

# **Instructions and Participation in the Second Language Classroom**



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Ph.D. Dissertation  
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**CONTENTS**

Acknowledgements .....	v
<b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Introduction .....	1
1.2. Learning and integration – Adults and Danish as a second language .....	1
1.3. Background .....	2
1.3.1. Why participation? .....	3
1.4. Research questions .....	4
1.5. Outline of dissertation .....	7
<b>2. PARTICIPATION .....</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1. Introduction .....	9
2.1.1. Classroom competence .....	11
2.2. Participation structure .....	12
2.3. IRF/E-sequences – The generic structure of classroom interaction .....	14
2.4. Turn-taking organization .....	16
2.4.1. The linguistic component .....	17
2.4.2. The sociological component .....	17
2.4.3. Turn-taking in classroom interaction .....	18
2.4.4. Turn-allocation in classroom interaction .....	21
2.5. Participation and/in interaction .....	23
2.5.1. Goffman's participation framework .....	24
2.5.2. Multiparty interaction .....	26
2.5.3. Multimodality and participation .....	27
2.6. Students as individuals or as collective group .....	29
2.7. Plenary and “official” classroom interaction .....	31
2.8. Conclusion .....	34
<b>3. INSTRUCTIONS .....</b>	<b>35</b>
3.1. Introduction .....	35
3.2. Teaching methods .....	37
3.3. Task .....	39
3.3.1. A short history of <i>task</i> as a central concept in SLA .....	40
3.3.2. “Applied SLA” – Second language teaching .....	42
3.3.3. Socio-educational perspective .....	43
3.3.4. Pedagogic intentionality .....	45

---

3.3.5. Interactional approach.....	48
3.4. Interactional tasks – The concept of <i>conditional relevance</i> .....	50
3.4.1. Sequence organization.....	51
3.4.2. 'Questions' in (second language) classroom interaction.....	53
3.4.3. Turn-taking and turn-allocation.....	55
3.5. Conclusion.....	57
<b>4. CONVERSATION ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>58</b>
4.1. Introduction.....	58
4.2. Aims and basic assumptions.....	59
4.2.1. Intersubjectivity.....	62
4.3. Foundations.....	63
4.3.1. Garfinkel and ethnomethodology.....	63
4.3.2. Goffman – The interaction order.....	65
4.3.3. Harvey Sacks.....	66
4.4. Methodological issues.....	67
4.4.1. Generalization.....	68
4.5. Conversation, institutional interaction and applied CA.....	68
4.5.1. Context in a CA perspective.....	69
4.6. Procedure.....	71
4.6.1. Data collection.....	71
4.6.2. A note on transcription.....	74
4.6.3. Analysis.....	79
4.7. Conclusion.....	80
<b>5. MORTENSEN I: Selecting Next-Speaker in the Second Language Classroom: How to Find a Willing Next-Speaker in Prepared and Available Activities.....</b>	<b>81</b>
5.1. Introduction.....	81
5.1.1. Data material.....	85
5.2. Tasks, questions and first pair-parts.....	85
5.3. Activities and turn-allocation – planned or locally managed?.....	89
5.3.1. Prepared activity, pre-allocation of turns.....	90
5.3.2. Local management of activities, local management of turn-allocation ..	92
5.3.3. Local management of activities, pre-allocation of turns.....	94
5.3.4. Prepared activity, local management of turn-allocation.....	96
5.4. Display questions and first pair-parts.....	97
5.5. How do students display willingness to be selected as next-speaker?.....	99
5.5.1. Orientation to relevant next action.....	102
5.6. The teacher manages who is selected as next-speaker.....	107
5.6.1. Next-speaker selection through address term.....	111
5.7. Discussion.....	112

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<b>6. MORTENSEN II: Establishing Reciprocity in Pre-Beginning Position in the Second Language Classroom .....</b>	<b>114</b>
6.1. Introduction.....	114
6.2. Second language teaching.....	116
6.2.1. Data material.....	117
6.3. Turn-taking in classrooms.....	117
6.4. Talk, embodiment and reciprocity .....	118
6.4.1. Display of reciprocity in turn-beginnings .....	120
6.5. Initiating a turn-at-talk without displayed reciprocity.....	122
6.5.1. Display questions .....	122
6.6. Uncertainty about next-speaker position .....	129
6.7. Establishing reciprocity prior to turn-beginning.....	131
6.7.1. Visual resources to claim incipient speakership.....	133
6.7.2. Disengagement of visually displayed reciprocity.....	135
6.8. Discussion .....	137
<b>7. MORTENSEN III: “Doing Word Explanation”: The Interactive Construction of Vocabulary Teaching.....</b>	<b>140</b>
7.1. Introduction.....	140
7.2. Presenting “doing word explanation” .....	142
7.3. Highlighting the target word.....	144
7.3.1. TCU-final position .....	148
7.3.2. Self-repair .....	149
7.3.3. Prosodic resources.....	151
7.3.4. The blackboard.....	152
7.3.5. Turn-transition .....	154
7.4. Repeating (a part of) the highlighted word(s).....	156
7.4.1. What is highlighted?.....	162
7.5. Requesting a word explanation .....	165
7.5.1. Negotiating the ongoing activity.....	173
7.5.2. Request for word explanation as pedagogical move.....	175
7.6. The students' repeat as a repair-initiation?.....	179
7.7. Word explanation and sequence closing.....	181
7.8. Discussion .....	184
7.8.1. Repetition of the lexical item.....	185
7.8.2. (Un)planned word explanation and pedagogical intentions .....	186
7.8.3. Topic initiation.....	187
<b>8. CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>189</b>
8.1. Introduction.....	189
8.2. Second language pedagogy .....	189
8.2.1. A communicative approach to pedagogical tasks or interaction tasks..	189

---

8.2.2. Pedagogical tasks are interactively constructed.....	191
8.2.3. Students' orientation to linguistic fluency in turn-beginnings? .....	192
8.2.4. Non-native speakers are socially competent .....	192
8.3. Classroom interaction .....	193
8.3.1. Different ways of organizing classroom interaction provide students with different interactional tasks and relevant ways of participating.....	193
8.3.2. Students have different understandings of the ongoing activities .....	195
8.3.3. Students rely on social practices from “ordinary conversation”.....	196
8.3.4. “Teacher selects next-speaker” is done on the basis of interactional work.....	196
8.4. Conversation analysis .....	198
8.4.1. Turn-taking organization .....	198
8.4.2. Turn-beginning or action-beginning?.....	198
8.5. (Second language) learning and integration.....	199
8.6. Future research .....	200
8.7. Final remarks.....	201
 <b>APPENDIX A – TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS .....</b>	 <b>202</b>
 <b>APPENDIX B – ENGLISH SUMMARY .....</b>	 <b>205</b>
 <b>APPENDIX C – DANSK RESUME .....</b>	 <b>209</b>
 <b>REFERENCES.....</b>	 <b>213</b>

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In this introductory chapter, I present the aim of the dissertation. This leads up to the presentation of the research questions. The background of the dissertation is introduced in relation to its broader educational perspective within integration, and the research project, “Learning and Integration – Adults and Danish as a Second Language”. Finally, an outline of the dissertation is presented.

#### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this dissertation is to describe student PARTICIPATION in Danish as a second language classrooms, and how the teacher facilitates this participation through his/her INSTRUCTIONS. The aim is thus to contribute to a discussion of the (second language) pedagogical task of how to engage students in classroom activities.

#### **1.2 LEARNING AND INTEGRATION – ADULTS AND DANISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE**

The dissertation is part of the research project “Learning and integration – adults and Danish as a second language”. This is a cross-institutional research project involving three Danish universities (the Danish University of Education, Roskilde University Center and University of Southern Denmark) involving a total amount of 9 researchers, including 3 Ph.D.-students. The aim of the project is to describe the integration processes of migrants in Denmark in a range of settings, involving a variety of data material, in relation to the migrants' sociocultural and historical background (for a description of the project see Wagner 2006). This includes Danish as a second language learning in formal classroom settings as well as outside of the classroom. The point of departure of the project is the political minefield of integration and the role of the Danish language within it.

### 1.3 BACKGROUND

The Danish *Integrationslov* (2003) (the law of integration) provides a so-called introduction program, lasting for up to three years, for adult (>18 years) migrants arriving in Denmark. The program includes mutual rights and obligations between the migrant and the Danish authorities in relation to housing, health, work, and education. Part of education includes learning Danish as a second language as a necessary step towards integration, and in particular, employment. Language learning (and teaching) is primarily conceptualized in relation to formal teaching, i.e. classroom language teaching. Language teaching is provided by private or public language learning centers.

The law emphasizes learning Danish as a second language as an initial step towards employment, AND that language learning is done within formal settings of the classroom. In this way, the law relies on an assumption that the second language classroom provides second language learning opportunities. However, although the second language classroom is designed FOR second language learning, we still know very little of what students actually learn, and how second language learning opportunities within the classroom differ from those outside the classroom (see e.g., Wagner 2004). Similarly, we know very little about how different ways of classroom organization provide students with opportunities for learning the second language. Some 20 years ago van Lier noted that

[w]e do not know if a classroom that tries to be as little a traditional classroom as possible is necessarily more effective than a more structured and regimented one. Judgements about classroom effectiveness and quality often reflect personal preferences and current fashions, as much as they do critical arguments and data-based findings (van Lier 1988: xvii).

Although research in second language acquisition (SLA) and classroom interaction has provided crucial information about learning and the social organization of the classroom, we still know very little about how and which second language opportunities the classroom provides for the students, and how this might differ from the world outside.

First, then, we need to describe what (kind of) second language learning opportunities the classroom actually provides, or how different ways of organizing the classroom provide students with different opportunities for second language learning.

### **1.3.1 Why participation?**

The social organization of the second language classroom is, according to a social constructionist approach as adopted in this dissertation (see chapter 4), the dynamic interaction between teacher and students: the classroom participants “create” (so to speak) the classroom in and through their interaction with each other. In this way, in order to describe the social organization we need to look at how this interaction is accomplished during the lesson.

Recently, a “social turn” (Block 2003) in SLA, primarily from sociocultural theory (e.g., Lantolf 2000a) and conversation analysis (e.g., Firth and Wagner 1997; Young and Miller 2004) have approached SLA as (increased) participation in social interaction. From this perspective SLA is a process of engaging in social life in more (socially) competent ways, and the learning process can be described as a process of *legitimate peripheral participation* (e.g., Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Lave and Wenger 1991).

Participation is largely believed to be important to, or necessary for, learning a second/foreign language. Students are required or encouraged to participate “actively” in the classroom and thus take part of their own learning process. In this way, describing the ways in which students participate, and the opportunities for participating that the classroom provides, is important not only for SLA research, but also for research in second language pedagogy (e.g., Sahlström 1999). Since the teacher often is the manager of classroom activities, (s)he plays an important role in defining students' opportunities for participating in the classroom. In this way, descriptions of how students participate and how this is related to the teacher's organization of the lesson is of utmost importance for second language pedagogy. The present dissertation follows this line of research, i.e. it describes student participation as opportunities for second language learning, and how the teacher facilitates their participation.

## 1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

On this basis, the dissertation addresses the following research questions:

- How do students participate in the second language classroom?
- How is this participation facilitated by the teacher's instructions?

The dissertation aims at describing the kind of student participation that teachers' instructions facilitate, i.e. how teachers' instructions provide students with different kinds of (relevant) ways of participating. These questions are very broad, and the aim is not to provide an exhaustive description of them. Rather, the dissertation enters a discussion ABOUT the answers, and should thus be seen as a contribution to this discussion. In the following, I will provide a brief specification of the research questions, highlight the particular contribution that this dissertation provides, and prepare the ground for situating the research questions in a theoretical and methodological context. This introduction will include some initial limitations.

First of all, the dissertation addresses the question of whether different ways of organizing the second language classroom provide students with different opportunities for participation. And if so, how they are different. This calls for detailed analyses of how students actually participate in differently organized classrooms. Specifically, the dissertation discusses whether students have equal opportunities for participating in the classroom. It is, however, beyond the scope of this dissertation to address the (pedagogical) rationale for this assumption – whether or not the classroom SHOULD provide students with equal opportunities for participating. But what do we mean by “equal opportunities”? From what perspective do we analyze whether students have equal opportunities for participating? Sahlström (1999) addresses these questions in relation to Swedish classrooms in comprehensive school. He finds

several mechanisms in the organization of plenary interaction that make it likely to find the same students in the different available interaction positions [...]. [T]he same students are likely to be found in approximately the same positions minute after minute, lesson after lesson, day after day (Sahlström 1999: 177, emphasis added).

Sahlström's study shows that students have different understandings of the ongoing activity, and that they therefore participate differently in the plenary interaction (see also e.g., Hall 2002; Ohta 2001). He finds that the (social) organization of the classroom screws students' opportunities for participation. Students therefore face different tasks, and thus have different opportunities for participating, even though the classroom “on the surface” is organized to facilitate equity. However, in plenary classroom teaching students are treated in the same way assuming that they have the same opportunities for engaging in social interaction. The way in which the classroom is organized facilitates the participation of some students, but constraints the participation of others. Sahlström's study deals with Swedish children in comprehensive school. More research in other languages and social contexts, other content areas, and extending the research to adult learners are therefore required. This dissertation is a contribution to this discussion.

This brings us to the question of how to approach classroom interaction, i.e. from which perspective. As it is argued in chapter 2, most prior research tend to focus on (the role of) the teacher (see e.g., Cazden 1986; Paoletti and Fele 2004). A reasonable argument for this is the practical purpose of teacher education – by looking at how teachers organize the classroom and how students behave in relation to teacher moves, we gain insight into the dynamic of the classroom, which can be used by other, and upcoming, teachers. Secondly, focusing on one participant, the teacher, reduces the complexity of the classroom as a multiparty setting. Rather than regarding the students as individual participants they are generally regarded as a cohort (Payne and Hustler 1980) who interacts with the teacher. And, indeed, this has lead to a large amount of important findings in relation to classroom interaction and pedagogy. However, this perspective inevitably misses parts of what is going on within the classroom, since it assumes that teacher and students have identical views of the ongoing activities (e.g., Johnson 1995), as well as assuming that the students have the same understanding of the classroom interaction (e.g., Coughlan and Duff 1994; Ohta 2001). The classroom is generally regarded as a site for learning and schooling regardless of whether the course topic is second language or math, and whether the classroom hosts young children or adults. The classroom is designed to facilitate learning of students and pupils, and in this way our

basic interest lies not on the teacher, but on the students. In this way, we might get important insights into classroom interaction, learning and pedagogy if we turn the focus towards how the individual student participates in, and orients to, classroom activities. Then question then becomes how to analyze student participation and perception of their own participation. One way is to ask students about their own participation, for instance through *stimulated recall* (Gass and Mackey 2000).<sup>1</sup> This is typically done by recording a lesson and subsequently asking the student to comment his/her participation by watching the video. The advantage of this method is that the analyst gets access to the student's evaluation and comment of his/her own behavior. The disadvantage, though, is that the stimulated recall constitutes a social situation, which is different from the recorded lesson. In this way, the stimulated recall can be regarded as a social situation in its own right. Other researchers have (audio and/or video) recorded classroom interaction and analyzed how students interact *in situ* (e.g., Mehan 1979; Seedhouse 2004; van Lier 1988). Following this perspective, the analyst gets access to the participants' perspective not by questioning the them, but “through study in detail of the actions they perform as the talk itself emerges” (Goodwin 1984: 243). In this way, student participation is analyzed in relation to social ACTIONS, which students do in the classroom. This perspective will be further explored in the preceding chapters.

Finally, the dissertation discusses the relationship between pedagogy and communication. More specifically, it approaches pedagogical concepts, e.g. *tasks*, as communicative situations rather than as theoretical concepts (see chapter 3). This means that classroom interaction is primarily approached as communicative and social situations rather than as implementations of a particular pedagogical theory or method (see e.g., Evaldsson et al. 2001; Firth and Wagner 2007; Seedhouse 1997). The analyses are thus not conducted in relation to pedagogy or learning, but as situations of social interaction in their own right.

In this way, the dissertation provides on the one hand (a) theoretical discussion(s) about how student participation can be described and analyzed, and how this relates to second

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion about methods for analyzing classroom interaction, see e.g. Nunan (1992).

language pedagogy and classroom interaction. On the other hand, it addresses questions that are of a practical concern for second language teachers. Although the dissertation is written primarily for researchers within second language classroom interaction and pedagogy (as well as, to a minor degree, researchers within *conversation analysis* and learning) it is my hope that practitioners will find the conclusions and discussions relevant and challenging for their own work in particular in relation to how the second language classroom is organized and the consequences this has for the students.

### 1.5 OUTLINE OF DISSERTATION

This dissertation consists of three separate articles as well as three chapters that describe their common research interests and research methodology, an introduction and a concluding discussion. The articles are included as chapter 5 to 7. The articles are written for separate publication, and are therefore in a form where each of them can be read independently from one another and from the other chapters. The purpose of chapter 1 to 4 is to provide a detailed account of the theoretical and methodological background of PARTICIPATION and INSTRUCTIONS, and prepare the ground for the articles, which constitute the empirical and analytic part of the dissertation. In the presented form, certain paragraphs may seem repetitive when the reader reaches the articles. However, the aim of this structure is that the initial chapters provide a broader conceptual discussion, and the articles should be read with this in mind.

The dissertation is structured in a way that resembles the methodological approach on which it is based. This approach is highly *data driven* (see chapter 4), and this is reflected in the organization of the chapters. After the INTRODUCTION, in which the background of the project as well as the research questions have been described, chapter 2 describes how (student) PARTICIPATION has been approached and described in the (second language) classroom literature. It concludes by arguing for a detailed, turn-by-turn approach that describes participation from the participants' own perspective. This approach includes not only verbal talk, but also gaze, gesture, body posture, and tools in/and the surrounding, since, as the chapter will argue, participants rely on these different resources when interaction. Chapter 3 specifies participation. The chapter describes how INSTRUCTIONS

has been approached in the second language learning and second language pedagogy literature as a way of engaging students in classroom interaction. It concludes by proposing an interactional approach to tasks. This includes not only “formal” instructions, but also a range of tasks that are crucial for social interaction. Chapter 4 presents the proposed METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK, conversation analysis (CA), for analyzing student participation. The chapter describes the basic assumptions and the theoretical background in sociology and ethnomethodology. On the basis of the basic assumptions, the data material is presented.

On the basis of these chapters follow the empirical part of the dissertation, i.e. the separate articles. Throughout this dissertation, the articles are referred to as Mortensen I, II and III, respectively. Bibliographical information and editorial status by the time of submission are as follows:

- I Mortensen, K. (in review): Selecting Next-Speaker in the Second Language Classroom: How to Find a Willing Next-Speaker in Prepared and Available Activities. To appear in G. Kasper, J. Wagner & G. Pallotti (eds.), *L2 Learning as Social Practice: Conversation-analytic Perspectives*.
- II Mortensen, K. (forth.): Establishing Recipency in Pre-Beginning Position in the Second Language Classroom. Accepted for publication in *Discourse Processes*.
- III Mortensen, K. (in review): “Doing Word Explanation”: The Interactive Construction of Vocabulary Teaching. Submitted to *The Modern Language Journal*.

In chapter 8, the insights from the dissertation are summarized and discussed, and implications for the relevant research fields are provided. Additionally, a list of transcription symbols is found in appendix A, as well as English and Danish abstracts (appendix B and C, respectively).

## CHAPTER 2

### PARTICIPATION

In this chapter, I will describe how student participation in (second language) classroom interaction has been approached and described, and explain how this has resulted in important findings in relation to classroom interaction in various ways. I will then argue for approaching participation from an emic perspective, which will prepare the ground for the approach adopted in the empirical part of this dissertation.

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Student participation is a theoretical as well as a practical concern for classroom teachers and researchers within (second language) pedagogy. Developing as a parallel to second language acquisition theories, second language pedagogy has described several teaching methods, e.g. *the audiolingual method* (Fries 1945) and *communicative language teaching* (Savignon 1972), for how to engage students in classroom activities in ways which are thought to lead to or are thought to be learning (e.g., Larsen-Freeman 2000). This relies on an assumption that participation is an essential part of language learning – that students must participate in the classroom in order to learn the second language. Quite explicitly this assumption is formulated in several learning theories, e.g. *legitimate peripheral participation* (Lave and Wenger 1991) and *learning by doing* (Dewey 1997 [1938]), but is an implicit assumption in most present learning theories. In relation to second language acquisition, this can be seen in the pedagogical application of for instance *communicative language teaching* and *task-based language teaching* (see e.g., Larsen-Freeman 2000; Richards and Rodgers 2001), with the aim of including and engaging students in the teaching and (assumed) learning activities.

The assumption that participation and learning are intimately intertwined is (one of) the reasons for classroom interaction research to focus on student participation, although the relation between participation and learning and, not the least, the definition of learning and participation have been objects for extensive and ongoing discussions (e.g., Block 2003; Firth and Wagner 1997, 1998, 2007; Gass 1998; Lantolf 2000b; Long 1997;

Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Sfard 1998). A large amount of research, largely from a psychological or sociolinguistic perspective, has described the WHY of student participation, i.e. the underlying social or psychological factors (e.g., Fassinger 1995; Howard et al. 1996). This line of research has described how social factors such as the teacher's and students' gender, cultural background and age (Fassinger 1995), or even race (Howard et al. 2006), and organizational factors such as class size, attendance in class or relation to the curriculum (Howard et al. 1996) may influence student participation. The fairly recent studies mentioned here take their point of departure in the 1960s attempt to explicate why some students from “low-income families and ethnic-minority backgrounds” (Mehan 1998: 246) did not do well in school. These rely on “macro” sociological and psychological factors as explanations for students' participation rather than analyzing student participation in its own right.

This approach is criticized by an opposing line of research that looks at HOW students participate in the classroom, and describes participation in terms of the social organization of the classroom (e.g., Mehan 1979; Sahlström 1999). Mehan argues that

[i]f we want to know whether student-teacher ratios, classroom size, teaching styles, and all the rest actually influence the quality of education, then we must be able to show how they operate in pragmatic educational situations. Likewise, if we are to understand how so-called input factors like social class, ethnicity, or teachers' attitudes influence educational outcomes, then their influence must be shown to operate in the course of interaction among participants in actual educational environments (Mehan 1979: 5, emphasis added).

From this perspective, classroom interaction provides a window into teaching and learning practices under the assumption that interaction is the medium through which teaching and learning are done (e.g., Florio and Schultz 1979; Hall 2002; Lantolf and Thorne 2006). This line of research follows (primarily) the tradition of a naturalistic approach to classroom interaction, which through ethnographic observations, field notes and audio/video recordings document the classroom as a social and cultural setting in its own right. In a recent reconsideration of Mehan's (1979) ethnomethodological *Learning Lessons*, Macbeth nicely formulates this by saying that Mehan's study

achieved what the very best ethnographic studies of familiar places achieve, namely, an analysis and description of ordinary worlds that then teaches us about their organizational life in ways we had not imagined (Macbeth 2003: 245).

The present dissertation follows this approach to participation, i.e. it looks at how participation is organized during the accomplishment of the classroom lesson. In order to understand student participation we must look at how this participation is organized during the course of the lesson, and how the classroom provides students with opportunities for participation.

### **2.1.1 Classroom competence**

A general question that underlies much classroom interaction research, and has been addressed from a range of different perspectives, regards what students need to know in order to participate “appropriately” in the (second language) classroom (e.g., Bloome et al. 2005). Based on Hymes' (1972) notion of *communicative competence* a line of research has added a *CLASSROOM communicative competence*, i.e.

the knowledge and competences that second language students need in order to participate in, learn from, and acquire a second language in the classroom (Johnson 1995: 160).

This knowledge consists of structural, functional, social and interactional norms for how the (specific, individual) classroom operates. Teacher and students have different expectations for how classroom interaction is supposed to be organized, and bring different kinds of knowledge and perceptions into the classroom (Johnson 1995). From a social-constructionist point of view (see chapter 4), this knowledge can be analyzed in terms of how the participants themselves orient to the ongoing activity as “doing classroom interaction”.<sup>1</sup> Boome et al. (1989) describe this in terms of *procedural*

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<sup>1</sup> A panel at the International Conference on Conversation Analysis (ICCA) in 2006, organized by Tom Koole, addressed this issue from an EM/CA perspective. In different ways, the participants showed how teacher and students were oriented to the interactional structure of the classroom, and thus talked the institutional context of the classroom into being. In chronological order, the panel consisted of papers by Elaine Vine, Kristian Mortensen, Jon Stansell/Numa Markee and Tom Koole. Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Johannes Wagner were discussants.

*display*.<sup>2</sup> This knowledge is made visible in and through the organization of the interaction, and therefore we need to study the structure of the interaction in detail.

## 2.2 PARTICIPATION STRUCTURE

Around the 1970s, a range of linguistic anthropological studies investigated and compared *participation structures* in classrooms and outside of school (e.g., Au 1980; Florio and Schultz 1979; Philips 1972; Schultz et al. 1982). They argue that participation structures

are worthy of study because they are the embodiment of the shifting rights and duties distributed among members of a group as they accomplish both interactional and instrumental work together (Florio and Schultz 1979: 237).

According to these studies, there is a reflexive relationship between the participation structure and the ongoing activity – “the nature of the event defines in part the participation structure, and the participation structure defines in part the event” (Bloome et al. 2005: 29). However, rather than looking at events that on the surface look similar, the participation structures need to be analyzed to determine whether they are “done” in a similar and comparable way. In this way, even though events seem remarkably different, the participation structures may be similar (Schultz et al. 1982; see also Wittgenstein 1958).

Relying on Hymes' (1972) notion of *communicative competence*, Shultz et al. note that

[t]he communicative competence necessary to participate in face-to-face interaction with others is an extremely complex package of knowledge and skills (Schultz et al. 1982: 89),

and the aim of linguistic anthropology (see e.g., Duranti 1997, 2001) is to analyze what this package of knowledge and skills consists of.

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<sup>2</sup> Chick (2001 [1996]) refers to this as *safe-talk*.

Philips (1972) compares participation structures of Warm Spring Indian children in and out of school. She identifies four participation structures in the classroom: (i) the teacher interacting with the whole class, (ii) the teacher interacting with a group of pupils, (iii) students' individual work where the teacher is available for help, and (iv) student group work. Philips finds that Indian children do not do equally well in all four participation structures. For instance, they are reluctant to participate in participation structures (i) and (ii). She explains this by relying on the participation structures in the Indian community, where even young children have a high degree of responsibility at home, e.g. cooking, hunting and cleaning, and learning are done through an observation -> supervised participation -> self-initiated self-testing pattern.<sup>3</sup> She describes the Indian society as highly equalitarian with no *a priori* defined leader, and she concludes that

Indian children fail to participate verbally in classroom interaction because the social conditions for participation to which they have become accustomed in the Indian community are lacking (Philips 1972: 392).

Schultz et al. (1982) compare school lessons and home activities. Following Philips' work, they look at participation structures and in particular the concept of *floor* (see also Edelsky 1981; Jones and Thornborrow 2004), which they describe as

the right of access by an individual to a turn at speaking that is attended to by other individuals, who occupy at that moment the role of listener [...]. The "floor" is interactionally produced, in that speakers and hearers must work together at maintaining it (Schultz et al. 1982: 95).

They find that some speech activities, in and out of school, permit several floors, while others do not, and that the concept of floor is intrinsically related to the participation structure – when the participation structure varies, so does the floor accordingly.

These studies show the diversity of interactional patterns. Rather than describing plenary classroom interaction as just one participation structure, they show how plenary

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<sup>3</sup> Philips' description of the learning process in the Indian community is in fact remarkably similar to what later has been described as *community of practice* by, in particular Lave and Wenger (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998), see also Barton and Tusting (2005).

interaction may be organized differently. For instance, Au (1980) finds 9 different participation structures, and argues that they fall on a continuum from a strict classroom organization as described by Mehan (1979) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), to more freely organized story talk (see also Erickson 1982). However, the description of participation structures attempts to provide a typology of ways in which participants engage in interaction with each other. This typology describes the reflexive relationship between participation structure and the ongoing activity from the point of view of the analyst. However, according to a social-constructionist approach, e.g. ethnomethodological conversation analysis (CA) (see chapter 4), the activity is not something that is “shaped by” the participants nor by the participation structures they engage in. Rather, the activity is accomplished THROUGH the participants' social interaction. Through this interaction, participants define the (social) situation they are engaged in, which is negotiated on a moment-to-moment basis. In this way, in order to describe participation we need to take a closer look at how this participation is organized by the participants themselves, and how they define not only the activity they are engaged in, but also the participation roles they adopt.

### 2.3 IRF/E-SEQUENCES – THE GENERIC STRUCTURE OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION

Student participation is negotiated on a turn-by-turn basis. Analyses of student participation should therefore look in detail at how this participation is negotiated continuously as part of the ongoing interaction. Rather than broad descriptions of general participation structures, the analyses must be grounded in the local turns and actions that the participants perform. Such an analysis has been conducted from a discourse analysis perspective to interaction and has led to crucial findings in the (second language) classroom. One of the most solid findings within classroom interaction research is that classroom interaction seems to follow a general pattern where the teacher initiates an action, the student(s) respond(s) and the teacher comments or evaluates the response. This format was documented as early as the 1960s by Bellack et al. (1966) who describes it in terms of *soliciting*, *responding* and *reacting moves*. This has later been described in terms of teacher initiation, student response and teacher feedback (IRF) (Sinclair and

Coulthard 1975), initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) (Mehan 1979) or question-answer-comment sequences (Markee 2000; McHoul 1978), and several studies have since then “revealed the ubiquity of the IRF/[E] pattern in western schooling, from kindergarten to the university and across content areas” (Hall 2002: 89). In this way, student participation is constrained by the teacher's initiating move since student participation is described as RESPONSES to the teacher's actions. IRF/E sequences have especially been related to *display questions* where the teacher already knows the answer (see chapter 3.4.2), and

is a deeply constructive (or constitutive) exercise routinely deployed in the work of making 'knowledge' public, witnessable, and observable from any chair in the room (Macbeth 2003: 258).

The IRF/E-structure has been criticized, in particular from a communicative approach to language teaching, for constraining student participation since they have limited opportunities for initiating action (Cazden 2001; Gutierrez 1994; van Lier 2001). However, several studies have addressed the role of student learning in relation to the sequential IRF/E pattern. For instance, Hall (1997) finds that it is not the IRF/E format *per se* that limits the students' opportunity for learning, but the TYPE of initiating action by the teacher (see also Wells 1993). Bloome et al. (2005: 27ff., 55f.) criticize the focus on *structure* rather than *substance* in IRF/E literature. They argue that the IRF/E format describes a sequential structure, but does not include the actions that the moves perform. The same argument is made by Hellermann (2003) who shows how teachers through prosodic variations use the third turn for various interactional purposes such as asking for additional information or closing down the sequence.

Seedhouse (2004) criticizes the simplistic discourse analysis of the IRF/E pattern, and finds that “the interaction is in fact dynamic, fluid, and locally managed on a turn-by-turn basis” (p. 62), and concludes that “the IRF/IRE cycles perform different interactional and pedagogical work according to the context in which they are operating” (p. 63). Thus, although the IRF/E pattern seems to be a strong descriptive format in classroom interaction, it remains a description of a type of sequential organization, but does not describe the interactional work that the format accomplishes. Similarly, Arminen (2005: 124) notes that the IRF/E format “forms the basic module for the maintenance of

intersubjective understanding”, while dealing exclusively with the format from a communicative perspective rather than a pedagogical one. Seedhouse criticizes that the description of the IRF/E format is tied to the analytic assumption that participants make one move at the time – that each turn accomplishes one action only (Seedhouse 2004: 57). He argues that in order to describe student participation we need to look in detail at how participation is organized as a moment-to-moment concern for the participants themselves (see also Hellermann 2005; Markee 2000). Rather than describing sequential structures we must look in detail at the ACTIONS that participants perform, and how they MANAGE classroom interaction locally. To accomplish this aim, several researchers have analyzed *turn-taking organization* in classroom interaction. This line of research approaches participation from the participants' own perspective, and analyzes the turn-by-turn organization of classroom interaction from a communicative (and sociological, see chapter 4) perspective rather than a pedagogical perspective.

## 2.4 TURN-TAKING ORGANIZATION

*Turn-taking organization* is a central finding of social interaction in particular within the methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA), which will be described in chapter 4. At this point, however, the description of turn-taking organization will not be related to methodological discussions, but it will be described as the “machinery” (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 293) underlying social interaction. Before turning towards a detailed microanalysis of turn-taking in classroom interaction a description of the machinery itself, *turn-taking organization*, may be beneficial.

The seminal article, *A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation* by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), sets out to describe the basic observations that overwhelmingly one party talks at a time and that transition between speakers (overwhelmingly) is accomplished with only brief pauses or overlaps.<sup>4</sup> To analyze how this is accomplished they describe a linguistic component, a sociological component, and a set of rules that combine them. In this way, turn-taking organization

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<sup>4</sup> The use of *overwhelmingly* does not relate to statistical evidence, but rather as a social norm (see e.g., Schegloff 1993). See also chapter 4.4.1.

describes the machinery on the basis of which speakers participate in interaction in an “orderly” fashion (see chapter 4).

#### **2.4.1 The linguistic component**

The linguistic component describes *turn-constructive units* (TCUs), which are the basic building blocks of turns. A TCU can range from a single word, e.g. *yes*, to a full sentence, and Sacks et al. distinguish between lexical, clausal, phrasal and sentential TCUs in English (Sacks et al. 1974: 702). TCUs are recognizable complete units, but TCU-completion is not specified in advance, but is interactively negotiated during its production. However, co-participants can PROJECT when a TCU has reached a possible completion in relation to syntax (Schegloff 1996), pragmatics (i.e. “action”), intonation (Ford and Thompson 1996), gaze (Hayashi 2005), gesture (Klippi 2006; Laursen 2002; Mori and Hayashi 2006), and body posture (Kendon 1990b, 1990 [1985]; Schegloff 1998). This aspect has through the years been described profoundly by linguists, or at least people interested in the relationship between interaction, grammar and/or prosody (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996; Lindström 2006; Schegloff 1996; Selting 2000; Steensig 2001), and constitutes fundamental contributions to the understanding of the turn-taking organization and the social interactive nature of conversation.

When a TCU comes to a possible completion, i.e. when it can be heard (and seen) as being syntactically, pragmatically, prosodically and visibly complete, turn-transition is relevant. However, the co-participant(s) do not act upon the actual completion of a TCU, but rather when a possible completion can be PROJECTED. In multiparty interaction this is especially relevant, since several participants may be possible next-speakers, and a speaker wanting a turn-at-talk may start when the prior speaker is projecting a possible completion of the current TCU. The new-speaker's turn-beginning may therefore be initiated in overlap with the prior speaker (e.g., Jefferson 1984; Schegloff 1987, 2000a).

#### **2.4.2 The sociological component**

The sociological component describes how transition between speakers is organized. Either the *current speaker selects next-speaker* (see e.g., Lerner 2003) or the next-speaker

*self-selects* as next-speaker. The rules, which combine the two components, are as follows:

(1) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit:

(a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a “current speaker selects next” technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place.

(b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a “current speaker selects next” technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place.

(c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a “current speaker selects next” technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c re-applies at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected (Sacks et al. 1974: 704).

It is important to note, that the turn-taking organization is related to CONVERSATION as a specific type of talk-in-interaction and that this might vary in other types of talk-in-interaction. With this in mind, I will now return to classroom interaction, and show how turn-taking has been described from this perspective.

### 2.4.3 Turn-taking in classroom interaction

The first researcher within classroom research to take up Sacks et al.'s (1974) study was Alexander McHoul,<sup>5</sup> who in 1978, at roughly the same time as Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) and Mehan's (1979) studies, published the article *The Organization of Turns at Formal Talk in the Classroom* (McHoul 1978). Before describing McHoul's analyses,

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<sup>5</sup> In a similar way, McHoul (1990) modifies the description of *repair* by Schegloff et al. (1977) to classroom interaction. His study has recently been taken up and critically discussed by Macbeth (2004).

two things must be noted. (i) McHoul does not deal with second/foreign language classrooms, but with recordings from an English comprehensive school. This means that the focus of the lesson is not on the language that is used, as the case in many second/foreign language classrooms. (ii) McHoul describes turn-taking organization during FORMAL TALK in the classroom, i.e. teacher-fronted plenary interaction. He shows how the participants in the classroom have different participation rights in terms of their institutional roles of teacher and student. McHoul takes his departure in the idea of a continuum of speech-exchange systems, which was put forward by Sacks et al., where *conversation* occupies the one polar end with equal participation rights. He describes that the following rules apply to formal classroom interaction:

(I) For any teacher's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructural unit:

(A) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to a single student; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

(B) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then current speaker (the teacher) must continue.

(II) If I(A) is effected, for any student-so-selected's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructural unit:

(A) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to the teacher; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

(B) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then self-selection for next speaker may, but need not, be instituted with the teacher as first starter and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place.

(C) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then current speaker (the student), may, but need not, continue unless the teacher self-selects.

(III) For any teacher's turn, of, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructural unit either I(A) has not operated or I(B) has operated and the teacher has continued, the rule-set I(A)-I(B) re-applies at

the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to a student is effected.

(IV) For any student's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructive unit neither II(A) nor II(B) has operated, and, following the provision of II(C), current speaker (the student) has continued, then the rule-set II(A)-II(C) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to the teacher is effected (McHoul 1978: 188).

Although this may apply for traditionally organized teacher-fronted classroom interaction, it does not describe the variety of *classroom talks* (Markee and Kasper 2004) that may be found within the classroom. Lately, other CA researchers have described turn-taking in second/foreign language classrooms (Hellermann 2005; Markee 2000; Seedhouse 2004). Markee (2000: 97f.) provides a list of modifications to Sacks et al.'s description. Specifically, he notes that (traditional) classrooms tend to involve (i) a higher degree of *pre-allocation of turns*, (ii) a frequent production of *choral talk*, (iii) *multi-unit turns* by teachers, (iv) students are often required to produce *elaborated, sentence-length turns*, (v) *fixed timing* of the lesson, and (vi) *predetermination of content* of the lessons in forms of the lesson plan. However, these modifications do not describe all language classroom contexts, nor are they specifically related to classrooms. For instance, Lerner (2002; see also Margutti 2006) shows how turns may be produced chorally (see chapter 2.6), though this is not exclusively related to classroom interaction.

Seedhouse (2004) shows how turn-taking is organized differently depending on the pedagogical activities (*form-and-accuracy, meaning-and-fluency, tasks, and procedural contexts*). He shows how turn-taking and the pedagogical aim are reflexively organized – when the pedagogical aim changes, the turn-taking changes accordingly. In this way, student participation depends on the teacher's pedagogical aim of the current activity. It may be restricted to produce short answers by using specific linguistic forms (during *form-and-accuracy* contexts), or turn-taking organization may be organized on a locally moment-to-moment basis (during *meaning-and-fluency* contexts).

#### 2.4.4 Turn-allocation in classroom interaction

Turn-allocation has received a substantial degree of attention in the classroom interaction literature. Among the traditional findings is that students' access to the plenary interaction is limited since students are only allowed to speak when nominated by the teacher or by requesting a turn-at-talk, e.g. through hand-raising (Sahlström 1999). This is so because it is assumed that “only teachers can direct speakership in any creative way” (McHoul 1978: 188). Therefore, as Jordan (1990: 1154) notes, student self-selection occurs with a “low incidence”.

Classroom turn-allocation practices have been criticized for not providing students with the opportunity to negotiate turn-taking on a locally (i.e. “conversation-like”) basis, and hence not providing students opportunities to practice these techniques in the classroom (e.g., Lörcher 1982). The argument for teacher allocation is described in a recent study by Paoletti and Fele (2004). They describe how the teacher manages the allocation of turns to “maintain order” in the classroom, e.g. to avoid overlapping students' turns. They describe the teacher's problem about managing turn-allocation as a balance between constraining students' participation and maintaining order:

[o]n the one hand, teacher control over turn taking restricts students' participation [...]. On the other hand, the teacher has the duty to guarantee equal participation by all students and the orderly development of classroom activities (Paoletti and Fele 2004: 78).

However, we still know very little about how teacher allocation constrains students' participation, and whether this, in fact, excludes the students. Nor do we know whether and how allowing students to manage or take part in turn-allocation provides opportunities for the individual student as well as their classmates. In relation to self-selection, only a few classroom interaction studies (to my knowledge) deal explicitly with students' self-selection during plenary lessons. Orletti (1981) finds “almost complete exclusion of [student] self-selection” (p. 533). However, she finds student self-selection in two sequential positions. Either when another student has been allocated the turn, and a classmate self-selects during a gap, i.e. a TCU internal pause, in the student's turn. Or when the student self-selects and initiates a new interactional sequence. Both descriptions

deal with intersubjectivity (see chapter 4.2.1) and are not in any way specific for classroom interaction. Jordan's (1990) study of Spanish-as-a-foreign-language-classrooms analyzes which resources students rely on to self-select, and she finds that discourse markers, *pero* (but) and *entonces* (then), are frequently used to initiate self-selected turns.

Sahlström (1999; 2002) describes student self-selection as a way of displaying participation in the ongoing (“official”) plenary interaction. He describes turn-taking as an economy of classroom interaction. On one hand, self-selection is an effective way for getting a turn-at-talk for the individual student. On the other hand,

the price that is to be paid for self-selection is that, as a device for organizing participation, it provides larger opportunities only for some students, while at the same time affording other students smaller possibilities for participation in the plenary interaction (Sahlström 1999: 124, emphasis in original).

In this way, although creating and managing classroom organization as to provide the students the opportunities for self-selecting, it constrains the participation of some students. In Mortensen II this finding is confirmed. Here I find that when the classroom is organized to allow the students to self-select and manage the ongoing task only few students seem to self-select, and thus take the opportunity for participating in the way that is facilitated by the teacher. The classroom therefore creates *affordances*<sup>6</sup> as well as constraints for the students by organizing the classroom in a certain way, and these affordances and constraints can be described and analyzed in terms of participation. Through a “teacher selects next”-technique, for instance, the teacher attempts to secure a more or less equal distribution of turns. However, we do not yet know whether this in fact DOES provide students with equal opportunities, and how this effects the participation of the other students.

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<sup>6</sup> The notion of *affordance* was originally put forward by Gibson (1977). He defines it as “the affordance of anything is a specific combination of the properties of its substance and its surfaces taken with reference to an animal” (Gibson 1977: 67).

