Examining the Social Participation Structures and the Subject Matter Task Structures of Class Activities in an Adult ESL Classroom

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Examining the Social Participation Structures
and the Subject Matter Task Structures of Class Activities
in an Adult English as a Second Language Classroom

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Applied Linguistics

by

Mai-Han Nguyen

2014
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Examining the Social Participation Structures and the Subject Matter Task Structures of Class Activities in an Adult English as a Second Language Classroom

by

Mai-Han Nguyen

Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles, 2014
Professor John Schumann, Chair

Face-to-face interaction is a social ecology in which everybody on the scene is continuously active and interactive. That is, speakers are continuously doing verbal and nonverbal behaviors and so are listeners, all addressing one another in varying kinds of ways. These include the alignment of embodied actions, facial expressions, eye-contact, tone of voice, and gestures (Erickson, 2005). Since classroom interaction is an interaction in which co-present individuals work on a common task or share a common attentional focus, it is should be examined in the context of social interaction (or social ecology). By looking at how these individuals incorporate talk, the body, gaze, and aspects of the material surround into their communicative intent, it helps us understand how they form coherent courses of action for teaching and learning. This study examines how a teacher uses talk and embodied movements to facilitate student engagement in an adult ESL classroom, and how he fails to do so. The teacher and students were video recorded 10 hours out of 48 hours of classroom participation-observation period. Data
analysis revealed that when teaching new vocabulary items, the teacher’s uses of humor, gesture, facial expressions, dramatic sound production, and emphatic speech facilitated student engagement. Student disengagement occurred when: a) they were involved in a playful and nonverbal underlife act during a homework checking activity, b) they were reluctant to answer the teacher’s questions during a grammar practice exercise, and c) and they failed to comply with the teacher’s directives during a pair work activity. Also, there were unsuccessful attempts at repair or correction due to the teacher’s misunderstanding of what the student was trying to say. These findings were discussed in relation to the teacher’s talk and embodied practices. This suggests that verbal and nonverbal behaviors are two inseparable components in teacher-student interaction, and they deserve equal attention in second language classroom research. The findings were then discussed in relation to pedagogy.
The dissertation of Mai-Han Nguyen is approved.

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2014
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Chapter 1: Introduction

I. The purpose of the study

This project examines teacher-student interaction in an adult ESL classroom. I argue that studying language teaching and learning by focusing on verbal utterances alone is not sufficient to account for different facets of language teaching and learning. Rather, classroom interaction should be examined in an overall social participation structure and social ecology of mutual interactants who are co-present with respect to the subject matter task at hand. In this study, I first give an overview of research on classroom social participation structures and subject matter task structures. Next I examine teacher instruction and task types that foster student engagement. I then look at teacher instruction and task types that fail to effectively elicit student responses. I conclude with pedagogical suggestions for improving unsuccessful instruction and tasks.

II. The rationale for the study

Since the mid 19th – to the mid 20th century, the practice of foreign/second language learning was based on ‘grammar.’ The grammar-translation approach terrified learners with its rules and constructions. Students were expected to produce errorless grammatical translations from the beginning stage of learning. The 1950s to 1960s was the period when the behavioral approach was dominant in the foreign/second classrooms. The audio-lingual approach, which was inspired by the behaviorists Watson (1924), Thorndike (1932), and B.F. Skinner (1957), directed learners to be mim-mem parrots (i.e., to mimic and memorize). It was introduced as a component of the “Army Method” used during WWII. The goal was to develop correct habits of speaking. It was believed that learning would take place if the correct habits of imitating and repeating the same structures occurred time after time. The behavioral approach was later attacked when Chomsky (1959) argued that learning the patterns of a language is different from
the behavioral learning of rats in a laboratory because of the complexity and abstractness of language. The 1970s and 1980s was the period when Chomsky’s theory (language learning is innate) had a great influence on studies of first and second language acquisition. Research on first language acquisition hypothesized that all children progress through the same stages in learning a language (one-word utterances, two-word utterances, inflections, etc.) even though there is a great deal of individual variation. This result motivated second language (SL) researchers to investigate the language patterns of SL learners, and it was found that both child and adult English SL learners shared the same order of grammatical development as first language learners regardless of the learning context (classroom or informal learning in the community).

The Chomskyan approach in SLA was then questioned by Krashen (1985), who argued that acquisition and learning are two distinct processes – one is subconscious while the other is conscious, and that language acquired or learned by these different routes cannot be considered the same. By the middle of the 1980s until today, SLA research has been influenced by various disciplines, for instance, by cognitive science (McLaughlin, 1990), by the functional/pragmatic approach (Huebner, 1983), by the input and interaction hypothesis (Long, 1985), by the socio-cultural framework (Lantolf, 1994), and currently by the biological and evolutionary model (Schumann, 2001) and the complex systems (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). Different research groups with different theoretical research agendas are investigating different aspects of the learning process. For instance, while the Chomskyan tradition places importance on grammatical competence through grammaticality judgment tests; the interactional and socio-cultural groups focus on naturalistic observations of language learning and language production.
Given that second language teaching and SLA research throughout their history have placed importance on various aspects of verbal behavior, different teaching approaches and research groups have tried to examine and investigate the utterances of SL learners from different perspectives (behavioral, cognitive, interactional, sociocultural, etc.). However, nonverbal aspects of second language teaching and learning have been almost entirely neglected. This project intends to bring to attention the fact that studies in language teaching and learning that focus merely on verbal behaviors are not sufficient to demonstrate how teaching and learning take place. Rather, language teaching and learning (in particular second language teaching and learning) should be examined in the context of the overall social participation structures and the social ecology of mutual interactions among participants. In this social participation and social ecological system, language teaching and learning are constructed through moment-to-moment interaction involving both verbal and nonverbal behaviors among participants. Therefore, for the purpose of analysis “it is usually desirable to consider verbal and nonverbal behaviors together in the study of oral discourse…the myriad extra verbal phenomena…that are being attended to by interlocutors as they talk make a strong case for the proposition that these extra verbal phenomena are deeply implicated in the communication of meaning during the course of human social interaction” (Erickson, 2004: 202).

III. Theoretical approach – social participation structures and subject matter task structures

1. Social participation structures

It has been argued that studying classroom social participation structures will help educators understand the interactional processes that constitute effective teaching. According to Erickson and Shultz (1981), social participation structures are “mutual rights and obligations of interactants that are continually amenable to subtle readjustment and redistribution into different
configurations of concerted actions; these structures include ways of speaking, listening, getting the floor and holding it, and leading and following” (p.148). They are the roles and rules that govern who says what, when, and to whom. They indicate that there are particular norms for student behaviors and that the teacher’s behavioral expectations may change from one activity to the next. Some particular classroom social participation structures are teacher-centered activity, individual student-centered activity, whole class discussion, pair work, small group discussion, etc. In each of these social participation structures, there are rules to govern who says what to whom and when. For instance, during teacher-centered time, the teacher does most of the talking while students are expected to stay quiet and listen to the teacher. Students are expected to raise their hands if they have questions relating to the class lesson or to wait until the teacher finishes for their turn to talk. According to Philips (1983), students must learn these fundamental features of the organization of interaction in classrooms so that they can communicate in a socially appropriate and meaningful fashion.

2. **Subject matter task structures from the social participation framework perspective**

   Subject matter task structures are the ways in which the teacher attempts to establish classroom instruction and task types to facilitate student learning. According to Doyle (1986), classroom instruction includes the content of an academic lesson the teacher delivers, and the cognitive, affective, or psychomotor behaviors the teacher expects from students. Tasks are activities the teacher designs to enhance student learning of an academic lesson. Some examples of tasks are (in pairs or in groups) students working together to complete a grammatical exercise, to brainstorm about the topic of a passage they are going to read in a pre-reading activity, or to play games or solve puzzles that help review vocabulary. In Au’s (1980) view, teacher-student or student-student interaction in this instructional environment should be examined both verbally
and nonverbally. The main focus of the classroom interaction therefore is on co-presence of individuals who share a common task and common orientational and attentional focus. Erickson (2005) claimed that face-to-face interaction is a social ecology in which “everybody on the scene is continuously active – and interactive – that is, speakers are continuously doing verbal and nonverbal behaviors and so are listeners, all addressing one another in varying kinds of ways” (p. 573). These varying kinds of ways include the alignment of embodied actions, facial expressions, eye-contact, tone of voice, gestures, etc. In line with Erickson, researchers who investigate the notion of the participation framework propose that the social interaction among co-present individuals doing a particular task reflects their achievement of collaboration. The resources to maintain such social structures “lie in the mutual visual and auditory availability of participants’ bodily activity” (Jordan & Henderson, 1995: 35). According to this notion of social interaction, interactants are constantly in mutual contact to make their engagement visible and audible to each other so that new alignments are created and re-created during the course of interaction. Multiple participation acts therefore can be generated, maintained, and disassembled in response to the requirements of the task at hand (Jordan & Henderson, 1995).

Weade and Evertson (1988) argued that because a social participation structure and a subject matter task structure are provided at the same time, a subject matter task structure is thus arguably embedded within a social participation structure, “each serving as a context for the other, (they) provide both supports and constraints toward what will occur and what will be accomplished in the lesson being constructed” (p.7). Following Weade and Evertson, this project examines how a teacher instruction or a task type is embedded in the flow of a social participation structure. Within this flow, the project aims to address the following questions:
1) *In what way does a teacher instruction or a task foster student engagement?*

2) *In what way does it (instruction or task) fail to effectively elicit student responses? (Or in what way does engagement between the teacher and his/her students seem to break down?).*

I believe that understanding the natural characteristics of the successes as well as the failures in teacher-student and student-student interactions will help identify ways for the teacher to improve his/her rate of success, on the one hand, and to improve his/her teaching techniques, which eventually leads to better learning, on the other.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

I. Research on social participation structures and subject matter task structures

In the last few decades much has been written about social participation structures and subject matter task structures in classrooms. Au (1980) intended to find out whether the improved reading of low achievement Hawaiian children could be because the participation structures in the reading lessons are similar to those of the talk story event in the children’s culture (a talk story is a joint performance of speaking by the children). In the talk story performance, children co-narrate a story, share and retell an event in a well-coordinated and rhythmic alteration. Children’s competence in talk story events is based on how well they work with others to retell a story. Au found that when the reading activity was organized in a way similar to a talk story event, there was a high degree of joint performance among the children. By way of contrast, in the classroom settings where children were singled out to recite before the group with their individual answers being subject to evaluations by the teacher, children were likely to give fewer responses.

In traditional classrooms, much of the social interaction has involved the whole group where the teacher is the center of a lesson or an activity. Recently, there has been a call to change classroom instruction so that individualized attention could be provided to students at least part of the day. In this new form of instruction, Merritt and Humphrey (1980) wanted to find out how effectively the teacher structures his/her actions and responses to children who are not receiving one-on-one instruction with the teacher while s/he is working with another student (or another group). They found that requests for help from outside of the group that the teacher was currently working with constituted a dilemma for the teacher – if the teacher responded to the request from the outside, the teacher’s activity with the current group was disrupted. If the teacher was not
responding to the request, the child’s involvement in the task might break down. Merritt and Humphrey observed that the teacher who implemented individualized instruction effectively was the one who maintained consistent responses to outside requests. The authors then argued that although individualized instruction allows students more freedom to speak up in class, the most effective teacher is the one who exerts control over a child’s initiated talk for help, and this allows students to learn the rules for appropriate participation more quickly (for instance, they learn when and how to interrupt the teacher while s/he is in the middle of her primary activity).

To examine cultural influences in classroom instruction, Erickson and Mohatt (1982) investigated the social participation structures in two classrooms of culturally similar children (North American Indians) taught by two teachers (one native American Indian and one non-native American Indian). Results showed cultural differences in the two classrooms taught by both teachers. While the native American Indian teacher proceeded slowly, exerted control over the whole class at once, and singled out individuals only in small groups, the non-native American Indian teacher moved more rapidly around the room, gave directions to the whole class and small groups at the same time, and called on individuals across the room. Erickson and Mohatt concluded that there are considerable cultural differences in classrooms between North American Indian communities and European ancestry communities. They constitute “differences in fundamental principles of social organization – differences which have consequences for the conduct of face-to-face interactions” (p. 167). As the year progressed, Erickson and Mohatt noticed that the non-native American Indian teacher adopted the teaching styles of the native American Indian teacher as he came to realize that the native American Indian ways of teaching worked better in his class. In particular, he changed the class setting so that children were seated in table groups instead of sitting individually in rows. During whole class lessons, he called on
table groups rather than on individual children. He also decreased the amount of time on whole class instruction and increased the amount of time he spent with each child in small groups. In doing so, he created one-to-one instruction with each child in an effective way instead of spotlighting him/her in front of the whole class. Erickson and Mohatt then drew the pedagogical implication that teachers should adapt their teaching styles to their children’s culture, and that in teacher training courses, novice teachers should learn to be aware of and to modify their teaching behaviors in accordance with the culture of a particular group of students. The issue that has not been addressed then is how the teacher designs his teaching styles to suit a culturally-mixed group of students.

Research on social participation structures is also observable in the work of Au and Mason (1982). Au and Mason wanted to know what causes the reading problems of poorly performing students. They reasoned that to understand the problem, it was necessary to examine how a reading lesson was presented to students. With this in mind, the authors investigated teacher-pupil social participation structures in a reading lesson taught by a white teacher to a group of black students. They identified five social participation structures, and these were a) individual recitation – student centered, b) individual recitation – item centered, c) free responding, d) teacher directions, and e) choral responding. For structure type (a), it was found that students understood well the set of rules for turn taking. Speaking and listening were also highly patterned since the teacher introduced a task, and then he chose a child to read it out loud, while the children who were not reading were supposed to listen and to have their eyes on the relevant materials. For structure type (b), turns were assigned according to the number of items, and each child received at least one turn. The rules for speaking and listening were the same as those in type (a). For structure type (c), children initiated responses as often as they wanted. This
provided a disadvantage for a child who was uncertain about the material, for that child could sit passively and was not able to learn much, which was not the teacher’s intention. For structure type (d), only one instance was found at the end of the lesson where the teacher concentrated on providing detailed directions about seatwork assignments. There was not much demand on the part of students to speak. Students’ disruptive behaviors such as interrupting and leaving the classroom seemed perfectly acceptable to the teacher. And for structure type (e), also only one single instance of this structure was found. The purpose of this activity is to provide students an additional form of review and to replace individual turns for reading new words. Au and Mason found that the amount of time the teacher spent on structure type (a) was the largest as it accounted for 51% of the total instructional time. The problem of teaching then was that most of the teaching time was spent on individual recitation. And of the five social participation structures, none of them was effectively designed to facilitate students’ critical and reasoning skills. Au and Mason then argued that by examining the ongoing process of classroom instruction through the social participation structures that the teacher employed, one was able to understand what led to students’ failure to learn to read well.

With the shift from teacher-fronted to student group work in second language classrooms in 1980s because it was believed that learners would learn more if they were involved in the process of negotiation for meaning-making, Pica and Doughty (1985) examined the effectiveness of group work in a second language classroom. They found that when the task was a decision-making one (i.e., choosing one among six potential recipients for a heart transplant), the more fluent students monopolized the conversation within their groups. Other students engaged very little because they rarely spoke, and when they did so, their comments were often ignored. However, when the task was finding a master pattern, and each individual was given only a part
of the whole pattern, they found that individual participants were compelled to participate and exchange information, and they tried to work together to complete the pattern. Each individual contribution was considered and evaluated by their group members. Pica and Doughty then claimed that group work can be strongly endorsed only when the task compels learners to exchange information, and it can be counter-effective if the task provides insufficient motivation for learners to participate.

In 1986, Doughty and Pica carried out a study similar to the previous one with the same participants. It aims to address whether group work (or pair work) can facilitate learner communication when the information exchange on the task is required and not optional. In this study, the task was to plant flowers in a garden. Doughty and Pica observed that in small groups as well as in dyadic interactional patterns, students were compelled to negotiate and exchange information so that they could plant the garden in the way in which they were directed. Because information exchange was a must, a great deal of conversational modification was generated among the learners. Doughty and Pica then argued that group work (or pair work) does not automatically result in more conversational modification among learners. Rather, for group work (or pair work) to be effective, the teacher must take into consideration both social participation structures and task types while designing or setting up conditions and opportunities for second language acquisition in classrooms.

Weade and Evertson (1988) examined the effectiveness of the teachers’ classroom management as they believed that effective classroom management is the first component needed to bring about effective teaching. The authors found that in less effective classrooms, teachers made frequent classroom transitions, and students in turn had to interpret the changes rather frequently. Students must attend to the shifting of the social participation structures from one
task to another in order to know who can take a turn at talk regarding what, where, when, and how. On the other hand, in effective classrooms, students were more aware of what they were doing. There were fewer transitional points, and the social participation structures were more sustained and enduring than those in less effective classrooms. There was less demand on the students’ part to interpret the changes in the social participation structures as the academic tasks changed. With respect to the academic tasks, the effective teacher asked questions that built on earlier student responses. S/he established the thinking and reasoning opportunities for students to negotiate, examine, and modify their academic participation. For the less academically effective teacher, the conceptual framework that guides students to negotiate academic meanings was either inconsistent or non-existent. Weade and Evertson (1988) also pointed out that because the social participation structures and the information about the academic content were provided at the same time, subject matter task structures are thus arguably embedded within social participation structures, “each serving as context for the other, (they) provide both supports and constraints toward what will occur and what will be accomplished in the lesson being constructed” (p.7).

Research on participation patterns and task types in second language classrooms was observed again in a study by Skilton and Meyer (1993). Skilton and Meyer were interested in the ways that participation structures and task types affect student response behavior to questions. Contradicting the generally accepted assumption that students interact and verbalize more in small groups, Skilton and Meyer reported that in fact there is a correlation between social participation structures and task types. Specifically, when the teacher placed the students in small groups and had them report their answers to the teacher’s questions, there were not many student questions because the task was to have them report their answers, and they did not have a chance
to ask questions of their own. However when the task was to complete a questionnaire, there were a fair number of referential questions, confirmation checks, and clarification of requests. Following Pica and Doughty (1985) and Doughty and Pica (1986), Skilton and Meyer confirmed that it is not the small group participation structure that generates a higher amount of student interaction. Rather, in addition to the social participation structure, the task type that the teacher employs can greatly influence the quality and range of communication.

The effectiveness of group work was also examined in Theberge’s (1994) study. Theberge looked at the social participation structure of group discussions in a science class and reported that in small groups students seemed to engage more than they did in whole class discussions. As small groups created situations where students have more time to talk to each other, they offered opportunities for those who participated less frequently in whole class discussions to talk more, and more frequent contributors in whole class discussions were seen to dominate the interactions in groups less frequently. Theberge then claimed that “overall small groups afforded opportunities for more equitable participation from their members than did whole class discussions” (p. 34).

Newman and Fischer (1995) observed that while whole class activities have been widely discussed in the literature, little is known about the distribution of activities that students encounter in whole class teaching. Specifically, there has been a lack of allocation of instructional time for both teacher activities and student activities. For this, Newman and Fischer examined the tasks and social participation structures in kindergartens using a holistic approach. They found that meaning-based activities (comprehension, drawing pictures, reading to students, and reading with students) accounted for 62% of the class time. Skill-engaged activities (letter names, phonemic awareness, spelling, etc.) were only 17%. Activities that require students to
generate new responses such as creative, predictive, and opinion tasks were 14%, 6%, and 1%, respectively. Overall, it was observed that 79% of the class time was spent on the recognition of information already presented, and only 21% was for tasks that involved formulating new ideas. In addition, they noticed that that a majority of class time was devoted to whole-class arrangements with little time for collaborative learning and little emphasis on individualized teaching. They also observed that although the teachers engaged students in a wide variety of tasks, many of these involved memory recall. The teachers tended to emphasize recitation-like formats in whole class arrangements with few opportunities for individual students to initiate or respond to activities on their own.

Westby et al. (1999) looked at the social and academic participation structures of science lessons in four classrooms of elementary school students who were learning English as a second or third language. Of the four classrooms, three classrooms were Hispanic students taught by Hispanic teachers, and one classroom was Haitian students taught by a Haitian teacher. The authors found that with respect to the concept of “knowing science,” all four teachers emphasized science vocabulary and modeled the correct uses of scientific terms. They encouraged the students to use the terms in their responses and praised the students when they did this correctly. With respect to the concept of “doing science,” the Hispanic students understood the group work social participation structure well as they worked together to set up the experiments and talked quietly as they recorded their observations in their notes. In contrast, the Haitian students appeared uncertain in group work. Specifically, they did not interact or actively engage in the experiment, and they seemed to expect more of the formal teaching style in which they would follow the teacher’s directions for a task. With respect to the concept of “talking science,” all four teachers seldom required the students to elaborate, explain, or justify
their answers. All four teachers used revoicing to make certain that the students used scientific vocabulary, but they did not use complex verbal patterns to elaborate students’ thinking about the subject matter. The authors concluded by calling for the need to develop teaching approaches that will enable students to master ‘talking science,’ using the descriptive, explanatory, and argumentative techniques which are essential for students to develop scientific literacy at the discourse level.

In response to the call for changes in classrooms in which students are the center of activities instead of teachers, two Korean and two U.S. second grade math teachers participated in a study by Pang (2000). Pang compared and contrasted how the teachers in each country implemented the student centered model in their classrooms. The two Korean classrooms were K1 and K2, and the two U.S. classrooms were U1 and U2. Pang found that in the K1 classroom, the teacher encouraged the students to participate in classroom discussions, asked the students for their explanations, and emphasized the importance of sharing ideas in groups. However, the teacher expected the students to answer the teacher’s questions rather than to pursue their own understanding. As a result, student learning opportunity was limited to procedural aspects of the subject matter (correcting algorithms). In contrast, in the K2 classroom, the teacher encouraged the students to solve the problem in different ways. She guided the math discussion, picked out insightful ideas, and shared them with the whole class. The students were motivated to pursue math meanings, and they were not under pressure to follow the teacher’s expectation. In the U1 classroom, Pang found similar teaching patterns with the K1 classroom. Specifically, the teacher facilitated student participation by giving them opportunities to solve the problem individually and collectively, but the teacher’s focus was on the procedural aspects of subject matter. As a result, the students had limited opportunity to develop their own critical thinking skills. In
contrast, in the U2 classroom, the teacher created a classroom community in which the students were encouraged to explain and justify their own solutions. The teacher gave the students time to discuss and avoided giving her own opinions on the topic. She tried to expose the students to ways of knowing and arguing the problem rather than confining them to fixed solutions. The result of the study made Pang conclude that the reform of mathematics teaching is not a matter of changing the social participation structures from teacher-centered to student-centered. Rather, it should involve the reconceptualization of how the teacher should engage students into the social participation structures of daily classroom life, which would then enable them to develop the analytical skills of knowing as well as evaluating concepts and solutions in mathematics.

With pressure from state and federal governments to eliminate bilingual classrooms, the role of English instruction has become essential. The policy has made teachers feel more pressure to design classroom instruction that aligns with curriculum standards and standardized assessments in English. The social, linguistic, and academic needs of second language learners (SLLs) have been refined toward their standardized English test performance, and teachers mainly depend on these tests to provide instruction for students. In this circumstance, Pacheco (2010) conducted a study to examine the relationship between the new policy and teacher’s practice in teaching reading. The goal of the study was to see how the classroom social participation structures and the teacher’s discourse patterns have been shaped to cope with the new policy. There were two teachers who participated in the study, Mrs. A and Mr. B. Pacheco found that in Mrs. A’s class, the majority of class time was spent on small groups and whole class discussions, whereas, in Mr. B’s class, there was a wider range of practice such as informal conversations, reading-aloud in pairs, and worksheet assignments. In terms of the teaching practice, Pacheco observed that comprehension-based discussions that were grounded in the text
were dominant in the two classes. The class activities were designed to develop isolable reading skills such as vocabulary, decoding, and summarizing. However, the language-based approaches which help students to facilitate and expand their interpretation of the world had been neglected. Pacheco then criticized teaching practice that is oriented toward the district reading program and the standardized tests as it tends to narrow the meaning-making opportunities and minimize the students’ ability to develop critical thinking skills.

The literature review thus far has shown that research on social participation structures and subject matter task structures has been fruitfully explored for the last few decades. A close look at these studies on subject matter task structures reveals that only certain aspects of teachers’ verbal behaviors have been identified and examined. These include how teachers manage their communicative responses in the individualized instruction model (Merritt & Humphrey, 1980), how teachers adapt and modify their verbal behaviors to appropriately communicate with culturally different students (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982), what approach teachers use to teach low achieving students (i.e., the recitation format in Au & Mason’s (1982) study), to name just a few. This project aims to bring to attention the fact that studies on subject matter task structures - particularly on second language teaching and learning which focus mainly on verbal behaviors - have not been sufficient to account for different facets of second language teaching and learning. Rather, aspects of non-verbal behaviors within the social participant framework should also be taken into consideration to explain how the second language teaching and learning process takes place. It is believed that by incorporating aspects of nonverbal behaviors in explaining second language teaching and learning, it will help us better understand in what way teacher instruction and task types are (in)effective, and why these phenomena cannot be sufficiently explained through verbal language alone.
Chapter 3: Methodology and Data Collection

I. Methodology

1. Participant observation: My role in the project is both as a participant and an observer. As a participant, I carry out an active membership role in the class activities and responsibilities that advance the group’s work. As an observer, I observe and interact closely with the participants to establish rapport. I combine the participation and observation roles so that I can understand the site as an insider while analyzing it as an outsider (Patton, 2002, cited in Merriam 2009).

2. Extended fieldnotes: After each period of classroom participation/observation, I spend an average of 4-5 hours writing extended fieldnotes. In each set of extended fieldnotes, I write a detailed description of the classroom arrangement, transitions from one activity to the next, the time allocation for each activity, the social participation structure and how an instruction or a task is embedded within it in each activity. To better answer my research questions, I pay close attention to aspects of the verbal and non-verbal behaviors between the teacher and her/his students in a particular interactional scene. In particular, I look closely at how the teacher instructs or assigns a task: for instance, what verbal and non-verbal language the teacher uses, how the spatial distance is organized between the teacher and her/his students, and what types of material artifacts the teacher uses to assist him in his instructions or task types. From the students’ perspective, I look closely at their verbal and non-verbal behaviors during teacher instruction or tasks: for instance, how they express their engagement (i.e., excitement, active participation – verbally and nonverbally in whole class instruction and in pair/group work) or to deal with their problems when they do not understand teacher’s instructions or tasks (i.e., clarification, peer assistance, silence, or communicative breakdowns – verbally and nonverbally
in whole class instruction or in pair/group work). I also examine what type of social participation structures the teacher uses while instructing or explaining a task (i.e., student-centered, pair/group work, or whole class instruction) to see in what ways the social participation structure the teacher employs assists him in his instruction or in a task, and in what ways it does not.

3. **Coding:** The types of coding below are used to identify the following social participation structures and teacher-student interaction moments.

**Social participation structures:**

- TC = teacher centered
- SC = student centered (teacher singles out a student in front of the whole class)
- IW = individual work
- PW = pair work
- GW = group work
- WCD = whole class discussion

**Teacher-student interactions:**

- TFE = teacher instruction which facilitates engagement (how spatial organization, verbal and nonverbal behaviors, material artifacts, etc. have been effectively executed)
- TnotFE = teacher instruction which fails to facilitate engagement (how spatial organization, verbal and nonverbal behaviors, material artifacts, etc. have been ineffectively executed)
- SE = student engagement (active participation verbally and nonverbally in whole class discussion or in pair/group work)
• SnonE = student non-engagement (clarification, peer assistance, silence, or communicative breakdowns verbally and nonverbally in whole class discussion or in pair/group work)

I expect to find a match between TFE and SE, and between TnotFE and SnonE. Any match between TFE and SnonE is unexpected and will be counted as an outlier.

4. Video recording: To better capture, moment-to-moment, the verbal and non-verbal interactional moments between the teacher and her/his students, I video-tape the periods during my participation and observation role (with the teacher’s permission and the students’ agreement). I then use Erickson’s (2005) discussion of procedures for discovering and analyzing video data with a focus on the interactional process to analyze my data. The procedure involves the following steps.

a) The recorded video is reviewed as a whole in real time without stopping or playing back. During this time, I write the equivalent of field notes when I notice verbal and non-verbal phenomena. I also pay attention to the time lines that mark major transitions from one activity to the next.

b) I review the entire video again. I then choose the strip of tape where the success or the problem with instruction or tasks occurs. In this strip, I look for the occurrence of major shifts in participants, of sustained postural and interpersonal distance configurations, and of major listening/speaking activities. I also pay attention to the intensity of listening behaviors by listeners, as various speakers are speaking.

c) Within that strip, I then transcribe the talk and describe the nonverbal behaviors of the various speakers in that strip. I also transcribe the verbal and describe nonverbal reactions of listeners with whom the speaker is engaged. I then continue the process until the verbal
and nonverbal behaviors of all persons participating in that particular scene are transcribed and described in detail.

d) I review the strip again with a special focus on sustained postures, spatial distance, and gaze patterns with their beginning and ending points. In each event (marked by its beginning and ending point), I then try to analyze the functions of certain kinds of utterances as well as the nonverbal behaviors to see how they contribute to the meaning of the relevant event as a whole.

e) In certain cases, I review the video segment again with teachers and students who share similar experiences with the participants in the video to get their opinions about the relevant events. The goal is to have the observers share what they think or feel during the event. This process helps me determine how implicit meanings are interpreted by the participants. For instance, I will stop the video at a moment relevant to the analysis and then ask the observers what they think is happening at that particular moment.

