



Transforming student contributions into subject-specific expression

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on a corpus of pre-service teacher training classroom interactions in an English-medium instruction university in Turkey, we examine teacher follow-up turns that introduce specialized terms, showing how a teacher transforms student's responses into pedagogically relevant points using academic language. We argue that teacher third turn following student contributions accomplish several interrelated actions, not only introducing new terminology to these teachers-in-training, but also familiarizing them with ways of thinking specific to their discipline, i.e., these turns model "doing being a teacher." These teacher actions are used to bridge student contributions to more scientific talk, that is, the teacher confirms contributions as subject-relevant by steering the direction of the upcoming talk, while also introducing students to potentially unfamiliar terminology, speaking as a member of an unnamed group of subject-matter experts. Notably, we argue that these content-based follow-ups are realized multimodally, drawing on prosodic, gestural, and proxemic resources, among others, and that these multimodal actions are an important aspect of teacher's classroom interactional competence, showing how instructors socialize pre-service teachers into thinking and talking like professionals, i.e., like teachers.

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1. Introduction

Teacher follow-ups to student contributions are ubiquitous in classroom interactions. The third part of the Initiation – Response – Feedback (IRF) (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) exchange, teacher follow-up turns show an orientation to the institutional goal of classroom interaction and related epistemic asymmetries. These third turns give pedagogical meaning to student responses, evaluating them or performing some other operation (e.g. correction, repetition, etc.), and thus play a key role for managing knowledge in teacher-student interaction. While teachers often repeat students' turns directly by "echoing" what they just said, ensuring that the content of the student contribution is available to the rest of the class (Cullen, 2002), in other cases, teachers *transform* student turns, taking pedagogical action by shaping their contributions into something new and different (Hall & Walsh, 2002; Walsh, 2002). Considering the multiple layers of interactional work displayed in the teacher follow-up move, i.e., the third slot of the IRF sequence, teacher's transformations of student turns into discipline-specific terms can accomplish several interrelated actions. When the classroom in question is a language learning

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classroom, such teacher turns may be characterized as lexical teaching episodes (teaching and learning *language*). However, in English-medium instruction (EMI) settings, we argue that these teacher follow-up turns not only introduce new vocabulary to students, specifically subject-specific terminology, but these teacher turns also socialize students into ways of thinking specific to their discipline by modeling “doing being a teacher/historian/scientist/etc.” In the case of our data, we see how a teacher-trainer socializes a group of pre-service teachers in a range of disciplines (i.e., they will become teachers of math, language, science, etc.) into ways of thinking and talking *like teachers*.

The current study examines a teacher’s follow-up moves in language-related episodes (Baştürkmen & Shackleford, 2015), i.e., cases in which language is topicalized, a practice which provides access to specialized knowledge and ways of producing it in the current EMI classes. EMI, in higher education, is “the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English” (Macaro et al., 2018, p. 37). In contexts where English is used as a medium of instruction, (1) English acts as a vehicle for learning content; (2) content learning outcomes are central; (3) language-related outcomes are peripheral; and (4) subject specialists teach EMI courses (Brown & Bradford, 2017). That is, the teacher is not a *language* teacher and the students are not English language learners in EMI classrooms. In these settings, mastery of English is a taken-for-granted part of teaching and learning. Thus, while teachers and students may be second-language users of English, we consider these instances to be language-related episodes, rather than the kind of vocabulary lessons one might find in a language classroom.

Our EMI data include 30 h of classes from a compulsory counselling course for pre-service teachers, offered to two cohorts of 4th year students and taught by the same lecturer in the Department of Educational Sciences at an EMI university in Turkey. The main aim of the course was to help student teachers become more aware of social, emotional, and personal development. Students were majoring in different educational fields such as Elementary Education and Foreign Language Education. This conversation analytic (CA) study focuses on specialized language use in this counselling course; specifically, we examine how a teacher reworks interactional contributions by these pre-service teachers-in-training to introduce subject-specific concepts during whole class post-task discussions in an EMI university in Turkey.

The study illustrates how a teacher uses the third turn follow-up to transform individual students’ turns into publicly-available, discipline-specific, and thus pedagogically relevant, contributions to the whole class discussions, that is, how she uses language in subject-specific ways to construct specialized knowledge. Extract 1 represents a case in point. The example shows how the teacher (T) takes an unexpected or potentially “wrong” response and weaves it into their discipline-focused discussion by providing a subject-specific framing for a less formal concept (gossiping) from a position that demonstrates expertise. The current sequence takes place after the students have conducted an individual task listing their typical daily activities.

Extract 1: Gossiping, 12_03_15

```

01  T:   so what about the ra:↑tio of (.)
02      choose to do activities which
03      activity for instance (0.2) the
04      ↑mo:st im↑portant o:r (0.2) the
05      one that you f↑requently er: do:
06      (0.3)
07  Eda: sleeping
08  Dam: °meet friends°
09      ((Dam laughs))
10      ((T orients to Dam))
11  Dam: meeting °friends°
12  T:   meets social get togethers
13  Dam: $yes$
14  T:   o↑kay
15      (0.8) ((T scans the class))
16  Mer: °dedikodu°
      gossiping
17      ((Mer, Dam and Ker laugh))
18      (3.6) ((T scans the class))
19  T:   $gossiping (.) huh?↑$
      +gazes at Dam
20      ((Ss laugh))
21      $o↑kay (0.3) ni:ce↑$
      +orients to the class
22      (1.8) ((T watches over the class))
23 →  it's a ca↑tharsism °we call° it
      +orients to Dam
24      gossiping is (.) nice thing
25      ((T and Ss laugh))

```

Following T’s initiation of the whole class discussion (lines 1–5), Dam reformulates her initial turn and T acknowledges her contribution by rewording it (meeting friends → meets social get togethers). In line 16, Mer provides a response quietly in her

first language (L1), Turkish (°dedikodu°, tr: gossiping). By using her L1 at reduced volume and followed by laughter particles, she marks her response as not intended for the whole class discussion. However, T orients to this turn as relevant, translating the L1 word into the second language (L2) (\$gossiping (.) huh?\$) in smiley voice, moving this “off-record contribution” into an on-record part of the discussion.

