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Address terms as reproaches in EFL classroom management

Abstract In the multiparty setting of the classroom, teachers frequently use address terms as a resource for speaker selection. Drawing on a corpus of 58 hours of German English as a foreign language (EFL) teaching, the chapter demonstrates that teachers not only use address terms in this context but often employ them as vehicles for reproaches during classroom management. In the data, teachers produce address terms in an adjacent sequential position to a parallel activity. These address terms are, however, often not prefaced or followed by a reproach turn, but are still treated as such by the pupils. These self-standing pupil-oriented address terms, therefore, raise questions concerning their action formation and ascription as reproaches in EFL classroom interaction. In order to answer these questions, a conversation analytic investigation into these actions has been conducted. Findings draw attention to the prosodic, sequential, and multimodal details of turn-delivery and highlight the interactional exigencies motivating this reproach choice. It is argued that a detailed investigation of classroom interactions can help inform and improve teachers' classroom management practices.

Keywords: classroom interaction, classroom management, address terms, reproach, conversation analysis, multimodality, sequence organisation

1 Introduction

It has been approximately 40 years since the findings of early ethnomethodological and conversation analytic work such as McHoul (1978), Mehan (1979) or Payne and Hustler (1980) paved the way for the current body of knowledge on the sequential, linguistic and multimodal details of classroom interaction and its organisation. One of the main contributions of this early work was the description of classroom interaction and its institutional nature. They demonstrated that classroom interaction is primarily realised through distinctive systems of turn-taking and sequential organisation (e.g. initiation, reply, evaluation [IRE] sequences, see Figure 1) which, in turn, influence and structure teacher and pupil conduct (Drew & Heritage, 1992).

Address terms in particular were identified as a main resource teachers draw on in order to manage speaker-selection (e.g. Mehan, 1979). This parallels research into ordinary conversations showing that the functionality of gaze, as a routine method of speaker selection in multiparty settings, is often limited, and

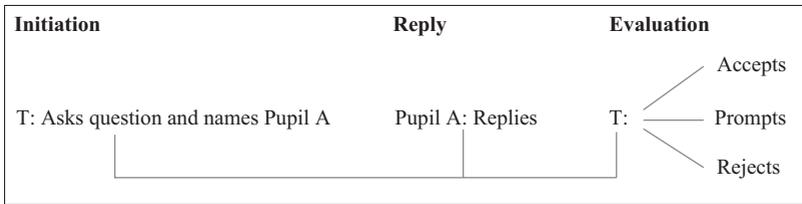


Figure 1. Turn allocation by address term in IRE sequences (Mehan, 1979, p. 87).

that address terms can be employed to direct initiating actions to co-participants (Lerner, 2003). In the multiparty setting of the classroom, Mehan (1979) illustrates, in his IRE model (Figure 1), that teachers can elicit information (by using a question) while at the same time add an address term to their question, indicating which speaker (pupil) should respond. The pupils (Pupil A in Figure 1) then have the floor, and it is their turn to reply. After this reply, the teachers evaluate the content of the pupils' turn by accepting it (praise), employing continuation strategies (prompts) or rejecting it (see Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975 for the similar initiation-response-feedback [IRF] model).

Address terms were frequently found in the present data. However, the collection of sequences also suggests that teachers not only employ address terms as part of the classroom “turn-allocation machinery” (Mehan, 1979, p. 83) but can also use them in the context of classroom management in order to address some forms of pupil conduct as ‘unacceptable’ (Margutti & Piirainen-Marsh, 2011). That is, teachers can use address terms as the “vehicle by which other actions are implemented” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 9). In the present data, they then use address terms for reproaches, targeting self-initiated pupil activities that run parallel to the “programme of action” (Doyle, 2006, p. 259) or lesson trajectory of a specific lesson phase or activity (*parallel activities*, Koole, 2007). These actions appear to have been somewhat neglected by research into EFL classroom interaction. Informed by Conversation Analysis (CA, see, e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), the chapter, therefore, sets out to investigate the various resources and interactional exigencies involved in this turn design choice.

2 Address terms in response to pupils' parallel activities

In the collection of sequences for this study, the teachers notice a parallel activity such as off-task talk or task-disengagement and then produce an address term as a responsive action (Figure 2). Similar to Mehan's (1979) IRE sequences,

(Figure 1) the teachers can then add a reproach to their address term ('post-positioned terms of address,' Lerner, 2003, p. 185 such as 'Stop talking Ben'). They can also address the pupils engaged in a parallel activity by their name or other address terms (e.g. 'guys') and then produce the reproach in a subsequent position ('pre-positioned terms of address,' Lerner, 2003, p. 184 such as 'Ben stop talking'). Research in various contexts suggests that the positioning of these address terms is context-sensitive and plays a crucial part in the action formation and ascription of subsequent turns (e.g. Clayman, 2010, 2013; Lerner, 2003; Lehtimaja, 2011).

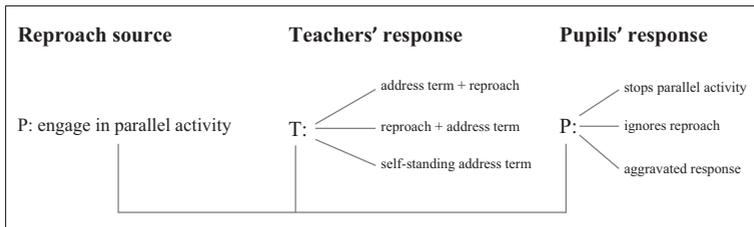


Figure 2. Teachers' use of address terms in response to pupils' parallel activities.

Post-positioned address terms in reproach sequences can fulfil various functions. In terms of speaker selection, they can be seen as a "last-ditch effort" (Lerner, 2003, p. 185) employed to secure reciprocity in sequences in which it could not be successfully established through other means (gaze, turn-design etc.). When attention is already drawn to the speaker, that is, when it is already secured by gaze or other tacit forms of address, these post-positioned terms of address can be best understood as resources for producing various other actions. These address terms could then be managing disalignment or disaffiliation and be used as a device for conveying a particular stance towards co-participants or topics (e.g. Butler, Danby, & Emmison, 2011; Clayman, 2013; Lerner, 2003).

