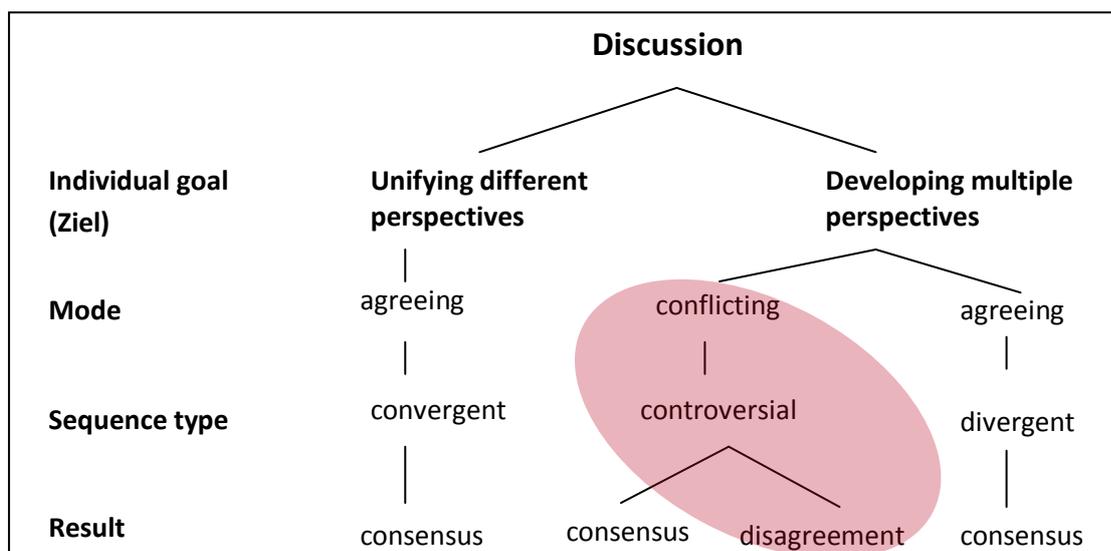
Fig. 10 based on "Systematik von Diskutieren" (Vogt, 2002: 90)

Although the teacher tries to show his presence in the interaction by inserting some DIRECTING QUESTIONS in the interaction, the overall course of the discussion lies in the hands of the students themselves. There is no right answer to the discussion and therefore the students are free to share their opinions concerning the topic. Interestingly, however, the students remain critical to one another; they ask each other to provide arguments for their statements and finally one student (DDJ) remains quite unsuccessful in explaining how one can research whether a societal development is "bad" or not. The following part shows how the students take charge of the interaction from 7a onwards, and how the teacher barely interferes:

class   **(7b)**   Yeah that's…(s24.15).

DDJ   **(7c)**   Ehm, well that/that's hard to define but you can if you if you like eh take res/ if you if you researched it if you if you try to define what the change is you/you U think you can it's pretty difficult. If you can you can also know   whether it's if it's a bad it's a a bad development or not (s24.16-28).

TO   **(7d)**   Just like you said that Republicans managed to somehow test that the majority of Americans would have problems with gay marriage empirical or statistically (s28.17-30).

AOR   **(8a)**   So but/but how do you ehm how do you determine that empirically that having homosexual lenience is bad for the country? (s30.18-31).

DDJ   **(8b)**   Tha/that's really difficult but you CAN be ( ) and gay it's very complicated. I think it's too difficult now to decide on how to determine ( ) (s32-33.19).

Until this very moment, the teacher has not interfered in the interaction. It is as if AOR is asking all the right questions to remain critical towards DDJ and TO's statement while staying respectful towards their opinions. In a way, AOR takes over the role of inserting DIRECTING QUESTIONS, which is usually characteristic to the tasks of a teacher. Again, an example in which the teacher is set outside the interactional process and the students independently take over the knowledge transfer and knowledge acquisition part of their learning process. It *is* important that the teacher remains present during such interactions in order to monitor the developments and jump in at any moment in time. Furthermore, the teacher is supervising the uttered statements and arguments as part of the students' participation grade for this specific course. Thus, it is in the students' best interest to perform well and provide good arguments.

After 8b, the teacher tries to regain control over the discussion by asking DDJ and TO who should be in charge of researching the effects of societal changes. This could be regarded as a open question, because several answers could suffice. Thus, it remains unclear whether this question was targeted as a DIRECTING QUESTION to which the teacher already knows the answer, or whether the teacher is genuinely interested to know DDJ's and TO's answers to this question. The reaction to the teacher's question in 9a shows that the teacher refrains from providing a positive of negative judgment to the answer. Thus, in a way, it was truly an open question which did not have any specific correct answer to it:

Teacher **(9a)** Who should be given ( ) the task to researching into this matter? Are you thinking about a specialist are you thinking about ( )? (s33.20-35).

TO **(9b)** Think tanks (s35.21).

Teacher **(9c)** Think tanks? (s35.22).

TO **(9d)** That's i/in the States… (s35.23).

NA **(9e)** But it will always ( ) sector (s35.23).

TO never gets the chance to explain his answer about the think tanks. Instead, NA interrupts him by providing his critique concerning think tanks in 10a. TO tries to invalidate NA's objections by claiming that politicians use such think tanks to enforce their own policies (10b). The peer classmates show their support to TO's statement by using the backchanneling signal of "yeah" in 10c. One can clearly see two opposing perspectives between NA and TO:

NA **(10a)** It will always be a normative analysis because the people in such a think tank also have an opinion in that sense. So it's it's it's not doable to make it eh to make a positive analysis (s36.24-38).

TO **(10b)** But that's ne/ that's never been a goal of any politician I think to ( ) I mean most politicians don't want mere statistics they just want statistics that support their point (s38.25-40).

Class **(10c)** Yeah (s40.26).

TO **(10d)** That's the fact of a matter (s40.27).

After this, NA makes sure that the point of the discussion is not lost; he tries to steer the discussion to the original direction, namely explaining when a societal development is good or not, which was a question posed by another student in 7a (AOR). TO accepts NA's efforts to go to the original question by using the backchanneling signal of "no" in accordance to the negatively posed statement of NA in 11a. NA makes sure that the entire class understands the bottom line of this discussion is to find out if a societal development is good or not for a nation (11e). Now DDJ steps up again by adjusting TO's solution to use think tank's to find out whether a development is good or bad. In a way he goes back to a different question, namely: "Who should be given ( ) the task to researching into this matter? Are you thinking about a specialist are you thinking about ( )?" (9a). This question was posed by the teacher. Thus, NA's attempts to steer the discussion back to it's original direction fails once again. Instead, DDJ goes back to a later question and states that scientists could investigate the effects of specific societal developments on society at large. Finally, NA reacts to DDJ's statement by claiming that there are too many factors involved to do such a research. DDJ sticks to his point in 12d-f while not providing real arguments. Eventually, NA finishes the discussion by wishing DDJ "good luck" which such an enormous research. This is clearly a cynical sneer to DDJ, emphasizing DDJ's rather unrealistic outlook on the topic. DDJ acknowledges NA's objections by using the backchanneling signal "Yeah" and laughter and the end of the discussion, as if to say that he finds his own statements

rather unrealistic as well (12h). Eventually, one can claim that the interactants NA and DDJ have agreed to disagree and the discussion has ended with a disagreement (Vogt, 2002).

NA **(11a)** But that/that doesn't really solve the issue of whether it should, it is good or not (s40.28-41).

TO **(11b)** No (s41.29).

NA **(11c)** Like I mean… (s41.29).

TO **(11d)** Well I mean… (s42.30).

NA **(11e)** We are trying to establish whether it's good or not for a nation NOT what the politics want us to know or want us to want in that sense (s42.31-44.32).

DDJ **(12a)** No, well. But you can talk, I think you don't need to talk about politicians but can also talk about scientists that might be eh expert in deciding what the f/, what the impact would be if you would have eh polygamies instead of just two people in the family that raising the children (s44.32-47).

AOR **(12b)** But when… (s47.34).

NA **(12c)** But I think that there are too many factors involved to do, to do any scientific research (s47.34-48).

DDJ **(12d)** Yeah there are a lot of factors but I think like ideology ideolo/ how do you say that? ideolo… (s48.35-49).

Teacher **(12e)** Ideological? (s50.36).

DDJ **(12f)** Yeah, it's possible I think, because… (s50.37).

NA **(12g)** Good luck (s50.38).

DDJ **(12h)** Yeah ((laughs)) (s50.39).

AOR **(13a)** Well the other thing that's…(s50.40-).

Interestingly, the teacher barely interrupts the discussion and the interaction is no longer characterized by the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. Instead, the teacher facilitates the students to take control over the action patterns and enables them to change the pattern, if necessary. The knowledge transfer is already facilitated by the students themselves. Only in 12e the teacher helps out DDJ to pronounce the word "ideological". However, content-wise, the teacher's input is rather minimal. Overall, it's safe to say that the teacher's attempt to take control over the course of the lesson plan by inserting DIRECTING QUESTIONS and ensuring his INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE has been disrupted and the teacher has enabled the students to take control over their learning process in 9d. Interestingly, the social purpose (Zweck) of the lesson is still reached, regardless of whether it was initially facilitated by the action pattern of an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. The teacher has given the students the ability to take control over their learning process and along the way, the students have reshaped the action pattern of this process. They have introduced the action pattern of a DISCUSSION.

The discussion is characterized by diverse perspectives with minimal input from the teacher. This discussion involves different individual goals (Ziel) because the students really want to convince one another and make their point. However, the underlying social purpose (Zweck) of the DISCUSSION is still intact; the transfer of knowledge is still taking place. But this time, the students are enriched both individually as well as interactively. They can make their point while still learning more about Political Theory, which is the ultimate aim of the teacher. Thus, existing institutional patterns are transformed by the students during interaction and thereby they also reshape the goal of interaction. The teacher facilitates this by sidelining himself from the interaction and letting the students enrich their learning process.

Humanities: Christianity & Society   (appendix 4)

At the beginning of the fragment the teacher poses a statement to which the students can react and provide arguments for. This starts accordingly:

Teacher   **(1a)**   Is the real salvation of religion to avoid violent conflicts in the future eh, is that based on…(s1-2).

(1b)   or/or the best way to go there, to a non-violent eh perspective on religion or to a non-violent religion, "the best way to go there is to individualize religion". It's a nice statement (s2-4).

(1c)   Is that true? (s4).

DV   **(1d)**   Mmm, I can imagine that it…(s4.1-5).

Teacher   **(1e)**   It's tricky right? ((sniffles)) (s5.2).

DV   **(1f)**   Yeah (s5.3).

(1e)   but I can imagine being an individual that indeed, well looking at the past I think it would, people were mostly like organized, groups or institutions that fought together, and if it's just your own eh religion then, there's not that much of a need to/to fight for it I guess (s5.3-9).

After this part, the teacher could insert a DIRECTING QUESTION or give someone else a turn in class, but instead the students continue discussion the statement without the teacher's involvement. He is simply present to see how the discussion develops and clarifies the uttered statements now and then, to make sure that he and the rest of the classroom has understood the proposed statements correctly (see 2b):

MS   **(2a)**   Well I think, like, you/you think you're right. You/you think you have more individual feeling. You think you know what's the truth and you probably wanna, like help other people with it. You wan/ you want other people to believe what you believe so I don't really think it's ( ) (s9.4-12).

Teacher   **(2b)**   It's a personal thing (s12.5-13).

MS   **(2c)**   Yeah (s13.6).

(2d)   Eh, you really think it's the right way to go (s13.6).

Teacher   **(2e)**   Hmhm (s13.7).

MS   **(2f)**   And if you have all your friends or/or whoever and you want them also to go to heaven or whatever do the right thing then, it could cause conflicts ((laughs)) (s13.8-16).

MOT   **(2g)**   Yeah (s16).

                (2h)   because you always have the opposition cause the dominant church is gonna feel threatened (s16.9-17).

Teacher   **(2i)**   Hm (s17.10).

MS   **(2j)**   Yeah (s17.10).

JV   **(3a)**   Well, I think that religion eh should always use some level of structure () if it was completely individualized you would see (s17.11-18).

no   **(3b)**   ehm either A: nobody would be religious anymore because really if you longer had the/the sort of social obligation to follow a rule I think nobody would because it's so much of a hassle to go to church for an hour on Sunday instead of having, I don't know, downloading a movie ((sniffles)) and to have or something like that (s19-23).

                (3c)   and in other the other case you see eh really just people, because people are either natural leaders or they're natural followers, so they're naturally gonna follow someone with a big charisma and in an individualist religion ehm, any person can have their own interpretation of what a certain scripture means and no one is going to say that they're wrong because everyone is allowed to see things their own way (s23-28).

                (3d)   so you can see how a lot of cults in like the United States and stuff like that was really started because this guy said: "OK, the scripture in the Bible means that in six months aliens are going to invade the earth and we all have to drink poison CoolAid to save our souls." And people naturally follow that because they were willing to follow him based on his charisma (s28-33).

                (3e)   so I think some level of structure is always good to define; this is what's right and this is what's wrong, you know? That really, so much has gotten a totalitarian thing where you "do this or die" but so much as
to   push people in the right direction (s33-36).

AL   **(4a)**   Well, I think the ten commandments is "the right direction" and it should stop there. You should know that you shouldn't kill or mu/murder takes someone's life. You have a few rules that everyone I think can agree upon and everything else, like everything beyond that I think, everyone should do whatever they want (s36.12-40).

                (4b)   and I don't like this eh, usually when we mention "cult" it ends with someone drinking poison (s40-41.12).

Class   **(4c)**   ((laughter)) (s41.13).

AL	**(5a)**	but, and you have a lot cults that they have fun, they hug trees they'll give their lives they have, they're just not part of a major religion (s41.14-43).
Teacher	**(5b)**	Happy cults (s43.15).
AL	**(5c)**	They have (s43.15).
Teacher	**(5d)**	You have a lot of happy cults! (s43.15).
AL	**(5e)**	Yeah, yeah yeah (s44.16).
Teacher	**(5e)**	It's just that (s44.17).
AL	**(5f)**	We have one here if anyone wants to join! (s44.18-44.19).
Class	**(5g)**	((Laughter)) (s44.19).
	(6a)	So, basically I think individualism or, like individualized religion is like, it/it's like the best way, it's hope, it's. This is how you open a hatch between you and God. You decide what you want of God and he will provide it. But it's my thing. It has nothing to do with anyone else. And the be/ (s44.19-48).
	(7a)	I can promise you I'm not/I'm not practicing Judaism and not Christianity, maybe under the definition of the Pope. I can promise you I'm not gonna drink poison ( ) (s48-50).
Class	**(7b)**	((Laughter)) (s51.20).
AL	**(7c)**	I'm having too much fun! I have people in church… (s51.21).
Teacher	**(7d)**	((Sniffles)) (s51.22).
	(8a)	So then/and and this is exactly the friction that's interesting because then it depends highly on your personal level of reflection. That is you personal perspective on this (s51.23-53).

AL's statements might be considered a start for a real conflict between JV and AL. His attacks towards JV and his rather personally-oriented approach to the topic can change the overall atmosphere of the discussion and transform into a conflict of personal attacks. However, AL avoids this from happening by using humor to clear the air. After this discussion, the teacher summarizes the final statements made by AL and emphasizes the fact that these are all personal perspectives on the issue of religion. In other words, there is no right answer; it is simply your personal outlook on it. This is similar to Vogt's (2002) discussion type in which different perspectives are developed during a discussion and disagreement is the result (see figure 10 on page 48):

The scheme on the next page clearly shows how the different students have different perspectives on the statement posed by the teacher (paraphrased by Halevi). Eventually, the last student (AL) initiates a personal attack at the statements made by JV because AL feels personally offended by how JV portrays cults. This is illustrated with the dotted arrows to JV's statements. Since AL is himself part of a local UCU "cult" he feels the need to make clear that not all cults commit suicide by drinking poison. He uses humor to make his point and judging from the class' laughter to AL's comments, he is

successful in winning over support from his classmates. Although AL feels the need to attack JV's statements concerning cults in 4b, 5a, and 7a he also makes sure that for him, the only necessary structure in religion should be the ten commandments. This way, he tries to specify JV's statement the necessity of structure in a religion. Finally, AL makes clear that he thinks individualized religion is "the best way" (6a). Accordingly, he returns to the main statement proposed by the teacher. However, he approaches this statement on a personal level, not on a macro- societal level.

STATEMENT

Teacher The best way to go to a non-violent perspective on religion or to a non-violent religion is to individualize religion. **(1b)**

YES

NO

DV If religion is just for yourself, than there is no need to fight for it. **(1e)**

MS If you want your friends to go to heaven and do the right thing, then it could cause conflicts because you want them to believe in your religion as well. **(2f)**

AL The ten commandments are enough structure to know what is right and what is wrong. **(4a)** "Well, I think the ten commandments is "the right direction" and it should stop there."

I don't like it when people generalize cults. There are also happy cults which do no harm. **(4b/5a)**

MOT Well there is always going to be violence because the dominant church is going to feel threatened if everyone individualizes their religion. **(2g/2h)**

I basically think that an individualized religion is the best way. It's something between me and God and it has nothing to do with anyone else. **(6a)**

JV Well I think that religion should be structured by a leader, because people are always in need of a leader. People need to be told what's right and what's wrong **(3a/3b/3e)**

In an individual religion people can have different interpretations of what a scripture means and then a leader of a cult can take advantage of it simply because he is charismatic and people want to follow him. **(3c/3d)**

Fig. 11 Underlying structure of the discussion.

After this fragment, the discussion ends. The final speaker was AL who clearly wins over the rest of the class by making jokes and personally attacking JV. This example clearly shows that within the action pattern of a classical DISCUSSION with a statement and two opposing opinions, one can transfer knowledge concerning the topic of religion *and* facilitate active learning by the students. In

the meantime the students can satisfy their own goal (Ziel) by winning over their classmates and making their point.

Humanities: History & Philosophy of Science   (appendix 6)
Below one can see the start of the TEACHER MONOLOGUE, which is often used in the context of education (school or university) to transfer knowledge to the students (Ehlich et al., 1993). This action pattern, however, is a very passive way for students to acquire new knowledge, because it does not require them to actively interact in the learning process. During this fragment the teacher wants to start a new subject in his speech, covering the topic of evolutionary success. His first few utterances are clearly a start of a new lecture combined with DIRECTING QUESTIONS   which remain unanswered. However, after a couple of statements, MS requests to get a turn by raising his hand (3a). The teacher gives him the turn (3b) and an interesting interaction between the teacher and student arises:

Teacher	**(1a)**	Ehm, have you ever thought about evolutionary success? (s1).
	(1b)	It's/it's a strange term that you…success and…(s1-2).
	(1c)	Wh/what does successful mean? (s2-3).
	(2a)	Although there are differences. Look at horses. There is one horse still living. Primitive humans may have helped to extinguish the other species. We don't know. There is, well, several hundreds of species of cattle (s3-6).
	(2b)	So well, if/if diversity is a measure of success, we may talk about, cattle are really successful. They have been able to split up many times and adapt to different landscapes (s6-8).
	(2c)	Horses have become extinct! The fact that they now are spread all over the world due to us, but there is only a very restricted area where the horse could survive. Somewhere in Asia or whatever. But it's only one species and it's probably going, well i/it was probably on its way to extinction anyway. That's really unsuccessful. So that's (s8-12).
MA	**(3a)**	**(raises his hand)**
Teacher	**(3b)**	Yeah? (s12.1).
MS	**(3c)**	But 'the cattle' is an arbitrary term that we define. It's not actually any different than the horses' language (s13-14).
Teacher	**(3d)**	Oh yeah, but it's not/not really arbitrary because, well, it's about the origin of species, huh? (s14.3-15).
MS	**(3e)**	Yeah but…(s15.4).

In 3c, MS has made a statement, but this statement can be considered a question towards the teacher because he wants to make sure whether the term 'cattle' is not simply assigned to different species arbitrarily. In 4a (below), the teacher tries to clarify what he means by 'species' and provides MS with a definition. However, MS is clearly not interested in knowing what the term 'species' means, but how it is assigned to specific animals. In 4b he reattempts to clarify his question, but the teacher has

misunderstood MS' pronunciation (4c) of the word cattle and asks him to repeats the utterance. In 4e, the teacher finally understand the word MS meant and repeats it by shouting out 'cattle!'. Subsequently, MS uses a backchanneling signal 'yes' in 4f to signal that this is what he meant.

Teacher **(4a)** Species isn/ is not arbitrary, that's defined by, ehm, being reproductive, being isolated from other species (s15.5-17).

MS **(4b)** What I mean is that cattle itself isn't a species, I mean specific specific type of a cattle is a specie (s17.6-18).

Teacher **(4c)** What is not a species? (s18.7).

MS **(4d)** Eh cattle as in general…(s18.8).

Teacher **(4e)** Cattle! (s18.9).

MS **(4f)** Yes (s18.10).

Teacher **(5a)** Well they have many species (s19.11).

MS **(5b)** Yeah, but of course, but a horse could also been seen as a quadruple and that's also a lot of species and that's also a lot of diversity. I mean the only classification that we have are individual species and groups are something, taxonomy in general is something we define arbitrarily (s19.20-22).

Teacher **(5c)** Yeah, now/well that's one of the reasons why succes i/i/is a difficult category. But there are species of cattle that are not fertile…(s23.13 -24).

MS **(5d)** Well, what I mean is that…(s24.14-25.15).

Teacher **(5e)** among themselves (s25.15).

MS **(6a)** we decide the group 'cattle'…(s25.16).

Teacher **(6b)** Sure (s25.17).

MS **(6c)** and therefore within the context of this group we can eh, evaluate how diverse that group itself is (s25.18-26).

Until now, the teacher has been trying to figure out what the main point of MS' question is. The teacher first needed to understand what MS meant by 'species' and after understanding MS' pronunciation of the word 'cattle', the teacher thinks that MS' question is concerned with what a 'species' means. However, what MS really is looking for, is an answer to *how* such a name or categorization can be assigned to specific group of animals, because to him, this categorization seems simply arbitrary. In 5b, MS reattempts to formulate this question, but now the teacher interprets his question as a question about evolutionary success. MS is persistent, however, and reattempts to formulate the question in 5d and 6a. Finally, in 6c he finishes his reformulation of the question and the teacher has succeeded in understanding it by paraphrasing his question in 7a:

Teacher	**(7a)**	Ok. We, oh we yeah, we think there is a problem in we define the group 'cattle' or do you think that's only arbitrary? (s27.19-28).
MS	**(7b)**	I think it's…(s28.20).
Teacher	**(7c)**	Purely arbitrary? (s28.21).
MS	**(7d)**	Yeah (s28.22).
Teacher	**(7e)**	But it couldn't be! It shouldn't be! (s29.23).

Until now, the understanding of the question has been reached, but the teacher clearly disagrees with MS' interpretation of assigning species. The teacher objects to the idea that it might be purely arbitrary. Between 8a and 10a the discussion concerning MS' interpretation of species-assignment continues. Thus, now the question of MS has clearly changed in to a DISCUSSION in which MS makes several attempts to argue that species-assignment is arbitrarily decided. This switch, between the action pattern of QUESTION-ANSWER to a DISCUSSION is located in 7e, where the teacher objects to MS's question and gives a clear evaluation by stating that "it shouldn't be" arbitrary.

