



Teacher response pursuits in whole class post-task discussions

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores teacher elicitation practices following a perceived absence of a response to an initial inquiry. Specifically, we focus on whole class post-task discussions where a teacher pursues responses in post-first position following students' non-uptake, and thus makes her orientation toward the expectation of a response publicly available. The data for this study come from 30 h of video-recorded classroom interactions in an English as a medium of instruction university in Turkey. Using Conversation Analysis, this study demonstrates that when confronted with a non-response to her initial elicitation in whole class interaction, in addition to drawing on interactional resources (e.g., designedly incomplete utterances, increments) that have been described in earlier research on response pursuits, the teacher uses two additional strategies to secure an answer: (1) modeling a response by personalizing the task, and (2) drawing on a range of multimodal resources (i.e., pedagogical artifact, embodied behavior, vocalization) to elicit engagement. The study particularly focuses on how the teacher employs multimodal tools to promote engagement and to further the progress of the ongoing pedagogical activity (i.e., reflective discussions) when a response is due but not provided. The findings have implications for understanding the design and delivery of teacher response pursuits, and thus contribute to our understanding of turn allocation practices during the whole class sharing phase in content classrooms.

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1. Introduction

The task of eliciting student responses for an authentic discussion in class is a familiar, if challenging, task for most teachers. Even in the best circumstances, engaging in discussion (a non-institutional activity) in an institutional setting can seem inherently artificial, and the special responsibilities (for the teacher) and constraints on participation (for the students) mean that the teacher must be skilled at prompting student contributions. Considering the nature of teacher-led whole class discussions, response pursuits can be complicated, as interactions involve many more participants than two-party talk, and so the teacher pursues a response from *any* student, not one person in particular (as is most often the case in everyday, non-institutional response pursuits). Teacher invitations in this context open the floor for students to share their experiences and feelings in whole class discussions by allowing for self-nominating students who initiate or bid for a turn by raising their hands (Koole, 2015; Sahlström, 2002; Shepherd, 2013; Willemsen, Gosen, Koole, & de Gloppe, 2019). Our study

explores open invitations from the teacher (occurring after individual or small-group tasks) which solicit verbal student-initiations or embodied bids for turns. Specifically, we focus on sequential environments when the teacher's initial prompt is left unanswered by the students, examining how the teacher mobilizes responses and holds the students accountable for answering when a response is due but not provided.

Our data comes from a course called "Guidance", compulsory for pre-service teachers across disciplines (i.e., all students enrolled in a program to become practicing teachers, whether in science, math, language, etc.) in an English as a medium of instruction (EMI) university in Turkey. This course introduces students to potential social issues they may encounter with their future students, and as such, prompts them to think about issues like interpersonal skills, personal development, etc. The task of prompting student contributions to discussion is thus made even more difficult because of the personal nature of the topics. Given that the teacher does not know their personal stories and life histories, students claim primary epistemic status, but it is the teacher, in an inferior epistemic position, who must design questions and prompts to elicit verbal contributions from the students. Given the delicacy involved here, it is perhaps not surprising that often, no students volunteer to contribute when the teacher first opens post-task reflective

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discussions. The lack of immediate response from the students (i.e., not volunteering to answer) may be understood as a socio-interactive aspect of the emergent participation framework. That is, the lack of a designated next speaker in teacher-fronted whole class discussions may complicate the students' displays of willingness to participate (WTP, Sert, 2015). We ask then, what interactional resources does the teacher draw on to pursue responses when none are forthcoming?

We present a brief extract here to illustrate the prototypical structure of the phenomenon in our collection, in which the teacher follows this basic pattern:

- (1) opening the whole class discussion with a general question
- (2) moving on with more specific questions
- (3) pursuing students' participation if still no immediate response is forthcoming

As in all our examples, this sequence initiates a post-task reflective discussion and takes place just after students have carried out an individual task, in this case one which asks them to think about someone for whom they feel positive regard and to identify the kinds of things they do to express their feelings for this person. T stands for the lecturer and pseudonyms are used for the students.

Extract 1: Just some clues, 26_02_15

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01   T:   o:↓kay
02       (0.5)
03       so what about the first one?
04       (0.5)
05       whom you have positive re↑gard (.) what
06       kind of things do you do (0.2) to express
07       your fee↑lings of positive regard?
08       (2.5) ((T scans the class))
09 →    just some clues you don't have to give details °on it°
10       (0.3)
11       what kind of things (0.6) do you do?
12       (1.4) ((T scans the class))
13       ((Gok raises his hand))
14       °yes°
        ↑points at Gok

```

Prefacing her turn with the transition marker 'o:↓kay', the teacher initiates the whole class discussion with an open-ended general inquiry 'so what about the first one?'; which refers to the first section of the two-part task. This is a question design (i.e., 'So what about X?') she uses often to open such discussions. Following a 0.5 second silence, her initial question is followed by specification of the "first one" (i.e., whom you have positive regard) and an additional, more specific question (i.e., what kind of things do you do (0.2) to express your feelings of positive regard?) (lines 5–7). Following these questions designed to open up a whole class discussion, a silence of 2.5 seconds emerges during which T scans the class for a potential willing next speaker. Confronted with the continued absence of uptake, T encourages student engagement by providing a downgraded guideline for a possible response (line 9). That is, she deploys a facilitatory move, where she mitigates the searched-for response to solicit participation from the students. Following a brief silence, T repeats her previous specific question (line 11). Following a 1.4 second silence during which she again scans the whole class, Gok raises his hand to bid for a turn and T nominates him, saying 'yes' and pointing at him (line 14). In brief, Extract 1 is a typical case in our data, in which the teacher moves from general questioning (a preface to introduce the upcoming questioning) to specific questions in pursuit of a missing response. Then, following her lighthouse gaze (Björk-Willén & Cekaite, 2017) as an embodied

invitation to the next speaker (Lerner, 2003) during silence, if there is still no visible uptake forthcoming, T deploys other interactional resources (detailed in this study) to elicit students' participation to get an answer eventually. By following this general pattern, she initiates whole class post-task discussions, ultimately securing the engagement of students in most cases.