Address terms produced at the beginning of or separately prior to reproach turns ('Ben stop talking') can work as "attention-getting devices" or "summonses" (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1080). They, therefore, contribute to the interactional force and effect of the reproach by specifying the pupils engaged in parallel activities and securing their attention (e.g. by establishing mutual gaze etc., Gardner, 2015) for a reproach in subsequent position. Interestingly, Lerner (2003) argues that pre-positioned address terms will, by virtue of their sequential position, be more successful than their post-positioned counterparts, since they appear to be favoured by the temporal or progressive nature of talk-in-interaction. That is, a pre-positioned address term "will almost certainly be treated as addressed to that participant – and

it will be so treated, pretty much without regard to its other circumstances or to how that sequence-initiating action is composed” (Lerner, 2003, p. 184).

2.1 Self-standing pupil-oriented address terms

Pre- and post-positioned address terms are recurrent phenomena in the current corpus of reproach sequences (n=286). This study, however, focuses on those address terms that occur less frequently (n=84) and, therefore, appear to have been largely overlooked by research on EFL classroom interaction. More specifically, it investigates pupil-oriented address terms which are produced in an adjacent sequential position to a parallel activity (Figure 2) but are not directly prefaced or followed by a reproach turn. These turns are, however, still treated as a reproach by the pupils (shown by the cessation of parallel activities, aggravated responses etc.). Extract 1 and Extract 2 illustrate this by first showing an address as a part of the usual turn-allocation machinery (i.e., question + address term) and then showing the same pupil being reproached by the teacher, using an address as a vehicle for the reproach.

In Extract 1, taken from a year 10 classroom (pupils aged between 15 and 17 years old), the teacher and the pupils are collecting ideas on the topic of advertisements. The teacher elicits these ideas by producing a question (‘Or what do you think’, lines 5–6) and then produces an address term which allocates speakership to the pupil Taka in line 12 (*I-slot* of IRE-sequence). His answer “... that is a Dönerspieß ... oder meat” (lines 14–17) (*R-slot*) is then rejected by the teacher by virtue of an embodied display of criticism (line 16), followed by “We talked about meat already” (*E-slot*).

Extract: 1

- | | | |
|----|-----|---|
| 1 | T: | We talked about bread meat or cheese. |
| 2 | | What do you think is the second component then? |
| 3 | | ((several pupils start talking, 1.9 sec.)) |
| 4 | T: | Where do you need the second component? So you |
| 5 | | have sausage and then you have ketchup? Or what |
| 6 | | do you think. |
| 7 | | (1.7) |
| 8 | T: | So; |
| 9 | Ta: | ((raises his hand)) |
| 10 | T: | ((gazes at pupils and then at Taka)) |
| 11 | T: | ((points finger at Taka)) |
| 12 | T: | Taka? |
| 13 | | (1.0) |
| 14 | Ta: | I (0.9) u::h think is- that it is a |

- 15 (1.2) Dönerspieß?
kebab skewer
- 16 T: ((moves back and frowns, 1.7 sec.))
- 17 Ta: Oder meat?
or
- 18 (1.6)
- 19 T: Yeah you- yes. We talked about meat already.

Extract 2 shows an address term produced earlier in the lesson, involving the same pupil (Taka). Here, however, the sequence does not follow the IRE-pattern in that the teacher does not use an address term to establish reciprocity but to respond to a parallel activity. More specifically, Taka is talking to Kevin (line 1; Figure 3) and, as a response, the teacher stops his ongoing turn (lines 2–3) and produces “Ta:ka:;” in line 5. Taka treats this as a reproach, as can be seen in his embodied response (Figure 4). He shifts back and stops talking (line 6). The teacher then resumes his turn in lines 7 and 8.

Extract: 2

- 1 Ta: ((talks to Kevin; Figure 3))
- 2 T: So °when I° when I think about what
3 I can see on TV at the ↑Moment;
- 4 T: ((gazes at Taka, 0.5 sec.))
- 5 T: Ta:ka:; ;
- 6 H: ((stops talking and shifts back; Figure 4))
- 7 T: ↓At the moment. (0.5) They don't tell you
8 ↑oh coke is very cheap at the moment.

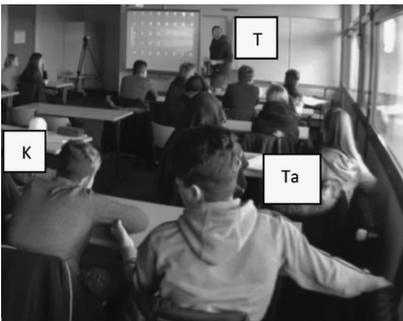


Figure 3. Ta. talks to K.



Figure 4. Ta. stops parallel activity.

Whereas in Extract 1 the address term is part of the teacher's initiation in the IRE-sequence, in Extract 2, the address term is not preceded or followed by a related turn (e.g. reproach) but produced as a self-standing unit. These "self-standing address terms" (Lehtimaja, 2011, p. 350) raise questions concerning the action formation and ascription of reproach turns in EFL classroom management (see Levinson, 2012 for a discussion on action formation and ascription in talk-in-interaction). That is, what specific turn design features lead to them (e.g. 'Ta:ka:;') being produced and perceived as pupil-oriented reproaches and what interactional exigencies motivate this turn design choice? In order to answer these questions, the chapter provides a description of the prosodic, sequential, and embodied features involved in the action formation and ascription of self-standing address terms in EFL classroom management as well as the interactional exigencies motivating this reproach choice.

Such an investigation is seen as particularly important for research and practice in the EFL context. Classroom management and its related phenomena have generated serious academic interest for at least more than a hundred years (Bagley, 1907). There does, however, appear to be a great amount of scope for further research, in terms of developing a more detailed understanding of management practices in classroom interaction in general and in the language classroom in particular (e.g. Klattenberg, 2020). Many teachers perceive classroom management as one of their greatest challenges, but often do not implement evidence-based strategies (e.g. McCarthy, Lambert, & Fitchett, 2018). Therefore, providing detailed micro-analytical insights into the in-situ production and perception of one specific, frequently recurrent, classroom management strategy (self-standing pupil-oriented address terms) could raise interactional awareness and inform teachers' classroom practices.

3 Previous studies on address terms in classroom management

Although classic ethnomethodological and conversation analytic work identified address terms as a crucial part of classroom interaction relatively early (Mehan, 1979), research since then appears to have overlooked these as an investigatory focus, particularly in the context of classroom management in the EFL classroom. There are, however, studies in other classroom environments that contribute to describing the details of the delivery of these address terms in the context of reproach sequences (e.g. Cekaite, 2009; Füssenich,

1981; Lehtimaja, 2011; Macbeth, 1991). This chapter builds on this body of prior research, and the related studies are, therefore, discussed in the following.