MS	**(8a)**	But I mean if you, if you look at the whole Darwinian evolutionary tree then basically you have individual species that exist now that reach, that live off…(s29.24-31).
Teacher	**(8b)**	Yeah…(s31.25).
MS	**(8c)**	through a different…(s31.26).
Teacher	**(8d)**	That's only species (s31.27-32).
MS	**(9a)**	So we say that at this moment of branching that's where we define the group, let's say, 'apes' (s32.28-33).
Teacher	**(9b)**	Yeah (s33.29).
MS	**(10a)**	So…(s33.30).

In the following part, the teacher clearly repeats his statement about species-assignment by claiming that it is not arbitrarily done. However, MS is persistent and in 11b, he underlines the fact the "we" as in "human beings" decide the groups. The teacher now partly agrees with MS by claiming that the names for the groups are arbitrarily chosen perhaps. Still, MS is not satisfied with this incomplete agreement and continues to make his point in 12a and 12c.

Teacher	**(11a)**	But that's not arbitrary (s33.31)
MS	**(11b)**	The way, the way we decide the group, it is! Because we only know…(s33.32-34).
Teacher	**(11c)**	Only name is perhaps arbitrary (s34.33-35).
MS	**(12a)**	What I mean is like, we can, we clearly notice the, I don't know, introduction of vertebrates to the bio-system, right? (s35.34-36).

Teacher	**(12b)**	Yeah (s36.35).
MS	**(12c)**	So in this context, are, just because it's easier for us to spot and identify different vertebrates, doesn't necessarily mean that this is in general a more/more diverse group, I mean…(s36.36-39).
Teacher	**(12d)**	Yeah yeah yeah, well, you shouldn't make this too difficult (s39.37-s39.38).
	(13a)	But it is, you do have a point, and there is a discussion on this (s39.38-40).
	(14a)	because, ehm, do we define groups knowing that it is on the basis of eh a shared character? (s40.39-41).
	(14b)	Look at us, look at the great apes. We belong to them. W/w/we belong to the great apes more than we belong to sea shells (s41.40-43).

Finally, the teacher gives up and states that MS should not dig too deep into the subject (12d). However, the teacher *does* concur MS's claim now, by saying that he does "have a point" (13a) because in the field of science, there *is* indeed a discussion on this subject. Clearly, the teacher wants to regain control over his lesson plan and over the course of the lesson. He tries to make a bridge between the discussion with MS to the remaining theories he would like to cover in class. In 14a, he continues his TEACHER SPEECH and MS refrains from interrupting any further. One might explain MS' silence from 12c onwards, because he has finally received the teacher's recognition and has succeeded in making his point.

(14a)	because, ehm, do we define groups knowing that it is on the basis of eh a shared character?
(14b)	Look at us, look at the great apes. We belong to them. W/w/we belong to the great apes more than we belong to sea shells.

This fragment clearly shows that the action pattern of a DISCCUSION also takes place between the student and teacher. In this particular case, the student even convinces the teacher. The teacher did not extend the action pattern of a DISCUSSION to rest of his lesson plan. Instead, he explicitly ends the discussion and continues his TEACHER MONOLOGUE. One might question whether this teacher missed a great opportunity to open up the DISCUSSION to the rest of the students and introduce a more interactive learning process. This would mean that the teacher has to be flexible and transform the conventional TEACHER MONOLOGUE into the less conventional pattern of a DISCUSSION. In this case, the teacher refrained from doing so and returned to the conventional institutional pattern of a MONOLOGUE.

Science: That's Life - Biology Today   (appendix 8)

Below a teacher's anecdote is presented. At the end (4b) he addresses the girl who presented (EEM) and states that the question she has posed previously about intelligence being transferable through organ transplantation is not really a question, but an hypothesis to which different interpretations are possible. Thus, in a way, the teacher uses this ANECDOTE to recreate the debate he had during his Cognitive Neuroscience course and transfer the same knowledge to the students of the course 'That's Life: Biology Today'. He uses the anecdote to activate the students' thoughts on the matter,

while refraining from given a solution or 'right answer'. In a way, his ANECDOTE is an action pattern used for the transfer of knowledge. The anecdote can be broken up into different parts; each representing a different perspective and end result. The teacher hints that there was not real answer to the discussion by stating the following in (4a): "And the debate was actually undecided..." (s14-515). Accordingly, the teacher shows that everyone is welcome to give their opinion without being punished or graded for it. This division of the anecdote and the subsequent discussion is broken up into parts on the next page. The scheme shows paraphrased version of what was said during interaction (paraphrased by Halevi).

Teacher	**(1a)**	Eh a couple of years ago I was teaching a Cognitive Neuroscience one hundred course and then there was a debate in class where students came up with evidence huh they had found ar/arti/articles that people who have gone through a hheart transplantation have a very high risk of a divorce within three years after the transplantation.
Class	**(1b)**	((laughter))
Teacher	**(1c)**	Eh because their partner does not recognize eh their character anymore...
EEM	**(1d)**	Hmm
Teacher	**(1e)**	They become something different. Some/somebody different.
	(2a)	And then there was a debate in class eh some pe/some people said: "well, that's not/the heart is a pump, eh come on."
Class	**(2b)**	((laughter))
Teacher	**(2c)**	So it's the traumotic/traumatic experience of through this eh dangerous transplantation that actually changes people...
	(3a)	and then another student said: "but how about the liver, that's even more dangerous, then that should be even worse?"
	(3b)	and they found no evidence there.
	(4a)	And the debate was actually undecided but it's eh...
	(4b)	well your question is another hypothesis actually on how to explain these things because the data are there.
EEM	**(4c)**	Hmhm
DD	**(5a)**	With the heart, doesn't it affect like your nervous system directly which is really important for your behavior?
	(5b)	I mean depending on even just how many breaths you take a day it can affect ehm what kind of demeanor you have, I think.
	(6a)	I think in that way like the heart, of course the liver is really important as eh cleaner and all these things but I think that the heart has/has like a very major

(7a) …and it/I can/can see why there could be a connection between getting a different heart and acting in a different way because if it pumps faster or slower and you're on a different tempo in that sense, it could affect your, yeah…

Teacher **(7b)** Hmhm.

EEM **(8a)** Yeah, but do you really think that someone would actually not recognize you anymore? I see what you mean…

DD **(8b)** No I think that ultimately it's the, what the students have decided, that yeah, it's just a traumatic experience and also in this, yeah. You might take on the characteristics and sort of the placebo effects ( )…

EEM **(8c)** Hmhm.

LL **(9a)** Ehm, second question: eh what exactly do you think that intelligence mean eh means?

ANECDOTE

Teacher Eh a couple of years ago I was teaching a Cognitive Neuroscience one hundred course and then there was a debate in class where students came up with evidence that people who have gone through a heart transplantation have a very high risk of a divorce within three years after the transplantation because their partner does not recognize their character anymore. They have become somebody different **(1a/1c)**

The debate had two statements: **(2a)**

Teacher The traumatic experience of a dangerous transplantation causes the person to change. **(2a)**

Teacher The heart is just a pump. It cannot change a person's character. Otherwise one would see such personality changes also with liver transplantations and there is no evidence to be found there. **(2a/3a/3b)**

DD The heart affects your nervous system and also the way you breath. So if one undergoes a heart transplantation, he or she will have a different kind of breathing which can change his or her demeanor. So, getting a different heart can change someone's tempo in that sense. **(5a/5b/7a)**

EEM Yeah, but do you really think that someone would actually not recognize you anymore? **(8a)**

DD No, in the end I do think <u>what the students have decided</u>; that it's the traumatic experience which changes the person and the rest of the characteristic one might take on are just a placebo effect **(8b)**.
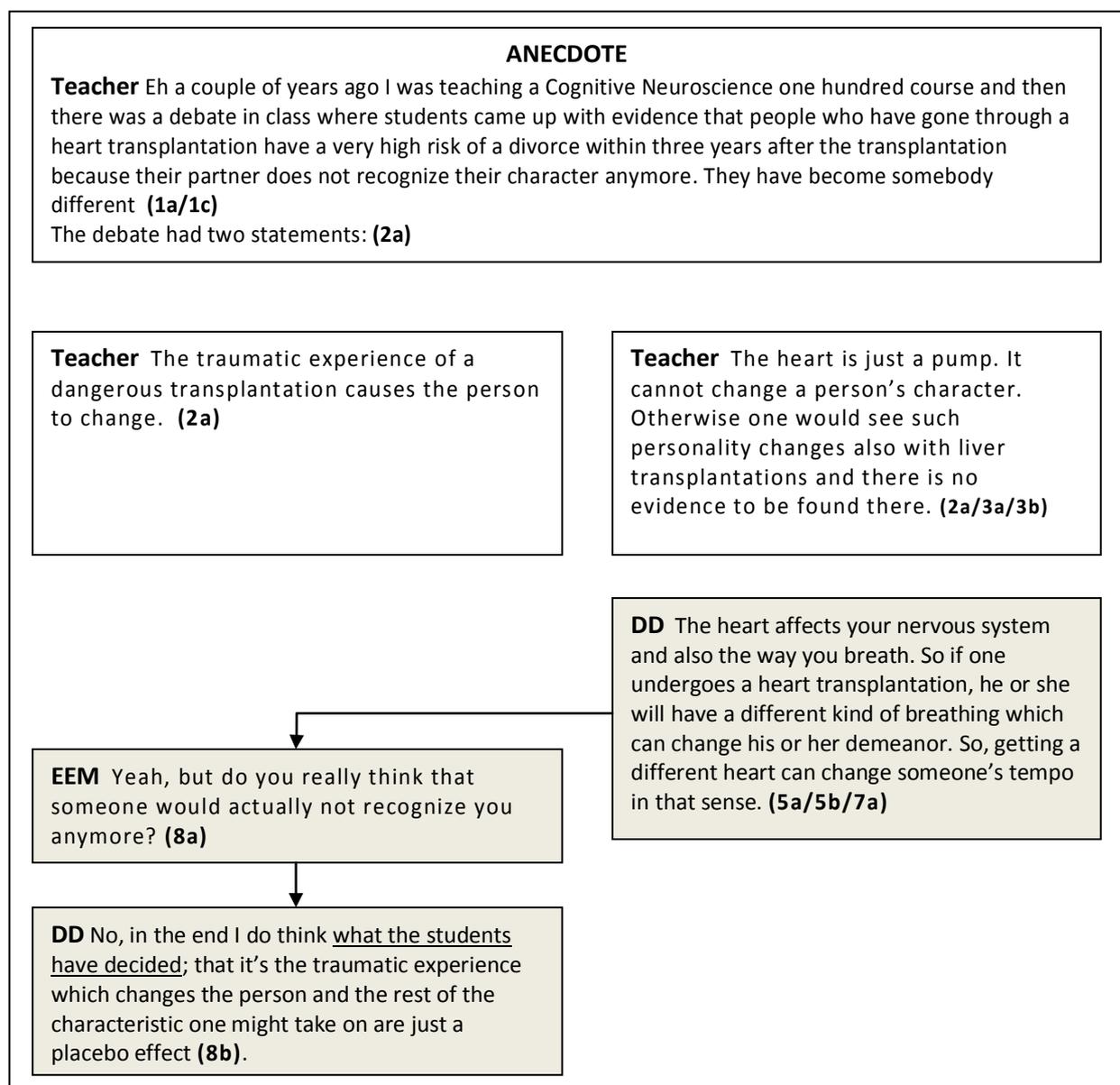
Fig. 12 Underlying structure of the discussion.

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In the beginning of the fragment the teacher presents an anecdote. Afterwards, DD takes her turn and starts questioning whether heart affects the nervous system. She continues by providing her opinion on all the aspects of the teacher's anecdote. Eventually she forms her opinion by stating that a heart transplantation *could* affect a person's demeanor, because the organ itself has specific traits connected to the body of the organ donor. However, when the presenting student asks her if that's really what she thinks, DD withdraws her previous statement and concurs the statement of her peer students by agreeing with the fact that the traumatic experience of an organ transplantation is the real reason why someone's demeanor might change after undergoing such an operation. Interestingly, she does not stick to her original statement. Instead, she wants to join her peers' opinion. When applying Vogt's (2002) analysis of discussions, it can be possible to view this discussion as a controversial sequence type which ultimately resulted in a consensus:
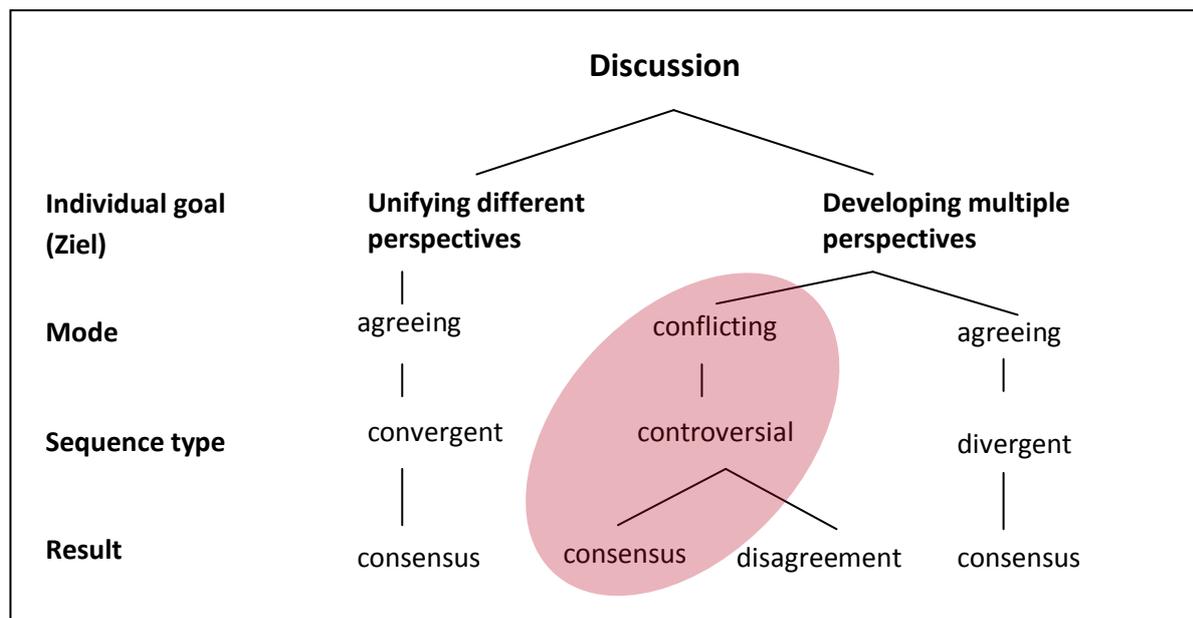
Fig. 13 based on "Systematik von Diskutieren" (Vogt, 2002: 90)

Interestingly, the opposing or conflicting perspectives are not "played out" in the classroom. Instead, the teacher has already reenacted the two conflicting positions by using an anecdote to express both perspectives. Thus, this ANECDOTE is used by the teacher as a tactic to save time and shortly come to the bottom line of the discussion. Accordingly, he can ensure the transfer of knowledge to occur in a fast efficient manner. DD simply chooses one of the two offered perspectives of the teacher. However, when another student critically asks her whether she really thinks that someone would not be able to recognize a person's demeanor because of a different heart, DD changes her mind and seeks to harmonize the opposing perspectives. One might question whether DD's individual goal (Ziel) was different from her social purpose (Zweck). While her individual goal was to provide arguments for why a different heart might cause someone to change, her social purpose was to seek harmony between the conflicting perspectives and remain united with her peer's views. This example is rather extraordinary in comparison to many other discussions at UCU, where most students stick their opinion, regardless of whether they are right or not. Furthermore, the fact that the other students have convinced DD to change her mind, shows that students have a great influence on one another during classroom interactions at UCU. One might expect that the teacher has the only authority over knowledge presented in class, but at UCU, also the students are

considered sources for knowledge and authorities on different matters. This is noticeable from the fact that the students accept the DISCUSSION pattern immediately and use it to convince one another.

Conclusion: action pattern DISCUSSION

Overall, it is clear to see that the action pattern DISCUSSION is present in interactions of all three academic departments. In addition, they can occur spontaneously or they can be facilitated by the teacher. In the aforementioned examples, it is clear that two out of four discussions were facilitated by the teacher (HUM: Christianity & Society, SCI: That's Life Biology Today). The other two discussions were initiated by the students in a spontaneous manner. In the SSC course of Introduction to Political Theory, the teacher planned to transfer knowledge by applying a TEACHER'S SPEECH WITH ROLE ASSIGNMENT by using DIRECTING QUESTION. However, quickly the speech turned into a real discussion between the students in which the teacher barely interfered. In the Humanities courses of History & Philosophy of Science the student wanted to ask a question in the form of a statement, but the teacher initially refused to accept this statement. Only after several attempts by the student, the teacher gave in to the discussion and recognized the student's point. Only after this, the teacher could continue his monologue and regain control over the course of his lesson. All in all, one can see that the action pattern of DISCUSSION occur in all academic departments. They can be planned by the teacher or happen spontaneously. In this corpus, the planned discussions only occurred in the department of Humanities and Science. However, in the larger data-set, the researcher also witnessed a number of planned discussions in the department of Social Science. The fact that the teacher also deliberately sidelined himself or herself in some of the DISCUSSION patterns showed that the students are enabled to take control over the course of the lesson and transform the conventional institutional action patterns into patterns which suit their own goals. In this case, they often transform the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE into a DISCUSSION in which the underlying social purpose (Zweck) remains the same (i.e. transferring and acquiring knowledge) while the students add another enriching component to satisfy their individual goals (Ziel). They seek to convince their peers and gain recognition from the other students and the teacher.

7.1.2 Action pattern: TASK COMPLETION PATTERN

The fragments which contain the action pattern TASK COMPLETION PATTERN are only found in the department of Social Science. In the advanced courses Psychology of Ethnic Relations and Comparing Cultures one can identify this pattern. Each example will be further explain below.

Social Science: Psychology of Ethnic Relations   (appendix 2)

After categorizing the illocutionary types in the fragment, it is possible to distinguish a specific action pattern which is typical for many presentation-discussions at UCU. The learning process is still ongoing. By letting the students ask questions and letting the presenter answer them, a transfer of knowledge takes place. The students in class challenge the presenter to provide a well-found argument for his or her opinion. On the other hand, the presenter tries to answer each question and provide clear arguments for his or her statement. The teacher takes the role of the observant and determines whether the presenter has lived up to the task and has been capable of answering all questions correctly. The teacher is authorized to jump in at any moment in time to stop the discussion, correct the students, or change the course of the discussion.

It is clear to see that this is a rather long fragment, containing a variety of illocutionary types; assertion, back channel, question, answer, laughter, and negation. These categories have to be put into context in order to become meaningful. The context of this specific fragment is that the performance of the presenter is graded by the teacher. Also his or her ability to react to other students' comments and questions is included in the overall grading. Thus, it is in the presenter's interest to provide clear and well-founded arguments in answering other students' questions.

This particular fragment shows that the presenter has difficulty staying on-topic and regularly avoids answering the original question. Instead, she provides additional background information she *does* possess about the topic. The presenter possesses the background information about Canadian multiculturalism, because she is Canadian herself and she is aware of its history and current societal situation. However, her knowledge of the Dutch situation seems to be failing her. Both Dutch students express their objections concerning the topic of Chinese minorities in The Netherlands to indicate that the presenter is providing incorrect information (s36.6-43).

If one perceives the students in class as realizing the action position of 'the teacher', while the presenter is playing the role of 'the student', it is possible to distinguish a specific action pattern which is called a TASK COMPLETION PATTERN (Ehlich et al., 1993: 221). In this case, one can address the questions and comments of the students as tasks which the presenter has to solve. The prototypical structure of such a pattern involves 1. providing a task, 2. an attempt to solve the task, and 3. stating whether the solution is correct or incorrect. In case the propositional content of the judgment is 'incorrect', then the pattern is repeated.

task giver	task solver
speech action	speech action
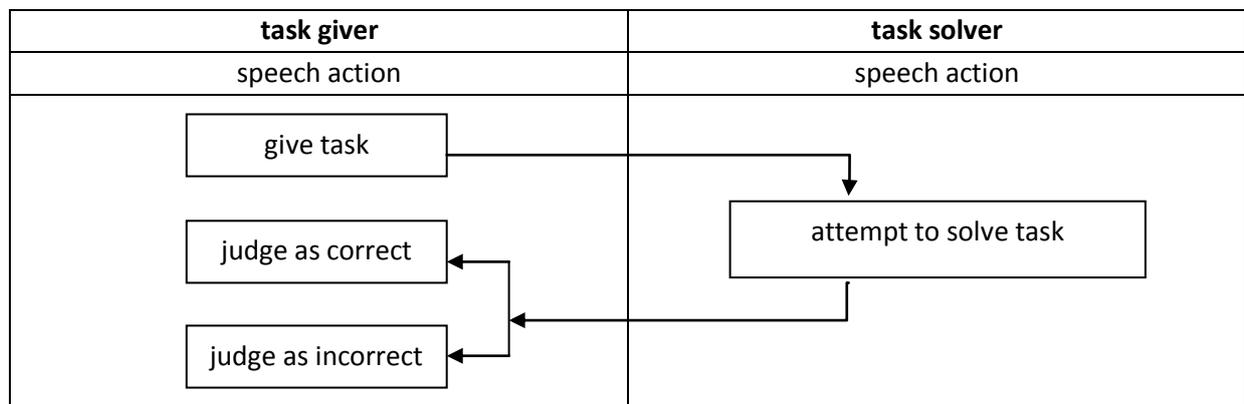
Fig. 14: The pattern of TASK COMPLETION PATTERN (Ehlich et. al, 1993, 221)

In the recorded interaction, an interesting phenomenon occurs; the presenter tries to avoid answering a question by introducing a new theme instead of finishing her answer. It remains unclear whether she was simply incapable of answering the question correctly or whether she lost her concentration and went off-topic in her answer. However, it is clear that many questions posed by the two Dutch students remain unanswered. A short simplified part of the original fragment is extracted to show an example of such an instance. The simplified fragment below covers an interaction between SJVDN and SW. SJVDN asks what the reasons are behind why multiculturalism has succeeded in Canada while it has failed in The Netherlands:

SJVDN (1)   Do you do you think that it's the economic thing that makes the main difference here or do you really think it's a certain cultural background of Canada? Because, this cultural background is something that The Netherlands also had until recently (s23-26).

SW   **(2a)**   Right. Uhm I think that first, uhm the fact that Canadians don't usually have uhh like new immigrants don't have usually have the language barrier, that's a really big factor that's kind of understated in the literature. Like, to learn Dutch when you are not from a Germanic background is difficult, right? And uhm, obviously before you move to a country you might want to think about that (s26.4-32).

    (2b)   But uhm I think that from what I know just from people telling me the two main minority groups are Turkish Mos are sor Moroccans, right? Uhm and so there's not like a lot of Chinese people that have this large Chinese community in The Netherlands and there's not of like other countries…(s32-36).