In order to describe this, we must look at how participation is organized, and how different ways of organizing classroom activities provide students with opportunities for participation. Previously in this chapter, I have described turn-taking as a way of analyzing how interaction unfolds on a moment-to-moment basis. However, turn-taking organization focuses (primarily) on verbal talk. Since the classroom may be organized as to allow for “one speaker talks at a time” we may not (necessarily) capture how non-speaking students participate in the lesson, and how, or if, they participate in the ongoing activities. To describe participation in a multiparty setting, like the second language classroom, it may be beneficial to include analyses of students' actions, which may include non-verbal aspects. In the following paragraphs, I will argue for a dynamic approach to participation, which takes into account sequentially verbal as well as visual resources that participants rely on in and through interaction.

## 2.5 PARTICIPATION AND/IN INTERACTION

According to CA, talk-in-interaction is, in a sense, about participating in a relevant and orderly fashion. One of the most solid findings of CA is that interaction is co-constructed between the participants. This occurs at several “levels” of interaction. For instance, whether something can be defined as 'a question' or not does not depend on *a priori* categories of linguistic aspects, but on how the participants treat it, i.e. the INTERSUBJECTIVE UNDERSTANDING (see chapter 4.2.1). On the other hand, *story telling* and other kinds of *multi-unit turns* are not performed by the “teller” in isolation. Rather, it is a social practice where both/all participants contribute to the telling. For instance, a large amount of research has revealed how story recipients produce *continuers* (Jefferson 1985; Schegloff 1982), *assessments* (Goodwin 1986), as well as visual aspects (Goodwin 2006, 2007; Goodwin and Goodwin 2005) to display that they are “doing listening”, and these displays are crucial for the story telling.

A view on interaction as accomplished between the participants is, in this way, at the very heart of CA, and to extend this further at this point would probably result in (the impossible quest) to review the entire CA literature! Rather, I will turn to a specific line of research within CA that specifically deals with how participants use their entire bodies

to organize and display their participation. These studies adopt a somewhat (linguistic) anthropological approach, using CA methodology, and put emphasis on how participants rely on gaze, gesture, body posture and objects in/and the surrounding, as relevant for the participants' ongoing course of action, and hence resources that are available to the analyst (see e.g., Stivers and Sidnell 2005).<sup>7</sup> In relation to the organization of participation, this research follows Goffman's notion of *participation framework* (e.g., Goffman 1981 [1979]), which he used to describe the roles participants occupy in interaction.

### **2.5.1. Goffman's Participation Framework**

Goffman was interested in how participants in *social encounters* (e.g., Goffman 1963a, 1967) take up various roles within the interaction. He criticized the dualistic distinction between “speaker” and “hearer” for being too simplistic to adequately describe the dynamic aspect of interaction. Instead, he introduced the terms *production format* and *participation framework* (see in particular Goffman 1981 [1979]). He further divided production format into *author*, *animator* and *principal*. This seems especially relevant in relation to reported speech (e.g., Goodwin 2006), where the participant reporting the past event is not necessarily the same as the participant, who is being reported about. Similarly, participation framework describes different roles of “hearers” according to whether the hearer is the main addressee or not, and whether (s)he is a ratified participant or not. In this way, Goffman described a TYPOLOGY of participation roles in relation to the relationship between the participants, in which the participants display their engagement in the interaction as well as their stance towards it, i.e. *footing* (e.g., Goffman 1981 [1979]; see also Hutchby 1999). In this way, an activity involves a continuing negotiation of the participation roles:

A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frames of events (Goffman 1981 [1979]: 128).

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<sup>7</sup> Compare Gumperz' (1982) notion of *contextualization cues*.

Goffman's notion of participation framework has been developed further, and provides an analytic framework for analyzing how participants display their understanding of the interaction from different perspectives, and in this way they contribute to the social understanding of the ongoing course of action. In this way,

participation is a demonstrative social role, where each kind of participant role requires a particular kind of appropriate display by its incumbent (Levinson 1988: 178).

However, whereas Goffman approached participation by providing a typology for participation roles, other researchers (e.g., Goodwin 2006; Goodwin and Goodwin 2005; Hanks 1996; Irvine 1996; Levinson 1988), have approached participation as the sustained engagement in a collaborative course of action:<sup>8</sup>

To make sense of what people do as members of particular groups –and to be members of such groups- means to understand not only what one person says to another, but how speaking and non-speaking participants coordinate their actions, including verbal acts, to constitute themselves and each other in particular spatio-temporally fluid but bounded units (Duranti 1997: 329).

Researchers within this perspective talk about an “ecology of sign systems” (Goodwin 2003c), and emphasize that the various semiotic systems do not “add on”, “supplement” or “modify” the meaning construction of the performed action, but that it is exactly the ECOLOGY of the different semiotic systems IN COORDINATION with each other in a specific sequential environment that perform the social actions:

Central to [face-to-face interaction] [is] socially organized, interactively sustained configurations of multiple participants who use the public visibility of the actions being performed by each others' bodies, the

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<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that Goffman himself moved towards this understanding of *participation* in the later part of his career as evidenced in this quote: “When in each other's presence individuals are admirably placed to share a joint focus of attention, perceive that they do so, and perceive this perceiving. This, in conjunction with their capacity to indicate their own courses of physical action and to rapidly convey reactions to such indications from others, provides the precondition for something crucial: the sustained, intimate, coordination of action, whether in support of closely collaborative tasks or as a means of accommodating closely adjacent ones” (Goffman 1983: 3, emphasis added).

unfolding sequential organization of their talk, and semiotic structure in the settings they inhabit to organize courses of action in concert with each other (Goodwin 2000a: 1518).

Looking at participation in this way includes looking at the various resources people invoke, including verbal talk, as part of conducting social actions, since “the natural home of speech is one in which speech is not always present” (Goffman 1964: 65). This perspective contrasts much linguistic and communication research, as well as the analytic approach that is necessary since

a student interested in the properties of speech may find himself having to look at the physical setting in which the speaker performs his gestures, simply because you cannot describe a gesture fully without reference to the extra-bodily environment in which it occurs (Goffman 1964: 134).

### 2.5.2 Multiparty interaction

Of interest to the present purpose is a number of studies that deal with participation in MULTIPARTY INTERACTIONS. One problem that is especially relevant in multiparty interaction as opposed to two-party interaction is how the participants negotiate who is present speaker,<sup>9</sup> who (s)he is addressing as the primary recipient, and whether the participants are engaged in the “same” interaction or if the interaction has been slip up into several interactions, i.e. *schisming* (Egbert 1993, 1997). Kendon asks

[s]hould any of [the participants in multi-party interaction] speak, how can the speaker know that his intended recipient is ready to receive his utterance, and how do the other participants know for whom the utterance is intended? (Kendon 1990 [1985]: 242).

In a number of related articles, collectively (re-)published in *Conducting Interaction* (Kendon 1990a), Kendon (1990b; 1990 [1970]; 1990 [1985]) provides fascinating accounts of how people display whether and how they are engaged in the interaction. He describes this through the *transactional segment* that is displayed through the participants' body orientation. The human body, he argues, consists of hierarchically

<sup>9</sup> Schegloff (1995) notes that whereas two party interaction is organized as an ABABAB... pattern, for three party interaction the pattern is not ABCABC... “nor does there appear to be any determinate or formulaic pattern for three or more [participants]” (Schegloff 1995: 32).

organized parts, which are able to twist (more or less) independently around the same vertical axis. For instance, even though the lower part of the body is facing in one direction, the torso is able to turn towards a different direction, and the head and the eyes in yet another. The main idea about the transactional segment is that the lower part of the body is the most permanent one, and displays the participant's enduring display of engagement. The eyes, however, are more flexible and allow the participant to turn towards an immediate focus of attention, while still displaying a more permanent orientation through the lower part of the body. For instance, while seated in a theater the participants are (through the physical position of the chairs in relation of the stage) orienting towards the actors, the stage etc. as the locus of the primary action. Yet, it is possible for a participant to turn towards the person sitting in the next seat –or even in the row behind him/her- and address him/her while maintaining the lower part of the body towards the stage. Kendon did not analyze naturally occurring face-to-face interaction from the participants' own perspective, but his idea about the transactional segment has been adopted by e.g. Schegloff (1998) who analyzes how participants are able to project TCU completions through body orientation. In this way, participation involves participants' whole bodies, and this must be included in the analysis of student participation. However, this perspective is only present in a minority of classroom interaction studies.

### **2.5.3 Multimodality and participation**

By far, the vast amount of classroom interaction research refers exclusively to verbal talk when they refer to student participation. However, it is possible to find a few studies from social semiotics (e.g., Bourne and Jewitt 2003; Kress et al. 2001) and CA perspectives (e.g., Hellermann and Cole forth.; Sahlström 1999; Szymanski 1999) that look at visual and multimodal aspects as well. A reason for this seems to be that many classroom studies depart in second language acquisition, or second/foreign language pedagogy from a SLA perspective (see chapter 3.3.2), where students are supposed to acquire the LINGUISTIC structures of the second/foreign language, and students' verbal participation

is therefore of a PRACTICAL concern for the teacher.<sup>10</sup> These studies tend to be focused primarily on verbal language, which leads Lazaraton (2004: 80) to pose the question “why do studies of [SLA] not highlight nonvocal activities?”. This is not entirely accurate. Some studies do analyze visual aspects, primarily gesture, from a cognitive (e.g., Gullberg 2006a; 2006b) or sociocultural perspective (e.g., McCafferty 2002), although, once again, they constitute only a small amount.

One classroom interaction study that deals with visual aspects of interaction is Sahlström's (1999) study of student participation in Swedish classrooms. From a CA perspective, he analyzes two ways through which students can display participation in the plenary interaction – hand-raising and self-selection. He finds that

self-selection compared to hand-raising as a way of allocating public turns is more effective, from the individual's point of view, but from the point of view of allowing many different students into the public discourse, it is markedly less effective (Sahlström 1999: 123).

This is so, because whereas self-selecting students have good chances for getting the turn-at-talk as compared to hand-raising, at the same time it constrains the participation of the classmates, since only one student is (normally) allowed to talk at a time.

Sahlström, as one of few classroom interaction studies, follows a specific line of research that reveals the multimodal resources people rely on in the sense-making of peoples' social lives.<sup>11</sup> Several studies have shown how *gesture* (e.g., Goodwin 2000b, 2003b; Klippi 2006; Laursen 2002; Mondada 2007; Schegloff 1984; Streeck 1993, 1994), *gaze* (e.g., Carroll 2004; Goodwin 1981, 1994, 2001; Haddington 2006; Kidwell 1997, 2005; Lerner 2003; Robinson 1998), and *body (posture or change)* (e.g., Goodwin 2000a,

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<sup>10</sup> For instance, the literature often talks about students' ACTIVE PARTICIPATION, typically during peer or group work (e.g., Ohta 2001). This does normally refer to asking and answering questions, initiating (sequences of) verbal action, group/peer work etc.

<sup>11</sup> In this way, this line of research is fundamentally different from a social semiotic approach, that now works under the heading *multimodality* (Kress and Leeuwen 2001; Norris 2004; Norris and Jones 2005) since it does not make sense to describe the *modalities* separately because the action is accomplished through the interplay between them (see e.g., Stivers and Sidnell 2005).

2003c; Heath 1986; Schegloff 1998; Szymanski 1999), as well as physical *objects in/and the surroundings* (e.g., Goodwin 2002; Heath and Luff 1992a, b; Hindmarsh and Heath 2003; Keating and Mirus 2003; Nevile 2004; Rae 2001) are used as resources and made relevant by the participants to perform social actions, and thus contribute to the ongoing interaction they are engaged in. This perspective provides another way of approaching classroom interaction. Not only does the focus include visual/multimodal resources such as gesture, gaze and posture. But more importantly, it provides analytic tools for analyzing how the participants themselves understand the situation in which they are engaged, and how the ongoing activities are collaboratively organized. In relation to plenary interaction, the analyses may focus on the ways in which the teacher sets up frames for student participation, not only in terms of what they are encouraged to do, but also how to do it, and how the students understand and orient to the relevant required participation.

## 2.6 STUDENTS AS INDIVIDUALS OR AS COLLECTIVE GROUP

Since the early classroom studies that primarily analyzed the overall structure of classroom interaction, there has been the (implicit or explicit) finding that turns-at-talk are organized in forms of teacher-student-teacher-student cycles.<sup>12</sup> For instance, Orletti (1981) describes that

the alternation of turns is predetermined by the social roles of the persons concerned, and the aims of the interaction, and that the negotiation of these roles within the interaction [through teacher-student-teacher-student exchanges] tends to re-establish the former asymmetry (Orletti 1981: 541).

There is thus a structural difference between on the one hand the students as individuals, and on the other the individual student as part of a collectivity. Research with CA has made a fundamental analytic distinction between *participant* and *party*, where the latter may consist of several participants who act as one speaking party (Goodwin 1984; Lerner 1993; Schegloff 1995). For instance, Lerner (1993) shows how a speaker can design a

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<sup>12</sup> In this way, the turn-taking organization in classroom interaction is different from ordinary multiparty interaction as described by Sacks et al. (1974). See McHoul's (1978) description of turn-taking in classroom interaction (chapter 2.4.3).

turn as to provide for *conjoined participation* by several speakers in the next-turn, e.g. in forms of choral response (see also Lerner 1995, 2002). Sahlström (1999: 82) describes this collective speaking *party* with the capitalized *the Student*, which will be used as such in the following. Payne and Hustler (1980) suggest that the teacher handles students as a collective party, what they refer to as a *cohort*, to maintain order or orderliness in the classroom. This difference constitutes a significant challenge for teacher as well as students in relation to student participation since, as Hammersley (1990) notes,

[t]he teacher provides for pupil participation by asking questions. However, problems necessarily arise since only one slot is provided for the participation of a large number of pupils. Potentially, some [x number of] speakers are competing for one answer slot (Hammersley 1990: 16).

Sahlström's (1999) study on student hand-raising as a way of displaying participation in the ongoing lesson finds that what matters for the teacher is not the hand-raising of the individual students, but that the collective group *Student* displays participation. More specifically, he finds that when only one, or a few, students raise their hands following a teacher question, the teacher frequently delays next-speaker selection and expands or modifies the turn to allow for more students to display participation in the lesson. This has serious consequences for the (verbal) participation of the (individual) student, since whereas the teacher can be expected to produce every other turn-at-talk the student cannot, since (s)he is “fighting” with his/her classmates to have a turn-at-talk (Sahlström 1999: 82ff.). Analytically, this has consequences in relation to student participation since, as argued in the previous paragraphs, students are primarily analyzed as a single party. However, as Sahlström's study shows, the participation of the single student constrains the participation of the other students. Therefore, he argues,

[t]o understand the action of a student in the classroom, it is thus not sufficient to analyze the actions of this individual in relation to teacher actions [...]. Rather, one has to contextualize the individual actions in relation to other co-occurring actions, which all take part in constituting the plenary dialogue between the teacher and the students (Sahlström 1999: 173).

In this way, student participation needs to be analyzed not just in relation to the actions of the teacher, but also in relation to the other students.

## 2.7 PLENARY AND “OFFICIAL” CLASSROOM INTERACTION

As the previous paragraphs have exemplified, most prior classroom interaction research has been conducted from the teacher's perspective and focused on the “official” part of the lesson, i.e. what Koole (2007) calls the *central activity* of the lesson. As a result, only a minority of studies has described students' actions that do not occur in (official) interaction with the teacher. This is unfortunate, since studies that focus on (the actions of) the teacher miss students' understanding and perception of their own participation, as well as the complexity of the multiparty settings that characterizes the (language) classroom. Sahlström (1999: 22) notes that student-oriented studies often “more or less contradict the more widespread findings of the teacher-oriented research”, and thus provide another dynamic window into classroom interaction. What characterizes student-oriented studies like Alton-Lee et al. (1993), Bloome and Theodorou (1988), Ohta (2000) and Philips (1972), as well as a range of studies conducted from a CA perspective (e.g., Hellermann 2007, 2008; Kasper 2004; Koole 2007; Macbeth 2004; Markee 2000; Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Mori 2002; Sahlström 1999; Seedhouse 2004; Szymanski 2003) is that they reveal the complexity of the classroom as a multimodal site for social action, which is accomplished sequentially as well as serially. Rather than a single multiparty interaction between the teacher and the students, the ways in which classroom interaction is understood varies from participant to participant (see also Green et al. 1988). In this way, students may have different views of the ongoing action(s), and these actions form a complex set of interrelated actions.

A few studies deal explicitly with the relation between simultaneous activities in the classroom. Koole (2007) analyzes how students display an orientation towards the *central activity*, i.e. the activity in which the teacher is involved, even though they are engaged in *parallel activities*. In a somewhat similar study, Markee (2005: 197) initiates his article by asking the analytically challenging question: “How do we know when second/foreign language (S/FL) learners are 'off-task' during small group work?”. Although this might seem fairly obvious (e.g. “what do the students talk about?”), it nonetheless constitutes a methodological challenge to the analyst. As it commonly is done in CA studies, Markee answers this question by looking at the participants' own understanding of whether or not

they are on or off task. He finds that off-task occurs in the boundary between activities, and that students nonetheless orient to the activities that the teacher accomplishes.

A specific line of research, conducted under the heading of *sociocultural theory* (e.g., Lantolf 2000b; Lantolf and Thorne 2006), adopts the Vygotskian notion of *private speech* to the study of classroom interaction (see in particular Ohta 2000, 2001). By using individual microphones Ohta gains access to students' individual participation during the classroom lesson, and finds that students, through the use of private speech, are far from passive even though they are not “officially” engaged in the ongoing lesson in terms of interaction with the teacher. She finds that private speech is a way of dealing with the limited opportunities for participation with the teacher, and that students creatively use private speech in different ways, e.g., in repair-sequences.

In this way, although the majority of classroom interaction research focuses on teachers, an increasing amount of research focus on students during plenary interaction as well as peer and group work. One of the most crucial findings is a description of the complexity of students' “unofficial” activities during interactions in which the teacher is not participating. These descriptions extend our knowledge of the social organization of the classroom, and how participants do not (necessarily) orient to the ongoing activities in the same way. Not only can the classroom be described as a complex multiparty setting, but more important from a pedagogical point of view is that the participants have different understandings of the ongoing lesson, and participate in different ways. In a discussion about changes in classroom organization from the 1970s to the 1990s, Lindblad and Sahlström (ms.) describe changes in the classroom interaction research literature. They find significant differences in relation to<sup>13</sup>

(1) research interests

- (a) a view on learning from transfer of information to learning as participation,
- (b) a change from taking the teacher's perspective towards that of the students,
- (c) a change from teacher training driven research towards an aim for understanding social action

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<sup>13</sup> Adopted and slightly modified from Sahlström (2006).

- (2) fieldwork and technology,
  - (a) from audio to video recordings
  - (b) from teacher/class mike to several cameras
  - (c) observation schemas to ethnographies
  
- (3) representation of data material,
  - (a) detailed transcripts
  - (b) transcription of non-verbal aspects
  - (c) from teacher talk to student-student talk
  
- (4) the view on context
  - (a) from global to local perspectives
  - (b) from social structures to organization of participation

These factors do not, according to Lindblad and Sahlström, account for all the findings in the more recent classroom interaction research. For instance, they acknowledge that the classrooms of the 1990s (and possibly also the 2000s) contain significantly more group or peer interaction and consequently less teacher-fronted lessons than in the 1970s. However, it is at least possible that with the “right” technological equipment, i.e. several video and audio recorders, the studies of the 1970s would probably also have found a higher degree of student participation during “teacher-fronted” interaction. In this way, they describe an interrelation between theory, technology and results (cf. e.g., Goodwin 1994; Mondada 2006, see below).

Despite the observed change towards group or peer work, a large amount of classroom interaction is still organized as plenary activities. Thornborrow (2002: 115f.) relates this to teachers' potential “loss of control” during group or peer work. By far the majority of the video recordings that form the database for this dissertation can be described as plenary interaction. In this way, the teacher occupies an important role in MANAGING how the lesson and the activities within the lesson are organized, and thus facilitates different kinds of participation by the students. In chapter 3, I will show how this participation is facilitated through the ways in which instructions are implemented in and through interaction, and how these instructions set up different interactional tasks for the students.

## 2.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have argued for a detailed participant centered approach to student participation, and proposed an emic perspective to do so. This approach looks at the moment-to-moment mutual orientation between the participants as the lesson unfolds through interaction. In particular, *turn-taking organization* was highlighted as relevant within this description. Similarly, I showed how the majority of previous classroom interaction research has focused on plenary interaction from the teacher's perspective, while only a small amount of research has been conducted on group or peer work and plenary interaction from the students' perspective. What these studies show is the individual student's perspective on the ongoing actions, which is not necessarily concurring with the "official" activity. Further, they document how students may have different understandings of the ongoing activities and thus relevant ways of participating in the lesson. In order to analyze classroom interaction from the students' own perspective(s), the details of participation must be understood in relation to not only the teacher, but also in relation to the other students in the classroom.

Further, the chapter argues that student participation must be approached in relation to classroom interaction as a communicative and interactional setting. This means that the analyses include descriptions of student participation without including learning and/or pedagogical concepts in the analysis, but rather that the analyses may SUBSEQUENTLY be related to discussions about learning and/or pedagogy. The analysis, then, may include not only verbal aspects, but also visual aspects such as gaze and gesture, since participants rely on these resources in and through their social interaction. The proposed approach thus provides a detailed and dynamic account of how to reveal the complexity of the classroom as a multiparty environment.

## CHAPTER 3

### INSTRUCTIONS

This chapter follows the thread from the previous chapter on *participation*. Here I describe how student participation is facilitated through the teacher's instructions. In this chapter, I show how the term *instruction* has been described and analyzed in the (second language) classroom literature, as well as how the concept has been incorporated in the classroom teaching literature. This review will prepare the ground for an “alternative” approach to instruction from a communicatively based perspective. In particular, *instructions* will be described from an interactional perspective, which views instructions in terms of *conditional relevance*, i.e. an action that constrains the co-participant(s) in relation to relevant next-actions.

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes how teachers facilitate and constrain student participation during the course of the lesson. However, from the beginning of this chapter, a note must be made about one of the key words in this dissertation (and the title of the present chapter) – *instruction*. Although (I assume) it is easily associated somehow to classrooms, it is used in, at least, two very different ways. The first one relates to the very nature of the language classroom. A common distinction in second language acquisition studies is to contrast the classroom with the “real world” outside of the classroom. Lightbown and Spada (2006: 109ff.) refer to this distinction as *natural* versus *instructional settings*. This distinction intends to describe the language that is used in the particular setting, and its (supposed) relation to language learning. As opposed to naturalistic settings, i.e. where language is used outside of school or other formal settings such as at work or in social/private settings, INSTRUCTIONAL settings refer to formal settings, most often in a classroom. In these situations, the focus, and in fact the very *raison d'être*, of the classroom is the second language, which is seen as both the aim and the medium of instruction. The distinction between naturalistic and instructional settings is not clear-cut. For instance, instructional settings may be designed as not to focus explicitly on linguistic structures, such as more communicatively oriented language teaching (although see Seedhouse 1996 for a critique of this perspective). The focus is not (explicitly) on the

second language, but on what the language is used to do, e.g. to discuss a written text, write a newspaper article or accomplish another kind of task. Immersion classrooms where math, biology and other courses are taught in the second language, do not focus explicitly on the second language of instruction, but on the topics that are taught THROUGH the second language. The distinction between naturalistic and instructional settings is descriptive rather than analytic, and does not (necessarily) account for what is going on within the particular setting. Although much of what goes on inside the classroom may be described as “teaching” or “learning” this cannot be assumed *a priori*, but has to be put under close analysis by the researcher.

On the other hand, *instructions* may be used to describe what teachers DO during the lesson, e.g. to explain how a task should be accomplished.<sup>1</sup> Instruction, in this sense, is related to pedagogy and teaching, and the ways in which teachers make students “do” something in a specific way. In this sense, instruction is highly institutional and intimately related to a pedagogical or educational perspective on how a person makes another person perform an action. Within communication studies this “action” of making someone do something is central and highly theoretically grounded. For instance, Searle (1969) in his discussion of *speech acts*, referred to *directives* as imposing some action on the “hearer”. I will return to the discussion of pedagogically versus communicative approaches to instructions later in this chapter.

In this chapter, I will discuss how, and if, teachers' instructions facilitate student participation. I will start by providing a brief account of *teaching methods* as a pedagogical construct for engaging students in interaction, and then move on to focus on a central aspect of instructions that have been central to research within (second language) classroom interaction and (second language) pedagogy – TASKS. I will then

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<sup>1</sup> One could argue that somewhere between these two views on instruction lies what Mehan (1979) calls “the instructional phase of the lesson”, by which he means “the heart of the lesson [during which] academic information is exchanged between teachers and students” (Mehan 1979: 36). In this dissertation, I focus on instructions as a communicative action that is accomplished locally, and do not intend to describe a “macro-structure” of classroom lessons.

propose an alternative view on instructions from an interactional perspective, i.e. a communicative rather than a pedagogical perspective. This includes the concept of *conditional relevance*, which will be related to sequence organization and turn-allocation. In relation to sequence organization, I will discuss a particular kind of classroom (or teacher) question – *display questions*.

### 3.2 TEACHING METHODS

Teaching methodologies or “methods” have traditionally been regarded as practical guides for teachers since they provide the teacher with sets of principles for teaching that incorporate recent research on pedagogy, language and communication, and (language) learning.<sup>2</sup> Language teaching methods have been described as consisting of various elements to describe the underlying theory of language and language learning, how these theories are related to classroom material, and how this material should be incorporated in the classroom. In this way, methods describe ways in which teachers manage classroom material, and how students are engaged in classroom activities. Anthony (1963) distinguished between *approach*, *method* and *technique*. A newer version within the same line is formulated by Richards and Rogers' (2001) framework under the terms *approach*, *design* and *procedure*. *Approach* refers to the underlying theories on language and language learning, on which the teaching is conducted. *Design* refers to the instructional system, e.g. what kinds of tasks are selected, and how the roles are distributed between teacher and students. By *procedure* they refer to

the actual moment-to-moment techniques, practices, and behaviors that operate in teaching a language according to a particular method [and] how [...] tasks and activities are integrated into lessons and used as the basis for teaching and learning (Richards and Rodgers 2001: 31, emphasis added).

In this way, they refer to ways of implementing activities in the class. The framework describes how the teacher turns the underlying theoretical assumptions about the nature of language and language learning into actual pedagogical and didactic “moves”. In this

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<sup>2</sup> I do not attempt to provide a detailed overview of the history of (second) language teaching methods. For this, I refer to volumes specifically dedicated to that matter (e.g., Kumaravadivelu 2006; Larsen-Freeman 2000; Richards and Rodgers 2001).

way, Richard and Rogers' framework provides a practical tool for teachers prior to entering the classroom. However, Seedhouse (e.g., 1996) criticizes the fundamental idea that pedagogical aims translate directly into classroom practice. His critique follows the arguments of an ethnographic interactional approach to language teaching (e.g., Mehan 1979; van Lier 1988), i.e. a more communicative based approach to classroom interaction.<sup>3</sup> The main critique is the implicit assumption of one-way communication, as formulated by e.g. Reddy (1979), in the classroom – that the teacher controls what happens in the classroom and how it happens. This reduces the students to passive recipients of the teacher's teaching with no influence on how lessons and activities are understood and carried out. However, although the teacher may manage classroom activities, this is done on the basis of interactional work between teacher and students. I will return to this discussion and its implications later in this chapter (see in particular chapter 3.3.4).

Today the most prominent teaching method is probably *communicative language learning* (e.g., Savignon 1972), although it is not clear what exactly defines communicative language learning and whether it can be defined as a teaching method at all (e.g., Nunan 1989a: 12). Following Hymes' (1972) notion of *communicative competence*, communicative language learning holds language use and interaction as central elements in language teaching, and argues that communication should be

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<sup>3</sup> A different line of research has recently questioned the concept of *method* by criticizing the relationship between theoretical perspectives and practical implications of methods from a post-modern perspective (e.g., Kumaravadivelu 2003; Kumaravadivelu 2006; Savignon 2007). For instance, Kumaravadivelu (2006) notes that

[t]he use of method as organizing principle for language learning and teaching is unfortunate because method is too inadequate and too limited to satisfactorily explain the complexity of language learning and teaching. By concentrating excessively on method, we have ignored several other factors that govern classroom processes and practices – factors such as teacher cognition, learner perception, societal needs, cultural contexts, political exigencies, economic imperatives, and institutional constraints, all of which are inextricably linked together (Kumaravadivelu 2006: 165).

“meaningful” rather than focusing on linguistic forms. In this regard, *tasks* have been found to be important ways of engaging students in interaction.

### 3.3 TASK

Since the 1970s, *task* has been an important concept in second language teaching as a means to engage students in interaction. Coming from the so-called communicative approach to language teaching and its reaction to more form-focused approaches, task-based language teaching<sup>4</sup> intends to focus on meaning and “normal” interactional language, i.e. language that is supposed to occur outside of the classroom. However, the definition of task varies from broad descriptions that do not necessarily include language,

I define [task] as a piece of work undertaken for oneself or for others, freely or for some reward. Thus, examples of tasks include painting a fence, dressing a child, filling out a form, buying a pair of shoes, making an airline reservation, borrowing a library book, taking a driving test, typing a letter, weighing a patient, sorting letters, taking a hotel reservation, writing a cheque, finding a street destination and helping someone across the street. In other words, by “task” is meant the hundred and one things people do in everyday life, at work, at play, and in between. “Tasks” are the things people will tell you they do if you ask them and they are not applied linguists (Long 1985: 89, emphasis in original),

to narrow descriptions that emphasizes specific classroom activities or a specific teaching methodology,

[a task is a]n activity which required learners to arrive at an outcome from given information through some process of thought and which allowed teachers to control and regulate that process (Prabhu 1987: 24).

This is reflected in different research paradigms and theoretical approaches to tasks. Bygate et al. (2001: 11) suggest that the “definitions of task will need to be different for the different purposes to which tasks are used”. They describe three interest fields for the study of tasks: teaching, learning and testing (see also Skehan 2003). Here I will focus

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<sup>4</sup> Skehan (2003) describes task-based language teaching as identical to communicative language teaching, but with a “change in label” in the 1980s. See also Kumaravadivelu (2006: 95).

exclusively on how task has been related to learning and teaching.<sup>5</sup> In relation to language teaching, the pedagogical notion of *task* is generally related to a teacher-initiated activity in the classroom, and that the activity therefore occurs in more or less formal settings as part of teaching. Tasks are thus seen as a means for engaging students in (meaningful) interaction, which often occurs in relation to group or peer work. In this way, tasks are seen as “the core unit of planning and instruction in language teaching” (Richards and Rodgers 2001: 223). Tasks can therefore be seen as setting up frames for student participation since they define what students should do and (possible) how they should do it.

Block (2003: 65ff.) proposes a distinction between a *SLA-approach* and a *socio-educational approach*, which is based on educational principles. These approaches represent different traditions and aims for language teaching. Whereas the former departs in SLA research, the latter is based primarily on pedagogy. In the following, I will expand this by briefly describing different approaches to tasks within SLA and in particular its relation to language teaching and pedagogy. Although the main focus for this dissertation is the pedagogical aspect of tasks, I will start by sketching task from (a) learning/SLA perspective(s), since a large amount of task-based language teaching follows research in SLA. Finally, I will describe a communicative/interactional approach to tasks, which will prepare the ground for the approach adopted in this dissertation.

### **3.3.1 A short history of *task* as a central concept in SLA**

Within SLA studies, *task* has been regarded as central to the LEARNING process. Within this line of research, tasks are seen as input to promote certain types of interaction and linguistic forms, which are supposed to lead to (or be) learning. The recognition of interaction and input as important to language learning opposed Chomsky's *universal grammar*, (e.g., Chomsky 1957), which dominated SLA through the 1960s and 1970s, and argued for the innateness of language. While Chomsky himself was primarily concerned with first language learning, others adopted and modified his ideas to second

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<sup>5</sup> For language testing, I refer to McNamara (1996), McNamara and Roever (2006), and Shohamy (2001).

language. One of them, and in relation to tasks probably the most important one, is Krashen (e.g., 1981), who in the late 1970s developed five hypotheses: (i) the acquisition-learning hypothesis,<sup>6</sup> (ii) the monitor hypothesis, (iii) the natural order hypothesis, (iv) the input hypothesis, and (v) the affective filter hypothesis. For the present purpose, I will only describe the input hypothesis.<sup>7</sup> According to the *input hypothesis*, learning occurs when the learner receives COMPREHENSIBLE INPUT in the second language, which is defined as the level just above the learner's current acquisition level. Krashen describes this as “i + 1”, where “i” is the current level and “1” is the next level in the learning process. No matter how imprecise and “theoretical” this hypothesis may be (how are we, for instance, supposed to know where “1” stops and “2” begins?), Krashen emphasizes input as a relevant factor in the learning process. This idea is further developed by Long (e.g., 1983) under *the interaction hypothesis*. Long argues that this input has to be NEGOTIATED between the learner and the co-participant in conversation. He argues, that the input has to be MODIFIED in order to be comprehensible, and this modification takes place via (i) comprehension checks, (ii) confirmation checks, (iii) clarification requests, and (iv) repetition. In this way, through interaction the learner participates in modifying the input (s)he needs in the learning process.

The interaction hypothesis has later been modified (Long 1996), and holds today a prominent position within SLA. The aim here is not to provide a detailed review of relevant findings within this approach. What needs to be emphasized in relation to the present purpose, is the view that

negotiation for meaning, and especially negotiation work that triggers interactional adjustments by the NS [native speaker] or more competent interlocutor, facilitates acquisition because it connects input, internal capacities, particularly selective attention, and output in productive ways (Long 1996: 451-2, emphasis in original),

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<sup>6</sup> According to Krashen, *acquisition* and *learning* refer to the unconscious vs. conscious process, respectively. I do not make such a distinction in this dissertation, and acquisition and learning will be used interchangeably without referring to Krashen's theories unless it is explicitly stated in the text.

<sup>7</sup> For a brief and comprehensive introduction to all five hypotheses, I refer to general introductions to SLA such as Mitchell and Myles (2004: 44-49).

i.e. the relationship between interaction, negotiation and learning. This assumption has been “applied” to second language teaching, and in particular the task-literature. In the following paragraph, I will show how this premise has been incorporated in task-design, according to which the task is supposed to stimulate a certain kind of interaction. This research thus follows closely research in SLA, and the interaction hypothesis in particular, and attempts to apply the analytical and theoretical insights into actual classroom teaching and teaching material.

### 3.3.2 “Applied SLA” – Second language teaching

The view on interaction and the modification of input as necessary for learning to take place has been applied to second language pedagogy primarily through the (pedagogical) notion of *task*. The strong focus on interaction and *negotiation of meaning*<sup>8</sup> has lead task designers and researchers to analyze how different types of tasks provide students with different opportunities for interacting. The underlying assumption is that

there is a close correlation between the task-as-workplan and the task-as-process<sup>9</sup> because the activity that results from the task-as-workplan is predictable from the design features of the task (Ellis 2000: 198, emphasis added).

Following Long (1983; 1985), task research has primarily been related to cognitive factors of the supposed learner output of the task (e.g., Robinson 2001; Skehan 2003). Several studies have revealed how tasks differ in complexity, for instance, how planning may influence the task outcome (e.g., Foster and Skehan 1999), and how familiarity with the task and peer affects the task (Plough and Gass 1993). However, this line of research focuses on the INTENDED outcome of a task, and that the way in which the task is designed is directly related to how students will actually deal with the task. Tasks are conceptualized as ways of making students/learners engage in specific interactional patterns, which are thought to be relevant to the learning process. In a discussion of a cognitive approach to task-based language teaching, Seedhouse is

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<sup>8</sup> Block (2003: 90, footnote) observes a change in terminology from “negotiation of meaning” to “negotiation *for* meaning”, and relates this to the recognition that “meaning is not out there [but has to be] co-construct[ed by the] interlocutors” (ibid.).

<sup>9</sup> For a description of task-as-workplan and task-as-process see chapter 3.3.3 below.

unable to locate any studies [in the task-based literature] which aim to demonstrate, by a holistic analysis of the interaction, the benefits of task-based interaction (Seedhouse 1999: 150, emphasis added).

Although it is possible today to find empirically based interactional studies on tasks (see for instance the 2004 special issue of the *Modern Language Journal* on classroom interaction from a CA perspective edited by Markee and Kasper (2004) as well as the review below), these studies still constitute a minority within the task-based literature. However, whether or how task-based instruction, or any other language teaching method for that matter, is beneficial for language learning is still unclear (e.g., Kumaravadivelu 2006). Task-based instruction relies on the assumptions that (i) students will engage in interaction according to the pedagogical instruction, and (ii) that this interaction facilitates (or is) learning. However, both these assumptions are questionable, since neither do students (necessarily) interact as intended by the teacher (e.g., Mori 2002), nor can learning (necessarily) be described as an outcome from these interactions (e.g., Firth and Wagner 1997). Rather than describing teaching methods, it may be more relevant (or productive) to describe the INTERACTIONS that students engage in, and how these interactions may provide opportunities for learning.

### **3.3.3 Socio-educational perspective**

In relation to second language pedagogy, another line of research takes a socio-educational or socio-cultural perspective.<sup>10</sup> From this approach, the concept of task is used in two different ways in relation to pedagogy and language teaching. It may serve as an element for CURRICULUM AND/OR SYLLABUS DESIGN, and thus as a way for how tasks are included into the broader planning of a course (e.g., Long and Crookes 1993; Nunan 1988a, b). This may be done with or without including the students. For instance, Candlin (e.g., 1987) talks about *curriculum guidelines* and *syllabus accounts*, in which the former refers to the teacher's theoretical assumptions and intentions for carrying out the lesson, and the latter refers to how this is turned into “joint plans of the teacher and learners”

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<sup>10</sup> For a recent critical comparison and discussion of the psycholinguistic and the socio-cultural approach to task, see Ellis (2000).

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(Candlin 1987: 5). Both Candlin (1987) and Breen (1987; 1989) argue for a type of task based instruction with the aim of

increase[ing] the students' capacity for communication rather [than] their declarative knowledge about the target language (Knight 2001: 160),

and argue for including both teacher and student in the task design.

Secondly, it may be described as a PEDAGOGICAL TOOL which is implemented in the second language classroom. In this regard, Breen (1987; 1989) makes a distinction between *task-as-workplan* and *task-in-process*.<sup>11</sup> By *task-as-workplan*, he refers to the teacher's intended pedagogy, i.e. how a given task is prepared prior to the lesson. On the other hand, *task-in-process* describes how the task is actually accomplished during the lesson.<sup>12</sup> This is highly dependent on the students' understanding and accomplishment of the task. Rather than looking at how a specific task is SUPPOSED to be carried out, the socio-cultural perspective looks at how tasks are actually accomplished by the learners. They argue that

participants always co-construct the activity they engage in, in accordance with their own socio-history and locally determined goals (Ellis 2000: 208).

Coughlan and Duff (1994) find that although several students are confronted with the “same” task, in terms of the formal task instruction, they deal with it differently. Further, even the same student may deal with the same task differently when presented with it at different points in time. Their main argument is to question the validity of using tasks as an experimental research construct, since the validity might be lost due to the participants' heterogeneous understanding of the “same” input. Along the same line is Ohta's (2001) comment on students' different experiences with classroom lessons and different learning output:

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<sup>11</sup> Additionally, Breen talks about *task-outcome* to refer to learner outcome. However, since this is more related to learning outcome I have not included it here.

<sup>12</sup> Ohta (2001: 234) makes a similar distinction. She refers to *task* as what the students are supposed to do, and *activity* to what they actually do.

What L2 students learn, even in the same classroom with the same teacher, is as variable as the different backgrounds and goals each brings to the classroom, as well as the different interactive processes in which each participates. Levels of language learning are dependent on the level of learner participation in the learning activities around them (Wong Fillmore, 1989). Two learners in the same classroom will learn different things depending on, among other things, how they engage with the affordances of the classroom setting (Ohta 2001: 3, emphasis in original).

This point is absolutely crucial in, and for, education. It explains why students (may) learn different things, even when in the same physical classroom, simply because through the way in which they participate in the lesson, they have different views and understandings of what goes on in the classroom. Although the classroom is designed to provide students with equal opportunities for participating, this participation is conceptualized and “oriented to” differently by the individual students (see e.g., Sahlström 1999). However, we still know very little about students' understanding of the ongoing lesson, and relevant ways of participating in the lesson. This is crucial if we want to understand how teaching facilitates learning in the (second language) classroom. One way to approach this is to look at how students actually accomplish tasks, and in this way approach task accomplishment as a communicative situation in its own right rather than a pedagogical concept.

### **3.3.4 Pedagogic intentionality**

One thing that characterizes the concept *task*, as it has been described in the previous paragraphs, is that it refers to a PEDAGOGICAL concept. For one thing, it is strongly related to the teacher and his/her planning and management of the lesson. Tasks are defined as something that is initiated BY the teacher, and have more or less formal properties. For instance, Nunan (1989a: 47) notes that in particular “goals, the input [...], the activities derived from the input, and [...] the roles implied for teacher and learners” are relevant parameters when designing tasks. He thus presupposes that tasks are (primarily) planned prior to the lesson, and (primarily) done by the teacher.<sup>13</sup> Task thus refers to a specific SET OF ACTIVITIES that the students should perform, and that the teacher has a specific pedagogical goal for assigning the task to the students. It takes on a

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<sup>13</sup> Although see Breen (1987; 1989) and Candlin (1987) above.

“macro perspective” in the sense that it is highly focused on the intended/expected output. What seems to combine the various definitions of task is that it is related to a WORKPLAN, and therefore to pedagogical aspects, rather than adopting an emic perspective to tasks and pedagogy in a broader sense (as suggested by e.g., Evaldsson et al. 2001; Seedhouse 1996, 1997, 1999, 2005b).

This is not meant as a critique of research conducted on tasks-as-workplan. For instance, workplans are important for designing task-based curricula (e.g., Nunan 1989a). This involves primarily the teacher and is (hopefully!) shaped by his/her conceptualization of learning and pedagogy, as well as constrained by external factors such as economic and (socio)political requirements imposed by the school, local community or national/regional legislation. However, this approach to tasks, and in a broader sense to top-down perspectives on pedagogy, has some implications. Two aspects will be commented at this point. (i) The underlying assumption that both teaching methods and tasks are based on INTENTIONALITY. (ii) This intentionality is adopted exclusively from the TEACHER'S PERSPECTIVE.