Macbeth (1991) was one of the first researchers to exclusively focus on the micro-details of reproaches in classroom interaction (see Füssenich, 1981 for early research in German contexts). His findings draw attention to silences and their interactional relevance for producing and understanding reproaches. He demonstrates that silences can be seen as sequential positions in which the teachers' authority becomes evident. More specifically, he shows that pauses can be relevant next actions after teachers' address terms and, therefore, constitute minimal two-turn sequences of "address-pause" (Macbeth, 1991, p. 288). Based on his research, it could be argued that address terms fulfil functions in classroom interaction that exceed their linguistic description as "syntactically optional vocative expressions establishing the directionality of the talk in progress, that is its delivery to a particular recipient" (Clayman, 2013, p. 292). More specifically, they could be produced and perceived as reproaches themselves. Teachers' follow-up reproaches ('Ben. [0.5] Stop talking.') could then be seen as sequence closing thirds, signalling to all participants present that the address term was produced as a reproach so that "no further purposes need be searched for" (Macbeth 1991, p. 291).

Macbeth (1991) also demonstrates that address-silence sequences cannot only be analysed retrospectively, in order to identify their source, but also prospectively, to shed light on what they might project. He argues that data could reveal how the participants display an orientation towards an upcoming reproach in talk-in-interaction, that is, as a reproach "seen to be coming" (Macbeth, 1991, p. 295). He illustrates this by providing extracts which show how teachers do not follow an address-pause sequence with a directive or explicit reproach but continue with the teaching task. In a subsequent paper, Macbeth (1994) demonstrates that reproaches are often organised as three-position structures with the teacher occupying the first and last (initiation and evaluating the effectiveness of the reproach) and the pupils the second (cessation of parallel activity or challenging the reproach) position. He, however, also shows that teachers often do not allocate a second position to a pupil but rather establish order by producing "embedded" reproaches (p. 144). That is, they insert address terms into their ongoing turns and resume teaching without allowing for any next positions used to evaluate the effectiveness of the prior reproach.

Füssenich (1981), in her early work on reproaches in German L1 classrooms, describes similar cases in which teachers stop their ongoing talk at a point in the

turn where there no completion possible, that is, there is no transition-relevance place (TRP) in order to produce a self-standing pupil-oriented address. She argues that this sequential environment (i.e., no TRP) is crucial for their action ascription and also emphasises prosodic features of these turns (serious voice). However, both Macbeth (1991, 1994) and Füssenich (1981) do not provide any great detail concerning the description of the linguistic (prosody etc.), multi-modal delivery (facial expression etc.) or the various sequential environments of these turns. Questions regarding their action formation and ascription, therefore, remain unanswered.

Lehtimaja's (2011) study on teacher-oriented address terms in Finnish L2 classrooms provides more detailed insights into the linguistic, sequential and prosodic realisation of pupil-initiated address terms in reproach sequences and highlights their functional complexity and context dependence. By comparing self-standing teacher-oriented address terms used as summonses with self-standing address terms in reproach sequences, she is able to identify a distinctive prosodic figure or shape of address terms used by pupils to convey criticism or disaffection. It consists of "accentuation and prolongation of the latter syllable of the address turn, including a slight glide ... downward in the pitch of the latter syllable" (Lehtimaja, 2011, p. 361). Similarly, Cekaite (2009) illustrates that pupils' summons turns that express an emphatic stance are characterised by "increased volume, accentuated and markedly prolonged vowels, and shifting the position of stress to the final prolonged vowel [...] abrupt pitch leaps (high pitch) and a rising-falling pitch movement on a lengthened syllable" (p. 37). Lehtimaja (2011) emphasises that the sequential environment of these turns has a noticeable effect in terms of action ascription and subsequent sequential trajectories. Whereas the reproachful stance conveyed by a pupil's address term can be ignored by the teacher in a position where the address term can legitimately occur as a summons, in a position where it cannot occur (teachers' attention is already on the pupils etc.), it is treated as indicating disaffection and criticism (see also Klattenberg, 2020 for the importance of sequential portioning in the action ascription of reproach turns). She argues that address terms allow pupils to renegotiate instructional hierarchies and express criticism without endangering teacher-pupil rapport or the progression of the lesson.

4 Data and methodology

Based on CA methodology, the chapter provides a detailed micro-analytical description of self-standing pupil-oriented address terms used by German secondary EFL teachers during classroom management. CA is a qualitative sociological research methodology, considerably influenced by Garfinkel's (1967)

ethnomethodology. It was established by Harvey Sacks and colleagues in the late 1960s and early 1970s (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and has been widely used in social sciences and other fields since this time. It has also evolved into one of the most dominant research methodologies for investigating classroom interaction (see Nguyen & Malarbarba, 2019 for a collection of recent EFL research).

Classroom management from a CA perspective is not a pre-analytical concept but the ongoing accomplishment of teachers and pupils during classroom interaction (Macbeth, 1994). This shifts the focus of research from a deficiency-oriented perspective, that seeks to identify the effectiveness of certain management strategies, towards a competence-oriented approach. This approach then regards classroom management as a part of teachers' socio-pragmatic or interactional competences and related strategies as "objects already in hand, visible, and perhaps teachable" (Macbeth, 1994, p. 151). The micro-details characterising the findings of research investigating classroom management and related phenomena from a CA perspective are in contrast to findings of much of the current educational research (e.g. Nagro, Fraser, Dawn, & Hooks, 2019). This CA perspective, therefore, offers new insights into teachers' classroom management practices and can be seen as a promising avenue for future classroom management research (e.g. Alder & Buchholz, 2018; Klattenberg, 2020).

Against this background, the chapter illuminates the sequential, linguistic, and multimodal resources teachers and pupils draw upon in order to produce and perceive self-standing pupil-oriented address terms as reproaches in EFL classroom interaction. It also investigates the interactional and organisational exigencies influencing this reproach option. The analysis is based on 58 hours of EFL lessons collected in secondary classrooms in Lower Saxony, Germany. The participants were eight secondary school teachers (4 female and 4 male) and 175 pupils (aged between 13 and 17 years old). The sub-corpus or collection of cases contains 84 self-standing address terms. These segments were transcribed using CA conventions (Appendix A). Modifications to the conventions are made to accommodate English and German as well as non-verbal information.