SJVDN   **(3)**   No there actually are but they're not considered one of the problem groups…(s36.6-37).

Interestingly, in this fragment, the presenter fails to fully answer the question. She starts off by segmenting her answer in "first" in 2a, however "second" never appears, because she introduces a new theme in 2b which is irrelevant for answering the specific question. The aforementioned discourse pattern of TASK COMPLETION PATTERN can be modified to fit this example. Figure 15, below, illustrates the addition to the simplified scheme.

task giver	task solver	
speech action	speech action	mental action
give task (s23-26)	attempt to solve task (s26.4-32)	
judge as correct		avoid solving task
judge as incorrect		
disruption of pattern	introducing a new theme (s32-36)	
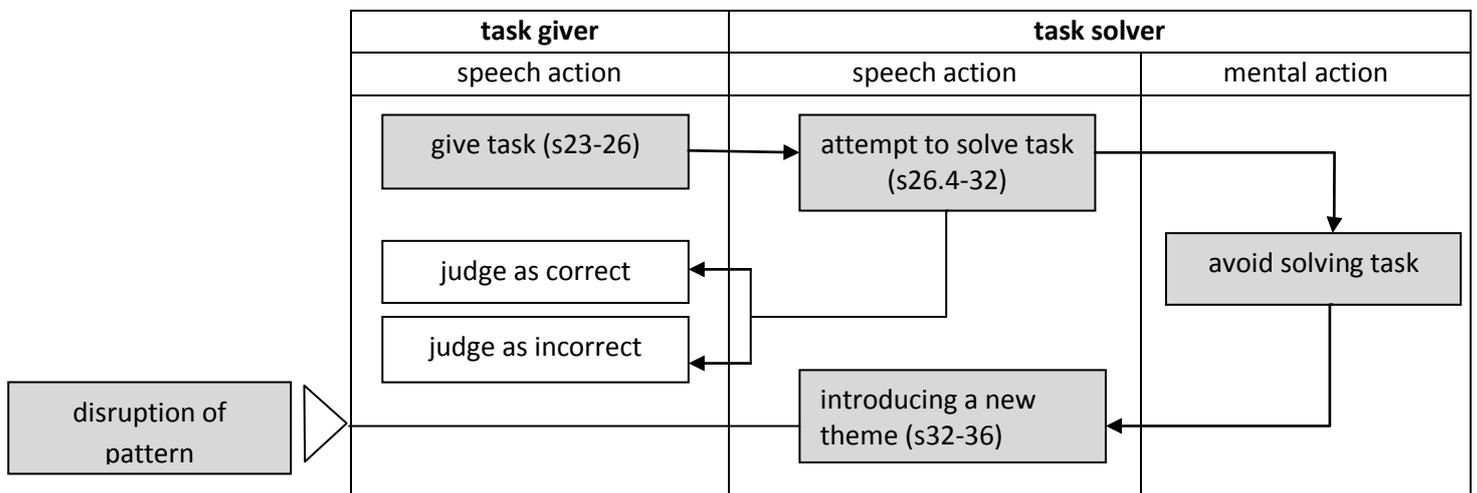
Fig. 15: The edited pattern of TASK COMPLETION PATTERN

As figure 15 shows, the introduction of a new theme forces the task-giver to switch his or her focus from the previous topic to a new topic. Accordingly, the whole TASK COMPLETION PATTERN is disrupted and avoided by the task-solver. Only later during the discussion, the presenter comes back to the original question and answers it, by explaining why multiculturalism has failed "here", meaning in The Netherlands, and why it is successful in Canada:

SW   **(11a)**   I think that it it doesn't work here because, uhm, of the climate of the culture but also because of uhm, the sense that there wasn't a new identity created. Like when when new immigrants moved to th The Netherlands there wasn't a new like 'The Moroccan' identity created, you know? (s55-59).

SW   **(11b)**   Versus when immigrants moved to Canada, there was a new Canadian identity because before, there was no such thing as Canada (s60-61).

    (11c)   So like, for example, right after World War two is when uhm, like the Canadian flag was created and they actually had some unity and stuff so everyone who was living in the country that time had a choice to become Canadian and so now when people

> move there, they can become this new Canadian that has these new values of supporting multiculturalism. So, I was saying just that like those factors that created multiculturalis the multiculturalism act, were like nee like wanting to uh keep people's cultures and and at the same time promote them, to uhm become more integrated by supporting them through language programs or like that kind of stuff like getting jobs and stuff are what has created, the atmosphere, for people to, have multiculture now (s61-72).

In 11a and b, the presenter clearly provides an answer to the original question posed in the sentence 1 of first part. The presenter goes one step further by explaining the historical origin of "the Canadian identity" in 11c. She connects this history to why multiculturalism still works in Canada today. Overall, one can state that the presenter had difficulty structuring her speech and being 'to the point'. She drifted off to different side-tracks, thereby avoiding answering the actual question.

Overall, the basis established until now is the underlying institutional action pattern, found in this fragment; TASK COMPLETION PATTERN. Although this pattern is usually found between the teacher (task giver) and the student (task solver), it is now found between the students, while the teacher observes the process. Accordingly, knowledge is transferred between the students and the other observing students are passively acquiring knowledge as well. By considering the presenter as having the role of the student or task solver and the two Dutch students as having the role of the task giver, it *is* possible to see a learning process taking place, in which the attempted solutions offered by the presenter are monitored and reviewed by the teacher. In fact, after this fragment, the teacher resumes his role as the educator and reviews the performance of the presenter and her ability to answer the students' questions in front of the entire class. Thus, the institutional action pattern of a TASK COMPLETION PATTERN is still used within the academic context at UCU, but is extended to student-student interaction instead of only teacher-student interaction.

Social Science: Comparing Cultures   (appendix 3)

Overall, a clear TASK COMPLETION PATTERN action pattern can be distinguished in this fragment. In part 1a, 2a, and 2b on the next page, a clear task is given by the teacher (disrupted by a joke from a student). Afterwards, PF does an attempt to solve the task by providing an answer in 3a with arguments 3b-e. Usually, the teacher would offer his or her judgment at this moment, stating whether PF's attempt to solve the assignment is correct or not. However, something quite different is happening; another student starts correcting PF's attempt by dismissing the economic interpretation of power (4a). PF accepts this correction by using the backchanneling signal "yeah" in 4b. NB goes one step further by providing arguments for his correction in 4a. The arguments of NB in 4c are accepted by PF in 4d, but only after PF has added *his* addition to the solution. This addition is subsequently accepted by NB in 4e. Accordingly, NB and PF have come to a consensus for the solution, which is explicitly expressed as a summary in 4f, signified by the word "so" in the beginning of PF's utterance.

Until now, the teacher has not expressed any judgment on the attempted solutions by the two students. Now, in 4h, she finally gives her assessment by summarizing what has been claimed and starting her utterance with a positive judgment "right". The pattern described until now is a clear TASK COMPLETION PATTERN which fits well in the institutional context of a university, where transfer of knowledge is the central goal. After completing the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN, however, the pattern continues. After the teacher has expressed her satisfaction with the attempted

solutions in 4h, PF states he agrees with the summary of his solution in 4i: "yeah yeah". Afterwards, the teacher starts her utterance with "but that's" (5a), showing that she would like to add or edit the attempted solutions. This means that she partly agrees with the attempted solutions, leaving room for improvement. In other words, the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN is not yet fully completed. PF, cuts off the teacher and starts mentioning his objections to the offered solutions by him and his peer in 5b. Accordingly, he tries to make of for his incomplete solution by adding important details to the solution. He emphasized the differences between Foucault's theory to that of Marx and Bourdieu. The teacher agrees with this addition in 5c with the backchanneling signal "right". In a way, the pattern has been gone through twice by now; once with an incomplete solution and once offering a complete solution with a positive evaluation from the teacher.

Teacher	**(1a)**	Ok. So let's start from the beginning. How define/ if somebody, a lay person, asks you about Foucault…(s6.5-7)
Class	**(1b)**	(laughter) (s7.6)
PF	**(1c)**	As one does (s7.7)
Teacher	**(1d)**	As one does! (s7.8)
Class		(laughter) (s7.8)
Teacher	**(2a)**	Uhh, what do you think are, cause it's a ve::ry broad question I mean answering it you need to just sort of have it on/on the nail of each consecutive element in his construction right? (s7.9-10)
	(2b)	So how would you (.) go about it? (s10)
PF	**(3a)**	Well I think it was (.) uhhyou always have to compare all these things with each other (s10.10-11).
	(3b)	cause with Foucault I'm never so sure how much emphasis he puts on sort of the/the material (s11-12).
	(3c)	because in/in Mar/in Marxism you get certain you cannot talk about power relations without the economic structures (s13-14).
	(3d)	and in Bourdieu in Bourdieu you also have very much sort of the embodied power and/and ri/ the sort of ri/ritua:l. Also you have ritual plays a really big role in doxa (s14-16).
	(3e)	But in Foucault in mean of course there's the text read when he has the whole (0.4). I mean he does talk about you know at the/the public society which is sort of in the yeah based on the material, no/not just based on discourse also the material world with observation and everything, but then at the same time (.) then on then on other parts he just (.) talks about discourse (). So I'M NOT SURE WHA/WHAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS SORT OF THE REPRESENTATIONAL PART WITH (.) JUST THE KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND EVERYTHING O:R WHETHER IT'S ALSO THE MATERIALIZED ( ) (s16-24.11).
NB	**(4a)**	Well you really need to dismiss this ehh economic interpretation of power so (s24.12-25).
PF	**(4b)**	Yeah (s24.12).

NB   **(4c)**   Because in his in his way in that way he's critic ehh critical of Marxism saying that you can never analyze power in terms of economic exchange as i/ as if it's commodity so it is mainly in terms of discourse and knowledge (s25-28).

PF   **(4d)**   Yeah not a lot of yeah (.) he dismisses the economic but he still has the whole thing look like a interdisciplinary system (s28.14-29).

NB   **(4e)**   Yeah nyeah (s30.17).

PF   **(4f)**   So either you you know like the/the s/s/society model of the work the army work the worshippers school o:::r so (.) so which is something more rooted in the world than just the material than just the discourse you know (s30.18-32.19).

NB   **(4g)**   Material (s32.19).

Teacher   **(4h)**   Right so it somehow ye/yeah material has demonstrated itself in material as well (s32.20-33.21).

PF   **(4i)**   Yeah yeah (s32.20-33.21)

Teacher   **(5a)**   But that's (s33.22).
PF   **(5b)**   But for him the other part the knowledge part is the starting point I think as opposed to Marx who is more mm who's more rooted in the economic (.) than I don't know Bourdieu some (s34.23-36.24).

Teacher   **(5c)**   Right (36.24).

AA   **(6a)**   Yeah so basically you (.) power is not something you possess or that a group in society possesses but that is experienced and manifested in (.) everyday life (s36.25-38.26).

NB   **(6b)**   and you're also instrumental to power so you not only possess the ↑power but in a way power possesses you so you're instrumental in/in power ↓as ↓well. And also ( ) (s38.27-40.28).

Teacher   **(6c)**   And the recipientary say (0.4) you are a vehicle through which power is (.) passed (.) on (s40.29-41).

              (7a)   Is it helpful at all? (s41).

BB   **(7b)**   Well, a little bit more structure in the answer would be nice (sniffles) (s41.31-42).

Following Ehlich et al.'s (1993) all segments which are part of the TASK COMPLENTION PATTERN are shown below in figure 16.

task giver		task solver
mental action	speech action	speech action
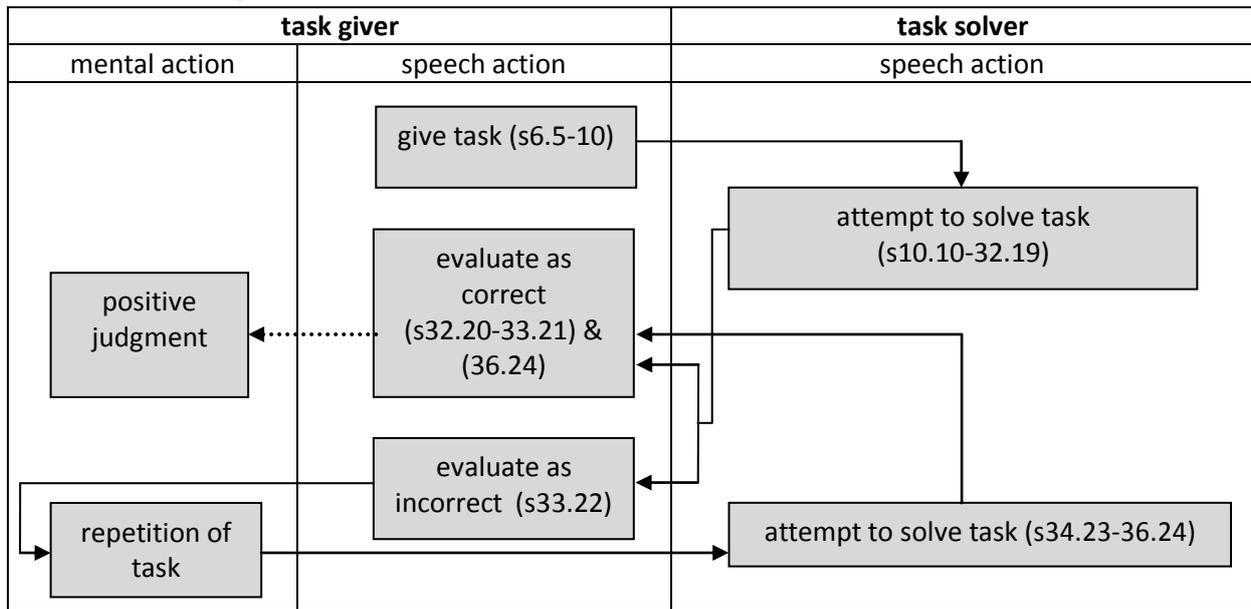
Fig. 16 TASK COMPLETION PATTERN (Ehlich et al. 1993)

Now AA jumps into the process of solving the task by summarizing what has been mentioned until now and stating the bottom line of the solution in 6a. NB finishes AA's summary of the solution by adding the fact that power is not only possessed, but that it possesses you as well (6b). Finally, the teacher jumps into the process again by repeating NB's last statement as a way to provide a positive assessment to the offered solution (6c). This third TASK COMPLETION PATTERN patterns could be seen as a continuation of the previous one by enhancing the original solution with some additional important components to the solution. Although a positive evaluation has already been given by the teacher in s36.24, AA and NB want to add additional components to the already agreed upon solution. Finally, the teacher evaluates these attempts positively by paraphrasing NB's statement (6c). Figure 17 illustrates the third TASK COMPLETION PATTERN sequence schematically. In this case, however, the positive evaluation is the starting point of the sequence.

task giver		task solver
mental action	speech action	speech action

Fig. 17 Fig. 16 TASK COMPLETION PATTERN (Ehlich et al. 1993)

This fragment has shown three sequences of the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN, which is an often used pattern within educational institutions to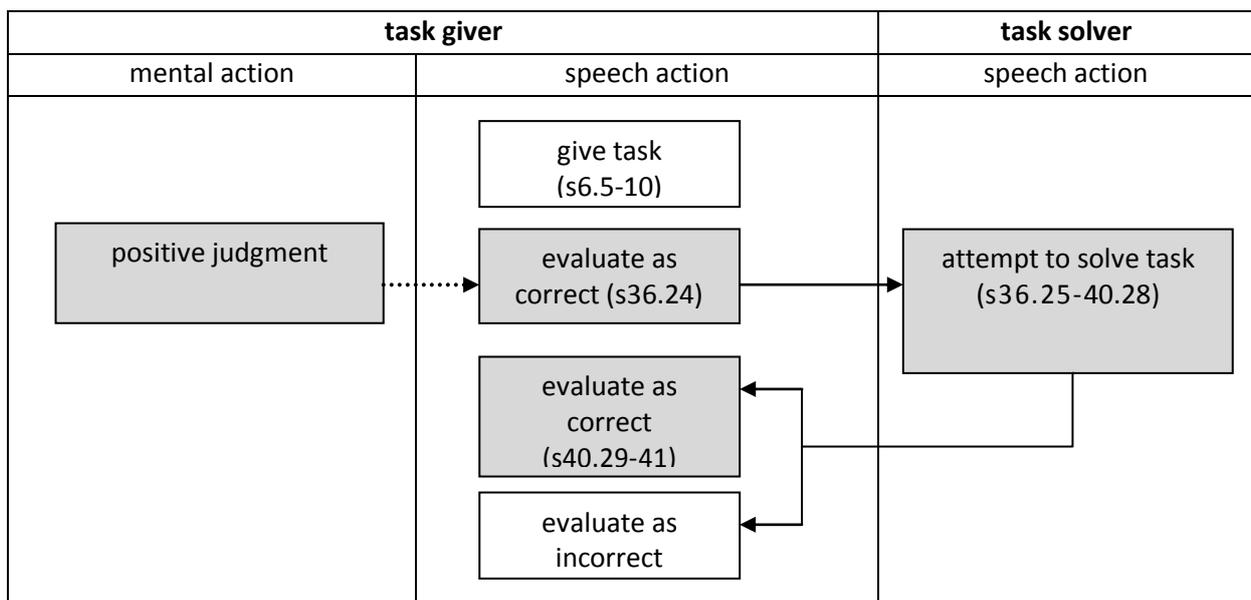 transfer knowledge. The first sequence is not entirely completed, because the students receive a positive as well as a negative evaluation from the teacher. The second time around, the students attempt to solve the task again by providing additional components to their solution. This time, the teacher is satisfied with the attempts and accepts them by providing a positive evaluation. Accordingly, the action pattern is successfully completed. However, the students insist on adding more components to their already offered solution. Furthermore, a new student (AA) wants to add his contribution to the process. It is unknown whether he simply wants to show off his knowledge on the matter to receive recognition from the teacher or whether he genuinely wants to summarize the statements that have been made until then to make sure that he has understood it all correctly. In any case, NB accepts AA's summary in 6b by completing AA's statement and adding another component to the summary. Finally, the teacher accepts the addition to the already accepted solution by paraphrasing NB's final statement in 6c. This final sequence was not necessary for the purpose of solving the task anymore, because the teacher had already given her positive evaluation in 5c. Therefore, one could state that the final sequence was either there for AA and NB to receive recognition from the teacher or to clarify the matter for themselves.

Conclusion: action pattern TASK COMPLETION PATTERN
It is clear to see that this particular action pattern is only found in the Social Science department. However, it is used in different ways; in one class the students are the task givers, while in the other the teacher is the task giver. The latter case is considered more common in school interactions (Ehlich et al., 1993), but at UCU, students can also give assignments to other students. In such situations, the teacher takes on the action position of an observant and monitors the interaction between the students. Although the teacher *does* have the final authority over the course of the lesson, the students *do* play an important role in the transfer of knowledge when they take on the role of task giver. In such instances, the students internalize the knowledge while they encourage their peers to think critically and come up with well-found answers.

7.1.3 Action pattern: QUESTION-ANSWER
The action-pattern of QUESTION-ANSWER is a rather straightforward pattern in which usually the student asks a question, while the teacher answers it. A central characteristic to this is that the speaker wants to eliminate any knowledge deficits from the hearer. By asking a question the hearer can make clear what he or she does not understand. The speaker can then react and provide clarification for the hearer. A question of the student can have several functions. In many cases it is used to clarify unknown information (rhema) and thereby better understand newly acquired knowledge. However, a question can also be used as a way to make a statement or receive recognition for the knowledge a student has acquired already. Interestingly, the same pattern of QUESTION-ANSWER is used while it can have different underlying social purposes (Zweck). The conventional purpose is to acquire knowledge. However, in some cases the social purpose is to show off one's knowledge and to receive recognition from the peer students or the teacher. The pattern of QUESTION-ANSWER has been found several times in the research corpus, especially in the Science department. From the entire gathered data, all of the recorded Science courses contained QUESTION-ANSWER patterns. One other QUESTION-ANSWER pattern has been found in the Humanities department.. This case will be further explained below.

Humanities: World Philosophies (appendix 5)

This short fragment clearly shows a YES/NO QUESTION from a student to the teacher. A part of the question includes a section, expressing MS' knowledge about Eastern philosophy. Accordingly, her personal goal (Ziel) is to check whether she possesses the appropriate knowledge concerning the topic. However, the underlying social purpose is also to show off her already acquired knowledge about Eastern philosophy. Finally, judging from the teacher's reaction to her question, it becomes clear that MS' question was partly a question, but also partly an expression of her knowledge about Philosophy. The teacher provides a positive judgment to MS' question (in 3 and in 4b), thereby stating that MS' assumption is right. In addition, the teacher provides an evaluation to MS' question in 4c which signifies that MS' question was not only a question, but also a performance which is positively evaluated by the teacher. Such interaction often occurs at UCU, in which questions of the students are used to show off their knowledge to their peers and especially to the teacher. Instead of finding out the answer to their question, some students are more focused on receiving recognition from the teacher when posing a question.

Teacher **(1)** So you/they try to mix understanding with action. Understanding is not something that I do sitting on a chair and looking at it but understanding is the iss/dealing with something, understanding…MS? (s1-3.2).

MS **(2a)** Ehm, if this is, the/the/the new point that they're bringing eh forward. I wonder isn't all, especially the/the Indian Philosophy that we were covering in the course: they have a deeply practical eh/eh purpose and there, it's very often the case that one philosopher clears eh the point of another philosopher in order to help understanding in action of something (s3.3-8).

(2b) It doesn't feel too original to me (s8.5).

(2c) Maybe it's the first time that it was brought forward, but isn't this what Philosophy does? (s8.6-9).

Teacher **(2d)** Hmhm, hmhm, yes (s9.7)

(3) And ehm, I think I think you're absolutely right…(s10.8).

(4a) and we will see it especially in/with eh Nishida because Nis/Nishida then will use this, let's say "new Western words and concepts" in order to clarify what, in this case, exact Buddhism was doing all the way. So not/not Indian in this case but they were ( ). So the idea is ( ) now the Westerns have developed all these new concepts, but as soon as a Eastern philosopher uses them, he realizes "well that's what I was doing all the time but now I/I have three ( ) to Hegel, as we will see to Kant, as we will see, thus there was understanding connection with action perhaps in some of these philosophers like the/the older Indian philosophers, but it was not so articulated as you can do after time when you are/you have these ( ) (s10.8-19).

(4b) So yes (s19.12).

(4c) Very good (s20).

(5a)   SH? (s20.13).

SH   **(5b)**   Yes, eh sort of related to that…(s20.14).

(5c)   How would you define…(s20.15).

Conclusion: action pattern QUESTION-ANSWER

The entire gathered data always included fragments of QUESTION-ANSWER patterning. However, all of the recorded Science courses included this pattern while the other departments only sporadically showed QUESTION-ANSWER patterns. In all of the recorded Science classes, there were genuine questions from the students who needed clarification from the teacher or their peer student. In the Humanities and Social Science department, the QUESTION-ANSWER patterns were not only used to clarify misunderstood information, but also to show off one's already acquired knowledge. The QUESTION-ANSWER pattern was identified in a transcribed fragment of a Humanities class. In this case, however, the QUESTION-ANSWER pattern was used by the student to show-off her knowledge concerning the field of Philosophy. The teacher recognized the student's knowledge by positively evaluating her statements, which were incorporated in her question. Afterwards, the student refrained from asking any additional questions.