T introduces the subject-specific term (it’s a ca ↑tharsism °we call° it) to describe or categorize the “less formal” matter at hand (gossiping), thereby transforming the student contribution into subject-specific terminology and validating the relevance and value of this contribution to the current discussion. The “it is a X” format frames the new term, scientifically reifying the everyday version presented by the student, a practice similar to that found by [Evnitskaya and Morton \(2011\)](#) in their research on content and language integrated learning (CLIL) classrooms. T also adds a “we call it” clause, invoking an authoritative voice and speaking on behalf of an unnamed expert community. The ambiguity of the word “we” allows the teacher to speak as an expert, but also to potentially include the students, socializing them into ways of thinking and talking specific to counselling (the subject of this course). Doing so belatedly marks this as an afterthought; by naming the “lowbrow” activity with subject-specific terminology, T is validating its inclusion, but by adding the increment, she is orienting to the unfamiliar nature of the term for students.

As briefly shown in Extract 1, we can see how a teacher transforms student responses in discipline-specific ways. Third turn follow-ups are important sites where teachers can clarify and build on student contributions in content-based classrooms, as the data in our study will illuminate. In particular, we highlight how teacher practices that construct subject-specific ways of representing knowledge help constitute discursive roles of expert and novice while simultaneously bringing students into a community of practice ([Lave & Wenger, 1991](#)) within the discipline. We also argue that these practices are used as a pedagogic device to shift student contributions from subjective, personal accounts into more scientific discourse, a practice that has not been extensively explored within CA framework in classroom interaction (but see [Skovholt, 2016](#)). Therefore, the study aims to illustrate how the content of students’ personal experiences is transformed into more specified, elaborated second versions by the teacher. In particular, our analysis demonstrates how teacher’s orientation to subject-specific ways of saying things is accomplished multimodally, highlighting an important aspect of teachers’ classroom interactional competence (CIC) ([Walsh, 2006](#)), discussed in more detail in section 5.2.

2. Literature review

Teacher transformations of student contributions into subject-specific language are sequentially-located as follow-up third turns in the IRF sequence. In what follows, we thus first provide a review of CA literature on teacher follow-up turns, followed by a discussion of subject-specific language use in classroom interactions.

2.1. Teacher follow-up moves

The IRF exchange, a three-part instructional sequence, has been extensively studied within the CA framework ([Duran & Jacknick, 2020](#); [Kääntä, 2010](#); [Margutti & Drew, 2014](#)). IRF sequences are generally initiated and completed by teachers (follow-up), though student-initiated sequences are also possible ([Duran, 2017](#); [Jacknick, 2009](#); [Jacknick, 2011a,b](#); [Jakonen, 2014](#); [Skarbø Solem, 2016](#)). The second position turn is most often occupied with the student response ([Lee, 2006](#)).

While some research on the IRF sequence has suggested it is limiting for students ([Nunan, 1987](#); [Wood, 1992](#)), no structure is inherently positive or negative; rather, the sequential and pedagogical context helps to characterize the (in)appropriate usage of this three-part exchange ([Seedhouse, 1994](#)). The complexity of the IRF pattern, especially the third move in the three-part sequence, can be seen in the distinct actions it accomplishes ([Hall, 1998](#); [Lee, 2007](#); [Nassaji & Wells, 2000](#)). CA work on various aspects of classroom interaction has investigated how teachers react to students’ responses, i.e., the “contingencies and practical accomplishments enacted in the third turn positions” ([Lee, 2007](#), p. 1206). While evaluation has been found to be the dominant function of the third turn ([Mehan, 1979](#)), the third move can also provide follow-up information ([Wells, 1993](#)) and formulate an understanding of the prior student talk ([Skarbø Solem & Skovholt, 2017](#)). Considering the local contingencies before the third move, what happens in the third turn position is unpredictable as teachers react to students’ contributions ([Lee, 2007](#)).

Teacher third turn follow-ups can be presented as formulations, linguistic resources which are often deployed by “questioners ... in institutionalized ... interaction” to provide a summary of a just prior speaker’s turn ([Heritage, 1985](#), p. 100). In classroom discourse, teacher and students jointly attend to each other’s turns in order to demonstrate their understanding of the prior talk, and thus all participants may use formulations as an expansion and refinement of previous contributions ([Barnes, 2007](#); [Furtak & Shavelson, 2009](#); [Kapellidi, 2015](#); [Skarbø Solem & Skovholt, 2017](#); [van Kruiningen, 2013](#)). [Mercer \(2000, 2003\)](#) maintains that reformulations,¹ paraphrases, and recap summaries are helpful practices for teachers as they share the content of student contributions with the rest of the class. [Furtak and Shavelson \(2009\)](#) coin the term

¹ While “formulation” is a more common term in conversation analytic research, we also use the term “reformulation” following [Gonzalez \(1996\)](#), who suggests that this term conveys the idea that either the words or the ideas were originally authored by a prior speaker. Thus, though we characterize some teacher third turns discursively as formulations, we find that the more relevant action they accomplish is a pedagogical reformulation of student contributions ([McNeil, 2012](#)), not simply summarizing their talk but placing them within the discipline-specific frame.

“reconstructive paraphrase” to describe student contributions that are reformulated by the teacher to provide a more acceptable version or one using preferred subject-specific terminology. Interestingly, these cases also involve teacher’s changing the meaning of the prior student contribution. Waring (2002) shows how reformulations can demonstrate what she calls “substantive reciprocity” by crystalizing the focus or important part of the prior speaker’s talk. The third turn, potentially a sequence-closing third (Schegloff, 2007), can retrospectively frame the prior exchange *and* shape the upcoming talk in important ways. Hall (1998), for example, shows how different teacher responses in the third turn can have interactional consequences for the kinds of participant roles made available to students. In this study, we focus broadly on teacher follow-up turns that transform student contributions by placing them within the discipline-specific frame.

2.2. Subject-specific language use in classroom interaction

In the current study, we use the phrase “subject-specific language” to describe an “expertise-focused pattern where a display of both disciplinary language and content knowledge is provided” (Hüttner, 2019, p. 20). Use of subject-specific language has been examined from a systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) perspective (Llinares & Morton, 2010; Morton, 2010), from a discursive perspective (Nikula, 2012, 2015) as well as within the CA framework (Evnitskaya & Morton, 2011; Morton, 2015; Skovholt, 2016; Waring, 2002). Approaching the development of disciplinary literacy through an SFL perspective, Schleppegrell (2004) maintains that in addition to subject-matter expertise, “teachers need greater knowledge about the linguistic basis of what they are teaching and tools for helping students achieve greater facility with *the ways language is used in creating the kinds of texts that construe specialized knowledge at school*” [emphasis added] (p. 3). Studies drawing on the analytic tools of SFL have also argued that explicit focus on the linguistic basis of scientific meaning-making can enhance students’ understanding of how language construes particular ways of thinking in science (Fang, 2012; Schleppegrell, 2004). More specifically, explicitly attending to the features of language itself has been found critically important for teachers to raise students’ awareness of the unique features of language and literacy skills (Coffin, 2006; Fang, 2012). Investigating interactional practices in secondary-level history lessons from an SFL perspective, Morton (2010) notes that once students produce an everyday version of their just-prior response following a request from the teacher, the teacher reformulates their contribution into a more scientific version, and thus enacts language pedagogy in CLIL classrooms. In brief, this strand of research has shown how language functions in texts and how historical/scientific meanings are constructed through linguistic choices.