5. Material artifacts: I also ask the teacher’s permission to collect classroom material artifacts such as the textbooks and handouts. These materials are as important as the verbal and non-verbal behaviors for my data analysis. As C. Goodwin (2007) suggested, language, non-verbal language (gestures, facial expressions, postures), and material artifacts in a particular interactional scene “all mutually elaborate each other to create a whole that is different from, and greater than, any of its constituent parts” (p. 55).

II. Data collection

1. Site: The site in which I do my research is an adult English language program (ELP) in Los Angeles. The students who enrolled in the program are international students. They came from different countries around the world such as Saudi Arabia (Kevin, Mohamad, Sulafah,
Bashma, Jadil), Brazil (Brent and Lisa), Venezuela (Sam), Turkey (Kent), China (Kao), Korea (Helen), etc. The students’ goal in the program is to learn English to prepare for their academic learning in the U.S. school system (some students just aim to improve their listening or speaking skills so that they can communicate sufficiently and make themselves comprehensible in daily contacts). The ELP program has a long history in teaching international students, and it has a clear curriculum focusing on teaching English language skills such as speaking and listening, vocabulary and reading, and writing and grammar.

2. Participants:
   
   • The students: The students who participated in this study were those whose language proficiency was at the beginning level (there are three levels of language proficiency in the program, namely, beginning, intermediate, and advanced). Students who are placed in the beginning language classes have limited ability to express themselves in daily conversation. In particular, they often produce a sentence with difficulty, and it is time consuming for them even though they can make themselves comprehensible. Mostly they just produce key words or short phrases together with their gestures or facial expressions to express their communicative intent. Their reading and writing skills are also limited. For instance, they can read a short and simple text on daily life topics such as food, sports, beautiful places, etc., and their writing is mostly at the sentential level with short paragraphs (from 5 – 10 sentences) as their upper limit. The student ages were from early 20s to late 20s.

   • The teacher: The majority of teachers in the program have a master’s degree in education, linguistics, TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), or related fields in the United States. A few teachers have science, anthropology, or business backgrounds, but they have shown commitment and experience after many years of teaching. Many teachers
hold double masters, but none has a doctorate degree. The teachers’ experience varies substantially. For instance, some have been teaching in the program for more than twenty years, while others have just started their career. The teachers’ ages range from 30-60, with the highest age being sixty, and the lowest being thirty. Most teachers speak English as their first language. The teacher who participated in this project was the one who was assigned to teach a vocabulary and reading course for beginning-level students at the time of the study. This teacher had a master’s degree in TESOL and has been teaching ESL classes for more than 20 years.

3. Participation/observation and video recordings: The data collected for this project were twelve hours of video recording of classroom instruction and activities out of forty-eight hours of participation/observation. To make the students feel comfortable with the recordings, I did not record on my first day. In fact, for the first three weeks in the class I tried to get to know the students’ language proficiency level, their goals for taking the course, the classroom materials, their ages, etc. In addition, as I wanted the students to fully cooperate with the project, I took part in their learning by participating in pair-work and classroom discussions. My main role was to help out with the class material when the students had a difficult time understanding it. It was because of my enthusiasm and my willingness to work with the students that I gained their acceptance by the end of the third week. I then proposed to the teacher the plan of video recording during the fourth and fifth weeks. After collecting the data, I continued to visit the class in the sixth week to keep track of the students’ performance. My goal was to observe whether there was any difference in the students’ performance on the days that they had been video-taped and on the days that they were not. My conclusion was that the students did not display any difference in their classroom performance. In particular, they attended the class daily
and participated in class activities in the same ways that I had observed during the video recording period.

4. *The class:* The class is a vocabulary/reading course for beginning level students. The class meets from Monday to Thursday from 1-3 pm. Of the thirteen students in the class, seven of them come from Saudi Arabia, two from Brazil, one from Venezuela, one from Turkey, one from China, and one from Korea. The textbook for vocabulary is the Oxford picture dictionary: Second edition (Author: Adelson-Goldstein & Shapiro) and the one for reading is New password 2: A vocabulary and reading text (Author: Linda Butler). In addition, there were handouts for class activities which the teacher distributed in class.

5. *Why an English Language Program in Los Angeles:* I chose to do my research at an ELP in Los Angeles because I believe this area is a popular destination for international students to pursue their studies in the U.S. Because of their limited language proficiency, these students have to make an effort to communicate in the target language. As I am interested in both verbal and non-verbal behaviors in classroom interaction, I expect to find numerous non-verbal cues in this particular classroom setting as the students have to use gestures, facial expressions, and embodied movements to aid comprehension of their utterances. In addition, as the students’ language proficiency is at the beginning level, I also expect to find numerous non-verbal cues from the teacher while he delivers classroom instruction and task types. I am interested in finding out how effectively the teacher manages to deliver classroom instruction or a task to these low proficiency language students. What kind of verbal and non-verbal cues does the teacher use? And how effective are they?

6. *Entry to the site:* I gained access to the site by meeting with the ESL coordinator of the program. I explained my research project to him which was to look for the effectiveness in
teacher instruction to learn from it, or to try to make it better if it is not successfully designed.

After hearing about my research, the program coordinator was supportive. He introduced me to
the teacher and the students of the class which I would visit for my data collection, and he
explained to them my role in the classroom. The teacher and the students were enthusiastic and
welcomed me to their class.
Chapter 4: The Noticing Hypothesis and the Awareness Approach

This chapter reviews the literature on the noticing hypothesis (Schmidt, 1990) and the awareness approach (Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000) in second language teaching. My goal is to show how the teacher makes use of these two instructional strategies to raise student consciousness/awareness of new vocabulary items and to engage them in learning, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter five.

I. The noticing hypothesis

The noticing hypothesis was introduced by Schmidt (1990), and his central argument was that linguistic input cannot become intake unless it is noticed and consciously registered. Schmidt’s argument was based on two case studies. The first study was Wes (an uninstructed learner) who came to the U.S. for personal and professional reasons. Wes acquired the target language (English) in a natural setting and did not have any difficulty communicating in daily contact after several years of exposure. However, his development of morphology and syntax was limited. For example, he kept saying “Yesterday, I’m go to beach” and “Tomorrow I’m go to beach” with no tense markers for past or future, no verbal formulations for past, present, and future, and no articles. Schmidt claimed that Wes surely heard people said “Yesterday, I went to the beach”, but he did not notice or register the past tense verb, how its formulation is different from the present tense, and how the definite article “the” is used. The second case study was about himself. Schmidt took a Portuguese class during his five-month stay in Brazil. The class lasted for five weeks, and Schmidt spent the rest of his stay communicating with native speakers. Based on his journals, records of his lessons, and tape-recordings of his development in Portuguese, Schmidt found that some forms of the input he received (regardless of its frequent presence in the input) were not acquired until they were noticed or consciously registered.
Based on his observations from the two case studies, Schmidt concluded that learners must notice (or consciously register) linguistic input for it to become intake, but he cautioned that noticing is a conscious registration of attended specific instances of language. It is necessary for second language acquisition, but it does not guarantee it. For learning to take place, a higher level of awareness called “understanding” must be generated across instances - knowledge of rules is one example of this higher level of awareness.

1.1 Consciousness-raising in second language research

Schmidt’ hypothesis has been used in second language studies in the last few decades. Most of these studies have been on form-focused instruction. Fotos (1993) investigated the amount of learner noticing in teacher-fronted grammar lessons and in interactive grammar problem solving tasks, and the amount of noticing from learners who were not exposed to any type of grammar consciousness-raising activity. Results showed that learners in the two consciousness-raising groups (teacher-fronted and problem solving) demonstrated the same level of noticing on the targeted grammatical structures while the third group (learners with no consciousness-raising activity) produced no noticing of the grammar structures to which they were exposed to. Fotos then claimed that learners were able to develop explicit grammar knowledge as a result of the consciousness-raising teaching approach. Once the learners’ consciousness has been raised, Fotos concluded that learners continue to be aware of the structures and notice them significantly in subsequent lessons.

Leow (1997) studied the role of learners’ awareness of Spanish stem-changing verbs in twenty-eight beginning learners of Spanish through a problem-solving task, which was then followed by a recognition and written production task. Results showed that learners who demonstrated higher levels of awareness performed significantly better than learners who did not
on the recognition and written task assessing awareness of the targeted morphological verb forms. Leow then argued that the findings provided strong empirical support for the role of awareness or conscious attention (in light of Schmidt’s noticing hypothesis) in second language development.

Izumi (2002) examined the facilitative effects of output and visual input enhancement on the acquisition of English relativization by adult second language learners and found that input enhancement had a significant impact on the learners’ noticing of the target forms, but there was no evidence that it had an effect on learning. According to Izumi, input enhancement - if performed in isolation - does not prompt the learners to go beyond the noticing stage. For learning to take place, additional instructional tasks (production or activation of prior knowledge) should be used to trigger learners’ cognitive processing.

Mackey (2006) looked at the relationship among interactional feedback, noticing, and L2 development for questions, plural forms, and past tense forms in a high intermediate ESL classroom. Mackey found that interactional feedback and noticing are related, and that there is an association between learners’ self-reports on noticing and L2 development for questions and plural forms (83% and 50%, respectively). However, Mackey emphasized that there is no clear indication between learners’ self-reports on noticing and L2 development on past tense forms (only 20% of learners who reported noticing learned the forms). Mackey explained that this is because question formation is more salient than the past tense one (while the former focuses on syntactic structures and agreements, the latter involves the morphological forms). In addition, since questions are commonly used in classroom discourse, learners are more likely to pay attention to interactional feedback because of its high communicative value. Regardless of the
mixed results on noticing and L2 development for the forms under investigation, it is central to Mackey’s finding that noticing is necessary for L2 development.

Takimoto (2006) examined the effectiveness of two types of input-based instruction, consciousness-raising instruction (CI) and consciousness-raising instruction with feedback (CF) for teaching English polite request forms. In CI, the participants were asked to make a form-comparison in two dialogues, answer analysis questions on the difficulty of the requests and the appropriateness of the requests in both dialogues, and make a list of ways in which the requests in one dialogue differed from the ones in the other. In CF, the participants were asked to engage in the same tasks as the CI group did. During the tasks, the participants in the CF treatment group received immediate and explicit feedback on the correctness of their responses (e.g., Can you find the error in your judgment?). Results showed that consciousness raising tasks were effective, and that the development of English polite request forms can be influenced by manipulating input for both the CI and CF groups. Takimoto gave two reasons why the consciousness-raising tasks were effective in both the CI and CF groups. One was that the task required the participants to attend to forms in the input they received, making the target structures salient. The other that was a deeper level of meaning processing was involved when the participants had the opportunities to talk about the targeted structures meaningfully.

Regarding the difference between the two treatment groups (CI and CF) in developing the English polite request forms, Takimoto found that there was no significant difference between them. This suggested that explicit feedback may not be necessary during consciousness-raising tasks.

1.2 Consciousness-raising in second language teaching
Schmidt’s noticing hypothesis thus has influenced the pedagogical approach to L2 development in second language classrooms, known as the consciousness-raising or input enhancement approach. Its central goal is to direct learners’ attention to particular linguistic features to promote learning, and the instructional techniques to draw learners’ attention to forms can be highlighting, feedback, questions, problem solving tasks (e.g., crossword puzzles to raise learners’ awareness on the targeted forms), etc.

Jones (2001) proposed a consciousness-raising approach to teach conversational storytelling skills for second language learners, based on the fact that learners seem to use these skills reluctantly in second language classrooms despite their frequent use in daily interaction. Jones described the components of an oral narrative, namely, abstract, orientation, remarkable event, reaction, coda, and evaluation, and then gave definitions for each component as below (Note that Jones’ description of the components of a narrative has some similarities with Labov’s (1972) model for an internal structure of a narrative. This includes a) the abstract, b) orientation, c) complicating action, d) evaluation, e) resolution, and f) the coda).

- **Abstract**: giving the hearers an indication of the type of story they are about to hear.
- **Orientation**: orienting the hearers to time, place, and the characters of the story.
- **Remarkable event**: events which the storyteller wants to share with the hearers.
- **Reaction**: how the hearers react to the events they heard (anger, fear, amusement, etc.)
- **Coda**: ending the story by building a bridge between the story and the current moment of telling.
- **Evaluation**: making the hearers understand and learn the point of the story.
Jones then provided learners a picture story, which was followed by a written transcript. The transcript had the abstract, orientation, remarkable event, reaction, coda, and evaluation features described above. It also had the story lines for a teller and for an active listener. The teacher then read the story while one student took part as an active listener. A partial sample of the transcript is provided below.

**Teller:** Oh, talking about losing weight, did I tell you about my Uncle John?

**Listener:** No, I don’t think so.

**Teller:** Well, you see. My uncle John is quite a bit over weight......

**Listener:** Uh huh.

Etc.

After the reading, the teacher gave learners a set of questions designed towards consciousness-raising of the abstract, orientation, remarkable event, reactions, coda, and evaluation features of the story. By doing this, the teacher helped to get learners to notice the key features of the story and made them aware of the many components available in it. What is important, Jones argued is the consciousness-raising practice - if it is done frequently, it helps learners consolidate their previous encounters when the forms appear again in new stories.

Hendricks (2010) proposed a consciousness-raising approach to teach prepositions for the students in a teacher training course in South Africa. The approach was to select the sentences with incorrect uses of prepositions written by the students. He first wrote them down on a big white piece of carton paper, and then posted it in the classroom for the students to see. The teacher then asked the students to work in pairs or groups to find the prepositional error in each sentence and to correct it. Hendricks prepared an envelope containing twenty prepositions written on small squares of pink paper. When the student(s) identified a prepositional error, they would choose from among the twenty squares the correct one and then paste it over the error.
Hendricks observed that the students working in pairs or groups were actively engaged. They discussed the errors and suggested different options to correct them. The consciousness-raising part of the task was, Hendricks argued that the students noticed the errors and worked collaboratively to correct them. The learning took place while the students were debating the correct options as this helped raise their awareness and understanding of prepositional uses.

II. The awareness approach

While research and practice of the noticing hypothesis have been primarily on particular grammatical forms and structures (except for Jones’ (2001) study which attempts to use it at the discourse level to teach storytelling skills), Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2000) proposed an awareness approach to teaching grammar beyond the sentential level. Celce-Murcia and Olshtain argued that the problem of the sentence-based approach is it goes against the notion of communicative competence, which includes grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence. According to Celce-Murcia and Olshtain, “the vast majority of grammatical choices that a speaker/writer makes depend on certain conditions being met in terms of meaning, situational context, and/or discourse context” (p. 52). By providing learners with only grammatical competence, they are left to deal alone with the remaining competencies which are necessary for oral and written discourse. Learners therefore are often unable to produce a coherent piece of discourse while speaking and writing. Their production is often disjointed and awkward as they are unaware of how the pieces interact to make a whole.

Celce-Murcia and Olshtain then called for a grammatical teaching approach which not only includes knowledge of grammar (e.g., word order, tenses, structures, etc.) but also an awareness of how this knowledge is used at the pragmatic and discourse level. For instance,
when teaching young learners, it is suggested that the teacher use meaningful exchanges that highlight particular grammar forms (e.g., Can you bring….?) to expose young learners to verb forms in meaningful context. For beginners (of all ages), it is suggested that the teacher use Asher’s (1977) total physical response (TPR) to teach intransitive phrasal verbs (stand up, sit down) and separable transitive phrasal verbs (put on, take off). It is also suggested that the teacher use listen-and-color exercises to teach possessive pronouns (e.g., learners are provided pictures of a girl and a boy wearing a tee shirt and pants and walking a dog. The teacher then gives them directives such as color her hair red, color his hair yellow, color her dog black, etc.).

For intermediate learners, it is suggested that the teacher use stories and songs to practice grammar in discourse. For example, the teacher gives learners a fable about the fox and the crow without the articles a/an, the and asks them to identify the missing articles. Songs such as Where have all the flowers gone? can be used to teach wh-questions since in this song each stanza has the frame Where have all the __________ gone?. For advanced learners, it is suggested that the teacher use an inductive-analytic approach to teach grammar in discourse. For instance, the teacher gives learners two authentic texts using used to and would and asks them to describe the use of used to and would in the texts. The teacher can provide them guiding questions such as Where does “used to” occur in the texts? Where does “would” occur in the texts? Which form expresses past habits? The following-up practice exercise could be asking learners to describe some activities they did habitually in the past.

Following Celce-Murcia’s and Olshtain’s (2000) call to transform grammar as habit formation into grammar awareness activities, Nitta and Gardner (2005) examined two theoretical approaches to grammar teaching in nine contemporary English language teaching textbooks, namely, consciousness-raising and practice. The consciousness-raising approach includes
grammar consciousness-raising tasks, interpretation tasks, and focused communication tasks, whereas the practice approach includes grammar exercises and grammar practice activities. The definitions for the consciousness-raising tasks and practice are provided below.

- **Grammar consciousness-raising tasks** = tasks where learners are provided with L2 data and are required to perform some operation on it. The goal is to guide learners to an explicit understanding of a particular linguistic form (e.g., reported speech).

- **Interpretation tasks** = tasks that enhance input so that learners can notice a target form and identify form-function mapping.

- **Focused communication tasks** = tasks that encourage learners to produce the target language. It functions to prepare learners for the presentation of the grammar point by promoting the “noticing” of its linguistic features.

- **Grammar exercises** = tasks that focus on consolidation of recent learned grammar structures.

- **Grammar practice activities** = tasks that are frequently used to create interaction and to develop fluent uses of practiced forms, often in the form of communicative practice.

Nitta and Gardner found that both consciousness-raising and practice approaches are used in most textbooks, and while the grammar consciousness-raising, interpretation, and focused communication tasks are used in the presentation stage, grammar exercises and grammar practice activities are used in the practice stage. Nitta and Gardner also observed that material developers designed grammar textbooks building on both approaches, rather than favoring one over another. What concerned them was that while second language acquisition research has shown promising results on consciousness-raising/awareness in second language teaching and learning, most grammar textbooks still put a lot of emphasis on practice. In Nitta and Gardner’s view, English
language teaching practitioners may not be prepared to abandon the old familiar “practice” exercises that have been used in classrooms for decades before the call for consciousness-raising/awareness in second language classrooms first appeared.

Responding to the call to offer teachers guidance and advice for instructed language acquisition due to the lack of agreement among second language researchers of how instruction can facilitate learning, Ellis (2008) provided ten principles which were designed to be general so that they can be used in a variety of language settings (foreign/second or content-based classrooms). Principle three and Principle four specifically deal with consciousness-raising/awareness teaching and hence will be discussed below.

Ellis’s principle three specified that instruction needs to focus on forms. There were arguments among theorists whether the notion of focus on forms should include meanings or only the forms themselves, and whether it should refer to knowledge of some underlying grammar rules. According to Schmidt, focus on forms refers to form-function mapping – that is, there is a correlation between a particular form and its meaning, and focus on forms is the noticing of a particular linguistic item that learners are exposed to, but not to its underlying grammar rules. With these arguments in mind, Ellis proposed two instructional approaches. One is intensive focus on linguistic forms through grammar lessons, and the other is incidental and extensive attention to forms through corrective feedback in task-based lessons. However, Ellis cautioned that intensive grammar lessons can be time consuming, and there is a constraint on how many structures can be taught. Whereas, incidental and extensive instruction ensures that a large number of grammar structures can be addressed. Also, since task-based instruction usually involves correcting the errors that learners make, learners are more likely to demonstrate subsequent learning than those who received only the grammar-based instruction.
Ellis’s principle four addressed the finding that instruction needs to develop implicit knowledge while not neglecting explicit knowledge. Implicit knowledge is procedural and unconscious, whereas, explicit knowledge is declarative and conscious. It was argued that implicit knowledge plays a major role in communicating fluently and confidently in a second language; hence, it should be the ultimate focus of instruction. The question is how instruction can help develop it. Although second language researchers have different theories with respect to how to approach the question, all have agreed that learners need to be involved in some communicative practice to develop implicit knowledge. DeKeyser (1998) proposed that when learners are provided with plentiful opportunities for communicative practice, explicit knowledge will become implicit. In this view, a grammar structure can be taught by presenting it explicitly first then having learners practice it until it becomes proceduralized. In contrast, Ellis (1993) claimed that when learners are given opportunities to notice to the structure in the input, they are more likely to convert explicit knowledge to implicit knowledge. In teaching practice, teachers should provide learners with grammar consciousness-raising tasks. Tasks which are meaning-based and focused on communication aided by some focus on forms help learners to then use the data from these tasks to work out grammar rules for themselves.

As we have seen, Schmidt’s noticing hypothesis (or consciousness-raising) and Celce-Murcia’s and Olshtain’s awareness teaching approach have been used in second language research and second language classrooms mostly for grammar instruction. While the focus of the former has been at the sentential level, the later has been at the discourse one. More importantly, what we have observed is that only the verbal aspects of certain grammar forms have been investigated. Using nonverbal and voice demonstrations in addition to verbal utterances to raise student consciousness/awareness of linguistic forms and particularly of vocabulary items in
discourse have not been discussed. The next chapter illustrates how an ESL teacher makes
effective use of verbal, nonverbal, and voice demonstrations to raise student
consciousness/awareness of vocabulary items and to engage them in learning by monitoring,
initiating, incorporating, and eliciting their responses.
Chapter 5: Verbal, Nonverbal, and Voice Demonstrations to Foster Student Engagement in Learning Vocabulary

This chapter discusses how a teacher makes use of verbal, nonverbal, and voice demonstrations to raise student consciousness/awareness of vocabulary items and to engage them in learning by initiating, monitoring, incorporating, and eliciting their responses. I first look at how the teacher uses verbal and nonverbal demonstrations to teach directives such as ‘pick up’ and ‘drop.’ I then examine how the teacher uses verbal expressions and embodied movements to teach nouns which involve actions such as ‘taste tester,’ ‘earthquake,’ and ‘handcuffs.’ Next, I discuss how the teacher incorporates verbal expressions, embodied movements, and voice demonstrations to teach action verbs such as ‘hit’ and ‘explode.’ Last, I illustrate how the teacher uses embodied movements and a detective story context to teach volitional verbs such as ‘conceal.’ The chapter concludes with a discussion of the importance of nonverbal behaviors in teacher-student interaction and calls for incorporating verbal, nonverbal, and voice demonstrations to raise student consciousness/awareness of vocabulary items and to foster their engagement in learning vocabulary.

I. Using verbal and nonverbal demonstrations to teach directives ‘pick up’ and ‘drop’

This section discusses how the teacher used verbal and nonverbal demonstrations to raise student consciousness/awareness of the directives ‘pick up’ and ‘drop,’ and to engage them in doing the directives by monitoring and eliciting their actions. The transcription below illustrates how the relevant directives were executed, and how the students responded to them.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher Dav: Dave Nan: Nancy Bre: Brent
Lis: Lisa Sam: Sam Kev: Kevin Stu: Student(s)

Other students who are also in the transcript are Kao and Helen.
Tea: Alright. Pick. Everybody understand pick up ((hand movement to demonstrate pick up))

Dav: ((glancing at the teacher))

Lis: ((glancing at the teacher))

Tea: Pick up ((hand movement to demonstrate pick up))

Sam: ((glancing at the teacher and taking his notebook and raising it up high))

Nan: ((gazing at the book on the table, hand raising up high))

Lis: ((moving her gaze towards the teacher))

Bre: ((moving his gaze towards the teacher))

Dav: ((gazing at Kao))

Tea: Right? ((hand movement to demonstrate pick up))

Sam: ((raising his notebook up high again))

Nan: ((raising her hand up high))

Lis: ((raising her hand up high))

Dav: Pick up ((eyes gazing at Kao, hand raising))

Tea: Pick up. Right? ((hand movement to demonstrate pick up)).

Alright.

Nan: ((gazing at the teacher, hand raising up high))

Dav: ((eyes gazing at Kao, hand raising))
21 Tea: So
22 (1.0)
23 Kev: ((holding a pen up high))

24 Tea: Number seven. Pick up a pen or pencil (.) ((looking around the classroom))
25 Lis: ((reaching her body out to get a pencil/pen in a pen box))
26 Tea: and drop it on the floor.
27 Stu: ((students demonstrate the dropping after the teacher’s directive, Kevin raising his hand up high))
28 Tea: ((pointing at Helen’s dropping, eyes looking at Kevin))
29 Kev: ((still holding his pen up high))
30 Tea: Very good ((pointing at Helen’s dropping)).
In this social participation structure, the teacher was the center of the activity. The teacher positioned himself in the center of the classroom and demonstrated the directives ‘pick up’ and ‘drop’ for the students. During this time, the teacher did the talking and the demonstrations while the students directed their gaze at him. The teacher had the right to a number of turns at talk, and the students were expected to hold off their talk and listen before they took a turn. If they had
questions, they were supposed raise their hands or wait until the teacher finished for their turn to talk.

In line 1, the teacher marked the ending of the previous task with the word ‘Alright’ and a downward intonation. In Schegloff’s and Sacks’ (1973) view, one of the features of the forms such as *Well, OK, Alright*, etc. is to indicate that a speaker has not now anything more new to say. “After such a possible pre-closing is specifically a place for new topic beginnings… and that extensive conversational developments may follow them” (p. 304). Similarly, Beach (1993) proposed that the term ‘Okay’ is often employed by recipients or current speakers at moments where it involves movements from prior to next matters. This is observed in line 1 when the teacher went on to introduce a new task ‘pick’ and asked the students if they knew what the task was ‘Everybody understand pick up.’ In this way, the token ‘Alright’ was an indication that the teacher was now ready to move from what was being discussed about previously to something else. It was an indication of opening up a new task and ending a previous one. The diagram below illustrates how the teacher ended a previous task and initiated a new one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boundary marker</th>
<th>New Task</th>
<th>Request for information</th>
<th>Embodied action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Alright)</td>
<td>(Pick)</td>
<td>(Everybody understand pick up + hand movement)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positioning himself in the center of the class, the teacher asked the students if they knew what the task was while at the same time raising his hand to demonstrate ‘pick up’ in line 2. The teacher’s intention was to help the students make a connection between the word ‘pick up’ and its action so that they could understand the task better. In this way, the teacher’s demonstration did not merely consist of verbal utterances. His hand movement also created a public sign system
that drew student attention. The picture below illustrates Dave’s and Lisa’s gaze toward the teacher while he was demonstrating the task.

![Image of a classroom scene]

*The teacher’s first demonstration for ‘pick up’*

Dave was not a student in the class; he was a tutor for Kao who was sitting next to him. The reason for Dave’s being in the class was even though being placed at a beginning level class, Kao’s language ability was still lower than his peers. Dave was in the class to help Kao understand the teacher’s lecture so that he could catch up with his peers. Hence Dave was acting as a social gate-keeper who was taking on some of the responsibilities of the teacher. His gaze toward the teacher indicated that he was on duty when the teacher was requesting information so that he could explain it to Kao.

The teacher’s request for information was either simply testing student knowledge or co-opting students to participate. Its goal was to transform a monologue to a dialogue by eliciting short items of information from the students (Cazden, 2000). The teacher’s request did not follow the traditional three-part sequence of teacher-initiation, student-response, and teacher-evaluation (IRE). This is seen in line 5 when the teacher raised his hand demonstrating the action ‘pick up’ together with his verbal utterance the second time without any student response and teacher evaluation after his request. While the first demonstration was simply a request regarding
whether or not the students understood the task, the second demonstration was the teacher’s affirmation of what the task entailed. At this point, three other students joined the teacher’s demonstration – Sam picked up his notebook and held it up and Nancy raised her hand while Brent moved his gaze toward the teacher. In the meantime, Lisa sustained her gaze toward the teacher, and Dave directed his gaze to Kao (lines 6 -11).

As we can see, the teacher made use of simultaneous actions of verbal expressions, gestures, and postures (standing in the center of the class and eyes directed to the students) to create a conceptual field for the students to understand the task ‘pick up.’ The teacher’s verbal expressions and nonverbal demonstrations were in line with C. Goodwin (1994) who proposed that talk and gestures must elaborate on one another within a framework of action that includes three components: a semantic description, a conceptual field where an action is located, and the hand of an actor moving in that perceptual field, as this helps to create a language game that participants can use “to make inferences about which features of the complex conceptual field are being pointed at and should be attended to” (p. 614).

From line 12 to line 20, the teacher continued demonstrating ‘pick up’ the third and fourth time, and the students continued to participate (line 13 Sam raising his notebook up the
second time, line 14 Nancy raising her hand up, line 15 Lisa raising her hand up, line 19 Nancy
gazing at the teacher and raising her hand up). The teacher’s verbal utterance ‘Right?’ in line 12
and in line 17 together with his hand movement to demonstrate ‘pick up’ illustrated that he was
acting as a gatekeeper who could impose his authority at the moment by appealing to his
knowledge-based authority. The declarative question ‘Right?’ with a rising intonation was an
illustration of the teacher’s epistemic stance and status on the topic, and therefore it asserted
information rather than requesting it.

At the teacher’s third demonstration, Dave did not direct his gaze toward the teacher but
to Kao and at the same time produced a verbal utterance ‘pick up’ together with a demonstration
for the task (line 16). This phenomenon is observed again in line 20 while the teacher was
demonstrating the task the fourth time. The picture below illustrates Dave’s demonstration of
‘pick up’ for Kao.