The nature of these follow-up teacher moves (i.e., how she proceeds after her initial open invitation) is the focus of our analysis: what interactional resources does the teacher deploy to pursue responses in the face of nonresponse? We address how teacher response pursuits either do or do not lead to whole class post-task discussions and thus affect the progress of the ongoing activity (i.e., reflective discussions). Progressivity is as important in classrooms as in everyday talk (if not more so), and thus we argue that the pressure for a response in classroom interaction is such that teachers draw on a variety of resources to clarify their initial inquiries in order to secure an answer (Pomerantz, 1984; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). This analysis allows us to better understand how response-mobilizing features (i.e., question designs, prosody, embodied actions) have regulatory functions in classroom interaction that rework the teacher's initial inquiry.

2. Literature review

The focal phenomenon of our study relates not only to how teachers initiate post-task discussions (i.e., the questions they ask) but also to how they pursue responses in the face of non-uptake by the students. In particular, our data involve teacher's referential/authentic questions in which she has an unknowing (K-) epistemic status (Heritage, 2012) regarding the targeted information. As such, below we review research on teacher questions, including their sequential placement (generally in three-part sequences) and their design. We also examine previous findings regarding the nature of response pursuits in both mundane and institutional talk, including the use of multimodal resources. Finally, given the nature of the course content (i.e., relating to personal matters), we look at how delicacy is enacted in talk, focusing on doctor-patient and therapeutic interactions, where much of the research on delicacy as an interactional construct has taken place.

2.1. Teacher questions

Whole-class interaction is often described as "teacher-fronted" with teachers frequently utilizing a triadic dialog with their students (Walsh, 2011), a three-part sequence of interaction that

gives them superior interactional rights to every other turn (i.e., T-S-T). This dominant feature of classroom discourse has been described as Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) (McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979). In an IRE sequence, the teacher initiates interaction, often with a question in the first position, a student answers the teacher's initiation in the second position, and the teacher evaluates the response in the third position. Erickson (2004) maintains that through this sequence, teachers exercise "control over topic, turn exchange, and the allocation of attention among the participants in the interaction" (p. 181), and thus make institutionally predetermined rights and roles more visible. This asymmetry between the teacher and the students has been shown to put constraints on student engagement in pedagogical settings (Cazden, 2001; Markee, 2000). Alternatively, when engaged in nontriadic dialog patterns, teachers may increase the chance of higher quality student talk in their classes (McNeill & Pimentel, 2010; Martin & Hand, 2009; Muresan, 2011). In this sense, teachers can stimulate classroom discourse by 1) valuing students' ideas, (2) referring back to students' answers, (3) posing open questions, and (4) encouraging other students to respond before providing evaluative feedback to answers (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). These last two features are most relevant to our interactional data, where the teacher is expecting some form of whole class participation from the students to prompt authentic discussion on personal topics.

In an IRE sequence, the teacher's initiating action can take on various turn formats that will have interactional consequences for the emergent classroom discourse (Nassaji & Wells, 2000). For instance, the teacher's initiation can occur through open-ended questions with an orientation to promoting students' reasoning in content classrooms (as is the case in our data, see also Lee & Kinzie, 2012) or emerge in the form of known-answer questions (Hargreaves, 2012; Macbeth, 2003; Shepherd, 2014; Tanner, 2014) in order to "evaluate the students' understanding and learning or to make the students display knowledge that they have previously learned" (Rusk, Sahlström, & Pörn, 2017, p. 55). In this regard, considering the goal of interaction within a specific context, teachers draw on a variety of question designs ranging from absolute certainty (i.e., known-answer/display questions) to uncertainty and unknowingness (i.e., referential/authentic questions).

Questions are designed in ways that constrain the action their recipient should take in the next turn. For example, polar questions prompt a "yes" or "no" response while alternative questions establish the relevance of one of the options provided (Romaniuk, 2013). Against this background, teacher questioning can be performed via different syntactic structures (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999) such as 'wh-', polar, alternative, and tag questions, all of which communicate different degrees of epistemic access to the matter at hand (Heritage, 2012; Jakonen, 2014), and set up different interactional expectations for what students should do next. The linguistic design of questioning sequences can be used by the teacher to convey different epistemic stances in order to encourage students' engagement. That is, the way teachers initiate their first-turn manifests their knowing, unknowing, or uncertain positions, thereby encoding different degrees of information gap. The current study focuses on the first parts of IRE sequences used to open post-task reflective discussions where the teacher is prompting reflection on the part of students, i.e., where she does not know how they might respond. More specifically, as the teacher's question (first pair-part) makes a response (second pair-part) from the students conditionally relevant (Schegloff, 2007), we examine cases in which the teacher's sequence-initiating action is not immediately responded to by the students, thereby creating a delayed or missing uptake from the students in the emergent interaction. Note that although our data come from whole class discussions in which the rigid IRE might be less prevalent, in our data, classroom interaction between the teacher and the student is organized as one multi-

party body (Sahlström, 2002). In other words, the teacher sustains a dyadic participation structure (Teacher-Student-Teacher-Student) as a pass-on turn in whole class discussions (Willemssen et al., 2019), and thus relies on IRE sequences for turn-allocation purposes.

2.2. Response pursuits

Pursuing a response is a pervasive interactional practice (Pomerantz, 1984). Speakers treat delay after a completed initiating turn as problematic and then engage in modifying their prior turn to deal with the non-uptake on the part of the recipients (Davidson, 1984). These actions are typically known as "response pursuits" (Bolden, Mandelbaum, & Wilkinson, 2012; Hosoda, 2014; Jefferson, 1981), and there is a substantial body of literature investigating a variety of pursuit types and the potential problems they address (Antaki, 2002; Gardner, 2004; Keel, 2015; Romaniuk, 2013; Stivers & Rossano, 2010; Sert, 2013; Sert & Walsh, 2013; Svennevig, 2013). Drawing on mundane conversation, Pomerantz (1984) demonstrates how participants may deal with a delayed response as indicating a trouble source in the sequence-initiating question. Speakers address this trouble by replacing the trouble vocabulary item, giving more detail on the problematic referent, and modifying a problematic assertion in the content of the question. By doing so, they provide a new version of their prior turn to pursue an answer. In his work on ordinary conversation between native and nonnative speakers, Gardner (2004) finds that speakers employ a number of interactional resources such as rephrasing, adding an increment to the turn, modifying what has been said, and expanding on the original question in order to elicit a response from the recipients. Interestingly, bringing data from a vulnerable group, Keel (2015) shows that children as young as 2–3 years old reestablish mutual attention (e.g., gaze or bringing an object into the recipient's field of vision), use repetition, and modify their requests in instances of a lack of assessment on the part of caregivers. Focusing on both mundane conversations and institutional interactions, Bolden et al. (2012) note that speakers repair indexical reference in the transition space in pursuit of a missing response, and thus respond to the missing second pair-part (SPP) by orienting to the possible ambiguous reference, which renews the relevance of a response.