Using a discourse-pragmatic framework, Nikula (2012) demonstrates how lower-secondary level students orient to what counts as subject-specific language in peer interaction. The author shows that students attend to particular language forms as critical to the subject at hand and also move from everyday usage towards more formality in their language register. Of direct relevance to the current study in terms of orienting to prior talk in discipline-specific language in classroom interaction, Waring (2002) demonstrates that by jargonizing, i.e., crystalizing prior talk in subject-specific language, graduate seminar members invoke substantive reciprocity by highlighting the specific expertise shared by members as well as asserting the speaker’s intellectual competence. In Waring’s (2002) case, jargonizing was a way of emphasizing “in-group characterization” (p. 472), as members of the seminar underscore their own competence by invoking a shared expertise, as well as an affiliative and collaborative move when speaker engaged in some kind of interactional trouble (fillers, pauses, sound stretches and false starts) and recipient proffered a collaborative completion (in the form of jargonizing) in progressional overlap. In contrast, the present study focuses on a situation of epistemic imbalance, where the teacher attempts to make specialized terminology more accessible to the students who are less competent in the given field (counselling) without any observable trouble in prior discourse. Drawing on a case study of how scientific discourse is established during a student-led discussion (directed by a moderator), Skovholt (2016) found that a visible tension exists between student “mundane talk” and “scientific talk.” Mundane talk occurs when the talk refers to a personal domain, while scientific talk relates to students’ reference to a shared scientific domain. Interestingly, orientation to scientific talk is accomplished by account, reproach, embedded correction, conversational formulations, and stepwise topic transitions through recontextualization by co-students. Our study builds on this research by examining how discipline-specific ways of thinking and using language are introduced into whole-class interaction.

We focus on teacher third turns where the teacher orients to subject-specific ways of saying things and in so doing, positions herself as an authority in the subject-matter. We note that she often does so with a “we call it” construction, using the ambiguity of the referent “we” to include herself, and potentially the students, in this unnamed community of experts. Interestingly, the content of students’ contributions is within their epistemic domain, as they report on their own feelings or experiences, but the teacher transforms these contributions into pedagogically relevant topics by positioning herself as an authority in the course content, orienting to subject-specific ways of expressing ideas. These teacher turns thus orient to a (potential) lack of epistemic standing to recipients deemed less knowledgeable (students).

The contribution of this study to the existing CA classroom literature is in exploring how these language-related sequences proceed when the teacher reworks students’ contributions by more precisely classifying and/or rewording what they have

said, translating their accounts of their experiences into subject-specific terms. Most particularly, we show how the teacher deftly manages shifts in epistemic standing multimodally, using prosodic and embodied resources, including gaze orientation, positioning within the classroom, and gesture, including deictic pointing, as she translates students' personal, subjective experiences into subject-specific ways of talking and thinking.

3. Data and method

The data for this study come from video recordings of classroom interaction in an EMI university in Turkey. The corpus consists of 14 class sessions with a total duration of 30 h. Two content classes taught by the same lecturer were observed during spring 2015. The name of the course is 'Guidance,' compulsory for senior year students at the Department of Educational Sciences. The main focus of the course is to train prospective teachers to become professionals in dealing with possible problems of their future students. The observed classrooms were large, with 39 students in each class (78 in total). Students were majoring in different educational departments, including Computer Education and Instructional Technology, Elementary and Early Childhood Education, Foreign Language Education, and Mathematics and Science Education. They were aged between 21 and 26. The focal teacher was an associate professor of Psychological Counselling and Guidance with over 20 years of teaching experience.

Recordings were made on a regular basis in two classrooms over a period of two months. The classes were observed through three cameras; one was positioned in the back of the class, primarily capturing the teacher, and the others were placed in the right and left corners of the class, focusing on the students. The second author attended the classes as a non-participant observer, sitting in the back of the class next to the teacher camera. The research protocol was approved by the university's institutional review board and all participants granted informed consent. Pseudonyms have been used throughout to maintain the participants' anonymity.

Data analysis was conducted within the CA framework which focuses on interactional organization and order in talk (Sacks, 1992). Drawing on naturally-occurring data, CA involves micro-analysis of detailed transcriptions of data, with validity coming from the fact that the claims are demonstrable in the data. We began data analysis first by viewing the videos multiple times and reading through the transcriptions. As one of the basic tenets of CA, this review of the data was done through "unmotivated looking" (ten Have, 2007), a way of letting the data speak to avoid imposing a priori assumptions. All data from these two classrooms were transcribed using the conventions developed by Jefferson (2004), with some slight alterations (see Appendix). One phenomenon of interest that emerged was the teacher's use of subject-specific language following student contributions in whole class discussions. All instances of the teacher's use of specialized terms in follow-up turns were systematically identified. The core collection thus includes all cases in which the teacher provides a subject-specific concept in the third turn in an (extended) IRF sequence during post-task discussions, resulting in a collection of 13 cases. After we closely analyzed the clearest cases of the collection, we worked through the entire corpus to extend our analysis through inclusion of multimodal resources and to specify the phenomena in interactional terms. For the present analysis, we selected five instances as representations of the variability in the collection to show how subject-specific terms are made public and accessible to the students.

4. Analysis

In the following, we demonstrate how teacher's third turns following student responses transform student turns, which often recount students' own experiences, by rewording personal contributions in subject-specific terms directed towards the whole class. We also describe how the teacher highlights her own membership in an expert community and simultaneously socializes students into that community by modeling for them how to use language like a professional, thus raising students' awareness that the counselling aspect of teaching requires a particular type of language use. That is, she helps students recognize discipline-specific ways of using language in the field of counselling, and thus creates a space to think/talk like "a professional" regarding the disciplinary content. Her use of the formulaic "we call it" in these instances capitalizes on the ambiguity of the referent "we" by positioning the teacher, and potentially the students, in a group of unnamed subject-matter experts. In each extract, the focal turns are marked with an arrow.