![Dave’s demonstration for Kao](image)

According C. Goodwin (2007), environmentally coupled gesture is gesture which
consists of verbal language and gesture in a specific environment. In this way, Dave’s
environmentally coupled gesture (his demonstration of ‘pick up’) together with his gaze toward
Kao and his verbal language successfully elicited a nodding acknowledgement from Kao
(captured by the second camera which was placed at the right hand corner of the class). Kao’s nodding was equivalent to the verbal response ‘Yes.’ It indicated that he had undergone a change of state of knowledge or awareness from Dave’s demonstration. Dave’s interactive organization as a competent member in his community has a number of features in common with the process of apprenticeship in archeology (C. Goodwin, 1994) in which newcomers gain access to their community by learning from their competent members. These include: a) participants gaze at a relevant structure that constitutes the locus of their work (in this case, gestures), b) multiple parties build actions together through their use of talk, gestures, and other forms of embodied actions, c) one party is a competent practitioner while the other is a less experienced one, and d) participants arrange their bodies toward each other to create a shared public focus of attention and action for their work.

In line 21 the teacher ended his demonstration with the pre-closing token ‘So.’ Similar to the token ‘Alright,’ ‘So’ is used as a boundary marker to indicate that the teacher now had nothing more or new to say about his demonstration and that he was now ready to move to the next task. This is seen in line 24 when the teacher moved on to introduce the location of a new task ‘Number seven’ which was then followed by what the task was ‘Pick up a pen or pencil.’

The diagram bellow shows the teacher’s initiation of the new task.

```
Boundary marker + Task location + Task + eyes gazing
(So)                      (Number seven)   (Pick up a pen or pencil + eyes gazing)
```

The boundary marker ‘So’ was an indication for Kevin that an opening up for a new task was about to come. The silence (1.0) in line 22 designated by the teacher provided an opportunity for Kevin to interrupt. It was also long enough for Kevin to figure out what the new
task was as it should relate to the ‘pick up’ action the teacher had just demonstrated for the whole class. This is observed in line 23 when Kevin picked up a pen and raised it up even before the teacher’s directive ‘Pick up a pen or pencil,’ as seen in the picture below.

![Image of a classroom scene](image)

*Kevin picked up a pen and raised it up even before the teacher’s directive.*

What was significant at this point was rather than relying on the teacher to provide the directive, Kevin carried it out independently. The teacher’s previous demonstration assisted and socialized Kevin into the ‘picking up’ practice, and he was now able to transform his social practice experience into his individual learning. After the directive, the teacher paused and then moved his eyes around the classroom to monitor student responses (line 25). In discussing how children differentiate the gazing action of their adult caregivers, Kidwell (2005) suggested two practices of looking – the look and a mere look. While the first is interpreted as portending an intervention, the second is as a mere shift of visual attention to check children’s activities. Similarly to Kidwell’s discussion of adult caregivers’ gazing practice, the teacher’s look here was just a mere shift of visual attention to check student responses. As for directives, M. Goodwin (2006) proposed that “in response to a directive, next moves may be compliance or rejection of the proposal” (p. 518). In the classroom setting, directives are essential for learning as students need to attend to the teacher’s directives to perform actions which are required for a
learning activity to take place. This is observed in line 26 when Lisa reached her hand out to get a pen/pencil in her pen box in compliance with the teacher’s directive. The picture below illustrates the teacher’s mere shift of visual attention and Lisa’s embodied action of compliance.

*The teacher paused to check student responses after his directive and Lisa’s embodied action of compliance.*

The teacher’s subsequent directive ‘and drop it on the floor’ in line 27 engaged more students in performing the task. Erickson (1996) has argued that “through temporally proximal surveillance, as the ‘spotlight’ of teacher attention moves around the room, the teacher observes and in so doing exercises control over student compliance” (p. 94). The teacher’s spotlight, posture, voice, and a mere shift of visual attention while delivering the directive successfully established student attention to the task at hand, and subsequently their compliance with his directive. In this way, the social force of the teacher's directive which resulted in student compliance was heavily shaped by the teacher’s deployment of resources such as voice and embodiment (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2000). The picture below illustrates student compliance with the task (line 28).
Students were demonstrating the dropping action after the teacher directive

Notice that while other students were demonstrating the dropping action, Kevin was still holding his pen up (line 29). To guide Kevin into doing the same action as his peers, the teacher directed his gaze toward Kevin while his hand was pointing at Helen’s dropping (line 30). At this point, Kevin was still not aware of the teacher’s look as portending an intervention of his performance, he was still holding his pen up (line 31). The picture below illustrates the teacher’s deployment of gaze and gesture to alert Kevin that a change in his performance was expected.

The teacher’s deployment of gaze and gesture to alert Kevin of his performance
As Kevin’s performance did not change after his portending look, the teacher moved his gaze to Helen’s dropping. He then pointed at her dropping and at the same time made a positive assessment ‘very good’ (line 32). By taking up a positive stance with Helen’s performance which was different from Kevin’s, the teacher made clear his current alignment with Helen’s performance but not with Kevin’s. M. Goodwin (2006) proposed that “a first speaker offers an assessment, which establishes a field for agreement, disagreement, or adjustment in next utterances” (p. 191). In line 33 the teacher pointed at Helen’s dropping again and produced the verbal utterance ‘drop it’ to show Kevin what ‘dropping’ should look like. Kevin’s adjustment finally came when he bent down and dropped his pen in line 34. In doing so, not only did Kevin demonstrate his linguistic knowledge regarding dropping, but he was also actively participating in performing it so that he could make use of his interlanguage system to demonstrate dropping accurately. Crucial to this point was the teacher’s embedded correction of Kevin’s performance. It was not a correction that whatever has been going on prior to the correction is discontinued. Rather the teacher’s correction was embedded in the ongoing talk with Helen’s performance. In this way, the teacher’s “utterances are not occupied by the doing of correcting, but by whatever talk is in progress” (Jefferson, 1987: 95). The pictures below illustrate the teacher’s embedded correction and Kevin’s subsequent adjustment.
The teacher pointed at Helen’s dropping to show Kevin what dropping should look like.

Kevin’s subsequent adjustment – bending down to drop his pen.

While the teacher was providing embedded correction for Kevin, Dave was demonstrating the dropping action for Kao. Here again we see more clearly the practice of apprenticeship which was similar to the one investigated by (C. Goodwin, 1994) in archaeology in which newcomers gain access to their community by learning from their competent members. These include: a) participants gaze at a relevant structure that constitutes the locus of their work (in this case, gestures), b) multiple parties build actions together through their use of talk, gestures, and other forms of embodied actions, c) one party is a competent practitioner while the
other is a less experienced one, and d) participants arrange their bodies toward each other to create a shared public focus of attention and action for their work.

In line 35 the teacher demonstrated ‘drop it’ again together with his verbal utterance and his hand movement. The teacher’s final demonstration for ‘drop’ engaged the students in various embodied movements for the task. In line 36 Helen and Sam bent down to pick up their pens. In line 37 and line 38 Lisa was doing the dropping while Dave was demonstrating it for Kao. In line 39 Kevin bent down for his pen to touch the floor, and Nancy also did the same in line 40. In Erickson’s (2004) view, the workings of student participation as a result of the teacher’s demonstration for ‘drop’ were an ecosystem of mutual influence in speaking and listening activities between the teacher and his students. It was a “relationship of mutual influence between the actions of differing individuals during the conduct of face-to-face interaction” (p. 198).

In line 41 the teacher marked the ending of his demonstration with the boundary marker ‘So’ to indicate that he now had nothing more new to say or to demonstrate. This was then followed by the teacher’s affirmative conclusion ‘you understand drop’ together with a pointing gesture at the word ‘drop’ in the handout (line 42). The pointing was the teacher’s intention to help the students relate the task they had just practiced with its linguistic form. The diagram below illustrates the teacher’s use of a boundary marker to end his demonstration and open up an affirmative conclusion for dropping.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boundary marker + Conclusion + embodied action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(So) (You understand drop) + (pointing gesture)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In line 43 Kevin, Nancy, Sam, and Dave finished their demonstration by bending down and picking up their pens. In line 44 the teacher moved toward the board; he then produced a verbal utterance ‘So you understand’ in line 45. The teacher’s verbal utterance, however, was incomplete; he was writing on the board instead of finishing his utterance (line 46). The silence of the teacher provided an opportunity for Sam to interrupt, not with the teacher’s writing action on the board, but with Brent’s reluctance to participate. According to Erickson (1996), student behavior is constantly available for surveillance in the classroom setting, that is, their behavior “is potentially available to be audienced - both by the teacher and by other students” (p. 93). During the teacher’s demonstration and student practice, Sam noticed that Brent did not respond to the teacher’s directive. Taking the opportunity when the teacher was occupied with the writing task on the board, Sam directed his gaze toward Brent and demonstrated the dropping action (line 47). What was significant to this process was the semiotic practice that Sam was using to engage Brent with the task without talk. This is seen in line 48 when Brent gazed at Sam while at the same time moving his hand to demonstrate the dropping action. The pictures below illustrate Sam’s semiotic request and Brent’s response.
Sam directed his gaze toward Brent

Then demonstrated the dropping action

Brent responded by moving his hand to demonstrate dropping
In line 49 Lisa gazed at Sam and then turned to Brent to produce a verbal utterance in Portuguese. Ignoring Lisa’s use of a foreign language which he did not understand, Sam persisted in his role of social gatekeeping responsibility for the teacher – he demonstrated the actions ‘pick up’ and ‘drop’ together with his verbal utterance while directing his gaze toward Brent (lines 50 and 51). At this time the teacher also finished his writing on the board, he turned to the students and asked them ‘So everybody. What is the difference drop and fall’ in lines 52 and 53. The teacher’s request for information directed the gaze of all students toward him (line 54).

This section discussed how the teacher used verbal and nonverbal demonstrations to raise student consciousness/awareness about the directives ‘pick up’ and ‘drop’ and to engage them with the tasks by initiating, monitoring, incorporating, and eliciting their responses. The teaching and learning were seen through the teacher’s embedded correction, peer learning in the form of apprenticeship, and peer surveillance. What we notice is that both the teacher and the students employed numerous nonverbal behaviors in addition to verbal language to aid in their teaching and learning processes. These include eye gaze, gestures, embodied movements, and postures. These nonverbal demonstrations are essential in the course of their interaction. Without them, it is hard to explain how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the relevant directives, and how he engaged them in doing the tasks in response to his requests and with their peers.

II. Using verbal expressions and embodied demonstrations to teach nouns that involve actions.

1. Taste tester
This section examines how the teacher pretended to be a ‘taste tester’ to raise student consciousness/awareness of the relevant noun phrase and to engage them in a discussion of what kind of food a taste tester tastes. The transcription below illustrates the teacher-student discussion (starting at line 8).

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tea: teacher</th>
<th>Bren: Brent</th>
<th>Sam: Sam</th>
<th>Tom: Tom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stu: student</td>
<td>Ken: Kent</td>
<td>Lis: Lisa</td>
<td>Cat: Cathy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

01 Tea: Taste delicious. And tomorrow we’re going to have a test.
02 Stu: ((answer from multiple students))
03 Tea: Test. So test taste ((pointing to ‘test’ and ‘taste’)).
04 Sam: Tomorrow?
05 Tea: Test ta- ((pointing to the words test taste)). No. (it’s) just for example.
06 Stu: ((multiple laughing from the students))
07 Tea: Yes. Yes. ((waiting for the laughter to go down)) So (1.0) sometimes we have taste tester. Anybody knows?
08 Sam: Yea:::h.
09 Lis: Yea:::h.
10 Tea: What is a taste tester? ((turning his body away from the board)). A taste tester for example (.)
11 Sam: Supermarket?
12 Tea: ((demonstrating the tasting action)).
16  Right?

17  Stu:  \\
18  Sam:  taste tester. \\
19  Tea:  taste tester. Right? Often for coffee::: wine:::

20  ((hand listing))

21  Bre:  pie.

22  Tea:  pie sometimes.

23  Ken:  (perfume). (perfume).

24  Tom:  chocolate.

25  Tea:  chocolate. ((pointing to Tom))

26  Sam:  ((turning to Kent to recognize his contribution))
Bre: pizza.
Tea: pizza. Right.
Ken: (per- perfume). ((raising his hand high to get the teacher’s attention)) (perfume).

Cat: ((turning to Kent to recognize his contribution))
Tea: ((moving his gaze to Kent)) Huh?
Ken: (perfume).
Stu: Perfume. ((correct pronunciation))
Ken: ((making the spaying gestures around his face))
Tea: Perfume. ((stress on the first syllable, nodding his head)).
Ken: Perfume.((repeat with correct pronunciation))
Tea: Perfume. But they don’t taste (it). ((pointing to his mouth))
( it’s) smell test. Smell test ((pointing to his nose)).
Stu: ((laughter from the students))
Bre: Juice.
Bre: Juice.

In this social participation structure, the teacher was the center of the class activity. The teacher positioned himself in the middle of the class and explained to the students what a taste
tester does. During the teacher’s turn at talk, the students were expected to remain quiet and have their eyes on the teacher. They were expected to raise their hands or wait till the teacher finished his turn for their turn to talk.

In line 1 the teacher explained the difference in meaning between ‘taste’ and ‘test’ by giving the students the context where ‘taste’ and ‘test’ should be used. While ‘taste’ was used with something ‘delicious,’ ‘test’ was used in the classroom ‘and tomorrow we’re going to have a (.).’ The teacher’s pause upon completing his turn was an indication of a completion which he expected from the students. This adult-child talk was quickly taken up by the students in line 2 when they filled in the rest of the sentence with the word ‘test.’ In line 3 the teacher confirmed what the students had just said by repeating ‘test.’ He then pointed to the relevant words and pronounced them out loud ‘So test taste.’ By doing it, the teacher wanted to make the students aware of the difference in pronunciation, meaning, and forms of the words ‘test’ and ‘taste.’ In line 4 Sam raised a question of whether or not they would have a test ‘Tomorrow’ as he did not realize that the teacher used it just as an example. In line 5 the teacher cut off in the middle of his turn ‘Test ta-’ while he was pointing to the relevant words and then rejected Sam’s question ‘No. (it’s) just for example’ (line 6). The teacher’s rejection resulted in laughter from the students (line 7) as the truth was there would be no test tomorrow, and Sam was mistaken in assuming it from the teacher’s example.

In line 8 the teacher uttered two confirming responses ‘Yes. Yes’ to align with the student laughter that there would be no test tomorrow. Waiting for the laughter to die down, the teacher then used the boundary marker ‘So’ followed by a long silence (1.0) to open up a new topic ‘sometimes we have taste tester’ which was then followed by his request for information
‘Anybody knows?’ (line 9). The teacher’s technique to close a topic and open up a new one is observed again in the diagram below, but this time without his embodied action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boundary marker + New topic + Request for information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(So)         (sometimes we have taste tester) (Anybody knows?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In lines 10 and 11, Sam and Lisa provided a weak affirmative response ‘Yea:::h’ to acknowledge the teacher’s request. Their verbal response indicated that they knew the answer but they were uncertain how to express it in English. The explanation for the meaning of the relevant noun required lengthy and multiple utterances in the target language, and this was beyond their ability, given the fact that their language proficiency was at the beginning level. Their uncertain response hence initiated a follow-up question from the teacher ‘What is a taste tester?’ in line 12. At the same time, the teacher was aware that the question was beyond students’ ability to answer, he did not wait for their response. Instead, moving away from the board and centering himself behind his desk, the teacher then provided the answer for his question ‘A taste tester for example (.)’ in line 13. The teacher’s pause at a transitional relevant place (TRP) provided an opportunity for Sam to interrupt. He attempted to answer the question ‘Supermarket?’ in line 14. In this way, Sam was able to make a connection between ‘a taste tester’ and ‘supermarket.’ Sam’s response, however, was not the ideal answer the teacher was looking for, and this is seen in line 15 when the teacher moved on to demonstrate what a taste tester does without any evaluation of Sam’s attempted response.

In his discussion of the life of the classroom where teachers and students engage in their everyday work, Macbeth (1991) claimed that their constitutive practices “yield the unremarkable coherence and familiar sense of everyday life” (p. 283). This practice is observed when the
teacher transformed himself to become a taste tester by pretending he was tasting food. He then used gestures to indicate whether the food was okay, bad, or good. The pictures below illustrate the teacher’s tasting action and his reaction when the food was bad.

*Teacher’s hand gesture to demonstrate the tasting action*

*Teacher’s hand gesture to indicate the food was bad.*

In line 16 the teacher ended his demonstration with a declarative question ‘Right?’ The question was within the teacher’s epistemic domain, and therefore it favored a ‘yes’ response. The teacher’s demonstrations enabled the students to make a connection between the linguistic
form of the relevant noun and its meaning while they were watching him (line 17). In discussing the concept of “zone of proximal development,” the Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1978) proposed that it is a shifting zone of competence within which a learner, with help, can accomplish what later can be accomplished alone. This is seen in line 18 when Sam produced the verbal utterance ‘taste tester’ with a head nod to indicate that he had undergone some change of state of knowledge or awareness of what the relevant noun means after the teacher’s demonstrations.

In line 19 the teacher produced the verbal utterance ‘taste tester’ to make the students relate its linguistic form with what he had just demonstrated. His question ‘Right?’ was designed in favor of a yes-response as the teacher was sure of the answer. The teacher then listed items a taste tester tastes ‘often for coffee::: wine:::’ together with his hand gesture for listing in line 20, as seen in the picture below.

![The teacher’s hand listing for tasting items](image)

The lengthening verbal utterances and the listing gesture were the teacher’s elicitation for the students to participate by scaffolding them to verbalize their ideas following his one-word-utterance examples. Mehan (1979) defined teacher’s elicitations as those forms of communication that “engage participants in the exchange of academic information about factual
matters, opinions, interpretations, or the grounds of their reasoning” (p. 64). The teacher’s elicitation opened the floor where the students competed for their turn to participate. In line 21 Brent participated by following the teacher’s one-word utterance example ‘Pie.’ In line 22 the teacher acknowledged Brent’s contribution by confirming his response ‘Pie sometimes.’ In lines 23 and 24 both Kent and Tom were competing for their utterances to be heard, ‘perfume’ and ‘chocolate’ respectively – a phenomenon which Erickson (2004) described as the ‘turn shark.’

In this case Tom won the teacher’s attention as it was evidenced in line 25 when the teacher pointed to Tom and acknowledged his contribution ‘chocolate’ while ignoring Kent’s. There were two reasons why Kent’s contribution was vulnerable to the turn shark. First, he pronounced the word ‘perfume’ without stress on the first syllable that made it incomprehensible for the teacher. Second, he was sitting in a place that was more distant to the teacher than Tom. As a result, his attempt to contribute was not noticed by the teacher. In line 26 Sam, who was sitting next to Kent, turned to him to recognize his effort to participate, but it was unfortunate that he did not gain any recognition from the teacher. In line 27 Brent participated the second time ‘Pizza.’ Once again Brent’s contribution was recognized by the teacher with his confirmation and evaluation ‘Pizza. Right’ in line 28.

Kent at this time was aware of something that was wrong with his pronunciation. In line 29 he produced the first syllable ‘per-’ of the word ‘perfume’ and then cut off in the middle of the word. Here the problem was Kent was uncertain if his pronunciation was correct, and if that might be the reason why the teacher kept ignoring him. His repair initiation ‘perfume’ was within the same turn constructional unit (TCU), and it alerted the teacher a possible self-repair was forthcoming. As he was ignored by the teacher because of his imperfect pronunciation, Kent

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1 Turn shark: one student’s turn is taken over by another student’s.
determined to win the teacher’s attention. In lines 29 and 30 Ken raised his hand while at the same time produced the verbal utterance ‘perfume,’ as seen in the picture below.

![Hand raising](image)

*Kent raised his hand to get noticed by the teacher for his contribution.*

Kent’s determined communicative intent with his gesture and his verbal language was recognized by Cathy who was sitting across from Kent at another table. She turned to Kent to recognize his contribution (line 31). More importantly, the teacher was also aware of his attempt to participate this time. He moved his gaze toward Kent and uttered the token ‘Huh?’ with a rising intonation which was equivalent to the wh-question ‘What?’ Taking advantage while the teacher’s attention was on him after several failed attempts, Kent produced the word ‘perfume’ again in line 33. When the teacher was still not aware of what Kent was trying to say, a turn shark in the corner of the classroom jumped in to rescue Kent’s poor pronunciation. She produced the word ‘perfume’ with stress on the first syllable (line 34) – a pronunciation feature which Kent consistently failed to produce. Kent was now aware that his verbal communicative intent so far was not successful, he did not give up. In line 35 he made a spraying gesture around his face to aid what he meant by his verbal utterance ‘perfume.’ The picture below illustrates Kent’s spraying gesture.
The rescued turn shark from a classmate together with Kent’s spraying gesture finally helped the teacher figure out what Kent was trying to say. In line 36 the teacher acknowledged Kent’s contribution by repeating ‘perfume’ with stress on the first syllable and a head nod. Here we see the teacher’s embedded correction again where the doing of the correction was based on the on-going talk of the rescued turn shark and Kent’s spraying gesture, but it was not based on Kent’s mispronunciation of the target word. The teacher’s correction received an uptake – in line 37 Kent produced the word ‘perfume’ with stress on the first syllable. Kent’s spraying demonstration which was built through different semiotic practices (gestures, bodily orientation, and gaze) mutually elaborated each other to create a whole which was different from each component part. In Streeck’s (2009) terms, Kent’s effective use of body parts and gestures was “aiming for a representation that is adequate for his communicative intent at the moment” (p. 430).

In line 38 the teacher confirmed Kent’s uptake by repeating it, which was then followed by another embedded correction ‘But they don’t taste (it)’ together with a pointing gesture to his mouth. In line 39 the teacher provided a repair for Kent’s trouble source ‘(it’s) smell test. Smell test’ while pointing to his nose. By building a repair with the combination of language and
embodied demonstrations, the teacher helped Kent distinguish the difference between the two sensory verbs ‘taste’ and ‘smell.’ While one uses his/her mouth for tasting purposes, s/he uses his/her nose for smelling. The teacher’s repair generated laughter from the students (line 40) as it would be very funny for them to think that anyone would like to taste perfume. In line 41 Brent continued to carry on the listing ‘Juice.’ Notice that this was his third contribution, and they all successfully got the teacher’s attention. This is seen in line 42 while the teacher was still on the subject ‘Smell,’ he repeated ‘Juice’ to acknowledge Brent’s contribution. Brent then repeated after the teacher ‘Juice’ in line 43 as if he wanted to make sure it was a correct item for tasting. In line 44 the teacher assured him with the verbal agreement ‘Juice. Yeah’ which was then followed by a closing token ‘Alright’ and an assessment for the discussion ‘Very good.’

This section discussed how the teacher used embodied demonstrations to raise student consciousness/awareness of the noun phrase ‘taste tester’ and to engage them with the discussion what kind of food a taste tester tastes. By using gestures to demonstrate the tasting action which was then followed by his prompt (one-word lengthening and hand listing), the teacher successfully elicited student participation. They enthusiastically participated by providing items which are used for tasting purposes (i.e., pie, chocolate, pizza, etc.) Student contributions were observed in the forms of verbal utterances, turn shark, and embodied demonstrations for trouble sources. It was also observed that the teacher consistently provided embedded corrections through verbal and/or embodied actions. Both the teacher and the students employed numerous verbal utterances and nonverbal behaviors in the course of their teaching and learning. In C. Goodwin’s (2007) terms, the teaching and learning which were built through the simultaneous uses of different kinds of semiotic practices (language, gestures, and embodied movements).
mutually elaborated each other to create a whole which was different from any of its constituent parts.

2. *Earthquake*

This section examines how the teacher acted out the role as an animator of an earthquake event to raise student consciousness/awareness of the noun ‘earthquake’ and to engage them into learning by acting out as an animator, using humor, and monitoring their participation through use of a portending look. The transcription below illustrates the teacher’s demonstration of events during an earthquake and the students’ responses.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher
Hel: Helen
Bre: Brent
Stu: student
Lis: Lisa

Other students who are also in the transcript are Dave, Sam, Kevin, and Nancy.

01 Tea: Alright. Number five. Earthquake.
02 Stu: ((multiple repetitions)) Earthquake.
03 Tea: So earthquake is when the ground what?
04 ((bodily movements to demonstrate earthquake))
05 Stu: ((Dave, Sam, and Kevin gazing at the teacher))
06 ((Brent and Lisa gazing at each other and talking))
07 (2.0)
08 Hel: ((directing her gaze to the teacher’s demonstration))
Tea: (still demonstrating earthquake movements) Yeah.

When the ground shakes. (still demonstrating earthquake movements)

Stu: (Nancy moved her gaze to the teacher and back to her book)

(Sam, Kevin, and Helen withdrew their gazes from the teacher’s demonstration)

(multiple laughter from the students)

Tea: Not milkshake. (still demonstrating the shaking action)

Stu: (Sam, Kevin, Helen, and Nancy directed their gaze back to the teacher’s demonstration)

(more laughter from the students)

Tea: Earth shake.(stopping demonstration) Right? Yes.

So (.) Earthquakes
((directing his gaze toward Brent and Lisa as they were still talking to each other))

((then moving his gaze to the whole class))
You have earthquakes in your countries?
  ((Brent and Lisa stopped talking to each other))
((directing his gaze back to Brent and Lisa))
Brazil? You have earthquakes?
Bre: No.
Stu: No. ((from another student))
Tea: No earthquakes.
Lis: ((shaking her head to indicate no earthquakes in Brazil))
Tea: ((moving his gaze to the whole class)) We have earthquakes in LA?
Stu: Yes. ((answer from multiple students))
Tea: Yes. We have earthquakes. ((gestures to illustrate agreement))
Stu: Earthquake.
Tea: Yes. This weekend. San Diego. There was earthquake.
  ((bodily movements to demonstrate shaking))
  ((all the students gazing at the teacher’s demonstration))
Anybody in San Diego? ((still demonstrating shaking))
In this social participation structure, the teacher was the center of the activity. The teacher positioned himself in the center of the class and demonstrated the earthquake movement for the students. During the teacher’s demonstration, the students were expected to stay quiet and had their eyes on the teacher. If they had questions or would like to participate, they were expected to wait till the teacher finished his demonstration and/or his turn at talk for their turn to talk.

In line 1 the teacher opened up a new topic by using the boundary marker ‘Alright.’ He then let the students know where the new topic was ‘Number five,’ and this was then followed by the teacher’s introduction of the new topic ‘Earthquake.’ The diagram below illustrates how the teacher moved from one topic to another.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boundary marker + Topic location + New topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Alright)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Number five)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Earthquake)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

The teacher’s introduction automatically put the students on a responsive mode. They repeated after the teacher without being asked to do so in line 2 ‘Earthquake.’ In the classroom setting, the display structure of the adjacent pairs is a sequential organization “wherein the first calls for the second” (Macbeth, 1991: 290). The teacher’s introduction alerted the students that the noun phrase was a new vocabulary item. Without any further request from the teacher, the students responded by repeating the relevant noun. In this way, they were learning the word ‘Earthquake’ by looking at its form in Number five and by pronouncing it.

After having the students know its form and its pronunciation, the teacher went on to explain what the relevant noun means ‘So earthquake is when the ground what?’ in line 3. The teacher’s question was just a way to get the students to participate. Because the question was
beyond the students’ level of language proficiency, the teacher did not wait for their response. Instead, he went on to demonstrate the ground movements in line 4 by moving his body and his hands to indicate the effect of an earthquake, as seen in the picture below.

![The teacher’s demonstration of the ground movements and students’ gaze](image)

The teacher’s demonstration attracted Kevin’s, Sam’s, and Dave’s attention. They gazed at the teacher while he was demonstrating the movements (line 5). Their gaze follows C. Goodwin’s (1980) rule to account for participants’ gaze behavior that a recipient should be gazing at the speaker when the speaker is gazing at the hearer. Notice that Brent and Lisa were gazing at each other and talking during the teacher’s demonstration (line 6), and we will see shortly that their behaviors were sanctioned by the teacher. It was unacceptable for the teacher that Brent and Lisa seemed not to pay attention while he was speaking and demonstrating the earthquake effect. Their noncooperation while he was in the middle of his demonstration was a way to let the teacher know that he never really “got the floor” at all (Cazden, 2000).

Goffman (1981) defined an animator as “a talking machine, a body engaged in acoustic activity, or, if you will, an individual active in the role of utterance production; he is functioning as an animator” (p. 144). In this way, the teacher was acting as an animator while demonstrating an earthquake’s effect. Instead of using a lengthy definition of ‘earthquake’ from a dictionary to
explain it to the students, the teacher used his embodied actions so that the students could connect its form and meaning in an easier way. From the teacher’s demonstration, the students could infer that ‘earthquake’ refers to some movements on the ground. With their language proficiency, it was a challenge for them to read the definition of ‘earthquake’ from a dictionary and to be able to understand what it means. The teacher’s demonstration thus provided an alternative opportunity for them to comprehend the word in a less complicated manner.