In institutional settings in which the asymmetry of interactional rights is more visible, that is, where one party is in the position of asking questions, the person with more rights is also responsible for making the initial question clearer (Okada & Greer, 2013). Based on interviews with nonnative speakers of Norwegian in various public welfare services, Svennevig (2013) shows that turning an open question into a question with a list of alternatives through reformulations promotes nonnative speakers' understanding and participation. In doing so, several candidate alternatives are provided as potential answers to the original question. Finding the same type of interactional practices for pursuing a response as Gardner's (2004) study, Kasper and Ross (2007) also note that interactants orient differently to the trouble source of a missing response in the institutional context of oral proficiency interviews. Analyzing multiple questions in these interviews, the researchers argue that interviewers orient to a non-response as non-comprehension of the original question on the part of the interviewees rather than upcoming disagreement with the assertion of the question as identified in Gardner's study.

In her longitudinal study on classroom interaction, Rowe (1974) identifies "wait time," or the pauses that emerge between students' non-uptake and teacher's formulation of another question. She finds that teachers tend to repeat their question within one second, and if an answer is produced, teachers typically respond (the third turn) within 0.9 s. The author notes that teachers who increase their "wait time" begin to pose a wider variety of ques-

tions, with fewer known-answer questions, and student responses to these questions are longer. Notably, the teacher in our study waits longer than even Rowe suggests (3.0–5.0 s), and so it is not likely that the lack of student uptake is attributable to the lack of interactional space for student initiations.

Of direct relevance to the current study of response pursuits in classroom interaction, Hosoda (2014) demonstrates that in English as a foreign language classrooms in a primary school, teachers prioritize the preference for managing students' comprehension problems over the preference for receiving a response. Thus, they tend to redo their initial inquiries via linguistic resources such as repetition of key words, translation of all or a part of the question, permission of the first language (L1) in response production, and help with providing the linguistic form to be incorporated in the answers. The author shows that teachers attribute students' non-uptake to their own question design in two instances: (1) when there is an apparent ambiguity of the referent, and (2) when the topic shift is too sudden. Similarly, referring to teacher's repair work after a missing response as "failed questions", Okada (2010) shows that teachers (1) modify the sequence-initiating inquiry, (2) formulate clues to the appropriate response, and (3) switch back to students' mother tongue (Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005) in order to promote a clear understanding of the relevant question. Lastly, and importantly for our multimodal conversation analytic study, examining French language classes, Chazal (2015) demonstrates how a teacher employs pedagogical artifacts and embodied actions in response pursuits and furthermore shapes turn allocation in the course of the triadic dialog. The researcher describes how teachers sustain their held writing and pointing gestures in the expectation of a student answer and if no response is forthcoming, teachers immediately retract the gesture and engage in producing explicit verbal resources in the subsequent turn.

In brief, all studies mentioned above suggest that speakers who face a lack of second position response to their initial inquiry may use sequential-organizational resources that make use of the whole turn constructional unit (TCU) and turn-constructional resources (i.e., increments) that pursue a response covertly. Although interactional practices in pursuit of a missing response can overlap, that is, the same practices can be found in ordinary and institutional talk, orientations to the lack of response in these specific contexts might be different. For instance, in institutional settings like classrooms in which one party (i.e., teacher) is given asymmetrical rights to pose questions, that party is responsible for clarifying the initial question and identifying possible reasons for the missing response (i.e., comprehension issues, delicacy of the topic) from the other party (i.e., students). In this sense, in institutional discourse in which interactants' participation is bound to the social category of expert and less-than-expert of the target language or subject content, interactional work performed by the former is worth investigating to better understand the epistemic dynamics in these environments.

When teachers initiate questions, from a linguistic perspective, a student response is expected. That is, questions mobilize responses (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). If this principle of conditional relevance is not satisfied by answers (i.e., response turns that further the progress of the activity), teachers rely on follow-up moves in post-first position to secure a response as a second pair-part. Against this backdrop, the focal phenomenon in this study, teacher pursuit of missing responses, is a common feature of classroom interaction. However, many prior studies have centered on language classrooms where the linguistic competence of students might account for at least some of the interactional trouble (Hosoda, 2014; Lam Hoang & Filipi, 2016; Okada, 2010; Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005). Our data, by contrast, show how post-task reflective discussions are initiated by a teacher in a classroom where linguistic incompetence is not an issue, and so the teacher's response pursuits necessarily take a different shape. Existing research has indeed documented

various interactional practices for a response pursuit in case of a missing second pair-part. However, while response pursuits have been studied, much less is known of teacher orientations and interpretations of missing responses in content classrooms. Against this background, the study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of teacher elicitation, namely teacher response pursuits in advanced content classrooms. We investigate the interactional resources available to a teacher in orienting to students' missing responses. These response pursuits are crucial to the initiation of "reflective discussion", a primary goal of the current course.

2.3. *Delicacy in interaction*

While it is tempting to characterize talk on personal topics in institutional settings as inherently delicate, it is important to demonstrate how delicacy is invoked and oriented to interactionally. van Nijnatten and Suoninen (2014), for example, posit that delicacy can be enacted through categorizations (e.g., good mother), but also through the sequential features of interaction. In the first instance, they argue that moral categorization (drawing on Sacks' (1992) concept of membership categorization) can be used in talk to orient to topics as delicate, for example, when a social worker positions a client as a victim in order to elicit a narrative from them about a particular incident without placing blame. They also note that "expressive caution" (p. 138) can be used when face-threatening situations arise where one interlocutor might be in a position to judge another. In such cases, a social worker might change their tone or include extra explanation, both tactics which we will see in our data. A variety of interactional resources can point toward participants' orientation to delicacy in talk, including hesitations and pauses (Linell & Bredmar, 1996; Weijts, Houtkoop, & Mullen, 1993), repetition of words, conditionals, hedging or softening (Bergmann, 1992; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998), downgrades (Linell & Bredmar, 1996), indirect questions, and laughter (Glenn, 2013; Glenn & Holt, 2013; Haakana, 2002; Jacknick, 2013; Mik-Meyer, 2007; Wilkinson, 2007; Zyts & Schnurr, 2011). In addition to this list, Linell and Bredmar (1996) identify self-repairs and syntactic embedding as interactional resources that can "do" delicacy. In this analysis, we aim to trace how the teacher designs her response pursuits to take account of the potentially delicate nature of her initial prompts, affiliating with students despite their lack of uptake and adjusting her inquiries to secure responses.