7.1.4 Action pattern INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE

This action pattern is found in several departments, but in one course it was the most important action pattern used in the lesson. This will be further explained below.

Humanities: Language Contact & Change   (appendix 7)

The following fragment involves a conversation between the teacher and the two students in which the teacher first provides an example of language oppression by explaining her mom's situation in The Netherlands, where pupils had to unlearn their regional dialect. She uses an ANECDOTE to illustrate a form of language oppression in her TEACHER SPEECH:

Teacher   **(1a)**   Because in The Netherlands, unlike maybe other eh European countries, it should be maybe more common to find someone who had to unlearn a dialect going to school (s1-3).

(1b)   If you go to ehm and you don't need to even go to/to Friesland or/or the south eh even where my mother grew up in the east of the country. She was from a middle class family so she didn't really speak Twents but she didn't go to a private school or anything. She went to a public school and most of the children in her class they had to unlearn their Twents. They had to/to speak in Dutch: Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands (s3-9).

Now, ALY interrupts her example by adding his own example of language oppression in China. He uses an anecdote of his Chinese girlfriend who had to unlearn a local Chinese dialect when moving to a different region in China:

ALY   **(2a)**   Eh yeah I remember something what's happened in China with eh, my girlfriend. She, lives, she comes from the ( ) and there they speak the Sichuan dialect. Then she moved to the north and there they speak eh ( ) which is the main dialect, Mandarin. So when she came back to ( ) she lost eh the dialect from ( ) (s9.2-13).

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Teacher   **(2b)**   Although in Sichuan is supposed to teach ( ) in school (s13.3).

ALY   **(2c)**   They do, they do but ehm, actually, the…(s13.4-14).

Teacher   **(3a)**   the ( ) is in het Nederlands: Algemeen Beschaafd "Chinese" ((laughs)) (s14.5-15).

ALY   **(3b)**   Yeah (s15.6).

              (3c)   but ehm ( ) actually gave. I mean the impression I got was more that she/that they did somehow manage to do code-switching in class, even the teachers. I'm not sure that's really the case but that's the impression…(s15.7-18).

Teacher   **(3d)**   Yeah (s18.8).

ALY   **(3e)**   I got (s18.9).

One should note that ALY did not receive a turn from the teacher, but took his turn himself, thereby interrupting the original build-up of the teacher's speech. After ALY's addition to the TEACHER SPEECH, the teacher tries to regain control over the course of her lesson by acting as if ALY's example was part of the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE and summarizing it all as examples of language oppression:

Teacher   **(4)**   Well anyways, I think it makes clear: these are examples of language oppression, right? Especially if hierarchy is associated (s18.10-19).

Now, the teacher compares the aforementioned examples with the situation at UCU, stating that UCU does not have any form of language oppression:

              (5a)   It's something else to say eh: "here in UC we only speak English!" I mean that's not necessarily oppressing your other languages, right? (s19.11-21).

This time, RG interrupts her TEACHER MONOLOGUE by adding an interesting perspective on what *is* special about UCU's linguistic situation. He claims that the Dutch UCU students erase their regional background by speaking in English with the other Dutch UCU students. Accordingly, a part of their social background information is hidden when interacting with other Dutch students:

RG   **(5b)**   No but something interesting *has* happened at UC that eh, because everything is English here…(s21.12-22).

Teacher   **(5c)**   Hmhm (s23.13).

RG   **(5d)**   that eh, the native mother tongue of in Dutch for example, doesn't really matter because eh I hope that I'm, eh, the experience in when I switch from English to Dutch with certain a certain person and suddenly hear that he or she is Twents or from ( ) or/or…(s23.14-26).

Teacher   **(5e)**   Ok (s26.15).

RG   **(5f)**   It's it's this history is…(s26.16).

Teacher   **(5g)**   erased is…(s26.17).

RG   **(5h)**   is erased ( ) the opportunity to ( )…(s26.18-27).

Teacher   **(5i)**   Yes (s27.19).

Again, the teacher tries to incorporate RG's input into her lesson plan by summarizing his example as not being an example of language oppression but rather liberation:

        (6a)   I mean and/and that could be even see as language oppression but as *liberation*…(s27.20-28).

RG   **(6b)**   Yeah (s28.21).

Teacher   **(6c)**   from all of the information encoded in a certain dialect in The Netherlands (s28.22-29).

        (6d)   Yes. I mean definitely (s29.23).

        (6e)   If/if you take a group of Dutch people and the/and ask them to communicate in English, they would lose a lot of the of their 'between-the-lines' social information that they used to ehm, automatically, actually, retrieve from that stage (s29.24-32.26).

        (7)   But let's go back to/to Deaf…(s32.27).

The teacher accepts RG's input in 5i and 6d, but tries to put it into the larger context of her TEACHER MONOLOGUE about language oppression. Thus, in a way, she retrospectively uses the students' input as part of her monologue; offering examples of language oppression and examples that are not considered language oppression and placing them into the lesson plan about language oppression. All in all, one could consider this fragment to be a INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE consisting of ANECDOTES from the teacher as well as the students. In a way, the teacher retrospectively transformed her TEACHER MONOLOGUE into a INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE by acting as if the students' anecdotes were the rhema as a part of the overlapping thema (i.e. language oppression) all along.

Conclusion: action pattern INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE
Only one fragment out of the eight fragments used the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE as *the* action pattern to use when transferring knowledge in interaction. While it has been found in a Social Science class (Introduction to Political Theory) it was most prominently used in the Humanities course of Language Contact & Change. Although the original set-up of the teacher was to speak alone about the topic of language oppression without any interruptions from the students, she readjusted her lesson plan by anticipating the reactions of the students and making it seem like this was all part of a planned INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. The fact that the students took their turns instead of receiving their turns from the teacher, shows that the interactive part was not planned at all and occurred spontaneously. The teacher responded to the students' anecdotes in such a way that the students' input was not considered an interruption but rather a source of knowledge which can be used in the learning process.

Answer to sub-question 1: *In the classroom interactions, are there any characteristic discourse patterns to be found per academic field? If so, what are these characteristics?*

From the analyzed fragments, all departments contain the action pattern DISCUSSION in classroom interaction. The action pattern TASK COMPLETION PATTERN is mostly found in the Social Science Department, while the pattern of QUESTION-ANSWER can be found primarily in the Science department and in some case in the Humanities department. Finally, the action pattern INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE is used in the Social Science and Humanities department. This pattern can occur spontaneously or can be planned by the teacher. This is based on the eight analyzed fragments which all represent the three departments at UCU. Overall, it is clear that some patterns are used deliberately by the teacher while other patterns occur spontaneously as a result of the students' input. The spontaneous patterns are either a DISCUSSION or an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. Thus, the students are in some cases enabled to transform the existing action patterns to fulfill their personal goal while maintaining the social purpose the pattern; transferring and acquiring knowledge.

7.2 Sub-question *2*: action patterns per course level

The following scheme provides the discourse patterns categorized according to the courses' level:

Course	Dep.	Level	Action pattern
Introduction to Political Theory	SSC	100	-INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE **-DISCUSSION**
Psychology of Ethnic Relations	SSC	300	**-TASK COMPLETION PATTERN** -PERSPECTIVIZING
Comparing Cultures	SSC	300	**-TASK COMPLETION PATTERN**
Christianity & Society	HUM	100	**-DISCUSSION**
World Philosophies	HUM	100	**-QUESTION-ANSWER**
History & Philosophy of Science	HUM	100	-TEACHER MONOLOGUE -QUESTION-ANSWER **-DISCUSSION**
Language Contact & Change	HUM	300	**-INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE** -PERSPECTIVIZING
That's Life: Biology Today	SCI	100	-ANECDOTE **-DISCUSSION**

Answer to sub-question *2*: *In the classroom interactions, are there any characteristic discourse patterns to be found per course level? If so, what are these characteristics?*

Overall, it is clear to see that the action pattern DISCUSSION is only found in the 100 beginners' level courses while the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN patterns only occur in advanced level courses. This can be explained by the fact that discussions do not necessarily require a large amount of theoretical knowledge; students can make their point by using ANECDOTES and subjective opinions instead of

academic theories in order to convince the other speakers in interaction. In the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN, however, students cannot simply solve an assignment by providing an anecdote. Instead, they have to combine acquired theories to solve the assignment. Therefore, it is rather logical that the patterns which require the usage of theoretical academic knowledge are found in the more advanced courses. In such courses, the students are either second or third year students. They have gathered sufficient knowledge in previous academic years to come up with a well argued solution which is based upon knowledge acquired in various courses.

It is also understandable to find the QUESTION-ANSWER pattern in a beginner-level course (History & Philosophy of Science and World Philosophies). In such courses, students are simply 'newcomers' who are just discovering the particular academic field. Therefore, it more likely for them to ask questions in order to clarify the new and unknown knowledge (rhema).

Finally, the pattern of INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE is found in a 100-level course (Introduction to Political Theory) as well as a 300-level course (Language Contact & Change). Therefore, one cannot claim that this particular pattern is characteristic to one specific course level.

7.3 Sub-question 3: expressions of excellence

From the eight analyzed fragments, not all fragments portrayed clear reflections of UCU students' giftedness. Overall, half of the fragments contained signs of excellence. Those were the fragments of three Social Science courses and one Humanities course.

7.3.1 Excellence: Introduction to Political Theory (SSC 100)
In this fragment, the students have created their own learning process of knowledge transfer and acquisition by asking critical questions to one another and answering them by providing logical arguments. The students attempt to steer the discussion into the original direction and keep control over the course of the lesson in 11e:

NA   **(11e)**   We are trying to establish whether it's good or not for a nation NOT what the politics want us to know or want us to want in that sense (s42.31-44.32).

These are all elements which are usually controlled by the teacher. In this case however, the UCU students have taken charge over their own learning process. This can clearly be understood as a sign of excellence; the students are committed to sticking to their point by using their acquired knowledge creatively. During interaction, the students transform existing action patterns into different action patterns which fit their individual goal (Ziel); to convince one another. In the meantime, however, the underlining social purpose (Zweck) stays intact; transferring and acquiring knowledge. Accordingly, the teacher facilitates that students take control over their learning process by enriching and transforming the institutional action pattern into a different action pattern (i.e. a DISCUSSION). In the transformed action pattern, the students can express their opinions and convince one another. This requires creativity, task-commitment, and curiosity which are all characteristics of giftedness (Renzulli, 1979). More importantly, the fact that the students are considered authorities and sources of knowledge shows that the teacher trusts their ability to learn from one another. This can also be considered a clear indication of the students' giftedness.

7.3.2 Excellence: Psychology of Ethnic Relations (SSC 300)
In identifying signs of excellence during interaction, Renzulli's "three-ring conception" of giftedness is applied. The first sign of excellence in this fragment can be seen in part 1:

SJVDN (1)   Do you do you think that it's the economic thing that makes the main difference here or do you really think it's a certain cultural background of Canada? Because, this cultural background is something that The Netherlands also had until recently (s23-26).

In this part, SJVDN is clearly interested to learn more about the reasons behind the difference in multiculturalism in The Netherlands versus Canada. This is a clear sign of creativity because SJVDN expresses her curiosity and broad interest to discover more about the topic (Renzulli, 1979).

The second expression of excellence can be found in the last part of the fragment (11a-11c)

SW   (11a)   I think that it it doesn't work here because, uhm, of the climate of the culture but also because of uhm, the sense that there wasn't a new identity created. Like when when new immigrants moved to The Netherlands there wasn't a new like 'The Moroccan' identity created, you know? (s55-59).

SW   (11b)   Versus when immigrants moved to Canada, there was a new Canadian identity because before, there was no such thing as Canada (s60-61).
**   (11c)**   So like, for example, right after World War two is when uhm, like the Canadian flag was created and they actually had some unity and stuff so everyone who was living in the country that time had a choice to become Canadian and so now when people move there, they can become this new Canadian that has these new values of supporting multiculturalism. So, I was saying just that like those factors that created multiculturalis the multiculturalism act, were like nee like wanting to uh keep people's cultures and and at the same time promote them, to uhm become more integrated by supporting them through language programs or like that kind of stuff like getting jobs and stuff are what has created, the atmosphere, for people to, have multiculture now (s61-72).

Here, SW provides an elaborate answer to the question posed by SJVDN (1). In this answer, SW combines historical facts with political changes in Canada as an argument for her statement. SW's ability to transfer concepts from different disciplines to make her point is also a clear sign of creativity.

Overall, the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN is used in a different manner than in normal student-teacher interaction. In this specific fragment the two Dutch female students take on the action position of a teacher by asking the presenter to explain the differences between multiculturalism in The Netherlands compared to Canada. It remains uncertain whether the questions could be considered EXAM QUESTIONS or whether the two Dutch students truly want to know the answers to these questions. However, the fact that the Dutch students correct SW's knowledge of the Dutch minority-situation (s36.6-41) could be viewed as evidence that these two students *do* know more about the topic themselves, but merely want to check SW's knowledge on the matter. Accordingly, the questions posed by both SJVDN and MC could be considered exam questions. This gives more reason to believe that the action positions *are* changed with SJVDN and MC taking the action position of teachers and SW representing the role of a student. This peculiar position -switching *can* be considered typical to interaction between gifted students; they are willing to challenge one another

and to provide negating arguments to make their points, without needing any assistance from the teacher. Important to note, however, is that the teacher *is* monitoring the entire process and *can* jump in the discussion at any time. Eventually, all the interactants want to receive recognition from the teacher and want to show their competence and knowledge to the teacher, because participation in class is part of UCU's grading system and students are evaluated for it.

7.3.3 Excellence: Comparing Cultures (SSC 300)

Although the fragment appears to be like any other common TASK COMPLETION PATTERN fragment at school or in the university, there *is* something quite different happening. The teacher starts off with a clear task in 1a, 2a, 2b, but then the students take over the pattern by authorizing themselves to judge whether attempted solutions are correct or incorrect. The fact that the teacher is present is very important, because she *does* have the final authority in the classroom, but the students do not necessarily need the teacher's evaluation to continue the process of TASK COMPLETION PATTERN. To clarify this phenomenon, several examples will be given. In 3a PF states the following:

"So I'M NOT SURE WHA/WHAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS SORT OF THE REPRESENTATIONAL PART WITH (.) JUST THE KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND EVERYTHING O:R WHETHER IT'S ALSO THE MATERIALIZED ( )…" (s21-24.11).

One could interpret this utterance as tactic of PF to save face, because he is afraid that his attempt might be rejected and therefore his knowledge on the matter would be evaluated as insufficient by the class and more importantly by the teacher. Thus, this face threatening act or discourse tactic is a way to avoid final evaluations by the teacher, because PF does not entirely commit to his answer, thereby leaving a way out in case the attempted solution is incorrect. Another way of interpreting this utterance is that it is a question posed to the teacher or to the classmates. In this case, PF is genuinely interested in acquiring knowledge on the subject and fully understanding the theory of Foucault.

Although one might never be able to find out the real underlying aim of PF for making the statement in 3a, one *can* analyze how his utterance is interpreted by others. Thus, the reaction to the action can provide answers on how PF's statement is understood by the other actors in interaction. NB clearly reacts to PF's utterance as a way of answering PF's question. Thus, NB interprets PF's utterance as genuine question by providing a clarification about Foucault's theory claiming that one should dismiss the economic interpretation of power in this theory. From then on, PF and NB get into a conversation about what distinguishes Foucault's theory from the other theories. They accept one another's additions to the solution while adding their own components to the answer. Until now, the teacher has not interfered in the conversation at all. Her absence, however, has not stopped the students from providing solutions and correcting one another. In a way, the teacher is sidelined by the students, because they authorize themselves as capable of solving as well as evaluating the attempted solutions. In 4h, the teacher finally reappears and provides her evaluation by adding her conclusion to what has been mentioned by NB and PF until now. This evaluation is acknowledged by PF by using the backchanneling signal "yeah yeah" in 4i:

Teacher	**(4h)**	Right so it somehow ye/yeah material has demonstrated itself in material as well (s32.20-33.21).
PF	**(4i)**	Yeah yeah (s32.20-33.21).

After this, something interesting happens again; the teacher starts adding her objections to the solutions offered until now, but PF cuts her off by uttering his own objections to the solutions offered by himself, NB, and the teacher. The teacher accepts the fact that she is being sidelined again and only expresses her positive evaluation to PF's objection in 5c:

Teacher   **(5a)**   But that's (s33.22).

PF   **(5b)**   But for him the other part the knowledge part is the starting point I think as opposed to Marx who is more mm who's more rooted in the economic (.) than I don't know Bourdieu some (s34.23-36.24).

Teacher   **(5c)**   Right (36.24).

In a way the students have entirely taken over the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN learning process while the teacher sits back and expresses her approval on the statements. The sequence of TASK COMPLETION PATTERN has been completed and in a way the objective has been achieved; the transfer of knowledge has been completed.

The students continue offering conclusions and additions to the solution in 6a and 6b even though the pattern does not require this any longer. It is this third sequence which clearly underlines the excellence of UCU's students. Although the teacher has already expressed her positive evaluation to the offered solutions, the students are still committed to fully understand and clarify Foucault's theory. This goes beyond satisfying the aims of the task. Accordingly, AA and NB portray the task commitment and curiosity to look beyond solving the task and add other important components to the solution. These are two traits which are intrinsically part of the three-ring conception of giftedness (Renzulli, 1979).

At the end of the fragment, the teacher asks the students whether this session has been helpful at all (7a). One female student answers that she would like the answer to be more structured. This would be an indication that the female student is unsure what the actual solution to the assignment is, since different students have opted for different solutions. Interestingly, the teacher offers a way to make the session more structured. However, instead of giving the solutions herself, she now sidelines herself deliberately as the teacher and asks NB to give the class the solutions. This part is not transcribed, but is recorded on video. The teacher repeats the task and asks NB to provide the solutions while the class sits back and writes down the solutions offered by NB. In a way, the teacher assigns the educating authority to NB. Before NB starts giving the solutions, the teacher says the following to NB in front of the other classmates:

"Right, so let's just go one by one, I don't know, NB you can start because you have a very organized mind."

This is another piece of evidence for the fact that the teacher views NB as more than sufficiently competent to teach the other students about the theories discussed in class. Although one might consider this another TASK COMPLETION PATTERN sequence, it is not entirely the case because the teacher has already expressed her confidence in NB's knowledge by stating that he has an organized mind. This assertion can be interpreted by the rest of the students as a reason to believe that NB's solutions are true instead of mere attempted solutions. Accordingly, NB is not solving the task in the

formal way any longer. Instead, he is speaking as an authority on the matter and simply giving the answers away.

Thus, this fragment clearly shows that the institutional action pattern of TASK COMPLETION PATTERN is used for the transfer of knowledge. The fact that the teacher is almost entirely absent in the interaction clearly indicates that the students do not necessarily need the teacher's input to solve the task. Moreover, the teacher is clearly sidelined and finally distances herself from her role as the teacher by asking NB to provide a structured answer to the task. This answer is not considered an attempted solution but simply *the* answer to the task. Accordingly, NB is temporarily promoted to be 'the teacher' by explaining the other students how to solve this task. This unusual 'action position promotion' clearly shows that the teacher is sufficiently confident that NB will provide the right answers and that he can teach his fellow students on the matter. She deliberately sidelines herself from the teaching process and lets the student teach one another. This clearly shows that some UCU students really excel in their subjects.

7.3.4 Excellence: History & Philosophy of Science (HUM 100)

A clear sign of excellence in this fragment is shown in MS' persistence to make his point to the teacher. Instead of conforming to the teacher's outlook on categorizing species, MS is determined to explain why he thinks it's purely arbitrary. After a total of at least eight attempts (see 3c, 4b, 5b, 5d, 7d, 8a, 11b, 12a) the teacher finally gives up and recognizes MS' objections to the theory. He does so by claiming that there is a scientific discussion going on in which this exact subject is disputed (13a):

MS   **(12c)**   So in this context, are, just because it's easier for us to spot and identify different vertebrates, doesn't necessarily mean that this is in general a more/more diverse group, I mean…(s36.36-39).

Teacher   **(12d)**   Yeah yeah yeah, well, you shouldn't make this too difficult (s39.37-s39.38).

                (13a)   But it is, you do have a point, and there is a discussion on this (s39.38-40).

After MS receives the recognition he was searching for, he stops arguing and the teacher can take control over the course of his speech again. The fact that MS is only willing to stop his arguments after the teacher recognizes his point shows that MS possesses the task-commitment and perseverance Renzulli (1979) clearly distinguishes as one of the traits for giftedness. Furthermore, the knowledge of the teacher is not considered the absolute truth by the students, because some students are clearly certain that their point of view is right and should be taken into account in the learning process. This example shows that, at UCU, students have an important role in providing theoretical input in the lessons. After a short struggle, the teacher finally accepts the knowledge offered by MS and recognizes its truth. This illustrates that students' contribution is considered relevant in UCU interaction.

Answer to sub-question 3: *Which phenomena in the student-student and student-teacher interactions at UCU are clear reflections of UCU students' excellence?*

The aforementioned four examples clearly show that excellence *can* be identified in classroom interaction at UCU. Some students *do* portray to have a combination of above-average traits such as extraordinary intelligence, task-commitment, or creativity. These traits are identified in a number of classroom interactions. Not only Renzulli's (1979) definition for giftedness is helpful in this sense, but also the way in which the institutional action patterns are used at UCU. The conventional power structure between the student and teacher are often questioned during interaction. The teacher's knowledge is not accepted as the absolute truth, but can come under attack. In some cases, the students are even able to convince the teacher if they provide enough evidence in their arguments. This clearly shows that the power structure between the students and teacher are flexible and can be bent, if necessary.

7.4 Sub-question 4: expressions of cultural diversity

In answering this question, it is necessary to identify explicit elements of the students' cultural diversity in interaction. Discourse tactics such as unthematizing racism (Koole & ten Thije, 1994) and perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2006) are clear signs of cultural differences expressed in interaction. Three out of the eight fragments contain such explicit elements; two fragments from Social Science courses and one from a Humanities course. These three fragments are presented below.

7.4.1 Cultural diversity: Introduction to Political Theory (SSC 100)
In this fragment, AOR is American and gives an American example about the state interfering in personal affairs in 2a:

Teacher **(1d)** What do you think? ((laughs)) (s5.4).

  (1e) How would you explain the fact that governments, even the most liberal, still keep on being involved in matters which is not their business directly? (s5.4-7).

AOR **(2a)** Ehm I don't know. I think that it especially if you look at the condition in the States where ehm ehrr Republi/the Republican party used to hold the line against ehm homosexual lenience. They say that the vast majority of people have said you know "they don't want gays to get married, so we're going to hold that line up or/ mo/ the morality of the country." They say: "we're a Christian nation and there's nothing in the Bible about a man and a man getting married." (s7.5-13).