In relation to the first point, the majority of second language pedagogical research is based on intentionality (see Evaldsson et al. 2001 for same argument). Teaching methods include a package of assumptions about the nature of language and language learning, which is based on theoretical beliefs. The aim of teaching methods (as well as tasks as an instantiation of a particular teaching method) is to transfer the theoretical beliefs into classroom practice and interaction (see e.g., Seedhouse 1996). In this way, pedagogy is largely based on a theoretically based idea, according to how interaction SHOULD occur to facilitate opportunities for learning. However, teaching includes language use in a specific social context where not only the teacher, but also the students present participate. The teacher's intended aims may therefore not transfer directly into the classroom interaction, but may be understood differently by the students. Seedhouse (2004: 93) refers to a general assumption which underlies much second language pedagogy. He refers to this approach as a *landing-ground perspective* in which the task-as-workplan is assumed to transfer directly into actual communicative practice during the

lesson. For instance, although Richards and Rogers (2001) talk about the *procedure* for the implementation of teaching methods, they relate to “the actual moment-to-moment techniques, practices, and behaviors that operate in teaching a language according to a particular method” (2001: 31). By this they refer to the TEACHER'S MOVES during the lesson and thereby to a static, non-interactional approach to teaching. However, classroom lessons are not done by the teacher in isolation, but rely to a large extent on the participation of the students. Therefore, it might be fruitful to adopt a COMMUNICATIVE and INTERACTIONAL approach to task accomplishment, and use these analyses as the point of departure for pedagogical conclusions. This point is developed further below (chapter 3.3.5).

Secondly, the pedagogic intentionality is based exclusively on the teacher's assumptions. However, teacher and students have different perceptions of what classroom interaction looks like and how it takes place, as well as different perspectives and *frames of reference* (Johnson 1995) for being in the classroom. Whereas the teacher (normally) has professional knowledge of (second language acquisition and) pedagogy as well as critical reflection of his/her own prior teaching experiences, the students do not (necessarily) possess the same insights. Students rely overwhelmingly on *common sense knowledge* (Garfinkel 1967), i.e. what we as “members” know and take for granted, but do not question (see chapter 4), as well as previous experiences and understanding of “appropriate communicative behavior in [the] classroom” (Johnson 1995: 39). This difference in perspective is evident for instance during form-and-accuracy contexts, in which answers by the students' may be “correct” in terms of linguistic form (as well as interactionally/socially appropriate in relation to the teacher's question), but that this may not necessarily be accepted by the teacher if (s)he has a specific linguistic form “in mind” (see e.g., Seedhouse 2004: 58ff.). In this way, teacher and students react on the basis of different frames of reference, and with different rationales behind the ways in which they participate in the classroom. However, teaching methods and pedagogical tasks include exclusively the teacher's assumptions – primarily in terms of pedagogical and theoretical knowledge. Although several studies have called for an empirically driven communicative/interactional approach for some time (e.g., Kasper and Wagner 1989),

this line of research still occupies only a marginal part of second language pedagogy research (Evaldsson et al. 2001; Hall 2002; Lindblad and Sahlström 1998, ms.; Seedhouse 1996, 1997, 2005b). Recent research within this approach to interaction in pedagogical settings, deals with tasks, and does so from a communicative and interactional starting point rather than from pedagogical design.

### **3.3.5 Interactional approach**

The main idea underlying an interactional approach to tasks is that the *task-in-process* is to be regarded as a COMMUNICATIVE event rather than a pedagogical construct, since, as Florio and Schultz (1979: 235) note, “[i]nteraction is the medium in which both learning tasks are accomplished and mastery is demonstrated and inferred”. Similarly, as noted above, Evaldson et al. (2001) argue for a bottom-up approach to pedagogy – an approach that starts by looking at the interactional context in “formal learning situations”. This approach draws primarily on CA as the methodological framework and its social-constructivist perspective on language and the social world. The interactional approach to task is part of a larger critique of “traditional SLA” (Firth and Wagner 1997). Today, the interaction hypothesis holds a prominent position within current SLA research. However, it has been criticized from other approaches to SLA for having a weak and non-empirical perspective on communication (e.g., Block 2003; Firth and Wagner 1997, 1998, 2007; Markee 2000). For instance, Firth and Wagner (1997) criticize the easy distinction between acquisition and language USE for not being based on empirical evidence, and not a problem that the (second language) students (or other categorizations of non-native speakers) are faced with. Gass (1998) responds to this critique by saying that although SLA may benefit from research on non-native speaker language use, acquisition and use are to be seen as two different research fields, and that the latter cannot say anything about acquisition (in terms of cognitive development of linguistic structures) of the individual speaker (see also Long (1997) and Poulisse (1997) for responses from psycholinguistic SLA to Firth and Wagner's (1997) critique).

An aspect that has received intensive critique is the implicit view on “learner” as a relevant category, and the non-native speaker as a “defective communicator” (Firth and

Wagner 1997: 285). A large amount of research has shown that although non-native speakers may have limited linguistic resources, they are indeed effective communicators (e.g., Carroll 2000, 2004, 2005b; Egbert 2005; Gardner and Wagner 2004; Kurhila 2006). Similarly, the input hypothesis has been criticized for the individualistic approach to learning primarily from a Vygotskian approach in the shape of what is known as sociocultural theory (e.g., Hall 2002; Hall and Verplaetse 2000; Lantolf 2000b; Lantolf and Appel 1994), and conversation analysis (e.g., Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Firth and Wagner 1997; Seedhouse 2005a).<sup>14</sup> Both the sociocultural and the conversation analysis approach hold that learning cannot exclusively be seen as individualistic, but that it must be seen in social terms.<sup>15</sup>

Following this line of research, task is approached from an EMIC perspective – a task is something that the participants construct in and through interaction, and they continuously negotiate whether and how they are engaged in the task (e.g., Mori 2002; Szymanski 1999). This means that the focus of analysis is on the SOCIAL PRACTICES that participants use to perform the task. In this way, “basic” conversational tasks (in a broad sense of the word) such as openings (Hellermann 2007) and closings/disengagements of tasks (Hellermann and Cole forth.) are investigated since these are relevant tasks for the participants (Schegloff 1968; Schegloff and Sacks 1973), as well as providing the participants with important opportunities for learning the social practices of task accomplishment (Kasper 2004). For instance, in a recent article, Hellermann (2007) describes how students in an English as a second language classroom engage in task accomplishments. He shows how the students develop their interactional competences from engaging abruptly with the task to accomplish more smooth transitions.

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<sup>14</sup> Sfard (1998) summarizes these two general approaches to “learning” as either (cognitive/individualistic) *acquisition* or *participation*.

<sup>15</sup> The focus of this dissertation is not on second language acquisition, but I find this short review relevant to a pedagogical approach to “tasks” – an approach that draws on the input hypothesis and therefore takes its point of departure in SLA. For a further discussion on the input hypothesis versus social/”participatory” approaches to SLA, I refer to Block (2003) and Sfard (1998).

As part of the (relatively) new branch of SLA that adopts a CA framework to the study of SLA –“CA for SLA” (e.g., Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Firth and Wagner 1997, 1998; Firth and Wagner 2007; Hall 2002; He 2004; Hellermann 2008; Kasper 2004; Markee 2000, 2005; Mori 2004, 2007; Ohta 2001; Seedhouse 2005a), several studies take an interactional approach to task accomplishment, and its relation to learning (e.g., Kasper 2004; Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Mori 2004). Whether these studies deal with learning explicitly or not, they describe the social practices that learners/students are engaged in, and thus the opportunities that different classroom activities provide the students. For instance, Koshik (2002) shows how teachers in one-to-one instructional writing task conferences produce what she calls *designedly incomplete utterances*. She describes this as a pedagogical practice for prompting the student to self-repair. What these studies have in common, is that although they approach task accomplishment from a communicative rather than a pedagogical point of view, they all deal with settings where the teacher has initiated a pedagogical task.<sup>16</sup> Although they all agree, from their social-constructivist point of departure, that the students have to orient to the accomplishment of the task rather than relying on the teacher's formal instruction in order for the analyst to include it in the analysis, they deal with how FORMAL PEDAGOGICAL tasks are accomplished.<sup>17</sup> In the remainder of this chapter, I will extend the view of tasks as approached from a conversation analysis perspective, by not restricting it to *task-OCCASIONED interactions*, but to INTERACTIONAL TASKS more generally. In this way, tasks are not described in pedagogical terms, but in socio-interactional terms. This is described in relation to the participants' understanding of interactional tasks.

### 3.4 INTERACTIONAL TASKS – THE CONCEPT OF *CONDITIONAL RELEVANCE*

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have argued that the concept of task, and in a broader sense instruction, is primarily understood in PEDAGOGICAL terms rather than communicative, and that task is seen as a range of activities with some form of

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<sup>16</sup> Koshik's (2002) study does not describe the actual task accomplishment, but a post-task activity where the teacher is instructing and correcting the students' written text.

<sup>17</sup> Hellermann (personal communication) refers to *task-occasioned interactions* to describe interactions that are occasioned by the teacher's pedagogical instructions.

“meaningful” outcome. In this way, a basic feature of task is the INITIATING character of some future action or activity, and that this action should be accomplished in a specific way. This initiating character is fundamental to social interaction, although it is described and analyzed in a very different way. In this view, interaction is approached from an EMIC, i.e. participant oriented, perspective.

CA talks about INTERACTIONAL tasks, i.e. the tasks that participants themselves orient to as relevant during the course of interaction. According to CA, conversation, or more generally *talk-in-interaction*, is sequentially organized: “Meaning” is continuously negotiated turn-by-turn, and in and through a turn the participant displays his/her understanding of the prior turn. The link between some turns is particularly strong, and a turn can be said to make a particular next action CONDITIONALLY RELEVANT (e.g., Schegloff 1968; Schegloff and Sacks 1973). In the CA literature, this has particularly been related to *sequence organization*, which

scope is the organization of courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk – coherent, orderly, meaningful successions or “sequences” of actions or “moves” (Schegloff 2007: 2, emphasis added).

In the following paragraph, I will provide a brief description of *sequence organization*, which will show a specific way in which turns can be sequentially organized.

### 3.4.1 Sequence organization

Sequence organization describes the RELATION between turns or actions, the most basic one being *adjacency pairs* (for a meticulous description of adjacency pairs see Schegloff (2007)). An *adjacency pair* consists of an initiating *first pair-part* and a responsive *second pair-part*, and has the following characteristic features. They are

- 1) composed of two turns,
- 2) by different speakers
- 3) adjacently placed
- 4) relatively ordered, i.e. *first pair-parts* and *second pair-parts*
- 5) pair-type related

(Schegloff 2007: 13; see also Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 295f.).

A prototypical adjacency pair is *question-answer sequences* where the production of a 'question' puts heavy constraints on what the co-participant can or should do in the immediate next-turn, i.e. an 'answer'.<sup>18</sup> This does not mean that a second pair-part actually will follow, nor that it will follow in the immediate next-turn. For instance, a first pair-part can be followed by another first pair-part as in example 3.1:

**Example 3.1. (Schegloff 1968: 1086).**

- 1     A:     Are you mad at me?  
 2     B:     Why do you think that?  
 3     A:     You didn't answer when I called you.  
 4     B:     Oh. No, I didn't hear you.

Here B does not answer A's question, but initiates another first pair-part that asks for an explanation for the production of A's question in line 1 (why B could be understood as being mad at A). When A in line 3 provides an account for his/her initial question, B is able to provide a second pair-part to line 1. In this way, lines 2-3 constitute themselves another adjacency pair between the first and the second pair-part (line 1 and 4). Schegloff (2007: 97-114) describes this as an *inserted expansion*.<sup>19</sup>

However, when a second pair-part does not follow in the immediate next-turn, the participants orient to the second pair-part as *noticeable absent*, and deal with it as missing, e.g., by repeating the first pair-part or treating it as a *dispreferred response* (Pomerantz 1984). For instance, if an 'invitation' is not responded to immediately, the inviting party will (possibly) understand it as a dispreferred response, i.e. a rejection.

By producing a first pair-part the speaker constrains not only which action type the co-participant should produce next, e.g. an 'apology' following a 'complaint', but also how

<sup>18</sup> According to CA, a 'question' is not a question due to its syntactical or intonational definition, but because the co-participants TREAT it as a question, e.g., by providing an 'answer' preferably in the next-turn. In this way, the 'answer' displays the co-participant's understanding of the prior speaker's turn as 'a question'. In CA terms, this is defined as *next-turn proof procedure* (e.g., Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 15-17).

<sup>19</sup> Schegloff (1972) calls it *insertion sequence*.

the second pair-part should be produced. For instance, teachers' questions during form-focused interaction constrain how students' responses should be produced, e.g. by providing specific linguistic forms (e.g., Seedhouse 2004). By producing a first pair-part, teachers initiate an action sequence that is to be reacted upon e.g. by a student.

Tasks are (often) constructed of and initiated through first pair-parts. Tasks may be initiated in plenary through teacher instructions, which specify how the task should be performed, how groups should be organized, and the time specification for the task accomplishment. In this case, the students have to negotiate how they deal with the task accomplishment, e.g., negotiation of how the task is presented (e.g., Szymanski 2003). Or the task may be accomplished in plenary interaction (see e.g., Mortensen I). In this case, the task progresses as a series of adjacency pairs, typically questions and answers, and the participants have to negotiate how they deal with the task, e.g. how and when transition between task items are managed (see Mortensen I). In this way, by focusing on sequence organization, the analysis is conducted from an emic perspective, in which instructions are regarded as COMMUNICATIVE events.

### **3.4.2 'Questions' in (second language) classroom interaction**

One aspect that has attracted particular attention (although it will only briefly be discussed here) in the classroom research literature is teacher questions.<sup>20</sup> Questions are important aspects in language teaching, since they have an *initiating character* that the teacher imposes on the students. In his review of past classroom interaction studies, both L1 and L2 classrooms, Chaudron (1988: 83) summarizes teachers' use of interrogatives (which he later describes as 'questions') to constitute between approximately 20% and 50% of teachers' turn. The focus on teacher questions is part of the traditional split in the classroom literature between (i) teacher talk, (ii) learner talk and (iii) teacher-student interaction (e.g., Chaudron 1988; Johnson 1995; Tsui 1995).

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<sup>20</sup> For students' questions to teachers, see e.g. Ohta and Nakaone (2004) and Markee (1995).

Through the years, several researchers have described a typology of teacher questions. Probably the most consistent and still generally accepted one, is the distinction between *referential* and *display questions* (e.g., Banbrook and Skehan 1990; Long and Sato 1983). Display questions refer to questions where the answerer, i.e. the teacher, already knows the answer (they are also described as “known-answer questions” or “pseudo questions”). They have a testing character since the students have to display whether they know the question or not (see e.g., Edwards 1997; Margutti 2006). “Knowledge” relies on what the teacher takes to be correct:

Insofar as students know that teachers know the answers to their own questions, it is assured and known by all that the answer, solution, correct response, and so forth, is already “in the room”, waiting to be revealed (Macbeth 1994: 317).

Most research on display question has analyzed (and criticized) the cognitive impact that display questions impose on the learners (e.g., Cazden 1986). In practice, however, it is not easy to determine whether a question is a display question or not (e.g., Cazden 1986; van Lier 1988). One way to determine this is to look at how the answer is treated by the co-participant. For real, or genuine, questions

the questioner proposes to be ignorant about the substance of the question [...] [t]hus the provision of an answer should [...] commit the questioner to have undergone a “change of state” from ignorance to knowledge (Heritage 1984: 286),

as displayed for instance through *oh*, *wow* or *really?*. By contrast, in “known-answer questions” the third turn, the *evaluating turn* (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) is

of a different character, and embody a very different stance in and to the interaction [because whereas in other adjacency pair-based sequences] it makes analytic sense to ask what the addition of a third-position turn is doing (e.g., moving for sequence closure), with known-answer sequences [...] the more cogent analytic issue often appears to be what the withholding of a third-position evaluation is doing (Schegloff 2007: 224, emphasis in original).

In Mortensen I and II, I take a sequential approach to what may be defined as display questions. Rather than looking at how a student's answer is treated by the teacher, in

Mortensen II I look at how the students participate during and after the teacher's instructions. The analysis shows how students orient to the teacher as the main recipient of a student's next turn-at-talk, typically by answering the teacher's instruction. In these cases, the student does not orient to *visible reciprocity* as a relevant task to deal with, i.e. something that has to be established during or prior to the turn-beginning. This is so because the student orients to the participation roles as having been pre-established as part of the teacher's first pair-part. However, although the analysis provides an attempt towards a sequentially based approach to display questions, they are not primarily related to a discussion of display question. Future research will show whether this approach can provide a more socially based view on display questions that possibly will be beneficial to the analysis of teacher questions in classrooms.

### 3.4.3 Turn-taking and turn-allocation

Another kind of conditional relevance is found in *turn-taking organization* (Sacks et al. 1974), and in particular in relation to *turn-allocation*, i.e. how turn transition from one speaker to another is accomplished (see chapter 2.4). According to turn-allocation, a speaker can select the next-speaker and thereby constrain the participation of the co-participants. Rule 1a of the turn-taking organization is of particular interest to the present argument. The rule reads:

If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a “current speaker selects next” technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place<sup>21</sup> (Sacks et al. 1974: 704, emphasis added).

Sacks et al. describe how a speaker can impose constraints on the co-participants by selecting a next-speaker as well as specifying when the selected next-speaker should initiate a turn – at the next possible completion of the ongoing TCU. Lerner (2003) classifies different resources for selecting next-speaker: *Explicit addressing* refers to

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<sup>21</sup> Although this is described as a rule and the formulation is held in rather normative terms, it should be noted that rules/norms in this sense should be understood as descriptive rather than prescriptive – not as something imposed on the participants, but as social norms that “members” orient to (Garfinkel 1967).

address terms (names, pronouns etc.), gaze and pointing. *Tacit addressing* refers to context bound features such as the turn-construction. For instance, by repeating (parts of) the prior turn, or by producing an *open-class repair initiation* (Drew 1997) such as *what?*, the speaker selects the prior speaker as next speaker (Schegloff 1997a; Schegloff et al. 1977). By selecting a next-speaker, the current-speaker constrains not only the selected speaker, since (s)he is obliged to take the next-turn, but also the other participants, since they are constrained from self-selecting as next-speakers.

However, a participant may self-select as next-speaker, and in and through this self-selecting request and establish reciprocity with a co-participant. Streeck and Hartge (1992), Mondada (2007) and Mortensen II show how current non-speakers use different multimodal resources (gaze, gesture, mimic and body posture) for displaying incipient speakership, and thus preparing the co-participants for the upcoming turn-at-talk. They show how co-participants orient to the incipient speakership, and Mondada notes that

gestural pre-beginnings are dealt with as having an “interruptive” potential or effect [and that] even if gestures can be produced simultaneously with talk without overlapping it, pointing gestures as practices for claiming speakership and for imposing self-selection are oriented to as exhibiting concurrent practices of turn taking (Mondada 2007: 208).

In this way, Mondada shows how an incipient speaker uses gesture to prepare interactional space for the upcoming turn-at-talk, and the participants orient to this by modifying the ongoing talk accordingly.

Similarly, designing a turn in a specific way can be used to serve “pedagogical” purposes. For instance, Koshik's (2002) study of *designed incomplete utterances* (see also Margutti 2006) shows how a teacher prompts the student to (self)repair a written error by indicating that the “missing” element in the teacher's TCU is somehow problematic. Lerner (1993; 1995) shows how teachers, among others, can design their turns to be followed by choral response. In this way, the teacher's turn-design makes certain kinds of participation RELEVANT in the next-turn. From a communicative approach, these social practices have the same INTERACTIONAL function as pedagogical instructions, since they

set up a framework for the participation of the co-participants. This approach provides strong empirical evidence for what actually counts as “instructions” for the participants, since the social actions are done for the co-participants. The perspective provides a broader view on instructions as it is traditionally done in second language pedagogy and classroom research literature.

### 3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have described two types of instructions – *tasks* and *questions*. In relation to tasks, I have discussed how tasks have been dealt with from a SLA perspective including its more applied version of second language teaching, a socio-educational perspective and an interactional approach, respectively. I argued for a COMMUNICATIVE rather than a PEDAGOGICAL approach to the study of tasks, since task accomplishment constitutes a specific social practice for students in (second/foreign/first language) classrooms. I then described how a specific type of (classroom or teacher) questions, *display questions*, has primarily been described in terms of its cognitive input to the learner, and how interactional/sequential approaches have exclusively focused on the third turn in the sequence, e.g. the teacher's reaction or evaluation of the student's answer. I further argued for further studies on how display questions, or questions in general, are treated by students, i.e. what kind of participation is required of the students for instance in terms of who is the main recipient of the student's answer. Finally, I provided a communicative approach to instructions. The concept of *conditional relevance* was presented in relation to sequence organization and turn-taking organization. In particular, I showed how a first pair-part constrains the co-participants in terms of relevant next-action in next-turn position, and how a speaker constrains the participation of the co-participants by selecting a next-speaker and/or designing the turn-at-talk as to make certain actions conditionally relevant.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

This chapter introduces the methodological framework of the dissertation – conversation analysis (CA). The chapter describes the aims and basic assumptions of CA as well as the theoretical background within sociology and in particular ethnomethodology. I then describe methodological issues, and the procedure that is adopted in this dissertation. This includes a description of the data collection and a discussion about transcription of visual aspects. The chapter ends with a discussion about analytic aspects in relation to the empirical part of the dissertation in the following chapters.

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present the methodological framework, conversation analysis (CA), of the dissertation. CA is particularly relevant to describe *participation* and *instruction* since both concepts, as it was described in chapter 2 and 3, are inherently social and interactional. In this chapter, I will argue that CA's aim is to describe social interaction as it unfolds temporally between participants, and how this relates to analyses of participation in classroom interaction. The aim of the chapter is twofold. First of all, it presents CA to readers who are not necessarily familiar with CA. It therefore presents some of the basic assumptions that are necessary for understanding why the analyses of the dissertation are conducted in the way they are. Secondly, the chapter aims at presenting concepts that are necessary for the present dissertation, such as institutional talk, multiparty interaction, and analyses of visual aspects. The aim is not to provide a general introduction to CA. For this, I refer to Atkinson and Heritage (1984a), Boden and Zimmerman (1991), Goodwin and Heritage (1990), Pomerantz and Fehr (1997), Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998), Silverman (1998), ten Have (1999) and Wooffitt (2005).<sup>1</sup> For Danish introductions (but not necessarily IN Danish) I refer to Nielsen and Nielsen (2005), Steensig (2001), Nielsen, Steensig and Wagner (2006), as well as recent Ph.D.

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<sup>1</sup> A number of websites also provide introductions. Here I refer only to Charles Antaki's on <http://www-staff.lboro.ac.uk/~ssca1/>. Other online CA *rendevous* are ten Haves "Ethno/ CA News" <http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/emca/> and the Danish Movin-network <http://www.conversation-analysis.net/>.

dissertations, from 2000 onwards, drawing on a CA framework Rasmussen (2000), Brouwer (2000), L. Laursen (2002), Emmertsen (2003), Hougaard (2004), Stax (2005), D. Laursen (2006) and Nielsen (2007).

#### 4.2 AIMS AND BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

According to CA, conversation is the primordial site of sociality and social life (see e.g., Schegloff 1998, 2006). Through interaction we create the social world we inhabit. When people interact, they perform social actions together, and in and through these actions they redefine the situation they are engaged in. CA's aim is to describe these actions and the procedures through which they are done.

The aim of CA is thus fundamentally sociological rather than linguistic. This has important consequences for the analysis since the focus is on what the participants DO rather than what they say. Social relations between participants are not seen as external to the interaction, but as being shaped, redefined and negotiated through the interaction on a moment-to-moment basis. For instance, social categories like “teacher” and “student” are not attributed to the participants prior to the analysis, but are invoked through the interaction, and the actions (and the ways in which they are performed) that the participants perform. In this way, “teacher” is not something you ARE but something you DO (cf. Sacks 1984b). Similarly, sociological notions like *power* and *integration* are not seen as macro structures that guide our actions. Rather they are accomplished and made relevant THROUGH social interaction. In order to study integration, we must therefore look at how this is accomplished, and this means to study the interactions and social situations that migrants engage in.

Conversation is, as opposed to formal linguistics in CA's childhood (e.g., Chomsky 1957), seen as organized and orderly rather than “chaotic”. There is *order at all points* (Sacks 1984a). However, to capture and describe this order, transcripts of (audio or video) recordings must be as detailed as possible following the doctrine that you cannot exclude even the smallest detail, such as a micro pause, from being relevant to the

participants until the analysis shows that it is NOT relevant. In fact, according to CA these elements are not “micro” at all,

[t]hey are just the sorts of building blocks out of which talk-in-interaction is fashioned by the parties to it (Schegloff 1988: 100).

These details are some of the resources that people use to perform the social actions that make up their social lives. In this way, these details are *members' methods* (Garfinkel 1967) to engage in meaningful interaction, and are recognized as such by co-participants. For instance, Pomerantz (1984) shows how participants orient to a micro-pause following an *assessment* as disaligning with the assessment. In this way, the participants orient to the micro-pause as relevant and “meaningful”, and as part of the ongoing (or projected) action.

Most CA research, although by far all of it, describes the interactive construction of SOCIAL ACTIONS that people use to perform specific social practices, and these actions can often be accomplished through a range of different resources. In this way, CA does not equal a social action and a linguistic structure. For instance, *hello* is not necessarily a 'greeting', but can also be a 'summons' or an 'answer to a summons' (Schegloff 1968). However, CA METHODS can be used to describe ways in which specific linguistic resources can be used in a number of different ways to carry out different actions. This way of turning the bucket around can be used to emphasize general points within linguistics (Steensig and Asmuss 2005), discourse psychology (Edwards 1995; Potter 1997) and ethnomethodology (Clift 2001).<sup>2</sup>

When describing social actions, the analyst (and the participants themselves) relies on the sequential context in which the turn-at-talk occurs. A *hello* following another *hello* might be described and understood as a 'return greeting'. However, a *hello* following an assessment might be a strong display of disagreement, as it frequently occurs in the 1995

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<sup>2</sup> The distinction being made here between linguistics, discourse psychology and ethnomethodology (and CA for that matter) is of course too simplistic. The point here is merely to point out different arguments that can be made from adopting this approach to language and social interaction.

movie *Clueless*.<sup>3</sup> A turn-at-talk must therefore be understood in relation to the context, in which it emerges. And, consequently, a turn-at-talk is always designed for, and produced in, a particular sequential environment. In this way, a turn-at-talk can be said to provide a framework for the following turn(s). In chapter 3.4, *conditional relevance*, I described how a turn-at-talk may even be said to constrain the following turn(s). The analyst is facing a contextually embedded turn-at-talk. However, then describing social practices, the aim is to describe the *context-free* machinery that participants use during interaction. An example of this is *turn-taking organization* (see chapter 2.4). In this way, the aim is to describe MEMBERS' METHODS, i.e. a context-free description, from comparing and analyzing *context-sensitive* examples.

CA studies (talk-in-)interaction as it occurs in everyday, naturally occurring, ordinary conversation. In fact, the term *conversation* is rather misleading in describing the object to be studied (e.g., Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 13), since CA studies all kinds of talk-in-interaction INCLUDING conversation (see further chapter 4.5). However, rather than analyzing interaction through a theoretical lens CA adopts an *emic* perspective, i.e. the participants' own perspective (e.g., Schegloff 1997c) as the interaction foremost is/was produced IN a particular context, BETWEEN participants, who DO something together. In this way, turns, pauses and embodied activities are primarily produced to serve a specific social action “right here right now” in relation to the co-participant(s) prior action. In this way, the analyst aims at approaching the data in an “unmotivated way” (Psathas 1995: 45), i.e. open minded and without prior hypotheses and analytic claims in mind. Only in this way, CA claims, the true social structures of interaction can be revealed. To capture the interaction audio or video recordings are made for further analysis (see below).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The comedy *Clueless* describes the lives of young and rich Valley-girls in California. This use of *hello* is generally described as an example of the sociolect associated with this social group (Bucholtz 2006).

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of audio analysis, see e.g. Potter (2004) and ten Have (1999). For video, see e.g. Heath (1997), Heath and Hindmarsh (2002) and Mondada (2006).

### 4.2.1 Intersubjectivity

CA is generally concerned with *intersubjectivity*. When participants interact with each other, they continuously display their understanding of the local context, i.e. the prior turn by the co-participant, as part of the ongoing action(s) they are engaged in. Through the collaborative construction of interactive processes, participants display how they understand the situation they are engaged in and their participation status within the at-the-moment activity. Participants do not have access to what co-participants “really” mean, but only to what they say and do (e.g., Antaki 2006; Edwards and Potter 1992). Therefore, the participants, and hence the analyst, have to rely on what matters for the participants IN the interaction. This is a dynamic process that occurs on a turn-by-turn basis. Normally, a turn displays the participant's understanding of the prior turn by the co-participant. However, sometimes B's (display of) understanding of A's prior turn is not what A “had in mind”. In these cases, A may (but need not) display in a third position that B's understanding is not the intended understanding. In this way, B

can determine the adequacy of the analysis in his or her turn by reference to the next action of the first speaker (Heritage 1984: 257).

This practice is part of an elaborate *repair mechanism* for dealing with problems of hearing, speaking and understanding (e.g., Schegloff 1992c; 1997a; Schegloff et al. 1977). In this way, understanding is obtained and controlled TEMPORALLY, i.e. sequentially, turn-by-turn, as part of the interactive negotiation of meaning.

A participant's display of understanding of the prior turn may be done more or less implicitly (e.g., Heritage 1984: 259).<sup>5</sup> For instance, by producing a second pair-part of a question-answer adjacency pair “a speaker can show that he understood what a prior

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<sup>5</sup> Heritage (1984: 159) writes: “It is important to note that, because these displayed understandings arise as a kind of by-product or indirect outcome of the sequentially organized activities of the participants, the issue of 'understanding' *per se* is only rarely topicalized at the conversational 'surface'. Through this procedure the participants are thus released from the task of explicitly confirming and reconfirming their understandings of one another's actions. Mutual understanding is thus displayed, to use Garfinkel's term, 'incarnately' in the sequentially organized details of conversational interaction. Moreover, because these understandings are publicly produced, they are available as a resource for social scientific analysis”.

aimed at, and that he is willing to go along with that” (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 297-298). However, there is a range of different phenomena described throughout the CA literature associated with how participants explicitly orient towards the “meaning” of the prior turn. For instance, by producing a *formulation* (Heritage and Watson 1979; 1980), the speaker is explicitly orienting to what the prior turn “was about”:

A member may treat some part of the conversation as an occasion to describe that conversation, to explain it, or characterize it, or explicate, or translate, or summarize, or furnish the gist of it, or take note of its accordance with rules. That is to say, a member may use some part of the conversation as an occasion to formulate the conversation (Garfinkel and Sacks 1970: 350, cit. in Heritage and Watson 1979: 124, emphasis in original).

In this way, the speaker who produces the formulation is explicitly displaying his/her understanding of the prior turn. However, this “unpacking” of the prior turn is extraordinarily rare if we look at the big picture. Most of the time, people just do “business as usual” as part of the ongoing interactional building of social action.

### 4.3 FOUNDATIONS

Even though CA is an accepted, although often marginal, methodology in various disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, ethnography, linguistics, communication studies, psychology, gender studies, education and pedagogy, health settings, rhetoric and second language studies and acquisition, the foundations of CA are to be found within sociology in the early 60s North American west coast. In the following, three central figures will be highlighted: Harold Garfinkel, Erving Goffman and Harvey Sacks. Sacks is normally considered the founder of CA, and he was inspired by two other sociologists, in fact two of his graduate teachers, Garfinkel and Goffman.

#### **4.3.1 Garfinkel and ethnomethodology**

Garfinkel is the founder of ethnomethodology (e.g., Garfinkel 1967), which represents an approach to sociology that contrasted with the mainstream theories of the time. The primary paradigm of the time was functionalism (e.g., Parsons 1937; 1951), and the functional sociologists wanted to explain how it is possible for people to know the

societal rules without explicitly addressing the rules themselves. The answer was a process of internalization through which institutions such as the educational system, family and religion passes on norms and values of a given society. Once internalized, people act according to the prescribed norms and values, and “fear that others will punish them for not acting appropriately” (Heritage 1984: 17). Garfinkel criticized this top-down perspective. Rather than being “judgmental dopes” (Garfinkel 1967: 68) and passive receivers of some pre-defined norms, people constantly establish and re-define them through interaction with other members of the society. In this way, norms and values are established THROUGH social relations. The question, therefore, should not be to describe how norms are passed on to the next generation, but to describe the PRACTICES people rely on in order to interact “competently”. One way, in which Garfinkel tried to capture these norms, was to deliberately violate them, i.e. by questioning “what we all know and what we all do without thinking about it”. He did this, or in fact his students did it for him (Garfinkel 1967) through what he referred to as *breaching experiments*. The most famous example is greeting exchanges. Whenever someone asked the question *how are you?* the experimenting student would reply for instance with *what do you mean 'how are you'?* *In what way do you mean – economically? Mentally? Physically?*, or initiate a lengthy story about the student's (lack of) well-being. Garfinkel reports that most students were met with anything from wondering about the format of the reply to anger. To Garfinkel, this was evidence for a norm indicating that *how are you* is (rarely) a genuine question, except in certain medical encounters (e.g., psychiatrists), but A GREETING, and everybody knows that this is so. This is revealed precisely by the fact that “people” normally respond to a *how are you* with *fine, how are you*. In this sense, they orient to the SOCIAL ACTION accomplished through interaction, and through the interaction (re-)defines it as a norm. In this way, Garfinkel adopted a bottom-up perspective, rather than Parson's top-down approach, for explicating how norms come to be defined and how they are “passed on”. Ethnomethodology is interested in describing the methods people use (hence the terms *ethno, methods* and *logy*) to make sense of social life. As we will see later, this fundamental understanding of the relationship between people, interaction and society plays a crucial part in CA.

### 4.3.2 Goffman – the interaction order

Another (micro)sociologist of the time was Erving Goffman. He argued that the study of face-to-face interaction was analytically viable, and that the best way to study it was through microanalyses.<sup>6</sup> He termed the object of study *the interaction order* and argued that

the contained elements [in the interaction order] fit together more closely than with elements beyond the order; that exploring relations between orders is critical, a subject matter in its own right, and that such an inquiry presupposes a delineation of the several social orders in the first place, that isolating the interaction order provides a means and a reason to examine diverse societies comparatively, and our own historically (Goffman 1983: 2, emphasis added),

In this way, he criticizes “macro-sociological” approaches to the social world. Goffman did not ignore the influence of “macro-social” factors, but his aim was to study the social order on an interpersonal level (Drew and Wootton 1988: 3). He was interested in the procedures through which people manage face-to-face interaction. He argued that

conversational interaction represents an institutional order *sui generis* in which interactional rights and obligations are linked not only to personal face and identity, but also to macro-social institutions (Heritage 1998: 3).

To study this order, he conducted a number of ethnographic studies (i.e. naturally occurring social interactions) on “stigmatized” people (Goffman 1963b), people in prison and other “inmates” (Goffman 1961), as well as social situations in everyday public places (Goffman 1963a, 1974). From this diversity of situations, he wanted to extract the underlying systematic, or procedures, on the basis of which people conduct interaction. His idea was that these procedures are RITUAL and SYSTEMATIC (Goffman 1981 [1976]) and largely defined on the basis of morality.<sup>7</sup> The ritual nature of interaction concerns

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<sup>6</sup> Although Schegloff (1988: 100 ff.) argues that Goffman's analyses were not, from a CA perspective, “micro” – see below.

<sup>7</sup> “[...] a social order may be defined as the consequence of any set of moral norms that regulates the way in which persons pursue objectives. The set of norms does not specify the objectives the participants are to seek, nor the pattern formed by and through the coordination or integration if these rules, but merely the modes of seeking them” (Goffman 1963a: 8).

people's *social selves*, i.e. the way people present themselves when interacting with other people. This “controls” our protection of *face*, how we tend to “down tune” our critique of others and politeness (see e.g., Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 28). The systematic character of interaction deals with the conversational machinery, such as the transition of turns between speakers in interaction. This theoretical distinction has later been criticized by Schegloff who notes that

the greatest obstacle to Goffman's achievement of a general enterprise addressed to the syntactical relationship between acts was his own commitment to “ritual”, and his unwillingness to detach such “syntactic” units from a functionally specific commitment to ritual organization and the maintenance of face (Schegloff 1988: 95),

and argues that Goffman's emphasis on *face* as the center of interaction steers him away from the social character of interaction (“interaction as *non*-interactional”) towards the individual and psychological.

Despite the focus on face-to-face interaction as a valid analytic object in its own right, which was to be continued by Sacks, Goffman's analytic empirical approach was quite different from that of Sacks (and conversation analysis as such). Goffman's primary approach was OBSERVATIONS of how people act, and react, in social situations. Through observations he made fascinating descriptions. However, he documented the observations and the theoretical distinctions made from them by providing examples that would demonstrate his points. As we will see, this is fundamentally different from CA where claims and descriptions are made on the basis of close analyses of collections of data.

### **4.3.3 Harvey Sacks**

Sacks was interested in conversation as the place where social structures can be found, described and analyzed. He worked in the early 1960s as a researcher in the Los Angeles Center for the Scientific Study of Suicide, and through this position he got access to audio recordings from a suicide prevention center (reported in Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 18). Among other things, he observed that most calls begin with the representative

of the center giving his/her name followed by the caller giving his/her name. But he came across a deviant case:

A: This is Mr. Smith may I help you

B: I can't hear you.

A: This is Mr. Smith.

B: Smith.

(Sacks 1992, vol. 1, part 1, lecture 1, p. 3).

One question puzzled him. During the rest of this call the representative of the center tried to get the caller to say his name without luck. So Sack posed the questions:

Is it possible that the caller's declared problem in hearing is a methodological way of avoiding giving one's name in response to the other's having done so? Could talk be organized at that level of detail? And in so designed a manner? (Schegloff 1992b: xvii).

This came to be CA's endeavour – to outline the systematic organization of (talk-in-) interaction on the basis of which people make sense.

Sacks was killed in a car accident in 1975, but recordings of his lectures at UCLA (1964-8) and UC Irvine (1968-72) have been transcribed by Gail Jefferson, and were published in 1992 (as Sacks 1992). Even today, Sacks' lectures serve as inspiration to many conversation analysts, and include the most extraordinary observations about social life and conversation in particular.

#### 4.4 METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

CA is a data-driven INDUCTIVE method. Descriptions do not start from *a priori* categories or hypotheses from a general theoretical framework. Descriptions start from analyzing (recorded) naturally occurring talk-in-interaction in order to study a specific aspect of that interaction. The advantage of recording the interaction to be analyzed is (i) that the analyst can replay them continuously and put the (recorded) interaction on hold for close analysis, and that (ii) OTHER RESEARCHERS can listen to the recording as well and “redo” and compare the analysis.

#### 4.4.1 Generalization

CA is concerned with descriptions of social practices, and as such builds COLLECTIONS of social practices. In the process of building collections, *deviant cases* add important insight since they show how participants orient to the systematics of the social practices when these are in some way violated. CA is a qualitative method, but frequently semi-quantitative terms like *overwhelmingly*, *massively*, and *regularly* are used (Schegloff 1993). The analyses can thus be generalized, although generalization is used in a special way:

The gross aim of the work I am doing is to see how finely the details of actual, naturally occurring conversation can be subjected to analysis that will yield the technology of conversation.

The idea is to take singular sequences of conversation and tear them apart in such a way as to find rules, techniques, procedures, methods, maxims (a collection of terms that more or less relate to each other and that I use somewhat interchangeably) that can be used to generate the orderly features we find in the conversations we examine. The point is, then, to come back to the singular things we observe in a singular sequence, with some rules that handle those singular features, and also, necessarily, handle lots of other events (Sacks 1984b: 413).

CA is concerned with the social practices that participants orient to during talk-in-interaction, i.e. to describe the rules, techniques and procedures that people rely on to do the actions that constitute their social lives. Generalization is thus not thought of in terms of quantification, but is based on a dynamic understanding of social interaction. In this way, terms like *overwhelmingly* and *regularly* describe a sense of ordinary praxis, but this praxis is considered in terms of “orientation to” rather than on statistical evidence.

#### 4.5 CONVERSATION, INSTITUTIONAL INTERACTION AND APPLIED CA

As I noted previously, far from all research conducted within a CA framework deals with conversation. A growing recognition of CA methods to describe in fine details all kinds of interaction, is leading to other fields than sociology and linguistics, and to a huge number of more or less applied CA studies. CA is today being practiced in almost all kind

of institutional settings from business meetings and talk shows to airline cockpit interaction, interviews and classroom interaction.<sup>8</sup>

The term *applied*, ten Have (1999: 162) notes, can be used in different ways ranging from studying interaction in institutional settings with the purpose of *describing* that particular kind of interaction, to wanting to “improve” existing practices (see e.g., Asmuss 2003). Much applied CA describes how interaction in institutional settings differ from conversation, e.g. in relation to turn-taking (see chapter 2.4.3 for turn-taking in classroom interaction). This is not ignoring the turn-taking organization described for conversation in Sacks et al. (1974). They argue that

ceremonies, debates, meetings, press conferences, seminars, therapy sessions, interviews, trials etc. [d]iffer from conversation (and from each other) on a range of other turn-taking parameters, and in the organization by which they achieve the set of parameter values whose presence they organize (Sacks et al. 1974: 729).

This observation, as well as descriptions of social practices in institutional settings, forms a strong methodological argument of CA in relation to the status of context and contextual and ethnographic information in CA analyses.

#### **4.5.1 Context in a CA perspective**

As I noted above, CA is an inductive method, and this perspective goes for context as well. CA does not attribute contextual information and institutional categories to the analysis *a priori*. It is not the case that social practices and actions occur BECAUSE they happen to occur in a classroom. Rather, the practices that participants draw on and the way in which they are carried out may (re-)define the interaction as being “institutional” and make certain categories relevant for the participants in the ongoing course of action. This argument goes back to Garfinkel's (1967: 104) description of jurors and his argument that juror is not something you are, but something you DO. This agnostic view about context proposes an “inside-out” perspective rather than an “outside-in”

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<sup>8</sup> Some good publications presenting a diversity of examples of different aspects of institutional interaction are Drew and Heritage (1993), Asmuss and Steensig (2003), Arminen (2005) and Richards and Seedhouse (2005).

perspective, and treats (institutional) identities (e.g., Antaki and Widdicombe 1998) as something that EMERGE in interaction to serve a specific purpose.