3. Data and method

The data on which this study is based come from 30 h of video-recorded English-medium lessons titled "Guidance". The course, compulsory in the Department of Educational Sciences, is offered to senior (4th year) students in an EMI university in Turkey. The major aim of the course is to train prospective teachers to handle the potential social problems of their future students in a professional way, covering topics such as interpersonal skills, development of the whole person, life management, and so on. The participants ($n=78$) study at the Faculty of Education, majoring in different departments, namely Computer Education and Instructional Technology, Elementary and Early Childhood Education, Foreign Language Education, and Mathematics and Science Education. Two "Guidance" classes taught by the same teacher were observed using three cameras; one was placed in the back of the classroom, focusing on the teacher and the white board, and the other two were positioned on the right and left sides of the class, facing the students to capture all interactions. First author was a nonparticipant observer, sitting in the back of the classroom and taking extensive field notes on the emergent interactions. In the first class, there were 37 female and 2 male students, aged between 21 and 25. In

the second class, there were 30 females and 9 males, and their age varied from 22 to 26. The focal teacher of this study is an associate professor of Psychological Counseling and Guidance in the Department of Educational Sciences. She is an experienced lecturer with over 20 years of teaching. Data collection covered a period of over two months, between February and May in 2015. Before the classrooms were recorded, ethics review board approval was received from the university and all the participants gave their informed consent to participate willingly in the study. Pseudonyms are used to secure their anonymity.

The methodological approach used in this study is Conversation Analysis (CA). CA is a data-driven methodology for the analysis of recorded, naturally-occurring interactions (Sacks, 1984; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013; ten Have, 2007). CA assumes an emic approach to the analysis of the interaction, that is, rather than imposing predetermined categories (i.e., coding), CA adopts a participant-oriented perspective in which interactants collaboratively create social order through their orientations toward one another's actions. Analysis for this study began with the repeated examination of each recording and later production of detailed transcripts of the recordings. Data was transcribed according to an adapted version of the convention system developed by Jefferson (2004), reflecting features of interaction (i.e., intonation, silences, overlaps) with as much detail as possible (see Appendix). Transana, a software designed for the transcription of video and audio data was used to make the fine-grained transcripts. Every sequence in which the teacher attempts to launch a whole class discussion following a task activity was collected and each episode was examined on its own terms. We noticed an interesting interactional phenomenon in the collection, namely the teacher's response pursuits following a missing answer (12 cases in total). Each case in which the teacher initiates an open invitation for a whole class discussion following a task activity and encounters a lack of uptake from the students was examined closely to develop the current analysis. That is, all episodes including the teacher's pursuit of a response to her initial request were selected and for the present analysis, three extracts will be presented in order to demonstrate the range of teacher response pursuit practices we identified.

In what follows, we will present detailed analysis of these extracts, showing how the teacher attempts to elicit student con-

tributions at places where answers are called for, but students do not produce a visible response. In the current study, we describe how the teacher formulates her response pursuits (compared to her initial inquiry) in post-first position to invite the students to take the floor and participate in post-task discussion.

4. Analysis

In the extracts analyzed below, we illustrate how a teacher deploys a range of interactional resources to pursue a response in post-first position (i.e., teacher's follow-up moves following initial open invitation) in teacher-fronted whole class interaction. We describe how the teacher relies on the interactional affordances of different types of verbal and embodied practices to deal with the lack of immediate response from the students. Resources such as reformulating questions and increments prompt students' displays of willingness to participate (Extract 2), and we also show how the design of the teacher's initial questions can lead to a downgraded response pursuit (Extract 3). Finally, we focus on how the teacher's modeling of a response, combined with her use of multimodal resources, including paralinguistic features, nods, smiles, and laughter, leads to more engaged student verbal participation (Extract 4). All cases will demonstrate that the teacher draws on multiple and varied practices to format the subsequent versions of her initial inquiry, depending on the contingencies of the situation.

4.1. *Specific to general questioning*

The following extract illustrates a case in which the teacher reformulates her questions, shifting back and forth between more general and more specific questions as a strategy for pursuing a response to her initial inquiry. Before the extract begins, the class has worked on an individual task. This is the same task as presented in Extract 1, but it is now conducted in the second class, a different group of students. Students are to identify a person for whom they have positive regard, but the teacher alters the prompt, changing the task to identifying a person for whom they have "unconditional positive regard" orally while presenting the task even though "positive regard" is listed in the original handout.

the students in coming up with concrete examples to the original question. Her query 'what do you do?' may not be clear enough to produce a relevant answer, that is, it might be too wide and unspecific (Svennevig, 2013) to receive a response from the students. Notably, this reformulated question respecifies the target of the inquiry to actions the students might take to express their emotions, rather than the identification of the people whom they hold in positive regard (a potentially more personal answer).

Following this, T scans the class for 2.0s and produces an increment (i.e., toward the person), a turn-constructional resource in the form of a grammatical extension of the already completed unit (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; Schegloff, 1996). By adding this increment, T converts the inter-turn gap to an intra-turn pause, not holding students accountable for the lack of answer, but still pursuing a response (Yoon, 2016). That is, extending the TCU with an increment constitutes a syntactic continuation of the prior turn and it might be used as a linguistic resource to solve a reciprocity problem (Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002) on the part of the students (i.e., lack of verbal participation). Following T's scanning of the whole class, Sel raises her hand and T allocates the turn to her by nodding.

Extract 2 illustrates how a teacher reformulates her questions in a case where she observes that students fail to produce a relevant response, and so she shifts from specific to general questions to broaden the range of acceptable responses. Her query is within the student's epistemic domain, that is, the original question asks about the students' own ideas and feelings, which they have already presented in the course of the prior task. Thus, we argue that students' unwillingness to participate (UTP) here is not due to their uncertainty about how to respond or insufficient knowledge. Instead, students' reticence might result from the delicate nature of the topic under focus, namely talking about someone they have unconditional positive regard for in the public sphere of the classroom. More precisely, the lack of the forthcoming response is likely not a problem of understanding related to the question itself, but rather students might feel unease when speaking about their close personal relationships in front of the class. The students' UTP and the teacher's response to the lack of uptake co-construct the original

question as a delicate one. The teacher orients explicitly to students' UTP (line 6), and handles the sensitive topic interactionally in a multi-unit questioning turn (Duran, 2017; Linell & Bredmar, 1996) which shifts the focus of her inquiry from identification of a person to identification of actions. The first question is a personal one with a unique answer for each student, whereas the second question is a personal one with potentially shared responses, i.e., many people show their positive regard in similar ways. When there is still no immediate uptake from the students for this reformulated question, she tags an increment to her recognizably complete question by giving additional information to refresh "the relevance of a response without making pursuing a response the overt business of the talk" (Bolden et al., 2012, p. 140).