Interestingly, she distances herself from the American case by speaking of "they" when she talks about the Republican Party. She clearly does not feel associated with this statement and consistently uses "they" when she speaks of the American state interference. Thus, although she is American herself, she does not assign herself the 'representative discourse position' often used in such contexts. Accordingly, one can see that she is able to use examples from her own culture while remaining objective and simply using it as evidence for her statement. She does not provide any personal opinion towards the Republican outlook on homosexual lenience, but simply applies it as a piece of evidence for the fact that a state *can* interfere with private matters. This characteristic of AOR can also be traced when she applied for UCU. Even then, the interviewers judged AOR as being

"on top of current political event, both in the US and in Europe". Her knowledge about the US is clearly illustrated in the fragment shown above.

7.4.2 Cultural diversity: Psychology of Ethnic Relations (SSC 300)
When looking at the role of the actors' cultural backgrounds, it is possible to detect some interesting phenomena in this fragment. The following fragment shows what the Canadian SW knows about the Dutch multicultural situation. However, the Dutch SJVDN and MC both correct her by stating that there *is* in fact a Chinese minority in The Netherlands. MC goes one step further by explaining why the Chinese minority is not one of the "problem groups" in The Netherlands. She makes a clear attempt to unthematize racism (Koole & ten Thije, 1994: 177).

SW   (2b)   But uhm I think that from what I know just from people telling me the two main minority groups are Turkish Mos are sor Moroccans, right? Uhm and so there's not like a lot of Chinese people that have this large Chinese community in The Netherlands and there's not of like other countries…(s32-36).

SJVDN (3a)   No there actually are but they're not considered one of the problem groups but there are a lot…(s36.6-37)

MC   (3b)   No. (37.7)

SW   (3c)   Right (s37.8).

SJVDN (4)   They don't actually all speak Dutch either, but for some reason they're not as marginalized (s37.9-38).

MC   (5a)   I think there's more Chinese people not speaking Dutch than Turks and Moroccans, (s38.10-40).

SJVDN (5b)   Yeah (s39.12).

MC   (6a)   because the Chinese have like this really intense Chinese community (s40-41).

SW   (6b)   OK, right (s40.13-40.14).

MC   (7a)   But they don't bother you (41.15).

class   (7b)   (laughter) (s41.16-41.17)

SW   (7c)   But right! (s41.16)

MC   (7d)   To say it in a terrible way but people are not bothered by Chinese people! (s41.17-43).

In the last part (7a-d) an interesting thing is happening; MC makes a blunt and rather racist comment about the Chinese minority by stating that "they don't bother you" (s41.15). Interestingly, she uses the impersonal pronoun "you" to verbalize her opinion about the Chinese minority in The Netherlands. In practice, the usage of the impersonal pronoun "you" creates a rather subjective outlook on the topic, instead of an objective fact. When MC notices that after verbalizing her thoughts, the class bursts out in laughter, she tries to make her statement come across less racist by replacing the impersonal pronoun with following statement "people are not bothered by Chinese people!". Furthermore, she tries diminishes her statement about the Chinese community in The

Netherlands by introducing the previous statement with the utterance "to say it in a terrible way" (7d). The usage of an impartial object such as "people" and the utterance "to say it in a terrible way" can be seen as examples of unthematizing racism. Unthematizing racism is a tactic or a 'face threatening act' which aims to make a risky statement while staying on-topic. However, the speaker might jeopardize the entire course of the conversation by being judged a racist and disqualifying his or her contribution to the conversation.

The speaker (MC) tries to unthematize her racist comment by considering her own mental activities as well as the hearers' (Koole & ten Thije, 1994: 178; Brown, et al., 1987). Unfortunatly, her 'face threatening act' has resulted in a negative response. She made a blunt statement about a specific group of people, without providing any arguments. The classroom's response to this was unexpected for MC. The classmates started laughing, thereby ridiculing MC's statement and emphasizing its racist connotation. This nervous laughter is characteristic to unpleasant situations in which people do not know how to respond. MC sees that her verbalization about the Chinese community has failed to be understood by her peer students. She makes another desperate attempt not to lose face entirely by repeating her statement and adding the utterance "to say it in a terrible way, but" (7d). Accordingly, she considers her peers' possible reactions in advance, and chooses to make them explicit. This way, she attempts to create a speech action that will hopefully be more successful in achieving her goal (ibid., 1994: 178). MC's goal is to explain why the Chinese are not a problem group in The Netherlands. All in all, her attempts are not quite successful, since she has not modified her speech action sufficiently to be perceived as less blunt or racist by the other students.

Another interesting phenomenon, which can be distinguished in this fragment, is the process of perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2003). Considering a part of the aforementioned fragment (2b-7d) and adding the final part of the fragment, one can reach a better understanding of what happens during this interaction between the two Dutch speakers and the Canadian speaker. In the beginning of 2b, SW (Canadian) portrays herself as the expert in the topic of multiculturalism. She may even be assigned the 'specialist position' by the other students in the classroom, because she has conducted a thorough research on the topic of multiculturalism in Canada and The Netherlands. However, in the fragment which starts at 2b, something interesting happens; the so-called 'specialist' in the area of multiculturalism fails to provide the correct information about the Dutch situation, by claiming that there are not a lot of Chinese people living in The Netherlands. The two Dutch speakers (SJVDN and MC) correct SW and assign themselves as representatives of the Dutch population. Immediately, SW's position as a specialist on the topic of multiculturalism comes into question (Koole & ten Thije, 1994: 167-174). Here, one can see that discourse positions may be moved around and re-assigned during interaction; they are not static (ibid., 1994: 174). The two Dutch speakers explain why the Chinese population is not considered a problem group in The Netherlands and SW accepts the comments by using the following back channeling signals "Right." (3c: s37.8), "Yeah." (5b: (s39.12), "Ok. Right." (6b: (s40.13-40.14), "But right!" (s41.16).

In a way, SW attempts to start her process of perspectivizing in the beginning of 2b, where she assumes that the only large minority groups of The Netherlands are Moroccans and Turks. In other words, SW tries to use her communicative apparatus and verbalizes her knowledge of reality concerning the minority populations in The Netherlands (Ten Thije, 2006: 114).

In this first attempt, however, SW fails to verbalize the "knowledge about social reality" according to the hearers' perspective. The Dutch hearers claim that Chinese people are also a large minority group within The Netherlands (3a-7d). When SW finally accepts their objections, she adapts he speaker plan and re-starts the process of perspectivizing in 8b (below).

MC   **(7d)**   To say it in a terrible way but people are not bothered by Chinese people! (s41.17-43).

SW   **(8a)**   But Right. Right, but then why is that? Like what, could we not compare now like Turkish and Chinese people in immigrants, right? (43.18-44).

(8b)   It's like it's there's same smaller groups in Canada, like, uhh in every big city there's like China town there's like little Italy that kind of stuff and over time, uhm, the Italians were like the the problem group of the fifties or whatever and like now there's still like really intense China towns like especially in Ottowa uhm like a lot of Chinese immigrants live there and then they don't really learn English that well but it's it's OK because in general over history, the Chinese communities have had a good eco positive economic outpact impact outpact uhm on like Canada (s44-52).

(9a)   So, like, in a sense that "they are tolerated cause they don't bother you?" is the same kind of thing as like mean…(s52-54).

class   **(9b)**   (laughter) (s54.20-54.21)

SW   **(10)**   I know I know I know! I'm just like completely mis extracting what you just said but uhm (s54.21-55).

SW   **(11a)**   I think that it it doesn't work here because, uhm, of the climate of the culture but also because of uhm, the sense that there wasn't a new identity created. Like when when new immigrants moved to th The Netherlands there wasn't a new like 'The Moroccan' identity created, you know? (s55-59).

SW   **(11b)**   Versus when immigrants moved to Canada, there was a new Canadian identity because before, there was no such thing as Canada (s60-61).

(11c)   So like, for example, right after World War two is when uhm, like the Canadian flag was created and they actually had some unity and stuff so everyone who was living in the country that time had a choice to become Canadian and so now when people move there, they can become this new Canadian that has these new values of supporting multiculturalism. So, I was saying just that like those factors that created multiculturalism the multiculturalism act, were like nee like wanting to uh keep people's cultures and and at the same time promote them, to uhm become more integrated by supporting them through language programs or like that kind of stuff like getting jobs and stuff are what has created, the atmosphere, for people to, have multiculture now (s61-72).

In 8b SW re-enters the first step of the perspectivizing process by *generalizing*; she utters a speech action in which she generalizes the fact that there are smaller minority groups in The Netherlands as well as in Canada.

Then, in 9a, she takes a risk by repeating MC's previous statement about the Chinese minority group and compares it to the situation in Canada. The laughter in the classroom reappears in 9b and SW decides to unthematize the rather blunt or 'racist' comment by using the utterance in (10): "I know I

know I know! I'm just like completely mis extracting what you just said but uhm" (s54.21-55).This is another clear example of a discourse tactic in which the speaker anticipates the mental activities of the hearers and explicitly verbalizes it, to unthematize the topic.

In 11a and b one can clearly see the comparison made between the two countries and their approach to multiculturalism. SW makes sure that she takes into account the history of The Netherlands and the history of Canada, when speaking of the topic of 'identity'. This is a clear second step in the perspectivizing process; "to *perspectivize* the utterance, by locating the propositional content of the speech action, taking into account the cultural standards of the other" (Ten Thije, 2006: 117).

Finally, in 11c, the last step of perspectivizing is realized; SW has enabled SJVDN and MC to *contrast the cultures* of Canada and The Netherlands by comparing the SW's cultural standards of multiculturalism with their own. SW has provided sufficient background information about her own country in 11c, to ensure that the hearers can assume that SW's perspective on multiculturalism in Canada as well as their own perspective on multiculturalism in The Netherlands are true.

The diverse cultural backgrounds of the three actants are expressed during interaction. The two Dutch students (SJVDN and MC) use their cultural background as a source of knowledge and assign themselves as representatives of the Dutch population while the Canadian student (SW) sees herself as an 'expert' on the topic of multiculturalism as whole. Accordingly, SW considers herself to have all necessary knowledge on the multicultural situation in The Netherlands as well as in Canada. However, SJVDN and MC object to SW's statements about the minorities living in The Netherlands. Finally, SW accepts their objections and continues explaining the multicultural situation in Canada while taking into account that The Netherlands has a different history and national identity than Canada. A consensus has been reached in which all three stages of perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2006) have been gone through. Accordingly, one can clearly see how the different cultural backgrounds of the students at UCU play a key role during classroom interaction. It is used as a source of knowledge and applied during the transfer of knowledge. Students learn from one another's cultural background and become more understanding of cultural differences and different perspectives on topics.

7.4.3 Cultural diversity: Language Contact & Change (HUM 300)

A form of perspectivizing is used in this fragment to explain the differences of language oppression around the world. While the teacher uses her Dutch background to explain language oppression in The Netherlands, ALY offers an example of language oppression in China. His Chinese roots might also explain why he offers an example about the Chinese case. The teacher as well as ALY use their own cultural backgrounds to explain the same phenomenon. Their examples are both accepted in this perspective. Underneath the surface, the process of perspectivizing can be distinguished; the teacher offers a classic example of language oppression by speaking of her mother and unlearning the Twents dialect at school. Accordingly, the students might generalize this example to all the cases of language oppression in the world. ALY goes beyond this example by comparing the teacher's anecdote of the Dutch situation and offers an anecdote about a Chinese situation of language oppression. Thus, the two first steps of generalizing and perspectivizing are followed. Finally, the teacher explicitly states that these two examples are both cases of language oppression:

Teacher   **(4)**   Well anyways, I think it makes clear: these are examples of language oppression, right? Especially if hierarchy is associated (s18.10-19).

By making this statement, the teacher finalizes the perspecitivzing process by contrasting both examples and accepting them both as true; they are both cases of language oppression. In this case, the process of perspectivizing is used as a didactic tool and is considered part of the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. It is considered a viable part of this lesson, because the students can help illustrate how language oppression occurs across the world. Furthermore, the students are actively internalizing what language oppression is, by contributing their own cultural examples to the classroom interaction.

Another interesting phenomenon can be found in the part in which the teacher compares language oppression with the case of UCU, thereby considering UCU also as a culture or system in itself. She, however, disqualifies the possibility of UCU having language oppression:

(5a)   It's something else to say eh: "here in UC we only speak English!" I mean that's not necessarily oppressing your other languages, right? (s19.11-21).

One of the students, RG, is triggered by this statement and feels the necessity to further look into the case of UCU and its linguistic situation:

RG   **(5b)**   No but something interesting *has* happened at UC that eh, because everything is English here…(s21.12-22).

Teacher   **(5c)**   Hmhm (s23.13).

RG   **(5d)**   that eh, the native mother tongue of in Dutch for example, doesn't really matter because eh I hope that I'm, eh, the experience in when I switch from English to Dutch with certain a certain person and suddenly hear that he or she is Twents or from ( ) or/or…(s23.14-26).

Teacher   **(5e)**   Ok (s26.15).

RG   **(5f)**   It's it's this history is…(s26.16).

Teacher   **(5g)**   erased is…(s26.17).

RG   **(5h)**   is erased ( ) the opportunity to ( )…(s26.18-27).

Teacher   **(5i)**   Yes (s27.19).

          (6a)   I mean and/and that could be even see as language oppression but as *liberation*…(s27.20-28).

RG   **(6b)**   Yeah (s28.21).

In a way, RG assigns himself the representative position; a Dutch representative of the UCU community. This discourse position gives him the authority to speak about the linguistic situation of UCU and how it affects the interaction between Dutch UCU students in English. Thus, by being a Dutch UCU student himself, he can represent the Dutch UCU population and speak about it as a representative of this micro-culture. In a way, he adds another dimension to the INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE, because the teacher uses this conversation to illustrate the opposite of language oppression (i.e. language liberation) (6a) as if it is part of her lesson plan.

Answer to sub-question 4: *Which discourse patterns reflect cultural diversity in student-student interaction and student-teacher interaction at UCU?*

Overall, unthematizing racism, discourse positions (Koole & ten Thije, 1994), and perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2003) are found in UCU classroom interaction. These elements are used in the learning process to compare different situations in the world. In some cases, the teacher deliberately uses the students' diverse cultural backgrounds to provide input for the lesson (Language Contact & Change) while in other situations the cultural expressions are spontaneously used by the students as arguments in a discussion (Introduction to Political Theory). There are a number of UCU courses, like Psychology of Ethnic Relations and Language Contact & Change in which cultural differences are the very essence of the course. In these courses, the students' diverse cultural, national, and linguistic backgrounds can be used as input for the lesson. The teacher can choose to neglect such expressions or incorporate them into his or her TEACHER SPEECH.

7.5 sub-question 5: cultural diversity and excellence

In the courses where cultural diversity is explicitly expressed during interaction, it is interesting to see whether one can detect an extraordinary amount of signs regarding the students' excellence. The three courses in which cultural diversity is expressed are analyzed to search for specific signs of excellence. Renzulli's (1979) three-ring conception for giftedness is used to identify such signs.

7.5.1 Cultural diversity & excellence: Introduction to Political Theory (SSC 100)

In this fragment, AOR uses her own cultural background by applying it in a way so that she will not appear biased. By using the word "they" when speaking of the Republican Party and their idea about gay marriage, AOR distances herself from this group and makes sure that the other speakers will not consider her to be a Republican herself. In a way, one could consider this to be a smart move in order to remain credible in the discussion. However, no real sign of giftedness can be traced in this fragment. An extraordinary amount of intelligence, task-commitment, or creativity cannot be identified on the basis of this fragment.

7.5.2 Cultural diversity & excellence: Psychology of Ethnic Relations (SSC 300)

In this fragment, a form of perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2003) is used. At the end of the process, an interesting collision between perspectivizing and excellence occurs. Here, SW provides an elaborate answer to the question posed by SJVDN (1) while she contrasts the cultural standards of The Netherlands and Canada:

SW **(11a)** I think that it it doesn't work here because, uhm, of the climate of the culture but also because of uhm, the sense that there wasn't a new identity created. Like when when new immigrants moved to th The Netherlands there wasn't a new like 'The Moroccan' identity created, you know? (s55-59).

SW **(11b)** Versus when immigrants moved to Canada, there was a new Canadian identity because before, there was no such thing as Canada (s60-61).

(11c) So like, for example, right after World War two is when uhm, like the Canadian flag was created and they actually had some unity and stuff so everyone who was living in the country that time had a choice to become Canadian and so now when people move there, they can become this new Canadian that has these new values of supporting multiculturalism. So, I was saying just that like those factors that created multiculturalis the multiculturalism act, were like nee like wanting to uh keep

people's cultures and and at the same time promote them, to uhm become more integrated by supporting them through language programs or like that kind of stuff like getting jobs and stuff are what has created, the atmosphere, for people to, have multiculture now (s61-72).

In this elaborate account, SW clearly combines historical and political knowledge to compare both countries. Combining theories is an expression of creativity (Renzulli, 1979). It shows SW's ability to use her acquired knowledge from different academic fields to make her point. Interestingly, this co-occurs with the process of perspectivizing, namely at the end of the process. Accordingly, one can claim that the process of perspectivizing, triggers the expression of excellence in interaction. The fact that the two interacting students were comparing one another's countries and cultures caused SW to sharpen her theory and incorporate knowledge from other fields (e.g. history and politics). In other words, the cultural diversity of the two students clearly affected the course of the interaction and encouraged SW to use and combine knowledge from several different disciplines.

7.5.3 Cultural diversity & excellence: Language Contact & Change (HUM 300)
In this fragment, one can find the process of perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2003) and a student who assigns himself the representative position in order to speak about communication between Dutch UCU students in English. These two elements are expressions of the students' diverse cultural background, but do not directly trigger the expression of excellence. Thus, one cannot claim that cultural diversity encouraged the students to excel in interaction.

Answer to sub-question 5: *Does cultural diversity in the classroom interaction influence the expression of excellence in interaction? If so, in what way?*

There are many fragments which portray the expression of excellence or the explicit expression of students' cultural diversity. However, the two elements rarely co-occur in the corpus. Only one case was identified in which cultural diversity in the classroom triggered the expression of excellence, namely in the course of Psychology of Ethnic Relations. This case involved the process of perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2003) which appeared spontaneously during student-student interaction. The final step of this process (i.e. contrasting cultures) contained an elaborate account of a student who combined different theories and integrated it into her answer. Combining theories and the integration of knowledge are clear expressions of the trait 'creativity', which Renzulli (1979) has distinguished as one of the traits a person should possess in order to be qualified as 'excellent' or 'gifted'. Thus, in this particular case, the process of perspectivizing, triggered the expression of excellence.

8. Conclusion

Answer to research question: *How is excellence expressed in student interaction at University College Utrecht (UCU) and what role does cultural diversity play in this?*

All in all, excellence is expressed in several ways during student interaction at UCU. The two traits which can be distinguished in identifying excellent behavior are Renzulli's (1979) task-commitment and creativity. The students can express their task-commitment by sticking to their point and adding different arguments to convince their peers and teacher. They can also express their creativity by asking question which go beyond the topic or combining theories from various disciplines to make a point.

The researcher identified the following types of action patterns in the eight transcribed fragments: a DISSCUSSION, a TASK COMPLETION PATTERN, a QUESTION-ANSWER PATTERN, and an INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. Discussions were identified across all three departments in the transcribed data while the TASK COMPLETION PATTERN patterns were found in the Social Science department. The QUESTION-ANSWER sequence was seen in all recorded Science courses of the entire gathered data-set and in one transcribed Humanities course. The INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE was used in the transcribed Social Science and Humanities department as well, either spontaneously by the students or deliberately initiated by the teacher.

The TASK COMPLETION PATTERN sequences were found in advanced level courses while DISCUSSIONS and QUESTION-ANSWER sequences were traced in beginners level courses. An explanation for this could be that first year students have not yet acquired much knowledge and therefore are more likely to ask questions to acquire unknown knowledge. Furthermore, first year students can easily engage in a discussion by using anecdotes or opinions to make their point, while a TASK COMPLETION PATTERN requires more in-depth knowledge which is only acquired after a period of enrollment at UCU.

Another way in which excellence is seen in interaction is the way that students question the teacher's knowledge and are not afraid to take over the action position of the teacher. The fragments have shown that action position-switching between the students and teacher occur in UCU interaction. A student might teach his or her fellow classmates, while the teacher monitors the process and sidelines him or herself from the learning process. Thus, the conventional agent-client dichotomy between the teacher and student is considered rather flexible in classroom interactions. The teacher's knowledge is not considered absolute and some students even go as far as convincing their teacher. The fact that the teacher encourages or even deliberately assigns someone as the temporary 'teacher' clearly shows that the teachers consider some UCU students to be so excellent and knowledgeable in their subject that they can teach their peers about it. The findings show that a teacher can either be sidelined by the students or can sideline himself or herself deliberately. In the latter case, the teacher enables the students to transform the existing action pattern (e.g. TEACHER MONOLOGUE or INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE) into an action pattern which fits the students' individual goals (e.g. INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE or DISCUSSION). The transformed action pattern enriches the students by satisfying their individual goal (Ziel); to convince their peers or teacher and to gain recognition. At the same time, the transformed action pattern preserves the underlying social purpose; the transfer and acquisition of knowledge. Accordingly, the

teacher facilitates an interactive learning process in which the social purpose (Zweck) is still achieved but controlled by the students themselves.

The diverse cultural backgrounds of the students *do* play a role in classroom interaction. Especially in cases where countries or cultures are compared and where student provide examples from their 'home country'. This can occur spontaneously in student-student interaction or it can be facilitated by the teacher in a discourse pattern such as INTERACTIVE TEACHER MONOLOGUE. Overall, it is a way to use the students' diverse backgrounds as input for the lesson. Except for one case, the expression of excellence and the explicit uttering of cultural differences do *not* co-occur in classroom interaction at UCU. Thus, one cannot claim that the cultural differences of UCU's students elicit the emergence of excellence per se. Nevertheless, the case in which it *did* co-occur shows that perspectivizing is a useful tool to activate students from different cultures to use their acquired knowledge in order to compare their cultures with one another. Especially in a culturally diverse learning environment such as UCU, one should encourage the teachers to use the students' backgrounds as viable input for their lesson plans. The communicative apparatus of perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2003) facilitates the explicit comparison between cultures and stimulates reaching a consensus while accepting the differences in the world. The interactive learning process at UCU can also be seen in light of Koole & ten Thije's (2001) concept of a 'discursive interculture' in which differing individual concepts can ultimately construct knowledge which is shared by all interlocutors (575). The differing individual concepts are products of one's upbringing, nationality, culture, life experience etc. The students are required to share their individual concepts or thoughts with one another in order to construct a common knowledge. This fits in perfectly with the educational philosophy of UCU which requires its students to have an open outlook on different perspectives and opinions:

"This includes not only being able to communicate in English as well as other languages, but also seeing oneself and one's culture from the perspective of others, living with different value systems, reflecting on one's own values, understanding and appreciating cultural differences, and recognizing the role of culture in societal problems" (University Utrecht, 2007: 19).