Ideally, the teacher assumed that his demonstration attracted all students’ attention - they all should have their gaze on him while he was demonstrating the earthquake effect like Kevin, Sam, and Dave did. However, the teacher knew that this would not always be true. While Brent’s and Lisa’s behaviors were supposed to be sanctioned, Helen did not have her gaze at the teacher from the beginning of his demonstration (and this was also the case with Nancy and Kao). The question was should their gaze-violation behavior be ignored or sanctioned? We will eventually see that the teacher ignored it. Their non-compliance in many ways did not disrupt the teacher’s on-going action like what Brent and Lisa were doing. After two seconds of demonstration (line 7), Helen moved her gaze to the teacher (line 8). Her gaze was an indication of her willingness to engage at this point, but not from the beginning. Helen’s gaze follows the proposal of Rossano et al. (2009) that “gaze is used to coordinate the development and closure of sequences and courses of actions, to pressure for responses and pursue them, to indicate special states of recipiency” (p. 188). Helen’s gaze signaled the teacher that she recognized the teacher was launching a lengthy demonstration. It occurred before and continued at the time she engaged, and it would probably continue afterward. This is seen in line 9 when the teacher carried on the demonstration with the verbal agreement ‘Yeah’ to indicate this was what the ground should look like when an earthquake occurs.
The teacher as an animator was seen more clearly in line 10 when he finally answered the question he asked in line 3 (when the ground what?) ‘When the ground shakes’ together with his continuing embodied actions for ground movements (line 11). The teacher’s verbal utterance together with his ground-shaking demonstration can be seen as involving two animators (Goffman, 1981). One was the person who was animating the earthquake effect on the ground, and the other was an embedded animator. According to Goffman, an embedded animator is “a figure in a statement who is present only in a world that is being told about, not in the world in which the current telling takes place” (p. 149). In this way, the teacher’s embedded animator was a world full of earthquake effects. He was temporarily leaving the current world where there was no threat of an earthquake to live in a chaotic world with continuous ground-shaking events as a result of an earthquake in which he projected himself.

After such a long demonstration of earthquake effects on the ground, Nancy finally moved her gaze toward the teacher to recognize his demonstration, but then quickly moved her gaze back to her book (line 12). Her gaze pattern contrasted with Kendon’s (1977) general claim that speakers tend to glance quickly at recipients while recipients tend to sustain their gaze toward the speaker. In lines 13 and 14, Kevin, Sam, and Helen withdrew their gaze from the...
teacher’s demonstration. Their gaze away from the teacher could be a signal to the teacher that they recognized his multi-turn sequence of demonstration, and there was nothing more for them to see. Adding to the pre-closure of student attention was a series of laughs from the students (line 15) to indicate to the teacher that they enjoyed his performance. In discussing non-cognitive aspects that underline interpersonal relationships in classrooms, Cazden (2000) claimed that affective aspects are no less important for children’s learning. The question we would like to ask is whether affective aspects are only true for children’s learning. Our data revealed that they are also important for young adults’ learning. The shared enjoyment of humor between the teacher and the students over the earthquake effects helped lower the anxiety of learning the meaning of the noun ‘earthquake’ which would take place in a more daunting way by learning it from the dictionary. The lengthy explanation of unfamiliar vocabulary may hinder the students’ motivation to learn providing their limited language proficiency. The picture below illustrates the pre-closure of student attention where Kevin, Sam, Helen, and Nancy withdrew their gaze and laughter from the teacher and the other students (marked with X).

Kevin, Sam, Helen, and Nancy withdrew their gaze and laughter from the other students

While the students’ interest seemed to wind down and was about to come to a gradual end, the teacher unexpectedly called student attention back to his demonstration with the verbal
utterance ‘Not milkshake’ together with his continuing embodied shaking in line 16. The teacher’s humor to remind the students not to confuse the ground shaking as a result of an ‘earthquake’ with a ‘milkshake’ certainly had a positive effect. Immediately Kevin, Sam, Helen, and Nancy re-directed their gaze to the teacher’s demonstration (lines 17-18), and in the meantime more laughter came from the students to join in the teacher’s humor (line 19). In Korobkin’s (1988) view, “laughter in the classroom can serve to revitalize the attention span and increase motivation, which can lead to increased productivity” (p. 155). The teacher’s humor successfully revitalized student attention back to his demonstration through their gaze and laughter. As a result, this could potentially lead to their increased motivation and productivity in internalizing the form and meaning of the relevant word. The picture below illustrates Kevin, Sam, Helen, and Nancy re-directed their gaze to the teacher and more student laughter (marked with X).

Kevin, Sam, Helen, and Nancy re-directed their gaze to the teacher and student laughter

In line 20 the teacher confirmed with the students that what he had demonstrated was not ‘milkshake’ but ‘earth shake.’ It was also at this time that the teacher stopped his embodied actions after such a long demonstration. The teacher’s question ‘Right?’ was within his epistemic stance and therefore favored a yes-response. This was seen immediately after the question when
the teacher answered it himself ‘Yes.’ In line 21 the teacher used the boundary marker ‘So’ to open up a new discussion about ‘earthquakes.’ The teacher’s verbal announcement ‘earthquakes’ was an indication to the students that now they knew what ‘earthquake’ meant, and it was time to talk about it. However, before moving further the discussion, the teacher moved his gaze toward Brent and Lisa, who had been talking to each other since the beginning of the teacher’s demonstration, and they still were when he landed his gaze at their sanctionable activity (lines 22-23). The teacher’s gaze was not a mere shift of visual attention as described by Kidwell (2005), but it was ‘the look’ to indicate a portending intervention was possible. The picture below illustrates the teacher’s look.

![The teacher’s look](image)

The teacher’s look was intended to alert Brent and Lisa of their problematic conduct and for them to cease their activity before the teacher took action to make them to stop. Without any further action, the teacher moved his gaze to the whole class (line 24) and asked the question ‘You have earthquakes in your countries?’ (line 25). The teacher’s look was powerful enough to make Brent and Lisa reorganize their sanctionable conduct – they stopped talking to each other (line 26). In this way, their reorganized conduct follows Macbeth’s (1991) claim that there are grounds for taking seriously the moments of “no talking as actions, not absences; actions within
which the sense of the sequence as an occasion of student accountability and teacher authority is produced” (p. 292).

To make certain that Brent and Lisa ceased their activity, the teacher moved his gaze back to them in line 27. Seeing that they already sanctioned their activity, the teacher gave them an opportunity to participate ‘Brazil? You have earthquakes?’ (line 28). The reason the teacher mentioned Brazil instead of their names was because both Brent and Lisa came from Brazil. In this way Brazil was equivalent to their names being addressed – Brent and Lisa. By saying Brazil, “it is the teacher’s purpose to pierce the anonymity of everyone, and to produce from an environment of cohort address a named address to just this one. When it occurs, part of the power of a named address is not only to find the one it calls for but to demonstrate the prevailing candidacy of each one else to address, too ” (Macbeth, 1991: 287) (Note that there was no other student from Brazil in the class). Brent’s answer ‘No’ in line 29 was a response to the teacher’s request for information about earthquakes in his country. In line 30 another student also contributed to the teacher’s request ‘No.’ The student’s contribution was out-of-turn as he was not being called on. His contribution was based on his general knowledge about earthquakes around the world as he was not from Brazil. In line 31 the teacher confirmed his recently informed knowledge about earthquakes in Brazil ‘No earthquakes.’ In line 32 Lisa was shaking her head to agree with the teacher that there were no earthquakes in her country.

Moving his gaze to the whole class (line 33), the teacher initiated another question ‘We have earthquakes in LA?’ (line 34). The teacher’s question with no particular addressee opened the floor for verbal traffic in which the students competed for their responses to be heard. This is seen in line 35 where multiple students answered ‘Yes.’ In line 36 the teacher confirmed the
students’ response ‘Yes. We have earthquakes’ together with his gestures to assure the students that there are definitely earthquakes in LA, as seen in the picture below.

The teacher’s gestures to assure the students there are earthquakes in LA

The teacher’s verbal language together with his gestures created a visible resource that encouraged the students to look at him. In line 37 a student repeated after the teacher ‘earthquake’ to raise her voice to the present discussion. In line 38 the teacher recognized her participation with a verbal agreement ‘Yes,’ he then switched to a current-event topic by first introducing the time ‘This weekend,’ then its location ‘San Diego,’ and then the news ‘There was earthquake.’ The teacher’s intention however was not to open a new discussion about an earthquake in San Diego. Given the students’ limited level of language proficiency, the teacher was aware that it was not a good idea to engage them with the topic. The teacher’s goal was to give them another example of what an earthquake should look like. This is seen in line 39 when the teacher used his embodied actions to illustrate the earthquake movements again. The teacher’s embodied actions attracted all the student attention – they all moved their gaze toward the teacher (line 40). In line 41 the teacher initiated another request to see if anyone witnessed it ‘Anybody in San Diego?’ His request however was just to get the students to participate as it was seen that he was still demonstrating the earthquake movements long after the request was made.
This section discussed how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the noun ‘earthquake’ and engaged them in learning the relevant noun by acting out the role of an animator, using humor, and monitoring their participation through the portending look. We have seen that in addition to verbal utterances, the teacher used numerous embodied actions and gaze to initiate and monitor student engagement. Student participation was observed in the forms of gaze toward the teacher, laughter at his sense of humor, and ceasing their sanctionable activity as the result of the teacher’s portending look. Both the teacher and the students employed numerous nonverbal behaviors in addition to verbal utterances in the course of their teaching and learning. The extra verbal phenomena that were being attended to by the teacher and his students gave strong evidence that these phenomena are essentially and deeply implicated in the course of their teaching and learning.

3. **Handcuffs**

This section discusses how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the noun ‘handcuffs’ by designing a situation that was funny in order to invite laughter from the students. This created an interactive environment where the students were actively engaged in learning the relevant noun in a humorous and enjoyable way. The transcript below illustrates how the teacher designed the situation for laughter.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher  
Lis: Lisa  
Stu: student(s)

01 Tea: Alright (.). So what do the police put on the suspect? What do they put on him?
02  
03 Lis: (The) handcuff.
04 Sam: The: ::: (leaning over the book to look for the word)
Tea: Handcuffs. Very good. They put handcuffs.

((turn to the board and put a mark for Lisa’s response))

Right? A special kind of jewelry. Right?

((still facing the board then hands demonstrating for having handcuffs on))

No no not jewelry.

Stu: ((multiple laughter from the students))
13  Tea:  (  ) Yes. Very good. Alright.
14  Stu:  ((continue laughing))

In this social participation structure, the teacher was still the center of the class activity. He positioned himself in the middle of the class and explained new vocabulary items for the students. During the teacher’s turn at talk, the students were expected to have their eyes on the teacher and to stay quiet. If they had questions or would like to participate, they were expected to wait until the teacher finished his turn for their turn to talk.

In line 1 the teacher marked the ending of the previous topic with the boundary marker ‘Alright’ which was then followed by a pause. This indicated to the students that the teacher had finished explaining the previous topic and that it was time for him to move on to the next one. After the pause without any student interruption for questions, the teacher went on to introduce the new topic with the boundary marker ‘So’ and a request for information ‘What do the police put on the suspect?’ He then refined the question by changing the nouns ‘the police’ and ‘the suspect’ into pronouns ‘they’ and ‘him’ in line 2 ‘What do they put on him?’

The teacher’s request for information immediately received a response from Lisa. In line 3 Lisa provided the answer ‘(The) handcuff’ in response to the teacher’s request. Notice that since the teacher’s request did not designate to any particular addressee, the request was open to the floor for the students to compete for their turns to answer. This was seen in line 4 when Sam
was trying to participate by lengthening the article ‘The::’ and in the meantime leaning over the book to look for the relevant noun to answer the teacher’s question. In this way Sam was not sure what the appropriate noun phrase was, and he was looking for it in the book. The picture below illustrates Sam’s effort to participate by leaning over the book to look for the answer.

![Sam leaning over the book to look for the answer.](image)

*Sam was leaning over the book to look for the answer.*

While Sam was still trying to locate where the noun was in the book, Lisa’s response immediately received the teacher’s affirmation, ‘handcuffs,’ which was then followed by the teacher’s evaluation ‘Very good. They put handcuffs’ in line 5. The teacher’s initiation (I), Lisa’s response (R), and the teacher’s evaluation (E) was a typical example of the IRE teaching model proposed by Mehan (1979). While giving a positive evaluation for Lisa’s response, the teacher also recognized her contribution by turning to the board and putting a mark for her contribution (lines 6 and 7). The mark was a reward for her quick and correct response, and it was equivalent to a candy, which the teacher often gave out to praise the student who answered his questions quickly and correctly.

While still facing the board, the teacher produced the utterance ‘Right? A special kind of jewelry. Right?’ in line 8, and in the meantime demonstrating what this special kind of jewelry was used for (lines 9 and 10), as seen in the picture below.
The teacher’s demonstration of the special kind of jewelry

In discussing the teacher’s comedy designed for laughter, Roth et al. (2011) proposed that “there are instances in classrooms where teachers act to explicitly design an instance of humor that is to be greeted by laughter” (p. 451). This is also the case we observe here. While making a funny remark on handcuffs as a special kind of jewelry, the teacher was still facing the board, and in the meantime putting his two hands together behind his back illustrating that he was wearing a special kind of jewelry like handcuffs. The teacher’s funny verbal remark together with his ironic bodily performance of being handcuffed by the police successfully elicited a series of laughs from the students in line 12. Unlike most teaching practices that construct knowledge in a controlled setting, here the teacher was creating a situation that engaged the students in learning the word ‘handcuffs’ in a joyful and unstructured way. The teacher’s teaching practice was similar to the practices that parents use to engage children in learning theories about the world, that is, parents provide active and joyful opportunities for children to learn new words and concepts, and invite them to do so without any imposing on them (M. Goodwin, 2007). The teacher’s correction ‘no no not jewelry’ in line 11 went off unnoticeably in the midst of laughter from all over the classroom. In Roth et al.’s (2011) view, laughter is not something which is inherently funny or humorous. Rather, all parties work together to create it.
In this way the humorous situation the teacher created and the students’ initiation of laughter was a result of an interactive achievement between the two parties – the teacher and the students. While the former was the inviter to a funny situation, the latter were the acceptors of the situation. They interacted to create a humorous environment that they both shared and enjoyed. In line 13 the teacher’s attempt to conclude the current topic with the affirmation for what he had said and demonstrated with ‘Yes,’ then the evaluation for the discussion ‘Very good,’ and then the boundary marker to indicate that he was now ready to move on to a new topic ‘Alright’ once again went off unnoticeably in the midst of student laughter in line 14. The teacher’s success in creating a joyful learning environment was in line with Gutierrez et al.’s (2011) claim that “opportunities to produce multimodal communications in a playful context have the potential to contribute to students’ expanded productions of text” (p. 253). The picture below illustrates student laughter (marked with X) in response to the teacher’s humorously designed situation.

This section discussed how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the noun ‘handcuffs’ by designing a humorous situation to elicit their laughter and thus engaged them in learning the relevant noun. The teacher’s funny remark about handcuffs as a special kind of jewelry and his ironic embodied performance of wearing the special jewelry like being
handcuffed created a series of laughs from the students. This thus engaged them in learning the relevant noun in an interactive and enjoyable way. The analysis once again reveals the importance of nonverbal behaviors in the course of teaching and learning. The teacher’s ironic embodied action of wearing a special kind of jewelry in an environment full of laughter may have created a joyful moment for the students to remember the relevant noun for many years to come.

III. Using verbal, nonverbal, and voice demonstrations to teach action verbs

1. Hit

This section discusses how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the action verb ‘hit’ by using verbal, nonverbal, and voice demonstrations to elicit their engagement. Student engagement was seen in the form of verbal responses and eye gaze toward the teacher during his demonstrations. The transcription below illustrates the teacher-student interaction during the teacher’s elicitation of the relevant verb.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher 		 Ken: Kent
Stu: student 		 Kev: Kevin

Other students who are also in the transcript are Nancy, Tom, Lisa, Brent, and Helen.

01 Tea: His light is red.
02 Stu: ((Nancy and Kent gazing at the teacher))
03 Stu: Yeah.
04 Tea: His light is red. The car’s the orange car’s(.)
05 Ken: green. ((moving his gaze away from the teacher))
06 Tea: Ah::: light is green.
07 Stu: Yes.
Tea: So maybe the car will (.)

Ken: (moving his gaze back to the teacher))

Tea: what (.) will

Ken: hit him.

Tea: ((hand demonstrating pushing, mouth making a blowing sound)) him. Will ((hand pushing mouth blowing))

Stu: ( ) accident

Tea: Was it (sitting) or ((hand pushing mouth blowing))

Ken: ( ) car

Tea: the car may ((hand pushing and mouth blowing)) him. Hit hit hit hit hit HIT (.). HIT him. Right? ((hand pushing))

Stu: hit

Stu: ((Tom, Lisa, Brent, and Helen turn to the teacher))
In this social participation structure, the teacher was the center of the class activity. The teacher placed himself in the middle of the class and explained to the students what the verb ‘hit’ means. The teacher had the right to an extended turn at talk, and the students were expected to be quiet and had their eyes turned toward the teacher. If they had questions or would like to participate, they were expected wait for the teacher to finish his extended turn at talk or raise their hands to ask for permission for a turn to talk.

In line 1 the teacher was explaining to the students the traffic situation of a pedestrian that was ‘His light is red.’ The red light was an indication that the pedestrian was not allowed to cross the street, and that he should wait for his light to turn green to do the crossing. While the teacher was explaining the traffic light situation of the pedestrian, Nancy and Kent were looking at the teacher (line 2), and other students were looking at the picture in the book where it showed the pedestrian was stopping at a corner of the street and his light was red. In line 3 a student agreed with the teacher’s explanation ‘Yeah.’ In this way the picture in the book helped her conceptualize the traffic situation of the pedestrian, and her conceptualization matched with what the teacher said. Her response token was a continuer, and she used it to claim her recognition/understanding of the teacher’s prior talk. In line 4 the teacher repeated again ‘His light is red,’ but this time he added new information ‘The car’s the orange car’s’ which was then followed by a pause. Here the teacher’s trouble source was within the same TCU. There was
nothing wrong with the talk the teacher originally projected ‘The car’s’ because it was free of verifiable errors such as word choice, pronunciation, or syntax. However, the teacher knew that there had been a trouble that needed to be fixed, and the trouble was that his projected talk was ‘apparently blemished.’ His repair initiation was the cut-off right at the trouble source before his turn reached a possible completion. His repair proper was the insertion of the adjective ‘orange’ to specify a particular car. In Kitzinger’s (2013) terms, the teacher’s self-initiated repair “was used not only to correct obvious errors but also to ‘fine-tune’ the turn with reference to the action the speaker means to be doing” (p. 233).

The teacher’s pause before his turn reached a possible completion was an opportunity for Kent to interrupt. In line 5 Kent filled in what the teacher had not completed in his previous turn ‘green.’ Kent’s increment was ungrammatical but pragmatically parasitic on the teacher’s prior turn. His increment would not be acceptable if it arose without a context as no one would understand why ‘the orange car’s green.’ However, since they were discussing the traffic light, Kent’s increment was understood as ‘the orange car’s light is green.’ The question to ask was why there was an implied meaning in Kent’s increment regardless of the fact that it was totally ungrammatical and not meaningful. Given Kent’s limited language proficiency, it would take him longer to produce a complete grammatical sentence when a meaningful exchange was more important for the task at hand. He therefore put meaning over form for the communicative purpose at the present moment. It was also this time that Kent moved his gaze away from the teacher and to his book.

Kent’s increment was out of turn because it was not called for, and therefore it did not seem to get the teacher’s attention. In line 6 the teacher continued to finish his prior turn “Ah::: light is green.’ The token ‘Ah:::’ which was lengthening was an indication that the teacher’s
prior turn was incomplete and that more talk was in progress. In line 7 a student agreed with the teacher’s explanation ‘Yes.’ Here once again the picture in the book helped her conceptualize the traffic light of the orange car – its light was green, and her understanding about the traffic situation of the orange car matched with what the teacher said. In this way her verbal agreement ‘Yes’ was also a continuer, and she used it to claim her recognition/understanding of the teacher’s prior talk.

After establishing the traffic situation for the pedestrian and the orange car, the teacher continued ‘So maybe the car will (.)’ in line 8. The teacher’s pause was an opportunity for anyone to interrupt. Immediately Kent moved his gaze back to the teacher (line 9), but he did not make any verbal interruption. The reason was he was not quite sure if it was appropriate for him to participate as there was no signal from the teacher that he now gave the floor for the students to speak. In line 10 the teacher’s request for information ‘what (.) will’ was all Kent was waiting for. Without any further delay, Kent instantly filled in the teacher’s prior turn ‘hit him’ in line 11. Kent’s increment was grammatically and pragmatically parasitic to the teacher’s previous turn. However, it was not noticed by the teacher. The reason was because the teacher had not yet finished his intended turn at talk at the moment of speaking yet. This is seen in lines 12 and 13 when the teacher continued his prior turn with a hand gesture for pushing while his mouth was making a blowing sound (to replace a word) and the verbal utterance ‘him.’ This was then followed by the teacher’s verbal initiation ‘Will’ and the same embodied actions for the missing word, as seen in the picture below.
The teacher’s hand gesture for pushing while his mouth was making a blowing sound

In discussing action-scaffolding embodied practices in professional education, Weddle and Hollan (2010) proposed that in instructional settings where practical training takes place, the body plays an important communicative role in teaching. As instructors use ‘modeling,’ ‘demonstration,’ and ‘guidance,’ they must coordinate multiple representational streams: auditory, visual, kinesthetic, and artifactually-mediated to scaffold novices to see their professional lifeworld and move and act within it. The embodied practices in a clinical instructional laboratory discussed by Weddle and Hollan are not different from the classroom setting where teachers scaffold students to learn the target language by modeling, demonstrating, and guidance through their embodied actions. This is also observed in our data when the teacher used embodied actions (hand gestures for pushing while his mouth was making a blowing sound) to scaffold the students to guess what the missing word was. From the teacher’s embodied demonstration, a student guessed that the missing word was ‘accident’ (line 14). Since the guessing was not correct even though it was closely related to the word the teacher was looking for, in line 15 the teacher elaborated more on the student’s response with the verbal elicitation ‘Was it sitting or’ together with his embodied actions (hand pushing and mouth making a
blowing sound) to fill in the rest of the sentence. In response to the teacher’s elicitation, Kent made another attempt to participate ‘( ) car’ (line 16).

The guessing game finally came to an end when the teacher provided an answer for it. In line 17 when the teacher first re-voiced Kent’s attempt ‘The car may,’ he then cut off in the middle of his turn and used embodied actions (hand pushing and mouth making a blowing sound) to replace the intended word, he then finished his turn with the verbal utterance ‘him.’ Lastly he pronounced the intended word in a series ‘hit hit hit hit hit hit HIT (. ) HIT HIM RIGHT?’ and once again using his hand gesture for pushing while he was producing the last three words to intensify the action ‘HIT’ (lines 17 and 18). The series ‘hit hit hit hit hit hit’ was produced in a repetitive manner. His voice dramatically increased in the 9th HIT which was then followed by a pause. The volume of the 10th HIT and the phrase which followed ‘HIM RIGHT?’ was almost the same as the 9th one. The picture below illustrates the teacher’s increase of volume while producing the 9th HIT, the 10th HIT, and the phrase which followed.

![Waveform illustration](image.png)

The teacher’s dramatically increased volume can be considered a form of “emphatic speech style” in which there are sudden shifts from an unmarked normal style to a marked emphatic style (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2000). The teacher’s reproduction of the word ‘hit’ in a repetitive manner first attracted Tom’s and Lisa’s gaze toward the teacher, and then at the emphatic points, Brent and Helen moved their gaze toward the teacher (line 20). The teacher’s
dramatic demonstration using gesture (hand pushing), repetitive sound production, and emphatic speech successfully provided a visible and interesting resource that encouraged the students to look at him, as seen in the picture below (Note that Kent and Nancy (marked with X) sustained their gaze toward the teacher long before his demonstration).

The teacher’s demonstration of ‘HIT’ and student gaze

The teacher’s pause after the 9th ‘HIT’ was an opportunity for the students to interrupt. This is seen in line 19 when a student quickly filled in the pause with ‘hit.’ His contribution, however, was not recognized by the teacher because it occurred in the middle of the teacher’s turn and the teacher had not called for it. In line 21 the teacher finally produced the whole sentence with the intended word, which he was trying to demonstrate for the students to guess earlier ‘The car may hit him.’ He then wrote the word ‘hit’ on the board, which was then followed by his request for confirmation ‘Right?’ in order to favor a Yes-response. It was also at this time that Sam finally turned his gaze toward the teacher (line 22), as seen in the picture below.
Sam finally turned his gaze toward the teacher.

In line 23 the teacher made a circle around the word ‘hit’ and then produced a response cry ‘Ah:::::’. According to Goffman (1978), a response cry is a sign meant to index directly the state of the transmitter. It’s a display that takes the condensed, truncated form of a non-lexicalized expression. In this way the teacher was expressing the imaginative pain that he was hit by a car, and the pain came before his official announcement that he was in an accident ‘The car hit me.’ The teacher’s response cry successfully secured another student’s gaze toward him. In line 24 Kevin moved his gaze toward the teacher as a result of his response-cry performance, as seen in the picture below (Note that it was also at this time that almost all the students had their gaze toward the teacher).
Kevin moved his gaze toward the teacher as a result of his response-cry performance.

In line 25 the teacher pointed to the word ‘hit’ on the board and then produced the verbal utterance ‘Right’ to indicate that it was the word he used in the sentence ‘The car hit me.’ By doing this, the teacher made the students aware of how to use the word ‘hit’ on the contextual and sentential level. The teacher then used the boundary marker ‘By the way’ to open up a new topic about the grammatical form of ‘hit.’ In lines 26 and 27 the teacher introduced the new topic ‘past tense of hit (. ) HIT very easy hit hit hit.’ The teacher’s pause in the middle of his turn was an indication that more talk was coming. The strong head nod after the increased volume for the word ‘HIT’ was the teacher’s emphatic verbal and embodied actions to alert the students that there was no difference in forms for the present and past tenses of ‘hit.’ This was evidenced by the teacher’s subsequent utterance ‘very easy hit hit hit.’

This section discussed how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the action verb ‘hit’ by using gesture (hand pushing), facial expression (mouth making frequent blowing sounds), repetitive sound production, and finally emphatic speech to engage the students into learning the relevant verb. Student engagement was seen in the forms of verbal responses to claim his/her understanding of the teacher’s prior talk, verbal participation in a guessing game of what the teacher’s intended word was, and finally eye gaze toward the teacher during his
emphatic verbal and embodied actions. The analysis once again reveals the essential role of nonverbal behaviors in the course of teacher-student interaction. The teacher’s use of gesture (hand pushing) and facial expression (mouth making blowing sounds) and student gaze toward the teacher during his demonstrations are nonverbal acts that cannot be left out in explaining how the teaching and student engagement took place. These nonverbal acts confirm Lazaraton’s (2004) claim that “gestures and other nonverbal behaviors are forms of input to classroom second language learners that must be considered a salient factor in classroom-based second language acquisition research” (p. 79).

2. *Explode*

This section discusses how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the action verb ‘explode’ by using embodied actions and voice demonstration to elicit their engagement. Student engagement was seen in the forms of verbal contribution, eye gaze, and laughter as a result of the teacher’s elicitation. The transcription below illustrates the teacher-student interaction during the teacher’s elicitation.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tea: teacher</th>
<th>Lis: Lisa</th>
<th>Kev: Kevin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stu: Student(s)</td>
<td>Bre: Brent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

01 Tea: Alright (.). What kind of airplane? Uh::: regular plane or private plane?
02 Bre: private.
03 Lis: (Yeah.)
04 Tea: Yeah looks like (a) private plane. Yes. Right. Number four.
05 EXPLOSION
06 Stu: Explosion ((multiple repetitions from the students))
Tea: Explosion is ((hands preparing for the demonstration of explosion))

Kev: Boom ((looking at the teacher, hands demonstrating explosion))

Kev: Boom ((gazing at the teacher, hands demonstrating explosion))

Tea: BOO:::M ((hands demonstrating explosion))

Stu: ((laughing from multiple students))

(2.0)

Tea: Right. To explod:de is the verb explode ((turning to the board and writing the word explode))

Sam: explode. ((writing on his book))

Tea: Yes.((circle the word explode)) So you can say that also if you eat a lot of food ((tapping both hands in his stomach)), you’re (gonna) say oh no more ((hand demonstrating refusing))

I am going to explode ((hands demonstrating explosion from the stomach, mouth making an exploding sound)).
In this social participation structure, the teacher was the center of the class activity. The teacher centered himself in the middle of the class and demonstrated the action ‘explosion’ for the students. The teacher had the right to an extended turn at talk, and the students were expected to stay quiet and had their eyes on the teacher. They were expected to raise their hands or wait for the teacher to finish his turn at talk for their turn to talk.

In line 1 the teacher used the boundary marker ‘Alright’ to move on to a new topic which was then followed by a pause and a request for information ‘What kind of airplane?’ The continuer ‘Uh:::’ was the teacher’s indication that more talk was coming. This was because being aware that the wh-question might be difficult for the students to answer, the teacher rephrased it into a multiple choice question ‘regular plane or private plane?’ Here the teacher provided the answer for his wh-question, and the students just needed to choose either of the two options - whether the plane was ‘regular or private’ (lines 1-2). By changing the nature of the question to make it easy for the students to follow, the teacher was acting in line with Lee et al.’s (2007) research finding that when beginning language learners engage in learning activities, it is important that the teacher lowers his/her class level of activities so that students can pick up
things quickly and experience early success in their learning. This is seen in line 3 when Brent immediately provided the answer after the teacher’s multiple choice question ‘private.’ In line 4 Lisa’s verbal utterance ‘Yeah’ indicated that she also thought the plane was a private and not a regular one. In line 5 the teacher agreed with Brent’s and Lisa’s answers ‘Yeah looks like a private plane.’ The teacher then ended the discussion whether the plane was regular or private with the verbal assurance ‘Yes. Right,’ and this was then followed by the teacher’s introduction for the location of a new task ‘Number four.’