Three cameras, one focused on the teacher and the other two, depending on the seating arrangements, placed at the back or front of the classes and focused on the pupils, were used for the data collection. In addition, the teacher was equipped with a microphone and three other microphones were distributed around the room in order to capture the details of the participants' verbal conduct.

The study also employs acoustic analyses in order to illustrate the duration of sound and pitch of the address terms. It was done by using the sound files from the teachers' microphones and then analysing them with the computer software, *PRAAT*. As categories for the analysis, intonation contour, based on pitch measures in Hz, and duration of sound (syllables), represented as waveform and measured in seconds, were used.

5 Analysis and discussion

The following analysis places a focus on self-standing pupil-oriented address terms in EFL reproach sequences. At this point, attention is drawn to prior research which demonstrates that address terms are produced to fulfil various interactional tasks in talk-in-interaction, and largely depend on the sequential context in which they occur (e.g. Butler et al., 2011; Clayman, 2010, 2013; Lehtimaja, 2011). More specifically, instead of having one particular core semantic meaning, address terms can foreground different semantic dimensions and pragmatic functions, ranging from identification and soliciting attention to expressive functions (e.g. conveying stance), which are activated in different contexts (Lehtimaja, 2011). Address terms, therefore, cannot be interpreted *a priori* as performing a certain social action in talk-in-interaction and warrant a context-sensitive investigation which considers the details of their *in-situ* production and perception in talk-in-interaction instead.

Extract 2 has already illustrated the prosodic, sequential, and multimodal realisation of self-standing address terms produced as vehicles for reproaches. The following analysis then provides a detailed description of these turn-delivery features and of the interactional exigencies motivating this reproach choice.

5.1 Prosodic features

Research in CA and interactional linguistics has shown that prosody plays a crucial role in creating meaning and organising talk-in-interaction (e.g. Nielsen & Morris, 2018). An acoustic analysis of the phonetic details of self-standing pupil-oriented address terms can, therefore, help to illustrate the role prosodic cuing plays in creating and conveying meaning in classroom interaction. This is illustrated in Figure 5 and Figure 6 which show differences in the prosodic delivery of address terms. More precisely, Figure 5 shows the combined waveform, pitch track (y-axis), and time (x-axis) of 'Taka' produced as a device for speaker selection in an IRE-sequence (Extract 1) and Figure 6 shows the same information but as a vehicle for a reproach (Extract 2).

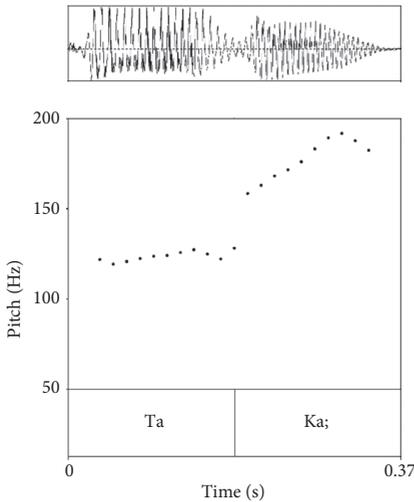


Figure 5. Pitch track and waveform of ‘Taka?’ (initiation).

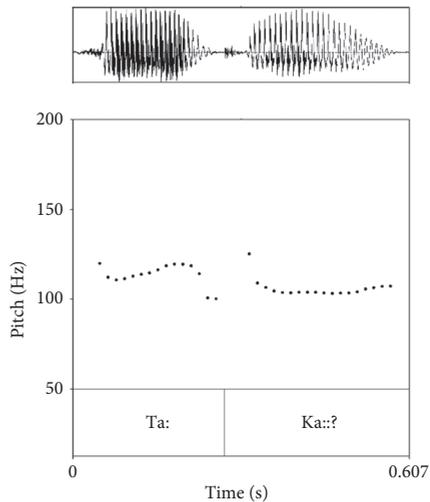


Figure 6. Pitch track waveform for ‘Ta:ka::;’ (reproach).

Figure 5 shows that, in the address term ‘Taka?’ produced for speaker selection, the first syllable is slightly longer than the last syllable (0.19s/0.17s). There is rising pitch-movement from a maximum of 127 Hertz (Hz) on the first syllable to 191 Hz on the second. The time of production for ‘Ta:ka::;’ in Extract 2 shows that it is significantly longer than the same address term in Extract 1. The first syllable is 0.27 seconds long and the second 0.33 seconds (Figure 6). Interestingly, there is no rise-falling pitch, identified as conveying an emphatic or reproachful stance by prior research (see Cekaite, 2009; Lehtimaja, 2011), but a fairly flat pitch-movement which could contribute to the address term being heard as ‘bored.’ Overall, Figure 6 suggests that address terms produced in the context of reproaching might be characterised by a distinctive prosodic pattern (e.g. elongated last syllable) which marks them as different social actions. The acoustic analysis of the address terms in Extract 3 and Extract 4 (Figures 7–8) supports this by showing a similarly marked prosodic pattern.

In these extracts, the teachers are giving instructions concerning an upcoming activity. Parallel to the teachers’ talk, the pupils are engaged in off-task talk (see Extract 3 [line 3] and Extract 4 [lines 1, 7]). This is treated by the teachers as reproachable, which can be seen by their address terms ‘‘Hana:::?’’ (Extract 3, line 7), ‘‘>Jan<-Luka:::.’’ (Extract 4, line 5), and ‘‘Bru↑↓no::.’’ (Extract 4, line 8) as well

as by the pupils' subsequent cessation of the parallel activities (Extract 3 [line 8] and Extract 4 [lines 6, 9]).

Extract: 3

- 1 T: So we talk about their profile.
 2 (0.5)
 3 H: ((shifts forward, talks))
 4 T: ((gazes at Hana))
 5 T: AND THE::N;
 6 (0.4)
 7 T: HANA:::? ((Figure 7))
 8 Ha: ((shifts back, gazes at T.))
 9 T: In the next part we will ...

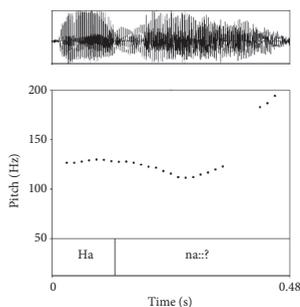


Figure 7. Pitch track and waveform for “Hana:::?”