9. Discussion

This study has aimed to get a better understanding of how giftedness and cultural diversity play a role in classroom interaction at UCU. The shortcomings of this research are that only eight classes were transcribed and analyzed thoroughly. Future studies of other international LAS universities in The Netherlands should be conducted in order to make a comparison between them. Overall, there is much to discover about the topic of giftedness in light of cultural diversity. To the best of our knowledge, there has never been a research conducted on the connection between excellence and cultural diversity during classroom interaction. The researcher of this study made a first step in understanding how cultural diversity can play a role in triggering students to excel during their academic learning process. One must note that cultural diversity was only researched in light of perspectivizing (ten Thije, 2003). There are many other ways to investigate the role of cultural diversity in interaction. Future research, using different methods, will reveal additional signs of cultural diversity in classroom interaction at international university programs.

While Bernstein (1958) and Labov (1966) concerned themselves with social classes and Appel & Muysken (2005) were focused on minority groups in education, this study was interested in investigating the learning environment of gifted adolescents from different nationalities and cultures. The different social classes and minority languages were seen as an obstacle for uniting the people in education. For this reason, different educational programs were created for different social classes or minority groups. The subjects of this study have one thing in common and that is their excellence. They require a more challenging academic program which UCU offers them. The adolescents of this study are clearly different from one another in terms of nationality, culture and language. However, one can clearly see that the diverse cultural backgrounds of these gifted adolescents are not considered a burden for their learning process, but rather an asset which is used to improve the quality of the learning process. Although one cannot claim that UCU students apply a so-called elaborated code in their rhetoric, they *do* portray an extraordinary amount of creativity and task-commitment in classroom interaction (Labov, 1958; Renzulli, 1979). These traits are used when the students interact with the teacher and one another. Their excellence is also noticeable in the way they transform existing institutional action patterns to enrich their learning process.

A way to stimulate the expression of the students' giftedness is to use the richness of their cultural backgrounds as input for interaction. Only one of the fourteen recorded classes showed an interaction between the students and teacher in which the teacher deliberately used the students' nationalities to compare different forms of language oppression around the world. By incorporating the students' life experience and diverse cultural backgrounds, the teacher encouraged the students to actively participate in the learning process *and* acquire new knowledge concerning language oppression. This is exactly the goal of a Liberal Arts & Science program; to acquire a broad as well as a deep form of knowledge. Broad knowledge in the sense that the students gain different perspectives of how a phenomenon like language oppression can take place in different situations in the world, and deep knowledge in the sense that the variety of perspectives concerning one topic ultimately provides the students with a deep understanding of what a topic like language oppression means.

This aforementioned class, in particular, is the perfect example of how one can apply 'the best of both worlds' and use UCU's cultural diversity as an engine to trigger excellent behavior in the form of

above-average creativity (i.e. combining theories and anecdotes). The underlying process which is used in this class is called 'perspectivizing' (ten Thije, 2003, 2006) and has shown to be a useful tool to compare different cultural standards and accept them both as true. In order to enhance the learning environment of gifted education programs such as UCU, one should encourage teachers to use the tool of perspectivizing more often by deliberately asking the students to provide input on a subject, using knowledge from their own culture or country. More research needs to be done in investigating the role of cultural diversity in other international gifted education programs. Accordingly, it will be possible to see whether perspectivizing is used in these programs as well or whether there are other phenomena to be found. In the meantime, the researcher advises programs such as UCU to implement perspectivizing as a regular teaching method in classroom interaction. This way, students will be in charge of their learning process and will be able to learn from one another *and* from the teacher.

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11. Appendix

Appendix 1   Introduction to Political Theory (SSC 100)

1.1 Context
It is one of the political science courses offered at UCU. The class has a total of 21 students, but during the recordings there were only 15 students present. The class normally consists of 9 male students and 12 female students. In the beginning of the class, the students received a multiple-choice test in which the students' knowledge of all the discussed theories of the semester is tested. The teacher and 4 individual students take active part in this interaction.

1.2 Background information speakers
Teacher: Italian/male

AOR: American/female
Profile: she is a native English speaker and a first year student at UCU. She would like to major in the Humanities and Social Sciences. After reading her application form, the UCU staff stated the she has "very strong letters of recommendations but mediocre grades". However, after interviewing her, she seemed "very mature, highly committed to develop her intellectual abilities by finishing her college education, socially engaged, on top of current political event, both in the US and in Europe."

DDJ: Dutch/male
Profile: he is a first year student who wants to major in the Social Sciences. His native language is Dutch. His selection procedure did not go easily. The readers of his application forms stated that he has weak grades and very little focus. Furthermore, they found him rather immature, having shallow interests and little life experience. However, his potential to develop both socially as well as academically gave him the chance to prove himself during the interview. During the interview, he appeared to be very enthusiastic and excited to learn new things. Eventually, he got accepted into UCU.

NA: Dutch/male
Profile: this is a first year student who wants to major in Social Science and Science. His native language is Dutch and his current GPA is 2.74. After reviewing his application form and motivation letter, it was clear that he has a broad interest and is attracted to UCU's interactive and international characteristics. During the interview, NA showed to be very confident and knows how to use his qualities. "He has a genuine interest in learning (new) things, and his extensive experience in debating helps him in tackling a problem or topic from different angles. He's quite ambitious, but in a positive way: he has his dreams about the future, but is realistic enough to know that if he gets chances, he will have to take them and work hard to achieve his goals." The interviewers believe that he will combine his interest for the Social Sciences with a scientific track in Neuroscience for example.

TO: Dutch/male
Profile: this is a first year student who wants to major in the Social Sciences. His native language is Dutch. After reading his motivation letter, the readers found him a good candidate for UCU. In the interview he seemed "very determined" and knowing exactly what he wants to do in life.

1.3 Illocutionary types
Recording time: 1st part 35:30-40:10

Segments	illocutionary type	indicator of illocutionary nature
1.0	Assertion	an account

1.1-3	Quote	an account
4	Question	questioning intonation
4.2	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
4.3-5	Question	questioning intonation
5.4	Question	questioning intonation
5.4	Laughter	
5.4-7	Question	questioning intonation
7.5-13	Answer	answering intonation
13.6	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
13.7-14	Assertion	an account
14.8	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
14.9-16	Assertion	an elaborate account
16	Question	questioning intonation
16.10-21	Assertion	an elaborate account
21.11	Question	a questioning intonation
21.11	Assertion	an account
22.12-23	Answer	answering intonation
23.13	Question	a questioning intonation
23.14-24	Question	questioning intonation
24.15	Backchannel	back channeling signal
24.16-28	Answer	answering intonation
28.17-30	Assertion	an account
30.18-31	Question	questioning account
32.19-33	Answer	answering intonation
33.20-35	Question	questioning intonation
35.21	Answer	answering intonation
35.22	Question	questioning intonation
35.23	Assertion	an account
35.23	Assertion	an account
36.24-38	Assertion	an elaborate account
38.25-40	Assertion	an elaborate account
40.26	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
40.27	Assertion	an account
40.28-41.29	Assertion	an account
41.29-42.30	Assertion	an account
42.31-44.32	Assertion	an elaborate account
44.33-47	Assertion	an elaborate account
47.34	Question	a questioning intonation
47.34-48	Assertion	an account
48.35-49	Assertion	an account
50	Question	a questioning intonation
50.37	Answer	answering intonation
50.37	Assertion	an account
50.38	Assertion	an account
50.39	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
50.39	Laughter	
50.40-60	Assertion	an elaborate account

1.4 Transcript

Teacher: male/Italian
AOR: female/American student
DDJ: male/Dutch student
NA: male/Dutch student
TO: male/Dutch student
Class: male and female students

[1]	0 1
Teacher	Now (0.4). From ↑this point of view all options are (.) ↓equally ↓valid.
AOR	Eh you said
[2]	..
AOR	that "why shouldn't the state be able to propel these two or three or four people or
[3]	..
AOR	whatever: eh express their love and affection for eachother" and the point of (.)
[4]	.. 2 3
Teacher	Right.
AOR	Wha/why does state have to be involved in the first place (.) in matters of
[5]	.. 4
Teacher	( ) (0.4) What would you say ((laughs))? H/how would you explain
AOR	private affairs?
[6]	..
Teacher	the fact that ↑governments, even the most (.) ↑liberal, ↑↑still (.) keep on being
[7]	.. 5
Teacher	involved in matters which is ↑not ↑their ↑business ↓directly?
AOR	Ehm (.) >I don't
[8]	..
AOR	know< I think that it (.) especially if you look at the condition in the States where
[9]	..
AOR	the ehm ehr: Republi/ The Republican party used to hold the line against ehm
[10]	..
AOR	homosexual lenience. They say that the vast majority of people have said that you
[11]	..
AOR	know (.) "they don't want gays to get married, so we're going to hold that line up
[12]	..
AOR	or/ mo/ the: morality of the country." They say: "we're a Christian nation and there
[13]	.. 6 7
Teacher	Ok and that's
AOR	's nothing in the Bible about a man and a man getting married" • so• .
[14]	.. 8 9
Teacher	clearly a moral ↑stand↓ard. Whatever we think of it, the republican takes a
AOR	Yeah.
[15]	..
Teacher	moral position. Or if we prefer a moralistic position >depending on what we
[16]	.. 1 0
Teacher	think<. (.) What about Europe? Hmhm
DDJ	About the private matters I think that private

[17]	..
Teacher **DDJ**	matters could indirectly affect the social structure of society. If you have

[18]	..
Teacher **DDJ**	poligamies and poligamy children. Children will also be eh raised in a ↑different

[19]	..
Teacher **DDJ**	way than they would be (.) being brought up by ↑two people so then you will also

[20]	..
Teacher **DDJ**	have different ↑people in (.) society. It might be (.) not (.) that (.) beneficial: might

[21]	.. 1 1
Teacher **DDJ**	And what's the problem with that? I/I'm playing th/the devil's be also the case but.

[22]	.. 1 2
Teacher **DDJ**	advocate here ( )? Well if it affect/ if/if the development in society affects (.) itself

[23]	.. 1 3 1 4
Teacher **AOR** **DDJ**	And what do you call And how do (.) in a bad ↑↑way (.) it's a ↓bad ↓development.

[24]	.. 1 5 1 6

AOR **DDJ** **class**	you judge what's good or bad?
	                 Ehm (.) well that/that's hard to (.) define
	           Yeah that's

[25]	..
DDJ	but (.) you can if you if you like (.) eh:: (.) take res/ if you if you ↑researched it if

[26]	..
DDJ	you (.) if you try to:: define what the change is you/you I think you ↑can it's pretty

[27]	..
DDJ	difficult. ↑If you can you can also know • whether it's if it's a bad/ it's a bad

[28]	.. 1 7
DDJ **TO**	development or not.• Just like you said that Republicans managed to somehow test

[29]	..
TO	that the majority of Americans would have problems with gay marriage •

[30]	.. 1 8
AOR **TO**	So but/but how do you ehm (.) how do you determine empirical or statistically•

[31]	..
AOR	that (.) empirically (.) that having homosexual lenience is ba::d for the country?

[32]	1 9
DDJ	Tha/that's really difficult but you CAN be ( ) and gay it's very complicated. (.) I

[33]	.. 2 0
Teacher **DDJ**	Who should be given (think it's (.) too difficult now to decide how to determine ( )

[34]	..
Teacher	) the task of researching into ↑this ↓matter? Are you thinking about a specialist

[35]		2 1	2 2	2 3
Teacher	are thinking about ( )?	Think tanks?		
TO		Think tanks.	That's i/in the States	
NA			But it will al/al/always ( ) sector.	

[36]	2 4
NA	It will always be a nor/normative analysis because the people in such a think tank

[37]	..
NA	also have an opinion in that sense. So it's it's it's not (.) doable to make it (.) eh to

[38]	..	2 5
TO		But that's ne/ that's never been a goal of any politician I
NA	make a positive analysis.	

[39]	..
TO	think to ( ) I mean most politician don't want mere statistics they just want

[40]	..	2 6	2 7	2 8
TO	statistics that support their point.	That's the fact (.) of a matter.		
NA				But that/that
class		Yeah.		

[41]	..	2 9
TO		No.
NA	doesn't really solve the issue of whether it should (.) it is good or not. Like I mean	

[42]	3 0	3 1
DDJ		
TO	Well (.) I mean ( )	
NA		We/wwe are trying to establish whether it's good or not for a

[43]	..
DDJ	
NA	nation NOT what the politics want (.) us to k/know or want us to (.) want • in

[44]	3 2	3 3
DDJ	No, well.	But you can talk ( ) I think you don't need to talk about (.) politicians
NA	that sense.•	

[45]	..
DDJ	but you can also talk about scientists that might be eh: an expert in deciding what

[46]	..
DDJ	the f/ what the impact would be if you would have eh: polygamies instead of just

[47]	..	3 4
AOR		But when ( )
DDJ	two people in the family that are raising the children.	
NA		But I think that there are too

[48]	..	3 5
AOR		
DDJ		>Yeah there are a lot
NA	many factors involved to do (.) to do any scientific research ( )	

[49]	..	3 6
Teacher		
DDJ	of factors but I think like< (.) ideology ideolo/ how do you say that ideolo	
NA		

[50]	..	3 7		3 8	3 9	4 0
Teacher	Ideological?					
AOR						Well
DDJ		Yeah (.) it's possible I think. Because			Yeah ((laughs))	
NA				Good luck.		

[51]	..
AOR	the other thing that's what I don't agree with this is that like the idea of a nuclear

[52]	..
AOR	family with like a mother father and children (.) living in one roof (.) and just

[53]	..
AOR	them (.) is very ↓new ↓phenomenon (.) I mean for ages children were shipped off

[54]	..
AOR	to parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, just an/ whatever relations that

[55]	..
AOR	were able to take care of them and provide for them ↓adequately (.) you know in

[56]	..
AOR	(.) like fifty sixty (.) I don't know maybe probably before the war (.) before world

[57]	..
AOR	war two it wasn't unusual even in the States for/for children to be able to live with

[58]	..
AOR	aunts, grandparents or ↑cousins if they could provide them of better opportunities.

[59]	..
AOR	Parents might have been working or (.) might not have had the ability to take care

[60]	..
AOR	of their children (.) So

Appendix 2   Psychology of Ethnic Relations (SSC 300)

2.1 Context
The course is focused on the psychological aspects of the reactions of majority and minority ethnic groups towards each other. The class consists of 18 students; one male and 17 female students. Only half of the students was present during the recorded session. A number of students had to give a presentation about their chosen topic for the final essay of the course. The teacher was present to listen to the presentations and provide his opinion and advice after each presentation. The chosen fragment is an interaction which took place after the presentation of a Canadian female student. Her presentation covered the topic of multiculturalism in Canada versus The Netherlands. The presenter states that multiculturalism has failed in The Netherlands while it has been successful in Canada. She tries to explain where these differences come from. After her presentation, two Dutch female students share their views on the topic and challenge the presenter to answer a number of questions.

2.2 Background information speakers

Teacher: Dutch/male

SJVDN: female/Dutch
Profile: a Dutch female student who is in her second year of the three-year UCU Bachelor program. Her major is Social Science and her current GPA is 3.53 (4.0 is the highest possible grade at UCU). SJVDN's native language is Dutch. Upon selection, the reader of her motivation letter noticed that she has excellent grades at high school and many extracurricular activities. Her main motivation to come to UCU, was the international environment. In her motivation letter, she explains that her parents have always stimulated her to see other places in the world. However, her international experience was rather limited to travelling during holidays. After interviewing her, the interviewer stated the following about SJVDN: "Very broad interests, intelligent, and pleasant open minded personality."

SW: female/Canadian
Profile: a female exchange-student from Canada. Her GPA is not known, but she is in her third year of her Bachelor program. She has decided to do the entire third year at UCU, majoring in Psychology. Her native language is English. Upon selection, she mentioned in her application form that she is excited to learn more about the differences between Dutch and Canadian living. The following fragment is focused just on this topic, because she gives a presentation about multiculturalism in Canada compared to multiculturalism in The Netherlands.

MC: female/Dutch
Profile: A Dutch female student who is in her third year of the UCU program. Her GPA is 3.93 (out of 4.0) and her major is Social Science. MC's native language is Dutch. Upon selection, one of the readers of her motivation letter stated the following about MC: "High grades in secondary school, but there is not much there to determine specifically whether or not she is a typical Liberal Arts & Science student. She does not seem to be afraid to express an opinion, but does not reveal the basis for such an opinion." This aspect about her is still noticeable during interaction with other students, as the fragment below will show. A subject of concern was the fact that she might be a perfectionist and have limited life experience because of her rather sheltered life. Important to mention is the content of her letter of motivation. In her letter, she mentions that she used to praise The Netherlands for its tolerance and progressiveness. However, now she is not so proud of her home country anymore. She hopes to regain her pride of the country by learning more about the subject.

2.3 Illocutionary types

Recording time: 2nd part: 24:11-27:33

Segments	illocutionary type	indicator of illocutionary nature
1-6	Assertion	an elaborate account
6-9	Question	questioning intonation
9-21	Assertion	an elaborate account
21-26	Question	questioning intonation
26.4-32	Answer	answering intonation
32-34	Question	questioning intonation
34-36	Assertion	an account
36.6-38	Negation	negating word
38.10-41.15	Assertion	elaborate account
41.16	Laughter	
41.17-43	Assertion	an account
43.18	Confirmation	back channeling signal
43.19-44	Question	questioning intonation
44-52	Assertion	an elaborate account
52-54	Quote	quote of another interactant
54.20	Laughter	
54.21-55	Assertion	an account
55-57	Answer	answering intonation
57-72	Explanation	an elaborate account
72.22-73	Assertion	an account
73.23	Apology	apologizing word
73.24	Assertion	an account

2.4 Transcript

Teacher: male/Dutch
SJVDN: female/Dutch student
SW: female/Canadian student
MC: female/Dutch student
Class: female students

[1]	0
SJVDN	the thing is <I feel ↑that> (.) this used to be well I don't know exactly about
SW	yes.

[2]	..
SJVDN	this by now I mean >obviously in the last couple of years it has become a big
SW	

[3]	..
SJVDN	huge issue<, but it used to be one of the (.) things that (.) well (.) >the
SW	

[4]	..
SJVDN	Netherlands is also a little bit famous for your know< like it is tolera::nt and
SW	

[5]	..
SJVDN	multiculturalism is aw::esome and globalism is coo::l and we're all a big ↑part
SW	

[6]	..
SJVDN SW	of this so:. (1.0) What I'm trying to ↑see here is what has driven wha/what has
[7]	..
SJVDN SW	driven The Netherlands in thuhh (0.4) couple of years awa:y from ↓that
[8]	..
SJVDN SW	because app/app/↑apparently there are some parallels between Canada and The
[9]	.. 1
SJVDN SW	Netherlands then that they have obviously in common, right? (1.0) So (.) I
[10]	..
SJVDN SW	mean I ↑think that there might still be a point to it that Canada (0.4) maybe
[11]	..
SJVDN SW	attracts uhh the kind of immigrants like not "only the doctors" >but just higher
[12]	..
SJVDN SW	educated people<, because I ↑think also in The Netherlands like (1.0) there are
[13]	..
SJVDN SW	(.) uh there ↑are a lot of immigrants that are very like (.) well accepted and
[14]	..
SJVDN SW	well integrated that have their own culture still but still somehow participate in
[15]	..
SJVDN SW	Dutch culture and like (.) I think the main problem here is that you have some
[16]	..
SJVDN SW	kind of like scary:: eh perso::n that lives in some kind of different part of
[17]	..
SJVDN SW	Amsterdam where >nobody really knows it and if you go there they all speak
[18]	..
SJVDN SW	Turkish around you and you don't know what they're talking about but
[19]	..
SJVDN SW	probably about you you know.< This is like this common scary thing that has
[20]	..
SJVDN SW	caused a certain kind of I don't know, problem (.) in The Netherlands >also
[21]	..
SJVDN SW	with like the economic crisis and everything I think it kind of ↑escalated< so

[22]	..	2 3	4
SJVDN	(0.4) what do you think is... (0.4)?		Is there like ↑yeah.
SW		yeah. like a main factor, or?	

[23]	..
SJVDN	>Do you do you< ↑think that >it's it's< the ↑economic ↑thing ↑that ↑makes

[24]	..
SJVDN	↑the ↑main ↑difference ↑here? Or do you really think it's a certain cultural

[25]	..
SJVDN	background of ↓Canada? >Because, this cultural background is something that

[26]	..	5
SJVDN	The Netherlands ↑also had •untill recently• .<	
SW		Right. (.) Uhm I think that (0.4)

[27]	..
SW	first (.) uhm the fact that (.) Canadians don't usually have uhh: (.) like >new

[28]	..
SW	immigrants don't have usually have the language ↑barrier that's a ↑really big

[29]	..
SW	↑factor that's kind of understated in the ↑literature.< Like <to learn Dutch

[30]	..
SW	when you are not from a Germanic background is difficult>, right? And uhm,

[31]	..
SW	<obviously before when you move to a country you might want to ↑think

[32]	..
SW	about that< but uhm I think that (0.4) from what I kno::w just from people

[33]	..
SW	↑telling ↑me (.) the two main minority groups are Turkish Mos/ are sor/

[34]	..
SW	Marrocons, right? Uhm (.) and so: (0.4) there's not like a lot of Chine:se people

[35]	..
SW	that have this large Chinese community >in The Netherlands< and (.) there's

[36]	..	6
SJVDN		No there actually ↑a:re but they're not considered
SW	not of like (.) other ↑countries	

[37]	..	7 8 9
SJVDN	one of the ↑problem ↑groups but there ↑are a lot ()	they don't actually all
SW		Right.
MC		No.

[38]	..	1 1 1
		0
SJVDN	speak Dutch either, but for some reason they're not as (0.4) marginalized.	
SW		
MC		I

[39]	1 2
SJVDN	Yeah.
SW	
MC	think there's more Chinese people not speaking Dutch than >Turks and

[40]	..
SJVDN	
SW	
MC	Morrocons<, because the Chinese have like this really (.) intense Chinese

[41]	.. 13 115 4 16 17
SJVDN	
SW	O K Right.　　　　But, right!
MC	community.　But they don't bother you.　　　TO SAY IT IN A
Class	((laughter)) ((laughter))

[42]	..
MC	TERRIBLE ↑WAY BUT (pause) PEOPLE ARE NOT BOTHERED BY
Class	

[43]	.. 18 19
SW	But Right. Right, but then why is that? Like what, could
MC	CHINESE PEOPLE.( )
Class	

[44]	..
SW	we not compare now like Turkish and Chinese people in immigrants, right? It's

[45]	..
SW	like it's there's same smaller groups in Canada, like (.) uhh in every big city

[46]	..
SW	there's like China town there's like little Italy that kind of stuff and over time (.)