CA's definition of context is “local” and related to the sequential organization of interaction. Each turn or action is shaped by the previous turn/action; it is seen as *context shaped*. But at the same time it constitutes the context for the next-turn, and is therefore also *context renewing* (e.g., Goodwin and Duranti 1992b; Heritage 1984; Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 1992a). However, this does not mean that “institutionality” is not central to institutional interaction, so to speak, but has to do with methodological aspects of how to capture it. Heritage (1997) points to six places where “institutionality” may be found:

1. Turn-taking organization
  2. Overall structural organization of the interaction
  3. Sequence organization
  4. Turn design
  5. Lexical choice
  6. Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry
- (cit. in ten Have 1999: 168).

However, there exists a possible tension between to what extent the analyst should include ethnographic and contextual information. CA describes *members' methods* for employing and (re-)defining norms in interaction, i.e. from the members' own perspective. But in order to describe these practices, the analyst should be part of the culture or *community of practice* (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) under investigation. This perspective is potentially dangerous because it falls into the same hole that EM criticizes about 'macro-approaches' to sociology and cultural studies. On the other hand, when the analyst walks on unfamiliar territories, e.g. archeologists on fieldwork (e.g., Goodwin 1994, 2000a), (s)he must have some ideas about the organization of the group and which technical tools they rely on to do their work, how to use it etc. This is continuously being debated, and I will leave the discussion by quoting ten Have's point that

ethnographic research in addition to CA can be helpful to build up a knowledge base that is sufficiently similar to what a member knows to understand what is going on (ten Have 1999: 59).

#### 4.6 PROCEDURE

As indicated above, CA is an inductive method. An initial step is therefore to collect data through audio and/or video recordings (see e.g., ten Have 1999). In the following paragraphs, I describe how data for this project were collected, transcribed and analyzed.

##### **4.6.1 Data collection**

In order to describe student participation as part of the social organization of Danish as a second language classrooms, the data for this dissertation constitute video recordings of “real” Danish as a second language classroom lessons. Prior to the recordings, the lessons were observed and field notes were conducted. These notes, however, are not used in the analyses, but serve as a general understanding of how the lessons are organized. The video recordings were made on two Danish language learning centers. From January to June 2005 recordings were made from *AOF Sprogcenter Svendborg*, and from April to June 2006 from *Studieskolen, Odense*. The recordings were made by means of two cameras that were placed on tripods. One of the cameras was attached to a flat table microphone that was placed in the center of the classroom. Additionally, some of the lessons were recorded with HD recorders that were distributed on the students' tables. The recordings were then digitized and named according to language learning center and date. A total amount of approximately 25 hours of video recording constitute the database for this dissertation. The recordings were carefully observed, and smaller sections were selected for detailed transcription. The transcripts were put under close analysis, including during data sessions. In this way, the analytic process reflects CA's aim of conducting *unmotivated looking* and the social practices that are/become the focus of attention emerge from observing the recordings and the transcripts made from them.

Anyone who uses video recordings as a tool for data collection, is constrained, or challenged, in several ways. First of all, factors such as economy, the number of participants (in the research group as well as “on stage”), and a range of practical and

technological issues such as choosing the right equipment, internal/external microphones, analogue/digital recordings, the time available to the researcher to set up the equipment etc. At the same time, critics allude to video recordings, and in particular the ways in which they are used by conversation analysts, for assuming that the researcher has identical access to the interaction as the participants, although the participants have access to one another and the physical environment in which they are situated. They challenge the assumption that what the analyst can hear, the participants can hear (see e.g., Ashmore and Reed 2000). From a theoretical perspective I share this concern, and indeed the researcher should be aware that this may not necessarily be so. However, from an analytic point of view, the strength of CA (in my point of view) is that it puts emphasis on showing how participants display their understanding of the ongoing action. Although one might say that if B does not respond to a question made by A it may be because he did not hear the question (although the camera “hears” it), then A will normally orient to that B “should” have heard it. In this sense, it becomes problematic for the participants themselves, and they have to deal with WHY B did not answer.

Secondly, the theoretical and methodological assumptions constrain not only what should be recorded, but also HOW it should be recorded. For instance, in this dissertation I focus (primarily) on the social organization of the participants, and to a lesser degree on how the participants use the tools in their immediate presence (e.g., the text in their books, pens etc.). The very set up of the cameras prescribe this, at least to some extent, since the cameras are directed towards “the whole class” rather than towards the tables of the individuals (cf. Goodwin 1994; Mondada 2007). In this way, the recordings reflect both methodological assumptions, and shape the kind of analyses they can be used for (Mondada 2006).

Having said this, neither the audio nor the video recording are of the quality I would have wanted (are they ever?!). In terms of visual aspects, the video recordings only provide limited possibilities for zooming in on the participants after the recordings. The resolution of the recordings is simply not good enough for seeing gesture or gazes in detail. Partly this is due to the QUALITY of the video cameras, and partly due to the NUMBER of

cameras. An excellent model of how this can be done is the Lab School project at Portland State University (<http://www.labschool.pdx.edu/>). In this project, two classrooms were designed with the purpose of recordings, and six stationary cameras (two of them can be operated by a gismo in the control room between the classrooms) record the ongoing lessons (Reder 2005). In relation to audio recordings, the recordings in this dissertation do not capture talk made by the individual (“private”) student, although several recordings included HD-recorders that were placed among the students. In this way, I run the risk of missing crucial information about how students themselves orient to the ongoing lesson – a risk which may influence the understanding of the dynamics of the classroom as a social arena (Lindblad and Sahlström ms.). An excellent study, which gives highest priority to the students' individual (and, indeed, “private”) talk is Ohta (2000; 2001) who uses individual microphones on the single student. In this way, Ohta is able to record students' silent and whispering talk, which is most often not included in classroom interaction research studies, and reveals how students participate in the lesson although they are not part of the *central activity* (Koole 2007).

These are important points to have in mind, and might even question the validity of the empirical part (and thus the analyses!) of this dissertation. However, the approach adopted in this dissertation is highly inductive, and at the time the video recordings were made I did not have a clear sense of the specific objects of study in terms of the phenomena to be analyzed. Although this is not a satisfactory explanation it should be mentioned at this point. On the other hand, the analyses focus on whole-class teaching sequences, and the recordings DO provide a reasonably view of the classrooms. The arguments are done on the basis of how the participants orient to the interaction they are engaged in, and con therefore be grounded in the empirical material. However, I do acknowledge that further aspects of the practices I have described could be revealed with more advanced technology. This must be for future studies to describe.

#### 4.6.2 A note on transcription

As already noted, an important step in conversation analytic work is the detailed transcription of video or audio recordings (see e.g., Steensig 1996). The purpose of transcription is

to reproduce the acoustic (and possibly visual) factors that matter for the participants' interaction (Steensig 2001: 33, emphasis added, my translation).

The topic of the analysis is to determining the resources that participants rely on to perform specific social actions. Therefore, the transcript includes a range of details and observations since they may turn out to be important aspects for the participants' understanding of the ongoing situation. An important point to be made here is that a transcription is never complete (see e.g., Jefferson (1996) for “transcriptional stereotyping”). Transcripts are often modified when presenting data for other researchers, who may hear it differently than originally noted. Even a “good” transcript is often changed years after the initial transcript was made. In this regard, it is important to emphasize that the transcript is NOT considered that primary source of data, which is often misunderstood and critiqued by non-CA practitioners.<sup>9</sup> The data is the video/audio recording, and the transcript is the analyst's tool for “pausing” the interaction.

The transcription symbols that are used in this dissertation (see appendix A), were initially developed by Gail Jefferson (see e.g., Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998 for good overview), and are widely accepted by conversation analysts. The transcription symbols are often grouped according to specific features of the talk (adopted and modified from Steensig 2001: 34ff.): temporal aspects mark pauses and simultaneous (or overlapping) talk between two or more participants, prosodic aspects mark prolongation of words or phonemes, pitch, intonation, stress, volume and speed of the talk, other aspects include hearable in- and out-breath as well as other “mouth sounds”, cut-offs etc. Most analysts

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<sup>9</sup> For instance, Ashmore and Reed (2000) discuss (“the realist”) recording and (“the constructionist”) transcript, and criticize that only the latter is approached as an analytic object.

use (slightly modified) standard orthography rather than e.g. phonetic transcription due to the accessibility to other researchers.

The transcription of visual aspects requires a special paragraph. Goodwin notes that

[o]ur ability to transcribe talk is build upon a process of analyzing relevant structure in the stream of speech, and marking those distinctions with written symbols, that extends back thousands of years [...]. When it comes to the transcription of visual symbols we are at the very beginning of such as process (Goodwin 2001: 160).

We therefore have to “invent” a set of symbols for visual aspects of interaction, which are not as conventionalized as the relation between a word and its stream of acoustic sound.

ten Have (1999: 92) summarizes the basic procedure within CA studies to first transcribe vocal aspects, and then add visual information on separate lines above or below the vocal line in the transcript, to which it relates. In this way, the sequential aspects are maintained. This way of transcribing visual aspects, in particular gaze, was initially used by e.g. Goodwin (1979; 1980a; 1981; 1984) and Heath (1984):

**Figure 4.1. (Goodwin 1981: 73).**

```

LEE:      ..... X_____
           |
           Can ya brin g- (0.2) Can you
RAY:      .....
LEE:      _____
           bring me here that nylo n?
           |
RAY:      ..... X_____
    
```

This transcript marks the gaze of the participants: the dots (...) note that the participant turns the head towards the co-participant, the line (\_\_\_) that the participant is gazing at the co-participant, and the X marks the point where the gaze reaches the co-participant. Colons (,,) normally describe that the participant withdraws the gaze from the co-participant, but are not included in this transcript. Sahlström (1999; 2002) uses a similar

technique in his analysis of hand-raising in classrooms. However, instead of symbolic representations like colons and dots, he uses drawings of hands and their position in relation to the verbal talk:

**Figure 4.2. (Sahlström 1999: 89).**

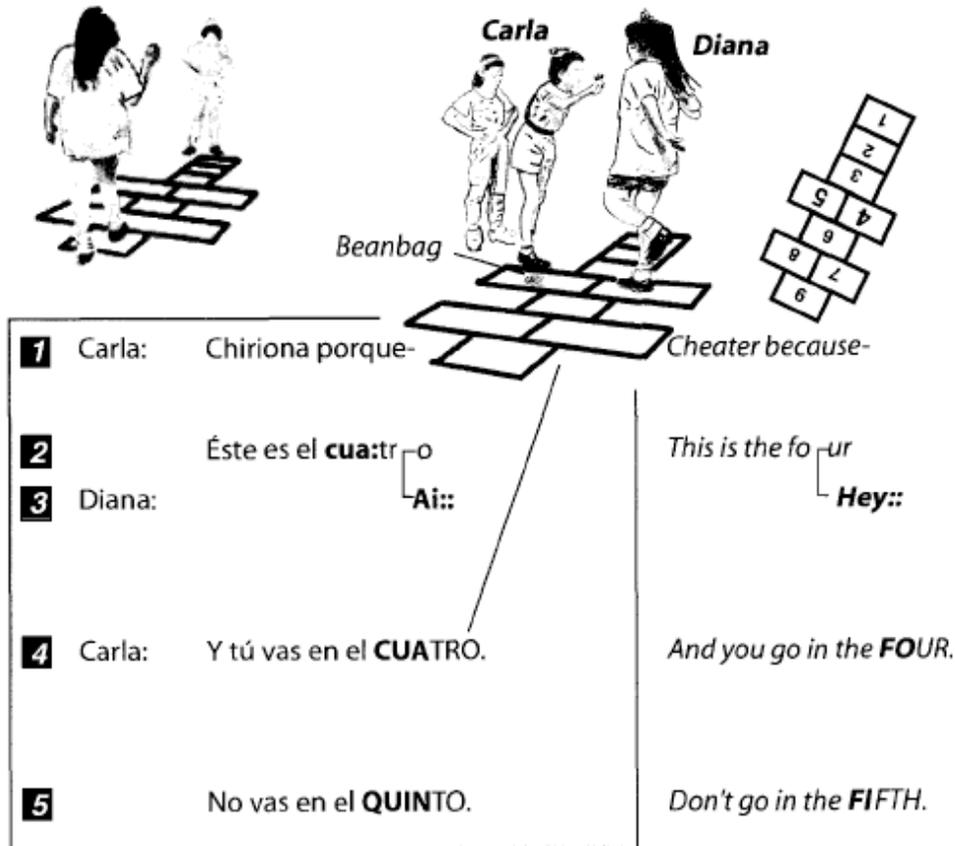
7, 8, 25, 36 Ved-syr, F, So

1	Teacher	jaa? man- man de är my- många saker man kan göra av ett yes? you you there are mu- many things one can make froma
2	Teacher	träd som (vi såg) (.) pappersmassa sa vi Hananh.= tree as (we saw) pulp said we Hananh
	Håkan	=ved.= wood.
	Hananh (nv)	=
	Hananh appr	
3	Teacher	de ger syre. (.) de e ju jätteviktigt de e ju it gives oxygen. it is really important it is
	Hananh (nv)	de ger syre. it gives oxygen.
	Hananh appr	
4	Teacher	(.) omistligt de här att (.) att- att de ger syre (0.5) indispensable this that that that it gives oxygen

*Transcript 8. Ved-syre.*

The advantage of both these representations is that they easily can be understood. The disadvantage, though, is that you exclude other (embodied) information, i.e. posture, gesture, gaze, position of the participants relatively to one another etc. To include this information, but still controlling which aspects, including tools in/and the surrounding, are included, the analyst may include drawings on the basis of the video recording (e.g., Goodwin 2000a, 2003a):

Figure 4.3. (Goodwin 2000a: 1494).



This way of presenting visual information maintains the anonymity of the participants (ten Have 1999: 93), and the transcriber selects which aspects the reader will have access to, and thus “cleans” the transcription in order to clarify the arguments of the analysis.

The last and probably most common way to present visual information as part of the transcript is to include frame grabs from the video recording, and “anchor” them to specific positions in the transcription of verbal talk (Carroll 2004; Goodwin 2003b; Goodwin and Goodwin 2005; Heath 1997; Hindmarsh and Heath 2003; Kidwell 2005). In this way, the transcriber can present the sequentiality of verbal and visual aspects without excluding visual aspects that are not included in the actual analysis. At the same time, different kinds of software allow editions of the frame grabs, e.g. by adding arrows for gaze direction, circles for highlighting particular aspects etc.:



the transcription of it). Excluding the transcription is therefore not “acceptable” (ten Have 1999: 93) since this would mean omitting important information from the reader, and therefore going against CA's basic assumption that the reader should be able to re-do the analysis.

### 4.6.3 Analysis

On the basis of transcriptions of the recorded material, the data is put under close observation. This is typically done during *data sessions*, where several researchers look at and discuss the data.

A first thing that needs a comment in relation to the analyses, is the data COLLECTION, on which the analyses are based. As described above, conversation analysis is primarily concerned with describing (the systematics of) social practices, and in this process works primarily with collections of such practices. Attached to this is the issue of *generalization* of the analytic findings that was described in chapter 4.4.1. In relation to the analyses in this study, the collections of the described phenomena are “relatively small”. This means that (i) more emphasis is put on the individual example, including *deviant cases*, and (ii) that the descriptions are (probably) not exhaustive; Further nuances of the phenomena might be possible when the collections are expanded. However, they DO describe social practices, which are oriented to by the co-participants. One might ask why I have chosen to write an entire dissertation on small data collections. The short answer to this is “because I<sup>10</sup> found something interesting by looking carefully at the data”. This clearly follows an inductive approach by initiating a systematic description as it emerges from the data. I could have chosen several other things that might be more frequent in the material. However, several factors had driven my attention towards features of *participation*, among them Charles Goodwin's classes during my stay at UCLA in the fall 2005. This does, of course, not minimize the analytic implications of the data collection.

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that several of these *candidate phenomena* were discovered during data sessions, in particular in the local group of the Movin-network (see acknowledgement page v).

#### 4.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have described the methodological framework, conversation analysis, of the dissertation. It has been described as a socio-constructionist approach to social interaction. The chapter described the aim and basic assumptions of CA, including the *orderliness* of talk-in-interaction and intersubjectivity. The sociological background within ethnomethodology, and three central figures (Garfinkel, Goffman and Sacks) were highlighted. Finally, the data for the dissertation were presented, and a note was made in relation to transcription of visual aspects.

The following chapters constitute the empirical part of the dissertation – the three separate articles. They draw on PARTICIPATION and INSTRUCTION as it has been argued in the previous chapters by providing detailed analyses of specific social practices in the second language classroom. Mortensen I and II are related to *Reciprocity*, turn-allocation and negotiation of participation roles. Mortensen I provides a broader framework for how different ways of organizing activities and turn-allocation facilitate different interactional tasks. It then goes on to describe a specific type of organization, namely lists of activities that are publicly available to all participants, but where turn-allocation is negotiated locally. It describes how teachers find a “willing and knowing next-speaker”, and how students display whether or not they are willing to be selected as next-speaker. In Mortensen II, I describe instructional situations where the teacher's instruction neither specifies the participation roles nor the activity to be accomplished. In this context, the article argues, the self-selecting student has to establish reciprocity with a co-participant, i.e. finding a co-participant to receive the incipient turn-at-talk. It shows how this task may be accomplished BEFORE the turn itself is properly initiated, and describes different resources used to accomplish this task. In chapter 7, Mortensen III describes a different kind of instructions. It shows a sequential format through which teacher and students locate and select relevant vocabulary from the context. The vocabulary is then extracted for formal vocabulary teaching. It shows how teachers' highlight of part of his/her turn-at-talk makes a specific action, a repeat of the highlighted element(s), relevant in the next-turn.

## CHAPTER 5

### SELECTING NEXT-SPEAKER IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSROOM: HOW TO FIND A WILLING NEXT-SPEAKER IN PREPARED AND AVAILABLE ACTIVITIES

This chapter describes a specific social practice – how teacher and students negotiate who will be selected as next-speaker during plenary interaction. It argues that teachers select the next-speaker on the basis of interactional work between teacher and students. The article starts by describing how activities and turn-allocation can be either prepared or locally managed, and how these differences provide students with different interactional tasks. It then goes on to describe a specific sequential environment – prepared activities, where a list of activities is available to the students, and where turn-allocation is locally managed.

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the challenges second language teachers are faced with on a daily basis is how to get a lesson done according to pedagogical aims or “intentions” of each lesson. On the one hand, teachers may have an idea of how the lesson is “intended” to proceed. This may be done on the basis of some planned activities, which are constrained by global factors such as the curriculum, syllabus, political/educational requirements and pedagogical assumptions. On the other hand, the actual lesson is, at least in cases where the lesson is not conducted as a more formalized (and hence “controlled”) lecture, accomplished in the presence of, and in collaboration with, students or pupils. In this way, teachers are confronted with both PLANNING the lesson as well as actually MANAGING it during the strict time requirements of the single lesson.

At the same time, teachers may be faced with a practical concern to make sure that all students get a chance to talk during a lesson (Paoletti and Fele 2004). Student participation is a central aspect in classroom interaction research, and several studies have analyzed the AMOUNT of student participation (Bellack et al. 1966; Boyd and Maloof 2000; Consolo 2000), HOW students participate (Johnson 1995; Ohta 2001; Sahlström

1999; Tsui 1995; van Lier 1988), and WHY students participate differently, by relying on social factors such as gender (of students and teacher), cultural background and age (Fassinger 1995), race (Howard et al. 2006), or organizational factors such as class size, attendance in class or relation to the curriculum (Howard et al. 1996). The assumed pedagogical goal of including all students in a lesson, and allowing every student approximately the same speaking time may affect the way the classroom is (physically and socially) organized by arranging group or peer work since “[i]t increases language practice opportunities” (Ellis 1994: 598) and hence student participation. Another way of including students is for teachers to manage the way turn-allocation is done. For instance, a teacher may do specific work to include a student in (the official part of) the lesson:

**Example 5.1 [F509U2 – 16:15]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     For li'e nu er der mange barrierer (.) fordi båndene er væk  
**Because right now there are many barriers (.) because the tapes are gone**
- 2     **Teacher:**     materia#lerne er væk  
**the materials are gone**  
Teacher:             #gaze towards Pierre
- 3                     **+(1.9)**  
Yang:                +gaze towards classmate sitting to his right hand side
- 4     **Yang:**         <sup>ooo</sup>( [ ] )<sup>ooo</sup>
- 5     **Teacher:**       [Så du li'e ka fortælle det  
**[So if you could just say that**
- 6     **Pierre:**        Ja [okay  
**Yeah okay**
- 7     **Teacher**         [#(ikk oss)  
**[right**  
Teacher:             #-->>gaze towards Yang
- 8                     **(0.2)**
- 9     **Yang:**         Hvem er din  
**Who is your**
- 10    **Teacher:**       Khh
- 11                     **(0.6)**
- 12    **Yang:**         ( [ ] )
- 13    **Teacher:**       [.tsk Yang +hvem- h:vem +ska inviteres. Ska der inviteres noen personer  
**[.tsk Yang who who should we invite. Should we invite some people**  
Yang:                +gaze towards teacher+-->>gaze reaches teacher
- 14    **Teacher:**       fra Bolettes klasse  
**from Bolette's class**
- 15                     **(1.7)**
- 16    **Yang:**         Ja det ska je nok (.) sørge (.) 'ja°  
**Yeah I will take care of that yeah**

In this example, Yang is not displaying engagement in the official part of the lesson, but in a *parallel activity* (Koole 2007) by talking to another classmate. In line 13, the teacher selects Yang as a next-speaker, and requests his gaze with a turn-initial *summons* (Schegloff 1968), the address term, and restarts the turn-beginning as Yang has started turning the gaze towards the teacher. In this way, the teacher constructs the turn-

beginning by requesting the gaze of a non-gazing recipient (Carroll 2004; Goodwin 1980a; 1981; Heath 1984; 1986). Selecting Yang as a next-speaker thus requires extra work, due to Yang's engagement in a parallel activity.

During the course of a lesson, the teacher has to manage which ACTIVITIES the class should do, as well as select PARTICIPANTS to perform them. This selection can be done by instructions, e.g. questions, in which the teacher selects which student should do which activity. A particular type of questions in classrooms is questions that “anyone [of the students] would expectably know” (McHoul 1978: 201). In these cases the teacher

can't simply ask the question and await any-comer [...]. What [the teacher] has to find is a knowing-and-willing answerer (McHoul 1978: 201, emphasis added).

Using detailed analyses of participants' verbal and visual actions, this article deals with how teachers find and select a KNOWING AND WILLING ANSWERER in specific sequential environments – going through a task that has been prepared prior to carrying out the activity interactionally in class, and which is ACCESSIBLE to the students during the time of the task accomplishment. The interactional task of finding a student to respond to the teacher's first pair-part, is specifically related to the sequentially unfolding accomplishment of the ongoing activity. The organization of activities and the turn-by-turn management of the progression of the task provide the students with specific structural and social/interactional tasks (see also Jones and Thornborrow 2004). The information of how this is accomplished, is important for teachers since the organization of a task may add unnecessary (interactional) complexities to the pedagogical focus of a task. While this study confirms the traditional view (of this specific type of plenary interaction) of the teacher, as the MANAGER of who gets to talk, it highlights the interactional and negotiated environment in which speaker-selection is done. In this way, the study describes a specific social norm in classroom plenary activities, through a systematic description of participants' verbal and visual resources during (talk-in-) interaction.

### 5.1.1 Data material

The data material used for this study consists of approximately 25 hours of video recordings from several Danish as a second language classrooms for adult learners. The data were collected as part of the cross-institutional research project called *Learning and Integration – Adults and Danish as a Second Language* between three Danish universities. The students represent the heterogeneous group of adult migrants in Denmark in terms of geographical, educational and social background, as well as different proficiency levels within each classroom. The recordings were made in the period 2005-2006 in three different language learning centers in Denmark. For the video recordings, I used two separate cameras, placed on tripods, since I was not present during the recordings. One of the cameras was attached to a flat table microphone, and another 2-3 external hard disk recorders were placed on different tables around the room. Later the movie and sound files were synchronized to facilitate the analysis. All names are pseudonyms. Transcription is done according to Jefferson's notation, see e.g. Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998: vi-vii). Transcription of visual information, in particular gaze, is adopted from Mondada (2007) (see appendix A for symbols for transcribing visual aspects).

### 5.2 TASKS, QUESTIONS AND FIRST PAIR-PARTS

An important object in (second) language classroom research is *tasks*. A *task* refers to a goal-oriented activity, i.e. what students are asked and supposed to do, and is often related to written material or some (formal) instruction by the teacher. One line of task research has focused on how tasks are related to the students' output in terms of linguistic production. This has resulted in a description of how to measure task difficulty in terms of psycholinguistic, pragmatic and social factors (see Taguchi (2007) and Skehan (2003) for recent reviews). For instance, Foster and Skehan (1999) analyze teacher-led, solitary and group-based *planning*, i.e. students' preparation time from getting the instruction to responding to it, and find that whereas the teacher-led planning results in more accurate student output, the solitary planning leads to more fluent and complex output. The present study does not deal with task difficulty in terms of its pedagogical design. Rather, tasks are seen as enacted in and through interaction, using the participants embodied practices

to display their continuous orientation to the ongoing course of action. In this way, the written task is made relevant by the participants to perform specific social action. I will show how participants orient to the (physical) presence of a written task, and how this orientation provides (and, in fact, is visible THROUGH) a framework, in which relevant action can emerge. In the remainder of this article, I refer to TASK as the pedagogical aim of an activity, typically related to some written material, and ACTIVITY as the teacher's enactment of the task, e.g. by reading aloud a question from the written material and thus producing a *first pair-part* (Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

Going through a (written) task in plenary interaction in the classroom typically involves the teacher in the role of “instructor”, i.e. producing first pair-parts (e.g. from the task-item list) to which students are supposed to respond. The ways in which these first pair-parts are produced, provide students and teacher with different INTERACTIONAL TASKS. Asking a question sets up requirements for the next-turn, but does not itself select who to take the next-turn (Sacks et al. 1974: 716f.). However, a first pair-part may be designed in such a way as to select a particular co-participant as next-speaker, e.g. *what?* which selects the prior speaker as next-speaker (Schegloff 1997a). However, when a question is not selecting a next-speaker through the way it is constructed, the questioner may be faced with the interactional task of finding someone to produce the answer:

### Example 5.2 [O619 – 13:30]

- |   |                 |  |
|---|-----------------|--|
| 1 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Godt å den +næste der læ+ser op ehm::: #::: +(0.6) hvem #vi- det<br><b>Good and the next one to read aloud ehm::: (0.6) who wan-</b> |
|   | Catherine:      | +gaze towards teacher+gaze towards book+gaze towards teacher   |
|   | Teacher:        | #gaze towards Catherine#raises hand  |
| 2 | <b>Teacher:</b> | ka du gøre Ca#the#rine<br><b>you can do that Catherine</b>   |
|   | Teacher:        | #points at Catherine#gaze down into textbook   |
| 3 |                 | <b>(0.4)</b>   |
| 4 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Du ta ´r Hanne å Per<br><b>You can take Hanne and Per</b>  |

In example 5.2, the teacher projects the next-activity, i.e. reading aloud, and projects next-speaker selection with *and THE NEXT ONE to read aloud* (line 1). However, she delays the actual speaker-selection by a hesitation marker and a gap while she scans the room. She then explicitly orients to speaker-selection as an interactional task (projectable as *who wants* which requests that students display whether they want to be selected), but cuts off and selects Catherine as next-speaker. In these cases, as this article will show and as the teacher in example 5.2 explicitly displays, selecting a next-speaker is a MEMBERS' PROBLEM. I will show that the teacher manages who is selected, but that this is done on the basis of interactional work between teacher and students.

As we will see in this article, the teacher's first pair-part and the student who is selected to produce the second pair-part, are frequently produced as one unit, e.g. in the same turn constructional unit (TCU). However, as example 5.2 showed, WHAT the activity is about and WHO is selected to do it, can be framed as different interactional tasks and can even be produced by different speakers. In the next example, the class is discussing where to go in relation to a project about other language learning centers, and whether to divide the class into groups or not.

**Example 5.3 [F504U1 – 21:30]**

- 1     **Yang:**       Min mēning ahh je vil (0.9) gå til (min gruppe) for eksempel min gruppe  
**My opinion ahh I want to (0.9) go to (my group) for instance my group**
- 2     **Yang:**       (0.7) eller (.) den gruppe går til ah (1.1) ((bynavn 1))  
**(0.7) or (.) that group goes to ah (1.1) ((name of city 1))**
- 3                   **(0.9)**
- 4     **Yang:**       Og (0.6) to grupper (0.4) går til ((bynavn 2))  
**And (0.6) two groups (0.4) go to ((name of city 2))**
- 5                   **(1.0)**
- 6     **Yang:**       °Ja°  
**Yeah**
- 7                   **(2.1)**
- 8     **Yang:**       Hva sí'r I så  
**So what do you say**
- 9                   **(0.3)**
- 10    **Teacher:**    Hva me dig Myriam du sí'r heller ikk så meget  
**What about you Myriam you do not say much either**
- 11    **Myriam:**    Jo: me:n (0.4) min mening det det samme  
**Yes but (0.4) my opinion that is the same**

In line 1, Yang proposes his opinion, “*min mening* (my opinion)”, of how to divide the class. He asks for a reaction from the class (line 8), and in doing so he changes his personal opinion into a suggestion that is to be discussed by the classmates. However, rather than a classmate self-selecting, the teacher selects Myriam to respond to the suggestion. In this way, whereas Yang specifies the next-action, another participant –the teacher– selects the next-speaker.

The WHO and the WHAT, i.e. which activity to perform and who should do it, can relate to the teacher's planning of the lesson in various ways. In the following section, I will show how this provides different INTERACTIONAL TASKS for students, and thus how the

planning of activities or turn-allocation (i.e. pre-allocation) constrains the students' opportunities for producing a turn-at-talk.<sup>1</sup>

### 5.3 ACTIVITIES AND TURN-ALLOCATION – PLANNED OR LOCALLY MANAGED?

Organizing and carrying out a lesson, is often based on the teacher's planning as well as the local management of how the lesson proceeds. For instance, even though tasks may have been prepared by the teacher prior to the lesson

[they] are accomplished in a locally contingent and socially distributed way through the actions of the participants involved and through their ongoing interpretations of the instructional setting (Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004: 510).

In relation to the planning of the lesson, the teacher may prepare the activities that the class should go through and the time to be spent on each activity (Jensen 2001). This may include homework, group activities etc. and is constrained by, among other factors, the curriculum and pedagogical assumptions and beliefs. On the other hand, the order of turns may also be planned or pre-allocated in some way. For instance, a teacher may decide that a task should be organized so the students take a turn-at-talk one after the other. It is important to note that by planned activities/first pair-parts and turn-allocation I do not only refer to whether the teacher “intends” to organize tasks and speakers in a certain way, but to this planning being AVAILABLE to the students as well.<sup>2</sup> As specified above, the focus here is thus on how tasks are constructed interactionally. In relation to activities, this is typically done in relation to written material, e.g. textbooks or handouts where the students can follow the progress of the task. In relation to turn-allocation, this can be done by explicitly specifying how turns are (intended to be) organized. In this way, the WHAT as well as WHO should carry out the activity, can be prepared before the

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Ohta, in relation to peer interaction, notes that “learner engagement is impacted by how tasks are designed and implemented” (Ohta 2001: 250), and thus emphasizes the relation between task design and the interactional/social constraints on students when working through the task.

<sup>2</sup> In this way, I differ from e.g. Jensen (2001) since I adopt an interactional approach to “planning”. She writes that “[u]sually, lesson plans are written just for the teacher's own eyes” (Jensen 2001: 403).

lesson or negotiated interactionally on a turn-by-turn basis. To visualize this, I propose a matrix (see figure 5.1) to indicate four ways in which instructions, or more generally first pair-parts, may be organized and framed by the teacher in relation to planning versus no-planning, i.e. local management:

**Figure 5.1**

		WHO	
WHAT	Prepared activity	Local management of activities	Local management of activities
	Pre-allocation of turns	Pre-allocation of turns	Pre-allocation of turns
	Prepared activity	Local management of activities	Local management of activities
	Local management of turn-allocation	Local management of turn-allocation	Local management of turn-allocation

In the following, I will briefly provide an example of each of the matrix quadrants and show how they provide different interactional tasks for students. This is meant as a rough sketch before proceeding to the matrix-type, *prepared activity and local managed turn-allocation*, I will analyze further.

### 5.3.1 Prepared activity, pre-allocation of turns

When both the activity and the organization of turns have been specified in advance, e.g. students taking turns at answering questions, the teacher has a high degree of control of WHO is doing WHAT, and this is the “strictest” form of organizing instructions. This does not only constrain the actions of the selected next-speaker, but also his/her classmates. They have to monitor both the progression of the activity in order to follow WHO is next-speaker, since eventually it will be their turn, and WHAT kind of activity to produce. However, even though the order of speakers and the according activities are specified in advance, it has not been specified WHEN the next-speaker will initiate his/her turn-at-talk:



Prior to example 5.4, the teacher has instructed the class how the task should be organized – that students take turns at answering the task items one after the other, and that this is organized clockwise around the classroom. Michael's answer leads to a comment by the teacher regarding the pedagogical focus of the task – pronunciation (see line 13). The evaluation ends with the acknowledgement token “*jaer* (yeah)” and a (1.1) second pause, and the closing of the sequence marks a closing of the prior activity and the student's turn-at-talk, i.e. the second pair-part. It therefore projects a continuation and progression of the task as well as a transition to the next-speaker. Here the student sitting next to Michael, Wu, self-selects and initiates a turn, i.e. the next task element. Note that this is done BEFORE the teacher selects him as the next-speaker in line 17. In this way, the position of the turn-allocation has to be negotiated between several participants on a turn-by-turn basis.

### **5.3.2 Local management of activities, local management of turn-allocation**

In the opposite end of the matrix, neither the activities nor the order of turns have been specified in advance, but occur on a moment-to-moment basis as part of the ongoing course of interaction. In these cases it is neither clear who will take the next-turn, nor which action that turn will do:

**Example 5.5 [F509U1 – 13:50]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     .mtl Var det en ide at der var måske e:n kort præsentation  
                           .mtl **Would it be an idea maybe to have a short presentation**
- 2     **Teacher:**     a:f to forskellige sprogcentre  
                           **of two different language learning centers**
- 3                       (0.8)
- 4     **Teacher:**     Ikke interviews først men at (0.3) eh: en person præsenterer ((sprogskole))  
                           **Not the interviews first but that (0.3) eh one person presents ((name of school))**
- 5                       (0.2)
- 6     **Teacher:**     Fortæller (.) hvor mange kursister (.) hvor mange lærere hvor  
                           **Tells (.) how many students (.) how many teachers where**
- 7     **Teacher:**     ligger det (0.5) eh: hva er deres: historie  
                           **is it (0.5) eh what is their history**
- ((Approximately 17 sec. of side sequence omitted))
- 8     **Khalid:**     +Jeg (0.2) #<sup>o</sup>eh<sup>o</sup> +jeg kan eh:: (1.1) ehm:: (0.7) næste (.) næste tirsdag  
                           **I (0.2) eh I can eh (1.1) ehm (0.7) next (.) next Tuesday**  
                           Khalid:     +gaze towards teacher+gaze away from teacher  
                           Teacher:     #gaze towards Khalid
- 9     **Khalid:**     (0.7) jeg kan eh snakke om at eh (0.9) om: ehm: eh statistik (0.5) eh studieskole  
                           **(0.7) I can eh talk about that eh (0.9) about ehm eh statistics (0.5) eh ((school))**

In example 5.5, the teacher proposes an idea in relation to the presentation of a classroom project for another class at the language center – that they present some general information about the visited schools as a general introduction (lines 1-7). The instruction does not select a next-speaker nor does it specify what the next-turn should “do”. After a long period of silence/parallel student interaction Khalid self-selects in line 8. His turn-beginning is constructed as to establish reciprocity with the main recipient being the teacher, since Khalid turns the gaze towards him, and as the teacher's gaze arrives at Khalid he restarts the turn-beginning and continues (although hesitantly). Restarts and other kinds of turn-initial delays have been found to be a frequent resource for participants, in order to establish reciprocity with a co-participant in interaction between native speakers (Goodwin 1980a; 1981; Heath 1984; 1986; Kidwell 1997) as well as between non-native speakers (Carroll 2004). The way in which the teacher's instruction is designed, i.e. without specifying an exact activity nor selecting a specific student to do it,

makes reciprocity a relevant task for the self-selecting student to deal with in his/her turn-beginning (see also Mortensen II).

### **5.3.3 Local management of activities, pre-allocation of speaker**

In my data material, I rarely find cases where the order of speakers has been pre-specified, but where the activity is being locally managed. Remember, that pre-allocation as it is used here, supposes that the order of speakers is AVAILABLE or accessible to all participants, and does not include cases where the teacher may have a “hidden list” of the order of speakers. In example 5.6, the teacher selects a student, but does not specify the activity she is going to perform:

**Example 5.6 [O620U2 – 56:25]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     #Nå (.) +ehh::+rm=#ehh:  — —+ — — ((0.4)) An#gela  
                           **Well (.) ehh::rm=ehh: (0.4) Angela**  
 Teacher:     #gaze into book     #gaze at Angela     #-->>gaze into book  
 Angela:             +gaze to teacher +gaze away +gaze towards teacher
- 2                     **+(0.5)**  
 Angela:             +gaze into book
- 3     **Angela:**     Hvilket nummer?  
                           **Which number**
- 4                     **+(1.6)**  
 Angela:             +gaze towards classmates
- 5     **Angela:**     Nummer syv?  
                           **Number seven**
- 6                     **(0.7)**
- 7     **Angela:**     +Hvilket nummer?  
                           **Which number**  
 Angela:             +gaze towards Ayaan
- 8                     **(0.2)**
- 9     **Ayaan:**     +S:yv  
                           **Seven**  
 Angela:             +gaze towards teacher
- 10    **Teacher:**     Fik du fat +i hvornår hun fik den.  
                           **Did you get when she got it**  
 Angela:             +gaze into textbook
- 11                     **(.)**
- 12    **Teacher:**     \*Altså\* hvornår hun fik bøden  
                           **that is when she got the fine**
- 13    **Angela:**     Sidste +år  
                           **Last year**  
 Angela:             +gaze towards teacher

This example actually comes from an activity that is specified in advance, and is available to the students since it is part of their textbook (see below). However, the teacher does not specify WHICH activity Angela is supposed to answer, and therefore does not relate it to the written task. This has sequential consequences. After nominating Angela as next-speaker and a (0.5) second pause, Angela initiates a request for confirmation in order to determine which number of the question list she is going to answer. Not until she has provided a candidate number (line 5) and has repeated the

request, does the teacher explicitly read aloud the question to which she is supposed to produce an answer (line 10). Note also that one of Angela's classmates, Ayaan who is sitting next to her, assists in locating the question on the list (Line 9).

### 5.3.4 Prepared activity, local management of turn-allocation

The last of the quadrants in the matrix refers to instructions where a list of task items is available to the students, but the speakers have to be selected on a moment-to-moment basis (see also Mori 2002). This typically includes going through a homework assignment or group/peer work, and is often related to some written material such as questions in the textbook. In these cases, a relevant interactional task for the teacher is to find a “willing” student to perform the next-activity:

#### Example 5.7 [O620U1 – 57:15]

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | <b>Teacher:</b> #+Å den s::::::::::#:sids+te (0.5) #Mia (0.2) Fik du fat i<br><b>And the last one (0.5) Mia (0.2) Did you get</b><br>Teacher: #gaze towards board #gaze towards Mia #gaze towards book<br>Mia: +gaze towards teacher +-->gaze towards book |
| 2 | <b>Teacher:</b> <hvordan bet#jentene var><br><b>how the officers were</b><br>Teacher: #gaze towards Mia  |
| 3 | (1.0)  |
| 4 | <b>Mia:</b> Ehrm#::::: ene den ene va::: r Åsø+d å #den anden var det ik#ke<br><b>Ehrm::: one of them was nice and the other one was not</b><br>Teacher: #gaze towards book #moves to board #-->gaze towards board<br>Mia: +-->gaze towards teacher        |
| 5 | (0.5)  |
| 6 | <b>Teacher:</b> Den ene #var sød jaer<br><b>One of them was nice yeah</b><br>Teacher: #writes on board   |

In order to find a “willing” student, the teacher orients to whether students themselves display willingness to produce the next-action. In this example, the teacher is facing the blackboard when the first pair-part is initiated in line 1. However, she delays the progression of the turn and the possible speaker selection, by prolonging the initial phoneme of the word “*sidste* (last)”. During the prolongation, she turns towards the class

and engages a mutual gaze with Mia, and selects her to answer the first pair-part. In this way, the teacher displays an orientation to MONITORING the students' display of willingness to answer the first pair-part, as a relevant interactional task PRIOR to the speaker selection. In the remainder of this article, I will look at how teacher and students accomplish the selection of a next-speaker to perform a specific second pair-part.

#### 5.4 DISPLAY QUESTIONS AND FIRST PAIR-PARTS

A first thing to look at is which kind of activity is related to this practice. As I stated previously, the activity is (potentially) visible to all participants in the classroom and typically involves some written material. In this way, the students are able to project a relevant next action in relation to the progression of the overall activity. At the same time, the first pair-part is designed in a way that constrains what kind of second pair-part is “a relevant answer”. For instance, in example 5.7 the first pair-part is related to a comprehension task of the taped dialogue. In this sense, what constitutes a “right” second pair-part is already “known” to the teacher (and the other students). These kinds of questions are often referred to as “known-answer questions” or *display questions* (e.g. Banbrook and Skehan 1990; Long and Sato 1983), i.e. questions “to which the questioner knows the answer” (Nunan 1989b: 29). In display questions, the student is supposed to display whether (s)he knows the answer, and this knowledge is displayed to the teacher as the main recipient. However, whether a question is a display or a referential question is not easy to determine for the analyst (e.g. van Lier 1988),<sup>3</sup> and Cazden notes that the distinction is “probably still heuristically useful for teachers, but inherently imprecise for research” (Cazden 1986: 453). One way, in which a question can be characterized, is by looking at the third turn of the sequence, i.e. the turn following the second pair-part. In real, or genuine, questions

the questioner proposes to be ignorant about the substance of the question [...] [t]hus the provision of an answer should [...] commit the questioner to have undergone a “change of state” from ignorance to knowledge (Heritage 1984: 286),

---

<sup>3</sup> For a thoroughly discussion of question types, see Levinson (1992).

as displayed for instance through *oh*, *wow* or *really?*. By contrast, in “known-answer questions” the third turn, the *evaluating turn* (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) is

of a different character, and embody a very different stance in and to the interaction [because whereas in other adjacency pair-based sequences] it makes analytic sense to ask what the addition of a third-position turn is doing (e.g., moving for sequence closure), with known-answer sequences [...] the more cogent analytic issue often appears to be what the withholding of a third-position evaluation is doing (Schegloff 2007: 224, emphasis in original).