In line 6 the teacher’s verbal announcement of the new noun ‘EXPLOSION’ with an increased volume automatically put the students in a repetitive mode. They immediately repeated after the teacher ‘explosion’ (line 7). Here we see again a typical example of adjacency pairs where the first turn calls for the second as proposed by Macbeth (1991). The teacher’s verbal announcement with increased volume for the relevant word alerted the students that the word was a new vocabulary item. Without any further request, they repeated after the teacher. In this way, they were learning the form of the word (in number four) and its pronunciation without being asked to do so. After the students’ repetition, the teacher went on to explain its meaning ‘Explosion is’ (line 8). However, instead of finishing his turn the teacher cut himself off in the middle and then prepared for an embodied action to demonstrate what ‘an explosion’ would look like (lines 8 -9), as seen in the picture below.
As we can see from the picture, to prepare for the action the teacher stood right up, his eyes were gazing at the students, and at the same time he was raising his hands up to the level above his stomach and under his chest. Notice that while the teacher was preparing for the action, Kevin was faster. He interrupted and then provided a demonstration which was not called for by cutting off in the middle of the teacher’s turn and his embodied preparation, and then providing a verbal utterance ‘Boom’ and an embodied action to illustrate it (He raised his two hands up, and while holding them close together above his head he immediately opened them demonstrating an exploding action, and in the meantime, his eyes were gazing at the teacher) (lines 10 – 11). In line 12 Kevin repeated his verbal utterance ‘Boom’ and his embodied action for an explosion again in an effort to call for the teacher’s attention. Notice that at this time the teacher was still in preparation mode. His two hands now were moving up to his chest, and his stomach was getting bigger and rounder as a result of the air the teacher was trying to hold inside to prepare for a demonstration of an explosion. The picture below illustrates the teacher’s second stage of embodied preparation and Kevin’s second attempt.
Kevin’s attempt to participate was not recognized by the teacher as it occurred in the middle of the teacher’s turn and embodied actions’, and it was obvious that the teacher did not call for it. In line 13 the teacher finally reached the final stage of his preparation and demonstrated an explosion with a significant increase in volume for the verbal utterance ‘BOOM’ together with an embodied action in which his two hands now were raised above his head illustrating the massive destruction of an explosion. The teacher’s hand demonstration together with the increased verbal utterance helped to make the meaning of the word ‘explosion’ more precise. To explain ‘explosion’ by using a definition from a dictionary might not have a significant impact on the students as they might not understand the meaning of all the words in the definition, but by combining gesture with emphatic speech the teacher created a more specific expression of what an explosion would look like. The audio wave and the picture below illustrate the teacher’s emphatic speech and his embodied demonstration, respectively.
The teacher’s final stage of preparation and his demonstration for a massive explosion

‘BOO:::M’

By building the demonstration with the combination of emphatic speech and embodied actions, the teacher created a publicly shared focus of visual and cognitive attention in which multiple actors are attending to the same object in the environment (C. Goodwin, 2007). This is seen in line 14 when immediately after the teacher’s dramatic demonstration, multiple students were bursting into laughter, and their laughter continued long after the demonstration (line 15). The teacher’s significant emphatic speech and embodied action were something that the students did not often see in the classroom, and thus they invited laughter from the students. In this way the teacher was engaging the students in learning the relevant word in an interactive and joyful
way. In Roth et al.’s (2011) view, teacher’s invitation and students’ acceptance through laughter reproduce and transform levels of intimacy, complicity, and solidarity between the teacher and his/her students, and as a result the content of a lesson may be more accessible and connectable to students.

After letting the student laugh for a while, the teacher finally ended it with the token ‘Right’ to indicate that he was now ready to move on to a new topic. This was then followed by his introduction of the verb form for the relevant noun ‘to explod::de is the verb explode’ (line 16). Notice that when introducing the verb form, the teacher used stress and then lengthened the vowel on the second syllable. The teacher’s emphatic speech was intended to let the students know that the verb was derived from the noun, and that they came from the same family – explosion, explode. The teacher’s second verbal utterance for ‘explode’ was produced in a normal register as the verb now was no longer new to the students. The teacher then turned to the board and wrote down the word ‘explode’ for the students to see how it was related to the noun (lines 16 -17). In line 18 Sam repeated ‘explode’ after the teacher and then wrote down its form in his book. In this way Sam was not only demonstrating his linguistic knowledge about the verb form, but he was also actively participating in producing it so that he could improve and use his interlanguage system to say and write the verb form accurately and confidently. The picture below illustrates Sam’s writing of the verb form after his repetition.
Sam wrote the verb down in his book after his repetition.

In line 19 the teacher confirmed for Sam that his linguistic knowledge about the pronunciation of the verb was correct ‘Yes,’ he then circled the verb on the board to make it more salient to the students. The teacher then moved away from the board and used the boundary marker ‘So’ to move on to a new function of the verb ‘you can say that also if you eat a lot of food,’ and while producing the talk, he was tapping his two hands on his stomach demonstrating the overeating action (line 20). The teacher then continued ‘you’re gonna say oh no more’ and while saying it, his hand was raising up demonstrating a ‘no-more’ refusal (line 21). The teacher then completed his extended turn ‘I am going to explode’ and also while producing the talk, he provided a gesture to accompany it - his two hands were raising up demonstrating an explosion from his stomach while his mouth was making a blowing sound (lines 22 -23). The pictures below illustrate the teacher’s talk concurrently with his gestures.
The teacher’s hand tapping to demonstrate overeating (line 20)

The teacher’s hand raising demonstrating a refusal (line 21)

The teacher’s hand raising demonstrating an explosion from his stomach (lines 22-23)

As we have seen, as the teacher talked he also used gestures to make his communicative intent more accessible to the students. Imagine if the teacher had just provided the verbal
utterances ‘if you eat a lot of food, you’re gonna say oh no more. I am going to explode’ without gestures, his verbal utterances then would say a lot less about what was actually happening as a consequence of his overeating action to his audience. Especially since they are at the beginning stage of language learning, it could be a challenge for them to make a connection between the ‘explosion’ of an airplane and ‘overeating.’ By organizing talk together with gestures, the teacher helped to make his communicative intent more precise and meaningful to the students. In this way the teacher’s talk concurrent with his gestures fits into Kendon’s (1997) claim that “speech and gesture are produced together, and that they must therefore be regarded as two aspects of a single process” (p. 110). The teacher’s talk and gestures created a visible and interesting resource that attracted student attention, and this is seen in lines 24 and 25 when almost all the students turned their gaze toward the teacher during his concurrent talk-gesture demonstration. In line 26 the teacher requested for confirmation ‘Right?’ to favor a Yes-response. The teacher then answered the request himself ‘Yes’ which was then followed by his conclusion of the discussion ‘Explode explosion.’ The picture below illustrates student gaze during the teacher’s concurrent talk and gestures.

Student gaze during the teacher’s concurrent talk and gestures
This section discussed how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the noun ‘explosion’ by using voice demonstration together with his embodied actions, and the verb ‘explode’ by using talk concurrently with his gestures to elicit their engagement. Student engagement was seen in the form of verbal and embodied demonstration (Kevin’s), laughter from the students as a result of the teacher’s significant emphatic speech and embodied actions to demonstrate a massive BOOM explosion, and eye gaze toward the teacher during his concurrent talk and gestures to illustrate the action ‘explode’ as a result of overeating. The analysis once again sheds light on the importance of nonverbal behavior in the course of teacher-student interaction. As can be seen both the teacher and his students employed numerous nonverbal acts (embodied demonstrations, eye gaze, gestures) to express their inter-communicative intent. Verbal language alone could never sufficiently illustrate how the teaching and student engagement took place.

IV. Using verbal and nonverbal demonstrations and story context to teach volitional verbs such as “conceal”

This section discusses how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the volitional verb ‘conceal’ by using verbal and nonverbal demonstrations and story context to elicit student engagement. Student engagement was seen in the form of their gaze toward the teacher during his demonstrations and laughter as a result of the teacher’s funny accusations of them being thieves for eating the chocolates (the teacher often brought chocolate candies to the classroom for the students and thus made learning more fun for them). The transcription below illustrates the teacher’s elicitation and student engagement.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher 
Ken: Kent
Other students who are also in the transcript are Brent, Nancy, Lisa, Helen, Kao, Ann, and Sam.

01  Tea:  Conceal your pin number.
02  Stu:  Conceal your pin number. ((repetition from multiple students))
03  Tea:  ((turning to the board and writing)) So conceal is (.)
04  Stu:  (   ) ((from multiple students))
05  Tea:  Yes. Hide
06  Ken:  Hide.
07  Tea:  Hide ((circle the word))
08  Stu:  Hide.
09  Tea:  Right? ((moving from the board and to the teacher’s table))
10  Stu:  So I am now concealing my chocolate. Right? ((arm and body covering the chocolate box on the teacher’s table))
12  Stu:  ((Kent, Brent, Nancy, Lisa, Kevin, Helen, Kao, and Ann gazing at the teacher))
14  Tea:  Right?
15  Stu:  ((Sam gazing at the teacher, Helen and shortly after Kevin withdrew their gaze))
17  Tea:  ((looking at the chocolate box)) What happened to my chocolates.
In this social participation structure, the teacher was the center of the class activity. The teacher placed himself in the middle of the classroom and demonstrated the verb ‘conceal’ for
the students. The teacher had the right to an extended turn at talk, and the students were expected to stay quiet and had their eyes at the teacher. If they had questions or would like to speak, they would need to wait for the teacher to finish his turn at talk or raise their hands for their turn to talk.

In line 1 the teacher produced the verbal utterance ‘Conceal your pin number’ in a loud voice to alert the students about the new verb ‘conceal.’ Without the teacher’s request, the students automatically repeated after the teacher ‘Conceal your pin number’ in line 2. In this way they were learning the pronunciation of the verb without being asked to do so. Here we see another example of an adjacency pair where the first turn calls for the second as proposed by Macbeth (1991). After the students’ pronunciation, the teacher turned to the board and wrote down the word ‘conceal,’ he then explained its meaning ‘So conceal is (.).’ in line 3. The teacher’s pause in the middle of his turn was an opportunity for the students to interrupt. In line 4 multiple students were providing different words in their attempt to finish the teacher’s previous turn. In line 5 the teacher recognized student contributions with his verbal agreement ‘Yes. Hide’ to let the students know that he agreed with them that the verb ‘conceal’ and the verb ‘hide’ were equivalent in meaning. Kent then immediately repeated after the teacher ‘hide’ in line 6. In this way Kent was learning the pronunciation of the verb ‘hide’ and at the same time knowing that its meaning was also similar to the verb ‘conceal.’ In line 7 the teacher once again pronounced the verb ‘hide’ and in the meantime drew a circle around it to make it more salient to the students. In line 8 a student repeated after the teacher ‘hide,’ and by doing this she was learning the pronunciation and the meaning of the verb in the same way Kent just did.

In line 9 the teacher requested for confirmation ‘Right?’ and then moved away from the board and to the teacher’s table. The teacher then produced the verbal utterance ‘So I am now
concealing my chocolates. Right?’ and in the meantime using his arm and his body to hide the chocolate box on the teacher’s table (lines 10 and 11). The teacher’s request for confirmation ‘Right?’ at the end of his turn was to let the students know that what he was demonstrating meant ‘conceal.’ The picture below illustrates the teacher’s embodied action for the verb.

![Embodied Action](image)

*The teacher’s embodied action to demonstrate the verb ‘conceal’*

Here we see that the teacher was teaching the meaning of the verb by using his embodied action concurrently with his talk. The teacher’s embodied demonstration created an interesting resource that encouraged the students to look at him. Kent, Brent, Kevin, Nancy, Lisa, Helen, Kao, and Ann were all gazing at the teacher at the moment of his demonstration (lines 12 and 13). By looking at the teacher’s embodied demonstration, the students were showing their awareness of the meaning of the verb being discussed and that they were aware that ‘conceal’ meant trying to hide something from someone. Their gaze reflects their social accessibility and their willingness to engage with the teacher’s talk and interesting embodied action. While Machida’s (1986) study revealed that students often reduce eye contact when listening to difficult lessons, our data shows that when the teacher makes the lesson interesting and easy to understand for the students, they are more likely to sustain their gaze toward the teacher, and thus their engagement with the lesson is more likely to increase. In line 14 the teacher asked another confirmative question ‘Right?’ to favor a Yes-response. It was at this time that Sam
finally moved his gaze toward the teacher (line 15) while Helen, and shortly thereafter Kevin, withdrew their gaze (lines 15 and 16). Sam’s, Helen’s, and Kevin’s gaze reflected their special states of recipiency – while Sam’s gaze indicated his initial interest in the teacher’s demonstration which was now at an end, Helen’s and Kevin’s gaze indicated their closure over the teacher’s course of action, and that they recognized that the teacher’s action was about to finish. The first picture below illustrates Sam’s entering and Helen’s withdrawing gaze, and the second picture below illustrates Kevin’s withdrawing gaze.

*Sam’s entering and Helen’s withdrawing gaze*

*Kevin’s withdrawing gaze (partially covered by Nancy’s head)*

The teacher’s public announcement regarding a form of a possible misconduct which needed to be investigated ‘What happened to my chocolates’ (line 17) immediately attracted Helen’s and Kevin’s gaze to the teacher (line 18). In the meantime, multiple students started
laughing at the teacher’s public intent to find out what happened to his chocolate box (line 19).
The investigation continued when the teacher poured out the remaining chocolates from the box into his hand and then made an announcement ‘Four chocolates left’ (lines 20 and 21). Here the teacher was exercising a social control which in Goffman’s (1971) view “…seems to derive from classrooms, courtrooms, and other places where those in charge can foster a parental impression…” (p. 105). The teacher’s parental control, however, generated even more laughter from the students (line 22), and the laughter lasted until a moment later (line 23). The teacher’s control was inferred by the students as a joke - they knew that the teacher would never punish them for eating the chocolates that he purposely brought to the classroom for them. Goffman (1971) claimed that “there are the actor’s motive and intent. Although the actor himself can know about these directly, others can only infer them……. In turn, motive and intent are significant because often one must understand them in order to discover just what situation the actor was in……” (p. 106). The students’ laughter indicated that their inference of the social control the teacher was exercising was not threatening to them, and that there was no seriousness at all in the teacher’s detective pursuit regarding a form of a possible “misconduct” why his chocolate box had only four chocolates left. After the investigation about the chocolate box being robbed, the teacher then came to the accusation ‘You guys (. ) thieves. Crime,’ while one hand was holding the chocolate box, and the other was using a hand’s pointing gesture to indicate ‘you guys’ (lines 24, 25, and 26). The picture below illustrates the teacher’s concurrent accusation and gesture after the investigation.
What was significant at this point was that the teacher’s accusing the students of a criminal act did not stop them from laughing (line 27). Being accused of being ‘thieves’ and of committing a ‘crime’ made it even more amusing to the students as the accusation was relevant to the topic being discussed ‘Conceal your pin number.’ The students were having fun playing the roles of the ‘thieves’ who committed a crime for taking and eating the chocolates. In line 28 the teacher’s attempt to end the current enjoyable moment with the boundary marker ‘Alright’ to indicate that he was now ready to move on to a new topic did not succeed. This is seen in lines 29 and 30 when the students continued laughing long afterward ignoring the teacher’s attempt. In this way, students’ laughter as a result of the teacher’s detective humor fits into Lei et al.’s (2010) claim that it (humor) has the effect of facilitating their comprehension of the lesson, increasing their attentiveness, improving their creativity, and promoting their social relationships in the classroom.

After failing to make the students attend to another topic, the teacher gave up his attempt and then continued his detective investigation ‘Very dangerous. Yes’ (line 31). Here the students were described by the teacher as ‘Very dangerous thieves,’ and this was then followed by his affirmation that they really were ‘Yes.’ The teacher’s assessment segment ‘dangerous’ to
describe the ‘chocolate-eating thieves’ with the intensifier ‘very’ immediately generated a series of responses from the students. They were actively participating in finding out who the thieves were – in line 32 Kevin moved his body forward so that he could see Brent and then pointed at him as if Brent were one of the thieves, in line 33 Kent looked at the teacher and asked a wh-accusation question ‘Who do it?’, and in line 34 multiple students were laughing and talking about the very dangerous crime that one of them might have committed. Here the students were acting in line with Goodwin’s and Goodwin’s (1987) view that “participants themselves attend to the distinctiveness and salience of such segmental phenomena (assessment segments); for example, they distinguish an assessment segment from events that precede it, and treat it as a place for heightened mutual orientation and action” (p. 7). In line 35 the teacher made a concession that he now did not know what to do with the thieves, and that he would rather find a solution for it ‘I need I need to put my chocolates in the bank’ and in the meantime moving his chocolate box to another side of the teacher’s table (line 36) to indicate ‘the bank’ which was a safer place for him to hide his chocolates. Here the teacher’s repair ‘I need’ was within the same TCU, and it was used to alert the students that a possible repair was forthcoming. The repair was to fine tune the original talk so that the teacher might see it as unblemished. The pictures below illustrate the teacher’s concurrent talk and bodily movement to indicate ‘the bank.’
The teacher’s concurrent talk and bodily movement to indicate ‘the bank’

This section discussed how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of the volitional verb ‘conceal’ by using verbal and nonverbal demonstrations and detective story context to engage them with his instruction. Student engagement was seen in the forms of eye gaze toward the teacher during his demonstrations, laughter as a result of the teacher’s funny accusation of them being the chocolate eating thieves, and their active participation in finding who the thieves were. The analysis once again revealed the importance of nonverbal behaviors in the course of teacher-student interaction. Those were the teacher’s bodily actions to demonstrate the verb ‘conceal,’ student gaze toward the teacher during his demonstration, the teacher’s accusing gesture of the students ‘you guys’ as the thieves, and the teacher’s bodily movements to indicate ‘the bank’ which was a safer place for him to hide his chocolate box. The teacher’s
bodily movements and gestures and student gaze indicate that talk and nonverbal behaviors cannot be separated in the course of teaching and learning. They, therefore, must be incorporated into our analysis for us to fully understand how the teaching and learning take place.

V. Conclusion and pedagogical implications

This chapter discussed how the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of new vocabulary items by using verbal, nonverbal, and voice demonstrations to initiate, monitor, incorporate, and elicit student engagement. The teaching’s style involved his embedded correction, acting out as an animator, humor, monitoring student participation through “the look,” gestures, facial expressions, bodily movements, repetitive sound production, and emphatic speech. It was also observed that the teacher’s technique to move from one topic to another often began with the boundary maker ‘Alright’ or ‘So,’ which was then followed by a new task or information (sometimes with embodied actions) as illustrated in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boundary makers</th>
<th>Transitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>So</td>
<td>Task location + new task (Number seven. Pick up a pen or pencil.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So</td>
<td>Affirmative conclusion (You understand drop.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So</td>
<td>New topic + request for information (Sometimes we have taste tester. Anybody knows?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alright</td>
<td>Task location + new topic (Number five. Earthquakes.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result of the teacher’s facilitation, the students showed their engagement with the material through peer apprenticeship, peer surveillance, verbal participation, turn shark, embodied demonstrations, gaze toward the teacher, laughter at the teacher’s sense of humor, and ceasing sanctionable activities as a result of the teacher’s portending look. Our data and analyses
consistently revealed the importance of nonverbal behaviors in the course of teacher-student interaction. We have seen that both the teacher and his students continuously employed numerous nonverbal behaviors (bodily movements, gesture, gaze) concurrently with their talk to express their communicative intent. This shows that nonverbal behaviors are essential in the teaching and learning process, and therefore they must be incorporated into our analyses for us to fully understand how the teaching and learning take place in second language classrooms.

Our analyses showed that to engage beginning second language learners in learning new vocabulary items, it is suggested that teachers incorporate nonverbal behaviors (bodily actions, facial expressions, gesture, gaze) while explaining new vocabulary items for students. This approach allows students to relate the meanings of the new words through the teachers’ embodied actions. These actions are more effective than using definitions from dictionaries due to the students’ limited language proficiency. Also, it is suggested that teachers design humorous situations to create laughter among students as it has been shown that laughter helps to motivate student learning, lower their anxiety, and create a social bond between teachers and students in classrooms (Lei et al. (2010), Gutierrez et al. (2011), Roth et al. (2011)). Last, it is suggested that teachers use voice demonstration such as repetitive sound production and emphatic speech to make the new vocabulary items more memorable to students. These unusual verbal utterances can effectively elicit student involvement (observed through their gaze toward the teacher, their laughter, and their verbal responses after the teacher’s demonstration, etc.). Such involvement increases their chances of remembering the new vocabulary items longer and in a more enjoyable and relaxing manner than by memorizing dictionary definitions.
Chapter 6: The Underlife of the Classroom, Grammar Instruction and Practice for Beginners, and Use of Directives

This chapter reviews the literature on the underlife of the classroom, grammar instruction and practice for beginning second language learners, and use of directives. My goal is to show how the students get involved in an underlife act while the teacher is instructing a formal class activity, and how they do not cooperate with the teacher’s grammar activities and directives, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

I. The underlife of the classroom

In his study about the social life of mental patients in a hospital, Goffman (1961) proposed two kinds of individual adjustments – primary adjustments and secondary adjustments. In primary adjustments, individuals perform their daily activities in accordance with what the institution asks them for, regardless of whether they like it or not. They behave in a way such that they are no more and no less than they are expected to be, they are obligated to live in a world that has been prepared for them. In secondary adjustments, individuals employ unauthorized means to get around the institution’s assumptions as to what they should do and what they should be. They manage to distance themselves from the role and the self that has been assigned to them by the institution. Goffman called their practices of distancing themselves the underlife of the institution. In this underlife world, Goffman further distinguished two kinds of secondary adjustments – disruptive adjustments and contained adjustments (p. 199). In disruptive adjustments, individuals want to abandon the institution or alter its structure by means that lead to a rupture in the smooth operation of the institution. In contained adjustments (which share some characteristics with primary adjustments in which individuals try to fit into existing

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2 The underlife of the classroom: students’ activities which are not congruent with teacher’s instruction
institutional structures without causing pressure for radical change), individuals try to fit into existing structures with deflecting efforts that might otherwise be disruptive. In Goffman’s view, “the settled and established parts of an organization’s underlife tend, therefore, to be composed primarily of contained, not disruptive, adjustments” (p. 200).

Goffman’s notion of the underlife of an institution (organization) has since been used in attempting to understand life in the school setting. Even though Jackson (1968) did not make use of the concept “underlife” to describe classrooms, Jackson’s description of the life of a classroom is somewhat similar to Goffman’s notion of the underlife of an institution. According to Jackson, there are four unpublicized features of classroom life: delay, denial, interruption, and social distraction, and these features are caused by the crowded conditions of the classroom. When twenty or thirty students must live and work together in a limited space for five to six hours a day, undesired encounters (e.g., disagreements) on the work they do are unavoidable. In addition, for most students, going to school is not voluntary. They are there because they are expected to be there whether they want to or not, and the work that they are expected to perform daily in the classroom is often not of their own choosing or interest. Similarly, Erickson (1996) proposed that the formal and informal orders of classroom life (where the former is designed by the teacher, the latter by the students) are dimensions within which they interact to form the local classroom “underlife,” and this is a local ecology that differs from one classroom to another.

The practices of the classroom underlife then have been investigated in educational classroom research. Brooke (1987) studied the underlife in a writing class and proposed four major types of student underlife activities. First, students tend to find creative uses of classroom activities in ways that are interesting to them. For example, instead of discussing how a potato might change over time and in what contexts this change would be interesting, a topic prompted
by the teacher, the students who participated in the underlife activities discussed how to ferment the potato to make vodka. When the teacher asked them what they were talking about, the students explained that the process of fermentation was obviously a “change over time” of the potato – a discussion feature that the teacher was looking for. Second, students tend to focus on their “game playing” nature and are highly aware of the roles they are taking. The following example shows what occurred during a group discussion of a chapter from Margaret Laurence’s *A Bird in the House*:

Mick: "You know, everyone in the story tries to make themselves seem better than they are, you know, but Vanessa finds out every one of them is worse than they seem. It's like all of them are lying."

Mel: "Good point. She (the teacher) 'll like that."

Chuck: "Yeah. Home run. Three strikes."

Mel: (laughing): "Big bucks."

Chuck: "Yeah, big bucks, no whammies."

As can be seen, the group went off the assigned task and turned the discussion to first a game (Home run. Three strikes) and then a TV game show called “Press Your Luck!” (On this show, contestants play a form of roulette to get “big bucks,” but would lose everything if they land on a “whammie”). Brooke commented that their interaction in this game highlighted a deep-rooted sense of their experience in the classroom. All participants recognized their game-playing situation, and they were all aware of each other as fellow game-players. Third, students tend to evaluate what is going on in the classroom. They evaluate certain aspects of the classroom whether it is good or bad, and their evaluation is often on their own performance (course materials or class activity), as in the following example.
Chuck: Did you bring your paper?
Ben: That damn thing-
Chuck: Pretty "damn," huh?
Ben: It's so "damn" I keep forgetting it.

Brooke claimed that situations like this allowed the students to explicitly express their opinions about the class activity that was going on around them. It was a way for them to assert their distance from their classroom roles. Fourth, students tend to get involved in private activities that divide their attention between class activity and something else. The most common example Brook found was when students were reading the student-newspapers while the teacher was beginning the lecture. In Brooke’s view, the students’ purpose in all these four major underlife activities was to distance themselves from classroom activities while at the same time they were hoping to remain successful within it. In this way, their underlife activities were similar to contained adjustments proposed by Goffman (discussed above).

Beall and Trimbur (1993) studied students’ reaction to the writing assignments in a chemistry class. Beall and Trimbur found that while the majority of the students responded positively to the assignments as a way for them to explain their understanding of chemistry, to help them check their understanding of concepts, and to provide the faculty with the opportunity to monitor their learning, there were students who reacted negatively to the assignments. One student’s “mouthing off” reaction was “It sucks. This is chemistry, not English!” Others interpreted it as a means for the faculty to take attendance, while another made sarcastic comments about the instructor: “Professor Beall forgot what he was going to lecture so he put down random questions on the board to waste time while he tried to recall what the lecture was supposed to be about.” According to Beall and Trimbur, by “mouthing off,” the students were
asserting their independence from the official expectations and voicing their identities in ways that went beyond the role assigned to them.

Gutierrez and Larson (1995) examined how power was constructed in a classroom through the teacher’s script which was based on the teacher’s own cultural experience: how he selected knowledge for the classroom, and how he made his viewpoint available to the students. To oppose the teacher’s imposition of knowledge and power, the students actively participated in producing what Gutierrez and Larson called “the students’ counter-script.” It emerged as an underlife in their reaction to the teacher’s imposition of knowledge and power. For example, the teacher quizzed the students on a current event taken from the Los Angeles Times newspaper; the event was about a whale which swam up a river from the San Francisco Bay to Petaluma and refused to turn around to go back to the ocean. The teacher chose the event because it appeared on the front page of the newspaper that he read every day – a habit which none of his students had or were interested in doing. When the teacher asked the students ‘why people are pretty excited in Petaluma California,’ the students’ counter-script was ‘They peed in the river.’ Gutierrez and Larson then proposed the possibility of a “third space” – a place where the teacher’s script and the students’ counter-script intersect to create the possibility for authentic interaction (responsive and collaborative interaction) to occur in their classroom.

Larson and Gatto (2004) looked at the tactical underlife of an elementary teacher to cope with the constraining demands of Academic Standards and Assessment Policy which require teachers to establish a “student-centered, standards-driven, and performance-based” system of instruction. Larson and Gatto found that the teacher and her students employed the interplay between disruptive and contained underlife adjustments (the interplay which they called tactical underlife) to construct a space for their teaching and learning within a restrictive institutional
environment. In particular, the teacher cultivated relationships with parents, principals, and district officials that allowed her to negotiate the space she wanted for her classroom. She let the students take the lead in conducting tours, describing the curriculum, and answering questions for those who visited their class. In this way, she scaffolded students’ participation in multiple discourses for them to be communicatively competent in a diverse society. In addition, she did not follow the mandated lesson plan format and used her own lesson plans instead; she did not follow textbooks or test preparation workbooks, but she individualized her instruction to meet each student’s need. As a result of her teaching approach, the students perceived learning in her classroom as “fun” rather than “work.”

As we have seen, the underlife of classrooms has been given ample attention in the literature in the last few decades. However, the classroom underlife in which students are nonverbally involved in a playful act alongside of a teacher’s formal instruction still has not been discussed in the literature. The data in the chapter which follows capture this.