4.2. Downgraded response pursuit

One way teachers deal with the lack of an immediately forthcoming response is asking follow-up questions, which provide additional hints and opportunities for the students to respond in other ways. However, not all teachers' probing questions in pursuit of a response (i.e., follow-up questions as sequence-organizational resources) stimulate active classroom discussion. Consider the next extract, a "failed" response pursuit, which illustrates how a teacher simplifies the students' interactional obligations through questions designed as yes/no interrogatives (i.e., polar questions) that prefer a "yes" answer. While this effort on the part of the teacher does elicit students' verbal participation, it does not result in an engaged classroom environment, thus we are calling it a "downgraded" response pursuit because the teacher reduces her interactional expectations of the students. Following these efforts, (limited) student engagement is generated, but the discussion that follows does not include linguistically-rich or reflective student responses. The sequence occurs after students have engaged in an individual activity called "social mapping/networking". They were supposed to think about people around them with whom they have "strong", "weak" or "conflictual" relationships and position these people according to their own presence on a map.

Extract 3: It says what, 12_03_15

01 T: so it says ↑what. (.) the social #ma:p of you (.)

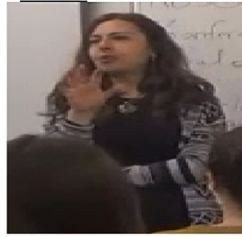


Figure 2

02 this is the social map (0.5) it says what.
 03 (6.0)((T watches over the class, smiling))
 04 → when you for instance look at the (0.5) st↑ro:ng relations
 05 (1.0)
 06 it's a sort of (0.2) social sup↑port system for you
 07 Sx1: °huh huh°
 08 T: can we say that?
 09 (0.6)((Elf nods))
 10 Ss: yes
 11 (0.8)((T nods))
 12 →T: can you consider those individuals as the #support

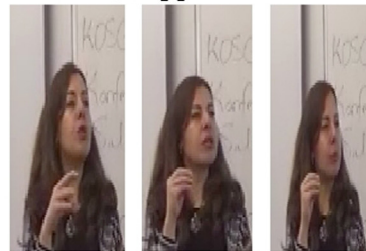


Figure 3 Figure 4 Figure 5

13 (0.6)((Elf nods))
 14 → #group?



Figure 6

15 Ss: yes
 16 Elf: °yes°

T initiates the sequence by asking an open and broad question delivered with falling intonation. Interestingly, it is not designed syntactically or delivered prosodically in a question format, but it expects a content response from the students, and it could be interpreted by them as a request for information about a range of different things. T self-repairs the indexical reference “it” by saying ‘the social ma:p of you (.) this is the social map’, and by specifying the referent “it”, T fixes the ambiguity of the reference form (Bolden et al., 2012). She holds her hand open when referring to “map” (see Fig. 2), and thus invokes an iconic gesture of the related word (McNeill, 1992). Following a 0.5 second silence, she repeats her initial question ‘it says what.’ A silence of 6.0 s emerges during which T watches over the students, smiling at them. The interactional trouble might emerge from the design of her invitation, that is, her query allows too much freedom

and provides too little direction about the kind of response students might be expected to produce. T initiates another response pursuit turn (lines 4–6) where she models a potential response to her initial question (i.e., for instance), characterizing “strong relations” as ‘a sort of social support system.’ This model response receives a quiet acknowledgment (i.e., °huh huh°) from one of the students. In the face of this minimal response, T asks for confirmation of her previous statement and following a 0.6 second silence during which Elf acknowledges in an embodied way (i.e., nodding), several students affirm T’s question (line 10). Another silence (0.8 second) occurs during which T nods and poses her second follow-up question (line 12). Interestingly, T nods in the course of her question as well (see Figs. 3–5), making the expected response even more obvious to the students than it already is through question design.

After a silence of 0.6 second during which Elf nods, T completes her question by gazing and nodding at Elf (see Fig. 6). It is important to note that T orients her gaze to this student who has been displaying verbal and embodied engagement, however minimal. Schegloff (1996) maintains that recruitment of a possible knower through gaze and body orientation generally occurs in pre-beginning position, that is, slightly before the completion of a verbal turn by the prior speaker and addressed recipients frequently begin to orient to the speaker, thereby displaying their availability for talk. In this sense, T might secure the availability of a student by establishing mutual attention (Keel, 2015). Her polar question receives a “yes” from some members of the class, including Elf (lines 15–16) and T continues to ask the students more confirmation type of questions in the rest of the interaction.

Extract 3 demonstrates an example of a response pursuit which does not prompt students’ participation in a reflective discussion; that is, while the teacher *does* secure a response, it is minimal. The teacher’s initial question is so broad that students may be unsure what kind of response is expected. In the face of non-uptake here, the teacher’s follow-up questions do not stimulate active engagement, in part because they are designed to generate minimal acknowledgment tokens, that is, they interactionally prefer simple confirmations. Here, the teacher began to pursue a general, open-ended response (i.e., what does their social map say about them?), but when a timely response was not provided, she pursued much more specific, less open-ended answers through her follow-up questions, which expect choral confirmations (whether verbal or embodied) from the students. More precisely, she prompts contributions from the students through confirmation requests, which transforms the teacher from an unknowing position to a knowing one. This shift in epistemic stance generates minimal student responses as she poses self-evident questions with clear prefer-

ence wants accompanied by embodied clues (i.e., nodding when a “yes” answer is expected, line 12). Notably, by focusing on teacher’s embodied work (i.e., gaze and nods) and question designs (i.e., confirmation checks) in the trajectory of response pursuits, we can see how the teacher’s monitoring of students’ minimal embodied responses allow for the teacher’s pursuit of mutual gaze (line 14). This mutual orientation is achieved and oriented to as a resource for pursuing uptake when interactional challenges arise in the form of minimal but fitted responses.