In this way, what counts as a “right” answer is not necessarily a mere issue of intersubjectivity, but may be related to the linguistic form and the design of the second pair-part.<sup>4</sup> Edwards (1997) notes that this is a place where the institutional setting of the classroom is visible since

[w]e recognize classroom discourse [...] through the kinds of knowledge issues on which the participants treat each other as accountable (Edwards 1997: 38).

The “type” of questions, or more generally first pair-parts, which is the focus in this article, is first pair-parts that are tightly related to a specific activity to be performed as the second pair-part. This constrains which kind of second pair-part fulfills the conditions of the first pair-part and how it is to be produced. I will show how students display their orientation as being relevant respondents to the first pair-part and thus how they orient to HOW the second pair-part is supposed to be answered as well as WHOM the main recipient of the second pair-part is (i.e. the teacher). In this way, I look at how co-participants (i.e. the students) TREAT teachers' first pair-parts and which interactional tasks the students are faced with.

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<sup>4</sup> Levinson (1992) relates this to the Wittgensteinian notion of *language game* – in order for a student to provide a “right” answer (s)he has to know the “rules of the game”. He argues that a classification of 'questions' cannot be based only on their sequential environment, e.g. the answer that follows, but on the *activity type*, i.e. the larger goal oriented activity in which the question plays a part.

## 5.5 HOW DO STUDENTS DISPLAY WILLINGNESS TO BE SELECTED AS NEXT-SPEAKER?

In example 5.7, we saw that the teacher gazed towards the students BEFORE selecting a next-speaker, and that the selection was done AFTER moving into mutual gaze with the selected student. In this way, it was argued that the teacher oriented to the students' display of willingness to be selected. Sahlström (1999; 2002) analyzes the social practice of hand-raising for *displaying participation* in the official lesson and thus as a way of displaying willingness to be selected as next-speaker. He finds that hand-raising often occurs in *transition relevance positions (TRPs)* (Sacks et al. 1974) following teachers first pair-parts. In this way, the students display an orientation to the sequential environment as a position where transition to another speaker, a student, is relevant or even expectable. However, gazing towards the teacher is also a way of displaying that the student is willing to be selected as next-speaker. In example 5.7, Mia was already gazing towards the teacher as she turned the gaze towards her. Thus, when the teacher's gaze reached Mia she found a gazing co-participant. Goffman (1963a) notes that mutual gaze may be a first step of moving into focused interaction. Here, it seems, the student's gaze towards the teacher is displaying the student's willingness to be selected as next-speaker, and thus that the student is willing to take up the primary role of “speaker”, or more correctly “answerer”, in the projected *participation framework* (Goffman 1981 [1979]). As indicated previously, whereas the task has been specified in advance the selection of a next-speaker to answer, the next task item has to be negotiated locally on a turn-by-turn basis. When a new activity has been initiated, and thus a progression of the task, a relevant action by the students is to display whether they are willing to be selected as next-speaker or not, and this can be done by turning the gaze towards the teacher before (s)he selects a next-speaker:



**Example 5.8 [F521 – 9:23]**

- 1 **Teacher:** #Eh::: (.) er der noen af jer #  $\alpha$  andre her i klas#+sen (0.6)  $\gamma$  <der har> #noen  
**Eh::: (.) is the anybody else here in the class (0.6) who have any**  
Teacher: #gaze Win #gaze Nadia #gaze Pierre #gaze M&F  
Teacher: #points towards students  
Win:  $\alpha$ -->gaze teacher  
Nadia:  $\gamma$  gaze teacher  
Pierre: +gaze towards teacher
- 2 **Teacher:** ideer +hva- hva kun+ne  
**ideas wha- what could**  
Pierre: +gaze into book+gaze up
- 3  **$\beta$  (1.4) ((background noise))**  
Barbara:  $\beta$  gaze towards teacher
- 4 **Teacher:** #hvis je nu: ikke gav dem fri: nu å sa´e jam´ i ska fortsætte  
**if I didn´t let them go now and said well you must continue**  
Teacher: #gaze towards Nadia
- 5 **Teacher:** #i ska  $\gamma$  snakke om me#re  
**you must keep talking**  
Teacher: #gaze M & F #gaze towardsNadia  
Nadia:  $\gamma$ --> gaze into book
- 6 **(0.6)**
- 7 **Teacher:** #Hva kunne: (.) #hva kunne de: spør´ hinanden #om  
**What could (.) what could they ask each other about**  
Teacher: #gaze Barbara #gaze M & F #gaze Win
- 8 -----  $\alpha$ ---#- $\beta$ -----|-----#-----|----- ((2.5))  
Teacher: #gaze towards Barbara #gaze towards Pierre  
Win:  $\alpha$ gaze into book  
Barbara:  $\beta$ gaze into book
- 9 **Pierre:** #.mth Je  $\alpha$   $\gamma$  syns  $\beta$  (0.9) ah::: (1.1) eh:: (0.3) ikke +s:e:je (0.8) °eh: ( )° de:: ro:r.  
**.mth I think (0.9) eh::: (1.1) eh:: (0.3) not sail (0.8) eh ( ) they row**  
Teacher: #->>gaze reaches Pierre  
Win:  $\alpha$  -->>gaze towards Pierre  
Nadia:  $\gamma$ -->> gaze towards Pierre  
Barbara:  $\beta$ -->> gaze towards Pierre  
Pierre: +gaze towards teacher

Prior to this example, two students, Maria and Fattouma (in the transcript noted M & F), have performed a task in front of their classmates. The task consisted, among other things, of asking each other questions about two people on a picture on the handout. They have just finished when this extract begins, and the teacher now asks the other students for more questions that could be talked about in relation to the picture, while she scans around the classroom and several students turn their gazes towards her. In the pause

following the teacher's question, line 8, she gazes towards the class. In this position, the relevant next action is for a student to display willingness to be selected by, as we have seen, turning the gaze towards the teacher or raising the hand. However, as the teacher's gaze reaches Win, he withdraws the gaze by looking down into the textbook on the table in front of him. The teacher then turns towards Barbara, who also withdraws the gaze as the teacher's gaze reaches her. In this way, they avoid entering into mutual gaze with the teacher and in doing so avoid entering an engagement framework. Rather than disengaging from the activity, this seems to be an integrated part of finding a next-speaker. When the teacher's gaze arrives at Win and he withdraws his gaze from her, the teacher moves on to another student and orients to their withdrawing gaze as relevant in this position, and thus as an intrinsic part of the social organization of the classroom. By not entering an engagement framework, they display that they are NOT willing to be selected to answer the teacher's question. On the other hand, Pierre initiates a second pair-part when the teacher's gaze reaches him (line 9). In this way, he orients to the teacher's gaze as searching for a student who is willing to respond to the first pair-part, and that none of the classmates have done that so far. In this way, students display different levels of engagement in the ongoing activity. Rather than “understanding” and “participating” in the activity in the same way, Ohta (2001) notes that

[e]ven for learners in the same classroom, tasks are implemented under different conditions. The “same task” is never really “the same”, even for learners who are sitting side by side. Students come to class with different levels of preparation, exhibit different levels of engagement, and have different understandings of the tasks (Ohta 2001: 232, emphasis added).

Working through a task in plenary lessons involves that the students display different levels of engagement. This is an important part of the social organization, and is crucial for the teacher's (interactional) task of finding a willing-and-knowing next-speaker.

### **5.5.1 Orientation to relevant next action**

An important point is that the task is visible for the participants. This means that students are able to follow the progression of the task and project the relevant next-action. When a class is going through a task that includes several task items, the participants

continuously have to demonstrate whether they are engaged in the task and how the task progresses (Koole 2007; Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Mori 2004; Szymanski 1999). Koole (2007) argues that even though students engage in *parallel activities* they maintain an orientation towards the teacher and the (central) activity (s)he is engaged in. Initiating a new activity within the overall task, involves establishing new participation roles. The transition from one activity to another is therefore a relevant position for a student to display willingness to be selected as next-speaker. In this way, a student can display willingness to be selected as next-speaker even BEFORE a transition to the next action has been initiated.

## Example 5.9 [O620U1 – 17:20]

- 1     **Teacher:**     Jaer <sikkerheds: sele>  
**Yeah safety belt**
- 2                     (0.4)
- 3     **Michael:**     Sikkerhedssele  
**Safety belt**
- 4     **Teacher:**     Der to esser ka i ikk se det +der to esser  
**There are two esses can't you see that there are two esses**  
Cathy:                     +-->gaze down into book
- 5                     (0.3)
- 6     **Teacher:**     Sikkerheds: det et genitiv (.) es: (.) å så s:ele  
**Safety it is a genitive (.) ess (.) and then belt**
- 7                     (1.0) α-----|#-- +-----|-(3.1) ((students say "safety belt"))  
Mia:                     α-->gaze down into book  
Teacher:                     #gaze down into book  
Cathy:                     +-->gaze towards teacher
- 8     **Ali:**             °Sik#kerhedssele°  
**Safety belt**  
Teacher:                     #gaze towards Ali
- 9                     --α-# (1.7) ((2.0))  
Teacher:                     #-->gaze towards Cathy  
Mia:                     αgaze towards teacher
- 10    **Teacher:**     Ca#thy den sidste sætning  
**Cathy the last sentence**  
Teacher:                     #gaze into book  
Mia:                     α-->>gaze into book
- 11                     (1.7)
- 12    **Cathy:**     +.tsk (0.2) ehk Politiken den #enogtyvende november  
**.tsk (0.2) ehk ((name of Danish news paper)) twentyfirst of November**  
Teacher:                     #gaze to board  
Cathy:                     +gaze to book
- 13    **Cathy:**     #nittenhundrede syvoghalvfems  
**nineteenhundred ninetyseven**  
Teacher:                     #writes on board
- 14                     (0.4)
- 15    **Teacher:**     Nit+tenhundredesyvoghalvfems (.) jaer  
**Nineteenhundred ninetyseven (.) yeah**  
Cathy:                     +gaze towards teacher

The prior activity included the word “*sikkerhedssele* (safety belt)” and lead to a linguistic comment by the teacher (how to spell and pronounce the word). The end of line 6 is a possible end, not just of the TCU, but also of the prior sequence. During the pause in line 7, Mia withdraws the gaze from the teacher and orients to, and participates in, closing the prior sequence by disengaging from the displayed participation in the plenary activity. However, Cathy turns the gaze towards the teacher during the same pause, and is selected as next-speaker by the teacher. In this way she projects a relevant next activity –the next task item– and displays that she is willing to be selected as the next speaker.

Even though the activity is visible to the students and they therefore are able to project the next task item by relying on the prior one, the teacher often nominates the activity by reading the question aloud as in example 5.7 (see also Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004), and specifies the number of the instruction in the activity. This can be done either by indicating the exact number, e.g. *number four*, or relative terms like *the first* and *the last* (as in example 5.9). When the teacher does not specify the relation to the task and the specific task item explicitly, it is not absolutely clear which activity the student is supposed to produce. Displaying that a student is willing to be selected as next-speaker before the activity has been explicitly specified, therefore includes that the student may not “know” which activity to initiate and this can have sequential consequences:

**Example 5.6 – reprinted**

- 1     **Teacher:**     #Nå (.) +ehh::+rm=#ehh:  — —+ — — ((0.4)) An#gela  
                           **Well (.) ehh::rm=ehh: (0.4) Angela**  
 Teacher:     #gaze into book     #gaze at Angela     #-->>gaze into book  
 Angela:             +gaze to teacher +gaze away +gaze towards teacher
- 2                     **+(0.5)**  
 Angela:             +gaze into book
- 3     **Angela:**     Hvilket nummer?  
                           **Which number**
- 4                     **+(1.6)**  
 Angela:             +gaze towards classmates
- 5     **Angela:**     Nummer syv?  
                           **Number seven**
- 6                     **(0.7)**
- 7     **Angela:**     +Hvilket nummer?  
                           **Which number**  
 Angela:             +gaze towards Ayaan
- 8                     **(0.2)**
- 9     **Ayaan:**     +S:yv  
                           **Seven**  
 Angela:             +gaze towards teacher
- 10    **Teacher:**     Fik du fat +i hvornår hun fik den.  
                           **Did you get when she got it**  
 Angela:             +gaze into textbook
- 11                     **(.)**
- 12    **Teacher:**     \*Altså\* hvornår hun fik bøden  
                           **that is when she got the fine**
- 13    **Angela:**     Sidste +år  
                           **Last year**  
 Angela:             +gaze towards teacher

Two things should be noted in relation to example 5.6 (reprinted): Firstly, the teacher's hesitations in line 1 do not indicate whether she is projecting the next activity or speaker selection. However, Angela gazes towards her during the turn-delay and displays that she is willing to be selected as next-speaker. Secondly, the teacher does not specify which activity the selected student is supposed to answer. In this way, by engaging into mutual gaze with Angela before selecting her as next-speaker, she orients to Angela's gaze not only as a display of willingness to be selected as next-speaker, but also an orientation to

the next activity and its relation to the written task. Despite this, Angela does not know which activity to produce and initiates a repair sequence (line 3) as a necessary requirement before continuing. She gazes towards the classmates close to her, and after several requests for information, the teacher, who has been looking down into her own book with the list of questions since she selected Angela as next-speaker, reads aloud the question Angela is supposed to answer.

#### 5.6 THE TEACHER MANAGES WHO IS SELECTED AS NEXT-SPEAKER

So far, we have seen how students display whether they are willing or unwilling to be selected as next-speaker, how the teacher orients to these displays as RELEVANT prior to the speaker selection, and how students display an orientation towards the progression of the task and the relevant next action. In this way, speaker selection by the teacher is done on the basis of an interactionally constructed context, in which the students play an important part. Despite the interactional context, the teacher is the MANAGER of who is selected as next-speaker. (S)he selects the next-speaker and may select a student who does not display willingness to be selected:



the main recipient of her talk. At the same time, she projects an evaluation from the teacher in the next turn by turning the gaze towards the teacher towards the possible completion of the second pair-part. In this way, even though the teacher orients to Cathy as being willing to be selected, she ignores this display and manages the speaker selection. Even though she acknowledges the interactional context, she does not select a student according to their displayed willingness, but manages how the order of turns is organized.

Previously, I noted that by displaying willingness to be selected as next-speaker, a student is also displaying that (s)he is able to answer the projected relevant first pair-part, i.e. the next item on the list. By selecting a student who does not display willingness to be selected, the teacher “overrules” the social norm of displaying whether they are available for engaging into focused interaction with the teacher. Further, by selecting a student who does not display willingness to be selected as next-speaker, the teacher selects a student who does not display whether (s)he knows the answer, and this can have sequential consequences. The activity from which the next example is taken, includes a written text with empty spaces, where the students are supposed to fill in numbers they hear when the text is read aloud. Here they are going through the text, and the selected student is supposed to read one sentence of the text aloud.



proposing a specific position of where to start reading aloud, and marks it as a hesitant proposal (line 6). After the teacher's confirmation that this is indeed the activity she is supposed to produce and the right place to do it (line 8), Mia starts reading aloud from the text. In this way, Mia did not display that she was a “knowing and willing answerer” and since the teacher did not specify the task, she was not in a position to provide a second pair-part before dealing with the necessary requirements, i.e. which task to perform. Thus, selecting a student who does not display willingness as next-speaker can have sequential consequences, and this displays the social norm of engagement, by gazing towards the teacher in these sequential environments.

### **5.6.1 Next-speaker selection through address term**

Next-speaker selection in ordinary conversation can be done through various resources. Lerner (2003) describes *explicit forms of address* (gaze and address terms such as names, pronouns etc.) and context-sensitive *tacit forms* by which he refers to

how the organization of actions as sequences of actions can be bound up with the selection of a next speaker (Lerner 2003: 190).

In the present data collection (of cases where activities are prepared and available to the students, but the turn-allocation is managed locally), the only resource teachers rely on to nominate a student as next-speaker is an address term by using the selected student's name.<sup>5</sup> In fact, this seems to be an aspect of how these activities are accomplished:

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<sup>5</sup> Compare Stivers and Robinson's observation that “most questions in multi-party interaction select a next speaker to provide the answer” (Stivers and Robinson 2006: 369), although they do not account for HOW this is accomplished.

**Example 5.12 [O620U1 – 15:55]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     +#Ja  
                           **Yes**  
           Teacher:     #gaze into book  
           Monika:     +gaze into book
- 2                      $\alpha$  (3.0) # (0.9) ((3.9))  
           Teacher:     #gaze towards Mia and around the class  
           Mia:          $\alpha$  gaze towards teacher
- 3     **Teacher:**     Øh::: +videre: #ehrm::: # (4.8) °ja nu ka #je ikk  
                           **Ehrm:: go on ehrm (4.8) yeah now I can't**  
           Teacher:     #gaze to table #goes to other table #gaze on attendance list  
           Monika:     +-->gaze towards teacher
- 4     **Teacher:**     husk hva i hedder alle sammen° .Hhh Mo#nik+a  
                           **remember all your names .Hhh Monika**  
           Teacher:                                     #gaze towards Monika  
           Monika:                                     +gaze towards book

In example 5.12, the teacher initiates the progression to the next task item, and delays the speaker-selection by a hesitation marker and a gap (line 3). However, rather than selecting a student to produce the second pair-part, she explicitly orients to the NAMING of the to-be-selected student as a relevant action, and relies on the attendance list in order to select a next-speaker. For one thing, using the students' names as a resource for turn-allocation allows the teacher to select a student who is not displaying participation in the ongoing activity. Visual resources, such as gaze and pointing, as well as non-reference specific address terms, such as *you*, to select a next-speaker require that the selected student is (physically) able to recognize that (s)he has been selected. On the other hand, it requires that the teacher “knows” and/or “remembers” the students' names. Using the student's name as a resource of speaker-selection seems to be a general feature for selecting a next-speaker in these activities. And example 5.12 exemplifies how the teacher orients to this aspect. However, a more systematic study of whether this is specifically related to the ongoing activity must be left for future research.

**5.7 DISCUSSION**

In this article, I have described how the organization of different activities provides students with different interactional tasks related to establishing the participation roles associated with turn-allocation and turn-transition. The focus of the article was activities

where the task was available to the students, but where turn-allocation was managed on a locally turn-by-turn basis. In these cases, it was found that a relevant interactional task for teachers is to find a *knowing and willing answerer* to provide the second pair-part. Similarly, students orient to the progression of the task and the transition between task items as relevant positions for displaying whether or not they are willing to be selected as next-speaker. In this concluding section, I would like to point out a few consequences that derive from this empirical study. (i) The results of this study, in this specific activity, confirms a traditional view of the teacher as the manager of how turns-at-talk are (officially) distributed among the students. However, this is done on the basis of interactional work by the students, and does indeed involve the students in the teacher's interactional task of selecting a next-speaker. In this way, the present study has presented a more nuanced analysis of speaker-selection in second language classrooms. (ii) The study did not deal with pedagogical issues in relation to this way of organizing activities. However, it was found that both teacher and students orient to students' display of willingness to be selected as next-speaker as RELEVANT in this specific context. As the presented matrix suggested, the organization of the activity constitutes a framework, which requires certain kinds of participation by the students. Awareness of what kinds of interactional tasks an activity provides the students with is of utmost importance for teachers in particular, as well as researchers in classroom studies. Teachers' first pair-parts in plenary activities do not only set up constraints in relation to the content of the second pair-part, but also to interactional work in relation to initiating and delivering the second pair-part. These interactional tasks may complicate the pedagogical aim of the task, and should be taken into consideration when organizing how tasks are organized during the lesson.

## CHAPTER 6

### ESTABLISHING RECIPIENCY IN PRE-BEGINNING POSITION IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSROOM<sup>1</sup>

This article describes how students in the second language classroom claim incipient speakership and establish reciprocity with a co-participant before the turn is properly initiated. The resources used by the incipient speaker include in-breaths and body movements. The article shows that when the teacher's turn is designed as not to pre-establish the participation roles "speaker" and "recipient" of the response turn, the next-speaker orients to establishing visible reciprocity as a relevant interactional task during, or prior to, the turn-beginning. In this way, the teacher's instruction, and the way it is designed and enacted, provides the students with specific interactional tasks that are not only relevant, but also crucial for the production of the student's turn.

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Instructions, and in particular questions, are important in the educational system, not the least in the classroom (e.g., Levinson 1992; Long and Sato 1983; Szymanski 2003). The ways in which instructions are designed and produced, however, matter for what tasks the students are faced with. In the second/foreign language classroom, the focus on form during form-and-accuracy tasks constrains how the student should respond to the teacher's question (e.g., Seedhouse 2004). For instance, a student's answer may not be "accepted" by the teacher if the target item is not produced "properly", even though the answer is (linguistically) correct.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Catherine E. Brouwer, John Hellermann, Maurice Nevile, Johannes Wagner as well as two anonymous reviewers and associate editor of *Discourse Processes*, Charles Goodwin, for providing constructive feedback and critical remarks on earlier versions of this article. I alone am responsible for any remaining problems. Also, I would like to thank students, teachers and staff of the language learning centers that gave me access to their classrooms. Without their kind permission and positive attitude this article would not have been possible.

In this article, I will show that the ways, in which teachers structure the lesson, and the instructions the lesson normally involve, is intimately related to how students participate in the lesson. I will analyze this in a specific sequential context: when the next-speaker has not been selected by the prior speaker, i.e. (s)he *self-selects* (Sacks et al. 1974). I will show that when the main recipient has not been specified prior to the next speaker's turn-at-talk, the self-selected speaker is also faced with the task of securing that someone effectively WILL receive the talk. Several studies have revealed how speakers construct their turn-beginnings so to establish reciprocity with a co-participant (Goodwin 1980a, 1981; Heath 1984, 1986; Kidwell 1997). In this article, however, I will show how reciprocity may be dealt with BEFORE the turn is properly initiated. I will focus on how this can be done through means of in-breaths (indicated with *.Hhh* in the transcripts) and body movements. Constructing the ongoing activity in one way may add to the complexity of the task students are faced with, and this may not (necessarily) be part of the teacher's (intended) pedagogical focus of the activity.

The article contributes to the substantial amount of research that shows how mutual orientation between co-present co-participants is necessary for talk to emerge (Carroll 2005a; Goodwin 1981; 2006; Goodwin and Goodwin 2005; Heath 1986; Mondada 2007). This line of research demonstrates how talk is an interactional accomplishment not just between turns-at-talk (e.g., Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 2007; Schegloff and Sacks 1973) and within the boundaries of the turn itself (e.g., Goodwin 1979), but also during the very set-up of the turn-at-talk. In particular, this study adds to the discussion of turn-beginnings (Mondada 2007; Streeck and Hartge 1992), and extends the boundaries of traditional linguistics. Similarly, it adds to the existing literature on the use of multimodal resources as “an ecology of sign systems” (Goodwin 2003c) that is used in and through interaction to perform a range of social actions (e.g., Goodwin 2001, 2003b; Hindmarsh and Heath 2003; Keating and Mirus 2003; Lazaraton 2004; Szymanski 1999). In this article this is related to, and based on, video recordings from second language classroom interaction (see below), and is discussed in related to pedagogical implications for second language teaching.

## 6.2 SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING

Research in various fields such as linguistics, pedagogy and second language acquisition, has emphasized different approaches to teaching second languages (e.g., Kumaravadivelu 2006; Larsen-Freeman 2000; Richards and Rodgers 2001). In a recent article, Savignon (2007: 208) refers to *communicative language teaching* as the

buzzword [of the 21<sup>st</sup> century] in discussions of the practice and theory of second and foreign language teaching.

The emphasis on students' communicative competence, a focus on meaning rather than form, and an (intended) aim to replicate language outside the classroom, and in particular “conversation”, is criticized by Seedhouse (e.g., 1996) and others, for being considered as a pedagogical concept, rather than being based on communicative or sociolinguistic theory. Similarly, *task-based instruction* (e.g., Foster and Skehan 1999; Skehan 1996, 2003) is supposed to stimulate specific types of language (Nunan 1989b: 45), and therefore is an INTENDED pedagogical methodology (see also Seedhouse 1999, 2005b).

Drawing on Breen's (1989) distinction between *task-in-process* and *task-as-workplan* Seedhouse (2004: 95) argues that

the main focus of [second language] teaching research should be on what actually happens, that is, on the task-in-process, rather than on what is intended to happen, that is, on the task-as-workplan.

Following this line of thought, this article is not intended as a critique of contemporary methods or approaches to second language teaching, nor as a suggestion for how teachers should organize tasks in the classroom. Rather, the aim is to present empirical analyses of classroom interaction to gain insight into the complexity of the social organization from the participants' perspective (see also Evaldsson et al. 2001). By looking in details at what actually goes on in the classroom, this article provides an example of how teachers' “instructions” constrain student participation not only WHEN they participate, but also HOW they participate in terms of which (interactional) tasks students are faced with (see also Macbeth 2004; Sahlström 1999). This is not analyzed on the basis of, or in relation

to, pedagogical concepts, but rather by careful examination of the social interaction of the classroom as it unfolds moment by moment.

### **6.2.1 Data material**

The data consist of approximately 25 hours of video recordings of Danish as a second language classrooms from three different language schools. The recordings are part of a cross-institutional research project, “Learning and Integration – Adults and Danish as a Second Language”, between three Danish universities. The students have different geographical, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds, and represent the heterogeneous group of migrants in Denmark. The recordings were made in the period 2005-2006 with two different cameras that were placed on tripods since the researcher was not present during the recordings. A flat table microphone was attached to one of the cameras, and another two or three external hard disc recorders were positioned among the tables in the room. All names in the transcripts are pseudonyms. Transcription is done according to “standard” CA conventions (see e.g., Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998). The Danish transcription is translated into English in a word by word translation and an idiomatic translation (in italics).

## **6.3 TURN-TAKING IN CLASSROOMS**

Turn-taking organization (Sacks et al. 1974) in classrooms has been shown to differ from ordinary conversation in a number of ways (Markee 2000; McHoul 1978; Mehan 1979; Seedhouse 2004), in particular in relation to how turns are allocated. Several studies report that the most frequent way by which a student can get a turn-at-talk is either by the teacher selecting him/her as a next-speaker (e.g., Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), or by the student requesting the floor, most typically done by hand-raising (Sahlström 1999, 2002). Consequently, self-selection by students is noted to occur with “low incidence” (Jordan 1990: 1154; see also Orletti 1981). These observations lead Paoletti and Fele (2004) to conclude that

since [students] have no control over turn-taking, they cannot ask for clarification [and therefore] cannot exercise control over sense-making in [the] development of turns at talk (80).

Most social or interactional oriented studies analyze how turns are allocated in relation to different activities. Seedhouse (2004), for instance, documents the reflexive relationship between the turn-taking organization and the pedagogical focus of the current activity. He finds that when the pedagogical focus changes the turn-taking organization changes accordingly, as part of how different activities are done and recognized by the participants. However, the social practices involved in self-selecting in classroom settings have, to my knowledge, not been analyzed so far (although see Sahlström 1999). When a student self-selects is his/her only task to produce a turn-at-talk? How is the turn-at-talk initiated, and how, if at all, is it interactively accomplished? As I will show, several studies in other settings, institutional as well as ordinary conversation, have documented the interactional accomplishment of initiating turns-at-talk. These studies are related to RECIPIENCY as an intrinsic part of talk-in-interaction, and before continuing a somewhat extensive review is appropriate.

#### 6.4 TALK, EMBODIMENT AND RECIPIENCY

According to Conversation Analysis (CA), the natural environment of language is social interaction (e.g., Schegloff 1982, 1992c, 1997a, 1998, 2006). Through interaction, including talk, we engage in, and build, the social world. This involves the speaker addressing the talk to his/her co-participant(s), e.g., talking loud enough for the co-participant to register the talk, looking at the (intended) recipient(s) (see Goodwin 1981), and possibly allocating a next-turn to a co-participant (Lerner 2003; Sacks et al. 1974). Interaction also involves monitoring the co-participant's display of engagement in, and understanding of (Clark and Krych 2004), the interaction, i.e. continuously analyzing whether (s)he is “paying attention” to the current speaker (e.g., Goodwin 1980a, 1981, 2006). In these ways, the speaker's talk is but one, although absolutely crucial, aspect of interaction.

An extensive amount of research in interactional linguistics within a CA framework has argued for the interactional construction of syntax (e.g., Lindström 2006; Ochs et al. 1996; Schegloff 1996; Steensig 2001) including how “hearer's” embodied action has an influence on speaker's verbal talk (e.g., Goodwin 1979, 1981, 2000c). In this way, a basic

argument in relation to turn-taking organization, and in fact at the central heart of CA in general, is a view of recipients as

not passive listeners but incipient speakers, continuously monitoring current talk to project the completion of the current speaker's [turn-constructional unit] or a transition-relevance place (TRP) where speaker change may occur (Aoki et al. 2006).

Another line of research deals with how hearers display that they are “listening” and thus are “receiving” the talk of the speaker. “Listening” is not seen as merely acoustic reception, but as an EMBODIED PRACTICE – something that current non-speakers DO and display (e.g., Brouwer 2000; Goodwin and Goodwin 2005). These displays are crucial not only for the continuation of a turn, since the recipient through these displays define the participation roles “speaker” and “hearer”, (e.g., *in multi-unit turns* Gardner 2001; Jefferson 1985; Schegloff 1982), but also for the way in which turns are constructed (Carroll 2004; Goodwin 1979, 1980) . Examples of displayed reciprocity signals are *continuers* (Schegloff 1982) and other kinds of story-receipt tokens, e.g., *assessments* (Goodwin 1986) during a storytelling. By producing continuers such as *uh huh* and *yeah*, and assessments such as *wow* and *really?*, the story recipient is not only displaying orientation to the co-participant as the storyteller, but is also claiming not to take a turn-at-talk. Displayed reciprocity signals are crucial for, and an integrated part of, the production of a story. This has led to a severe critique of the classic notions of “speaker” and “hearer” as separate entities, and highlighted the interactive construction of storytelling (see e.g., Goodwin 2006; Goodwin and Goodwin 2005).

Reciprocity, however, need not be displayed through verbal means, but may be displayed visually such as nodding during the other participant's talk (M. H. Goodwin 1980b; Helweg-Larsen et al. 2004). Similarly, the gaze of the recipient has been shown to be an important way of displaying reciprocity, and this has resulted in a range of studies that describe how the recipient's gaze is related to various aspects of ordinary conversation including turn-design (Goodwin 1979, 1980a, 1981), evaluations during descriptions (M. H. Goodwin 1980b), assessments (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987), stance taking (Goodwin 2007; Haddington 2006), as well as institutional interaction such as doctor-patient

interactions (Heath 1984, 1986; Robinson 1998; Ruusuvuori 2001) and workplace studies (Goodwin 1994; Heath and Luff 1992a; Rae 2001). Goodwin notes that during a turn

the hearer does not gaze continuously towards the speaker [...] [but] gazes away from the speaker, as well as towards him (Goodwin 1981: 71).

Specifically, he finds that a position where gaze is crucial for the speaker is when the speaker turns the gaze towards a non-gazing recipient. In these cases, the speaker often requests the gaze of the recipient, e.g., by means of hesitations and restarts. Speaker and hearer therefore have different rights and obligations in terms of mutual orientation, and as Goodwin continues

a hearer may and should gaze frequently at the speaker, [but] speaker himself is under no such obligation; his gaze towards hearer can be intermittent (Goodwin 1981: 75).

#### **6.4.1 Display of reciprocity in turn-beginnings**

One place where the co-participant's display of reciprocity is crucial for the actual production of the speaker's turn-at-talk is turn-beginnings. As a feature of turn-taking organization a possible next-speaker may initiate his/her turn BEFORE the actual completion of the prior speaker's turn (e.g., Jefferson 1984). A new-speaker may therefore find him-/herself in overlap and the turn-beginning may therefore not be "heard" by the (speaking) co-participant(s). To prevent this the incipient speaker may pre-begin the turn-constructive unit (TCU) by using a *pre-placed appositional* (Schegloff 1987) such as *well*, *but* and *y'know*, which may "[absorb the] overlap with prior turns, without impairing an actual turn's beginning" (Schegloff 1987: 74). In relation to visual displays of reciprocity, the relation between the speaker's talk and the recipient's display of engagement has been documented in ordinary conversation (Goodwin 1980a, 1981; Kidwell 1997), in doctor-patient interaction (Heath 1984, 1986) as well as conversations between native and nonnative speakers (Carroll 2004, 2005a). These studies outline speaker's sensitivity to the co-participant's display of engagement during turn-beginnings. For instance, Goodwin (1981) shows how speakers modify their turn-beginnings by restarts, pauses and hesitation markers to allow for the co-participant's

gaze to arrive at the speaker. In this way, gaze is an important resource for *engagement frameworks* (Goodwin 1981; Robinson 1998), i.e. the participants' embodied display of being engaged in interaction.

However, similar activities may occur BEFORE the talk itself is initiated. Schegloff notes that several elements of conduct can work as *pre-beginnings*, i.e.

elements which project the onset of talk, or the beginning of a (next) [turn-constructional unit] or a turn, but are not yet proper recognizable beginnings. [These are elements such as] turning the head towards (or redirecting gaze at) a potential recipient, the onset of gesture deployment and often its full realization [...], incipient facial expression (e.g., smile), lip parting, cough or throat clear, (hearable) in-breath (sometimes exaggerated), as well as “uh(m)” (Schegloff 1996: 92-93).

Similarly, Jefferson (1984) notes that *pre-speech activities*, e.g., in-breaths, are a way for “gearing up” for starting a next-turn. Streeck and Hartge (1992) look at gestures in the transition space between turns in Ilokano. They show how a gesture (*Palm up*) and a facial expression projecting the articulation of [a] (*the [a]-face*) may contextualize upcoming utterances. In this way, the facial expression, *the [a]-face*, works as a way of “gearing up” for starting a next-turn, and according to Streeck and Hartge it can even be interrupted by another speaker. Similarly, Mondada (2007) looks at pointing gestures in pre-turn positions, in this case during the co-participant's turn-at-talk, as a way of securing the position of next-speaker. She analyzes the emergent nature of speakership and how participants monitor the temporally unfolding development of TCUs and their possible completion. In this way, she provides a careful analysis of a visual, or multimodal, resource for managing turn-taking.

The present study deals with turn-beginnings although in a quite different setting – second language classrooms. I will show how participants establish reciprocity BEFORE initiating the (verbal) turn-at-talk. It is characteristic in the examples analyzed in this study that it has not been established (i) WHO will be next-speaker, (ii) WHEN a new-speaker will initiate his/her turn-at-talk, nor (iii) WHAT the action of the new-speaker's turn should be. These cases show how reciprocity is a relevant task for participants to

manage. I will show that pre-beginning elements may not merely be ways of “gearing up” or projecting a turn-at-talk, but are ways of setting up a *participation framework* (Goffman 1981 [1979]; see also Goodwin 2006; Goodwin and Goodwin 2005) out of which the talk can emerge. By focusing on the participation framework rather than the pre-beginning elements' (syntactic) relation to the upcoming turn-at-talk, the intrinsic interactive construction of the beginning of a turn in (second language) classroom interaction is highlighted.

### 6.5 INITIATING A TURN-AT-TALK WITHOUT DISPLAYED RECIPIENCY

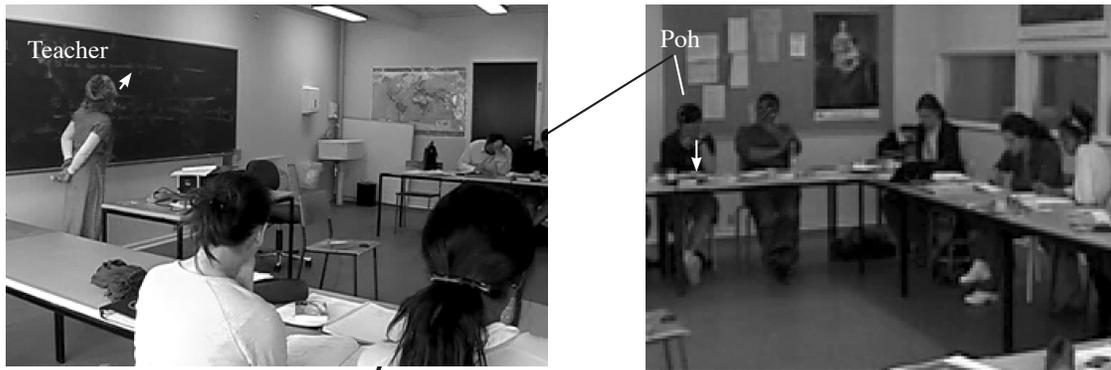
As the review above suggests, the recipient's gaze is crucial for the speaker at turn-beginning. However, this is not the case when the recipient is involved in an activity that is RELEVANT to the ongoing action. Goodwin (1981: 79f.) shows how a speaker may turn away from the co-participant while searching for a word. Similarly, Robinson (1998) finds that a recipient's gaze removal from the speaker may be relevant to the ongoing activity, and is in these cases not oriented to by the speaker as a disengagement of the interaction. In classrooms, students are often engaged in tasks that involve several foci of attention, such as the teacher, classmates, their textbooks or other written material. In these cases, the immediate focus of attention of the individual participant provides a framework for the co-participants to determine to what extent that student is available for *focused interaction* (Goffman 1963a). This has consequences in relation to the extent to which reciprocity has to be established between “speaker” and “hearer”. Below I will describe a specific sequential environment where reciprocity does not seem to be a task for the participants during the speaker's turn-beginning because reciprocity has been established prior to the student's turn-beginning.

#### 6.5.1 Display questions

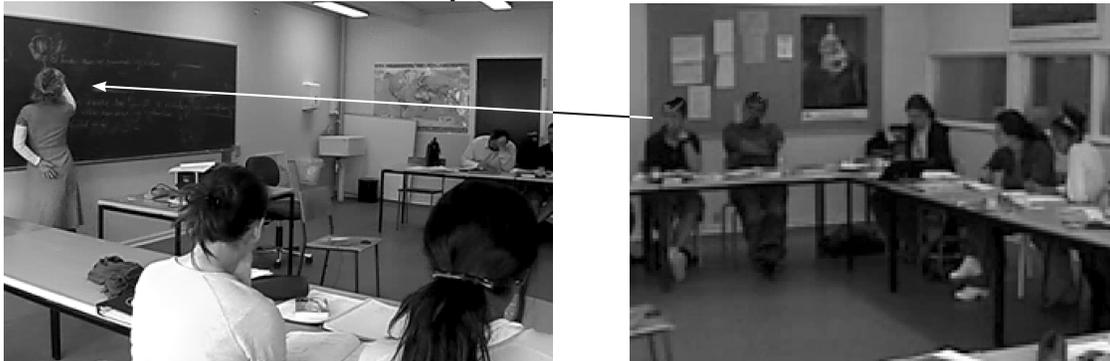
A typical type of question in classroom is what is normally referred to as a *display question* (e.g., Banbrook and Skehan 1990; Cazden 1986; Long and Sato 1983; Seedhouse 2004; Szymanski 2003). This is where the “questioner”, typically the teacher, asks a “known-answer question”, and the students have to display that they know the answer. In this way, the answer is primarily produced FOR the teacher, who often

responds with an evaluation or other kinds of feedback – hence the Initiation – Response – Feedback pattern (IRF/IRE) (e.g., Hall 1997; Mehan 1979; Seedhouse 2004; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). What is characteristic about display questions is that they (i) specify what the answer should look like, i.e. they provide the selected student with highly restricted possibilities for what to do in the next-turn and how the turn should be designed, and thus that only a specific answer will be considered to be right, and (ii) establish who is the appropriate main recipient of the answer, namely the teacher who produced the question. In this way, display questions in various ways constrain the possibilities for the students' participation in the ongoing activity. A classroom activity where the teacher's (display) questions often highly constrain student participation is going through a homework assignment, pair or group work etc. where the teacher controls, or checks, that the students have done the task correctly, and this is typically related to written material such as a textbook (see Mortensen I). Example 6.1 is an example from such an activity. The students have listened to a taped dialogue and the class is now going through a list of questions about the dialogue. The teacher reads aloud the questions, and selects students to provide answers:

## Example 6.1 [O620U1 – 52:30]



- 1 (5.9)
- 2 **Teacher:** Eh::: Poh fik du fat i=eh hvorfor Lisbeth ikke køber en ny cykel  
 Eh::: Poh did you get=eh why Lisbeth not buy a new bike  
 Eh::: Poh did you get=eh why Lisbeth doesn't buy a new bike
- 3 (0.2)
- 4 **Poh:** **Fordi:** hun har ikke råd  
 Because she has not afford  
 Because she not can afford it



- 5 (2.2)
- 6 **Teacher:** Fordi (1.4) hun (1.8) ikke (0.5) har råd  
 Because (1.4) she (1.8) not (0.5) has afford  
 Because she cannot afford it

The student who is selected to answer the question, Poh, does not orient to visibly displayed reciprocity as something that has to be established during the turn-beginning. He gazes towards his textbook on the desk in front of him and only turns his gaze towards the teacher at the end of the answer in line 4. Similarly, the teacher turns towards the blackboard after selecting Poh as next-speaker in line 2, and starts writing as she produces the answer. In this way, student and teacher orient to physical objects, textbook and

blackboard respectively, as relevant foci of attention in relation to the ongoing course of action of answering a question. However, apart from the physical objects, another issue seems relevant here. The question is constraining the student's participation in various ways, which are visible in the way the student's answer is designed and enacted: (i) the student does not orient to the mentioning of his name (line 2) as a *summons* (Schegloff 1968), i.e. as a check for availability that would make a response (e.g., *yeah?* or turning the gaze towards the teacher) conditionally relevant; (ii) the teacher turns towards the board and thus displays an orientation to the board, or rather a projection of WRITING on the board, as relevant to the answer; (iii) the student gazes towards the teacher towards the end of the answer and thus projects a next-turn from the teacher, e.g., an evaluation. This indicates that the participation roles have been established BEFORE the student's answer, and recipiency needs therefore not be established during the beginning of the turn. This suggests that when recipiency and the participation roles “speaker” and “hearer” have been established prior to a turn, the speaker does not orient to displaying recipiency visibly as a relevant task during his/her turn-beginning.