Extract 2 illustrates how T reworks prior student talk by more precisely specifying what they have said before she introduces the subject-specific term (i.e., clarification), and thereby threads individual student contributions into the emerging whole class discussion. Prior to the exchange, the students worked on an individual task called 'communication roadblocks,' in which they were to write about barriers to good relationships (advising, interpreting, judging, etc.).

Extract 2: Clarification, 09_04_15

01 T: okay (.) so what are we going to do?
 02 these are road↑blocks what what are
 03 we going to do?
 04 ((T laughs))
 05 (1.0)
 06 how can we ↑overcome (0.4) ↑no:t u:sing
 07 (0.2) or those kind of (.) roa:d↑blocks?
 ((7 lines of another student response omitted))
 15 Tan: we can ask the students er:
 16 what did you under↑stand °nowaday°
 17 T: uh-huh uh-huh (.) okay
 18 we may ↑a:sk mo:re er: (0.4) or
 +orients to the class
 19 ha- let er: ask them to give us some
 20 kind of fee:d↑back (0.3) a:nd whether
 21 our perception is a↑ccurate or not (.) huh?
 22 (0.3)
 23 → #so we call it (.) or #this is another s↑ki:ll (.)



Figure 1



Figure 2

24 → actually (0.2) #it's called clarifi↑cation (.)



Figure 3



Figure 4

25 #whether my perception is accurate correct

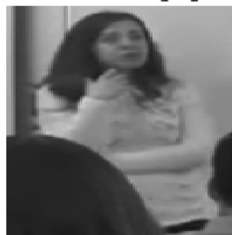


Figure 5

26 am i correct? (0.2) am i understood
 27 you: corr|ectly? (0.2) is it what
 28 you mea:n? (0.2) kind of questions

In lines 1–7, T initiates the whole class discussion with a multi-unit response pursuit (Duran & Jacknick, 2020) which includes use of inclusive “we” (what are we going to do? lines 1 & 3; how can we overcome, line 6). In lines 15–16, Tan provides a strategy to overcome those roadblocks, mirroring T’s use of “we” (we can ask the students), which is acknowledged verbally by T (line 17). Shifting her orientation to the class, and thus making clear that they are all ratified recipients of her upcoming talk, T extends Tan’s prior utterance, introducing a more scientific and pedagogical point (fee:d ↑ back, line 20) with highly modified prosody. She then continues extending the student’s contribution in a more subject-relevant manner (a:nd whether our perception is ac↑curate or not, lines 20–21), and ending with a tagged confirmation marker (huh?).

Orienting back to the class (see Fig. 1) and using the turn-initial particle ‘so’ to project an upcoming conclusion from her just-prior explanation, she brings up an unnamed expert community (i.e., ‘we call it’). Svennevig (2010) notes that the construction ‘they call it’ is used as a pre-emptive marker of unfamiliarity, and we likewise argue that by beginning this turn with ‘we call it,’ the teacher is marking the upcoming turn as possibly unfamiliar for the students. This is a different “we” than the inclusive “we” seen in the response pursuit earlier; there, T was prompting the students to answer as a member of the “we” in her questions. However, by introducing a potentially unfamiliar term with ‘we call it’ (line 23), T might be including the students with “we” or excluding them, putting only herself into the unnamed expert community. We return to this question of positioning in our analysis of later extracts.

T had started the class by telling the students they would be learning about “counselling skills,” though they have not yet identified or discussed these skills thus far. In line 23, she projects this future learning point (this is another skill actually), pointing her index finger at Tan (see Fig. 2). Clarification was not a skill she planned on introducing, but given its salience to this student response, she is seen here incorporating it into her lesson. That is, her self-repair (or) in lines 23–24 orients to the reference of an upcoming learnable. This turn simultaneously classifies the question Tan has proposed as an example of “a particular counselling skill,” and adds it to their pedagogical agenda on the fly.

In this example, as in most others in our collection, we see T drawing on embodied resources to orchestrate the discussion as she observably shifts between individualized and collective orientations during these language-related episodes, and thus alternates between the particular student and the whole class. St. John and Cromdal (2016) argue that the use of multimodal actions in this way is a marker of “dual addressivity” (p. 252), i.e., that there is more than one intended recipient. As such, the teacher in our data visibly builds on the prior turn with her body by engaging in multimodal moves towards the student (pointing at them, line 23) *while* bringing the new learnable to the whole class, as evidenced by her gaze.

She turns towards the whole class, making it clear that they are all the intended recipient of the talk (see see Figs. 3 and 4) before she introduces the subject-specific vocabulary (it’s called clari ↑ fication, line 24). Note that the term itself is delivered in a more neutral frame (it’s called) than just one line prior where T has framed the new term by foregrounding her membership (and potentially the students’ membership) in an unnamed expert community with ‘we call it’ (line 23). She provides an explanation of the meaning of this scientific concept while orienting back to the class in line 25 (see Fig. 5). Repeating almost the same explanation she has provided in lines 20–21, but this time using the first-person pronoun “my” to exemplify counsellor-language (whether my perception is accurate correct), T models several clarification questions (lines 26–28) to make the new concept more familiar for the students.

Extract 2 has showcased how T transforms the student’s contribution into a concept that makes the academic language visible (feedback), introduces the subject-specific term (clarification), and underscores its relevance by adding it to her list of skills. Note that introducing the specialized knowledge is accomplished through construction of an expert identity that socializes students into an unnamed community of experts (we call it), followed by the more neutral ‘it is called.’

This next extract also illustrates how T displays acceptance of a student’s response and connects their contribution to a scientific concept. The example also shows how the immediate physical context makes the subject-specific term relevant in a humorous way. Before the exchange, the students engaged in an activity where they performed communication tasks facing away from their partners, in back-to-back position. T’s initial prompt for discussion is included below in lines 1–2.