4.3. *Modeling a response*

In each of the extracts shown thus far, the teacher’s response pursuits are oriented to as invitations to bid by the students, with the students indicating their willingness to participate in embodied ways, followed by teacher’s (in some cases, embodied) nominations. The following extract is an example of how a teacher personalizes the task at hand for herself when confronted with a non-uptake, providing a model for students of how they might contribute to the discussion, using multimodal resources to pursue engagement, and leading to several students self-selecting as next speaker. The sequence starts in the second session of the class, and students have just previously worked on a task related to communication roadblocks before taking a break. Twelve roadblocks (e.g., ordering, advising, judging, interpreting, etc.) for each barrier are presented in the handout along with some sample statements (e.g., stop it; you are acting foolishly; you think you have problems), and students were to write one example from their daily lives for each roadblock. In writing their own examples, the teacher asked them to focus especially on the language patterns that might emerge in teacher-student interactions. She begins the post-task discussion by bringing the students back together after their short break.

Extract 4: Favorites, 09_04_15

01 T: okay you had your breakfast, (1.6) drank cup of coffee=
 02 tea: whatever (0.5) helps you to ener↑gi:ze huh?
 03 (0.7)
 04 \$oka:y?/\$
 05 (4.9) ((T walks towards the middle of the class))
 06 which ↑one (.) that you ha:ve (0.4) heard a ↑lot (0.2) from
 +looks at the handout
 07 You:r (0.2) f↑rie:nds, from you:r (0.3) er: ↑pare:nts,
 08 from you:r ↑teache:rs=instructo:rs, (0.3) from you:r
 09 ↑neighbo:rs,
 10 (1.4) from your ↑clo:se f↑riends, (0.7) from you:r
 11 ↑partne:rs,
 12 (9.0) ((T walks back and forth, scanning the class))
 13 (5.2) #7



Figure 7

14 → i have couple of ↑favorites. (0.2) from this list.
 +looks at the handout +gazes at Ss
 15 (1.6) ((T looks over the handout))
 16 i really like this one (0.3) #you will #fee:l different

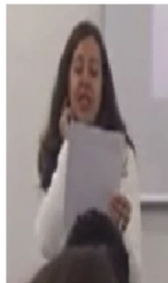


Figure 8

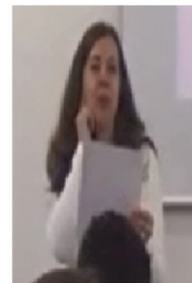


Figure 9

17 → tomorrow (0.2) probably i will feel,
 18 (1.2) #10



Figure 10

19 {(1.6) - Ss laugh}
 +T nods

→ #11 #12

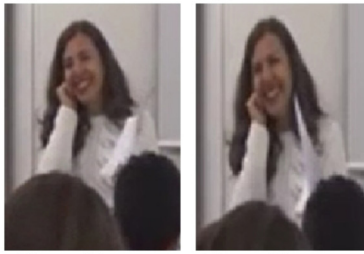


Figure 11

Figure 12

20 \$dehp↑ressed
21 {(0.3)- Ss laugh}
22 [huh. (0.9)]hah↑ih will feehl differently\$
23 Ss: [((laughter))]
24 (0.4)
25 Eda: so it's always [(always opposite cause the-)
 +looks at the handout +gazes at T
26 T: [\$↑huh ↑huh (.) you will feel- (.)
27 see the positive side (0.2) kind of thing\$
28 +Eda laughs
29 Bir: [think about the]positive side,
30 Mer: [improving things.]
31 +T orients to Mer +T points to Mer

Referring to the just-prior break students have taken, T walks toward the middle of the class to open up the post-task discussion, creating a shared interactional space (Mondada, 2009) by maintaining a public focus of attention for the forthcoming action, and transforming the students from “co-present persons to co-participants” (p. 1978). Orienting to the handout, she asks students which one of the communication barriers they have heard often and then initiates a long list for students to choose from (lines 6–11). She draws on prosodic resources, especially intonation and elongation, to make the production of the list more recognizable for the students (Erickson, 1992). Repetition of the intonation contour along with similar increased volume and elongation for each list item suggests that T makes the list with no preplans, that is, it is locally occasioned (Selting, 2007) as a cohesive structure. Using similar list items (i.e., friends/close friends; teachers/instructors) and adding longer pauses between them demonstrates T's orientation to a lack of reciprocity on the part of the students, and T attempts to increase the likelihood of receiving a response by lengthening the list. No answer is produced in the 9.0 s during which T walks back and forth in the classroom, looking around the classroom (see Björk-Willén & Cekaite, 2017 for *lighthouse gaze*) and the students look at the handout and avoid mutual gaze with the T. Subsequently, as Fig. 7 shows, she orients back to the pedagogical artifact, the handout. Note that this move of hers to orient toward the handout is mirroring their embodied action, and potentially making her modeling a real acting out of what they should do (i.e., look at the handout and then say something).

In line 14, she personalizes the task by relating it to herself, which creates a more personal and informal style in the institutional interaction of the classroom. Notice that this case illustrates a different form of participation structure, or what Goffman (1981) has labeled as *footing*, which describes the changing stances participants take up in interaction. T shifts her role from the “information-seeker” to the “information-provider”, and models the kind of response she has been pursuing from the students. Going over the handout, she upgrades her choice ‘i really like this one’ and starts to read her “favorite one” - ‘you will feel different tomorrow’ (see Figs. 8 and 9). T produces a hearably incomplete utterance in line 17, which leaves unspecified how she

will feel, and then proceeds to engage the students multimodally. After her incomplete utterance, T watches over the students (see Fig. 10) as they laugh. T nods repeatedly while laughing (see Figs. 11 and 12). As T fills the silence following her incomplete utterance through multimodal engagement, she evokes rapport between herself and the class. In line 21, T completes her turn with laughter tokens, which receives affiliative response laughter from the class. T handles the students' non-uptake playfully and students orient to this as such as observed in their continued laughter. Thus, by creating this humorous moment, T manages the noticeable absence of an uptake as an opportunity for building a sense of community and promoting participation in the classroom (Reddington & Waring, 2015).