II. Grammar instruction and practice for beginning second language learners

Traditional language teaching with its focus on drills and memorization was finally replaced by the (balanced) communicative approach in the 1980s which emphasizes that learning consists of interactive processes among teachers, students, and textbooks/materials. The reason for this change was that the traditional approach was too rigid, and the transition to the communicative approach in its early time put too much attention on comprehensible input while neglecting the role of output. However, in daily communicative situations, both comprehensible input and output are necessary since learners need to understand what the speaker is saying to carry on a successful communication. Another major function of comprehensible output for second language learners is that it provides learners with additional opportunities to refine their
linguistic knowledge by means of hypothesis testing (Hinkel & Fotos, 2002). In line with Hinkel and Fotos, many teachers have claimed that by participating in interactive and communicative activities, learners have demonstrated an increase in their linguistic knowledge as well as their sociolinguistic skills. Because of the importance of the communicative approach for L2 development, both linguistically and sociolinguistically, classroom grammar instruction has responded to the approach favorably. New strategies have been introduced to make grammar teaching and learning interactive rather than receptive. Teachers have changed/made their lesson plans to provide learners with numerous opportunities to produce meaningful L2 output through grammar activities such as discussions, problem solving, group work, etc.

One of the major challenges for teachers who teach very beginning learners has been that they do not have enough linguistic knowledge and sociolinguistic skills to participate in interactive activities. To provide them with the knowledge and skills they need, it is suggested that teachers help students notice grammar by focusing on its forms holistically, and not breaking the language down into small parts for analysis, but to build grammatical accuracy through meaning-focused input and output (Cameron, 2001; Pinter, 2007), and to scaffold instruction by creating interest in the task, breaking it down to small steps, and modeling it (Bruner, 1983). For instance, when teaching young beginning learners, Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2000) suggested that teachers use meaningful exchanges that highlight particular grammar forms (e.g., Can you take/go/open….?) to expose young learners to the verb forms in meaningful contexts. For beginners (of all ages), teachers use Asher’s (1977) total physical response (TPR) to teach phrasal verbs (stand up, sit down) and separable phrasal verbs (put on, take off). Listen-and-color exercises are good activities to teach possessive pronouns (e.g., learners are provided pictures of a girl and a boy wearing a tee shirt and pants and walking a dog. The teacher then
gives them directives such as *color her hair red, color his hair yellow, color her dog black*, etc. (Celce-Murcia & Hilles, 1988). To engage learners in the production of a target grammatical form, Celce-Murcia (personal communication) suggested that the teacher provide a model sentence first, then ask students to produce the model sentence but with a change of one element in the sentence that is suggested by the teacher. This element can be a subject, an object, a verb, an adjective, or an adverb (e.g., when teaching the word “taste” as a noun, the teacher provides a model sentence *I don’t like the taste of diet coke* – it is suggested that the teacher demonstrate the action of not liking diet coke by holding a diet coke can and drinking it unpleasantly. The teacher then produces the sentence again but this time without the word “diet coke” *I don’t like the taste of __________.*, and then calls on students and asks them to complete the sentence with different nouns of their choices such as *I don’t like the taste of coffee, I don’t like the taste of oranges, I don’t like the taste of bacon, etc.*)

Another factor to engage beginning learners in L2 production is that teachers should give them a sufficient amount of wait-time so that they can produce desired output. Crookes and Chaudron (2001) proposed that “wait-time refers to the length of the pause which follows a teacher’s question to an individual student or the whole class…..When wait-time is increased to three to five seconds, there is an improvement in learning and in the quality of classroom discourse” (p. 39). In line with Crookes and Chaudron, Long et al.’s (1984) study found that when the teacher increased wait-time after his questions, the students produced more utterances. A problem of classroom instruction has been that, Crookes and Chaudron argued, teacher’s wait-time tends to be short. In cases when teachers ask harder questions, they tend to wait longer, but it is usually that students do not have enough time to answer due to the level of complexity of the
questions. Crookes and Chaudron then called for the implementation of wait-time in SL classrooms when teachers ask questions or interact with students.

In the next chapter, we look at how the teacher asks grammatical questions which result in non-responses from the students. We examine in what way the teacher asks the questions, and why the questions fail to elicit students’ responses. We also look at factors such as disruptive behavior that disturbs other students’ orientation to the task at hand.

III. Directives

Directives are utterances by a speaker which are intended to result in an action by a hearer. According to Ervin-Tripp (1976), directives can be expressed in a variety of syntactic forms, and the distribution of such forms depends on familiarity, rank, territorial location, difficulty of task, whether or not a duty is expected, and whether or not non-compliance is likely. Ervin-Tripp proposed six different forms of directives, as below.

1. Need statements (I need a match).
2. Imperatives (Gimme a match).
3. Imbedded imperatives (Could you gimme a match?).
4. Permission directives (May I have a match?).
5. Questions directives (Gotta match?).
6. Hints (The matches are all gone?).

The selection of a form for a directive depends on the interpersonal relations between the speaker and the hearer. While direct directives such as statements, questions, and (imbedded) imperatives are tentatively coercive, indirect directives such as permissions and hints protect both parties from embarrassment when non-compliance is likely. The forms also differ in the
amount of inference or knowledge they require. For instance, statements and question directives are most required if the goods or services are not mentioned or new.

In discussing how directives are given and how children respond to them in families, M. Goodwin (2006) argued that directive/response sequences between parents and their children should be considered together with forms of facing formation (e.g., face-to-face) as well as different types of affective stance such as mood, attitude, feeling and disposition. To elicit a full compliance for a directive, a parent needs to establish full attention to the task at hand (e.g., verbal announcement which provides a warrant for a next activity to take place and attunement to different types of facing formation to obtain joint attention). When a parent and a child fail to establish a shared framework of mutual orientation (parent and child are in different rooms, or they are in the same room but are attending to different activities that distract them from the current task), there is less likely that the child will comply with the directive. Compliance (or partial compliance) can take place in the absence of a facing formation (face-to-face), however, a parent must be very persistent with the directive she pursues and show with determination that compliance is mandatory.

In the next chapter, we look at how the teacher issues a directive which results in non-compliance from the students. We examine in what linguistic form the directive has been given, how the teacher establishes joint attention with the students through forms of facing formation, orientation toward a common focus of attention (attentive versus dis-attentive tracks), and how the social force of the directive is lessened through the teacher’s voice and embodied postures.
Chapter 7: Student Disengagement during Homework Checking Time, Grammar Practice, and Teacher’s Directives

This chapter discusses student disengagement during homework checking time, grammar practice, and teacher’s directives. I first look at how the students are involved in a playful and nonverbal underlife act while the teacher is in the middle of a formal class activity (checking homework). I then examine what the factors could be that contribute to student disengagement in a grammar exercise. Last, I discuss in what way the teacher’s directives fail to elicit appropriate student responses. The chapter concludes with pedagogical suggestions for the teacher on how to prevent the classroom underlife from happening in formal class activities, how to facilitate student participation in grammar exercises, and how to elicit positive compliance from students while issuing classroom directives.

I. The playful and nonverbal underlife act

This section discusses how the students were involved in a playful and nonverbal underlife act alongside the teacher’s formal class activity, and what the teacher was doing during the underlife. The transcription segment below illustrates the underlife act.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher          Stu: Students
Hel: Helen            Lis: Lisa

Other students who are also mentioned in the transcript are Sam, Kevin, Brent, Kent, Tom, Wes, and Kao.
Tea: Bad smell. ((looking around the classroom, his face was indicating a disgusting smell, then shaking his head))

Hel: ((hand raising up, preparing to throw a paper ball at Wes while eyes were gazing at the teacher))

Stu: ((Lisa, Sam, and Kevin were laughing at the teacher’s comment about the bad smell after playing soccer))

Tea: Alright. Okay. ((looking to the classroom, then his hand was preparing to tap on the homework page in the book))

Hel: ((leaning from her chair to her table, then throwing the paper ball at Wes))

Tea: Let’s go now to Part A. Topics of paragraphs. ((looking at the page in the book where Part A was))

Hel: ((eyes were gazing at Wes waiting for his reaction, her hand was sticking out to ask him to hand her something, then hopping up from her chair and leaning over the table))
This is homework. Right? So everybody is ready. ((still looking at the book while speaking))

((dragging Wes’ book closer to her, then getting her cell phone from Wes and smiling))

In Part A we have six paragraphs. a five tastes of food is in paragraph three. ((reading from the book and walking toward the board))

((glancing at Wes, picking up her cell phone on the table and looking at it))

(How about b) Uh... Lisa Helen. ((walking away from the board, then looking up from the book and glancing at Lisa and Helen, then walking back to the board while his eyes were looking back down at the book))

((glancing at Wes, then to the teacher, then to her book))

((tapping at Lisa’s hand and pointing to Item b in his book))

((looking at her book, but not at Sam’s pointing))

Oh. I am sorry. ((eyes were still at the book))

One.

((Helen’s cell phone was ringing))

((picking up her cell phone and laughing))

((Sam, Kevin, Brent, Tom were turning to Helen, Kao and Kent were laughing with Helen, and laughing from multiple others))
Tea: Very good. Thank you. Yes. Paragraph one. (standing, his back was facing towards Helen, his eyes were looking at the book, then walking toward the board)

Hel: ((picking up an object from the table and throwing it at Wes))

Stu: ((laughing from multiple students))

Tea: ((erasing the board)) Yes. Not correct. Yes.

Hel: ((still holding her cell phone, looking at it and laughing))

Stu: ((Kent and Kao were gazing at Helen and laughing with her while Sam, Kevin, and Brent were gazing at Helen))

Tea: Lisa Helen. Helen you get the point. ((making a chart on the board and putting down one point for Helen))

Hel: ((picking up a bigger object from the table and throwing it at Wes))
Tea: Very good. Paragraph one. (Our) five tastes senses are in paragraph one. ((walking away from the board, his eyes were looking at the book while speaking))

Hel: ((turning to Kao and laughing with him))

In this social participation structure, the students were the center of the class activity. The teacher called out the students’ names and assigned a task to them. The task was to read out loud which paragraph number on the right matches a main idea on the left (the task is illustrated in the table below). Each time the teacher called on two students, and they competed to see who read the answer out loud first. The student who gave the answer first would be awarded one point, and this point counted for the student’s team (see page 141 below to understand how the teacher assigned team members). The whole class listened to the teacher to see which students were singled out to perform the items assigned. Turn taking, therefore, was teacher selected, and the students waited for their names to be called to take turns. The other students who were not called were expected to have their eyes on the book and to listen to their classmates’ performance. If the student who had been singled out did not answer the item assigned to him/her correctly, a team member could give an alternate answer without waiting for his/her name to be called.

*The task for this activity is as follows* (note that this task is for the after-reading activity).
In line 1 the teacher was talking about the ‘bad smell’ that one has after playing soccer as an example to illustrate the meaning of the word ‘smell’ from the reading. While talking, the teacher’s eyes were glancing around the classroom. He then made a disgusting face together with his head shaking to illustrate one’s unpleasant smell after playing soccer (lines 1 and 2). In this way the teacher did not only verbally present the language form to the students, but he also incorporated facial and bodily demonstrations to make the meaning of the word easy to understand for the students. While the teacher was explaining and demonstrating the meaning of the word, in a corner of the classroom, Helen was engaging in an activity which Caswell (1982, cited in Neill, 1991) called a “concealed open challenge” to the teacher. According to Caswell, there are two types of challenge to the teacher in classrooms, namely, open and closed. Open challenges often have real implications for the teacher’s control and authority, and therefore it must be dealt with, whereas closed challenges often die away by themselves and require no
action on the teacher’s part. Many challenges to the teacher are overt open challenges which have the forms of overt confrontation. However, a more difficult situation to deal with is when open challenges are not overt but concealed or “concealed open challenges” using Caswell’s term. According to Caswell, “concealed open challenges” differ from “closed challenges” by displaying greater vigilance on the part of the participants. The most common form of this vigilance is a “flick check” in which pupils look rapidly to see where the teacher is and then rapidly look away. The “flick check” is a scan for danger, and it minimizes the chance of getting noticed. It occurs before an illicit action, and the rate increases when the illicit action is about to come. After the action, pupils again check to scan for any responses from the teacher. By contrast, pupils who are engaged in closed challenges tend not to check where the teacher is, and they are often involved in the action casually (i.e., unconcealed short conversations, hand to mouth conceals a smile or conversation, a coy look at the teacher without overtly looking while hands are doing something else, etc.). The teacher most of the time ignores their actions because they do not cause serious consequences for the teacher’s classroom control. As seen in lines 3 and 4, while the teacher was talking about the bad smell after playing soccer, Helen paid no attention at all to the teacher. Instead, she was actively preparing for a “concealed open challenge” by raising her hand up and planning to throw a paper ball at Wes (a male student sitting in front of her). However, to make sure that her action was not noticed by the teacher, she quickly employed a “flick check” at the teacher. At this time, Helen’s preparation for the challenge was still a single act of her own, and it did not distract other students’ attention from the teacher. This is seen in lines 5 and 6 when Lisa, Sam, and Kevin were laughing at the teacher’s funny comment about the bad smell without any awareness of Helen’s upcoming
action. The picture below illustrates Helen’s flick check at the teacher before launching the action.

![Helen’s flick check before the illicit action](image)

In line 7 the teacher’s boundary markers ‘Alright. Okay’ indicated that he was now ready to move on to a new topic. This is seen in lines 7 and 8 when the teacher looked at the whole class, and then used his hand to tap on the homework page in the textbook to indicate the location of a new task. Ignoring the teacher’s boundary markers, his look, and his hand-tapping embodied action to indicate where the new task was, Helen leaned over the table so that she could be closer to Wes. She then quickly threw the paper ball at him (lines 9 and 10). The pictures below illustrate Helen’s throwing action while the teacher was looking at the whole class and his hand was preparing to do the tapping action on the homework page.

![Helen was throwing the paper ball at Wes](image) while the teacher was looking at the whole class, and his hand was preparing to do the tapping action
Helen’s action was not noticed by the teacher. This is seen in lines 11 and 12 when the teacher went on to explain what the task was about ‘Let’s go now to Part A. Topics of paragraphs’ while he was gazing at the book. Being certain that the teacher now was totally occupied with the current activity, Helen ignored the teacher’s directive to go to Part A and prepared for more concealed open challenges - gazing at Wes to monitor his reaction after she threw the ball at him, sticking her hand out to Wes to ask him to give her the cell phone which he took from her earlier, then hopping up from her chair and leaning over the table insisting that he return the cell phone (lines 13, 14, and 15). The pictures below illustrate Helen’s hopping and leaning action over the table while the teacher’s orientation was on the book.

In line 16 the teacher told the students the new task ‘This is homework.’ He then requested confirmation ‘Right?’ which was then followed by a boundary maker and his assumption about the students’ readiness for the task ‘So everybody is ready.’ Notice that while the teacher was getting the students ready for the task, his eyes and his bodily orientation were still on the book (lines 16 and 17). Taking advantage of the fact that the teacher’s verbal and bodily orientation were on the current task, Helen, after hopping up from her chair and leaning over the table, now was closer to Wes. She then, in the midst of the teacher’s turns, dragged Wes’ book closer to her and insisted in a more aggressive way that he give her the cell phone back. After getting her cell phone back, Helen leaned back and smiled about the work she had
accomplished (lines 18 and 19). The pictures below illustrate Helen was getting her cell phone from Wes while the teacher was in the midst of his turns getting the students ready for reviewing the homework exercise.

In lines 20 and 21 the teacher went on to read the first item of the homework exercise which was already done for students as a sample ‘In Part A we have six paragraphs. (Item) A five tastes of food is in Paragraph three,’ and in the meantime walked toward the board (lines 21 and 22). Helen, at this time, was still not concentrating on the current task with the teacher. While the teacher was reading the sample item and walking toward the board, Helen quickly glanced at Wes, she then picked up the cell phone on the table and looked at it as if she was checking if there were any unusual incidents on the cell phone after she had gotten it back from Wes (lines 23 and 24). The pictures below illustrate that Helen was checking the cell phone while the teacher was reading the sample item.
In line 25 the teacher assigned Item (b) to Lisa and Helen ‘(How about b) Uh…Lisa Helen.’ The reason why the teacher assigned one item to two students at the same time was that he wanted to see who would shout out the answer first, and the one who would shout it out first correctly would get one point for the team they represented. This is a game that the students played every day in class, and they got so familiar with the game rules and who would be on their team that the teacher did not have to set up the rules and assign team members at the beginning of the game anymore. Usually the students who were on the right side facing the teacher were Team 1, and those who were on the left side facing the teacher were Team 2. In this way, Lisa was on Team 1 and Helen was on Team 2 (as illustrated shortly in the pictures below). Notice also that since the game was played every day, the students had somewhat lost interest in it. In particular, they did not care much which team would win as well as who would be singled out by the teacher.

While the teacher was assigning Item (b) to Lisa and Helen, he walked away from the board while his eyes were on the book. He then looked up from the book and quickly glanced at Lisa and Helen. After calling their names for the task, he walked back to the board while his eyes were also back down on the book (lines 25, 26, 27, and 28). Helen at this time was still not concentrating. After checking her cell phone, she quickly glanced at Wes. Then for the very first time since the beginning of the homework activity – more precisely after the “flick check,” she
glanced at the teacher but this was only because he singled her name out for the task. She then quickly looked at her book to locate where Item (b) was (line 29). The pictures below illustrate Helen’s first look at the teacher after the “flick check” when the teacher singled her out.

Helen’s first look at the teacher after the flick check when he singled her name out

It is interesting to note that even though Helen was totally involved in numerous concealed open challenges concurrently with the teacher’s task from the beginning up to the moment of speaking, she immediately focused her attention on the teacher when he called her name. In this way, she was behaving in line with Jackson’s (1968) argument that detachment and involvement in classrooms “are not permanent. Rather, they are fleeting psychological states that can, and often do, come and go in the twinkling of an eye” (p. 87). In contrast, Lisa who was not involved in any concealed open challenges like Helen, was – after the teacher called her name – speaking with Brent, ignoring the fact that her name had been called for the game (line 30). Lisa’s unconcealed conversation with Brent was a closed challenge to the teacher and not an open one. The reason why Lisa lacked interest in the game might be because she was very familiar with it since it was played several times a day in class. To get Lisa back on task, Sam, who was now again acting as a social gate-keeper for the teacher (as he did earlier with Brent in the ‘pick up’ and ‘drop’ section in Chapter 5), was tapping on Lisa’s hand and then pointing to Item (b) in his book to remind Lisa that this item was assigned to her and that the teacher was
waiting for her response (lines 31 and 32). Ignoring Sam’s effort to get her back on task, Lisa stopped talking to Brent, but she then looked at her book, not at Sam’s pointing (line 33).

In line 34 the teacher’s utterance ‘Oh. I am sorry’ while his eyes were on the book was to alert the students that he had just found out that he had made a mistake. The token ‘Oh’ was an indication that the teacher had undergone a change of state of awareness that something went wrong (Heritage, 1984). However, it was unclear to the students at this point what the teacher’s mistake was about as there was no further explanation from the teacher why he was sorry.

Ignoring the fact that there might be a problem on the teacher’s part, Helen gave a verbal response for Item (b) ‘one’ (line 35). It was a short form for her intended answer that the topic sentence for Item (b) was in paragraph one. After Helen’s response, her cell phone started ringing (line 36). It was a turning point for both Helen and the whole class when the informal classroom order took over the formal one as it was well understood that classroom rules forbade using cell phones. Immediately, Helen picked up her cell phone and started laughing (line 37). Sam, Kevin, Brent, and Tom quickly turned to Helen, while Kao and Kent together with other students were laughing with Helen (lines 38 and 39). The classroom’s chaos at this point was similar to a jungle in which half of the students overtly expressed their joy over the cell phone ringing event and ignored the teacher’s current task. The question to ask is why a mundane event like cell phone ringing could alter the classroom order and brought so much joy to the students at a time when they should suppress their temptation to laugh. In discussing the problem of inattention in the classroom, Jackson (1968) argued that “inattention may have its roots not only in the content of the lesson per se nor in psychological deficiencies within the student but rather in the nature of the institutional experience called going to school. Often it is school that is boring, not just arithmetic or social studies” (p. 111). In this way, the students’ joy over the cell
phone ringing might be due to several reasons – it could be that the current homework checking activity was not interesting, the students might be tired of studying, and the cell phone ringing event was an opportunity for them to momentarily get away from the current situation since overall going to class every day was not something fun for them. They were there because they had to be not because they wanted to be there. It should also be noticed how quickly Kao and Kent, together with other students joined Helen for the joyful event. Here the students were acting in line with Brooke’s (1987) view that the students’ underlife represents game-playing and highlights a deep-rooted sense of their experience in the classroom. They are highly aware of the roles the classroom asks them to play. The picture below illustrates the students’ joy (marked with X).

_Helen’s laughing which was joined by Kao and Kent and other students (not seen)_

Ignoring the chaos of the classroom, in line 40 the teacher praised Helen for her correct answer ‘Very good. Thank you. Yes. Paragraph one.’ Here again we see another sequence of teacher-Initiation, student-Response, and teacher-Evaluation (IRE) (Macbeth, 1991). The teacher first praised Helen for her correct answer ‘Very good’ which was then followed by his acknowledgment for her contribution ‘Thank you,’ and his confirmation that her response was correct ‘Yes. Paragraph one.’ While praising Helen, the teacher was standing close to her, but his back was to her and his eyes were on the book. He then walked toward the board (lines 40, 41, and 42). The teacher’s dis-attentive bodily orientation and movement regarding Helen while
praising her created an opportunity for Helen to launch another attack on Wes. In line 43 she picked up an object on the table and threw it at Wes while other students were still laughing (line 44). The teacher’s compliment then went unnoticed in the midst of Helen’s throwing action and student laughter. According to Jackson (1968), the teacher’s compliment is intended to entice the student to engage in certain behaviors in the future. That is, to do what the teacher tells her to do, to work hard, and to master the material. This is not the effect observed here – Helen was obviously not enticed at all by the teacher’s encouragement of her good work. Instead, she was totally occupied with punishing Wes for calling her on her cell phone and was having fun with the throwing-object game she was playing. The pictures below illustrate Helen’s throwing action and the teacher’s dis-attentive embodied orientation while praising her.

In line 45 while the teacher was erasing the board, he uttered ‘Yes. Not correct. Yes.’ It was still unclear what was not correct at this point, and how it was related to the teacher’s verbal utterance ‘Oh. I am sorry’ earlier. It seems possible that the teacher had mistaken five tastes in Paragraph three with five senses in Paragraph one, and now he realized that he was wrong. However, none of the students seemed to care to find out what the teacher meant by saying ‘Not correct’ as there was no pursuit for clarification from the students after the teacher’s turn - in line 46 Helen was holding her cell phone laughing and looking at it; in lines 47 and 48 Kao and Kent
were laughing with Helen while Sam, Kevin, and Brent were gazing at her. After praising Helen, the teacher rewarded her ‘Lisa Helen. Helen you get the point’ (line 49). While making the announcement that between Lisa and Helen, Helen was the winner, the teacher drew a chart on the board then put down one point for Helen (lines 49 and 50). Helen once again was not at all enticed by the teacher’s compliment. She picked up an even bigger object on the table and threw it at Wes while the teacher was rewarding her one point on the board (lines 51 and 52), as seen in the pictures below.

*Helen was throwing a bigger object at Wes while the teacher was rewarding her one point on the board*

What was significant at this point was that Helen’s misconduct was accelerating (throwing even a bigger object at Wes) in the midst of the teacher’s constant compliments for her good performance. Neill (1991) claimed that in classrooms, “experienced teachers often take the insult at “nonface” value…. This has the advantage that on the surface amity is retained and the course of interaction is not disrupted” (p. 59). In this way, the teacher might well have been aware of Helen’s continuous concealed open challenges but decided to go on with the current activity to maintain “face” for Helen. This is further seen in lines 53 and 54 when the teacher once again complimented Helen ‘Very good. Paragraph one. (Our) five tastes senses are in Paragraph one’ while he was walking away from the board and his eyes were on the book (lines 54 and 55). Here the teacher’s trouble source was within the same TCU. The teacher was aware
that there was a problem that needed to be fixed in his original talk, and the problem was he intended to utter the word *senses* instead of *tastes*. He then fine-tuned his turn before it reached a possible completion. In line 56 Helen once again ignored the teacher’s compliment by turning to Kao and laughing with him.

This section discussed Helen’s playful and nonverbal underlife act while the teacher was carrying out a formal class activity – checking homework. The underlife act occurred before the cell phone ringing event and accelerated during and after it. Before the cellphone rang, Helen was constantly involved in numerous concealed open challenges while the teacher was getting the students ready for the homework exercise – her flick check to scan for danger before the illicit action, throwing a paper ball at Wes, hopping out of her chair and leaning over the table insisting that Wes give her the cell phone back, getting her cell phone back, and checking for unusual incidents on her cell phone. At the moment her cell phone rang, she turned the classroom formal order into a jungle in which she, Kao, Kent, and other students freely expressed their joy by laughing and ignoring the teacher’s current task. After the cell phone rang, her underlife act was accelerated in the midst of the teacher’s constant compliments on her good performance (giving a correct response for item (b) in the exercise) – throwing an object then even a bigger one at Wes to punish him for calling her in class, then turning to Kao and laughing with him. It was assumed that the teacher was well aware of Helen’s playful and nonverbal underlife act but decided to keep it at “nonface” value to maintain “face” for Helen and for himself.

**II. Disengagement in a homework exercise**

This section discusses student disengagement in a homework exercise. In particular, it looks at how the students were involved in a disruptive behavior during the teacher’s instruction,
and in what way the teacher’s questions failed to elicit students’ responses. The transcription segment below illustrates the unsuccessful teacher-student interaction during the exercise.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher  Lis: Lisa  Ken: Kent
Stu: student(s)  Bre: Brent

Other students who are also mentioned in the transcript are Kevin and Tom.

01 Tea: Homework. It’s on page 85. Let’s go to page 85.
02 ((showing the homework page to the students))
03 Stu: ((Kevin and Brent moved their gaze to page 85, Tom and Kent turned to page 85))
04 Tea: ((looking at the book on his table))
05 Stu: ((Brent and Lisa started talking to each other in Portuguese, Tom moved his gaze toward Brent and Lisa then back to his book, Sam moved his gaze to his book))
Tea: (turned to the board and changed the current number to 85, made a circle around it, then turned away from the board and looked back down at the book on his table))

Lis: (continued speaking with Brent, picked up the book on the table, then stretching her body))

Bre: (continued speaking with Lisa, rubbing his eyes then moved his gaze toward her))

Ken: (moved his gaze toward Lisa then toward Brent))

Sam: (moved his gaze toward the teacher))

Tea: So page 85. Did you do this homework?

Ken: (moved his gaze toward the teacher then to his book))

Bre: (moved his gaze toward the teacher))

Sam: (moved his gaze to his book))

Tea: So true or false. Taste (.) is only (.) a noun.

Bre: (moved his eyes away from the teacher and to his book, meanwhile still talking to Lisa))

Lis: (leaning over the table, reaching her hand out to arrange her pencil box, then sat straight up on her chair, meanwhile still talking to Brent))

Ken: (moved his gaze toward the teacher then back to his book))

Sam: (leaning over the book then looking at the homework page))
Tea: For example. This this drink has a delicious taste ((walking away from his table while speaking))

Stu: ((Brent and Lisa were still talking to each other))

Ken: ((quickly glanced at Brent then moved his gaze back to his book))

Tea: True or false. Only a noun.

Ken: ((moved his gaze toward the teacher))

Lis: ((still talking to Brent, hand was picking up a pencil on the table))

Tea: ((moved his eyes around the classroom))

Stu: ((Brent and Lisa were still talking to each other))

Tea: You did not do your homework. ((pointing to the homework page then looking around the classroom))

Stu: ((Brent and Lisa were still talking to each other))

Ken: ((moved his gaze away from the teacher and to his book))

Sam: ((quickly glanced at the teacher then back to his book))

Tea: Taste is a noun and a verb.

Stu: ((Brent and Lisa were still talking to each other))

In this social participation structure, the students were the center of the class activity. The teacher asked questions about a homework exercise to the whole class and expected free responses from the students. The students listened to the question, then they had to bid for their
turns to answer without the teacher’s nomination. Turn taking, therefore, was not teacher selected. The student who shouted out the correct answer first would receive the teacher’s recognition for his/her answer.

In line 1 the teacher announced a new task ‘Homework’ which was then followed by the direction where the new task was ‘It’s on page 85’ and a directive ‘Let’s go to page 85,’ and while directing student attention to the new task, the teacher was holding the book up and showing the homework page to the whole class (line 2). In response to the teacher’s directive, Kevin and Brent moved their gaze to page 85; whereas, Tom and Kent turned their books to page 85 (lines 3 and 4). In discussing about relationships among verbal and nonverbal behaviors in classrooms, Bremme and Erickson (1977) proposed that “all participants in a social occasion perpetually and simultaneously engage in doing the interaction work. Moreover, they must do this work in ways that are relatively congruent with the ways others are doing it. That is, they must share some rules for doing it, for ‘making sense’ – for identifying situational contexts, social meanings, and appropriate behaviors” (p. 154). In this way, Kevin and Brent, Tom and Kent were simultaneously doing nonverbal actions that were congruent with each other in response to the teacher’s directive where the homework was in the book. They shared the rules for doing their nonverbal acts and for “making sense” of the current situation. The picture below illustrates Kevin’s and Brent’s gaze toward the books and Tom’s and Kent’s embodied action of turning the page after the teacher’s directive. (Note that Sam was not responding to the teacher’s directive. He was writing not gazing at the designated page).
Brent and Kevin turned their gaze to Page 85 while Tom and Kent were turning the page. After giving the directive, the teacher gazed at the book on his table without any further direction (line 5). It was also at this time that Brent and Lisa, instead of following the teacher’s directive like their classmates did, started talking to each other in Portuguese. Tom who was distracted by Brent’s and Lisa’s talking glanced at them and then quickly moved his gaze back to his book. Sam who was not responding to the teacher’s directive earlier now moved his gaze to Page 85 (lines 6, 7, and 8). Brent’s and Lisa’s behavior did not follow the rules of “making sense” for the current activity, and therefore it interrupted the ongoing activity that Tom was orienting to. As a result, Tom glanced at them as if he would want to remind them of their inappropriate behavior. Tom’s accomplishment of the current task hence was momentarily jeopardized (Bremme & Erickson, 1977). On the other hand, Sam’s delayed response to the teacher’s directive was still congruent and appropriate with the current moment as there was no further direction from the teacher after his directive. The picture below illustrates that Tom’s orientation to the current activity was distracted by Brent and Lisa’s talking, and Sam’s delayed-gaze to the current page.
Tom glanced at Brent and Lisa while they were talking and Sam’s delayed-gaze.