Extract 3: Psychological noise, 08_04_15

01 T: what kind of things (0.3) ma:y (0.5) hinder
 02 (0.3) ma:y b↓lock an effective communication
 ((20 lines of another student answer omitted))
 23 ((Sim raises her hand and T nominates her))
 24 Sim: personal thoughts about the person
 25 we are talking °is very important°
 26 +T shows a thumbs up
 27 T: o:ka:y this is also <another (0.3) important thing>
 +orients to the class
 +points at Sim w/ index finger
 28 (0.2)
 29 → we call it noi:se \$this is not the noise
 +points at Ss moving the chairs
 30 that you produce right now this is physical noise\$
 31 ((Ss laugh))
 32 → er: the psychological noi:se we call it okay?
 +gazes at Sim
 33 kind of prejudice:s (0.4) er: our as↓sumptions
 +orients to the class
 a↓bout the person (0.4) o:r our ↑thou:ghts about
 34 the person okay? ou:r ↑fee:lings (0.3) in that
 35 situation (0.3) the:se are a:ll psychological
 36 noi:se (0.2) okay that b↓lock ↑may block or
 37 may hinder an effective communication
 38 +orients to Sim
 39 ((T points towards Sim without looking at her))

Sim answers T's initial inquiry in lines 24–25 (after an omitted student response), to which T provides an embodied positive evaluation (a thumbs up). Receiving Sim's contribution with a lengthened 'o:ka:y' as an acceptance token, T orients to the class and echoes Sim's characterization of her contribution as an 'important thing' (line 27). Interestingly, while she is facing the whole class, she is simultaneously pointing at Sim with her index finger, a multimodal Gestalt that simultaneously maintains what [Mondada \(2009\)](#) calls an "interactional space" with Sim *while* she engages in what [St. John and Cromdal \(2016\)](#) call "dual addressivity." That is, she makes the content available to the whole class while nesting it in a response directed toward the individual student. Using her formulaic clause 'we call it' again to include herself (and potentially the students) in an unnamed expert community, she introduces a new concept with both general and specialized meanings (noi:se). The frame 'we call it,' along with her highly modified prosody (sound stretch, emphasis), both serve to distinguish this subject-specific usage from the everyday sense of the word. In a smiley voice along with deictic pointing at the students, T draws on the affordance of the immediate physical environment where some students are noisily moving chairs (lines 29–30) to further distinguish these meanings, which receives laughter from the class.

In line 32, she provides a more specific and precise term (psychological noise) for the contribution and again adds 'we call it' in turn-final position, thereby marking the new scientific concept as potentially unfamiliar while socializing students into the community of counselling experts who use these terms. Again, as in Extract 2, the use of 'we' here is ambiguous, and could be seen as inclusive or exclusive of the students. The introduction of the term is followed by a confirmation check 'okay' directed back to Sim. Then, T expands the sequence by elaborating on the specialized term with more concrete examples (lines 33–38) and characterizing her new examples as 'psychological noise.' T closes the sequence by maintaining her "embodied engagement" ([Jacknick, 2021](#)) with Sim (orienting to and then pointing towards her).

Extract 3 has demonstrated the way T uses diverse multimodal resources (the physical environment, gaze, sound stretching, gestures including iconic thumbs up and deictic pointing with index finger) in acknowledging student contributions and connecting them to a scientific concept (psychological noise). While T does not provide a repetition of the student's contribution in this case (as she did in Extract 2), she does echo the student's characterization of the point as 'important,' and focuses on the discipline-specific category itself, rather than the specific factor mentioned by the student. In addition, T's shifting orientation and deictic gestures towards the whole class and specific students make these instructional turns more public and salient. Her orientation to the immediate physical context introduces the subject-specific term in a humorous way. Moreover, T echoes the exact wording (thoughts about the person, lines 34–35) from the student's prior talk (line 24). Following [Weiste and Peräkylä's \(2013\)](#) research on therapeutic talk, in which they find that therapist's formulations that highlight some portion of the client's prior talk are used to demonstrate active listening and an empathetic response to

the client's experience, we argue that T's echo of the student's wording affirms the student's contribution even as T reclassifies it using discipline-specific terminology.

In the following extract, we illustrate how teacher's third turn continues the issue initiated by several students (i.e., stress in general), but shifts the topic to a discipline-specific concept, eustress. The exchange occurs after the students engaged in a task where they were to measure their wellness levels in different dimensions (physical, spiritual, social, etc.). In the post-task phase, T asks about the kind of strategies they can employ to improve themselves in those dimensions and the focal sequence starts after a number of students have responded.

Extract 4: Eustress, 05_03_15

01 T: what might be the solutions in- er:
 02 °i mean° (0.8) is there any strategy
 03 that you think (0.9) that you can u:se
 04 to improve yourself in that specific dimension
 ((14 lines of two other responses omitted, one included "reducing stress"))
 ((Evi raises her hand and T nominates her))
 19 Evi: i also (.) er: get rid of the stress
 20 T: get rid of the stress
 21 +Evi nods
 22 (0.4)
 23 Evi: °(---) in my life°
 24 T: so this is the number one thing?
 25 +orients to the class
 +holds her hand up
 26 Ss: yes
 27 ((Ss laugh))
 28 T: oka:y (0.4) we all have (.) °stress°
 +orients to Evi
 29 (0.3)
 30 †some stress (0.2) is (0.5) quite perceived
 +orients to the class
 31 as positive and source of motivation
 32 Sx1: °yes°
 33 T: some (.) kind of stress
 34 (0.8)
 35 → they call it in the lite- literature
 36 → as eustress (1.0) eu:stress
 37 (0.6)
 38 so >for instance< if you a:re (0.2) waiting
 39 a new ba:by:: (0.3) er: and you are going
 40 to (0.3) er: marry: soo:n (0.2) these kind
 41 of stresses ar- o:r we are going to move to
 42 a new †to:wn that you look forward (.) okay?
 43 (0.2)
 44 these kind of stresses are stresses (0.4) er:
 45 so they are †positive (0.4) but some er:
 46 eu:stress-ses er: increase your promptness to
 47 er: †health is†sue:s or some (0.6) other problems

Evi agrees with the prior speakers (also, line 20), and T responds by echoing the coping strategy (get rid of the stress, line 21), ensuring that Evi's contribution is audible to the rest of the class. This receives an embodied confirmation from Evi (line 22) and she follows up in a quiet voice. Prefacing her next turn with 'so' as an upshot marker, T provides a candidate conclusion that can be collectively drawn from the prior discussion (line 25); holding her hand up as an attention-seeker and orienting to the class make the question available to the whole class. Her question is affirmed by the students along with laughter tokens (lines 26–27). Using 'okay' as an affiliative marker, T acknowledges all the students' contributions provided thus far (oka:y (0.4) we all have (.) °stress°), while simultaneously directing her gaze back to Evi (line 28). Again, as we

observed earlier, T skillfully maintains an interactional space with the prior speaker while opening up the interaction to the class as she invokes shared commiseration.