[47]	..
SW	uhm the Italians were like the the problem group of the fifties or whatever and

[48]	..
SW	like no::w there's still like really intense China towns like especially in Ottowa

[49]	..
SW	uhm (.) like a lot of Chinese immigrants live there and then they don't really

[50]	..
SW	learn English that well (.), but it's it's OK because in general over history (.) the

[51]	..
SW	Chinese communities have had a good eco po:sitive economic outpact impact

[52]	..
SW	(.) •outpact• uhm on like Canada. So, (.) like (.) in a sense that "they are

[53]	..
SW	tolerated here cause like they don't bother you?" (.) is the same kind of thing as

[54]	.. 20 21
SW	like mean.　　　I KNOW I KNOW I KNOW! I'm just like completely
MC	( )
Class	((laughter))　((laughter))

[55]	..
SW	mis/extracting >what you just said but< uhm (.) I think that (.) it it doesn't
Class	

[56]	..
SW	work ↑here because (.) uhm <of the climate> of the ↑↑culture but also because
Class	

[57]	..
SW	of (.) uhm (1.0) the sense that there wasn't a new identity ↓↓created. Like
Class	

[58]	..
SW	when/when ↑new ↑immigrants moved to th/The Netherlands there wasn't a
Class	

[59]	..
SW Class	ne::w ↓like (1.0) "The ↑↑Maroccon" (0.4) >identity created you ↑know?<
[60]	..
SW Class	Versus (1.0) when immigrants moved to Canada (.) there was a new Canadian
[61]	..
SW Class	identity because befo::re (.) >there was no such thing as ↓Canada.< So like (.)
[62]	..
SW Class	for example (.) right after World War two:: is when uhhm: like >the Canadian
[63]	..
SW Class	flag was created and they actually had some unity and stuff< so everyone who
[64]	..
SW Class	was living in the country that time had a choice <to become Canadian> and so
[65]	..
SW Class	now when people ↑move ↑there (.) they can become this ↑new Canadian that
[66]	..
SW Class	has these ↑new values of supporting ↓multiculturalism. (1.0) So, >I was saying
[67]	..
SW Class	just that like< those factors that (.) crea:ted multiculturalis/the
[68]	..
SW Class	multiculturalism ↑act (.) were like nee/like wanting to:uh keep people's
[69]	
	..
SW Class	↑cultures and/and at the same time promote (.) <them to uh:m> ↑become
[70]	..
SW Class	↑more ↑integrated by supporting them through (.) language programs or >like
[71]	..
SW Class	that kind of stuff like getting ↑jobs ↑and ↑stuff< are what has created (.) the
[72]	.. 2 2
SW Class **teacher**	atmosphere (.) for people to: (.) have multiculture ↓now. Ok. We're running out
[73]	.. 2 3 2 4
SW **teacher**	Sorry. of time. Eh:: interesting.

Appendix 3   Comparing Cultures (SSC 300)

3.1 Context
It is one of the anthropology courses offered at UCU. It is considered one of the most popular courses offered at UCU. During the recordings, the classroom was full, with 28 students present. This is exactly the allowed maximum of 28 students per class. The class consisted of 8 male students and 20 female students. It was the final class before the final examination of the semester. In light of this examination, the teacher assigned the students to answer a number of preparatory exam questions about the subject which have been taught during the semester. The chosen fragment consists of such a question, posed by the teacher, and a number of students striving to answer it.

3.2 Background information speakers

Teacher: female/Polish

AA: Dutch/male
Profile: He is in his final year at UCU. Before his enrollment at UCU, he took a gap year after high school and lived in Victoria, South-Africa. During his selection, it showed that he had very high grades on his high school diploma. The interviewers predicted that he would be an excellent student at UCU.

BB: Dutch/female

PF: male/German
Profile: He is in his final year at UCU, majoring in Social Science. His native language is German and his GPA is 3.85 out 4.0. After interviewing him as a candidate for enrollment at UCU, the interviewers stated the following about him: "PF is a very mature candidate. His one year working experience in Buenos Aires after high school as a sport coach of girls from the slums formed him in many ways, and showed him that volunteer work is a reciprocal learning process. He's aware now of the fact that a broad education is, and should be, a common good for decision-making people. Very broadly interested, although after his volunteer work he tends to think that he will want to work for the UN, NGO's or governmental organizations, and that he therefore would need to major in SSC."

NB: male/Bosnian
Profile: he is in his third and final year at UCU, majoring in Social Science with a GPA of 3.81. His native language is Bosnian. Upon selection, he was highly recommended by three of his high school teachers. After interviewing him for enrollment at UCU, the interviewers found him "highly recommended" and stated the following about NB: "Social, intelligent, focused on goals. NB presents himself as optimistic and idealistic (despite being a war survivor). No academic concerns, but the candidate may need a scholarship to be able to study at UCU. English is very good. We had a fascinating conversation about politics, history and society. This young man, a survivor of the war in Bosnia, would be a real addition to the UCU community."

3.3 Illocutionary types

Recording time: 2nd part 26:52-29:49

Segments	illocutionary type	indicator of illocutionary nature
1-2	Assertion	an elaborate account
2-3	Question	questioning intonation
3.1	Question	questioning intonation
3.2	Question	questioning intonation
3.3	Answer	answering intonation

3.4-5	Assertion	an account
6.5-7	Assertion	an account
7.6	Laughter	
7.7	Assertion	an account
7.8	Laughter	
7.8	Repetition	an account
7.9-10	Question	questioning intonation
10.10-11	Answer	answering intonation
11-24.11	Explanation	an elaborate account
24.12-25	Objection	an account
24.12	Backchannel	back channeling signal
25-28	Explanation	an elaborate account
28.15-29	Assertion	an elaborate account
30.17	Backchannel	back channeling signal
30.18-32	Assertion	an account
32.18	Backchannel	back channeling signal
32.20-33	Summary	an account
33.21	Backchannel	back channeling signal
33.22	Assertion	an account
34.23-36	Assertion	an elaborate account
36.24	Backchannel	back channeling signal
36.25-38	Summary	an account
38.27-40	Summary	an account
40.28-41	Assertion	an account
41	Question	questioning intonation
41.31-42	Answer	answering intonation

3.4 Transcript

Teacher: female/Polish
PF: male/German student
NB: male/Bosnian student
AA: male/Dutch student
BB: female/Dutch student
Class: male and female students
[nv]:   non-verbal (noises in the background)

[1]	0
Teacher	Power is embedded in people's social relations. (.) That's where he starts from (.)
[2]	..
Teacher	and ↑then he goes through the mechanism of power. Power is ehm (.) eh:::: • what'
[3]	.. 1 2 3 4
Teacher	s the word • ? Huh? Reproduced, demonstrated,
NB	• reproduced • ? Reproduced.
[4]	..
Teacher	reproduced (.) and that's the reproduction of power. Production and reproduction
[5]	..
Teacher	of power of this power, truth, >knowledge, truth, power< combination, right?
[6]	5
Teacher	Ok. So let's start from the beginning. How define/ if ↑somebody (.) a lay person

[7]	..		6	7	8	9
Teacher	↓asks ↓you ↓about ↓Foucault				AS ONE DOES.Uhh (.)	
PF				As one does.		
Class				(laughter)	(laughter)	

[8]	..
Teacher	wha/what do you think are, cause it's a ve::ry broad question I mean answering it

[9]	..
Teacher	you need to just sort of have it on/on the nail of each consecutive element in his

[10]	..	1 0
Teacher	construction right? So how would you (.) go about it?	
PF		Well I think it was (.)
[nv]		

[11]	..
PF	uhhyou always have to compare all these things with eachother (.) cause with
[nv]	

[12]	..
PF	Foucault I'm never so sure how much emphasis he puts on sort of the/the material
[nv]	

[13]	..
PF	because in/in Mar/in Marxism you get certain you cannot talk about power
[nv]	

[14]	..
PF	relations without the economic structures and in Bourdieu in Bourdieu you also
[nv]	

[15]	..
PF	have very much sort of the embodied power and/and ri/ the sort of ri/ritua:l. Also
[nv]	

[16]	..
PF	you have ritual plays a really big role in doxa. But in Foucault in mean of course
[nv]	

[17]	..
PF	there's the text read when he has the whole (0.4). I mean he does talk about you
[nv]	

[18]	..
PF	know at the/the public society which is sort of in the yeah based on the material,
[nv]	

[19]	..
PF	no/not just based on discourse also the material world with observation and
[nv]	

[20]	..
PF	everything, but then at the same time (.) then on then on other parts he just (.) talks
[nv]	

[21]	..
PF	about discourse ( ). So I'M NOT SURE WHA/WHAT THE MOST
[nv]	

[22]	..
PF	IMPORTANT THING IS SORT OF THE REPRESENTATIONAL PART WITH
[nv]	

[23]	..
PF [nv]	(.) JUST THE KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND EVERYTHING O:R

[24]	.. 1 1 1 1 3 2
Teacher	( )
PF	WHETHER IT'S ALSO THE MATERIALIZED ( ) Yeah
NB	Well you really need to
[nv]	Noise of lawn mower outside the classroom.

[25]	..
PF	
NB	dismiss this ehh economic interpretation of power so. Because in his in his way in

[26]	..
PF	
NB	that way he's critic ehh critical of Marxism saying that you can never analyze

[27]	..
PF	
NB	power in terms of economic exchange as i/ as if it's commodity so it is mainly in

[28]	.. 1 1 5 4
PF	Yeah not a lot of yeah (.) he dismisses the
NB	terms of discourse and knowledge. ( )

[29]	.. 1 6
PF	economic but he still has the whole thing look like a interdisciplinary system
NB	( )

[30]	1 7 1 8
PF	So either you you know like the/the s/s/society model of the work the
NB	Yeah nyeah

[31]	..
PF	army work the worshippers school o:::r so (.) so which is something more rooted
NB	

[32]	.. 1 9 2 0
Teacher	Right so it
PF	in the world than just the material than just the discourse you know? Yeah.
NB	material

[33]	.. 2 1 2 2
Teacher	somehow ye/yeah material has demonstrated itself in material as well. But that's
PF	Yeah.

[34]	2 3
PF	But for him the other part the knowledge part is the starting point I think as

[35]	..
PF	opposed to Marx who is more mm who's more rooted in the economic (.) than I

[36]	.. 2 4 2 5
Teacher	Right.
PF	don't know Bourdieu some ( )
AA	Yeah so basically you (.) power is not something

[37]	..
Teacher	
AA	you possess or that a group in society possesses but that is experienced and

[38]	2 62 7
Teacher	( )
NB	and you're also instrumental to power so you not
AA	manifested in (.) every day life
[39]	..
NB	only posess the ↑power but in a way power posesses you so you're instrumental
[40]	2 2 9
	8
Teacher	And the recipientary say (0.4) you are a vehicle through
NB	in/in power ↓as ↓well. And also ( )
[41]	3 3 1
	0
Teacher	which power is (.) passed (.) on. Is it helpful at all?
NB	
BB	Well, a little bit more structure
[42]	..
BB	in the answer would be nice (sniffles).

Appendix 4   Christianity & Society (HUM 100)

4.1 Context
The class has a total of 21 students; 7 male students and 14 female students. Eighteen students were present during the recordings. The lesson involved student presentations which were followed by short discussions on the presented topics. One such discussion involved the future of Christianity and how individualism would influence the future followers of any religion.

4.2 Background information speakers

Teacher: male/Dutch

DV: female/Dutch
Profile: she is a first year student majoring in the Social Sciences. Her native language is Dutch and she currently has a GPA of 3.55. During the selection procedure, the interviewers found her "very inspiring, intellectually curious and accomplished student." They were impressed by her maturity and approach to life and school.

MS: female/German-American
Profile: she is a second year student who is majoring in the Humanities. Her native language is English. During her selection procedure it became clear that she was seeking a challenge and diversity. Her father grew up in The Netherlands and her grandparents are German. Her aunt still lives in Germany. She has visited Europe on a regular basis and also travelled in South-America. Her goal is to end up in the international business world.

MOT: female/British
Profile: this second year student is majoring in the Humanities and has a GPA of 3.04. In her application file it is shown that she likes the combination of language and visual arts. She has a versatile cultural background; Dutch, British, and Serbian. She is hard working and loves to write essays. UCU attracted her because of the small community and campus life.

JV: male/American
Profile: he is a first year student who would like to major in the Humanities. His native languages are English and Spanish. After interviewing him for enrollment at UCU, the interviewers found him having a "sincere Liberal Arts & Sciences interest." They also found him honest and social. His long-term goal is to become a medical doctor.

AL: male/Israeli-French
Profile: he is a first year student and his native languages are Hebrew and English. He is quite older than the rest of his peers; he is 25 years old. His older age can be explained by the fact that he did military service in Israel. After interviewing him for enrollment at UCU, the interviewers stated the following about him: "strong sense of urgency to combine Social Science with Humanities in order to be able to teach." They found him highly intelligent and socially mature. In addition they stated that "both his military experience and his subsequent travels to India, as well as his youth and formation in Jerusalem with Moroccan and Syrian roots make him internationally oriented to the core." He showed to be able to combine a strong interest in socio-political issues with a profound tendency to the Arts and Literature. The interviewers also saw that AL possessed a "natural sense of humor, self-restraint and lack of over-stretched self-confidence" which make him eminently likeable.

4.3 Illocutionary types

Recording time: 1st part 36:30-40:55

Segments	illocutionary type	indicator of illocutionary nature
1-2	Question	questioning intonation
2-4	Assertion	an account
4	Question	questioning intonation
4.1-5	Answer	answering intonation
5.2	Question	questioning intonation
5.3-9	Answer	answering intonation
9.4-12	Assertion	an elaborate account
12.5-13	Assertion	an account
13.6	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
13.6	Assertion	an account
13.7	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
13.8-15	Assertion	an elaborate account
16	Laughter	
16.9	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
16.9-17	Assertion	an elaborate account
17.10	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
17.10	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
17.11-36	Assertion	an elaborate account
36.12-41	Assertion	an elaborate account
41.13	Laughter	
41.14-43	Assertion	an elaborate account
43.15	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
43.15	Assertion	an account
44.16	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
44.17	Assertion	an account
44.18-44.19	Assertion	an account
44.19	Laughter	
45-50.20	Assertion	an elaborate account
51	Laughter	
51.21	Assertion	an account
51.22	Laughter	sniffles
51.23-53	Assertion	an account

4.4 Transcript

Teacher:	male/Dutch
DV:	female/Dutch student
MS:	female/German-American student
MOT:	female/British student
JV:	male/American student
AL:	male/Israeli-French student
Class:	male and female students

[1]	0
Teacher	Is the ↑real ↑salvation of ↑religion to AVOID violent conflicts in the ↑future (.) uh

[2]	..
Teacher	<is that based on> or/or th/the best way to GO there to a non-violent uh perspective

[3]	..
Teacher	↑on ↑religion or to a non-violent religion, "the best way to go the:re is to

[4]	.. 1
Teacher	↑individualize ↓religion". It's a nice ↓statement. (0.4) Is that ↑↑true?
DV	Mmm (0.4) I

[5]	.. 2 3
Teacher	It's tricky ↑right? ha ((sniffles))
DV	can image that it ye::ahh, but I can imagine (.) being an

[6]	..
DV	(.) individual that (.) indeed (.) well looking at the past I think it would people were

[7]	..
DV	mostly like organized, groups or institutions that fought together >and if it's just

[8]	..
DV	your own< (0.4) uhh religion then (.) there's not >that much of a need< to/to ↓fight

[9]	.. 4
DV	↓for ↓it • i guess•
MS	Well I think (.) ↓like (.) you/you think you're ↓↓ri:ght. You/you

[10]	..
MS	you >have more individual feeling<. You think you know what's the ↓truth and you

[11]	..
MS	>probably wanna< (.) like help other ↓people ↓with ↓it. You wan/>you want other

[12]	.. 5
Teacher	It's a ↓personal
MS	people to believe what you believe< so I don't really think it's ( )

[13]	.. 6 7 8
Teacher	↓thing. ↑Hm↓hm
MS	YEAH uh >you really think it's the right way to go:o< And >if you

[14]	..
MS	have all your friends or/or whoever< and you want them ALSO to go to heaven or

[15]	..
MS	(.) whatever >do the ↓right ↓thi:ng then< (0.4) • it could cause conflicts•

[16]	.. 9
MS	((laughter))
MOT	Yeah >because you always have the opposition cause the dominant

[17]	.. 1 0 1 1
Teacher	Hm.
MS	yeah
MOT	church is gonna feel threatened<.
JV	Well, I ↓think that religion uh should always

[18]	..
JV	use some level of structure ( ) if it was completely ↓individualized >you would see<

[19]	..
JV	uhm either ↑A (.) >nobody would be religious anymore because really if you no

[20]	..
JV	longer had< ↓the the sort of ↓social ↓obligation to follow a rule I >think ↓nobody

[21]	..
JV	↓would because< (.) it's so:: >much of a hassle to go to church for an hour on

[22]	. .
JV	Sunday< instead of having (.) I don't know downloading a movie ((sniffles)) and to
[23]	. .
JV	have or something like that (.) a:nd in the other case you see (.) uh really just people
[24]	. .
JV	because people are either (.) natural leaders or they're natural followers (.) so they'
[25]	. .
JV	re naturally >gonna wanna follow someone with a big ↓charisma< and in an
[26]	. .
JV	individualist religion uhm any person can have their own ↓interpretation (.) of what
[27]	. .
JV	a certain scripture means >and no one is going to say that they're ↓wrong< because
[28]	. .
JV	(.) everyone is allowed to see things their own ↓way (.) so you can see how >a lot of
[29]	. .
JV	the cults in like< the United States and ↓stuff ↓like ↓that was really started because
[30]	. .
JV	this guy said "OK the scripture in The Bible means (.) that (.) ↓in ↓six ↓months
[31]	. .
JV	>aliens are going to invade the earth< and we all have to (.) drink poison Cool Aid
[32]	. .
JV	to save our souls." A:nd >people naturally follow that< because they were willing to
[33]	. .
JV	↓follow him •based on his charisma so•. I think some level of structure is always
[34]	. .
JV	good to define (.) this is what ↓right and this is what's ↓wrong, you ↑know? That,
[35]	. .
JV	really, so much has gotten a totalitarian thing where you "do this or die" but so
[36]	. . 1 2
JV	much as to push people in the right direction.
AL	Well I think the ten commandments is
[37]	. .
AL	the right direction and it should stop there. You should know that you shouldn't kill
[38]	. .
AL	or mu/murder take someone's life. You have a few rules that everyone I think can
[39]	. .
AL	agree upon (.) and everything else like everything beyond that I think everyone
[40]	. .
AL	should do whatever they want and I don't like this uhh usually when we mention
[41]	. . 1 3 1 4
AL	"cult" it ends with someone drinking poison but and you have a lot of
Class	((laughter))
[42]	. .
AL	cults that they have fun they hug trees they'll give their lives they have they're just
[43]	. . 1 5
Teacher	happy cults. YOU HAVE A LOT OF HAPPY CULTS.
AL	not part of a major religion They have

[44]	1 6 1 1 8 1 9
	7
Teacher	It's just that
AL	YEAH yeah yeah. W E H A V E O N E H E R E I F A N Y O N E W A N T S T O J O I N . S o (.)
Class	((laughter))
[45]	..
AL	Ba/>basically I think individualism or< like individualized religion is like it/it's ↓the
Class	
[46]	..
AL	↓best ↓way it's hope/it's (.). This is how you open a hatch between you and God
Class	
[47]	..
AL	you decide ↑what you ↑want of ↑God (0.4) and ↓he ↓will ↓provide ↓it. But it's
Class	
[48]	..
AL	↓my:y ↓thing. It has >nothing to do with anyone else<. And the be/I can promise
Class	
[49]	..
AL	you I'm not/I'm >not practicing Judaism and not Christianity< maybe under the
Class	
[50]	.. 2 0
AL	definition of the Pope (.) I can promise you I'm not gonna drink poison ( )
Class	
[51]	.. 2 1 2 2 2 3
T	((sniffles)) So then
AL	I'm having too much fun! I have people in church.
Class	((laughter))
[52]	..
Teacher	and/and this is exactly the friction that's interesting because then it depends highly
[53]	..
Teacher	on your personal level of reflection. That is your personal perspective on this.

Appendix 5   World Philosophies (HUM 100)

5.1 Context

The fragment involves an interaction between a student and the teacher. This Humanities course offers an overview and comparison of different philosophical traditions around the world. This particular class has a total of 23 students; 6 male students and 17 female students. During the recordings, 17 students were present. The lesson involves students asking the teacher some final questions concerning the covered theories. This was the last class before the final exam. For this reason, the students had the opportunity to ask anything that they were still unsure of. The fragment which is chosen for further analysis includes a question of a student and an answer from the teacher.

5.2 Background information speakers

Teacher: female/Italian

MS: female/Romanian
Profile: she is a third year student and her native language is Romanian. After interviewing her for selection into UCU, the interviewers found her "An excellent student probably in the SSC/HUM category." Before her enrollment at UCU, she has competed in regional Philosophy and English Literature contests for which she won first and second prizes.

SH: male/Dutch
Profile: he is a second year student and is majoring in the department of Science. His current GPA is 3.79. As a Humanities requirement, he takes the course of World Philosophies. After interviewing him for selection at UCU, the interviewers stated the following about him: "throughout the interview, while introducing himself and his own interests/motivation, the candidate has shown a strong and positive disposition towards a sound logical construction and organization of thoughts." Furthermore, he showed to be very excited by the idea of easily getting in touch with foreign students.

5.3 Illocutionary types

Recording time: 1st part: 11:12-12:51

Segments	illocutionary type	indicator of illocutionary nature
1-3	Assertion	an elaborate account
3.2	Assertion	an account
3.3-8.5	Assertion	an elaborate account
8.6-9	Question	questioning intonation
9.7-10	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
10.8-18	Assertion	an elaborate account
19.12-20	Assertion	an account
20.13	Question	questioning intonation
20.14	Assertion	an account
20.15	Question	questioning intonation

5.4 Transcript

Teacher: female/Italian
MS: female/Romanian student
SH: male/Dutch student

[1]	0 1
Teacher	So you/they try to mix understanding with ↓action. Understanding is not
[2]	..
Teacher	something that I do sitting on a chair and ↑look↑ing at it but understanding is the
[3]	.. 2 3
Teacher **MS**	iss/dealing with something, understanding ( ) MS. Ehm, if this is (.) the/the the
[4]	.. 4
MS	new point that they're bringing eh: forward. I wonder isn't all, especially the:: the
[5]	..
MS	Indian philosophy that we were covering in the course.They have a deeply
[6]	..
MS	practical eh:: eh ↑purpose and there (.) it's very often the case that one philospher
[7]	..
MS	clears eh: the point of another philosopher in order to help the understanding (.) i n
[8]	.. 5 6
MS	action of something. It ↑doesn't feel too original to me. Maybe it's the first time
[9]	.. 7
Teacher **MS**	Hmhm hmhm, that it was brought ↑forward, but isn't this what philosophy ↑does?
[10]	.. 8
Teacher	yes. And ehm I think I think you're absolutely right and we will see it especially
[11]	..
Teacher	in/with eh Nishida because Nis/Nishida then will use this ↑let's say "new Western
[12]	..
Teacher	wo::rds and concepts" in ↑order to clarify what, in this case exact Budaism was
[13]	.. 9 1 0
Teacher	doing (.) all the ↓way.So not/not Indian in this case but they were ( )So the idea is
[14]	..
Teacher	( ) now the Westerns have developed all these new concepts, but (.) as soon as a
[15]	..
Teacher	Eastern philosopher uses them he realizes "well that's what I was doing all the
[16]	..
Teacher	time but now I/I have three ( ) to Hege::l as we will see to Kant as will see thus
[17]	.. 1 1
Teacher	(.)There was ↑understanding connection with ↑action ↑perhaps in some of these
[18]	..
Teacher	philosophers like the/the older Indian philosophers, but (.) it was not so:
[19]	.. 1 2
Teacher	articulated as you can do after ↓time (.) when you are/you have all these ( )So yes
[20]	.. 1 31 4 1 5
Teacher **MS**	• very good • . S ? Yes, eh: sort of related to that. How would you define?