However, a first pair-part need not select the producer of the first pair-part as the main recipient of the second pair-part. For instance, teachers often instruct students to do specific tasks such as engaging in conversation with a peer. Prior to example 6.2, two students, Maria and Fattouma, have performed a dialogue in front of the class. The dialogue, which was part of a larger task concerning a picture of an elderly couple, was performed as a range of question-answer sequences (cf. Mori 2002) where the students took turns at asking each other questions about the persons of the picture, e.g., who they are, how they are related etc. Example 6.2 begins when Maria and Fattouma have just finished the task.



gaze towards him. Thus, Maria and Fattouma display that they are RELEVANT recipients of his turn. Then following his question, lines 7-8, Maria provides an answer to Adan's question. In this way, the teacher's question does not pre-establish the teacher as the main recipient of Adan's turn-at-talk, but allows Maria and Fattouma as relevant recipients of his turn. In this way, a first pair-part does not necessarily select *self* as (the only or main) recipient of the second pair-part.

Establishing reciprocity in relation to a second pair-part is a task participants in the second language classroom have to negotiate locally on a turn-by-turn basis: whether a first pair-part establishes who is the main recipient of the second pair-part is negotiated interactionally. For instance, when participants do not have visual access to each other they are not in a physical position of orienting to the co-participants' visual display of understanding of the first pair-part:

**Example 6.3 [F504U1 – 15:33]**

1 **Teacher:** Hvor lang tid ta'r det å besøge sprogcenter å lave interviews  
*How long time takes it to visit language learning center and make interviews*  
**How long will it take to visit the language learning center and make interviews**

2 (1.9)

3 **Teacher:** Hvor lang tid ta'r det  
*How long time takes it*  
**How long does it take**

4 (1.7)



5 **Teacher:** Å ta' [\*å å\* ta' fotos ]  
*And take and and take pictures*  
**To take to to take pictures**

6 **Hasan:** [( ) Det vil ta' (. ) en en hal]v time  
 [( ) *It will take (.) one one half hour*  
 [( ) **It will take one and a half hour**

7 (0.8)



8 **Hasan:** Halvanden time vil det ta' hvis [vi t- tog [til ((bynavn))  
*An hour and a half hour will it take if [we t- took [to ((name of city))*  
**An hour and a half will it take if we went to ((name of city))**

9 **Teacher:** [Hm  
 [Hm

10 **?:** [\*Ja\*  
 [Yeah

In example 6.3, the class is discussing how to get to a specific language learning center and how long they need for the visit (see line 1) in relation to a classroom project. When a student, Hasan, answers the question he does not do any specific work to establish reciprocity with a specific recipient. He gazes towards the front of the class and not towards a specific co-participant. In this respect, the physical position of the teacher is crucial since the teacher is standing BEHIND Hasan. In this way, Hasan is not able to see whether the teacher displays reciprocity visually without turning his entire upper body

and head towards him. The answer is followed by a (0.8) second pause (line 7) where nobody responds, after which Hasan repeats the answer and this time receives a verbal response from the teacher and another student (lines 9-10). In this way, since the recipient of Hasan's answer has not been established prior to his turn-beginning, and since he does not orient to reciprocity as a task in his turn-beginning it is not clear who the main recipient of his turn is. This has sequential consequences since he repeats the answer in order to get a response from a co-participant.

In conclusion to this section, it seems that when the teacher's first pair-part is constructed, and oriented to by the co-participating student, as to select *self*, i.e. the teacher, as a recipient of the student's second pair-part, the student does not orient to reciprocity as an interactional task in his/her turn-beginning. It is not the first pair-part *per se* that pre-establishes who the recipient of the second pair-part is, but how the participants treat it, i.e. the participants' intersubjective understanding of the first pair-part.

## 6.6 UNCERTAINTY ABOUT NEXT-SPEAKER POSITION

In the prior section, I described a situation where the new speaker could initiate a turn-at-talk without orienting to requesting and establishing displayed reciprocity with a co-participant as a relevant task because the participation roles “speaker” and “recipient” had been established prior to the student's turn-at-talk. When this is not the case, i.e. when neither next-speaker nor his/her recipient have been specified in advance, participants seem to orient to visually displayed reciprocity as a relevant task to deal with during turn-beginnings:



speaker-hearer relation has not been established prior to the new turn-at-talk the new speaker restarts the turn-beginning in order to allow the participants to establish mutual gaze before continuing her turn-at-talk.

In these situations in classroom settings, several participants are RELEVANT next-speakers. For the participants this means that when the new-speaker initiates his/her turn, (s)he does not necessarily constitute the relevant focus of attention of the co-participants' gaze. Establishing reciprocity, then, seems to be something to which the participants orient as a relevant task. This is intimately related to the ongoing activity and the way the teacher's instructions are presented to the students. The instruction does not select a specific student as next-speaker, but provides an opportunity to self-selection. This way of organizing activities is very different from planned activities (see Mortensen I), and provides the students with the interactional task of establishing reciprocity.

#### 6.7 ESTABLISHING RECIPIENCY PRIOR TO TURN-BEGINNING

Participants' mutual orientation to, and display of engagement in, the participation framework is of utmost importance to the beginning of a turn-at-talk. This participation framework is often set up as part of the turn-beginning, however, it may also be established BEFORE the turn-at-talk is initiated, thus in a pre-beginning position. By establishing reciprocity before the turn is properly initiated, the incipient speaker deals with this interactional task separately from the (verbal) turn-beginning. The speaker, then, needs not establish reciprocity as part of the turn-beginning as in the prior literature has been described to be done through resources such as restarts, phrasal breaks and hesitations.

## Example 6.5 [F504U1 – 4:38]

1	(4.9)		
2	Rosa:	.Hhh .Hhh	
3	(0.5)		
4	Rosa:	Altså f <sup>ø</sup> rst vi skal (0.3) be <sup>st</sup> emme. <i>Well first we shall (0.3) decide</i> <b>Well first we must (0.3) decide</b>	
5	(0.2)		
6	Rosa:	Altså vi har to muligheder <i>Well we have two possibilities</i> <b>So we have two possibilities</b>	

Prior to the beginning of this example, the teacher has instructed the class to discuss how to organize the lesson, but has not provided instructions for HOW they should do it, nor WHO should initiate the discussion. The class is working on a project where they are going to visit another language learning center and interview students and teachers there. The teacher's instruction concerns the preparations prior to the visit. In line 4, Rosa breaks a period of silence by initiating a turn-at-talk. However, even before this happens two of her classmates who are sitting at the same table, have turned their gaze towards her and thereby orient to her as the current/incipient speaker. How is this accomplished? First of all, it has not been specified in advance who will be the next-speaker. This means that during the pause in line 1 Rosa does not constitute a relevant focus of attention in the classroom, i.e. someone the classmates should gaze at. In line 2, she produces a hearable in-breath. In-breaths are often seen exclusively in relation to the turn it precedes, and are characterized in relation to the turn, e.g. pre-speech (Jefferson 1984; Schegloff 1996). However, in this case it accomplishes a specific social practice. After the in-breath Rosa pauses. Rather than analyzing the pause as a lack of verbal production, it is coordinated with relevant action by the co-participants (see Goodwin 2001 for same argument): following the in-breath, two students who are sitting at the same table as Rosa, turn their

gaze towards her. It seems that the in-breath and the following pause accomplish the establishment of a new participation framework where Rosa is the relevant focus of attention. After the classmates' gazes have reached Rosa, she initiates a turn in line 4. By producing an in-breath, she claims speakership and initiates a new participation framework in which she is the primary focus of attention, and the participants create an interactional space from which her talk, in line 4, can emerge.

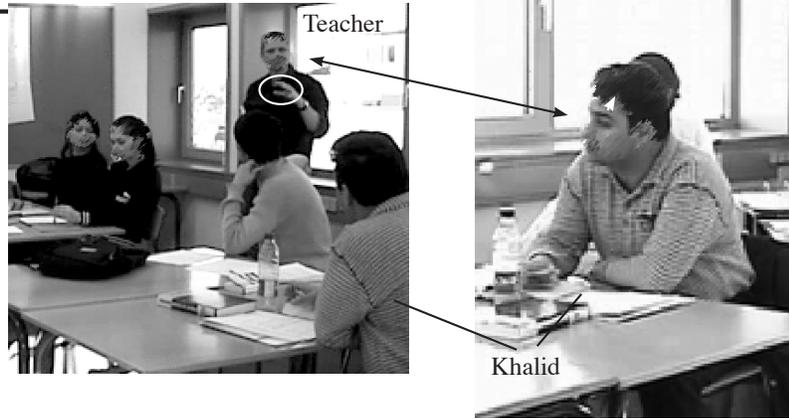
### **6.7.1 Visual resources to claim incipient speakership**

However, an incipient speaker can also use visual means, such as gesture and facial expression (Mondada 2007; Schegloff 1996; Streeck and Hartge 1992), to project him or herself as next-speaker and request the displayed reciprocity of the main recipient of the upcoming turn. In example 6.6, the class is discussing the time frames of a visit at another language learning center that has already been decided.

**Example 6.6 [F504U1 – 17:05]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     .Hhh hvor lang tid ta´r det hvis vi ta´r bus til ((bynavn 1))  
                           .Hhh how long time takes it if we take bus to ((name of city 1))  
                           .Hhh how long does it take if we go to ((name of city 1)) by bus

2

**(0.3)**

- 3     **Teacher:**     \*fra- fra ((bynavn 2)) å så til\* vi er på ehh  
                           from- from ((name of city 2)) and then till we are at ehh  
                           from from (name of city 2)) and then till we are at ehh



4

(.)

- 5     **Khalid:**     En time  
                           One hour

6

**(0.4)**

- 7     **Teacher:**     En ti:me ja.  
                           One hour yeah

The end of line 1 marks a position where the teacher's question has come to possible completion in terms of syntax, prosody and action/pragmatics. Gesturally, however, it is not complete, because the teacher raises his left hand while mentioning the city (line 1) and maintains his hand in an elevated position. Khalid orients to the possible projectable completion of the question: slightly before the teacher raises the hand, Khalid raises his

eyebrows and leans back in his chair. The initial change in Khalid's body position, the raising eyebrows and the beginning of a change in the position of the torso (leaning back) in this specific sequential environment project him as a possible next-speaker (see Mortensen I). From displaying reciprocity towards the teacher by gaze, he projects a change in the participation structure. This change is reflected in the teacher's expansion of the turn – the initial word in the expansion, “*fra* (from)” is cut-off and restarted (see Rae (2001) for a similar analysis). Thus the teacher, having already projected a continuation of the turn through the raising gesture, continues despite Khalid's visual display of incipient speakership. The teacher's orientation towards Khalid as the next-speaker is further visible in the continuation of the expansion in line 3. From gazing towards Khalid, the teacher briefly turns his gaze away, before redirecting his gaze towards Khalid. As the teacher has redirected his gaze towards Khalid, his left gesturing hand is lowered and positioned on the table beside him. The gesture is completed simultaneously with Khalid's answer in line 5. The retraction of the gesture and the gaze towards Khalid constitute an engagement framework out of which Khalid's turn is initiated. In this way, both Khalid and the teacher orient to the initial body movement as a move into a speaker position in which the teacher will become the primary recipient of the projected turn-at-talk – the answer to the teacher's question.

### **6.7.2 Disengagement of visually displayed reciprocity**

So far, we have seen how in-breaths and body movement may work as resources to request and establish reciprocity with a co-participant, and thus that the incipient speaker orients to displayed reciprocity of the main addressee as a relevant task in turn-beginnings. By establishing reciprocity prior to the beginning of the turn, the participants move into an engagement framework out of which the turn can emerge. The incipient speaker constitutes a relevant focus of attention and the turn-beginning can be initiated with the displayed reciprocity of the co-participant, which may otherwise be dealt with during the turn-beginning (Carroll 2004; Goodwin 1980, 1981; Heath 1984, 1986, Kidwell 1997).

However, reciprocity is negotiated as a temporally unfolding task. A participant, towards whom the incipient speaker orients as the main recipient in pre-beginning position, may move out of the engagement framework in the turn-beginning as in example 6.7 below. Prior to the beginning of this example, the teacher has instructed the class to decide on a program in relation to presenting their projects. He instructs them to discuss what the schedule should look like, who should be in charge of each of the schedule items, and whether they should invite another class to hear the presentation. He thus throws several balls into the air in a rather unspecified way before disengaging from the discussion by moving to the far corner of the room, thereby displaying that he is not to be a primary participant in the discussion. Pierre is selected as “secretary” (the teacher's term) by the class to write the schedule on the board and to lead the discussion:

**Example 6.7 [F509U1 – 5:08]**

1     **Pierre:**     Så: så  
                       So/well  
                       Well well

2                     **(3.4)**



3     **Rosa:**     Je syns vi s:: (0.6) ska-° skas: (0.2) ska:l starte klokken ni  
                       I think we s:: (0.6) sho- shous (0.2) should start clock nine  
                       I think we s:: (0.6) sho shous (0.2) should start at nine o'clock

4                     **(1.5)**

5     **Rosa:**     Ikk  
                       Right



During the pause following Pierre's talk to initiate the task (line 1), Rosa rubs her hands and stretches her arms as she leans back into the chair. Her change in body position marks a change in the participation framework (see also Nevile 2004: 135ff.; Schegloff 1998), and stands out in relation to the not-moving classmates and projects her as the next-speaker. Pierre gazes towards her and displays that he is in a visual position to receive the upcoming turn-at-talk. However, after the turn-initial elements “*je syms* (I think)” he withdraws his gaze and turns around. Rosa is therefore left without a recipient and requests the gaze of another recipient with turn-delays –elongations, gaps and restarts– until her neighboring classmate turns her gaze towards Rosa. In this way, Pierre orients to her move into speaker position, but does not display visible availability as being the main recipient of the turn-at-talk.

## 6.8 DISCUSSION

The examples presented here are part of a larger collection of how students in classroom settings establish reciprocity with a co-participant when neither the next-speaking student, nor the recipient of the student's turn, have been selected prior to his/her turn or projection of the turn. Among the different verbal and visual resources, the collection confirms the techniques for establishing reciprocity as part of the turn-beginnings as indicated in previous studies (see review above). Interestingly, however, the collection consists of several examples where reciprocity is established BEFORE the proper turn-beginning. These include non-lexical pre-speech signals as well as embodied multimodal practices such as changes in body posture. This raises a number of challenging questions.

Firstly, the social practice performed through these resources shows the intimate relation between framing the talk and the talk itself in classroom activities. The focus on establishing a participation framework rather than the talk seems to be relevant since talk may emerge FROM the established participation framework. In this way, embodied actions are crucial in order to understand student participation in the second language classroom.

Secondly, this brings up the question of when a “turn” begins. Previous research in conversation analysis, and in particular interactional linguistics, has focused primarily on TCUs and in particular their (possible) completions since these are points where transition to another speaker is relevant, although not obligatory (e.g., Ford and Thompson 1996; Sacks et al. 1974). In relation to TCU-beginnings, these have been described primarily in relation to their completions. Sacks et al. (1974) describe four different types of TCUs in English – sentential, clausal, phrasal and lexical – and the beginning of a TCU projects what type of TCU has been initiated, and (roughly) what it takes to bring it to a possible completion. In this way, TCU-beginnings are “sequence-structurally important places” (Schegloff 1987: 72). However, a TCU can be expanded by *pre-beginnings* (e.g., Lindström 2006; Schegloff 1996; Steensig 2001), which may be acoustic, including lexical elements such as *pre-placed appositionals* (Schegloff 1987) or visual, and, as we have seen, can be used to accomplish fundamental interactional work.

Thirdly, the observation that students may establish reciprocity with one or more co-participants before the turn-beginning, brings up the relevant question of how this might be different from establishing reciprocity as part of the turn-beginning. Several resources are used to secure the recipient's gaze in turn-initial position. Among these are restarts of turn-beginnings and delays (gaps and hesitations). From a linguistic point of view, these resources constitute disfluent (syntactic) turn-beginnings, although they may be interactively accomplished and serve interactional ends (Carroll 2004, 2005a). However, in second language classrooms the focus of the class is on language, and it may be the case that by establishing reciprocity prior to the turn-beginning, students orient to (possible) disfluent turn-beginning in order to secure the displayed reciprocity of a co-participant.

Fourthly, the organization of activities and the involved instructions of the teacher provide students with very different (interactional) tasks. When the activity is organized as having pre-specified the next-action and associated participation roles, visible reciprocity does not seem to be a necessary task for the student. However, when this is not the case, initiating a turn-at-talk includes establishing visible reciprocity with a co-

participant, and thus requires interactional work. This adds to the complexities of the instruction not only in terms of the linguistic construction of the answer, but also the required PARTICIPATION of the self-selected student. Awareness of how instructions provide different tasks for students is important in relation to organizing the activities in classrooms. Depending on the pedagogical focus of the activity, instructions may be organized as to include unnecessary complexities, which may impede students' opportunities for dealing with the pedagogical focus.

In this regard, a relevant observation can be made. Throughout this collection, relatively few students initiate a turn-at-talk in this position, i.e. when the teacher's instruction neither specifies the participation roles nor the activity of the relevant next-action. This is striking since the teacher's instruction precisely does NOT select a next-speaker, but leaves it to the students as a collective group (Lerner 1993; Payne and Hustler 1980; Sahlström 2002), to negotiate who should take the next turn-at-talk. In this sense, the instruction does not conform to a strict teacher-fronted organization. However, this study suggests that by organizing the classroom in this way, the teacher creates a specific situation for the students in which a certain kind of participation is not only relevant, but also REQUIRED of the students as a group. Rather than providing all students the same opportunity to participate, these instructions seem to constrain the participation of the students by facilitating the participation of (a few) particular students. The way, in which the teacher organizes instructions, creates certain frameworks that favor the participation of certain students. These results are not meant as a critique of organizing classroom activities in particular ways, but as a way of reflection that should be considered by teachers when organizing, preparing and going through classroom lessons. Awareness of interactional practices in relation to instructions is highly relevant for (second language) teachers, and should be considered as part of the intended pedagogical aims of teachers' tasks and instructions.

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## CHAPTER 7

### “DOING WORD EXPLANATION”: THE INTERACTIVE CONSTRUCTION OF VOCABULARY TEACHING

This article deals with vocabulary teaching in and through interaction in the second language classroom. In particular, it describes a sequential format of vocabulary teaching as an interactional accomplishment between students and teacher. Drawing on Conversation Analysis (CA) it shows how the teacher highlights a specific part of his/her ongoing turn-at-talk, and how this sets up a framework, for what might result in a specific teaching sequence – “doing word explanation”. During this social practice, the students repeat (part of) the highlighted word(s), and thus acknowledge the pedagogical emphasis of the (potentially new) vocabulary. The teaching sequence is described as a *side sequence* (Jefferson 1972) that emerges from, and is embedded within, the ongoing course of the lesson.

#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the things teachers in second/foreign language classroom are faced with, is how to teach new lexical elements. Since the days of grammar-translation, where formal structures and lexical items were taught explicitly and out of context (see e.g., Kumaravadivelu 2006; Larsen-Freeman 2000; Richards and Rodgers 2001), different teaching methodologies, and *communicative language teaching* in particular, have sought to incorporate vocabulary teaching in more meaning-oriented discourse. Research on vocabulary teaching has used dichotomies such as *implicit* or *explicit* (DeCarrico 2001), and *planned* or *unplanned* (Hatch and Brown 1995) to refer to whether vocabulary is taught as separate activities or dealt with as part of the ongoing activity. Special tasks, such as filling-the-blank, semantic associations and language games, may be designed specifically to practice new vocabulary. However, vocabulary, as well as other formal linguistic aspects, is always a possible and relevant aspect to be extracted “on the fly” from the ongoing course of action in the language classroom, and made subject for explicit teaching. A *focus on form*-approach (e.g., Doughty and Williams 1998) to language teaching argues for meaningful classroom interaction with

occasional shift[s] of attention to linguistic code features – by the teacher and/or one or more students – triggered by perceived problems with comprehension or production (Long and Robinson 1998: 23).

Teaching linguistic material is embedded within the ongoing (meaningful) interaction, and is therefore highly context dependent.

Extracting linguistic material “on the fly” can be described in terms of *repair*<sup>1</sup> (Schegloff 1997b, 2000b; Schegloff et al. 1977): Either the teacher locates a part of his/her turn as a POSSIBLE problematic word and provides an explanation of the word, i.e. *self-repair*, or explicitly asking the students whether or not they understand the word. Or the lexical item is located and pointed out by the students as problematic, and the teaching sequence thus takes the form of an *other-initiated repair*. In both ways, a word or words are identified in the ongoing interaction and made relevant for more or less formal instruction, and may evoke the institutional character of the language classroom, and define the ongoing activity as “doing (vocabulary) teaching”.

Vocabulary teaching follows to a great extent research on second language acquisition and in particular the acquisition of vocabulary (e.g., Carter and McCarthy 1988; Schmitt 2000). This line of research focuses on how new vocabulary is processed and memorized, and is primarily conducted within a psycholinguistic framework. On the other hand, teaching methodologies (see e.g., Larsen-Freeman 2000; Richards and Rodgers 2001), either explicitly or implicitly, provide suggestions for how to teach vocabulary to second/foreign language students in the classroom. These suggestions are based on a pedagogical set of assumptions about the nature of language and learning, rather than a COMMUNICATIVE approach (e.g., Ewaldsson et al. 2001; Seedhouse 1996, 1997, 2004). However, few studies actually show, by means of transcripts of recorded classroom interaction, HOW vocabulary is extracted from the ongoing course of action “on the fly”. In which sequential environments does this occur? How is the vocabulary selected from the range of possible “teachable” words from the flow of classroom interaction? The

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<sup>1</sup> For *repair* in classroom interaction, see e.g. Kasper (1985), McHoul (1990), Seedhouse (2004) and Macbeth (2004).

present article attempts to do just that. Drawing on Conversation Analysis (CA), I will describe a social practice that I call “doing word explanation”.<sup>2</sup> The analysis is grounded in approximately 25 hours of video recordings of Danish as a second language classrooms. The analysis will show how teacher and students, through the temporally unfolding of the sequence, interactionally prepare the ground for a word explanation. I will show how the participants collaboratively extract lexical elements from the context, and create a sequential context in which (preferably) the students explain the lexical element. I will show how the teacher sets up a frame in which a relevant action for the students is to display orientation to (a) particular lexical item(s), and how this display provides for a word explanation to be requested. This frame enables me to show how the teacher provides the students with an opportunity to engage in selecting relevant words to be explained, and how this selection and the word explanation that follows, is interactionally constructed.

## 7.2 PRESENTING “DOING WORD EXPLANATION”

In this paragraph, I will present the sequential format through which the word explanation emerges. Example 7.1a is a typical example of the sequential structure that is central to the action of “doing word explanations”.

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<sup>2</sup> The description “doing word explanation” resembles what Brouwer (2000; 2004) calls “doing pronunciation” with which it has some (sequential) similarities.

**Example 7.1a [O620U2 – 34:40]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Mia hun havde:: nej ikk Mia undskyld (.) Angela havde fået e:n bøde  
**Mia she has no not Mia sorry (.) Angela had got a fine**
- gaTe:             /gaze and pointing towards “en betjent i civil (an officer in civilian clothes)”  
                          on the blackboard
- 2     **Teacher:**     af (.) /en (1.4) en <betjent i civi:l>  
**by (.) an (1.4)an officer in civilian clothes**
- 3                     **(0.4)**
- 4     **Teacher:**     hørte je  
**I heard**
- gaTe:             /gaze towards students
- 5                     /(.)
- 6     **Cathy?:**        °(En) betjent (i civil)°  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 7                     **(2.0)**
- 8     **Cathy:**        En betjent i civi:l  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 9     **Teacher:**                     [Ja hva betyder det hva- en betjent  
**[Yeah what does that mean what an officer**
- 10    **Teacher:**     i civi:l hva er det  
**in civilian clothes what is that**
- 11                     **(0.5)**
- 12    **Ali:**            De::: betjent uden uniform  
**It is an officer without a uniform**
- 13    **Teacher:**     Det` en betjent uden uniform ja  
**It is an officer without a uniform yeah**

A few comments should be noted about the sequences that lead up to the word explanation (in line 12). First of all, the first time the “noun phrase-to-be-explained” is produced is in line 2 after a hesitant turn by the teacher; the turn included a micro pause as well as a substantial (1.4) second pause, and a restart (the repetition of the article). The specific noun phrase is placed in a possible *turn constructional unit* (TCU)-final position, and is produced in a slower pace than the surrounding talk. A student repeats the noun phrase twice (lines 6 and 8), and the teacher then repeats it again before asking for a word explanation (line 10). In this way, the noun phrase is oriented to as RELEVANT to the

ongoing activity by both participants. Secondly, the noun phrase is produced in such a way that it “stands out” from the rest of the turn. It occupies a (possible) final position within the turn, i.e. the turn can be recognized as being complete after the production of the noun phrase. Furthermore, following the (1.4) second pause (line 2), the teacher repeats the definite article of the noun phrase, and the noun phrase is produced in a significantly slower pace than the preceding talk. Finally, the word explanation by a student, Ali, follows the consistent three-part IRE (*Initiation-Response-Evaluation*) pattern in classroom interaction as described, among others, by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Mehan (1979): In line 8-9 the teacher requests a word explanation (*Initiation*), a student explains the word in line 12 (*Response*), and the teacher, in line 13, accepts the student's explanation (*Evaluation*).

In the following sections, I will elaborate the observations that (i) the teacher emphasizes a specific part of the turn, which (ii) a student repeats, (iii) and that the teacher then asks for a word explanation, which (iv) the/a student provides. I will show how the participants, i.e. teacher and students collaboratively prepare the ground for the word explanation as well as discussing the context(s), in which “doing word explanation” is found.

### 7.3 HIGHLIGHTING THE TARGET WORD

In the prior paragraph, I noted that the teacher highlights a part of his/her turn, and that the highlighted words therefore hold a prominent position within the turn. This seems to be an important aspect in “doing word explanation”. Examples 7.1b to 7.5a show examples of how the teacher emphasizes a particular part of the turn.

**Example 7.1b [O620U2 – 23:40]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Mia hun havde:: nej ikk Mia undskyld (.) Angela havde fået e:n bøde  
**Mia she has no not Mia sorry (.) Angela had got a fine**
- gaTe:             /gaze and pointing towards “en betjent i civil (an officer in civilian clothes)”  
                          on the blackboard
- 2     **Teacher:**     af (.) /en (1.4) en <betjent i civil>  
**by (.) an (1.4)an officer in civilian clothes**
- 3                     **(0.4)**
- 4     **Teacher:**     hørte je  
**I heard**

**Example 7.2a [O620U1 – 55:25]**

- 1                     **(2.4)**
- 2     **Teacher:**     He:r i spørgsmål fem hvo::r han spø'r hvorfor hun ikk køber en ny  
**Here in question five where he asks why she does not buy a new**
- 3     **Teacher:**     cykel, (0.3) så det fordi hun ikk har råd til det li'e nu (.) osse  
**bike (0.3) then it is because she cannot afford it right now (.) also**
- 4     **Teacher:**     fordi hun skal betale <e:n bø:de>  
**because she has to pay a fine**
- 5                     **(0.7)**

**Example 7.3a [O620U2 – 38:20]**

- 1     **Teacher:**    Eh:::: (.) å man bruger det osse::  
                       Eh:::: (.) **and you also use it**
- 2                     (7.4) ((Te writes “ordre, plan, fremtid” [order, plan, future] on board))
- 3     **Teacher:**    når man har en plan om noget  
                       **when you plan to do something**
- 4                     (0.6)
- 5     **Teacher:**    Når jeg kommer hjem så s:kal jeg ha (0.5) e:n kop kaffe  
                       **When I get home then I will have (0.5) a cup of coffee**
- 6                     (0.9)
- 7     **Teacher:**    å en lu:r  
                       **and a nap**
- 8                     (1.0)

**Example 7.4a [O620U2 – 27:15]**

- 1     **Teacher:**    Hva hedder det=e:hrm:::::::::::, Monika  
                       **What do you say e:hrm::::::::::: Monika**
- 2     GeTe:            /Points at the board where she has written “ensrettet gade (one way street)”  
    **Teacher:**        /forkert (.) i en=eller kørte ind i en ensrettet gade,  
                       **wrong (.) in a or went into a one way street**
- 3                     (0.3)



other ways are objectified, the pause is one of the resources used to emphasize the words and produce them as productionally isolated. Before describing these resources, however, I will describe the specific position of the emphasized words within the turn.

### 7.3.1 TCU-final position

According to Sacks et al. (1974), TCUs are the basis building blocks of turns, and central to the ways in which turn-organization is managed. Participants rely on recognizable (possible) completions of TCUs, since these positions constitute places where transfer from one speaker to another may be relevant (see e.g. Jefferson 1984). To project a possible completion of a TCU, current non-speakers rely on the “action” that the TCU accomplishes, grammar/syntax (Lindström 2006; Schegloff 1996), intonation (Ford and Thompson 1996; Selting 2000), and gesture (Klippi 2006; Laursen 2002; Olsher 2004), and this is based on the type of TCU that has been initiated – for English these types can be sentential, phrasal, clausal and lexical.<sup>3</sup> In this way, current non-speakers are able to project when the current TCU may come to a completion, and thus a position where it may be possible for current non-speakers to initiate a turn-at-talk.

The emphasized words occur in a (possible) TCU-final position. In examples 7.2-7.5 the teacher's turn is completed by the target word, and the highlighted word is followed by a substantial pause, which displays that the teacher is not going to continue the current turn-at-talk at this point, but that the students should or could do something at this point (see below). In example 7.1b, the teacher continues her talk after the emphasis of a possible TCU-completing element by expanding the turn with an *increment* (Schegloff ms.) in line 4 (“*hørte jeg* [I heard]”). However, Schegloff describes *increments* as RE-completing a possible completion, and the TCU has therefore come to a POSSIBLE completion by the end of the emphasized noun phrase.

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<sup>3</sup> For Danish, see Steensig (2001).



In example 7.4a, the teacher self-repairs and restarts the turn where the target words syntactically could be produced (after “*forkert (.) i en* [wrong in a]”). She thus changes the projected course of the turn by producing a self-repair, line 2, which substitutes “*kørte forkert i* (drove wrong in)” with “*kørte ind i* (drove into)”. In this way, the target words are highlighted through a lexical modification of the turn-design. A similar type of lexical change can be found in example 7.5b. In line 8, the teacher restarts the ongoing TCU after “*stoppet af* (stopped by)”, and changes the direction of the TCU with “*du fik en* (you got a)” which changes the projection of the next-possible element from e.g. *a policeman* to “*farbøde* (speed ticket)”. In this way, she modifies the turn-design to syntactically prepare for the word “*farbøde* (speed ticket)”. However, she produces another restart, which changes the pronoun from *you* to *she*, thus changing the recipient roles of the turn from *you*, i.e. Monika, to the whole class, and thus highlights the relevance of the turn to the whole class. Similarly, it changes the activity from initiating a story through reporting a prior conversation, to teaching relevant vocabulary in a contextualized syntactic sentence. In this way, the teacher's turn is produced with changes in the projected turn-design prior to the production of the emphasized words, which in this way are productionally isolated.

Hesitations such as pauses, prolongations and (variations of) *ehrm's* are frequently used during *word searches* (e.g., Goodwin and Goodwin 1986; Helasvuo et al. 2004; Lerner 1996; Schegloff 1979), in which the

progressivity towards TCU completion has been halted, but the search is organized to show that an ongoing attempt is being made to continue the TCU (Lerner 1996: 261).

Additionally,

many turn units that end up containing word searches are designed in such a way that the search is placed near the end of the unit, thereby providing a place for candidates which will concomitantly be terminal item completions (Lerner 1996: 262, emphasis added).

In this way, there are several similarities with word searches. However, the collection does not include cases where a/the student(s) provides a candidate word, so the students

do not seem to orient to the hesitations as word searches. And neither does the teacher during the hesitations visibly display that (s)he is engaged in a word search, e.g. by withdrawing the gaze from the students or producing a “thinking face” as described by Goodwin and Goodwin (1986). Despite the similarities in the turn-design, this makes the activity seem different from a word search.

### 7.3.3 Prosodic resources

In example 7.2a and 7.3a, the target word is marked PROSODICALLY by producing the noun phrase significantly slower than the surrounding talk and stretching the words by prolongation of vowels (example 7.2a) and stressing the word (example 7.3a).

#### Example 7.2a [O620U1 – 55:25]

- |   |                 |  |
|---|-----------------|--|
| 1 |                 | (2.4)  |
| 2 | <b>Teacher:</b> | He:r i spørgsmål fem hvo::r han spø´r hvorfor hun ikk køber en ny<br><b>Here in question five where he asks why she does not buy a new</b>         |
| 3 | <b>Teacher:</b> | cykel, (0.3) så det fordi hun ikk har råd til det li´e nu (.) osse<br><b>bike (0.3) then it is because she cannot afford it right now (.) also</b> |
| 4 | <b>Teacher:</b> | fordi hun skal betale <e:n bø:de><br><b>because she has to pay a fine</b>  |
| 5 |                 | (0.7)  |

#### Example 7.3a [O620U2 – 38:20]

- |   |                 |  |
|---|-----------------|--|
| 1 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Eh:::: (.) å man bruger det osse::<br><b>Eh:::: (.) and you also use it</b>  |
| 2 |                 | (7.4) ((Te writes “ordre, plan, fremtid” [order, plan, future] on board))  |
| 3 | <b>Teacher:</b> | når man har en plan om noget<br><b>when you plan to do something</b>   |
| 4 |                 | (0.6)  |
| 5 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Når jeg kommer hjem så s:kal jeg ha (0.5) e:n kop kaffe<br><b>When I get home then I will have (0.5) a cup of coffee</b> |
| 6 |                 | (0.9)  |
| 7 | <b>Teacher:</b> | å en lu:r<br><b>and a nap</b>  |
| 8 |                 | (1.0)  |

These are interactionally powerful ways of attributing a “special status” to a part of the turn.

### 7.3.4 The blackboard

Similarly, the teacher relies on VISUAL resources to highlight the target word. In this regard, the blackboard plays an important role in signalling out the target word(s). Although the (black)board is an important socio-cultural artefact of the classroom, few studies have analyzed how it is used by the participants to organize their ongoing courses of action, and how it may influence classroom interaction (e.g., Pitsch 2007). The approach adopted by Pitsch, follows linguistic anthropological studies, that show how written documents are included in the interaction, and how participation is shaped by the participants' mutual orientation to texts, books or figures (e.g., Goodwin 2000c, 2003c, 2007; Mondada 2007; Nevile 2004).

The blackboard may be used in two fundamentally different ways. On the one hand, the teacher may write on the blackboard during a turn-at-talk that includes the written version of the verbal talk.

#### Example 7.5c [O620U2 – 25:20]

- |    |                 |   |                                 |
|----|-----------------|---|---------------------------------|
|    | moTe:           |   | /walks towards board            |
| 8  | <b>Teacher:</b> | forbi en sko:le (0.8) å blev=eh::: he- eh stoppet a:f (0.3) Du f/ik<br><b>by a school (0.8) and was eh::: xx- eh stopped by (0.3) You got</b> |                                 |
|    | moTe:           |   | /picks up chalk /starts writing |
| 9  | <b>Teacher:</b> | e:n (0.7) /hun fik en <fa:rt/bøde><br><b>a (0.7) she got a speed ticket</b>   |                                 |
| 10 |                 | (3.2) ((Te writes “hun fik en fartbøde [she got a speed ticket]” on the board))   |                                 |
| 11 | <b>Ali:</b>     | °En fart(bøde)°<br><b>A speed(ticket)</b>   |                                 |

In this example, we see how the teacher uses the blackboard, by WRITING and highlighting the target words “*hun fik en fartbøde* (she got a speed ticket)”. Writing, talk and movement is delicately coordinated: After the first restarts in line 1, the teacher walks towards the blackboard, picks up a piece of chalk from the chalk tray, and clearly projects

that she is about to write on the board. However, at this point she makes another restart by changing the pronoun from *you* to *she* (see above). She thereby projects a “teaching” activity, in which the written words are relevant to the ongoing activity, rather than related to just one of the students – i.e. *you*. The TCU that is initiated through the restart, prosodically emphasizes the word “*farbøde* (speed ticket)”. The writing is initiated in overlap with the verbal production of the word, and projects that “*farbøde* (speed ticket)” will be written on the board. However, the teacher writes the entire verbal phrase on the board, and thus embeds “*farbøde* (speed ticket)” within a syntactically complete sentence. Although the teacher prosodically emphasizes the word “*farbøde* (speed ticket)” it is up to the students to locate whether the particular lexical item or the entire written sentence is the relevant unit for the ongoing activity (see below).

On the other hand, the teacher may use what is already on the blackboard by including it into the ongoing course of action, e.g. by POINTING. What is, or has been written on the board is potentially relevant during the lesson, and in this way the blackboard is used as a resource to structure the activities and the entire lesson. For instance, in example 7.4a the teacher uses gesture to point to the blackboard, where she has written “*ensrettet gade* (one way street)” at the beginning of the lesson.

#### Example 7.4a [O620U2 – 27:15]

- |   |                 |   |
|---|-----------------|---|
| 1 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Hva hedder det=ehrm::::::::::::::::::, Monika<br><b>What do you say ehrm:::::::::: Monika</b>                 |
|   | GeTe:           | /Points at the board where she has written “ensrettet gade (one way street)”                                  |
| 2 | <b>Teacher:</b> | /forkert (.) i en=eller kørte ind i en ensrettet gade,<br><b>wrong (.) in a or went into a one way street</b> |
| 3 |                 | <b>(0.3)</b>  |

The teacher makes a specific part of the blackboard relevant through pointing, and projects the turn-completion visually before producing the lexical affiliate (cf. Klippi 2006; Schegloff 1984). The text that is written on the board is hereby included in the ongoing interaction. Similarly, in example 7.1 (see above) the teacher wrote “*en betjent i*

*civil* (an officer in civilian clothes)” during the prior group work. She thereby projects that this is a relevant noun phrase to be included in a later part of the lesson. By pointing towards it at this point, i.e. simultaneously by reading it aloud, she invokes the conversation of the prior group work as well as the relevant participants – the members of the particular group. However, she does not specify which aspect of the written phrase (of the prior group work to which it is grounded) is to be dealt with at this point.

In this way, the teacher relies on LINGUISTIC as well as VISUAL/EMBODIED resources, including physical artefacts, to emphasize the target word(s) during the turn. The teacher has in this way highlighted a particular part of the turn as somehow central to the ongoing activity. Prosody seems to play a particular role in the highlighting, and is a resource in all the cases in the collection. Whereas pointing, writing and self-repair MAY be present, they do all occur in relation to PROSODIC EMPHASIS. This may be done through stressing the word or a part of the word, or by producing it significantly slower than the preceding talk. Therefore, prosody seems to be a powerful interactional resource for framing a specific part of the ongoing turn-at-talk.

### **7.3.5 Turn-transition**

The teacher's turn is followed by a pause IMMEDIATELY after the emphasized part of the turn, which, as we saw above, constitutes a possible completion point of the ongoing TCU. By not continuing her turn, the teacher provides space for the students to take a turn through *self-selection* (Sacks et al. 1974), and projects that they COULD do something at this point.

**Example 7.1a [O620U2 – 23:40]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Mia hun havde:: nej ikk Mia undskyld (.) Angela havde fået e:n bøde  
**Mia she has no not Mia sorry (.) Angela had got a fine**
- gaTe:                 /gaze and pointing towards “en betjent i civil (an officer in civilian clothes)”  
on the blackboard
- 2     **Teacher:**     af (.) /en (1.4) en <betjent i civi:l>  
**by (.) an (1.4)an officer in civilian clothes**
- 3                         **(0.4)**
- 4     **Teacher:**     hørte je  
**I heard**
- gaTe:                 /gaze towards students
- 5                         /(.)
- 6     **Cathy?:**        °(En) betjent (i civil)°  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 7                         **(2.0)**
- 8     **Cathy:**        En betjent i civi:l  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 9     **Teacher:**                         [Ja hva betyder det hva- en betjent  
**[Yeah what does that mean what an officer**
- 10    **Teacher:**     i civi:l hva er det  
**in civilian clothes what is that**
- 11                         **(0.5)**
- 12    **Ali:**            De::: betjent uden uniform  
**It is an officer without a uniform**
- 13    **Teacher:**     Det` en betjent uden uniform ja  
**It is an officer without a uniform yeah**

In example 7.1a, the teacher turns the gaze towards the students after the noun phrase “*en betjent i civil* (an officer in civilian clothes)” has been produced. She orients to the students as relevant recipients of the turn, and thus as relevant next-speakers. In this position, after having emphasized a particular part of the turn and turning the gaze towards the co-participants, a relevant thing for the students is to take up the emphasized noun phrase. A general feature about conversation, or more generally talk-in-interaction, is what Sacks calls *contiguity* (Sacks 1987 [1973]). Speakers orient to *next-position* (Sacks 1992, vol. 2, part viii, lecture 4) as a relevant position for dealing with the prior

turn. On a sequence organization level (Schegloff 2007), this means that a *second pair-part*, e.g. 'an answer', is relevantly placed in the next-turn in relation to its initiating *first pair-part*, e.g. 'a question'. This does not mean that a second pair-part will actually follow, but that if it does not, the turn that comes “instead” of the second pair-part orients to the first pair-part by making a relevant action. The second pair-part can therefore be said to be *conditionally relevant* (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) in the turn following the first pair-part. At the same time, as Sacks (1987 [1973]) also argues, if a speaker orients to another turn but the prior one, (s)he needs to do extra work, e.g. *what you said before...* to display that the incipient turn is not orienting to the immediate prior one. However, contiguity is also relevant at another level of organization. If a turn is designed to include a multi-question turn (Sacks 1987 [1973]), e.g. *What's your name and where are you from?*, recipients tend to deal with the last question of the prior turn FIRST. Similarly, Jefferson (1972) observes that the

item which becomes the product-item of a questioning repeat was, in the first instance, done “on purpose” [and that] the problematic item happens to occur at the end of the utterance (Jefferson 1972: 329).

There thus seems to be a preference for closeness, or what Jefferson calls “item-adjacency”, in interaction.

If we return to “doing word explanation”, I noted that the teacher designs his/her TCU to highlight a specific part of the turn in a (possible) TCU-final position. For instance, we saw how the teacher changes the course of the projected TCU to prepare the ongoing syntax for a particular lexical element (see example 7.5 above). We now turn to the next-turn in the sequential structure, and see how the students orient to the teacher's turn, and the emphasized lexical item(s).

#### 7.4 REPEATING (A PART OF) THE HIGHLIGHTED WORD(S)

Following the teacher's turn with the target word and the pause that the teacher leaves for the students, one of the students repeats the target word as in example 7.3b.