Orienting back to the class and using a prosodically-salient start, T shifts the topic to a specific kind of stress (↑ some stress (0.2) is (0.5) quite (.) perceived as positive and source of motivation, lines 30–31). With this multimodal interactional move, T shifts the activity from receiving the students' answers to extending their knowledge about this topic. In line 33, after topicalizing this kind of stress by saying 'some (.) kind of stress', a 0.8 second silence occurs, marking the introduction of an important, and in this case, specialized term (lines 35–36).

Note that T's use of the pronoun "we" in line 28 (we all have stress) is inclusive. This is similar to the "we" usages in the response pursuit in Extract 2 (lines 1, 3 & 6), which in the current case positions T and the students as similar people experiencing similar issues (i.e., all of us have stress). T's use of the formulation "we call it X" in Extracts 2 and 3 potentially includes the students among the expert group "members of the counselling profession" who use the terms "clarification" (Extract 2) and "psychological noise" (Extract 3). However, in this extract, by using the component 'they call it' (line 35) and referring explicitly to the professional scholarly community (in the literature), T sets up a contrast between the everyday experience of stress common to all those present and a scholarly way of viewing such stress. By using "they" and referring to "the literature," she simultaneously displays her primary epistemic standing (she is the one who connects the everyday term introduced by the students with a scientific concept) and excludes herself from the expert social group, thereby mitigating her authoritative voice. Following a repetitive, embodied, and prosodically-rich delivery for the subject-specific term (eustress), which marks the term as new for students, T provides several hypothetical scenarios (see [Tai & Brandt, 2018](#) for imaginary everyday scenarios) to explain the abstract specialized term (lines 38–42), presumably anticipating the students' lack of knowledge. Note that she relies on imaginary situations from real life, thereby creating a genuine environment to familiarize the students with the subject-specific term. Using 'okay' as a confirmation check, T summarizes her prior turns by recycling the subject-specific term (these kind of stresses are eu:stresses (0.4) er: so they are ↑ positive) and provides another example of how eustress can be beneficial (lines 45–47) before closing her turn.

Extract 4 has shown how a subject-specific term (eustress) is provided as a side-sequence ([Jefferson, 1972](#)) within a main activity (strategies for getting rid of stress), i.e., a slight topic shift from the ensuing whole class discussion. T enacts her epistemic authority regarding a different kind of stress by directing her explanation to the whole class and employing different epistemic positioning that we have seen in prior extracts. The concept is not introduced straightforwardly but an explanation is given before it is named. In further elaboration of the meaning of "eustress," hypothetical situations are provided to make the students familiar with the specialized term. Interestingly, although T maintains engagement with Evi during her initial shift into language modeling, in contrast to the prior two extracts, we do not see T continually shifting orientation between a focal student and the whole class. Rather, because Evi's turns in lines 20 and 24 represent the final student contribution to the post-task reflective discussion, T shifts towards a whole class orientation for the remainder of her explanation.

In the previous extracts, we have observed that T attempts to expand students' disciplinary repertoire by drawing on subject-specific ways of representing knowledge and thus transforms their prior talk into subject-specific terminology. Consider Extract 5, which illustrates how T rejects a student's contribution while also framing it using discipline-specific ways of thinking. Prior to this discussion, the students engaged in an activity where they took turns assuming three roles, namely helper, helpee, and observer. This excerpt begins with another example of the teacher transforming a student contribution in subject-specific terms (lines 10–33), and we briefly discuss this sequence below. Our focus, however, is on the student-initiated contribution just following this exchange in line 36, and how T rejects it as a subject-specific way of thinking about the situation.

Extract 5: Self-absorbed listener, 16_04_15

01 T: ↑so what kind of com↑ments that you
 02 hea:r wha- what are your st↑rengths?
 03 what are you:r maybe your ↑weaknesses
 04 that you need to attend ↑mo:re.
 ((4 lines omitted during which T scanned the class for 8.9 secs,
 kept mutual gaze with a bidding student and smiled at her))
 09 ((Gir raises his hand, T points towards him))
 10 Gir: i could not get the: tension i was
 11 smiling (0.4) er: even if
 +points at Mur
 12 ((Mur laughs))
 13 he's talking about a ↑sad situation
 14 (0.5)
 15 \$doesn't matter for me\$
 16 +T raises her eyebrows
 17 T: o↓kay so you didn't in↑vo:lve in this process
 18 ((Gir nods))
 19 okay
 20 ((Ss laugh))
 21 ((T laughs))
 22 Mur: (\$---\$)
 23 Emi: °ne oldu ya°
what's happened
 24 (1.2)
 25 T: were you thinking about something else?
 +moves her hand forward
 26 (0.9) (Gir gazes at T)
 27 → we usually ↑call this self absorbed (.) liste↓ner (.)
 +orients to the class
 28 >i mean< when you: focus on your↑self
 +gestures towards herself
 29 (0.6)
 30 er:: (.) and nothing else is a matter (.) actually
 31 (0.3)
 32 so: this may (.) lead some kind of problem
 +orients to Gir
 33 °of course°
 +raises her eyebrows
 34 ((T smiles))
 35 ((Gir nods))
 36 Mur: \$selfish\$
 37 ((Mur touches Gir on the shoulder))
 38 ((Ss laugh))
 39 → T: it's not (---) selfish-ness
 40 (0.4)
 41 focusing on yourself rather than
 +gestures towards herself
 42 focusing on other person
 +gestures towards the class
 43 (0.4)
 44 → selfishness is mean (.) being mean (.) no
 +faces hands
 towards the class and claps
 45 ((T laughs))
 46 we may ha:ve lots of is↑sue:s in our mind

This exchange starts with T's multiple inquiries on the students' experience of the role-play and their awareness of their perceived strengths and weaknesses in the course of the task. In lines 10–15, Gir provides an explanation for his difficulty with the role-play, and T reacts to his telling with surprise (lifted eyebrows), and thus addresses the disparity between expected performance and conveyed response. Keeping her facial expression along with a downward 'o↓kay' as a weak acknowledgement marker, T downgrades her epistemic standing using second-person pronoun 'you', attributing a position to the student and also including his voice while displaying a candidate understanding of his prior talk (so you didn't involve in this process, line 17). Following Gir's embodied affirmative, T acknowledges his response with 'okay', which receives laughter from the class and then from herself. In line 25, T engages in an interpretation for his performance. Note that her interpretation is interrogatively framed, mitigating her claim of access to Gir's epistemic domain. Gir does not verbally respond to the inquiry but keeps gazing at T, signaling his continued engagement, if not participation (Jacknick, 2021). T does not pursue a response and instead orients to the whole class, describing how Gir has performed during the task *technically*, that is, she refers to his whole experience in a more scientific way (line 27). She again refers to an unnamed expert community of which she is a member (we usually call this), while bringing up the subject-specific term (self-absorbed listener).