After gazing at the book, the teacher turned to the board. He then erased the page number of the previous task and changed it to 85, then made a circle around it to make it more salient to the students. He then turned away from the board and looked back down at the book on his table (lines 9, 10, and 11). Taking advantage while the teacher’s bodily orientation was on the book, Lisa and Brent were involved in numerous activities that were against the rules of the group for the current activity. In particular, Lisa continued talking to Brent in Portuguese while casually picking up the book on the table and then stretched her body. In the meantime, Brent also continued talking to Lisa in Portuguese while rubbing his eyes then moving his gaze toward her (lines 12, 13, 14, and 15). Lisa’s and Brent’s disruptive behavior annoyed Kent. He moved his gaze first toward Lisa and then toward Brent (line 16). Kent’s gaze was to criticize Lisa and Brent for not being able to “make sense” of the current situation. His gaze could be considered similar to Bremme and Erickson’s (1977) claim that “those individuals who repeatedly err in their social performances may be judged by others to be socially – and perhaps intellectually – incompetent” (p. 154). Sam, after his delayed-gaze to the current page, now moved his gaze toward the teacher (line 17) as if he were waiting for the teacher’s direction regarding what the next step would be. The pictures below illustrate Kent’s gaze toward Lisa and then toward Brent while they were talking, and Sam’s gaze toward the teacher waiting for the next step.
Kent gazed toward Lisa then toward Brent while Sam was gazing at the teacher waiting for the next step.

In line 18 the teacher’s boundary marker which was then followed by the task location ‘So page 85’ indicated that he was now ready to go over the exercise with the students. This is seen in his subsequent question asking the students if they were also ready for the activity ‘Did you do this homework?’ Being interrupted by the teacher’s verbal utterances while he “was judging” Lisa and Brent for their inappropriate behavior, Kent quickly moved his gaze toward the teacher and then to his book (line 19). The teacher’s question temporarily distracted Brent away from the activity which he had been so occupied with – talking to Lisa. He immediately turned his gaze to the teacher (line 20). In the meantime, Sam moved his gaze away from the teacher and to his book (line 21). Kent’s, Brent’s, and Sam’s gaze patterns were to signal the teacher that they were attentive to his question. Their gaze was an indication that the dominant person (the teacher) was affecting their behaviors, and that their behaviors were modified by learned rules – looking at the teacher or the current task when being asked (Neill, 1991). The picture below illustrates Kent’s, Brent’s, and Sam’s gaze patterns.
Brent moved his gaze toward the teacher while Kent and Sam moved their gaze to their books after the teacher’s question.

The homework on Page 85 is provided in the table blow.

**Word Grammar: Taste**

- There is more than one way to use the word *taste*. *Taste* can be.
  - A noun: Smoking affects a person’s sense of *taste*. He doesn’t like the *taste* of broccoli.
  - A verb: The pizza *tastes* great! Come and *taste* the soup. Does it need more salt?
- Write two sentences with *taste*. Use it as both a noun and a verb.
  1. _________________________________________________________________
  2. _________________________________________________________________

In line 22 the teacher asked a multiple choice question ‘So true or false. Taste (.) is only (.) a noun.’ The teacher’s pause at two places – one after ‘taste’ and one after ‘only’ was for the students to have enough time to process the question. The teacher’s intention, however, was not taken up by Brent and Lisa – in lines 23 and 24 Brent moved his gaze away from the teacher to his book, and in the meantime resumed his talk with Lisa that had been shortly disrupted earlier. In lines 25, 26, and 27 Lisa leaned over the table, then reached her hand out to arrange the
pencils in her pencil box. Then she sat straight up in her chair, and in the meantime resumed her
talk with Brent. While Brent and Lisa totally ignored the teacher’s question and engaged in their
talk, Kent and Sam once again displayed their attention to the teacher’s question – in line 28
Kent moved his gaze toward the teacher and back to his book, and in line 29 Sam leaned over the
table so that he could have a closer look at the homework in an attempt to answer the teacher’s
question. Kent’s competing back-and-forth gaze pattern between the teacher and the task and
Sam’s bodily posture leaning over the book signaled to the teacher their attention and interest in
the task at hand. Their signals of interest were important since they were an immediate form of
accessible feedback to let the teacher know that he was carrying the class with him (Neill, 1991).
The pictures below illustrate Kent’s competing gaze pattern and Sam’s leaning posture.

After asking the question without any student responses, the teacher gave an example:
‘For example. This this drink has a delicious taste’ and in the meantime walked away from his
table (lines 30 and 31). Here the teacher’s trouble source was within the same TCU, the repair’s
initiation was after the word ‘this,’ and the repair was the repetition of the word ‘this’ which the
teacher had trouble of pronouncing. Because the True/False question failed to elicit the students’
responses, the teacher gave an example to help the students identify the grammatical function of
‘taste’ in a sentence. However, it was quite unclear why the example would help the students

answer the question whether ‘taste’ is only a noun as it is actually a noun in the example. The example hence reinforced the possibility that ‘taste’ is only a noun rather than helped the students see whether it is only a noun. Not being interested in what might be a problem in the teacher’s example, in line 32 Brent and Lisa continued talking to each other. Kent, once again was disturbed by Brent’s and Lisa’s inappropriate behavior and employed another “judging” look at Brent, then quickly moved his gaze back to his book (lines 33 and 34), as seen in the pictures below.

Kent employed another “judging” look at Brent and back to his book.

Despite the problem of the example as it seemed to reinforce the possibility that ‘taste’ is only a noun, which was not what the teacher would want the students to answer, in line 35 the teacher pursued the question ‘True or false. Only a noun.’ While the teacher was asking the question, Kent moved his gaze toward the teacher (line 36). Here we see a competing gaze pattern that Kent was trying to manage – toward Brent, back to his book, then toward the teacher. He was distracted by Brent and Lisa’s talking while he was trying to be attentive to the teacher’s question. Ignoring the fact that Kent was having a difficult time following the teacher because of their behavior, in lines 37 and 38, Lisa continued talking to Brent while picking up a pencil on the table. The picture below illustrates Kent’s gaze toward the teacher as he pursued the True/False question and Lisa’s picking-up action.
Kent’s gaze toward the teacher as he pursued the True/False question and Lisa’s picking-up action

After pursuing the True/False question, the teacher moved his eyes around the classroom to look for any responses from the students (line 39). Erickson (1996) argued that “through temporally proximal surveillance, as the spotlight of teacher attention moves around the room, the teacher observes and in doing so exercises control over student compliance” (p. 94). Ignoring the teacher’s spotlight which was moving around the classroom, Brent and Lisa continued talking to each other (line 40). After the scanning the classroom without spotting any responses from the students, the teacher pointed to the homework page and came to a conclusion for the students’ nonresponsive behavior ‘You did not do your homework.’ He then moved his eyes around the room (lines 41 and 42). In contrast to Neill’s (1991) suggestion that when there is a lack of audience feedback, “the speaker should increase the signal by modifying and reordering their spoken content or by using more expansive gestures to ensure that the attention and comprehension of the whole audience keep in step” (p. 72-73). Here instead of modifying the question to make it more accessible to the students, the teacher came to a conclusion that the students did not prepare for the task. Consistently ignoring the problem with the task at hand which their classmates were dealing with and the teacher’s conclusion, Lisa and Brent continued talking to each other (line 43). In line 44 Kent quickly moved his gaze away from the teacher and to his book. Similarly, Sam glanced at the teacher and then moved his gaze to his book (line 45).
In this way both Kent and Sam were attentive to the question, but they failed to provide any responses. Their gaze back to their books could be their final attempt to find the answer for the teacher’s question, or it might simply be because it was a place for them to escape the teacher’s blame. In line 46 after a long process of unsuccessful probing and waiting for the students’ responses, the teacher finally gave up and provided the answer for his question ‘Taste is a noun and a verb’ while Lisa and Brent were still talking to each other (line 47).

This section discussed student disengagement in a homework exercise. The analysis revealed that there were two reasons that prevented the students from engaging in the task at hand. First, Brent’s and Lisa’s inappropriate behavior throughout the activity - talking to each other and ignoring the fact that their behavior disturbed Tom’s then Kent’s orientation to the task at hand. In particular, Tom glanced at them while they were talking and as a result his attention to the task was temporarily jeopardized. Kent employed constant “judging” looks toward Lisa and Brent to criticize them for not being able to “make sense” of the current situation. In doing so, Kent was distracted from the teacher’s questions which he was trying to be attentive to. This is seen in his competing gaze patterns back and forth among three entities – Brent/Lisa, his book, and the teacher while the teacher was asking the questions. Second, there was a problem in the teacher’s example to illustrate the grammatical function of ‘taste.’ The example reinforced the possibility that ‘taste’ is a noun rather than helped the students understand whether it is a noun. As a result, the teacher’s questions failed to elicit the students’ responses despite the fact that some of them had tried to (e.g., Kent’s and Sam’s constant gaze toward the teacher and back to their books during the teacher’s questions).

III. Non-compliance with the teacher’s directives
This section discusses students’ non-compliance with the teacher’s directives. In particular, it looks at how the teacher delivers the directives in terms of language forms, types of facing formation (face-to-face), and the social force of the directive (mitigation, repair, voice), and why the directives result in non-compliance from the students. The transcription segment below illustrates the teacher’s directives and students’ non-compliance.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher
Lis: Lisa
Kev: Kevin
Bre: Brent

01 Kev: You might not ((reading from his book))
02 Tea: Alright.
03 Kev: You might not what ((looking at Lisa))
04 Tea: Please answer question number two. And answer with your ques-

05 with your partner during (the) earthquake. ((walking away from

06 his table while speaking, eyes on his book))
07 Lis: ((pointing to the board and speaking with Kevin))
08 Kev: ((moved his gaze to the board then to his book and speaking

09 with Lisa))
10 Tom: ((arranging the chair so that he could sit comfortably then

11 glancing at the board))
12 Bre: ((moved his gaze toward the teacher then to his book))
13 Sam: ((leaning over the table so that he could be closer to the

14 book))
Ted: "(slowly leaning over the table so that he could be closer to the book)"

Tom: "(moved his gaze to his book)"

(10.0)

Tom: "(moved his gaze back and forth between the board and his book)"

Kev: "(moving his gaze toward Brent)" during the earthquake

Bre: "(looking at his book and did not respond to Kevin)"

Kev: "(moving his gaze back to his book)"

(10.0)

Tom: "(moved his gaze back and forth between the board and his book)"

Tea: "(walking back to his table then glancing around the classroom)"

Okay. Number two. Finished?
In this social participation structure, the students were the center of the activity. The teacher asked the students to answer a question from an exercise in pairs. The students were expected to discuss with their partners what the answer would be. The students who knew the answer were encouraged to share it with their partners. The listeners could contribute to what the speaker was saying without being nominated by the teacher as next speakers. Turn-taking hence was not teacher selected. The teacher then called on the students asked them to share with the class what their answers were.

In line 1 Kevin was in the middle of a task which he did not yet finish. While his eyes were still on his book, Kevin uttered ‘You might not.’ Kevin was having a difficult time completing the sentence as he did not know what the rest of the sentence would be. Not being aware of Kevin’s problem, in line 2 the teacher’s boundary marker ‘Alright’ indicated to the students that he was now ready to move on to the next activity. Ignoring the teacher’s boundary marker to move on, Kevin moved his gaze toward Lisa and in the meantime extended his previous utterance ‘You might not what’ to ask Lisa to help him with the sentence which he was having difficulty with. While Kevin was waiting for Lisa’s response, in lines 4 and 5 the teacher delivered multiple directives for the new activity ‘Please answer question number two. And answer with your ques- with your partner during (the) earthquake.’ Here the teacher employed two consecutive imperative directives answer question number two and answer it with your partner, and to mitigate the directives, the teacher added the word “Please” to minimize the face threatening nature of his requests. In the second directive, the teacher’s trouble source was within the same TCU. The teacher’s repair initiation was the cut-off in the middle of the word “ques-,” and the teacher’s repair proper was the replacement of the cut-off word with the word “partner.” The teacher’s trouble was his incorrect choice of a lexical item, and he self-corrected it before
his turn reached a possible completion. Notice that while delivering the directives, the teacher was walking away from his table (the spotlight where he could monitor and exercise control over students’ compliance) and his eyes were on his book (lines 5 and 6). The teacher’s embodied movement and his orientation on the book during the directives contrasted sharply with M. Goodwin’s (2006) proposal for eliciting full compliance for a directive. That is, one (parent) needs to establish full attention to the task at hand (e.g., verbal announcement to provide a warrant for a next activity to take place and attunement to different types of facing formation to obtain joint attention). The teacher’s failure to establish a type of facing formation such as face-to-face together with his embodied movement away from the teacher’s spotlight did not warrant him the joint attention needed for compliance to take place. In addition, his mitigation by adding the word “Please,” his trouble source of incorrect lexical choice, and his non-commanding voice lessened the social force of his requests. This is seen in line 7 when Lisa, in the midst of the teacher’s directives, pointed to the board and talked to Kevin in response to his request for help. In lines 8 and 9 Kevin moved his gaze toward the board following Lisa’s pointing then back to his book and in the meantime talked to Lisa. In lines 10 and 11 Tom arranged his chair so that he could sit comfortably on it then glanced at the board. Lisa, Kevin, and Tom were involved in activities which were not congruent with the teacher’s directives. However, not all the students ignored the teacher’s requests as Lisa, Kevin, and Tom did. In line 12 Brent moved his gaze toward the teacher and then to his book. In lines 13 and 14 Sam leaned over the table so that he could be closer to the book. Brent’s gaze pattern and Sam’s embodied movement indicated their partial compliance with the teacher’s directives – getting ready for the task at hand. The picture below illustrates the teacher’s embodied movement away from the spotlight and his orientation
on the book in the midst of Lisa’s, Kevin’s, and Tom’s non-compliance and Brent’s and Sam’s partial compliance.

The teacher’s embodied movement away from the spotlight and his orientation on the book in the midst of students’ non-compliance and partial compliance

Long after the teacher’s directives, Ted slowly leaned over the table so that he could be closer to the book (an embodied movement which was similar to Sam’s – to get ready for the task) (lines 15 and 16). In line 17 Tom finally moved his gaze from the board to his book. We will see shortly that Tom’s gaze pattern was not a response to the teacher’s directives. In line 18 there was a period of silence when everybody was attentively looking at their books instead of discussing with their peers as requested by the teacher. Tom’s constant gaze pattern back and forth between the board and his book (lines 19 and 20) indicated that he was occupied with a task which was not what the teacher told him to do – discuss with his partner. The whole class’s disengagement during the pair work activity was against the generally accepted view that much of learning in second language classrooms takes place in pairs or small groups where learners perform task-based activities assigned by teachers. The picture below illustrates the silence during the pair work activity.
The silence during the pair work activity

After such a long period of silence when everybody was diligently having their eyes on their books, Kevin made an attempt to discuss with Brent by moving his gaze toward him then uttered ‘during the earthquake’ (line 21). Here Kevin was applying the rule of interaction between speaker and hearer in face-to-face talk proposed by C. Goodwin (1980) that “A speaker should obtain the gaze of his recipient during the course of a turn at talk” (p. 275). Ignoring Kevin’s attempt to communicate, Brent persistently fixed his eyes on his book and did not respond to Kevin (line 22). Brent’s gaze on his book was an indication for Kevin that he was not willing to communicate. In this way Brent’s gaze was in line with Goffman’s (1963) claim that whether or not a person is willing to look back into the eyes of a person who is already looking at him is one of the principles by which people indicate to each other their willingness to begin an encounter. Failing to obtain joint attention with Brent, Kevin moved his gaze back to his book (line 23). The pictures below illustrate Kevin moving his gaze toward Brent in an attempt to communicate and back to his book when Brent was not willing to do so (not looking back at him).
Kevin moved his gaze toward Brent in an attempt to communicate and back to his book when Brent was not willing to do so (not looking back).

In line 24 there was another period of silence when everybody still had their eyes on their books while Tom was constantly gazing back and forth between the board and his book to continue the task which he was previously occupied with (lines 25 and 26). After the period of silence, during which the teacher assumed that the students “had discussed” long enough, he walked back to his table, and then at the spotlight he glanced around the classroom (lines 27 and 28) and asked the whole class ‘Okay. Number two. Finished?’ (line 29).

This section discussed students’ non-compliance with the teacher’s directives. The analysis revealed four reasons why the teacher’s directives failed to elicit compliance from the students. First, the teacher’s use of the word “please” mitigated his requests. Second, the teacher’s embodied movement away from the teacher’s spotlight during the directives minimized his monitoring and control over students’ compliance. Third, the teacher’s failure to establish a type of facing formation such as face-to-face did not warrant him the joint attention needed for compliance to take place. Last, the teacher’s use of “please” to minimize the face threatening nature of his requests, his trouble source with incorrect lexical choice, and his non-commanding voice significantly reduced the social force of his directives. The directives hence resulted in non-compliance from the students. Students’ non-compliance was seen in behaviors such as their talking to each other in the midst of the teacher’s directives (Kevin and Lisa), their being
involved in a task which was not congruent with the teacher’s requests (Tom), and their silence throughout the pair work discussion-time (whole class).

IV. Conclusion and pedagogical suggestions

This chapter discussed student disengagement during the homework checking activity (their underlife act), the grammar practice, and the teacher’s directives. During the homework checking activity, Helen’s nonverbal underlife act occurred before the cell phone ringing event and accelerated during and after it. Before the cell phone rang, Helen was consistently involved in numerous open concealed challenges while the teacher was getting the students ready for the homework exercise (employing a flick check, throwing a paper ball at Wes, hopping out of her chair and leaning over the table, getting her cell phone, and checking for unusual incidents on it). At the moment her cell phone rang, Helen turned the classroom’s formal order into a jungle where she, Kao, Kent, and other students freely expressed their joy by laughing. After the cell phone rang, Helen’s underlife act accelerated when she kept throwing objects at Wes in the midst of the teacher’s compliments on her good performance (answered an item from the homework correctly).

During the grammar practice activity, student disengagement was seen in two instances. First, Brent’s and Lisa’s inappropriate behavior throughout the activity (talking to each other) disturbed Tom’s and Kent’s orientation to the task at hand. Specifically, Tom’s glance at Brent and Lisa while they were talking distracted him from the current task. His attention to the task hence was temporarily jeopardized. Kent’s employment of constant “judging” looks at Brent and Lisa prevented him from being attentive to the teacher’s questions. This is seen in his competing gaze pattern among three entities – Brent/Lisa, his book, and the teacher while the teacher was asking the questions. Second, there was a problem in the teacher’s example to illustrate the
grammatical function of ‘taste.’ The example reinforced the possibility that ‘taste’ is a noun rather than helping the students understand whether it is a noun. As a result, the teacher’s questions failed to elicit any responses from the students despite the fact that some of them had tried to (e.g., Kent’s and Sam’s constant gaze pattern toward the teacher and then to their books during the questions).

During the time when the teacher initiated the directives, the analysis revealed four reasons why the directives failed to elicit compliance from the students. First, the teacher’s use of “please” mitigated his request. Second, the teacher’s embodied movement away from the spotlight during the directives minimized his monitoring and control over students’ compliance. Third, the teacher’s failure to establish a type of facing formation such as face-to-face did not warrant him the joint attention needed for compliance to take place. Finally, the teacher’s use of a form of mitigation, his trouble source with incorrect lexical choice, and his non-commanding voice significantly reduced the social force of the directives. The directives hence resulted in non-compliance from the students. Students’ non-compliance was seen in behaviors such as their overtly talking to each other while the teacher was delivering the directives (Lisa and Kevin), their being involved in a task which was not congruent with the teacher’s request (Tom), and their silence throughout the pair work discussion-time (whole class).

The findings from our analyses yield the following pedagogical suggestions for the underlife, the grammar practices, and the teacher’s directives, respectively.

a) While the student is participating in activities related to the underlife, it is suggested that the teacher orient his body toward the student to create joint attention while complimenting him/her. When joint attention has been established, the student is more likely to stop his/her underlife act and be attentive to the compliments. It is also suggested that the teacher
move to the spotlight (the teacher table) where he can monitor and exercise control over students’ compliance. When spotting the underlife act, the teacher could employ “the look” to signal to the student a possible intervention or use a command to maintain classroom order such as “Everyone, no noise please.” The pronoun “everyone” would address anyone, and the student who is involved in the underlife act would be aware of the disturbance s/he is creating and eventually stop his/her disruptive behavior. Using commands addressing the whole class helps the teacher gain control over classroom order on the one hand and maintain “face” for the underlife actor on the other.

b) With respect to the grammar practices, it is suggested that the teacher employ “the look” to signal to the students a possible intervention for their inappropriate behavior (e.g., talking to each other), or use commands such as “Can I have your attention, please” while his eyes are directed at the students to orient them back to the current task. To elicit students’ responses for the question like whether “taste” is only a noun, it is suggested that the teacher give examples that illustrate “taste” as both a noun and a verb (e.g., Your coffee has a delicious taste, but my coffee tastes very bad). The teacher would then explain to the students “taste” in the first sentence is a noun, whereas it is a verb in the second sentence. The teacher then can pursue the True/False question ‘True or False. (Taste is) Only a noun.’ To engage the students in the production of “taste” is a noun, it is suggested that the teacher produce a model sentence first (e.g., I don’t like the taste of diet coke) then call on the students to reproduce the sentence replacing “diet coke” with a noun of their choice (e.g., I don’t like the taste of coffee, I don’t like the taste of broccoli, I don’t like the taste of durian, etc.) The same procedure can be used to illustrate that “taste” is a verb – the teacher would first produce a model sentence (e.g., This coffee tastes very good) and then call on the students to reproduce the sentence with changes of
their own on either the subject or the adjective or both (e.g., This broccoli tastes very bad. This coffee tastes very bitter. This fruit tastes very sweet/sour/bland). Last, it is suggested that the teacher give the students enough wait-time to respond to the questions. As Crookes and Chaudron (2001) argued, when wait-time is increased, there is an improvement in learning as well as in the quality of classroom discourse.

c) Regarding the teacher’s directives, it is suggested that the teacher move to the spotlight so that he can monitor and exercise control over students’ compliance. The teacher then can establish a type of facing formation (face-to-face) with commands such as “Attention, please,” “Can we start now?” “Are you ready?” to direct students’ gaze toward him. Once the teacher establishes the joint attention needed for compliance to take place, he can then issue directives. It is possible for the teacher to use the word “please” to mitigate his request. However, it is suggested that the teacher pursue it if compliance is neglected. Last, it is suggested that the teacher use a tone of voice which shows his determination that compliance is required or mandatory while issuing directives.
Chapter 8: Repair in Natural Conversation and Teacher Corrective Feedback in Second/Foreign Language Classrooms

This chapter reviews the literature on the organization of repair in natural conversation and teacher corrective feedback (TCF) in second/foreign language classrooms. My goal is to show how the teacher corrects students’ inappropriate pronunciation and amends their lack of ability to retrieve words when needed, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter nine.

I. Repair in natural conversation

The organization of repair was first discussed by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977). According to Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, repair in conversation addresses the problems of speaking, hearing, or understanding. These problems include incorrect lexical choice, incorrect pronunciation, unavailability of words when needed, failure to hear or to be heard, failure on the part of the recipient to understand or to be able to interpret the meaning of talk correctly (Schegloff, 1987a). In interactions, these problems may or may not be noticed or oriented to by the speaker or the recipient at the time of speaking.

Repair is an attempt of the speaker or the recipient to interrupt on-going talk to attend to the speaker’s or the recipient’s trouble in speaking, hearing, or understanding at the moment of speaking. Repair therefore is used to make certain that “the interaction does not freeze in its place when trouble arises, that intersubjectivity is maintained or restored, and that the turn and sequence of an activity can progress to a possible completion” (Schegloff, 2007: xiv). Repair includes practices of repair initiation and repair proper. While the former calls attention to the problem of speaking, hearing, or understanding, the latter attempts to fix it. Repair initiation can be either self-initiated or other-initiated. In oral discourse, it is often observed that there is a preference for self-initiation and self-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977).
**Self-initiated repair** is when the speaker of the trouble source (or repairable) stops his/her current talk to deal with a problem in what s/he has said, started to say, or maybe is about to say (Kitzinger, 2013). S/he may cut off in the middle of his/her talk to replace a word that was uttered earlier by mistake and replace it with a correct one or to insert a word that was missing in his/her original talk. The following two examples illustrate the speaker’s cut off in the middle of his/her talk to replace and insert a word, respectively.


01 A: You know and it turned out we could have done mcht t! about a size la:r- smaller.

[2] [Hyla & Nancy] (Kitzinger, 2013:230)

01 H: This girl’s fixed up on a da- a blind
da:te.

**Other-initiated repair** is when the recipient initiates a repair on a trouble source and the speaker provides the repair solution for it (Kitzinger, 2013). The recipient may use words such as “Sorry?”, “Pardon?” or Wh-question words such as “Who?”, “What?”, “Where?”, etc. to indicate his/her problem in hearing or understanding. The following examples are cases of recipient initiated repair.

[3] [HB68:33:00](Kitzinger, 2013:231)

01 Clt: [.hhhh Well] you know the home birth rate
02 is going up in this country no:w.
03 → Mil: Sorry?
04 Clt: [.h]hh The home birth rate is: going up.
05 (0.5)
06 Mil: Yeah.

[4] [Land:YU09] (Kitzinger, 2013:231)

01 Chl: Are they getting marrie:d.
02 (0.5)
03 → Pau: Who.
04 Chl: Tim an’ Dave.
05 Pau: They’ve bought a house together now.
Schegloff (2000) claimed that for other self-initiated repair, the recipient of the problematic talk initiates the repair, but s/he leaves it for the speaker of the trouble source to deal with the trouble himself/herself. In other words, the recipient’s initiation serves as an invitation for the speaker of the trouble source to provide the repair solution himself/herself.

The organization of repair in natural conversation then has been used in classroom discourse to study teacher correction of student errors (mistakes). The reason is that repair is an action used to achieve common understanding between/among interactive parties, and it is also an action that classroom correction relies upon and reflexively displays (Macbeth, 2004). However, unlike in natural conversation where there is a preference for self-initiation and self-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), research on classroom correction has shown that there is a preference for other (teacher) initiated repair and student self-repair after the teacher’s initiation (McHoul, 1990). While repair has been used in education to study teacher correction (McHoul, 1990, Macbeth, 2004), the next section reviews the literature on teacher correction (teacher corrective feedback – TCF) particularly in second/foreign language classrooms.

II. Teacher corrective feedback (TCF) in second/foreign language classrooms

During the last two decades, much has been written about teacher corrective feedback in second/foreign language classrooms. Lyster and Ranta (1997) examined teacher corrective feedback and learner uptake in four French immersion classrooms at the primary level. For the purpose of the study, the researchers categorized six types of teacher corrective feedback, namely, recast, explicit correction, clarification request, metalinguistic feedback, elicitation, and repetition. The definition for each type is provided below.
Recast involves the teacher’s reformulation of all or part of a student’s ill-formed utterance (e.g., Student: I go to see a movie yesterday. Teacher: You went to see a movie yesterday?).

Explicit correction refers to the explicit provision of the correct form (e.g., No, that’s not correct. It should be “went” not “go”).

Clarification request indicates that a student’s utterance has been misunderstood by the teacher or that their utterance is ill-formed and a reformulation or repetition is required (e.g., I don’t understand).

Metalinguistic feedback contains comments, information, or questions related to the ill-formedness of the student’s utterance, without explicitly providing the correct form (e.g., No, we don’t say it that way).

Elicitation refers to the techniques that the teacher uses to elicit the correct form from the student (e.g., How do we say that in French?).

Repetition refers to the teacher’s repetition of the student’s ill-formed utterance. In most cases, the teacher adjusts his/her intonation to highlight the error (e.g., a apple?).