Following a 0.4 s silence, orienting to the handout, Eda self-selects in line 25 and says ‘so it's always (always opposite cause the-)', which is overlapped with T's turn. Eda's turn is unrecognized, and T might not hear her as her gaze is oriented to the other side of the class at that time. T moves on confirming what her favorite list item might include in a smiley voice (lines 26–27). What is noticeable here is that in the following turn, Bir produces an uptake (Nystrand, Gamoran, Kachur, & Prendergast, 1997) of T's prior turn. That is, T's previous contribution (lines 26–27) is incorporated into a subsequent turn produced by the student. Bir's turn is overlapped with another student's (Mer) turn and T nominates Mer by extending her hand toward her.

Extract 4 demonstrates how a teacher deals with the lack of immediate uptake by modeling a potential response. She personalizes the current inquiry for herself by orienting to the pedagogical artifact (i.e., handout) and designs a scenario for her own choice through “modeling” (Walsh, 2006). She designs her turn to be hearably incomplete and generates student participation through multimodal engagement in the ensuing silence. That is, she uses intonation, gaze, body language, smiling, and laughter to pursue engagement from the students. Moreover, not only do students start to participate in the discussion but they do so in self-initiated ways, and also display uptake (line 29) and produce affiliative laughter responses.

4.4. Summary of analysis

The analyses offered in this section demonstrate a set of practices a teacher employs in instances in which her sequence-initiating action (i.e., a question) does not prompt a second position response from the students in whole class post-task discussions. In all these examples, we identified how the teacher's unknowing position is communicated by means of open and authentic questions that request an extended answer (see [Thompson, Fox, & Couper-Kuhlen, 2015](#) for "telling questions"). The use of sequence-organizational and turn-constructional resources in pursuits of responses show the overt or covert treatment of the missing response, thereby accomplishing the pursuit interactionally in different ways.

We note that when a second position response is missing, the nature of the question (i.e., delicate issues, open-endedness) or its turn-allocation delivery (i.e., lack of a nominated-to-respond student) in whole class interaction may be responsible for the lack of the immediate response from the students rather than students' comprehension problems, as is often assumed. Most importantly, we also observed how the teacher uses prosodic features (Extract 4), gaze (all extracts), and body language (Extracts 3 and 4) to render her response pursuits more publicly available, and thus more salient. By engaging in these practices, she establishes a public and shared focus on the inquiry at hand, thereby holding the students accountable for producing a relevant answer to her initial action and ultimately engaging them in the discussion.

5. Concluding discussion

In this study, we have described how a teacher pursues responses when she encounters a lack of response to her initial inquiry in whole class, post-task reflective discussions. When teacher talk is addressed to the whole class, different opportunities for participation are engendered because there are many potential incipient speakers. More precisely, this teacher generally relies on invitations to bid, in which she "directs to the class a response opportunity other than an invitation to reply" ([Shepherd, 2014](#), p. 84). One potential reaction to such a "response opportunity" would be for students to bid to take the turn and then the teacher could nominate one of the bidders and that student could contribute ([Mehan, 1979](#); [Shepherd, 2014](#); [Willemsen, Gosen, van Braak, Koole, & de Glopper, 2018](#)). However, we note that the teacher's lack of address to a particular student might result in a nonresponse because students do not feel responsible for displaying incipency, particularly in such large classes.

When interactional trouble (i.e., missing response from the students) arises as a violation of the principle of conditional relevance (i.e., response is not provided to further the progress of the activity), the teacher relies on a number of sequence-organizational and turn-constructional resources in the post-first position to secure an answer. Such linguistic and embodied resources contribute to marking the social action as a response pursuit. More specifically, when confronted with a non-uptake on the part of the students, before resorting to an explicit verbal pursuit, the teacher uses gaze as a purely embodied invitation resource ([Björk-Willén & Cekaite, 2017](#); [Rossano, 2006](#); [Willemsen et al., 2018](#)) and then she (1) reformulates the earlier version of her question with a shift from specificity to generality and vice versa, (Extract 2); (2) provides additional information in the form of increments (Extract 2); (3) asks follow-up questions with a close multimodal focus on the minimal but fitted student contributions (Extract 3); (4) personalizes the task for herself and models a response (Extract 4); (5) uses incomplete utterances (Extract 4); and (6) elicits engagement with multimodal resources (i.e., gaze and laughter). In brief, missing

response from the students is treated as a source of trouble by the teacher, causing her to pursue a response mostly in an on-record and overt way, holding students accountable to produce an answer ([Heritage, 1984](#); [Romaniuk, 2013](#)).

All the pedagogical questions posed by the teacher in the current study were designed to prompt students to express their feelings and experiences during the whole class sharing phase following task-accomplishment, and so our findings have relevance for the study of question design particularly as it relates to epistemic status. The teacher must ensure that whole class discussions proceed in an orderly manner and all participants benefit from co-construction of knowledge (i.e., reflective thinking) that is the pedagogical purpose of the current setting. Thus, the questions were not designed to evaluate students' knowledge but rather to help them convey their genuine benefits from the task activity. Because students have just completed these tasks, the teacher expects them to display their epistemic access to the personal topics at hand, ranging from conflict resolution to stress management. Moreover, all the questions are referential/authentic questions – our collection represents a series of "telling questions" which prefer extended responses in the form of clauses, except for the downgraded response pursuit in Extract 3 which shifts into "specifying questions" ([Thompson et al., 2015](#)), which request specific answers and prefer responses in the form of short phrases or single words. We note that the teacher displays her lack of epistemic primacy over the knowledge domain (i.e., the students' personal information) with her question designs. However, when this type of response pursuit fails, she reclaims epistemic primacy in two different ways with different interactional consequences. In Extract 3, she shifts from an unknowing stance to a knowing one as she leads students through a series of polar questions designed for confirmation, with the consequence that the students are unable to contribute substantively, and the teacher ultimately abandons the discussion, moving on to other tasks. However, in Extract 4, we see the teacher reclaim epistemic primacy by personalizing the task and modeling a student response from her own perspective. This approach, combined with teacher's deployment of multimodal resources in pursuit of engagement (including paralinguistics, gaze, smiles, nods, and laughter), leads to more engaged participation from the students (i.e., student-initiated turns and uptake).