Extract: 4

- 1 JL: ((Talks to P.))
 2 T: ↑AND THEN
 3 ((gazes at JL., 1.5 sec.))
 3 ↑I WANT;
 4 (0.3)
 5 T: >JAN<=↑LU↓KA:::. ((Figure 8))
 6 JL: ((gazes at T.))
 7 B: ((talks to S.))
 8 T: BRU↑↓NO::.
 9 B: ((gazes at T.))
 9 T: ↑I WANT the people who ...

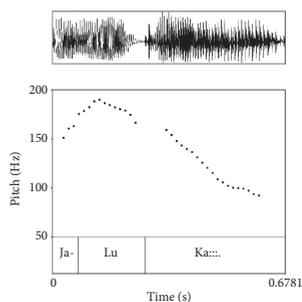


Figure 8. Pitch track and waveform for “>Jan>Luka:::”

Figures 7 and 8 show that the prosodic realisation of the address term in Extract 4 and 5 differs in that they have a different pitch contour. Whereas for “HANA:::?” there is a rising pitch movement from a maximum of 130Hz in the first syllable to 195Hz in the last (Figure 7), “JAN=↑LU↓KA:::” is produced with rise-falling pitch movement (Figure 8). Despite the difference in pitch contour, it could be argued that both address terms (and also “BRU↑↓NO::.” in Extract 4, line 8) share the same recognisable reproachful prosody in terms of an elongation of the last syllable (see Lehtimaja, 2011 for similar findings in teacher-oriented reproaches). The first syllable of “HANA:::?” in Extract 3 measures 0.12 seconds in length and the second 0.36 seconds. In Extract 4, “>JAN<” is produced in 0.8 seconds and latched to “LUKA:::” in which the last syllable measures 0.40 seconds.

Overall, the extracts discussed in this section show different pitch contours. In all of them, however, the last syllable is elongated. Therefore, it could be

argued that syllable length and not necessarily pitch (movement) functions as a “contextualisation cue” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 82), mobilising meaning in these reproach turns.

5.2 Sequential features

Extracts 2–4 also draw attention to sequential resources involved in the action formation and ascription of self-standing pupil-oriented address terms as reproaches in ELF classroom interaction. More specifically, the address terms in these extracts are produced as a “side-sequence” (Jefferson, 1972, p. 294). That is, in terms of overall structural organisation, the teacher briefly suspends the progression of the on-going instructional activity in order to attend to the pupils’ parallel activities. This makes these reproach turns structurally similar to same-TCU repair operations in that frames surrounding the trouble source are employed (Kitzinger, 2012). In Extract 4, for example, the teacher’s address terms “JAN<= \uparrow LU \downarrow KA:::” (line 5) and “BRU \uparrow \downarrow NO:::” (line 8) are pre- and post-framed by the repetition of talk surrounding the reproach source (“ \uparrow I WANT” lines 5 and 8). This suspension of the ongoing activity, highlighted by the repetition of talk surrounding the reproach source, could mobilise meaning in that it “evokes a new ‘frame’ or ‘footing’ for the interaction which is then shared by all participants” (Auer, 1999, p. 8). In this case, there is a change of focus from instructing to reproaching. This can be reinforced by prosodic cues, as previously discussed in Extracts 2–4¹.

In an early study on reproaches in German L1 classrooms, Füssenich (1981) demonstrates that sudden teacher silences could also contribute to mobilising meaning in address terms as vehicles for reproaches. This is supported by Extract 2, in which the teacher’s pre-frame “at the \uparrow Moment;” is produced with a continuing pitch contour and followed by 0.5 seconds of silence and by Extract 3 and Extract 4, in which the teachers’ “AND THE::N;” (Extract 3, line 5) and “I WANT;” (Extract 4, line 3) are also followed by 0.4 and 0.3 seconds of silence. The importance of silences as sequential resources is highlighted further in Extract 5, in which the teacher produces the address term “Jus:tin;” (line 5) without the prosodic features previously identified as potential cuing a reproach (Figure 9). However, the teacher employs an extended silence (1.4 seconds in line 4). In this sequence, sequential resources (silence) could, therefore, be a main factor involved in mobilising meaning.

1 See Skidmore & Murakami (2010) for a general discussion of prosody and shifts of footing in classroom discourse.

Extract: 5

- 1 T: What do we call it=
 2 =[[((gazes at Justin))when-
 3 J: [[((starts talking))
 4 ((1.4))
 5 T: Jus:tin.((Figure 9))
 6 (0.6)
 7 J: ((turns around, gazes at T.))
 8 J: Hm?
 9 (0.8)
 10 T: What do we call when several people
 11 or let's say two people have the
 12 same opinion?
 13 P: ((raises his hand))
 14 P: ...

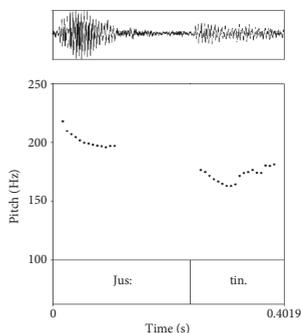


Figure 9. Pitch track and waveform for “Jus:tin.”

In Extract 5, although the address term is pre- and post-framed with the repetition of “What do we call it” (lines 1 and 10), there is a cut off at a non-TRP (line 2), and an extended silence (line 4), Justin does not treat the teacher turn as a reproach but responds with “Hm?” as a repair initiation. It could, therefore, be argued that without distinct prosodic features these address terms might be subject to misinterpretations. Nevertheless, the teacher’s turn still fulfils the goal of stopping Justin’s parallel activity because he displays task re-engagement by gazing at the teacher (line 7).

In Extract 6, there is no silence between the teacher’s ongoing instructional turn and the subsequent reproach (see lines 3 and 4). More specifically, the address term is produced as part of the ongoing instructional talk and is then latched onto the teacher’s subsequent turn in line 6. The acoustic analysis (Figure 10) shows that, despite a slightly higher pitch onset, the address term “FIN;” is not prosodically marked. Yet, it is still perceived as a reproach, as evidenced by the pupil’s cessation of the parallel activity in line 5.

Extract: 6

- 1 F: ((talks to J.))
 2 T: You mix up wo:rd:s. Or you
 3 ((gazes at Fin))PRONU:NCE
 4 THE:M FIN;= ((Figure 10))
 5 F: ((stops talking, gazes at T.))
 6 T: =The different .hh the the
 7 uh wrong way.