In line 36, Mur provides an alternative interpretation (selfish) of T's subject-specific term (self-absorbed listener) in laughter particles, which receives laughter from the class. This turn is interesting as it might represent a student-initiated follow-up in subject-specific language; however, in this case, the student, a novice in the field, uses an inapposite term. Responding in line 39, T engages in an on-record correction (it is not selfishness) of this colloquial term with an overtly negative connotation. Following this other-initiated other-repair turn, T provides a definition of "selfishness" to explain why it is not equivalent to being "self-absorbed." Using the negative particle 'no' along with embodied action, T treats Mur's contribution as incorrect, and then produces laughter particles, orienting to the delicate nature of such a bald, on-record negative evaluation (Jacknick, 2013), and thus mitigating her disagreement. In line 46, T closes her turn by referring back to her explanation of a self-absorbed listener (line 25). By using the inclusive pronoun "we", she broadens the problematic behavior from just Gir's issue to one experienced by all. Weiste et al. (2016) found that therapists' interpretations of clients' turns were linguistically designed to verbalize their understanding while accounting for the client's primary epistemic access to their own experiences, and we argue that by framing her interpretation with an epistemic modal auxiliary (i.e., may), T's turn similarly produces an interpretation while mitigating her epistemic access to the individual student's experience of the exercise.

This extract has illustrated that T has the epistemic right to control what counts as subject-specific language by engaging in other-correction, orienting to an inapposite term (selfish) provided by another student. Notice that her action is the work of "doing being a teacher", to secure mutual understanding of the matter at hand. She reframes Mur's contribution in a way that rejects the wording of his turn while simultaneously broadening the students' understanding of discipline-specific ways of thinking and using language (in counselling, we do not equate selfishness with being self-absorbed).

4.1. Summary of analysis

In all cases in our collection, the teacher invokes an expert community, marking the technical language as "new" for students, as well as foregrounding her subject-specific expertise. In most cases, she does so by deploying the ambiguous referent "we" as an interactional resource that allows her to claim epistemic authority while socializing students into a community of experts. In addition, the teacher employs a range of multimodal resources as she introduces these turns, including shifting gaze from individual students to the whole class to indicate audience, using smiley voice and laughter to demonstrate affiliation and alignment as she builds on students' responses. Finally, the teacher employs marked delivery of the specialized terms themselves, including upward intonation and stress, to draw students' attention to the focal lexical items. The analyses above have shown that in the current EMI classrooms, the students are held accountable for reflecting on their task experiences, and the work of the teacher is to translate these accounts into discipline-specific language and ways of thinking by orienting to subject-specific ways of saying things. In this way, these teachers-in-training are being socialized to talk about future students' personal issues like "a professional." The teacher takes students' contributions and reifies them by reframing with more pedagogically relevant, discipline-specific terminology and concepts. That is, she displays her understanding of the previous students' contributions by proposing a modified version of them; Heritage and Watson (1979) note that when one participant produces 'transformation or paraphrase' of prior turns, these can serve as 'unequivocal displays of understanding' (p. 130). By naming them with concise and specialized terms, the teacher is extending and transforming student contributions. The introduction of these specialized terms is conducted using a diverse array of multimodal resources (gaze, paralinguistic features of delivery, body movements, deictic gestures, etc.), which show the teacher's competent management of these post-task discussions.

5. Discussion

The teacher's orientation to subject-relevant ways of saying things constructs and indexes the institutionally-derived identities of a teacher (more knowledgeable) and students (less knowledgeable), but also their shared membership in a scholarly community. Through our analysis, we have shown how a teacher utilizes one particular discursive feature in the

service of teaching: third turn follow-ups using discipline-specific terminology. These teacher practices that construct subject-specific ways of representing knowledge not only amplify student contributions for the benefit of the rest of the class; they transform those contributions by recasting them in the language of the discipline (counselling), framed by an unnamed “expert” community. In addition, they are delivered multimodally, with the teacher drawing on proxemics, gaze, gesture, voice quality, and prosody to maintain interactional engagement with focal students and the whole class participation structure. We argue that the multimodal deployment of these discipline-specific terms is “doing teaching” (cf. Hall & Looney, 2019) as the teacher models for the students how to speak and think like counselors in a way that demonstrates her expertise as a teacher, and further, that this kind of modeling is a component of CIC (Walsh, 2006, 2011).

5.1. Invoking expertise

Many of our findings echo and build on prior research on teacher follow-ups to student talk. For example, we observe that the teacher’s turns generally begin with the same upshot marker (i.e., *so*) and function as a candidate understanding of the just-prior student talk, or show a way of thinking about the student’s contribution in a subject-specific way. These turns show that the teacher has been attentive to the students’ utterances and “has extracted something that they themselves might have said” (Antaki, 2008, p. 42). The teacher displays reciprocity with candidate understandings followed by an indexed authority; thus, these examples show that substantive reciprocity looks different in a lecture than in a seminar, where Waring (2002) has demonstrated it is used to show more symmetrical epistemic access to subject-specific terminology and epistemology. Acknowledging student contributions (see Skarbø Solem & Skovholt, 2017 for teacher transforming practices) and recasting them expands the sequence towards a certain pedagogical point, and the teacher orients to subject-specific ways of saying things, which invoke the construction and assertion of identities (expert and novice) in classroom interaction.

More particularly, we have seen how the teacher uses subject-specific language to familiarize the students with the terminology accepted in the current disciplinary field (counselling) by associating herself with an unnamed community of experts. The teacher’s use of the frames “we/they call it (in the literature)” and “it is X” represent different ways of positioning herself (as well as the students, who may be categorized as novices) vis a vis these unnamed experts. The teacher’s use of “we” represents an interesting exploitation of the referent’s ambiguity. By introducing new specialized terms, she positions the students as unknowing novices and positions herself among a group of experts. However, the use of “we” not only introduces the expert community to the students, but also invites them to imagine themselves as part of it. We note that the teacher also sometimes positions herself outside the expert community, as when she says “they call it” and particularly when she invokes “the literature” (Extract 4). By framing the subject-specific terminology in these ways, she is marking these terms as potentially unfamiliar to students, and thus as important learnables as they become professionals.