In addition to shifts in epistemic stance, the teacher adjusts her questioning strategy in other ways to address the interactional trouble occasioned by a missing response. She makes use of reformulated questions ([Chiang, 2011](#); [Kasper & Ross, 2007](#); [Okada & Greer, 2013](#); [Osvaldsson, Persson-Thunqvist, & Cromdal, 2012](#)) by shifting between specific and general questioning to promote engagement; more precisely, to lessen student reticence ([Tsui, 1996](#)) (Extract 2). As the personal topics they are dealing with are potentially delicate ([Linell, Hofvendahl, & Lindholm, 2003](#)), we see the teacher particularly engaging in downgrades ([Linell & Bredmar, 1996](#)) of her initial inquiries as she attempts to prompt participation. In Extract 1, she downgrades the expected response by asking for "just some clues" and reassuring students "you don't have to give details on it." Likewise, in Extract 2, we see her engage in several downgrades, first through enlarging the circle the students could think of in their social relations (i.e., from unconditional positive regard to just positive regard), and she draws on same-turn reformulated questions ([Svennevig, 2013](#)), a practice for turning a general, open question into a clearer one. Using an increment ([Schegloff, 2000](#)), she makes a grammatically dependent addition to her previously completed TCU, thereby pursuing a response in an off-record and covert way ([Yoon, 2016](#)). In this same extract (2), we also argue that the teacher explicitly orients to the topic as delicate, providing a candidate reason for their unwillingness to participate: I think you don't want to talk about it huh? Finally, in Extract 3, we see the teacher

downgrade her entire response pursuit in a dramatic way, shifting from telling questions to specifying questions, and particularly, to polar questions with clear preference wants, accompanied by embodied clues as to the expected response. In this way, she succeeds in generating student participation, but not of the kind that would sustain a reflective discussion.

As mentioned before, the teacher's original questions deal with matters that the teacher expects to be within the students' epistemic domain. In this regard, the lack of response to the initial question is likely unrelated to a comprehension problem but instead might arise from the delicacy of the topic (as we just discussed), or alternatively, from the lack of a next designated speaker in turn-allocation practices (see [Mehan, 1979](#); [Shepherd, 2014](#) for floor-allocation procedures) in whole class interaction. When her response pursuit fails, the teacher relies on invitations to reply, which "enables students to state what they know directly" ([Mehan, 1979](#), p. 92) – a turn allocation procedure where students respond to the invitation as a whole cohort (Extract 3). She uses these follow-ups for relatively simple confirmations; she opens the floor, allowing students to provide an answer without being nominated, and thus multi-party responses are received as students recognize the invitation as calling for choral responses. Note that follow-up questions (i.e., polar requests) are delivered from a relatively knowing stance that can be glossed as confirmation requests (see [Margutti, 2006](#) for in-unison answers and bids to answer) and such a knowing stance often leads to sequence closure as they receive preferred answers. In this sense, the minimal contributions provided by the students are an interactional consequence of the confirmation requests of specific information on the matter at hand as the teacher solicits choral knowledge displays from the students ([Margutti, 2006](#)). Notice that the teacher asks self-evident questions with embodied indicators (i.e., nodding) projecting the preferred response. Interestingly, teacher's follow-up moves are accompanied with gaze orientation to the student who displays engagement, however minimal. The teacher is carefully monitoring multimodal responses from students in order to maintain progressivity ([Chazal, 2015](#)). The multimodal resources (i.e., gaze and nodding) function as an interactionally-relevant action for the students to display engagement. In this sense, a teacher's body-visual orientation to students might provide students with some clues on their participatory anticipation in the interaction.

In every example in our collection, the teacher's use of multimodal resources (i.e., vocalization, gaze, laughter, artifacts) significantly contributes to progressivity and the creation of a sense of community ([Reddington & Waring, 2015](#)). We see a clear example of this in Extract 4. When the teacher encounters interactional trouble in the form of a missing response, she shifts her position from "knowledge-seeker" to "knowledge-provider" and answers the question for herself. In this sense, the current study helps us better understand the emergent changes in footing ([Goffman, 1981](#); [Svennevig, 2018](#)) in classroom interaction, invoked by the teacher positioning herself as a "response-provider" and also being a model for the potential upcoming responses from the students. Note that as all the questions the teacher has asked in our study fall into the category of referential/authentic questions, she does not respond on behalf of the students, but instead answers as herself. By producing an incomplete utterance accompanied with engaging multimodal resources (i.e., facial expressions and gestures), the teacher produces a dramatic effect with the pause, leaving unspecified "how probably she would feel". [Heritage \(2012\)](#) identifies one's own thoughts, experiences, hopes, and expectations as epistemic domains to which individuals are usually held accountable for having primary epistemic access. In this sense, the incomplete utterance does not demand a response from the students as it is in the teacher's knowledge domain (i.e., her own feelings). By providing this model, she shows students how they can draw from

the pedagogical artifact to articulate connections with their own thoughts and feelings. Her use of a complex array of multimodal resources in her response pursuits generally, and Extract 4 in particular, adds to our understanding of "the embodied work of teaching" ([Hall & Looney, 2019](#)), and demonstrates her classroom interactional competence ([Walsh, 2006](#)).

We have identified some sequential environments in which delay is oriented to as carrying epistemic significance in EMI classrooms. The delay in producing a response in whole class discussions motivates the teacher's response pursuits as she adjusts her initial inquiries. This study primarily contributes to a better understanding of pedagogical challenges (i.e., a noticeable absence of students' response) by illustrating the interactional practices available to a teacher to resolve such trouble. We argue that our study sheds light on the pursuit of interactional progressivity (i.e., teacher response pursuits as a conversational resource) as well as *pedagogical* progressivity (i.e., promoting students' reflective thinking and articulation of that thinking in the whole class post-task discussions). These response pursuits are crucial in the initiation of post-task reflective discussions in this classroom, eliciting a next speaker from a pool of potential next speakers who all theoretically have the ability to provide an answer. This study provides insights into the complex classroom interactional competence required to start a genuine reflective environment. Understanding the features of these competences will benefit classroom discourse researchers as well as teachers who might struggle with promoting an engaged classroom discussion. For future directions, as this study has primarily focused on missing responses following teacher's authentic questions at the onset of whole class post-task discussions, further research on students' timely responses to such discussion-prompting teacher turns could be beneficial to our understanding of how epistemic authority functions depending on the contingencies of the context in content classrooms, and how the teacher's design of her initial queries might make such unproblematic student responses more likely.

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Appendix A. Transcription conventions

Adapted from [Hutchby and Wooffitt \(2008\)](#)

(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 seconds 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.
<u>Under</u>	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.
\$C'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.

¹ Unfortunately Elf's turn is inaudible to us (and potentially to the teacher as well).

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