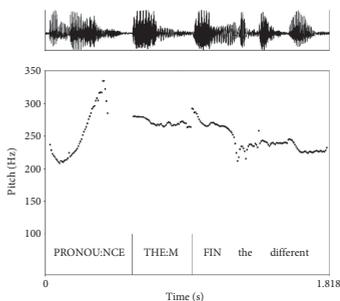


Figure 10. Pitch track and waveform for “PRONU:NCE THE:M FIN;”

Similar to Schegloff's (2000) observation in the context of overlap resolutions in ordinary conversations, the teacher in Extract 6 produces "PRONOU:NCE" (line 3) with an increased volume, high-rising pitch movement (Figure 10), and elongation of the last syllable. This is followed by "THE:M" which is also elongated. When compared to repair sequences, it could be argued that the sound stretches and increase of volume prior to the address term could signal an upcoming reproach (Kitzinger, 2012). Therefore, in Extract 6, the teacher's speech perturbations (higher volume and sound stretches) could have a similar function as silences, in overlap resolutions and repair sequences. That is, they could function to resolve (activity) overlap and introduce a reproachful frame or footing. This can also be found in Extract 8, in which the teacher's turn prior to the reproach has a sound stretch in "loo:k" (line 3) followed by 0.8 seconds of silence before "at the commercial" (lines 4–5) is produced, which is then followed by the address term "Ta:ka:;" (line 6).

In addition, in terms of general sequence organisation, the address terms discussed thus far are not likely to be interpreted as a summons because they are produced mid-turn at points where there is no completion possible (in terms of syntax, action, prosody etc.), that is, there are no TRPs. This could play a crucial role when producing self-standing address terms as vehicles for reproaches.

5.3 Multimodal features

In Extract 7, the pupil Max is reading aloud to the class. In this lesson phase, the programme of action for the other pupils is to listen. When Max mispronounces "learn" (as 'lian', line 1), the teacher directly repairs this. The pronunciation error, however, leads to Atina's laughter in line 3. The teacher reacts to this by employing a self-standing address term "°Ati↑↓na:;:" (line 6) which is prosodically marked as a reproach (elongated final syllable, rise-falling pitch movement). Interestingly, it is also produced with considerably less volume than that the surrounding talk, which highlights that volume increase might not necessarily be reproach implicative (see also extracts 2, 5, 8, and 9 for reproach turns without increased volume).

Extract: 7

- 1 Ma: ... to lian English.
- 2 T: To LEA:RN English.
- 3 A: ((laughs))_
- 4 T: ((gazes at A.))
- 5 Ma: To learn English.
- 6 T: °Ati↑↓na:;:°
- 7 T: (moves head to side and narrows eyebrows; Figure 11)
- 8 A: ((puts hand on her mouth))



Figure 11. T's gaze behaviour before and after “°Ati↑↓na:...” (line 6).

The teachers' embodied conduct (gaze in line 4) shows that the teacher notices Atina's parallel activity (laughing) before producing the reproach in line 6. The reproach is then directly followed by a shift in head position and frowning (Figure 11). This could be seen as strengthening the reproach. Atina responds to this by placing her hand on her mouth, a direct embodied display of the repair of the trouble (reproach) source. A similar case is illustrated in Extract 8, in which the teacher reproaches Taka (see 'Ta:ka:;', line 6).

Extract: 8

- 1 ((Jerome, Kevin and Taka are talking; Figure 12))
 2 Je: ((gazes at Ta., raises worksheet and points to it))
 3 T: Now you can have a first loo:k (0.8)
 4 ((gazes at Ta. and Du.)) at the
 5 commercial.
 6 T: Ta:ka: ((Figure 13))
 7 Ta: ((shifts back))

The teacher notices Taka's parallel activity (i.e., talking to Jerome; Figure 12) relatively early, as displayed in the speech perturbations (sound stretch and silence) in line 3. Similar to Extract 7, he then upgrades his reproachful stance by narrowing his eyes and shifting his body position (Figure 13).

In Extract 9, the teacher reproaches Max for talking to Tim and Jan in overlap with David, who is describing a picture in the book. The address term “Max:” (line 5) is, in this case, not preceded but directly followed by teacher gaze (line 6). Max signals the cessation of the parallel activity by gazing at the teacher in line 7. The sequence is then closed by Max showing task re-engagement (gazing

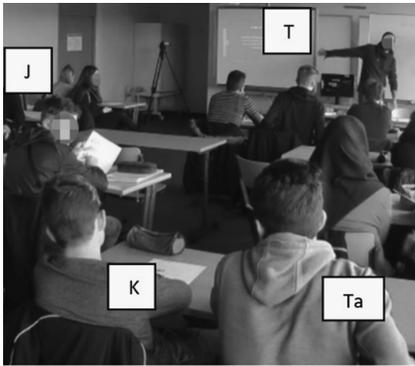


Figure 12. J., K., and Ta. are engaged in parallel activity.



Figure 13. T. leans forward and narrows eyes before and after “Ta:ka:;” (line 6).

down at his book, line 7) which is witnessed by the teacher who then, in turn, also continues looking down at his book (line 8).

Extract: 9

- 1 Da: Or maybe this are animal hunters.
- 2 T: Ja. Could be.
- 3 Da: [And the one who killed the lion;
- 4 Ma: [(talks to T. and J.)]
- 5 T: Max:?
- 6 T: ((gazes at Max until line 8; Figure 14))
- 7 Ma: ((gazes at T. and then down at book; Figure 15))
- 8 T: ((gazes down at book))
- 9 Da: And uh ...

The teacher continues to gaze at Max until he stops the parallel activity and shows re-engagement with the task (line 8). This is of particular importance for the analysis of address terms in reproach sequences. Macbeth (1994) emphasises that the sequential position adjacent to the reproach turn plays an important role in these sequences. After the teacher’s address term “Max:?” (line 5), the teacher places the pupil in a position where he can respond to the reproach. Pupils, however, often remain silent and, therefore, yield a next position to the teacher which is used to resume the main activity (see teacher’s gaze in line 8). Macbeth (1994) regards this pupil silence, a turn not taken and display of

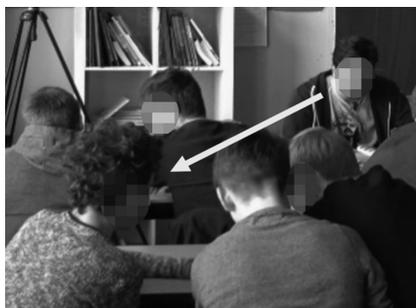


Figure 14. T. gazes at M., who is engaged in parallel activity.