5.2. Classroom interactional competence

The teacher’s skillful incorporation of discipline-specific terminology into third turn sequences in whole class demonstrates her classroom interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh, 2006, 2011). Can Daşkın (2015) shows that translation to L1 or L2 can be an important way to shape learner contributions (an element of CIC), and we see this in our data as well where the teacher pulls an off-record L1 utterance into the whole-class discussion (Extract 1). Walsh (2013) maintains that “by shaping learner contributions and by helping learners to really articulate what they mean, teachers are performing a more central role in the interaction, while, at the same time, maintaining a student-centered, decentralized approach to teaching” (p. 55). Here, the teacher transforms student contributions by translating them into the language of the discipline; she is helping them to articulate what they mean *as teachers*.

The teacher’s deployment of multimodal resources is an important component of her CIC (see Hall & Looney, 2019 and Jakonen, 2018 for embodiment in teaching). In each case, the teacher’s candidate understandings are formulated with an embodied focus on the specific student (bodily and gaze orientation), while the delivery of subject-specific language following the candidate understanding is performed in a publicly available way as she holds the interactional space with a focal student. The teacher uses positioning in the classroom (proxemics), along with gesture (pointing) and gaze, to orient to the student whose contribution she is evaluating and transforming into discipline-specific language. However, this orientation is not static; rather, the teacher moves her gaze back and forth between the focal student and the class at large, and similarly moves her body in the classroom to literally open up the floor or focus in on one student.

This teacher’s multimodal management of multiparty interaction is another important skill of CIC (see Jacknick, 2021 and Sert, 2015 for more on multimodality and CIC). She succeeds in juggling the embedded “ecological huddle” (Goffman, 1961) with a single student and the overarching whole class participation structure by drawing on different multimodal resources simultaneously, i.e., by pointing at a focal student while directing her gaze around at the whole class (see St. John & Cromdal, 2016 for “dual addressivity”) as she explains a term, and thus feeds individual student contributions into the emerging whole class discussion.

We have also seen how the teacher models “being a counsellor” by bringing up counselling-relevant matters, asking how the student was feeling/doing (Extract 5, line 25). She is thereby uncovering points in the students’ “intrapersonal sphere (feelings, emotions, experiences) and translating them into the ‘public’ or interpersonal sphere of talk-in-interaction” (Hutchby, 2005, p. 317). She is thus *modeling* counselling/teacher talk and behaviors for the students in her facilitation of the discussion, a skill we argue is another component of CIC, particularly in content classrooms.

6. Conclusion

This study provides insights into moments where subject-specific language acts as a space where both content and language are integrated in the accomplishment of *learning to be teachers*. Note that in the current research setting, the core institutional goal is to teach the students subject-specific content, not the English language. Pekarek Doehler and Ziegler (2007) found that the practices of “doing science” and “doing language” cannot be separated. We see this also in our data, where the teacher provides specialized terms as stepping stones for subject-specific work, showing an orientation to language and content as students are socialized to think/talk like professionals. That is, by using interactional resources such as language modeling, the teacher connects student contributions with subject-specific concepts (see Skovholt, 2016 for student-led discussions). Especially in initial stages of content delivery, we suggest that teachers might purposefully engage in this kind of modeling. Building on this modeling, teachers can design pedagogical tasks to enhance students' awareness of academic language so that they might better understand how language can index ways of thinking and talking within different disciplines. This socialization/transformation is the work of teaching, showing how everyday experiences can be seen and named in discipline-specific ways, and thus the teacher demonstrates to the whole class what is a scientifically-relevant contribution from the previous subjective, personal student talk.

Our analysis also underscores the importance of multimodal analysis for a fuller understanding of social interaction, including classroom discourse, and this study points to the need to further investigate the complexity of “the embodied work of teaching” (Hall & Looney, 2019). In particular, we suggest that our knowledge of the component parts of CIC (Walsh, 2006) would be greatly expanded by further investigation into how teachers draw on an array of multimodal resources together, particularly when these resources are deployed as multimodal Gestalts (Mondada, 2014), as when the teacher in this study uses gaze, pointing, and movement to maintain participation structures.

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Appendix. Transcription conventions

(1.8) Numbers enclosed in parentheses indicate a pause. The number represents the number of seconds of duration of the pause, to one decimal place. A pause of less than 0.2 s is marked by (.)

[] Brackets around portions of utterances show that those portions overlap with a portion of another speaker's utterance.

= An equal sign is used to show that there is no time lapse between the portions connected by the equal signs. This is used where a second speaker begins their utterance just at the moment when the first speaker finishes.

: A colon after a vowel or a word is used to show that the sound is extended. The number of colons shows the length of the extension.

(hm, hh) These are onomatopoeic representations of the audible exhalation of air).

.hh This indicates an audible inhalation of air, for example, as a gasp. The more h's, the longer the in-breath.

? A question mark indicates that there is slightly rising intonation.

. A period indicates that there is slightly falling intonation., A comma indicates a continuation of tone.

- A dash indicates an abrupt cut off, where the speaker stopped speaking suddenly.

↑ ↓ Up or down arrows are used to indicate that there is sharply rising or falling intonation. The arrow is placed just before the syllable in which the change in intonation occurs.

Under Underlines indicate speaker emphasis on the underlined portion of the word.

CAPS Capital letters indicate that the speaker spoke the capitalized portion of the utterance at a higher volume than the speaker's normal volume.

° This indicates an utterance that is much softer than the normal speech of the speaker. This symbol will appear at the beginning and at the end of the utterance in question.

><, <> 'Greater than' and 'less than' signs indicate that the talk they surround was noticeably faster, or slower than the surrounding talk.

(would) When a word appears in parentheses, it indicates that the transcriber has guessed as to what was said, because it was indecipherable on the tape. If the transcriber was unable to guess what was said, nothing appears within the parentheses.

- \$'mon\$ Dollar signs are used to indicate a smiley or jokey voice.
- Highlights point of analysis.
- + Marks the onset of an embodied action (e.g. shift of gaze, pointing).
- (()) Describes embodied actions within a specific turn and time.
- # Refers to onset of the figure.
- Sx Describes unidentified student.

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