Appendix 6   History & Philosophy of Science (HUM 100)

6.1 Context
This course offers the basic historical information about how the field of Science has developed itself throughout history. Philosophy also plays an important role in the course. This particular class has a total of 20 students; 11 male students and 9 female students. During the recordings, 19 students were present. The recorded lesson had a guest lecturer who spoke about the evolutionary theory and its history. The chosen includes a part of the teacher's speech with an interruption of a student asking a question.

6.2 Background information speakers

Teacher: male/Dutch

MS: male/Polish
Profile: he is a second year student and his native language is Polish. After interviewing him for selection into UCU, the interviewers found him "open, interested, thoughtful, and mature". They categorized him as an independent thinker and honest. Before, UCU, he has never been abroad.

6.3 Illocutionary types

Recording time: 1st part: 40:18-44:02

Segments	illocutionary type	indicator of illocutionary nature
1	Question	questioning intonation
1-2	Assertion	an account
2-3	Question	questioning intonation
3-12	Assertion	an elaborate account
12.1	Question	questioning intonation
13.2-14	Assertion	an account
14.3-15	Assertion	an elaborate account
15	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
15.4	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
15.5-16	Assertion	an elaborate account
16.6-18	Assertion	an elaborate account
18.7	Question	questioning intonation
18.8	Assertion	an account
18.9	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
18.10	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
18.11-19	Assertion	an account
19.12-22	Assertion	an elaborate account
22.13	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
23-24	Assertion	an elaborate account
24.14-24.15	Assertion	an account
24.15-25	Assertion	an account
25.16	Assertion	an account
25.17	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
25.18-26	Assertion	an elaborate account
26.19	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
26.19-27	Assertion	an account
27-28	Question	questioning intonation

28.20	Answer	answering intonation
28.21	Question	questioning intonation
28.22	Answer	answering intonation
28.23-29	Assertion	an account
29.24-31	Assertion	an elaborate account
31.25	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
31.26	Assertion	an account
31.27	Assertion	an account
32-33	Assertion	an account
33.29	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
33.30	Assertion	an account
33.31	Assertion	an elaborate account
33.32-34	Assertion	an account
34.33-35	Assertion	an account
35.34-36	Assertion	an account
36	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
36.35	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
36.36-39	Assertion	an elaborate account
39.37-39.38	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
39.38-40	Assertion	an account
40.39-41	Question	questioning intonation
41.40-43	Assertion	an account

6.4 Transcript

Teacher: male/Dutch
MS: male/Polish student

[1]	0
Teacher	Ehm (.) have you ever thought about (.) evolutionary ↑suc↑ces? (.) It's it's it's it's it
[2]	..
Teacher	's a stra:nge term that you (.) ( ) success and (.) wh/wh/what does succesful
[3]	..
Teacher	↑mean? Although there are differences. Look at horses. (.) There is one (.) horse
[4]	..
Teacher	(.) still (.) living. ↑Primitive ↑humans may have helped to (.) ↓extinguish ↓the
[5]	..
Teacher	↓other ↓species. ↓We ↓don't ↓know. ↑There ↑is ↓well (.) several hundreds of
[6]	..
Teacher	species of cattle. So well if/if diversity is a measure of ↑succes ( ) >we may talk
[7]	..
Teacher	about< cattle are really (.) succesful. They have (.) been able to split up ↑MANY
[8]	..
Teacher	↑TIMES and adapt to different ↓landscapes. ↑Horses have become ↑↑extinct! The
[9]	..
Teacher	fact they now are spread all over the world due to us (.) but there is only a ve:ry
[10]	..
Teacher	restricted area where the ↑horse ↑could ↑survive. • Somewhere in (.) Asia • • or
[11]	..
Teacher	whatever•. But it's only one species and it's probably going, well i/it was probably

[12]	. . 1
Teacher	on it's way to extinction ↓anyway. That's really UNsuccesful. So that's ( ) ↑yeah?

[13]	2
MS	But the cattle is an arbitrary term that WE define. It's not actually any different

[14]	. . 3
Teacher	Oh yeah but it's not/not really abritrary because well (.)
MS	than the horses' ↑language.

[15]	. . 4 5
Teacher	it's about the origin of species ↑huh? Species isn/ is not arbitrary that's
MS	Yeah but

[16]	. . 6
Teacher	defined by (.) ehm being reproductive being isolated from the other species.
MS	What I

[17]	. .
MS	mean is that cattle itself isn't a species I mean specific specific type of a cattle is a

[18]	. . 7 8 9 1 0 1 1
Teacher	What is not a species? Cattle! >Well they have
MS	specy. Eh cattle as in general Y e s

[19]	. . 1 2
Teacher	many species.<
MS	Yeah but OF COURSE but a horse could also be seen as a

[20]	. .
MS	quadruple >and that's also a lot of species and that's also a lot of diversity<. I

[21]	. .
MS	mean the only classification we have are individual ↑species and groups are

[22]	. . 1 3
Teacher	Yeah.
MS	something taxonomy in general is something ↑we ↑define ↑arbitrarily.

[23]	. .
Teacher	Now/well that's wh/one of the reasons why succes i/i/i/i/is a difficult category. But

[24]	. . 1 4 1 5
Teacher	there are species of cattle that are not (.) fertile among
MS	Well what I mean is that

[25]	. . 1 6 1 7 1 8
Teacher	themselves. sure
MS	we decide the group "cattle" and therefore within the context of

[26]	. . 1 9
Teacher	Ok we/oh we
MS	this group we can ehh (.) evaluate how diverse that group itself is.

[27]	. .
Teacher	yeah we/we think there is a problem in we define the group "cattle" or do you

[28]	. . 2 0 2 1 2 2 2 3
Teacher	think that it's ↑only ↑arbitrary ↑purely ↑arbitrary? But it ↑couldn'
MS	i think it's Yeah ( )

[29]	. . 2 4
Teacher	t ↑be! It ↑shouldn't ↑be!
MS	(.) But I mean if you if you if you look at the whole

[30]	. .
MS	Darwinian evolutionary tree then basically you have individual species that exist

[31]	2 5 2 6 2 7
Teacher	Yeah that's only species
MS	NOW that reach that (.) that live off through a different

[32]	2 8
MS	So::: we say that at this moment of branching that's where we define the group of

[33]	2 9 3 0 3 1 3 2
Teacher	Yeah Bu/but it but that's not arbitrary.
MS	let's say "apes". S o The way the way we

[34]	3 3
Teacher	Only name is
MS	decide the group define the groups IT IS because we only know( )

[35]	3 4
Teacher	perhaps arbitrary.
MS	What I mean is like we can we clearly (.) n/n/notice the: I don't

[36]	3 5 3 6
Teacher	Yeah
MS	know the introduction of vertebrates to the biosystem, right? So: in this

[37]	..
MS	context (.) are just because it's easier for us to spot and identify different

[38]	..
MS	vertebrates doesn't necessarily mean that this is in general • a more/more diverse

[39]	3 7 3 8
Teacher	yeah yeah yeah well >you shouldn't make this too difficult< but IT IS (.)
MS	group I mean• . ( )

[40]	3 9
Teacher	you DO have a point and there is a discussion on this ↑because ehm do we define
MS	

[41]	4 0
Teacher	groups knowing that it is ( ) on the basis of eh a shared character? (.) Look at us
MS	

[42]	..
Teacher	look at the great apes. ↑We ↑belong ↑to ↑them. W/w/we belong to the great apes

[43]	..
Teacher	more than we belong to (.) ↓sea shells.

Appendix 7   Language Contact & Change (HUM 300)

7.1 Context

The following fragment involves an interaction between two students and the teacher. The fragment is taken from a course which offers lessons about language change as a result of contact between different languages or dialects. This course is part of the Linguistics track offered at UCU. Another part of the course involves more in-depth information about the Deaf and the variety of sign languages around the world. The teacher provides information about the history of sign language and deaf education. This particular class has a total of 10 students; 4 male students and 6 female students. During the recordings, 7 students were present. This specific fragment is taken from a lesson devoted to deaf education and how deaf children are often oppressed in using their sign language. Many deaf schools use language oppression to force children to 'mouth' their language instead of signing it. The fragment involves a conversation in the classroom between the teacher and students concerning the topic of language oppression. The teacher is interested to know whether they have ever witnessed or experienced a form of language oppression themselves.

7.2 Background information speakers

Teacher: female/Israeli-Dutch

RG: male/Dutch
Profile: he is a third year student and his major is in the Social Sciences. He has an incredibly high GPA of 4.02 and his native language is Dutch. Upon selection, one of the readers rejected his application letter. Another reader, wanted to invite him for an interview. The 2nd reader wanted to see whether his interest in Liberal Arts & Sciences is true. After interviewing him, the interviewers found him "highly intelligent, broadly interested, caring, an idealist world citizen in the making". They stated that he thinks while he talks and that he is not quick to open up. They considered him "a born thinker, and astute observer of his environment, both immediate and more globally."

ALY: male/Dutch
Profile: he is a second year student majoring in Science with a GPA of 3.32. His native language is Dutch but he also has Chinese roots. After interviewing him, they stated the following: "interesting international roots, determined and ambitious." In addition, they discovered that ALY went through the Dutch VMBO, HAVO, and VWO without losing a single year.

7.3 Illocutionary types

Recording time: 1st part: 51:00-53:50

Segments	illocutionary type	indicator of illocutionary nature
1-9	Assertion	an elaborate account
9.2-13	Assertion	an elaborate account
13.3	Assertion	an elaborate account
13.4-14	Assertion	an account
14.5-15	Assertion	an account
15	Laughter	
15.6	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
15.7-18	Assertion	an elaborate account
18.8	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
18.9	Assertion	an account
18.10-19	Assertion	an account
19	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
19-21	Assertion	an elaborate account

21	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
21.12-23	Assertion	an elaborate account
23.13	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
23.14-26	Assertion	an elaborate account
26.15	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
26.16	Assertion	an account
26.17	Assertion	an account
26.18-27	Assertion	an account
27.19	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
27.20-28	Assertion	an account
28.21	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
28.22-29	Assertion	an account
29.23	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
29.24-32.26	Assertion	an elaborate account
32.27-33	Assertion	an account

7.4 Transcript

Teacher: female/Israeli-Dutch
RG: male/Dutch student
ALY: male/Dutch student

[1]	0
Teacher	Because IN THE NETHERLANDS UNLIKE maybe other (.) eh:: European
[2]	..
Teacher	countries (.) it should be (.) maybe more common to find someone (.) who:: had
[3]	.. 1
Teacher	to unlearn a dialect ↑going ↑to ↑school (0.4). If you go to:: ehm and you don't
[4]	..
Teacher	need to even go to/to Friesland or or the south (.) eh: even where my mother grew
[5]	..
Teacher	up in the east of the country. She was from a ↑middle class family so she didn't
[6]	..
Teacher	really speak Twents (.) but she didn't go to a private school or anything. >She
[7]	..
Teacher	went to a public school< and most of the children in her class they had to
[8]	..
Teacher	↑unlearn their ↑Twents. They had to/to speak in Dutch: ↑Algemeen ↑Beschaafd
[9]	.. 2
Teacher	↑Nederlands.
ALY	Eh:: yeah I remember something what's happened in China with eh:
[10]	..
ALY	(.) my ↑girlfriend. She:: (.) lives she comes from the ( ) and there they speak the
[11]	..
ALY	Sichuan dialect. Then she moved to the north and there they speak eh: ( ) which is
[12]	..
ALY	the main dialect, Mandarin. So: when she came back to (.) ( ) she lost eh the
[13]	.. 3 4
Teacher	Altough in Sichuan is supposed to teach ( ) in school.
ALY	dialect from ( ) They do they

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[14]	.. 5
Teacher	the ( ) is in het Nederlands Algemeen Beschaafd
ALY	do but ehm (.) actually (.) the

[15]	.. 6 7
Teacher	"Chinese" ((laughs)) ( )
ALY	Yeah But ehm ( ) actually gave. I mean the impression I got

[16]	..
ALY	was more that she/ that they DID somehow manage to do code-switching in class

[17]	..
ALY	even the teachers. I'm not (.) too sure that's really the case but that's the

[18]	.. 8 9 1 0
Teacher	yeah ↑Well ↑anyways I think it makes clear: these are ↑examples
ALY	impression I got.

[19]	.. 1 1
Teacher	of language ↑oppression, right? ↑↑Especially if hierarchy is associated.>It's

[20]	..
Teacher	something else to say eh<: "Here in UC we only speak English!" >I mean that's

[21]	.. 1 2
Teacher	not necessarily oppressing your other languages, right?>
RG	No but (.) something

[22]	..
RG	interesting HAS happened at UC that eh:: because everything is English here

[23]	1 3 1 4
Teacher	hmhm
RG	that eh:: the native the mother tongue of in Dutch for example doesn't

[24]	..
RG	really matter because eh I hope that I'm (.) eh (.) the experience in when I switch

[25]	..
RG	from English to Dutch with certain person and suddenly hear that he or she is

[26]	.. 1 5 1 6 1 7 1 8
Teacher	Ok. erased is
RG	Twents or from ( ) or/or It's it's this history is is erased ( ) the

[27]	.. 1 9 2 0
Teacher	Yes.I mean and/and that could be even seen as language
RG	opportunity to ( )

[28]	.. 2 1 2 2
Teacher	oppression but as LIBERATION from all of the information encoded in (.)
RG	yeah ( )

[29]	.. 2 3 2 4
Teacher	a certain dialect in The Netherlands. Yes. I mean definitely. If/if you take a group

[30]	..
Teacher	of Dutch people and the/ and ask them to communicate in English they would

[31]	..
Teacher	lose a lot of the of their 'between-the-lines' social information that they used to

[32]	.. 2 52 6 2 7
Teacher	ehm (0.4) automatically (.) actually (.) retrive from that stage. But let's go back
ALY	( )

[33]	..
Teacher	to/to Deaf.

Appendix 8   That's Life: Biology Today (SCI 100)

8.1 Context

The following fragment involves an interaction between two students and the teacher. This course offers all the basic information about Biology. It is a very popular course amongst students with Humanities and Social Science majors, because they have to fulfill their Science requirement of one course in order to graduate from UCU. This particular class has a total of 27 students; 6 male students and 21 female students. During the recordings, 22 students were present. The lesson involved student presentations. The fragment which is chosen includes the end of a presentation about the intelligence of bacteria. One of the presenters has posed a number of related questions to her peers about how certain human traits can be transferred from one person to another by organ transplantation, because the organ includes different bacteria and cells than the organ-receiver does not have. The teacher inserts a short anecdote which relates to the topic of organ transplantation. Afterwards, a student from the class gives her opinion on the topic.

8.2 Background information speakers

Teacher: male/Dutch

EEM: female/Dutch
Profile: She is a second year student. Her mother is Polish and her father is Tunisian. EEM herself was born in The Netherlands. Her high school grades were not high, but her bicultural background convinced the selectors that she would fit in the UCU environment. In her motivation letter she claims that her bicultural background has shaped her profoundly. Her upbringing is characterized by Catholic as well as Muslim elements. She is bilingual, speaking both Dutch as well as Polish fluently.

DD: female/Turkish
Profile: she is a third year student with a GPA of 3.10. Her major is Humanities and her native languages are Turkish and English. Upon selection, the readers of her application form stated the following about her: "Seems like a person with a strong and emotional character. Could be an interesting asset to UC." After interviewing her, the interviewers found her extremely articulate and quick-witted. They described her as "enthusiastic and involved, politically and socially aware."

LL: female/Dutch
Profile: She is a first year student with a Dutch background. She comes from a small city in The Netherlands. Her local minister recommended LL, stating that she has been a member of the Protestant church for over fifteen years. LL prepared herself well to be selected into UCU by following a pre-University College program in her hometown.

8.3 Illocutionary types

Recording time: 2nd recording, 57:05-01:00:22

Segments	illocutionary type	indicator of illocutionary nature
1-3	Assertion	an account
3.1-7	Assertion	an elaborate account
7.2	Laughter	
7.3-8	Assertion	an account
8.4	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
8.5	Laughter	
8.5-11	Assertion	an elaborate account
11.6	Laughter	

11.7-16	Assertion	an elaborate account
16.8	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
16.9-18	Question	questioning intonation
18-24	Assertion	an elaborate account
24.10	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
24.11-25	Question	questioning intonation
25.13-26	Assertion	an elaborate account
25.13-28	Assertion	an elaborate account
28.14	Backchannel	backchanneling signal
28.15	Pause	
28.16-29	Question	questioning intonation

8.4 Transcript

Teacher: male/Dutch
EEM: female/Dutch student
DD: female/Turkish student
LL: female/Dutch student
Class: female and male students

[1]	0
EEM	yeah, there'sss sort of ( ) to actually I think you can combine you're two insights
[2]	..
EEM	by saying tha:t that this sort of organ was was used to digesting a certain kind of
[3]	.. 1
EEM	food so, yess (1.0)
teacher	Ehh a couple of years ago I was teaching a:: cognitive
[4]	..
teacher	neuroscience one hundred course and then t/t/there was a debate in class where
[5]	..
teacher	students came up with evidence he they:: had found ar/arti/articles that people
[6]	..
teacher	who have gone through a hheart t ehh transplantation have a very high risk of a
[7]	.. 2 3
teacher	divorce within three years after the transplantation. Ehh::: (1.0) because their
class	((laughter))
[8]	.. 4 5
EEM	hmm
teacher	partner does not recognize eh::: their char↑acter anymore they become
class	((laughter))
[9]	..
teacher	something different. Some/somebody different. And then there was a debate in
class	
[10]	..
teacher	class ehh some pe/some people said: "well, that's not/the heart is a pump, ehhh
class	
[11]	.. Є7
EEM	((laughter))
teacher	come on." Ehh:: so it's the traumotic/traumatic experience of going through this
class	
[12]	..

EEM teacher	eh:: dangerous transplantation that actually changes people and then another
[13]	..
EEM teacher	student said: "but (.) how about the liver that's even more dangerous then that
[14]	..
EEM teacher	should be even worse?" and they found no evidence there. And the/the debate was
[15]	..
EEM teacher	actually undecided but it's eh:: well your question is another hypothesis actually
[16]	.. 8 9
EEM teacher DD	hmhm on how to explain these things because the data are there. With the heart doesn't it
[17]	..
teacher DD	affect like the:: nervous system directly which is kind of rea::lly really important
[18]	..
teacher DD	for your behavior? I mean depending on even just how many breaths you take a
[19]	..
teacher DD	day it can affect (.) ehm (.) what kind of demeanor you have • I think• . I think in
[20]	..
teacher DD	that way like the heart of course the liver is really important as eh (.) a cleaner and
[21]	..
teacher DD	all these things but I think that the heart has/ has like a very major (0.4) and it/ I
[22]	..
teacher DD	can/can see why there could be connection between getting a different heart and
[23]	..
teacher DD	acting in a different way because if it pumps faster or slower and you're on a
[24]	.. 1 0 1 1
EEM teacher DD	Yeah, but do you really hmhm different tempo in that sense (.) it could affect your, yeah
[25]	.. 1 1 3 2
EEM DD	think that someone would actually not (.) recognize you anymore? I/I S E E W H A T No I think that
[26]	..
EEM DD	YOU MEAN ultimately it's the:: what the students have decided that yeah it's just a traumatic
[27]	..
EEM	

DD	experience and also in this (.) yeah. You might take on the characteristics and sort
[28]	. . 1 4 1 5 1 6
EEM	hmhm
DD	of the placebo effects ( )
LL	(4.0)Ehm second question: eh what exactly do you
[29]	. .
LL	think that intelligence mean eh means?

Appendix 9   UCU students' nationalities in academic year of 2010-2011

Total amount of students: 713

Nationality	Total	Nationality	Total
Dutch	424	Bosnian	1
American	33	Dutch/South African	1
German	31	Dutch/Japanese	1
British	17	American/Mexican	1
French	14	Macedonian	1
Polish	12	Vietnamese/New-Zealander	1
Romanian	9	Nigerian	1
Bulgarian	9	Albanian	1
Dutch/American	9	Polish/American	1
Belgian	6	British (overseas)	1
Israeli	6	Dutch/Croatian	1
Chinese	6	British/Canadian	1
Canadian	6	Brazilian/Austrian	1
Indian	5	French/Israeli	1
Swedish	5	Dutch/Hungarian	1
Dutch/French	5	French/Philippino	1
Austrian	5	Dominican Republic	1
Spanish	4	French/Swiss	1
Italian	4	American/Israeli	1
Hungarian	4	British/German	1
Russian	3	Malaysian	1
Czech	3	German/Brazilian	1
Singaporean	3	Nepalese	1
Latvian	3	German/French	1
Lithuanian	3	Norwegian	1
Indonesian	2	Ghanaian	1
Finnish	2	Dutch/Australian	1
Slovenian	2	Australian	1
Japanese	2	Portuguese	1
Swiss	2	Hungarian/Vietnamese	1
Kenyan	2	Bolivian	1
Dutch/British	2	Australian/British	1
American/German	2	Dutch/Ethiopian	1
South African	2	American/FrenchVenezuelan	1
American/British	2	South Korean	1
Thai	2	Irish	1
Dutch/German	2	Spanish/Paraguayan	1
Belgian/Canadian	2	Congolese	1
Turkish	2	Dutch/Honduran	1
Dutch/Spanish	2	Azerbaijanian	1
Maltese/American/Canadian	1	Taiwanese	1
Surinam	1	Italian/Ecuadorean	1
Dutch/Austrian	1	Dutch/Libanese	1
Dutch/Philipino	1	Danish	1
American/French	1	Dutch/Swiss	1
Dutch/Polish	1	Dutch/Turkish	1
Peruvian	1	Dutch/Senegalese	1

Appendix 10   Transcribing conventions

The researcher used software of Exmaralda Partitur-Editor program to transcribe the classroom interactions. This program has the following conventions to represent the uttered sentences:

.	When an utterance is finished.
,	As in written language.
?	Asking intonation
( )	Empty brackets are used when one cannot hear the utterance well.
((laughs))	Double brackets are used for laughing, sniffing etc.
/	Repair mid-word or mid-sentence
(.)	A pause of less than 0,3 seconds
(0,4)	A pause of 0.4 seconds or 1 second is transcribed as follows: (0.4), (1.0) .
>	Words are pronounced relatively faster.
<	Words are pronounced relatively slower.
CAPITALS	When speaking LOUDER.
●	When speaking ●softer●.
:::	Prolonging of syllable.
↑	Rise in intonation
↓	Lower intionation
" "	Quoting

from: Exmaralda Instruction Powerpoint (Fernhout, 2010)