Figure 15. M. gazes at T. and then at his book.

deference, as an interactional resource for the teacher to assess the effectiveness and consequences of his or her prior reproach in third position. Extract 10, illustrates in detail what can actually happen during these silences. That is, there is a complex coordination of gaze and embodied displays which is necessary in order to close the side sequence and resume the ongoing activity without disrupting the other pupils.

5.4 Interactional organisation of the classroom: Activities with and without teacher participation

One of the basic requirements of language classrooms is to provide learners with “a continuum of more or less institutional activities that are artfully recipient-designed to promote educationally desirable opportunities for socially distributed language learning” (Filipi & Markee, 2018, p. 5). These learning opportunities often arise from learner and communication centred environments such as group work or pair work (e.g. Loewen & Sato, 2018). Activities, in which teachers introduce a wider range of speech exchange systems and “relax the pre-allocated turn-taking practices of teacher-led talk” (Markee, 2005, p. 198), might, in turn, impact teachers’ classroom practices (see Seedhouse, 2004). This relationship between the interactional organisation of the classroom (teacher participation) and classroom management (reproaching practices) is discussed in the following.

In terms of the interactional organisation of the classroom, Extracts 1–9 could all be described as being part of activities with direct teacher participation (Markee, 2005). That is, activities such as instructional phases or IRE-sequences in which “teachers ‘do’ being teachers by exercising privileged rights to nominate

conversational topics, and by deciding which learners may talk when” (Markee, 2005, p. 197). The analysis has shown that teachers can draw on a variety of prosodic, sequential, and linguistic resources in order to produce self-standing address terms as vehicles for reproaches in these environments. In activities without direct teacher participation, however, this variety of turn-delivery appears to be limited.

In these environments, sequential resources such as sudden teacher silences and pre- and post-framing can often not be employed because of the different overall organisation as can be observed in participation frameworks, interactional roles or space arrangements (Kimura, Malabarba, & Hall, 2018). More precisely, teachers have to do more interactional work in order to access the reproach source, establish reciprocity, and produce the reproach (see also Klattenberg, 2020 on ‘pre-reproach’ sequences). Extracts 10–12 demonstrate that teachers might draw on distinct linguistic and multimodal resources to produce address terms as vehicles for reproaches in these environments.

The group work phase in Extract 10 follows a writing assignment in which the pupils had to write a letter on how to behave in the advent of an earthquake. After the writing phase, the pupils were asked to form groups, read their texts to each other, and decide on the best one. At this point, Simon is reading his letter. Halfway through the reading of it, Curtis interrupts him by reading out “In ze house” (line 7), mispronouncing “the” and starts to laugh (line 8). The teacher responds to this by producing the address term “CURTIS:” (line 12).

Extract: 10

- 1 S: I have read your letter and I
2 will help you.
3 ...
4 S: You have only a few minutes to go
5 to the safe point.
6 (0.8)
7 C: In ze house.
8 ((shifts back and laughs))
9 T: ((moves forward and gazes at Curtis until line 15; Figure 16))
10 (0.5)
11 ((several pupils in the group laugh))
12 T: CUR↑↓TIS:.
13 T: ((folds his arms; Figure 17))
14 C: ((stops laughing and leans forward; Figure 18))
15 (1.0)
16 S: In the house ...



Figure 16. T. gazes at C. who is laughing.



Figure 17. T's embodied display of reproachfulness.



Figure 18. C. stops parallel activity.

The acoustic analysis revealed that the first syllable measures 0.15 seconds and the last syllable 0.30 seconds, and there is rise-falling pitch movement. With regard to prosody, the address term shows a similar pattern to Extracts 4 and 8 and exhibits the same elongated last syllable as Extracts 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, and 9. In terms of multimodality, the teacher's gaze (from line 9 through to line 15; Figure 16) could function to assess and secure the effectiveness of the reproach.

His embodied display (folding of arms; Figure 17) could be seen as upgrading the reproachful stance conveyed by the address term.

Extract 11 and Extract 12 show the same prosodic pattern. However, in these sequences the pupils do not directly treat the teachers' turns as a reproach but as a summons, as evidenced by their embodied display (figures 19–20) and verbal response (Extract 12, line 5).

Extract: 11

- 1 La: ((talks to M. and laughs))
 2 T: ((gazes at L., 1.5))
 3 T: Lara::
 4 La: ((turns back, gazes at T.; Figure 19))
 5 La: ((gazes down at notebook))
 6 T: ((gazes at La. 2,6 sec.))

Extract: 12

- 1 Da: ((talks to M. off-task))
 2 T: ((gazes at Da., 0.5 sec.))
 3 T: DANIE::::LLE.
 4 Da: ((turns back, gazes at T.; Figure 20))
 5 Da: Ja?
 6 T: ((gazes at Da. and shakes head))
 7 Lu: Pshhht.
 8 T: ((walks to front of the classroom))
 9 Da: ((gazes down at notebook))



Figure 19. La. gazes at T. after address term.



Figure 20. Da. gazes at T. after address term.

Figures 18 and 19 show that pupils turn around after the teachers' produce self-standing address terms. In Extract 11 Lara then displays an immediate cessation of the parallel activity (line 5) but, in Extract 12, Danielle produces "Ja?" (line 5). This response does not acknowledge the reproach, and the teacher is forced to upgrade her turn by producing an embodied display of disaffiliation (i.e., shaking her head in line 6). Lukas' turn in line 7, in which he reproaches Danielle with "Pshhht", supports this analysis by demonstrating a classroom member's understanding the teacher's previous address term (line 3) as a reproach.

Extracts 10–12 draw attention to the fact that self-standing pupil-oriented address terms, working as vehicles for reproaches in activities without direct teacher participation, can be subject to misinterpretation or deliberate evasion because they are often located in sequential positions in which they could function both as summonses and as reproaches (see Lehtimaja 2011 for similar findings on teacher-oriented address terms). This is unlike those actions in teacher led activities in which they are frequently produced after silences and cut-offs, in the context of ongoing instructional talk, which contributes to them being understood as reproaches.