**Example 7.1c [O620U2 – 23:40]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Mia hun havde:: nej ikk Mia undskyld (.) Angela havde fået e:n bøde  
**Mia she has no not Mia sorry (.) Angela had got a fine**
- gaTe:                 /gaze and pointing towards “en betjent i civil (an officer in civilian clothes)”  
on the blackboard
- 2     **Teacher:**     af (.) /en (1.4) en <betjent i civi:l>  
**by (.) an (1.4)an officer in civilian clothes**
- 3                         **(0.4)**
- 4     **Teacher:**     hørte je  
**I heard**
- gaTe:                 /gaze towards students
- 5                         /(.)
- 6     **Cathy?:**        °(En) betjent (i civil)°  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 7                         **(2.0)**
- 8     **Cathy:**        En betjent i civi:l  
**An officer in civilian clothes**

**Example 7.6a [O620U2 – 38:20]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Ud over fremtid så bruger (vi det) noget nå- nå det noget med en ordre  
**In addition to future then we use it when it is about an order**
- 2                         **(1.2)**
- 3     **Ayaan?:**        °ordre°  
**Order**

The students display an understanding of the repeated word(s) as being objectified by the teacher. The teacher's syntactic construction is repeated, and (syntactic) modifications occur only within the repeated noun phrase. For instance, in 7.3b and 7.6a the students do not repeat the entire noun phrase, but leave out the definite article and repeat only the head of the noun phrase. In this way, the students locate the specific lexical item of the emphasized turn.

Secondly, the repeat does not display the students' understanding of what should be done with the target word, and in this sense the repeat seems to be an acknowledgement of the teacher's prior turn and the highlighted words. By repeating the target word, the students play the ball back to the teacher. At this point, they display a mutual understanding of the target word as being central to the ongoing action, but they have not specified what they are going to do with it.

Previously, I noted that one of the elements in highlighting the word was its turn-final position. The teacher orients to this by modifying and changing the turn-design in ways, which prepare for the target word to be placed as a (possible) TCU-completion. The student's repeat in the next-turn therefore repeats the turn-final element of the prior turn. When the teacher highlights a target word in a non-final position, (s)he seems to orient to the students' difficulty in locating the target word. In this way, she projects that a repeat of the target word may not occur in the next-turn. In example 7.7, the teacher reads the textbook instructions aloud. The relevant page can be seen in figure 7.1.



Figure 7.1. (Jeppesen and Maribo 2005: 60, translation added).

**Hvad tror I?****Og hvorfor tror I det?**

Hvorfor har Lisbeth ikke fortalt Christian om sin bøde, tror I?

**Hvad synes I?**

Synes I, det er i orden, at Lisbeth fik en bøde?  
Hvorfor/Hvorfor ikke?

**109 BØDER****Snak sammen tre og tre**

Har I nogensinde fået en bøde?

*Hvis ja:*

Hvorfor fik I den? Hvornår og hvor henne? ...\*)

*Hvis nej:*

Hvad får man bøder for i Danmark?

Hvordan betaler man dem?

\*) *Stil flere spørgsmål.*

**What do you think?****And why do you think that?**

Why didn't Lisbeth tell Christian about the fine, do you think?

**What do you think?**

Do you think it is alright that Lisbeth got a fine?  
Why/why not?

**109 FINES****Talk together in groups of three**

Did you ever get a fine?

*If yes:*

Why did you get it? When and where...\*)?

*If no:*

When do you get a fine in Denmark

How do you pay them?

\*) *Ask more questions*

In line 1, the teacher emphasizes “*det er i orden* (it is alright)” by producing it significantly slower than the surrounding talk and stressing the word “*orden* (alright)”. She continues the turn, and in overlap with “*fik* (got)” in line 2 she turns the gaze from the textbook towards the students. In this way, she projects that the students should do something at this point. The students do not initiate a turn, and following a (0.2) second pause, the teacher projects a reformulation of the highlighted words, through a change in the verb order,<sup>4</sup> self-repairs and provides a word explanation of the target word through the synonym *okay*.

A second instance occurs in line 8, where the teacher emphasizes “*nogensinde* (ever)”, which does not constitute a possible completion point. When the teacher reaches a

<sup>4</sup> The change in verb order projects an interrogative construction, whereas the first version is a declarative construction.

possible completion at the end of line 8, she turns the gaze towards the students. However, no one responds, and after a (0.8) second pause in line 9 she requests a word explanation. Neither “*det er i orden* (it is alright)” or “*nogensinde* (ever)” are productionally isolated in a possible TCU-final position, but are both prosodically emphasized. In this way, the teacher orients to the mid-turn position of the target word as problematic for the continuation of the sequence, i.e. that the students will not acknowledge the target word as relevant to the ongoing activity by repeating it in the next-turn. This seems to support the pattern described as “doing pronunciation” (Brouwer 2000, 2004). She proposes that “when an incorrectly pronounced item appears at the end of a TCU, it might be more likely that a sequence of 'doing pronunciation' develops” (Brouwer 2004: 105). This seems to support the observation that the POSITION within the turn of the emphasized word is important for the sequential format, and thus the pedagogical teaching sequence of the highlighted word.

#### **7.4.1 What is highlighted?**

If we look at the examples presented so far, we can see that most of the highlighted words can be classified as a single word class. Most of them are NOUNS, which are either just the noun or a full noun phrase including determiners and/or modifiers. Although the collection includes few other word classes, see e.g., an adverb in example 7.7, nouns are by far the dominant word class that the teacher highlights. This may not be surprising since nouns seem to be especially important in vocabulary teaching (e.g., Schmitt 2000). Similarly, several of the examples are from the same lesson, and are related semantically (see below); they all deal with traffic, police and violations (see also figure 7.1). Several of the examples thus seem to be part of an activity ABOUT traffic, and this activity includes teaching the relevant vocabulary. In relation to the noun phrases, we saw that the students' repeats do not necessarily include the entire noun phrase, but they may leave out the determiner (e.g. example 7.6a) or other components of the noun phrase. In example 7.4c, we saw that the student repeated only the modifier, but neither the determiner nor the head. What seems to be relevant for whether or not all the highlighted words are repeated is the SEQUENTIAL DISTANCE between the teacher's highlighted word and the student's repeat. When the repeat follows immediately after the highlighted words, the

repeat does not necessarily include the entire noun phrase that was highlighted, but only a part of it as in examples 7.3b and 7.6a:

**Example 7.3b [O620U2 – 38:20]**

- 5     **Teacher:**    Når jeg kommer hjem så s:kal jeg ha (0.5) e:n kop kaffe  
                           **When I get home then I will have (0.5) a cup of coffee**
- 6                           (0.9)
- 7     **Teacher:**    å en lur  
                           **and a nap**
- 8                           (1.0)
- 9     **Ali:**            Lur  
                           **Nap**

**Example 7.6a [O620U2 – 38:20]**

- 1     **Teacher:**    Ud over fremtid så bruger (vi det) noget nå- nå det noget med en ordre  
                           **In addition to future then we use it when it is about an order**
- 2                           (1.2)
- 3     **Ayaan?:**        °ordre°  
                           **Order**

In these cases, the partial repeat follows after approximately (1.0) second. However, what seems to be relevant is not the timing *per se*, but whether or not some kind of “action” occurs between the highlighted words and the repeat. The may be talk as in example 7.1a,

---

**Example 7.1a [O620U2 – 23:40]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Mia hun havde:: nej ikk Mia undskyld (.) Angela havde fået e:n bøde  
**Mia she has no not Mia sorry (.) Angela had got a fine**
- gaTe:                 /gaze and pointing towards “en betjent i civil (an officer in civilian clothes)”  
on the blackboard
- 2     **Teacher:**     af (.) /en (1.4) en <betjent i civi:l>  
**by (.) an (1.4)an officer in civilian clothes**
- 3                         **(0.4)**
- 4     **Teacher:**     hørte je  
**I heard**
- gaTe:                 /gaze towards students  
5                         /(.)
- 6     **Cathy?:**         °(En) betjent (i civil)°  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 7                         **(2.0)**
- 8     **Cathy:**         En betjent i civi:l  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 9     **Teacher:**                         [Ja hva betyder det hva- en betjent  
**[Yeah what does that mean what an officer**
- 10    **Teacher:**     i civi:l hva er det  
**in civilian clothes what is that**
- 11                         **(0.5)**
- 12    **Ali:**             De::: betjent uden uniform  
**It is an officer without a uniform**
- 13    **Teacher:**     Det´ en betjent uden uniform ja  
**It is an officer without a uniform yeah**

or other kinds of activities such as writing as in example 7.5c.



**Example 7.1a [O620U2 – 23:40]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Mia hun havde:: nej ikk Mia undskyld (.) Angela havde fået e:n bøde  
**Mia she has no not Mia sorry (.) Angela had got a fine**
- gaTe:                 /gaze and pointing towards “en betjent i civil (an officer in civilian clothes)”  
on the blackboard
- 2     **Teacher:**     af (.) /en (1.4) en <betjent i civi:l>  
**by (.) an (1.4)an officer in civilian clothes**
- 3                         **(0.4)**
- 4     **Teacher:**     hørte je  
**I heard**
- gaTe:                 /gaze towards students
- 5                         /(.)
- 6     **Cathy?:**         °(En) betjent (i civil)°  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 7                         **(2.0)**
- 8     **Cathy:**         En betjent i civi:l  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 9     **Teacher:**                         [Ja hva betyder det hva- en betjent  
**[Yeah what does that mean what an officer**
- 10    **Teacher:**     i civi:l hva er det  
**in civilian clothes what is that**
- 11                         **(0.5)**
- 12    **Ali:**             De::: betjent uden uniform  
**It is an officer without a uniform**
- 13    **Teacher:**     Det` en betjent uden uniform ja  
**It is an officer without a uniform yeah**

The teacher's “request for a word explanation”-turn is constructed by a repetition of the target word and the request itself. The turn orients to the student's repeat as a confirmation of the target word as relevant to the ongoing action. The teacher's repeat of the target word acknowledges that the student has located the emphasized word in the teacher's prior turn. In example 7.1a, this is done explicitly by the teacher's *yeah*, line 9, which overlaps the student's repeat. By overlapping the student's repeat, the teacher does not provide space for the student to explain what the repeat is doing, e.g. displaying that it is a problem of understanding or pronunciation. In example 7.4b, the student's repeat is

produced with a “strange/wrong” pronunciation, which resembles a mocking character in relation to the Danish word. The repeat is produced with a slightly rising intonation, which projects that the word is somehow problematic. However, the teacher's turn in line 5 is initiated in overlap with the student's repeat and prior to the rising intonation, and does not orient to the student's pronunciation as problematic. In this way, the teacher orients to the repeat as locating the relevant words in her own prior turn, which is necessary for the continuation for the word explanation sequence.

The request builds on the student's repeat, which seems to be an important step in the word explanation sequence. If the students do not repeat the target words, they do not participate in locating the word, and this is crucial for the word explanation to be built up interactionally. However, the students may not always repeat the highlighted word. In example 7.8, the teacher emphasizes the noun phrase “*P-skive* (parking disc)” by hesitating immediately before it is produced, stressing the word, and writing the word on the board. In this way, the word is prosodically isolated.

### Example 7.8 [O620U2 – 31:40]

- |   |                          |  |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | <b>Teacher:</b>          | .tsk Å så får man bøde hvis man ikk har sat sin=e <sup>h</sup> p <sub>e</sub> skive<br><b>.tsk And then you get a fine if you didn't use your=e<sup>h</sup> parking disc</b> |
| 2 | moTe                     | /Te writes “P-skive (parking disc)” on the board<br><b>/(1.5)</b>  |
| 3 | geTe:<br><b>Teacher:</b> | /gestures “clock”<br>Det /den der p <sub>e</sub> ski[ve<br><b>It is this parking disc</b>  |
| 4 | <b>Ayaan:</b>            | [°Pe skive°<br><b>[Parking disc</b>  |
| 5 |                          | <b>(0.2)</b>   |
| 6 | <b>Teacher:</b>          | Det hedde:r de:n lille: (.) tidstæller (0.4) på [bi:len]<br><b>That's what it's called the little (.) time indicator (0.4) on the car</b>                                    |
| 7 | <b>Student:</b>          | [↑Ah:::](den der)<br><b>[Ah that one</b>   |
| 8 | <b>Teacher:</b>          | Jaer<br><b>Yeah</b>  |

However, the students do not repeat the word, and after a (1.5) second pause the teacher provides a repetition of the word (line 3) as well as an *iconic gesture* (e.g., McNeill 1992, 2000). In overlap with “*p-skive* (parking disc)” in line 3, a student repeats the word, and the teacher then provides an explanation of the word (line 6). In this example, the students repeat the highlighted word AFTER the teacher has repeated it, and thereby stressed the importance of the word during the ongoing activity.

However, the students may orient to the target words by DISPLAYING their understanding (see e.g., Sacks 1992: vol 1, 144ff.). Prior to example 7.9, the class has been talking about different ways for paying with credit cards, e.g. paying the actual price or that the store charges you e.g. 200 crowns and pay you the difference in cash.

#### Example 7.9 [O625U1 – 52:30]

- |   |                 |   |
|---|-----------------|---|
| 1 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Du (ka) <u>oss</u> si´e p  hundrede kroner p  tohundrede kroner   <u>over</u><br><b>You can also say one hundred two hundres crowns above</b> |
| 2 |                 | (0.3)   |
| 3 | <b>Michel:</b>  |  Jo jo:<br><b>Yeah yeah</b>   |
| 4 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Hva betyder det<br><b>What does that mean</b>   |

At the beginning of this example, the teacher introduces another way of payment – that the store charges 100 or 200 crowns above the amount to be paid, and gives you the remaining amount in cash. The turn is designed to emphasize the preposition “*over* (over/above)”. The teacher provides two different amounts and stresses the target word as well as produces it with a rising pitch. As we have seen above, this is a way of highlighting a part of the ongoing turn – in this case a (cultural) concept that is related to the Danish shopping system. However, the student does not repeat the word. Although, as we have seen above, a repeat of the highlighted word, in this case the preposition, would locate the target word for further activity, it would not be specifically related to this particular phrase, and, indeed, sound odd with repeating just the preposition. What seems more relevant in this position would be repeat MORE than the highlighted word, e.g.

“*hundrede kroner over* (one hundred crowns above)”. However, the student, Michel, does not repeat parts of the prior turn. On the contrary, he acknowledges the teacher's turn and treats it as known information (see e.g., Edwards 1997). However, the teacher orients to the lack of a repeat in this position: In line 4 she requests a word explanation, although the student did not display problems in understanding the target word, and thus PURSUES the word explanation. In the (second/foreign) language classroom, teachers are not only orienting to the understanding of the main co-participating student. (S)he also has to pay attention to the rest of the students, who are participating as *ratified overhearers* (Goffman 1963a, 1981 [1979]; see also Goodwin 2006) in the interaction.<sup>5</sup> Although the student does not display problems with the word, the teacher might therefore deal with the meaning from a pedagogical point of view. Here we see that the teacher projects a (request for a) word explanation by emphasizing the target word. Since the student does not orient to the target word as a relevant object for explicit linguistic focus, the teacher's request in line 4 does not emerge from the local context as a possible problem for understanding. The request is therefore prepared and carried out entirely by the teacher, who in this way insists on the vocabulary teaching.

However, the teacher does not always pursue the word explanation immediately, but may simply let the highlighted word pass without further explicit teaching. Nonetheless, the teacher constructs the turn in the same way as we have seen throughout this article, i.e. designing the turn in such a way that the highlighted words are productionally isolated. Even though the highlighted word is not extracted for vocabulary teaching immediately, it maintains a status as POSSIBLY relevant in the continuing sequence:

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<sup>5</sup> Several studies have described how students at the same time are individual students as well as part of a collective group, and how the participants manage this difference in participation status (see e.g., Lerner 1993, 2002; Mehan 1979; Payne and Hustler 1980; Sahlström 1999).

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**Example 7.10a [O620U2 – 33:50]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Halv syv ja det ka godt vær det halv syv  
**Six thirty yes it might be that it is six thirty**
- 2     **Student:**     Hm jaer  
**Hm yeah**
- 3     **Teacher:**     Men i ka jo gå ind på internettet å se på=eh:::: å i ka oss ta (.)  
**But you can go to the internet to see on=eh:: and you can also take**
- 4     **Teacher:**     køretest nede i studieværkstedet  
**driving test in the computer room**
- 5                     **(0.7)**
- 6     **Teacher:**     I ka gå ind på=ehrm::: på=eh::  
**You can go to=ehrm to=ehrm::**
- 7     **Teacher:**     et eller andet <køreskole>  
**something driving school**
- 8                     **(1.0)**
- 9     **Teacher:**     det ved de nede i studieværkstedet  
**they know that in the computer room**
- 10                    **(.)**
- 11    **Student:**     Hm  
**Hm**
- 12    **Teacher:**     Køreskolernes hjemmeside så ka man ta <en køreprøvetest>  
**the homepage of the driving schools then you can take a driver test**
- 13                    **(0.8)**
- 14    **Teacher:**     om man består eller ikk det ka i gøre:: der om onsdagen i  
**whether you pass of not you can do that on Wednesdays in**
- 15    **Teacher:**     studieværkstedet  
**the computer room**
- 16                    **(0.9)**
- 17    **Student:**     Jaer  
**Yeah**
- 18    **Teacher:**     Jaer  
**Yeah**
- 19                    **(0.9)**

Prior to this example, the class has been discussing when you can park a car in the city without paying, and in line 1, the teacher concludes by saying that it is possibly after 6:30PM. She then refers to the internet as a site for finding the exact timing, but restarts by indicating that they can do a driver test in the school's computer room (lines 3-4). This is followed by an instruction on how to find the test on the internet (lines 6-12), and in line 12 she highlights the noun phrase “*en køreprøvetest* (a driver test)”. The TCU is produced so the highlighted noun phrase occupies a possible TCU-final position, which has been described as central to “doing word explanation”. However, the TCU is followed by a (0.8) second pause, where the student could orient to the highlighted words through repetition, they do not do so, and do not orient to the highlighted noun phrase as something that needs further formal explanation or teaching, and do not participate in turning the sequence into a word explanation sequence. In line 14, the teacher expands the turn; by taking the test you will know whether or not you can pass it. Although the teacher designs the turn as to provide the students with the opportunity for extracting the noun phrase for further activities, she does not pursue the word explanation when the students do not repeat the noun phrase. However, even though the teacher did not succeed to extract “*køreprøvetest* (driver test)” and turn it into a vocabulary teaching sequence, she pursues it in the immediate continuation of the prior sequence:

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**Example 7.10b [O620U2 – 33:50]**

- 20    **Teacher:**    Så der en masse::: man sidder i en masse spørgsmål masse  
**Then there´s lots you have lots of questions lots of**
- 21    **Teacher:**    trafikspørgsmål (0.3) må du det må du det å må du det å så ka man se  
**questions about trafic (0.3) can you do that can you do that and can you do that**  
**then you can see**
- 22    **Teacher:**    om man bestå:r  
**whether you pass the driver test**
- 23                    (0.3)
- 24    **Student:**    N[å:  
**Ahh**
- 25    **Teacher:**    [køreprøven  
**[driver test**
- 26                    (0.3)
- 27    **Teacher:**    °N°eh teoriprøven hedder det  
**Nah the theoretical test it is called**
- 28    **Student:**    Mmm  
**Mmm**
- 29    **Teacher:**    Ja  
**Yeah**
- 30                    (4.9) ((Te wites “teoriprøve” [theoretical test]” on the blackboard))
- 31    **Teacher:**    Den ka i ta´ i ka ta te- i t:ræ:ner å ta´ teoriprøvetests: (. )  
**That you can take you kan take the- you practice to take the theoretical test (. )**
- 32    **Teacher:**    °nede i studieværkstedet°  
**down in the computer room**

Here we see that the teacher continues the information about how the test works, but does not pursue the vocabulary explanation of “*køreprøvetest* (driver test)”. In line 21, she produces a *list construction* (Jefferson 1990) that exemplifies the test questions. Then she reaches a possible completion point of the current TCU by providing a conclusion of taking the test – that you can see whether or not you will pass it (line 22). However, after a (0.3) second pause she expands the TCU with an *increment* (Schegloff ms.) – a lexical modification of the previously highlighted word. After another (0.3) second pause, she self-repairs and substitutes “*køreprøvetest* (driver test)” with “*teoriprøve* (theoretical test)”, i.e. the theoretical part of the driver test. She now turns towards the blackboard,

and writes “*teoriprøven* (theoretical test)”. In this way, she manages to highlight a central word in relation to driver tests, and turns it into a teaching sequence by framing it a central to the ongoing discussion. Although the highlighted word is not explained in the immediate continuation of its first occurrence, it nonetheless maintains a relevant position within the ongoing activity. Rather than continuing the lesson by moving on to the next pedagogical item, the sequence is expanded as to prepare the ground for highlighting and extracting the relevant vocabulary.

### **7.5.1 Negotiating the ongoing activity**

In example 7.9, the participants displayed diverging views on what the ongoing action was. Whereas the teacher oriented to “vocabulary teaching”, the student, in and through the acknowledgement in line 3, oriented to what may be glossed as “teaching cultural practices”, i.e. how you can use a credit card as method of payment in Denmark. This constitutes an omni relevant potential problem, not at least in the language classroom, where linguistic issues are always possible objects to be extracted from the ongoing course of action. During task accomplishments, this is a *members' problem* of negotiating whether or not they are engaged in the task (Hellermann 2005; Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Szymanski 1999), or whether they are “doing the task” or solving issues that are relevant or necessary for accomplishing the task (Mori 2004). In the next example, the class is in plenary interaction going through a prior comprehension task that consisted of listening to an audio taped dialogue and answering questions for comprehension.

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**Example 7.11 [O625U2 – 36:35]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Ma:n ka ikke bruge sit ↕sygesikringskort  
**You cannot use your social security card**
- 2     **Catherine:**   Rigtig  
**Right**
- 3     **Poh:**            Rigtigt  
**Right**
- 4     **Student:**       °Det (rigtigt)°  
**That's right**
- 5                      **(0.2)**
- 6     **Teacher:**     Birthe vil kun ha store sedler  
**Birthe only wants big bills**
- 7                      **(0.9)**
- 8     **Poh:**            (Eh)  
**Eh**
- 9                      **(0.4)**
- 10    **Teacher:**     Hva betyder store sedler  
**What does big bills mean**
- 11                     **(0.9)**
- 12    **Monika:**     (Ehrm:)  
**Ehrm**
- 13                     **(0.8)**
- 14    **Monika:**     Eh: tusind kro:[ner  
**Eh one thousand crowns**
- 15    **Teacher:**                     [Ja  
  [Yes
- 16                     **(0.8)**
- 17    **Teacher:**     En tusindkroneseddel (0.2) for eksempel  
**A one thousand crown bill (0.2) for instance**
- 18                     **(0.2)**
- 19    **Teacher:**     [Det store sedler  
**That's big bills**
- 20    **Catherine:**   [Nå:  
**Ahh**

In this example, we see that the activity is organized so that the teacher asks the questions by reading aloud from the textbook (see line 1), and the students provide the answers, *right* or *wrong* (see lines 2-4), through self-selection, without having the turn allocated by the teacher. The question and next task-item in line 6 is followed by a (0.9) second pause and a hesitation from one of the students. The missing answer indicates trouble. However, it does not locate the trouble by signalling what is problematic for the students, but the trouble source is preventing the students from providing an answer to the task question. In line 10, the teacher requests a word explanation about the expression “*store sedler* (big bills)” and thereby locates the possible trouble source – that the students are not able to provide the answer because they do not understand the meaning of a specific word in the question. In this way, she orients to the missing answer as being related to a specific type of linguistic problem.

### **7.5.2 Request for word explanation as pedagogical move**

The emphasis of the word frames it as relevant to the ongoing action, and that the class should do something with it. Previously, I described the teacher's turn as preparing the ground for his/her request for a word explanation. In this way, the teacher gives the students the opportunity to provide the word explanation. This seems to be pedagogically motivated; Rather than explaining the word himself/herself, the teacher uses a sequential format, which structurally gives her/him space to request a word explanation, by relying on the local context. In this way, the students have the opportunity to display whether they understand the word or not. By repeating the target word, the students extract the target word from the teacher's prior turn, and following the student's repeat, the teacher uses the local context to request a word explanation. However, the students may project non-understanding of the target word, and hereby that the word is somehow problematic. In example 7.5d, a student initiates repair after the highlighted word has been produced in the teacher's prior turn. In the next-turn, it is therefore conditionally relevant for the teacher to provide a word explanation, i.e. a *second pair-part* to the repair initiation:



highlighted word. In example 7.2b, the student projects repair in the turn following the teacher's introduction of the target word.

**Example 7.2b [O620U1 – 55:25]**

- 1 (2.4)
- 2 **Teacher:** He:r i spørgsmål fem hvo::r han spø´r hvorfor hun ikk køber en ny  
**Here in question five where he asks why she does not buy a new**
- 3 **Teacher:** cykel, (0.3) så det fordi hun ikk har råd til det lí´e nu (.) osse  
**bike (0.3) then it is because she cannot afford it right now (.) also**
- 4 **Teacher:** fordi hun skal betale <e:n bø:de>  
**because she has to pay a fine**
- 5 (0.7)
- 6 **Cathy:** Ehrm:: [:: °en bøde°]  
**Ehrm::[:: a fine**
- 7 **Teacher:** [E- e:n bøde] hva er det en bøde er  
**[A- a fine] what is it a fine is**
- 8 (0.6)

In line 6, the student projects a repair initiation by hesitating and repeating the highlighted word in a low volume, and thereby displays trouble in relation to the prior turn. However, the trouble source has not been located when the teacher initiates a new turn (line 7). At least a POSSIBLE and relevant trouble source is the teacher's emphasized word, since this occupies a turn-final position. In overlap with the hesitation, the teacher repeats the target word and requests a word explanation. In this way, she does not orient to the projected repair initiation of the student, but continues the sequence. However, she does orient to the overlapping talk, since she cuts off the definite article and restarts the turn-beginning when she is in the clear (see Schegloff 1987). In this way, the teacher manages to request a word explanation, and by that turns the highlighted word into a vocabulary teaching sequence, despite the projected repair by the students.

What we have seen here is that the participants orient to the normative character of the sequential structure. In the first place, they orient to a repeat of the target word by the

student in next-turn position, and if this is not provided, the teacher orients to it as “missing”. In example 7.5, we saw that the student who produces the repeat, orients to the repeat as providing the teacher the opportunity to request a word explanation. However, the teacher may not necessarily request a word explanation, but provide it him/herself.

**Example 7.3c [O620U2 – 38:20], immediate continuation of example 7.6b**

- 5     **Teacher:**     Når jeg kommer hjem så s:kal jeg ha (0.5) e:n kop kaffe  
                           **When I get home then I will have (0.5) a cup of coffee**
- 6                     **(0.9)**
- 7     **Teacher:**     å en lur  
                           **and a nap**
- 8                     **(1.0)**
- 9     **Ali:**            Lur  
                           **Nap**
- 10    **Teacher:**     En lu:r  
                           **A nap**
- 11                     **(3.2)** ((Te writes “en lur” [a nap] on the board))
- 12    **Teacher:**     That’s a nap  
                           **That’s a nap**
- 13                     **(0.4)**
- 14    **Ali:**            Lur  
                           **Nap**
- 15    **Teacher:**     man lige sover lidt  
                           **you sleep a while**

**Example 7.6b [O620U2 – 38:20]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Ud over fremtid så bruger (vi det) noget nå- nå det noget med en ordre  
                           **In addition to future then we use it when it is about an order**
- 2                     **(1.2)**
- 3     **Ayaan?:**        °ordre°  
                           **Order**
- 4     **Teacher:**     En ordre (.) it’s an order (0.2) du s:kal  
                           **An order (.) it’s an order (0.2) du must**
- 5     **Ayaan:**        Okay  
                           **Okay**
- 6                     **(0.2)**
- 7     **Teacher:**     vaske op  
                           **do the dishes**

In neither of these cases does the teacher request a word explanation. Instead, she explains the target word herself. And in both cases, she relies on an English translation to explain the target words. By explicating the word, the teacher minimizes the break away from the ongoing focal activity, i.e. grammar teaching (see above). In this way, she does not turn it into a “doing word explanation”-sequence, which provides the students the opportunity to display their understanding of the lexical item. What we have seen so far is that by explicitly requesting a word explanation from the students, the sequence is expanded. This expansion consists of a first pair-part (*request*), and a second pair-part (*word explanation*), which is evaluated by the teacher (*evaluation*). In this way, the word explanation sequence itself follows the traditional IRF-sequence of classroom interaction (Mehan 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). By explicating the word(s) through a self-repair, the teacher does not initiate this sequence, and therefore does not turn the explanation into a pedagogical task of teaching and/or testing the student's knowledge of the particular vocabulary.

#### 7.6 THE STUDENTS' REPEAT AS A REPAIR-INITIATION?

On the basis on the analyses presented here, it makes sense to ask whether the students' repeat of the target word(s) is a *repair-initiation* (e.g., Schegloff 1997a; Schegloff et al. 1977), i.e. orients to interactional TROUBLE in terms of hearing or understanding that is impairing intersubjectivity. Or whether the teacher sets up a frame, in which it is (*conditionally*) *relevant* (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) for the students to produce a next-turn repeat of the emphasized elements. According to Brouwer (2000: 78f.), Mazeland (1986; see also Mazeland 1987) describes the actions that a next-turn repair initiation performs: (i) It signals that there is interactional trouble. (ii) It locates the trouble source. (iii) It identifies the kind of trouble that is causing problems. (iv) Displays how the repair is to be accomplished, i.e. by *self* or *other* (Schegloff et al. 1977). (v) Suggests a repair trouble. A crucial point to the present analysis is the location of the trouble source, and maybe even more importantly, WHO locates the trouble source – teacher or student. It seems to be the case that this is most often done by the student in and through the repeat. In the above, we have seen that the student's repeat in the next-turn is repeating the same elements that the teacher emphasized in a possible TCU-final position in the prior turn.

For instance, in example 7.5 the student's initial repeat of the emphasized noun phrase includes the determiner. However, when the teacher does not respond to the repeat the student produces it again, but this time he does not include the determiner. In this way, he locates the exact word, “*fartbøde* (speed ticket)”, which is central to the ongoing business. However, we sometimes find cases where the teacher locates the target word. In example 7.4, the teacher emphasizes the noun phrase “*ensrettet gade* (one way)” by pointing to a written version of the phrase on the blackboard.

#### Example 7.4b [O620U2 – 27:15] - reprinted

- |   |                 |   |
|---|-----------------|---|
| 1 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Hva hedder det=ehrm:....., Monika<br><b>What do you say ehrm:.....: Monika</b>                                |
|   | GeTe:           | /Points at the board where she has written “ensrettet gade (one way street)”                                  |
| 2 | <b>Teacher:</b> | /forkert (.) i en=eller kørte ind i en ensrettet gade,<br><b>wrong (.) in a or went into a one way street</b> |
| 3 |                 | <b>(0.3)</b>  |
| 4 | <b>Ali:</b>     | E:ns↓redde[::d <sub>0</sub><br><b>Oneway</b>  |
| 5 | <b>Teacher:</b> | [Ensrettet hva er det <sub>0</sub><br><b>[Oneway what is that</b>   |
| 6 |                 | <b>(0.5)</b>  |

However, as a student repeats the noun phrase (line 4), the teacher overlaps the student's repeat. The overlap is initiated towards the end of the word “*ensrettet* (one way)”, which is not the final element of the noun phrase. In this way, the teacher does not orient to the entire noun phrase as the relevant words to the explained, but only the word “*ensrettet* (one way)”. We do not know whether the student was going to produce the full noun phrase or not. However, we do know that the teacher locates the key word, and thereby displays that “*gade* (street)” is not central to the projected word explanation sequence. In this way, we see that both teacher and student(s) collaborate in selecting which of the possible emphasized words are relevant to be explained and which are not.

However, in the above we saw that if the students do not repeat the emphasized words, the teacher may orient to the repeat as *noticeable absent*. In this way, the teacher sets up a frame, in which it is possible and relevant for the students to “do something” with the emphasized words. By providing a repeat, the students participate in locating the key word(s) and preparing the sequential ground, which leads to the teacher's request for a word explanation. In this way, the repeat does not constitute a repair initiation, but the necessary next-step for the word explanation request to be collaboratively produced. Without the students' repeat of the emphasized word(s), the teacher may or may not request and pursue a word explanation or provide the explanation him/herself, but the word explanation is thus not interactively produced, but depends solely on the teacher.

Another issue is that the students' repeats are not produced with rising intonation, which during repeats of (parts of) the prior turn is a strong resource for a recipient to initiate repair (Schegloff 1997a; Schegloff et al. 1977). I noted above that the repeat seems to be produced in a neutral way, i.e. that it does not specify the type of trouble associated with the repeated word. In this way, the student's repeat in “doing word explanation” does not display what the co-participant (i.e. the teacher) should do in the next-turn, and how (s)he should understand the student's repeat. However, it displays that the student orients to the repeated word(s) as being emphasized or attributed a special status in the teacher's prior turn. And it throws the ball back to the teacher, and in this way prepares the ground for the continuation of the sequence.

### 7.7 WORD EXPLANATION AND SEQUENCE CLOSING

The teacher does not select a next-speaker to provide the word explanation, but allows the students to self-select. It is therefore up to the students to find out who will, or is able to, provide an explanation. In this way, the sequence can be expanded by further explanations about the target word. If the teacher accepts the student's explanation, (s)he evaluates the response as in example 7.1a, where the teacher repeats the student's explanation and evaluates it with a *yeah* in line 13.

**Example 7.1a [O620U2 – 23:40]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Mia hun havde:: nej ikk Mia undskyld (.) Angela havde fået e:n bøde  
**Mia she has no not Mia sorry (.) Angela had got a fine**
- gaTe:                 /gaze and pointing towards “en betjent i civil (an officer in civilian clothes)”  
on the blackboard
- 2     **Teacher:**     af (.) /en (1.4) en <betjent i civi:l>  
**by (.) an (1.4)an officer in civilian clothes**
- 3                         **(0.4)**
- 4     **Teacher:**     hørte je  
**I heard**
- gaTe:                 /gaze towards students  
5                         /(.)
- 6     **Cathy?:**         °(En) betjent (i civil)°  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 7                         **(2.0)**
- 8     **Cathy:**         En betjent i civi:l  
**An officer in civilian clothes**
- 9     **Teacher:**                         [Ja hva betyr det hva- en betjent  
**[Yeah what does that mean what an officer**
- 10    **Teacher:**     i civi:l hva er det  
**in civilian clothes what is that**
- 11                         **(0.5)**
- 12    **Ali:**             De::: betjent uden uniform  
**It is an officer without a uniform**
- 13    **Teacher:**     Det´ en betjent uden uniform ja  
**It is an officer without a uniform yeah**

The *yeah* in line 13 accepts the student's repeat, and closes down the sequence. Schegloff (2007) refers to an assessment, *yeah*, following a second pair-part as a *sequence closing third*. In this way, the sequence consists of a first pair-part (*request for word explanation*), a second pair-part (*word explanation*), and a post-expansion (*assessment*).

Following the sequence-closing, the teacher resumes the sequence, which was expanded by the word explanation sequence.

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**Example 7.4c [O620U2 – 27:15]**

- 1     **Teacher:**     Hva hedder det=ehrm:....., Monika  
**What do you say ehrm:.....: Monika**
- 2     GeTe:             /Points at the board where she has written “ensrettet gade (one way street)”  
**Teacher:**         /forkert (.) i en=eller kørte ind i en ensrettet gade,  
**wrong (.) in a or went into a one way street**
- 3                     **(0.3)**
- 4     **Ali:**             E:ns↓redde[:d̥;  
**Oneway**
- 5     **Teacher:**             [Ensrettet hva er det̥;  
**[Oneway what is that**
- 6                     **(0.5)**
- 7     **Ali:**             De::t e[r  
**That is**
- 8     **Kevin:**             [ONE way.  
**[one way**
- 9     **Teacher:**         (Ja) one wa:y  
**Yeah one way**
- 10    **Kevin :**            °One way.° [hm  
**(One way)**
- 11    **Teacher:**             [One way °jaer°  
**[One way yeah**
- 12                     **(1.0)**
- 13    **Teacher:**         Å fik en bøde,  
**And got a fine**
- 14                     **(0.8)**
- 15    **Monika:**         Ehh- (.) jo å ne:j (0.6) (fo(h)r di(h)) det var i Filipinerne altså:  
**Ehh- (.) yes and no (0.6) because it was in the Philipines so**

After the assessment (line 11) and a (1.0) second pause, the teacher resumes the introduction of the storytelling she initiated in line 1, and frames it as a continuation of the introduction with a *and* (line 13). In this way, she treats the word explanation

sequence as a *side sequence* (Jefferson 1972), which emerges from the ongoing activity, and is left as a “secondary activity”.

## 7.8 DISCUSSION

So far we have seen a sequential analysis of a particular social practice: How teacher and students collaboratively extract lexical elements from a turn-at-talk, and treat it as an opportunity of vocabulary teaching.<sup>6</sup> The word explanation sequence has been described

<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the word explanation sequence may have a “controlling” character. During example 7.5, several students are engaged in *parallel activities* (Koole 2007), see e.g. lines 2, 4 and 7 (note the different line numbers!):

- |    |                 |   |
|----|-----------------|---|
| 1  | <b>Teacher:</b> | Eh::: å så hørte je at Monika hu:n kørte f[ o r b i : ] en=<br>Eh::: and then I heard that Monika she drove by a                      |
| 2  | <b>Angela:</b>  | [Hva ↗sir du]<br>[What do you say]  |
| 3  | <b>Teacher:</b> | =[eh:: (.) hun kørte f:- hurtig (.) >alt alt< for hur]tigt i bi:l<br>eh:: (.) she drove t:- fast (.) way way to fast by car           |
| 4  | <b>Ayaan:</b>   | [( )]   |
| 5  |                 | (0.6)   |
| 6  | <b>Teacher:</b> | [eh::: <midt om natten><br>eh::: in the middle of the night   |
| 7  | <b>Ayaan:</b>   | [( )]   |
| 8  |                 | (0.3)   |
| 9  | <b>Teacher:</b> | (Det den her hedder) midt om natten her<br>(that's this one it's called) in the middle of the night here                              |
| 10 |                 | (0.3)   |
| 11 | <b>Teacher:</b> | forbi en sko:le (0.8) å blev=eh::: he- ch stoppet a:f (0.3) Du fik<br>by a school (0.8) and was eh::: xx- ch stopped by (0.3) You got |
| 12 | <b>Teacher:</b> | e:n (0.7) hun fik en <fa:rtbøde><br>a (0.7) she got a speed ticket  |
| 13 |                 | (3.2) ((Te writes “hun fik en fartbøde [she got a speed ticket] on the board”))   |
| 14 | <b>Ali:</b>     | °En fa:rt(bøde)°<br>A speed(ticket)   |
| 15 |                 | (5.8)   |
| 16 | <b>Ali:</b>     | Fartbøde (0.2) hva er [det<br>Speed ticket (0.2) what is that   |
| 17 | <b>Teacher:</b> | [Fartbøde<br>[Speed ticket  |
| 18 |                 | (0.6)   |
| 19 | <b>Teacher:</b> | Fartbøde betyder du har kørt for hurtigt<br>Speed ticket means you were going too fast  |

as a *side sequence* that put the ongoing interaction on hold, while dealing with a parenthetical, linguistic issue. However, a few implications for language teaching, and in particular vocabulary teaching remain to be made.

### **7.8.1 Repetition of the lexical item**

If we look at the examples, an observation that has not been described until now is that the target word is produced several times throughout the word explanation sequence. Not only do the students repeat a part of the teacher's prior turn, but during the request for a word explanation the teacher repeats the target word in almost all the examples. In this way, the target word is almost always produced at least three times within very few turns-at-talk, and thus temporally in close proximity. Although each of the “versions” of the target element do different interactional business, together they stand out as important lexical items of the ongoing activity. Even though the emphasized noun phrase is not new to the students (or at least not new to all of them in cases where they are able to provide a word explanation), the students can hear the pronunciation of the word(s) several times. From the teacher's perspective, the repetitions therefore provide the students with opportunities for hearing the potentially new vocabulary several times during as well as before the word is explained. In this way, part of vocabulary teaching includes teaching how to pronounce the highlighted word. It is generally believed that the frequency of exposure to new vocabulary is essential to vocabulary teaching (e.g., Nation 2001: 74ff.). What we have seen in this study is how the word explanation sequence is organized, and, in fact, built THROUGH, several repeats of the lexical item(s). For instance, the activity of locating the relevant lexical items is dependent on repeats of the lexical items. Thus the

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However, during the teacher's repeat of the emphasized word (line 17), these students disengage from the parallel interaction, and turn towards the student who repeats the target words. In this way, they re-engage into the plenary interaction (cf. Markee 2005; Szymanski 1999). Although this has not been studied systematically, it seems to be the case that the students orient to the “formal vocabulary teaching” as a relevant focus of attention. This would strongly support the argument, that the students' repeat of the emphasized word(s) is orienting to the projection of “formal teaching”, but must be left for future systematic analysis.

format of the sequence is organized as to include “versions” of the lexical items by both parties – teacher as well as students.

### **7.8.2 (Un)planned word explanation and pedagogical intentions**

The analysis shows how participants interactionally negotiate (i) THAT they initiate a word explanation sequence, (ii) HOW they do it, and (iii) WHICH lexical items are relevant for explanation. The word explanation sequence emerges from the ongoing activity, e.g. a post-task activity during a storytelling (examples 7.1, 7.2, 7.4 and 7.5), which is (briefly) put on hold while the relevant vocabulary is explained. In this way, although the lexical item(s) is already present in the lesson, e.g. has been written on the blackboard prior to this point, it is made relevant “on the fly” at this point.