6 Conclusion

This chapter has set out to identify and describe the resources and interactional exigencies involved in the action formation and ascription of pupil-oriented self-standing address terms used as vehicles for reproaches in EFL classroom interaction. The analysis has shown that the turn-delivery details of self-standing address terms are influenced by the overall interactional organisation of the classroom. More specifically, in activities with direct teacher participation such as teacher-led IRE-sequences, the teachers can draw on the pre-existing interactional asymmetry of the classroom in that they have the sole responsibility, control, and rights to control the interaction and development of topics and are generally seen as having the ultimate power and authority (McHoul 1978). The data show that this allows the teachers to employ a considerable variety of prosodic (rising, falling, continuing final pitch movement, lower volume, elongation of final syllable, etc.), sequential (silences, speech perturbations, etc.), and multimodal (gaze, facial expressions) resources in order to use self-standing address terms as vehicles for reproaches. Most importantly, in these environments, it appears that no single resource can be considered as ultimately mobilising meaning, but rather an interplay of prosodic, sequential and embodied resources appears to be most successful in doing so.

The local organisation of the interaction in activities without direct teacher participation such as individual, pair or group work is characterised by different participation frameworks and more balanced interactional rights in terms of turn-taking and sequence organisation (Markee, 2005). The data show that this, in turn, leads to limited variety in the delivery of self-standing pupil-oriented address terms. A reason for this could be that, in these environments, the teachers do not have immediate access to the pupils' on-task-behaviour, and when the teachers do have access (e.g. established via gaze), the pupils are often unaware of it. Therefore, teachers have to either publicly access the reproach source by, for example, approaching the pupils and using questions to gain "epistemic strength" (Koshik 2005, p. 14 (see Klattenberg, 2020 for a detailed discussion)), or they have to produce reproaches that clearly convey a reproachful stance through their turn design. In the present data, teachers, therefore, often draw on a recognisable prosody characterised by increased volume and elongation of the last syllable, when producing address terms as vehicles for reproaches. In addition, continuous gaze throughout the sequence appears to ensure the effectiveness of the reproach in these environments.

However, it has to be noted that, in activities without direct-teacher participation, even these marked address terms can be ignored by the pupils because they could also function sequentially as summonses (e.g. Extract 12). In addition, as previously discussed, address terms do not share a core meaning and can, therefore, fulfil various functions in talk-in-interaction. The study has only investigated instances in which teachers respond to pupils' parallel activities directly by using a self-standing address term. The larger collection of sequences shows that, in activities without direct teacher participation, self-standing address terms can also be employed as sequence closing actions, conveying a reproachful stance. Moreover, when reciprocity is already established in these interactions, address terms might not necessarily need prosodic, sequential or multimodal marking.

Overall, this study can be seen as an exploratory case study into one specific aspect of teachers' in-situ classroom management practices, that is, self-standing pupil-oriented address terms. Further empirical research in the context of teachers' actual classroom management practices in general and teachers' use of address terms in particular is necessary in order to corroborate findings and better understand the intricacies of EFL classroom interaction. More specifically, investigating address terms in activities without direct teacher participation could be a promising avenue for future research. In these environments, the teachers are faced with more interactional work to assess and respond to pupils' behaviour, and detailed insights into related actions could help inform and improve teachers' classroom practices.

Recently, Seedhouse, Balaman, and Sert (2018) emphasised the need to connect the "growing body of micro-analytic findings evidenced through CA" (p. 1)

to the classroom and, therefore, inform teachers' interactional practices. This chapter contributes to this in various ways.

Address terms are a recurrent reproach format found in the present data. Teachers frequently add declarative or imperative constructions to their address terms (see Figure 2). In some cases, these follow-up turns are even produced in the first language (German). This study has outlined various resources teachers can draw on in order to convey a reproachful stance in their address terms. The analysis has shown that, when these resources are used in combination, subsequent turns are not necessary to stop a parallel activity. These follow-up turns could be reduced, and the use of German avoided, when teachers are made aware of the underlying mechanisms of the turn-delivery of reproach turns. Raising interactional awareness and eventually fine-tuning prosodic, sequential and multimodal resources involved in the production of these address terms, therefore, offers a simple way to improve everyday classroom management practices. An in-depth investigation of the details of unsuccessful address terms, as evidenced by the pupils' ignoring the reproach (see Extract 12) or producing aggravated responses such as openly challenging the teacher, could help to further illuminate teachers' classroom management practices and the resources involved from an interactional perspective. This constitutes a promising avenue for future research.

Moreover, CA research has shown that, unlike other institutional settings (courtrooms, news interviews, call centres etc.), a defining characteristic of classroom interaction is that it can include "multiple activities within a lesson, calling for changes in interactional roles and participation frameworks, as well as use and arrangement of the space" (Kimura, Malabarba, & Hall, 2018, p. 5). This chapter has demonstrated that these multiple activities also call for changes in the teachers' classroom management practices. More specifically, changes in the teachers' turn-delivery are necessary in activities with and without teacher participation.

As a consequence, teacher training should address the interactional exigencies involved in classroom management and train teachers to use different reproach formats accordingly. In teacher-led activities in which, by virtue of the inherent interactional authority and control, various reproach formats appear to be effective, practitioners could be advised to reduce the number of address terms and try to draw on less intrusive sequential resources instead (e.g. silences). Teachers' have to be made aware that address terms without distinct prosodic features in activities without direct teacher participation, are unlikely to be successful in leading to the cessation of a parallel activity. In addition, as Extracts 11 and 12 have shown, even when produced with a distinctive prosody, address terms in these environments can be understood as summonses and not as reproaches. Teachers might,

therefore, have to rethink their use of address terms in these activities and could instead focus more on embodied responses such as increasing the proximity to pupils engaged in parallel activities or employing “pre-reproach questions” (Klattenberg, 2020, p. 14).

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Appendix A: Transcription conventions

[onset of two overlapping utterances
]	offset of two overlapping utterances
=	no break or gap between utterances or lines
(0.0)	elapsed time by tenths of seconds
(.)	brief interval within or between utterances
—	some form of stress via pitch and/or amplitude
:	prolongation (the longer the colon row, the longer the prolongation)
.	falling intonation
;	slightly rising or continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
↑↓	marked shifts into particularly high or low pitch
°word°	sounds are produced softer than surrounding talk
WORD	particularly loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk
><	utterance is speeded up compared to surrounding talk
<>	utterance is slowed down compared to surrounding talk
.hh	inbreath (number of 'h' indicates length of inbreath)
hh.	outbreath
()	talk that could not be transcribed (length of parentheses specifies duration)
(word)	a possible hearing
(())	transcriber comments
((gazes at))	multimodal/embodied conduct (line specifies supporting picture)
...	extract continues

(Hepburn & Bolden, 2012; Jefferson, 2004)

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