At the beginning of this article, I referred to the common distinction in the vocabulary teaching literature of *planned* versus *unplanned* teaching of lexical items (e.g., Hatch and Brown 1995). This distinction is primarily based on PEDAGOGICAL INTENTIONALITY and preparation (or not) of the lesson. However, the present analysis, which was conducted from a communicative rather than a pedagogical approach, reveals how the participants deal with the accomplishment of the task *in situ* (cf. Coughlan and Duff 1994; Hellermann 2007; Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Mori 2002, 2004; Szymanski 2003). In the above, I noted that several of the examples come from the same lesson. For instance, examples 7.1, 7.4 and 7.5 all occur within a period of approximately 7 minutes! It therefore seems that the lesson and the ongoing activity are organized as to FACILITATE vocabulary teaching, and that this vocabulary teaching is related to a specific topic, namely traffic (violations) and fines (see figure 7.1). Although the activity is centred around the students' prior stories during group work, the task is framed as, and organized in relation to, “fines” as the central word, and during the plenary interaction that is presented in this analysis, the teacher uses this opportunity to deal with relevant vocabulary that the students may not be familiar with. In these examples, the vocabulary teaching has been prepared by the teacher PRIOR to the plenary activity, and the teacher includes the blackboard as a relevant resource in selecting and explicating the relevant vocabulary. However, in other examples, such as 7.3 and 7.10, the teacher seems to catch

the ball in the air, and takes the opportunity to turn the sequence into vocabulary teaching. For instance, the highlighted word, “*køreprøvetest* (driver test)”, emerges from the ongoing discussion about free parking, and the inclusion about the internet as a relevant place for learning about the official rules. Similarly, in example 7.7, the highlighted word “*nogensinde* (ever)”, is related to, and a part of, a task instruction that is read aloud from the textbook. The activity is therefore focusing on whether the students have personal experiences with fines, and the teacher uses the written task instruction as an opportunity to teach (possibly new) vocabulary. In these cases, the sequence does not turn into “doing word explanation”. They MAY turn into a vocabulary teaching sequence, but the students are not provided with the opportunity to explain the word. This is done by the teacher, and the vocabulary teaching does not reflect the same pedagogically motivated teaching sequence, where the students display their understanding of the word, as in the examples 7.1, 7.2, 7.4 and 7.5.

### **7.8.3 Topic initiation**

In several of the analyzed examples, the highlighted word(s) is intimately tied to the initiation of a new activity. In examples 7.1, 7.4 and 7.5, the highlighted words invoke the students' prior stories during the prior group work. In this way, the highlighted words are part of initiating a new activity, by using material from a prior part of the lesson. The same can be said about example 7.3. The highlighted word in this example emerges from an explanation about how future tense is grammatically constructed in Danish. The highlighted word, “*lur* (nap)”, provides an example of how this can be done. In this way, the teacher uses the grammatical teaching context to include a lexical item, which might be unfamiliar to the students, and embeds a vocabulary sequence within the grammatical explanation.

Teaching linguistic material, which emerges from the immediate context, is always potentially relevant in the (second/foreign) language classroom. By using the ongoing activity as a point of departure for a (brief) “formal teaching sequence” like “doing word explanation”, the teacher takes what is already contextually present to teach formal aspects of the second language. Therefore, it does not (necessarily) break with the

pedagogical intentions of the ongoing activity, but rather builds on it and expands the activity in sequentially relevant ways. In this article, I have shown how vocabulary explanation may occur in one such sequential environment, and how the ground, which leads to the word explanation, is interactionally constructed between teacher as well as students. The pedagogical implications that can be drawn from this analysis are twofold. On the one hand, it shows how vocabulary is taught not necessarily due to interactional problems, but rather due to teachers' pedagogical aims. On the other hand, the way in which the word explanation sequence is constructed, includes the students as relevant participants – the students lack of participation has serious implications for the teacher, since the students repeat of the emphasized lexical items is a NECESSARY sequential step in creating a interactionally shaped word explanation sequence. In this way, the students display a strong INTERACTIONAL awareness. Not only do they orient to the teachers turn-design and provide a coherent and relevant next move. They also do this DESPITE that fact that they may know the meaning of the particular emphasized words (see example 7.4 in which the student who repeats the lexical items is that same student who produces the word explanation). In this way, rather than simply a matter of vocabulary teaching, “doing word explanation” adds on to the range of studies that show how students may have opportunities for language learning other than those defined by the “formal teaching” (e.g., Hellermann 2007; Koshik 2002; Markee 2005; Mori 2004; Ohta 2001; Sahlström 2002), and how the students themselves participate in creating the frames for their own learning opportunities.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I discuss the main conclusions and implication of the empirical part of this dissertation – the separate articles in chapter 5-7. The findings are related to the existing literature on student participation, and suggestions for future research are provided.

#### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the introduction, I presented two research questions, around which this dissertation has been organized. The research question were the following

- How do students participate in the second language classroom?
- How is this participation facilitated by the teacher's instructions?

In this chapter, I will highlight and discuss the results of the empirical part of the dissertation in relation to the research questions, describe implication of the dissertation, and provide suggestions for future research. The discussion will be organized in relation to second language pedagogy, (second language) classroom interaction, conversation analysis, and (second language) learning and integration.

#### 8.2 SECOND LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

##### **8.2.1 A communicative approach to pedagogical tasks or interactional tasks**

One of the basic arguments throughout this dissertation is the relationship between pedagogy and communication/interaction. In chapter 3, I described instructions, and in particular tasks, as a pedagogical concept within second language pedagogy. I highlighted the distinction between task-as-workplan and task-in-process (Breen 1987, 1989), and showed how a large amount of research has described how task-accomplishment may be very different from the teacher's intended workplan (e.g., Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Mori 2002). In this way, these studies adopt a communicative and interactional

approach to task(-accomplishment), and the results of these studies are of utmost importance for second language pedagogy and second language teachers. This line of research focuses on situations, which are pedagogically grounded since they analyze how FORMAL pedagogical tasks as accomplished and constructed interactionally.

On the other hand, tasks may be approached not (primarily) in relation to pedagogy, but in relation to communication/interaction. In this way, tasks are described from an emic perspective, where the focus is on what participants themselves orient to as INTERACTIONAL TASKS. Task is thus not a pedagogical but an interactional concept. In this way, the analyses focus on how classroom interaction sets up specific frames in which students participate, and how the organization of the interaction provides different tasks, that students must deal with. This is the suggested approach in this dissertation. In Mortensen I, I find that the way in which the pedagogical task is organized provides different interactional tasks for the students. I propose that whether or not turn-allocation and the activity are prepared and available to the participants or locally managed set up very different frameworks, which require different ways of relevant participation by the students. In Mortensen I, I describe situations in which the activity is prepared, but where turn-allocation is locally managed. In this context, a relevant task for the students is to display whether they are willing to be selected as next-speaker. For the teacher this means orienting to the students' display of availability. In this way, turn-allocation through *current-speaker selects next speaker* is managed by the teacher but relies on interactional work between teacher and students. In Mortensen II, I find that when the activity is organized as to allow for self-selection, the self-selecting student orients to establishing reciprocity with a co-participant as a relevant interactional task prior to or during the turn-beginning. In Mortensen III, I show that when the teacher highlights a part of his/her ongoing turn-at-talk students orient to the highlighted word(s) as relevant to the ongoing activity, and that the highlight projects a formal vocabulary teaching sequence. In this way, the teacher's highlight sets up a framework, in which a repeat of the highlighted word(s) is relevant in the (students') next-turn.

In this way, task can be approached as a pedagogical as well as an interactional concept, and the argument is not to highlight one of them, but a COMBINATION of them. Approaching pedagogical tasks from a communicative approach is particularly relevant for designing classroom material. Knowledge about how students engage in task-accomplishment is crucial since students do not necessarily deal with the task in the intended way (e.g., Coughlan and Duff 1994; Mori 2002). This information is important for organizing tasks in the classroom. On the other hand, classroom interaction provides interactional tasks for students even though the focus is not explicitly on pedagogical tasks. For instance, by allowing self-selection the students face the task of negotiating participation roles, i.e. “speaker” and “main recipient”. This may add to the complexity of the (pedagogical) task students are faced with. In situations where students are “supposed” to have approximately equal amount of speaking time, this may not be the best of managing the classroom interaction, and a more strict “teacher selects next-speaker” may be more beneficial for this purpose. However, since negotiating reciprocity IS a relevant task during conversation (e.g., Carroll 2004; Goodwin 1981), it can be considered as RELEVANT for second language classroom interaction and teaching, and classroom interaction can therefore be designed in ways, which make this interaction task relevant. The aim at this point is not to argue for one way or another of organizing and managing classroom interaction. Rather, this depends on the pedagogical purpose of the ongoing activity. In this way, it is relevant for second language classroom teachers to know which (interactional and/or pedagogical) tasks they provide students with according to the ways, in which activities are organized. These aspects are thus something that second language teachers must orient to prior as well as during the lesson.

### **8.2.2 Pedagogical tasks are interactively constructed**

The dissertation follows an increasing numbers of studies that show how pedagogical tasks are interactively constructed (e.g., Hellermann 2005; Hellermann and Cole forth.; Kasper 2004; Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler 2004; Mori 2002, 2004; Ohta 2001; Seedhouse 1999; Szymanski 2003). For instance, in Mortensen III I show how vocabulary teaching (may be) constructed interactively. In particular, the article describes how formal linguistic teaching does not necessarily emerge due to interactional problems,

but due to the pedagogical aim of the activity. In this context, students are faced with the task of orienting to the teacher's highlighted word(s) through repetition, and in this way they participate in the social activity of “doing word explanation”. Similarly, in Mortensen I I show how students orient to the progression of the task. They do this by displaying willingness to be selected as next-speaker before the next task-item has been initiated.

### **8.2.3 Students' orientation to linguistic fluency in turn-beginning?**

In Mortensen II, I show how students may request and establish reciprocity with a co-participant before the turn-at-talk is properly initiated. Previous research has showed how this (interactional) task may be dealt with during the turn-beginning (e.g., Carroll 2004; Goodwin 1981). In this position, the incipient speaker relies on verbal and visual resources for establishing reciprocity with a co-participant. The verbal resources include pauses, restarts and hesitations. Carroll (2004; 2005a) argues that these resources serve an interactional purpose, i.e. establishing reciprocity, and therefore are not linguistic disfluencies due to lack of linguistic competence. However, the second language classroom is designed for second language learning. By establishing reciprocity prior to the proper turn-beginning, the self-selecting student does not have to deal with this interaction task during the turn-beginning, which can therefore be produced in a linguistically fluent way. This may show us that students orient to linguistic disfluent turn-beginnings as somehow “improper” in the second language classroom even though it might serve interactional purposes. This may show that students orient to (“fluent”) linguistic structures not only as relevant, but also as **NORMATIVE** in the second language classroom. This finding would be important for second language pedagogy and second language teachers since it reveals how students conceive *language* and *language learning*. However, it must be left for future research to show whether this is indeed the case.

### **8.2.4 Non-native speakers are socially competent**

Additionally, the dissertation adds to the existing range of literature that describes how second language students, and non-native speakers in general, are social and interactional

competent individuals despite their (possible) lack of linguistic competence (e.g., Brouwer 2000; Carroll 2000; Egbert 2005; Firth 1996; Firth and Wagner 1997, 2007; He 2004; Kasper 2004; Kurhila 2006; Markee 2000; Olsher 2003; Wagner 1996). For instance, in Mortensen I and II this is related to reciprocity, and how students competently manage the negotiation of turn-allocation in relation to different organizational activities. In this regard, although turn-beginnings are linguistically disfluent they may serve interactional purposes, e.g. establishing reciprocity with a co-participant (see also Carroll 2004).

### 8.3 CLASSROOM INTERACTION

#### **8.3.1 Different ways of organizing classroom interaction provide students with different interactional tasks and relevant ways of participating**

The dissertation has showed that the ways in which the classroom is organized set up frameworks for interactional tasks that students are faced with, and thus different ways of relevant participation. In relation to GENERALIZATION this leads to two analytic questions. On the one hand, the extent to which the described phenomena are general social practices of talk-in-interaction. And on the other hand, whether they are general for second language classroom interaction. I will deal with these aspects separately.

Firstly, the social practices described seem to be general aspects of social interaction. In Mortensen II, I describe how an incipient speaker finds a recipient before the turn-at-talk is properly initiated. In relation to previous research, in particular Goodwin (1981), Streeck and Hartge (1992) and Mondada (2007), this finding seems also to apply outside of the classroom. Although the analysis is related to a specific setting, i.e. second language classroom, mutual orientation between speaker and hearer(s) is of utmost importance for talk to emerge in interaction. In this way, the very framing of the talk is an intrinsic feature of interaction. Mortensen I and III, however, seem to have a more institutional character. In Mortensen I, I describe how teachers find and select a next-speaker. The context, in which the participants are going through a list of task items, is typical of classroom interaction, and may not (often) be found in ordinary conversation.

Nonetheless, the analysis shows how participants orient to the PROJECTION of a future activity, not just in terms of WHAT the activity is about, but also WHO the relevant participants within it are. In this way, the analysis provides an example of the temporally unfolding participation framework, which includes a range of semiotic systems – talk, interacting bodies and physical objects. In Mortensen III, I describe how vocabulary teaching is interactionally constituted. It is thus intrinsically tied to the second language classroom. This analysis shows how teacher and students locate and “extract” lexical items from the ongoing course of action, and “do word explanation” as a side sequence within the larger activity framework.

Secondly, the findings will probably apply to other (second language) classrooms as well. The phenomena, which have been described in this dissertation, are recognizable as social actions inside as well as outside of the classroom on the basis of membership knowledge – they are recognizable as specific social actions by the participants themselves as well by the analyst. The descriptions are tied to a specific kind of classroom interaction. In this regard, it is not coincidental that the specific social practices that are described in each article, primary rely on examples from one of the recorded classrooms. An interesting comparison is the examples that are analyzed in Mortensen I and Mortensen II, respectively. These classrooms are organized in fundamentally different ways. In Mortensen I, I describe a social practice that is particular tied to a strong teacher control, whereas in Mortensen II, I describe a social practice that is made possible through a more “learner-centered” and “loose” way of organizing the classroom. Each type of organization provides different opportunities for student participation, and I do not aim at evaluating them in terms of “good” and “bad”. Rather, the aim is to describe the interactional tasks that different ways of managing classroom interaction provide student.

As discussed in Mortensen I, the classroom organization in which this social practice is found, is to a large extent controlled by the teacher, who manages turn-allocation. This is the dominant view of previous classroom interaction research (e.g., McHoul 1978; Mehan 1979; Paoletti and Fele 2004). On the contrary, in the organization of the

classroom described in Mortensen II, the teacher provides the students with opportunities for managing turn-allocation. However, this is in particular beneficial for a small amount of students, but constrains the opportunities for participation for a part of the students (cf. Emanuelsson and Sahlström forth.; Sahlström 1999). In this way, by creating the classroom organization in an “open” way like this, participation by certain students is facilitated whereas others do not have the same opportunities for participating. What seem, on the surface, to afford the same opportunities for engaging in the plenary interaction to all students, does in fact create differences in terms of access to the interaction. The answer, therefore, should not be which type of classroom organization is the “best”, but rather which kind of student participation is facilitated by different ways of classroom interaction.

### **8.3.2 Students have different understandings of the ongoing activities**

Students have different understandings of the ongoing activities and therefore different understandings of relevant ways of participating in plenary interaction. In Mortensen II, I find that when the classroom is organized as to facilitate student self-selection only few students actually do so. This means that although the classroom is organized in a way, which “on the surface” allows students the equal opportunities for participating, this is not the case from the perspective of the individual student. In this way, the dissertation supports previous research (e.g., Ohta 2001; Sahlström 1999), which argues that classroom interaction provides students with different opportunities for participating because they have different understandings of how the classroom is organized, and which kind of participation is relevant. In order to describe the students' opportunities for participating in the classroom we must look in detail at HOW the individual student understands the activity in which (s)he finds him-/herself. This dissertation is an attempt to contribute to this. However, due to technical reasons in relation to audio and video recordings, the recordings that are used in this dissertation provide only a limited access to the individual student's understanding of the classroom interaction. Existing and future research, where individual audio/video recordings are possible, is able to provide more detailed analyses of individual students, and extend the findings of this study.

### **8.3.3 Students rely on social practices from “ordinary conversation”**

Whereas teachers may rely on pedagogical assumptions and theoretical knowledge about language and (language) learning for organizing and managing classroom interaction students rely primarily on *common sense knowledge* for social interaction, in particular *conversation*. This means that although the teacher may have pedagogical reasons for organizing classroom activities in one way or another, students act (primarily) on social norms for conversation. In relation to pedagogy and teacher education, knowledge about social interaction is therefore relevant in order to describe how turns-at-talk are sequentially organized, and how a turn-at-talk is shaped by the prior turn as well as providing a context for next-turn.

### **8.3.4 “Teacher selects next-speaker” is done on the basis of interactional work**

Turn-allocation through a “teacher selects next-speaker” technique is managed by the teacher, but relies on interactional work between teacher and students. In Mortensen I, I describe how students display whether or not they are willing to be selected as next-speakers during activities that are prepared and officially available to all participants in the classroom. At the same time, the teacher orients to these displays as a RELEVANT aspect of turn-allocation. This does not mean that teachers always select students who display availability. However, if the teacher selects an unavailable student this has interactional consequences for the student's turn-at-talk, and thus the progression of the task. In this way, the teacher manages turn-allocation, but this can be done in different ways. One distinction I would like to make on the basis of the empirical part of the dissertation is the teacher's GLOBAL versus LOCAL management of the lesson. The local management is on the one hand interactively constructed during the lesson. For instance, teachers ask questions and students respond. However, the teacher may manage which questions are to be asked, who should be asked, as well as whether the answer is accepted or not. In this way, teachers set up different (interactional) tasks DURING the lesson. On the other hand, the global management concerns the larger organization of the activity. This may be prepared prior to the lesson, i.e. Breen's (1987; 1989) *task-as-workplan*, as part of the pedagogical, or intentional, aim of the lesson. But it may also be present in the lesson such as presenting a schedule in the beginning of the lesson. This global

management constrains the local management. Mortensen I is an example of this relationship. Student participation is organized in relation to both the teacher's global and local management. As this dissertation has argued, analyzing student participation should therefore be contextualized, not in terms of the global management *per se*, but how this management is made visible in the temporally unfolding of the lesson. The teacher, in and through both the global and the local management, facilitates different kinds of participation by the students. Students are therefore faced with very different interactional tasks according to this management, and to capture these tasks the analysis must look at the detailed sequential organization of the lesson. Similarly, student participation displays different levels, or types, of engagement in the lesson, and do thus not necessarily have the same opportunities for language learning. In Mortensen I, I propose a matrix for how different ways of organizing and preparing the lesson in terms of the activities and allocation of turns. The matrix is reprinted here as figure 8.1:

**Figure 8.1. Reprinted from Mortensen I**

		WHO	
		Local management of activities	Pre-allocation of turns
WHAT	Prepared activity	Local management of activities	Pre-allocation of turns
	Pre-allocation of turns	Pre-allocation of turns	
	Prepared activity	Local management of activities	Local management of turn-allocation
	Local management of turn-allocation	Local management of turn-allocation	

The matrix exemplifies how different ways of preparing activities and turn-allocation require different kind of participation by the students. The matrix distinguishes turn-allocation and activity in terms of whether they have been established prior to the interactional accomplishment of the activity or whether they are managed on a local, turn-by-turn basis. The ways in which the task is designed and accomplished may add unnecessary complexities to the pedagogical task by providing or requiring a range of different interactional tasks.

## 8.4 CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

The three articles in this dissertation describe social practices, i.e. specific phenomena, of social interaction. In this way, the articles add to the range of CA studies with the common aim of describing how people in a huge variety of settings (and languages) go about managing their everyday common practices. More specific, the dissertation adds to CA research in several aspects.

### 8.4.1 Turn-taking organization

The dissertation adds to one of the fundamental aspects of CA – turn-taking organization. On one hand, rather few studies have described the RESOURCES involved in turn-allocation, neither in relation to *current-speaker selects next* (Lerner 2003) nor *self-selection* (although see Mondada 2007). In this regard, the present dissertation adds important information, and reveals HOW turn-allocation is accomplished interactionally as well as what goes before the turn-allocation *per se*. For instance, in Mortensen I, I describe how participants rely on tools in their immediate surrounding for managing turn-taking and turn-allocation. In this way, I show how students rely on physical artifacts such as textbooks for projecting (relevant) next-actions. In Mortensen I, this is specifically related to students' use of textbooks for orienting to future activities, and display whether or not they are willing to be selected as next-speaker.

On the other hand, the dissertation describes how turn-taking is managed on the basis of interactional work between teacher and students. Whereas prior research on turn-taking focuses on structural aspects, i.e. *current-speaker selects next* and *self-selection*, in Mortensen I, I describe how *teacher selects next-speaker* is constructed on the basis of interaction work. In this way, students play an important role in negotiating turn-allocation although the teacher manages how turn-allocation is accomplished.

### 8.4.2 Turn-beginning or action-beginning?

The dissertation enters the discussion of when a turn begins. More specifically, Mortensen II leads to a discussion of turn-beginnings and/or action-beginnings within talk-in-interaction, and, more broadly, turn versus action. Most research within CA tends

to focus on the completion of TCUs since these constitute positions where transition to another speaker may occur (Ford and Thompson 1996; Klippi 2006; Laursen 2002; Schegloff 1996; Selting 2000). Consequently, few studies have dealt with turn beginnings (see e.g., Carroll 2004; Goodwin 1980a, 1981; Heath 1986; Mondada 2007; Schegloff 1987; Streeck and Hartge 1992). Both Mortensen I and II add to this line of research, as well as (contributing to) the included discussion about the role of verbal talk with action construction. Similarly, the articles extend to boundaries of (traditional) linguistics, since the social actions that people do in interaction, are performed through verbal as well as visual resources. In this way, the dissertation contributes to the description of how participants use a variety of sign systems for managing social interaction (e.g., Goodwin 1995, 2001, 2003c, 2007; Heath and Luff 1992a; Hindmarsh and Heath 2003; Laursen 2002; Pitsch 2007; Rae 2001). This includes how participants use tools as well as their entire bodies for managing turn-taking, and in particular turn-allocation (see above).

#### 8.5 (SECOND LANGUAGE) LEARNING AND INTEGRATION

In the previous paragraphs in this chapter, I have argued that the teacher manages how the classroom is organized, but that this is done on the basis of interactional work between teacher and students. In this way, relevant ways for students to participate in the plenary lesson depend on how the teacher manages classroom interaction and the (pedagogical) activities within the classroom. According to a social approach to SLA, language learning means engaging in competent ways in social action (Block 2003; Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Firth and Wagner 1997, 2007; Hall and Verplaetse 2000; Hellermann 2008; Kasper and Rose 2002; Lantolf 2000a; Lave and Wenger 1991; Markee 2000; Seedhouse 2005a; Young and Miller 2004). According to this perspective, learning means participating through performing (social) action through means of the second language. Therefore, the organization of the classroom provides students with different opportunities for participating and (possibly) learning. In order to describe these opportunities, this dissertation has argued for detailed analyses of student participation from an emic perspective.

In the dissertation, I have argued that we still know very little of whether and/or what students actually learn in the classroom despite the fact that the *raison d'être* for classrooms is that learning should take place. The aim of the dissertation has been to describe learning OPPORTUNITIES in the second language classroom, i.e. how student participation is facilitated by the teacher's instructions. However, we still do not know whether students actually learn Danish in the classroom. Therefore we must describe the interactions in which students participate, and describe the learning opportunities that these settings provide students. This dissertation is a contribution to this task.

The Danish *integrationslov* (law of integration), which constitutes the background of this dissertation as a part of the research project *Learning and Integration*, focuses on Danish language learning as an important factor in the integration process of migrants in Denmark. The focus on formal language teaching, which underlies the law, has been the point of departure for this dissertation. However, we know only very little of whether and/or what migrants learn outside of school as part of their social lives, e.g. work (see e.g., Brouwer and Hougaard forth.). Further research is needed to describe second language learning opportunities inside as well as outside of the classroom.

## 8.6 FUTURE RESEARCH

This dissertation has described student participation in the classroom, and how participation is facilitated by the teacher and his/her instructions. However, the dissertation deals with a particular setting – Danish as a second language classrooms for adult learners. Future research will show whether and how this might be different in classrooms with different content, in different geographical, socio-cultural and educational settings, as well as classrooms with children. Similarly, the collections, on the basis of which the empirical part of the dissertation has been conducted, are relatively small. Future research will therefore probably be able to make a more exhaustive description of the phenomena described here. Additionally, qualitative as well as quantitative research may set out to describe how the participation described in this dissertation is related to students' learning. The dissertation has provided a preliminary description of how to analyze student participation in relation to teacher instructions.

Future studies might extend this description as well as provide quantitative analyses of classroom organization and student participation.

#### 8.7 FINAL REMARKS

This dissertation set out to analyze student participation in the second language classroom, and how this participation is facilitated by the teacher('s instructions). Throughout the previous chapters and pages, I have argued for a communicative rather than a pedagogical approach, and how second language pedagogy may benefit from this perspective. In this regard, I have proposed that the analyses are conducted from an emic, i.e. participant oriented, perspective. Such an approach reveals how the participants themselves engage in and understand the ongoing activities, and thus how and what they regard as relevant participation in the specific sequential environment. This approach will undoubtedly lead to important findings in the second language classroom, and pedagogical conclusions should be based on empirical findings rather than on theoretical perspectives on language and language learning. We still know relatively little on how students participate in the second language classroom, how they “understand” their own participation and the activities they engage in, and how student participation is related to second language learning. I hope that this dissertation has provided an example of how student participation might be approached, and how teacher instructions facilitate different kinds of interactional tasks and participation.

## APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

### Transcription of verbal aspects

Transcription of verbal aspects follows the system developed by Gail Jefferson (e.g., 1984). For descriptions, see e.g., Atkinson and Heritage (1984b), Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) and Steensig (1996).

wei[rd wo]rd [yeah]	Beginning and end of overlapping talk
(1.0)	Pause/gap in seconds and tenth of seconds
(.)	Micro pause (< 0.2 seconds)
=	Latched talk (“rush through”). Either between different speakers, or same speaker where transcription on several lines
w <u>o</u> rd	Prosodic emphasis
wo:::rd	Prolongation of preceding sound
. / , / ?	Intonation. / / falling. / , / continuing. / ? / rising
WORD	High volume
°word°	Low volume
<word>	Slower than surrounding talk
>word<	Faster than surrounding talk
*word*	Creaky voice

wo(h)rd	Aspiration during word (possible laughter)
wo-	Cut-off (e.g., glottal stop)
(word)	Uncertainty about transcription
( )	Non-audible speech
((comment))	Transcriber's comment
.Hhh	Hearable in-breath
Hhh	Out-breath (possible laughter)
.tsk/ .mth	Inhalation/ mouth sounds
@word@	Word is pronounced in English

**Transcription of visual aspects**

Transcription of visual aspects, whenever the transcript is not relying on frame grabs, follows Goodwin (1981) and Mondada's (2007) modifications.

Each participant has his/her own transcription symbol. # marks the teacher, + the primary student, and  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  refer to other students.

.....	Gaze is moving towards co-participant
<u>(name)</u>	Participant is gazing at (name)
»»»»»»»»	Gaze is moving away from co-participant
-->	Marks that gaze direction (or other visual aspects) is maintained through subsequent lines
-->>	Marks that gaze direction (or other visual aspects) is maintained until (or after) the end of the example.

When nothing else is noted, gaze (or another visual aspect) is maintained until something else is noted.

Pauses are timed in seconds and tenth of seconds. Whenever visual aspects are described during gaps and pauses, the “silence” is either divided into (1.0) second fragments or tenth of second represented with “- - “. Each “-“ marks a tenth of a second. One full second is marked by “ | “. Whenever a silence is broken into smaller segments, the entire length of the silence is marked at the end of the line in double parenthesis, e.g. “((5.0)).

## APPENDIX B

### ENGLISH SUMMARY

This dissertation argues for an interactional approach to student participation in the Danish as a second language classroom, and presents three empirical analyses on how students act in relation to social norms. Student participation is related to teachers' instructions, and the dissertation shows how these instructions constrain and facilitate different kinds of participation. The dissertation addresses the following research questions:

- How do students participate in the second language classroom?
- How is this participation facilitated by the teacher's instructions?

The data material consists of approximately 25 hours of video recordings from two Danish language learning centers, *AOF sprogcenter Svendborg* and *Studieskolen, Odense*. The data are presented in the methodological chapter, *conversation analysis (CA)*, in chapter 4.

Chapter 2 describes how participation has been approached in the classroom interaction literature. It shows how participation is often described as basic structures such as participation structures and initiation-response-feedback/evaluation (IRF/E) sequences. The chapter argues that participation must be approached from the participants' own perspective through detailed analyses of the interaction that the participants are engaged in. This means that not just verbal aspects of interaction should be included in the analyses, but also visual aspects such as gesture, gaze, body posture and physical objects that participants use in and through interaction with each other.

The traditional distinction between plenary and group classroom organization is then discussed. Most prior classroom interaction research focuses on plenary interaction, and in particular the role of the teacher. However, recent technological development has facilitated analyses of students' perspective of the lesson and their own role within it, and

this has led to important insights in relation to second language pedagogy. Finally, it is argued that students act as individuals as well as part of a collective group, which interacts with the teacher, and how this has structural consequences for the opportunity for participation for the individual student.

Chapter 3 shows how instructions facilitate student participation, and that instruction primarily has been approached as a pedagogical concept in relation to second language acquisition. First, the chapter describes teaching methods as a practical realization of the teacher's theoretical approach to language and (language) learning. It then moves on to *task* as a central notion within second language pedagogy. The task literature is primarily related to second language acquisition and second language pedagogy. Tasks are conceptualized as a means to promote certain kinds of language, which are thought to be relevant for (or is thought to be) second language learning. This assumption is criticized for (i) being based upon pedagogy rather than communication, and (ii) that it is based only on the teacher's frame of reference. Whereas the teacher (partly) acts upon theoretical knowledge about language and learning, students act primarily upon a general socio-communicative understanding – a *common-sense knowledge*. Although recent research has recognized tasks as communicative events, and analyzed how tasks are interactively accomplished, this is analyzed in relation to tasks as a pedagogical construct. Instead, the chapter argues for an interactional approach to tasks. In this way, tasks are defined as something that participants orient to as relevant aspects of interaction and the lesson. This is related to *conditional relevance* – the constraints that participants create for the co-participants and which interactional tasks they make relevant. In this regard, the chapter describes *sequence organization* and *turn-taking/turn-allocation* as relevant for analyzing interactional tasks.

Chapter 4 describes the methodological framework of the dissertation – *ethnomethodological conversation analysis* (CA). CA is described as a social-constructionist approach, and describes the social practices that constitute *members* social lives. The chapter describes the basic assumptions of CA, and the theoretical background within sociology and in particular ethnomethodology.

The four initial chapters lead up to the empirical part of the dissertation – the three separate articles in chapters 5-7. All three show how teachers set up constraints for student participation in the classroom. This can be done globally or locally. Chapter 5 presents a matrix for how turn-allocation and selection of next-activity are selected. This can either be prepared and available to the participants, e.g. through a list of questions in a textbook or that the students take a turn one after the other in a prepared and specific order. Or the participants can negotiate turn-taking and current and next-activity locally. The article then describes activities, which have been prepared previously and are available to the participants, and where turn-allocation is locally managed. The chapter describes how teachers find a willing next-speaker, and how the students display whether they are available to be selected as next-speakers. The chapter argues that through gaze, students display whether or not they are available to be selected as next-speaker, and orient to (the projected) next-activity. Finally, the chapter concludes that the teacher manages who is selected as next-speaker, but that this is done on the basis of interactional work between teacher and students.

Chapter 6 describes how self-selecting students orient to reciprocity as a relevant aspect of initiating a turn-at-talk. It shows that this job is (i) a relevant interactional task for the students, (ii) that various resources can be used to establish reciprocity, and (iii) that it can be done in various positions within the turn-at-talk. The article goes on to show how students orient to this task even before the turn-at-talk is properly initiated. In-breaths and body posture are highlighted as relevant resources. The article ends with a discussion of whether this way of organizing the classroom provides equal opportunities for participation for all students. Few students actually self-selects in the analyzed examples. This means that this way of organizing the classroom provides some students with different opportunities for participating than others.

Chapter 7 describes the interactional phenomenon – “doing word explanation”. This is described as an interactional praxis, in which teacher and students localize lexical elements in the sequential context, and treat them as relevant for formal teaching. The phenomenon is described sequentially, i.e. turn by turn. First, the teacher highlights a part

of the ongoing turn-at-talk through e.g. prosodic and visual resources. The highlighted elements occur primarily in TCU-final position. The teacher creates interactional space for the students, who repeat (a part of) the highlighted element(s). By doing so, they orient to the highlight as relevant for the ongoing activity. The students' repeat is followed by an explicit request for a word explanation by the teacher. And the word explanation follows in the next turn. The sequence is described as a *side sequence*, and the prior activity is continued after the word explanation.

The concluding discussion of the dissertation and relevant implications are described in chapter 8. The chapter is organized in relation to second language pedagogy, classroom interaction and conversation analysis. First of all, the dissertation argues for an interactional approach to student participation in the second language classroom. This includes an emic, i.e. participant-centered, approach to participation. From this approach, tasks are analyzed in relation to interactional tasks, rather than in relation to pedagogical tasks, including task-occasioned situations. Secondly, the dissertation describes how different ways of organizing the classroom provide different interactional tasks for students, and different ways of relevant participation. The dissertation does not evaluate different ways of organizing the classroom in terms of “good” and “bad”, but shows how they create different frames in which students participate. Thirdly, the dissertation shows how students do not necessarily have the same understanding of the ongoing activity even though they are in the same classroom. This means that they may have different understandings of relevant ways of participating. In this way, students do not have the same opportunities for participation in the classroom, and different ways of organizing the classroom may provide students with unequal opportunities for participation. Fourthly, the dissertation adds to the description of social practices in talk-in-interaction. It shows how turn-allocation is interactively constructed between teacher and students, and how this may be done through multimodal embodied practices.

Appendix A provides a list of transcription symbols in relation to verbal and visual aspects.

## APPENDIX C

### DANSK RESUME

Denne antologiske ph.d.-afhandling argumenterer for en interaktionel tilgang til kursisternes deltagelse (*participation*) i dansk-som-andetsprogsklasseværelser, og præsenterer tre empiriske analyser for hvordan kursisterne handler ud fra sociale normer. Kursisternes deltagelse sættes i relation til lærerens instruktioner som sætter grænser for og faciliterer forskellige typer af deltagelse. Afhandlingen forholder sig til følgende to forskningsspørgsmål:

- Hvordan deltager kursisterne i dansk-som-andetsprogsklasseværelser?
- Hvilken rolle spiller lærerens instruktioner for kursisternes deltagelse?

Afhandlingens datamateriale består af ca. 25 timers videooptagelser fra to danske sprogcentre, *AOF sprogcenter Svendborg* og *Studieskolen i Odense*. Materialet beskrives i afhandlingens metodologikapitel om *conversation analysis* (CA) i kapital 4.

I kapitel 2 behandler jeg deltagelse (*participation*) som begreb i klasseværelseslitteraturen. Jeg viser hvordan deltagelse ofte beskrives i generelle strukturer som fx. *participation structures* og initiering-respons-feedback (IRF/E)-sekvenser. Dernæst argumenteres for at deltagelse kræver minutiøse analyser af den detaljerede interaktion som deltagerne indgår i, og at dette bør ske fra deltagerens eget perspektiv. Dette indebærer ikke blot analyser af ”verbalsproget”, men også af visuelle aspekter som gestik, blik(retning), kropsholdning og –bevægelse, og fysiske objekter som deltagerne anvender i deres kommunikative handlinger med hinanden. Den traditionelle skelnen mellem plenum og gruppeorganisering diskuteres. Størstedelen af den tidligere klasseværelseslitteratur har udelukkende fokuseret på plenumorganisering, og har specielt haft fokus på lærerens rolle i undervisningen. Dog har den senere teknologiske udvikling gjort det muligt at få et nærmere indblik i kursisternes egen ”opfattelse” af undervisningen og deres rolle deri, hvilket har hørt til nye indsigter i

andetsprogs-pædagogikken. Herefter redegøres for at kursisterne både handler som individuelle kursister og som del af en kollektiv gruppe, der interagerer med læreren.

Kapitel 3 viser hvordan instruktioner faciliterer kursisternes deltagelse, og er primært blevet behandlet som et pædagogisk begreb bl.a. med udgangspunkt i andetsprogstegnelseslitteraturen. Først beskrives undervisningsmetoder (*teaching methods*) som en praktisk realisering af lærerens teoretiske syn på sprog og (sprog)læring. Dernæst redegøres for et centralt aspekt i den nyere andetsprogs-pædagogik, *task*. *Task*-litteraturen er primært relateret til andetsprogstegnelse og andetsprogs-pædagogik. *Tasks* tænkes som et middel til at fremme bestemte typer af ”sprog”, som menes at have relation til (eller at være) andetsprogstegnelse. Det kritiseres at denne antagelse for det første er af pædagogisk karakter, og ikke kommunikativ. Og for det andet, at den udelukkende bygger på lærerens referenceramme. Hvor læreren bl.a. agerer på baggrund af teoretisk indsigt i sprog og læring, agerer kursisterne primært ud fra en almen socio-kommunikativ forståelse – en *common-sense knowledge*. Selvom (en del af den) nyere forskning i høj grad tager udgangspunkt i *tasks* som specifikke kommunikative, er denne stadig analyseret på baggrund af *tasks* som pædagogisk redskab. I stedet argumenteres der for en kommunikativ interaktionel tilgang til *tasks*. I denne forstand defineres *task* som noget deltagerne forholder sig til som væsentlige aspekter af deres interaktion med hinanden som del af undervisningen. Dette relateres til *conditional relevance* – hvilke rammer interaktionsparterne selv lægger ned over de øvrige deltageres ageren, og hvilke interaktionelle handlinger de gør relevante for hinanden at forholde sig til. I denne forbindelse beskrives *sequence organization* og *turn-taking/turn-allocation* som relevante steder at undersøge disse interaktionelle *tasks*.

I kapitel 4 præsenterer jeg afhandlingens metodologiske grundlag – etnometodologisk konversationsanalyse (CA). CA beskrives som en socialkonstruktivistisk tilgang, og beskriver de social praksisser som *medlemmer* anvender i deres daglige interaktion med hinanden i deres sociale liv. Kapitlet beskriver CA's videnskabsteoretiske antagelser, og den teoretiske baggrund i sociologien og især etnometodologien.

De 4 indledende kapitler leder op til den empiriske del af afhandlingen – 3 separate artikler i kapitlerne 5-7. Alle tre viser de hvordan lærere sætter rammer for kursisternes deltagelse i undervisningen. Dette kan finde sted både lokalt og globalt. Chapter 5 præsenterer en matrix for hvordan udvælgelse af hhv. aktiviteter og (næste) taler finder sted. Dette kan enten være forudbestemt og tilgængeligt for alle deltagere, fx. via en række af spørgsmål i en tekstbog eller at kursisterne tager en tur efter hinanden ”rundt om bordet”. Eller det kan være forhandlet lokalt mellem deltagerne. Artiklen kigger dernæst nærmere på aktiviteter der er forudbestemt og tilgængelige, og hvor tur-allokeringen foregår lokalt. Det drejer sig om hvordan læreren finder en villig næste-taler, og hvordan kursisterne viser at/om de er tilgængelige til at blive udvalgt til næste-taler. Der argumenteres for at kursisterne via blikretning tilkendegiver om de vil udvælgelse som næste-taler, og at de orienterer sig mod (den projicerede) næste-aktivitet. Endeligt beskrives at det er læreren der bestemmer hvem der bliver valgt som næste-taler, men at dette sker på baggrund af interaktionelt arbejde mellem lærer og kursister.

I kapitel 6 beskrives hvordan selv-udvalgte næste-talere (*self-selecting next-speakers*), i denne artikel kursisterne, orienterer sig mod *recipency* som en væsentlig del af det at påbegynde en tur. Jeg viser at dette interaktionelle arbejde er (i) relevant for kursisten at forholde sig til, (ii) kan ske ved hjælp en række ressourcer, og (iii) kan ske i forskellige positioner i relation til taleturen. Dernæst viser artiklen hvordan kursisten orienterer sig mod dette arbejde allerede før taleturen påbegyndes. Især beskrives indånding og kropsændring som væsentlige ressourcer. Artiklen slutter med en diskussion af hvorvidt denne form for klasseværelsesorganisering skaber de samme muligheder for alle kursister. Dette bunder i observationen af at relativt få kursister udvælger sig selv som næste-taler i de analyserede sekventielle positioner, hvilket tyder på at denne ”ikke-lærerstyrede” undervisningsform giver visse kursister større mulighed for deltagelse end andre.

Kapitel 7 beskriver et interaktionelt fænomen, ”*Doing word explanation*”. Det beskrives som en interaktionel praksis hvorpå lærer og kursister i fællesskab lokaliserer leksikalske elementer i konteksten og behandler disse som formelle undervisningsobjekter, dvs.

formel ordforklaring. Fænomenet beskrives sekventielt – tur for tur. Først fremhæver læreren en del af den igangværende tur ved bl.a. prosodiske og visuelle metoder. Elementerne forekommer fortrinsvist i turenhedsfinal position (*turn-constructive unit final position*). Herefter skaber læreren rum for kursisterne, som gentager de fremhævede elementer eller dele heraf. Dermed orienterer de sig mod fremhævelsen som relevant for den igangværende aktivitet. På baggrund af kursisternes orientering mod fremhævelsen følger herefter en eksplicit anmodning om en ordforklaring fra læreren. Og denne ordforklaring følger i den efterfølgende tur. Sekvensen beskrives som en sidesekvens (*side sequence*), og efter ordforklaringen genoptages den forrige aktivitet.

Afhandlingens konkluderende diskussion samt implikationer beskrives i kapitel 8. Kapitlet er organiseret i relation til andetsprogs pædagogik, klasseværelsesinteraktion og konversationsanalyse. Afhandlingen argumenterer for en interaktionel tilgang til kursistdeltagelse. Dette indebærer en emisk, dvs. deltagercentreret, tilgang til deltagelse. Ud fra denne tilgang kan *tasks* analyseres som interaktionelle krav som deltagerne stiller hinanden overfor. For det andet beskriver afhandlingen forskellige måder at organisere klasseværelset på stiller kursisterne overfor forskellige interaktionelle krav, som giver kursisterne forskellige muligheder for deltagelse. Afhandlingen forsøger ikke at beskrive ”gode” eller ”mindre gode” måde at organisere klasseværelset på, men viser hvilke interaktionelle konsekvenser det har for kursisterne. For det tredje viser afhandlinger at kursisterne ikke nødvendigvis har den samme forståelse af den igangværende aktivitet selvom de sidder i det samme klasselokale. Det betyder at de ikke nødvendigvis har den samme forståelse for hvilken form for deltagelse der er relevant på et givet tidspunkt. På den måde har kursisterne ikke de samme muligheder for at deltage i klasseværelset, og forskellige måde at organisere klasseværelset på giver ikke kursisterne de samme muligheder for at deltage. For det fjerde bidrager afhandlingen til beskrivelsen af sociale praksisser i interaktion. Blandt andet viser den hvordan turfordeling bliver organiseret interaktionelt, og hvordan dette sker på baggrund af multimodale ressourcer.

I appendiks A findes en liste over de anvendte transskriptionssymboler både hvad angår verbale og visuelle aspekter.

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