Lyster and Ranta also defined learner uptake as an uptake that “immediately follows the teacher’s feedback, and it constitutes a reaction in some way to the teacher’s intention to draw attention to some aspect of the student’s initial utterance” (p. 49). Results of the study showed that recasts were the least likely to lead to forms of uptake. Explicit correction was the next least likely to lead to uptakes. The feedback types that led to a higher rate of uptakes were clarification requests, metalinguistic feedback, and repetition. Elicitation, however, was the most successful feedback move for eliciting uptakes.
With the call for teacher-student interaction in communicatively oriented L2 classrooms where the primary focus on content is preferred to forms, Lyster (1998) examined aspects of classroom discourse which contributed to learners’ failure to notice recasts as negative evidence (information about what is unacceptable in the target language). Lyster found that the teachers’ topic-continuation moves after recasts allowed them to keep the floor and maintain student attention on the content of the lesson. However, at the same time, their topic-moves eliminated the role of recasts as opportunities for students to negotiate meaning. Another factor that minimized the role of recasts was the teachers’ frequent use of noncorrective repetition (repetition of students’ well-formed utterances). The teachers’ ambiguous behavior made learners interpret recasts as merely an alternative to their own utterances because both noncorrective repetition and recasts occur in the same contexts (after learners’ well-formed or ill-formed utterances). Lastly, Lyster reported that signs of approval (affirmation or acknowledgment, praise makers, and repetition of the student’s repair) occurred not only after repair but also immediately after learners’ errors and after teachers’ recasts. Typically, the teachers responded affirmatively to the content and then ignored the error by moving on to topic continuation, responded affirmatively to the content then would recast the error, or recast the error and then responded affirmatively to the content. Recasts therefore were not often perceived by learners as negative evidence because their ill-formed utterances often received positive affirmation from the teachers. Lyster then called for the teacher to strive for balance between focusing on content and at the same time providing clear corrective messages of negative evidence regarding incorrect language forms for learners.

In an effort to establish positive affect among students while engaging them in the inherently confrontational activity of error correction, Magilow (1999) tried three different
techniques of error correction in his classroom: a) making little or no correction during warm-up time and casual discussion, but consistently correcting grammatical errors during grammar exercises, b) making sure that students notice/recognize the teacher’s correction when the teacher attempts to correct, and c) increasing the opportunities for students to speak and potentially make errors. While making a correction, Magilow initiated corrective moments by ways of recasts in a rising tone or voice or through gestures that indicated there was a problem such as raised eyebrows and silly grimaces. Magilow observed that students did not seem to be offended or disturbed by error correction. They did not mind being corrected and wanted it explicitly. Also, contrary to Lyster’s (1998) findings that recasts were not perceived as negative evidence by learners, Magilow found that when the teacher made an effort toward increasing comprehensibility (via jokes or humor), students tended to pick up on recasts and showed a positive attitude toward learning. In line with Magilow, Ohta’s study (2000) looked at recasts in a Japanese language classroom and found that learners did respond to recasts in their private speech. Ohta then argued that recasts are useful to language learners.

With the reduction of explicit grammar instruction and corrective feedback in second/foreign language classrooms since the advocacy of the communicative approach in the 1980s, Schulz (2001) investigated student and teacher perceptions regarding the role of explicit grammar instruction and error correction in foreign language learning in Colombia and in the U.S. Schulz reported that overall, the Colombian students and their teachers favored explicit grammar instruction more than the U.S. students and their teachers. There was also a significant lack of agreement among the students and teachers between the two countries regarding whether formal grammar instruction facilitates foreign language learning. While the Colombian students and their teachers strongly believed that formal grammar study facilitates learning, the U.S.
students and teachers were hesitant to make such a claim. Regarding error correction, the students in both countries indicated a strong preference for error correction. The students’ preference, regardless of their cultural origins, made Schulz call for the teacher’s involvement in the error correction process as “language learning could be hindered if students have specific beliefs regarding the role of grammar and corrective feedback and their expectations are not met” (Schulz, 2001:256).

Based on Lyster and Ranta’s (1997) study of corrective feedback types and learner uptakes in four French immersion classrooms, Lyster and Panova (2002) were interested in finding out the relationship between corrective feedback types and how learners respond to them in an adult ESL classroom in Quebec. Results showed that the highest rates of learner uptake occurred with clarification requests, elicitation, and repetition. Metalinguistic feedback was the next highest feedback move that led to learner uptakes, whereas recast and explicit correction showed a lower rate of learner uptake (this finding was consistent with Lyster and Ranta’s finding in 1997). Lyster and Panova reported that the preferred feedback type was recasts, and as a result, feedback types other than recasts were used only minimally. In terms of learner uptake, it was found that the overall rates of uptake were low. This was because the role of recasts is to reformulate learners’ ill-formed utterances, which does not necessarily require student responses. Lyster and Panova then cautioned teachers that even though recasts help to keep student attention on the content of the lesson, they should not be considered the most effective way to provide negative evidence for learners.

While studies on recasts seem to have mixed results regarding their impact on learning (Magilow (1999) and Ohta (2000) versus Lyter & Ranta (1997), Lyster (1998), and Lyster & Panova (2002)), Han (2002) claimed that most studies did not address the question of whether
the target language forms that are recast should be a learner’s initial attempt at an L2 structure of which s/he has zero knowledge or a reattempt at an L2 structure of which s/he has partial knowledge. In Han’s view, “recasts would be more likely to promote acquisition when they prompted the learner to draw on what is already known rather than to create an initial mental representation of an L2 form” (p. 552). With this in mind, Han designed a study which focused on the learners’ problem of inconsistent use of verb tenses which they have partially acquired. In particular, Han examined if learners who received recasts in their L2 output would use tense more accurately in their L2 output than those who did not. Han found that in oral and written activities with respect to tense consistency, learners who received recasts in their L2 output outperformed those who did not. Han then called for further systematic research to examine the effectiveness of recasts in second language classrooms.

To address the question of whether error correction can help to improve accurate writing for L2 learners, Chandler (2003) examined if students who were required to correct their grammatical and lexical errors which had been underlined by the teacher performed better in their subsequent writing assignments than students who had their errors underlined but were not required to correct them. Chandler found that the group that was required to correct performed better than the group that was not required to do so in writing accuracy (grammar and lexical); however, both groups showed no significant difference in writing fluency. The positive result of error correction prompted Chandler to design a subsequent study, which addressed the question of whether the teacher should correct the error or should mark the error for student self-correction. Chandler found that both the correction and error marking strategies improved students’ writing accuracy and fluency. Chandler then argued that since marking (underlining) produced the same result as correction, the teacher should practice the underlining feedback
move, as it saves time for the teacher, on the one hand, and requires more active participation on the part of learners, on the other. By making learners participate in error correction, it helps them notice the mismatch between their interlanguage and the target language, and thus they avoid repeating the same errors in subsequent writing tasks.

In response to the lack of research that explores the relationship between noticing and L2 learning, Mackey (2006) examined whether teacher corrective feedback promotes learners’ noticing of L2 forms. The target feedback forms used for the study were questions, plurals, and the past tense. The students who received feedback on these forms were high-intermediate students who were taking listening and speaking classes at an intensive language program at a university. The students were divided into two groups. The experimental group received the teacher corrective feedback on the target forms during a game activity, whereas the control group did not. Results showed that the majority of learners in the experimental group reported a high level of noticing on questions (ten out of fifteen) and plural forms (twelve out of fifteen) while being corrected. However, with regard to the past tense, only a small number of the experimental learners (five out of fifteen) reported noticing correction of the target form while being corrected. For the control group, the students reported a substantially lower level of noticing on the target feedback forms than the learners in the experimental group. In particular, one out of thirteen reported a high level of noticing on question forms, two out of thirteen reported a high level of noticing on plural forms, and only one out of thirteen reported a high level of noticing on the past tense. Mackey thus argued that there was a positive relationship between corrective feedback and noticing and called for further research on the effects of different feedback types on learning.

As we have seen, research on teacher correction in second/foreign language classrooms has flourished in the literature during the last two decades. While research on the effectiveness of
different types of corrective feedback, methods that teachers should use to correct students’ errors, and the level of students’ background knowledge when they receive correction is still continuing, the issue of how the teacher potentially changes students’ communicative intent due to their incorrect pronunciation or their lack of ability to retrieve words when needed has not been discussed in the literature. The chapter that follows will focus on this phenomenon.
Chapter 9: You Don’t Understand Me

This chapter discusses how the teacher potentially changes students’ communicative intent due to their incorrect pronunciation and their lack of ability to retrieve words when needed. In other words, these are examples of unsuccessful attempts at repair or correction due to the teacher’s misunderstanding of what the student is trying to say. I first look at how the teacher corrects a student’s unclear pronunciation between ‘several’ and ‘similar.’ I then examine how the teacher repairs a student’s inability to retrieve words when needed. Last, I show how the teacher misunderstands a student’s intended question and his pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport.’ The chapter concludes with pedagogical suggestions for teachers on how to correct students’ errors when misunderstanding occurs.

I. Several or similar?

This section discusses a student’s unclear pronunciation between ‘several’ and ‘similar,’ and how the teacher corrected it. The transcription segment below illustrates the correction moment.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tea: teacher</th>
<th>Stu: student(s)</th>
<th>Lis: Lisa</th>
<th>Ken: Kent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01 Tea:</td>
<td>So what’s another word similar to types?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Ken:</td>
<td>{ (moved his gaze to the teacher) }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Stu:</td>
<td>Kinds.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04 Tea:</td>
<td>starting with k k { (writing the letter k on the board) }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Lis:</td>
<td>{ (glancing at the teacher and back to her book) }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Sam:</td>
<td>{ (moved his head so that he could see the teacher’s writing) }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07 Stu:</td>
<td>Kinds. { (multiple students) }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 Tea:</td>
<td>Kinds. { (writing 'inds' after the letter 'k') } Right.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Stu:</td>
<td>What kinds.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11 Sam: ((moved his gaze away from the teacher and back to his book then writing on his book))
12 Tea: Alright. Everybody’s ok with types? ((looking at his book))
13 Ted: Similar.
14 Ken: ((moved his gaze away from the teacher and to his book))
15 Tea: Huh? ((looking at Ted))
16 Ted: Similar.
17 Tea: ((walking toward Ted while his eyes were on his book))
18 Stu: ((Sam put down his pen then moved his gaze toward the teacher, Kent moved his gaze toward the teacher then back to his book))
19 Sam: Several?
20 Tea: ((standing in front of Ted then adjusting his glass))
21 Several?
22 Ken: ((Kent moved his gaze back to the teacher))
25   Ted:     Several.
26   Ken:     ((moved his gaze toward Ted))
27   Tea:     Several means three four five. ((counting his fingers while speaking))
29   Ken:     ((moved his gaze back the teacher))
30   Tea:     The numbers. Then you need several. ((looking at Ted))
31   Ken:     ((moved his gaze back to Ted))
32   Sam:     ((moved his gaze to the teacher)) Similar.
33   Sam:     Similar. You say similar?
34   Ken:     ((moved his gaze back to the teacher)) Similar. ((then back to Ted)) Same.
35   Ted:     Similar.
37   Tea:     ((walking backward expressing confusion))
38   Sam:     Same. ((moved his gaze toward the teacher))
39   Ken:     Same. ((moved his gaze back to the teacher))
41            Guacamole? I don’t know. What?
42   Ken:     (What’s the answer?) ((moved his gaze back to Ted))
43   Ted:     Several.
44   Stu:     ((speaking from multiple students))
45   Tea:     You. It seems to me you’re saying several ((writing the word 'several' on the board then looking at Ted))
47   Ken:     ((moved his gaze to the teacher then back to Ted))
Ted: Yeah.

Ken: ((moved his gaze from Ted to the teacher))

Tea: Several. Several means three to five. ((writing the numbers 3 and 5 on the board)).

Ken: ((moved his gaze from the teacher back to Ted))

Sam: Yeah. ((nodding his head then moved his gaze away from the teacher to his book))

Tea: Kinds means types. ((pointing at the words 'kinds' and 'types' on the board then looking at Ted)).

Ken: ((moved his gaze from Ted to the teacher then back to Ted))

Tea: Okay. Yeah. Several is just numbers. ((looking at his book))

Ken: ((moved his gaze from Ted to the teacher and then to his book))

In this social participation structure, the students were the center of an activity that involved going over homework. The teacher called on a student and asked him/her what his/her answer would be for an item in an exercise, which was assigned to them the day before. The whole class listened to the teacher to see which student would be called upon to answer the item assigned. Turn taking hence was selected as the students waited for their names to be called to take turns. The students who were not called were expected to have their eyes on their books and listen to their classmate’s answer. If the student who had been called upon did not answer the item correctly, the teacher would call upon another student to answer the question. This process would continue until the teacher found the correct answer.
The exercise is based on the reading which is provided in the table below.

The reading “Bones” on page 89.

Imagine your body with no bones. It is not a pretty picture, is it?

We need our bones. They support our bodies so we can stand. They also protect soft parts inside us. For example, your skull protects your brain. Your ribs protect your heart.

The bones in your body make up your skeleton. Your skeleton has long bones (in your arms and legs) and short bones (such as the bones in your fingers). It has some very tiny bones, too. (They are in the part of your ear inside your head). So, how many bones do you have in all? There are 206 of them.

In many places, two bones come together. There are joints at these places. Your knees are the joints in the middle of your legs. Your elbows are the joints in the middle of your arms. You need joints to move your arms, legs, neck, and back. The human body has more than seventy joints.

Your elbow and your shoulder are examples of two different types of joints. Your arm can bend at the elbow, but it can bend just one way. At the shoulder, your arm can move freely up, down, left, right, and all around. There are other types of joints, too. For example, babies have joints between the eight bones that make up the skull. Then these bones grow together, so in older children and adults, the joints do not move.

Sometimes people have problems with their joints, especially older adults. Doctors have ways to fix many of these problems. They can even put in a new knee or hip. These artificial joints are usually metal or plastic. Doctors can also fix bones that break. But it is best to keep your skeleton in good health! Are you taking care of yours?
The exercise

### Thinking about the target vocabulary (page 90)

A. Find the words and phrases in **bold** in the reading “Bones” on page 89. Write them in the list in alphabetical order.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>adults</td>
<td>6. ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>bones</td>
<td>7. ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>8. ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>9. ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>10. ______________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After asking a student which number the word “**types**” in the reading should be listed in the exercise and receiving the answer ‘fifteen’ from Helen, the teacher wrote her answer in the line next to item fifteen (the teacher drew a chart that was similar to the table provided above on the board). He then asked the class ‘So what’s another word similar to types?’ (line1). The boundary marker ‘So’ was the teacher’s indication to the students that the answer for item fifteen was correct, and he was now ready to move on to another topic which was the synonym of ‘types.’ While the teacher was asking the question, Kent responded immediately by moving his gaze toward the teacher (line 2). In line 3 a student attempted to answer the question in a soft voice ‘kinds.’ In this way, both Kent and the soft-voiced student were actively involved in the teacher’s question. However, their involvement was too weak to be noticed by the teacher. This is seen in line 4 when the teacher went on to give the students a hint ‘starting with k k’ and in the meantime wrote the letter ‘k’ next to the word ‘types’ on the board. The teacher repeated the letter ‘k’ two times to make the students aware that the word he was looking for should start with
‘k.’ Immediately, Lisa glanced at the teacher then quickly moved her gaze to her book (line 5), and Sam moved his head so that he could see the teacher’s writing as Kent, who was sitting in front of him, was blocking his view (line 6). Lisa’s and Sam’s embodied movements indicated that they were responding to the teacher’s effort to make them aware of the word he was eliciting. Their awareness thus could potentially lead to their learning the relevant word (Schmidt, 1990, Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000).

After the teacher’s hint, the verbal traffic started to arise as multiple students competed to answer ‘kinds’ (line 7). In line 8 the teacher recognized the students’ answer by repeating ‘kinds’ and in the meantime wrote the letters ‘i-n-d-s’ next to the letter ‘k.’ He then praised the students ‘Right.’ Here we see another example of the teacher-initiation, student-response, and teacher-evaluation/feedback (IRE/IRF) pattern discussed by Macbeth (1991). Taking the momentum while the verbal traffic for ‘kinds’ was receiving recognition from the teacher, in line 9 a student attempted to use it in a question form ‘What kinds.’ The student was relating her shopping experience with the relevant topic as she probably had asked the same question at a store before. However, her limited language proficiency did not allow her to say it in a full sentence. Even though the student would not be able to complete the sentence by herself, it did not prevent the teacher from understanding her. This is seen in line 10 when he quickly praised her ‘Right’ then completed the sentence for her ‘What kinds do you like. What types.’ It was also during this time that Sam, after positioning himself to better see the teacher’s writing, moved his gaze away from the teacher to his book and wrote his notes on it (lines 11 and 12).

The teacher’s boundary marker ‘Alright’ (line13) was an indication to the students that the discussion for the synonym of ‘types’ was over, and he was now ready to move on to a new topic. The teacher’s subsequent question ‘Everybody’s ok with types?’ while his eyes were on
his book signaled to the students that he was no longer expecting responses nor willing to discuss the topic further with the students. At this most unexpected moment, Ted, from a corner of the classroom, uttered ‘Similar’ (line 14). Ted’s utterance however went unnoticed. This is seen in line 15 when the only embodied movement after Ted’s utterance was Kent’s gaze from the teacher to his book. It was not until a moment later when the teacher initiated a repair ‘Huh?’ while looking at Ted (line 16), as seen in the picture below.

![The teacher initiated a repair while looking at Ted.](image)

The teacher’s initiated repair ‘Huh?’ indicated the teacher’s failure to hear Ted’s utterance clearly. In response to the teacher’s initiation, Ted provided a repair solution by repeating ‘Similar’ (line 17). In this way, the teacher’s initiation and Ted’s repair solution fit into Kitzinger’s (2013) claim that in other-initiated repair “the party who initiates repair is usually not the party who produces the repair solution. Instead, the initiation serves as an invitation or request to the trouble-source speaker to provide the repair solution himself/herself, such that one party initiates repair and the other effects it” (p. 231). Unfortunately, Ted’s repair solution was still not clear to the teacher. Without any verbal recognition for Ted’s repair solution, the teacher, with his eyes on his books, walked toward Ted (line 18). The teacher’s embodied movement toward Ted alerted the students that there was a problem with Ted’s repair solution. While the teacher was walking toward Ted, Sam put down his pen then turned his gaze to the teacher (line
19) while Kent turned his gaze to the teacher and then back to his book (line 20). In this way, both Sam and Kent were aware of the problem but responded to it differently. While Sam maintained his gaze toward the teacher to see the teacher’s next move, Kent moved his gaze to his book as if he did not want to witness the teacher’s reaction to Ted. The pictures below illustrate the teacher’s embodied movement toward Ted while Sam maintained his gaze toward the teacher, but Kent did not.

The teacher was walking toward Ted while Sam maintained his gaze toward the teacher, but Kent did not.

Realizing that Ted was in trouble, Sam rescued Ted by asking him ‘Several?’ (line 21) to determine if that was what Ted meant. By doing this, Sam was attempting to deliver Ted’s communicative intent to the teacher since Ted had apparently failed to do it himself. Ignoring Sam’s effort to save Ted, the teacher kept walking toward Ted. He then stood in front of Ted, adjusted his reading glasses, and then asked Ted ‘Several?’ to confirm with him if that was what he meant (lines 22 and 23). The teacher’s question indicated that he had heard a correct version of the trouble source and indexed a claim of possible inadequate hearing (Robinson, 2013). The picture below illustrates the teacher was asking Ted if ‘Several’ was what he meant.
The teacher asked Ted if ‘Several’ was what he meant.

The teacher’s close distance to Ted, his form of facing formation (face-to-face), his embodied glasses-adjustment, and his question formulated in one-word utterance created pressure for Ted to agree with what the teacher was trying to elicit from him. In discussing the teacher’s authority in classrooms, Macbeth (1991) proposed that “the (teacher’s) talk ‘itself’ becomes the relevant field for producing and reproducing structures of authority and obligation” (p. 299). Our data shows that in addition to the talk, the teacher’s distance from the student, his facing-formation (face-to-face), and his embodied movement also significantly contribute to the teacher’s authority and students’ subordination in the classroom. This is seen in line 24 when Kent, feeling the pressure of the current moment, immediately moved his gaze back to the teacher while he was standing in front of Ted, and more significantly in line 25 when Ted changed his repair solution from ‘Similar’ to ‘Several’ to agree with the teacher’s elicitation.

At this point, Kent became more involved in the problem between the teacher and Ted than he had been earlier. After hearing Ted’s changing repair solution, Kent moved his gaze toward Ted (line 26). Kent’s gaze toward Ted was in line with Goffman’s (1981) claim that two-person encounters are not the only kind of interactions, as there are often three or more parties who participate in a conversational event. In Goffman’s view, even though Kent was not the addressed recipient, he still has a ratified social place in the talk. At this point, being certain that
Ted’s repair solution was ‘Several’ after his elicitation, the teacher went on to explain the meaning of the relevant word ‘Several means three four five’ while counting his fingers (lines 27 and 28). The teacher’s counting action was to make the meaning of ‘several’ more precise and easy for Ted to understand. Kent, who now became an active listener in the talk between the teacher and Ted, moved his gaze back to the teacher while he was counting (line 29). Kent’s gaze pattern back and forth between the teacher and Ted was in line with Erickson’s (2005) proposal that in face-to-face interaction, “everybody in the scene is continuously active – and interactive – that is, speakers are continuously doing verbal and nonverbal behavior and so are listeners, all addressing one another in varying kinds of ways” (p. 573).

In line 30 the teacher continued explaining to Ted ‘The numbers. Then you need several’ while looking at Ted. In the meantime, Kent moved his gaze back to Ted to see if Ted understood the teacher’s explanation (line 31). Sensing that the teacher might have misunderstood Ted’s pronunciation ‘similar’ as ‘several,’ while the teacher was in the middle of his explanation, Sam moved his gaze toward the teacher and uttered ‘Similar’ to let the teacher know that it might be what Ted meant (line 32). As soon as the teacher finished his turn at talk, Sam uttered ‘Similar’ the second time and then turned to Ted to ask a declarative question ‘You say similar?’ in favor of a yes-response (line 33). Thus far, Kent was playing the role of an active listener with his gaze pattern moving back and forth between the teacher and Ted. He now decided to join Sam in their effort to help the teacher know what Ted might have meant. In line 34 he moved his gaze toward the teacher and uttered ‘Similar’ in agreement with Sam. He then moved his gaze back to Ted and cleverly came up with another word which could save Ted from all the trouble if he had used it from the beginning: ‘Same’ (line 35). Sam’s and Kent’s verbal participation to save Ted serves as a display for the encircling hearers who are all active in a
verbal encounter, regardless of whether the recipients are the addressed or unaddressed ones (Goffman, 1981). Also, according to Aguitar et al. (2010), the primary purpose of students talking to their peers is to share understanding of the new ideas they have been introduced to. A student, because of his lack of confidence in the subject matter being discussed, can raise a question to his peers so that they can help him elaborate his understanding. Our data shows that in addition to Aguitar et al.’s assertion, peers can also work together in their effort to help the teacher understand what a student means because of the student’s lack of ability to clearly express himself. The picture below illustrates Sam’s and Kent’s encircling moment to save Ted.

![Sam’s and Kent’s encircling moment to save Ted](image)

Gaining support from Sam and Kent, Ted now had enough confidence to utter what he initially meant ‘Similar’ (line 36). At this point, the teacher became confused at what he had heard from Ted. He started walking backward as a way to express his frustration (line 37). While the teacher was walking backward, Sam moved his gaze toward him and uttered ‘Same’ (line 38). In this way, Sam was teaming up with Kent to let the teacher know that ‘Same’ was equivalent to Ted’s utterance ‘Similar,’ which the teacher was having so much trouble understanding. The pictures below illustrate the teacher walking backward as a way to express his frustration.
The teacher was walking backward as a way to express his frustration.

Kent and Sam were now working together as a team to save Ted. In line 39 Kent recycled Sam’s previous turn ‘Same’ while gazing at the teacher. According to Schegloff (1968), a recycling (a repetition of a previous utterance) is not a final exchange of a conversation. Rather, it signals a further conversation or action from the part of the participants. By recycling Sam’s turn, Kent was hoping that the teacher would understand that ‘Same’ or its equivalence ‘Similar’ was what Ted meant. What was significant at this moment was Kent’s and Sam’s collaboration to use ‘Same’ as an alternative way to express Ted’s original communicative intent for the teacher. The reason was the mono-syllabic sound of ‘Same’ is phonetically more distinct from ‘Several,’ which was not what Ted intended. Unfortunately, their effort to save Ted further added to the teacher’s confusion as he was now uncertain whether ‘Similar’ or ‘Several’ was the intended word. To decide which one was correct, the teacher provided a list for Ted to choose from ‘Same? Similar? Several? Salt? Pepper? Guacamole? I don’t know. What?’ (lines 40 and 41). While on the surface the list seemed intended to assist Ted in selecting the correct answer, it also indicated that the teacher was very frustrated with the current exchange. During this episode, Kent moved his gaze back to Ted and asked ‘What’s the answer?’ (line 42) thus encouraging him to choose one of the options.

The list that the teacher provided included the items suggested by Sam and Kent (same and similar) and by the teacher (several). The teacher’s frustration expressed in a list of one
word utterances put Ted under pressure again. This is seen in line 43 when he selected ‘Several’ to please the teacher. At this time, the encircling hearers expanded to more students. They were talking about what Ted’s answer might have been (line 44). Ted’s response, however, did not seem to please the teacher at the moment. In line 45 he addressed Ted in frustration ‘You.’ Here the teacher was using the pronoun ‘you’ to refer to Ted, on the one hand; but, on the other hand, he was adding something else (e.g., his frustration) which was being expressed by the abruptness of using only ‘you’ (Schegloff, 1996). Sensing that his use of only the pronoun might put Ted in a face-threatening position, the teacher quickly stopped after the pronoun then reformulated it ‘It seems to me you’re saying several’ and in the meantime wrote the word ‘several’ on the board, he then looked at Ted (lines 45 and 46). Concurrently with the teacher’s writing, Kent moved his gaze toward him then back to Ted (line 47). The pictures below illustrate the teacher’s writing, his gaze toward Ted, and Kent’s concurrent gaze pattern.

The teacher wrote the word ‘several’ on the board, he then looked at Ted, and Kent’s concurrent gaze pattern.

The teacher’s look toward Ted implied his request for confirmation if ‘several’ was what Ted meant. In line 48 Ted uttered ‘Yeah’ to confirm for the teacher that it was what he meant. After hearing Ted’s confirmation, Kent moved his gaze from Ted to the teacher to see the teacher’s feedback for Ted’s response (line 49). Here Kent’s gaze pattern back and forth between the teacher and Ted once again demonstrated Erickson’s (2005) proposal that in face-to-face
interaction, speakers are doing verbal and nonverbal behavior and so are listeners – all addressing one another in various kinds of ways. After receiving Ted’s confirmation, the teacher first repeated ‘Several,’ he then explained its meaning again ‘Several means three to five’ while writing number three and number five on the board (lines 50 and 51). Kent, at this point, was still playing the role of an active listener, moved his gaze from the teacher to Ted to monitor if Ted understood the teacher’s explanation (line 52). Meanwhile, Sam uttered ‘Yeah’ to agree with the teacher and then moved his gaze away from the teacher to his book (lines 53 and 54). Sam’s withdrawing his gaze from the teacher indicated that the battle about ‘several’ and ‘similar’ was now over.

The teacher then continued his explanation ‘Kinds means types’ while pointing at the words ‘kinds’ and ‘types’ on the board and looking at Ted (lines 55 and 56). The teacher’s explanation however was unclear as it did not relate to the word ‘similar’ which Ted was having trouble pronouncing. Kent, once again being an active listener, moved his gaze from Ted to the teacher and then back to Ted so that he could concurrently capture the teacher’s explanation and Ted’s response (57). In line 58 the teacher signaled the end of the discussion ‘Okay. Yeah. Several is just the numbers’ while looking at his book. The teacher’s gaze on his book was an indication to the students that he was not willing to discuss the subject any longer, and it was time for him to move on. The teacher’s indication was well taken by Kent when he moved his gaze from Ted to the teacher and then to his book, but not back to Ted (line 59).

This section discussed how the teacher corrected Ted’s pronunciation between ‘similar’ and ‘several.’ The analysis revealed two issues during the teacher correction. First, the teacher’s close distance to Ted, his facing formation (face-to-face), his embodied movement, and his questions formulated in one-word utterances created pressure for Ted to answer the questions the
way the teacher wanted to hear them. Second, Sam’s and Kent’s effort to deliver Ted’s communicative intent was not effectively taken into consideration by the teacher. It was clear that ‘same’ or ‘similar’ was better to express the equivalence between ‘kinds’ and ‘types’ than ‘several.’

II. Near or no near?

This section discusses a student’s inability to retrieve words when needed, and how the teacher repaired it. The transcription segment below illustrates the repair moment.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tea: teacher</th>
<th>Stu: student(s)</th>
<th>Bre: Brent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01 Tea:      Brent. Would you prefer to serve in the army or navy?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Bre:      I (.) would prefer ((moved his gaze toward the teacher))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Tea:      I would prefer ((moved his gaze away from Brent, nodding his head, and then looking at his book))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Bre:      I would prefer ((moved his gaze to his book))(. ) the army.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06           ((moved his gaze to the teacher))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07 Tea:      to serve in the army. ((moved his gaze toward Brent))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 Bre:      to serve to serve in the army ((nodding his head))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Tea:      Because?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Bre:      Because ((moved his gaze to his book))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Tea:      You like walking? lot of lot of walking ((demonstrating the walking action toward Brent))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Bre:      No. I don’t I uh I like uh maybe driving ((moved his gaze toward the teacher, hands were demonstrating driving))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tea: You like driving. ((hands were demonstrating driving))
Bre: Yeah. ((moved his gaze to his book))
Tea: Ah. So you could try
Bre: No ((moved his gaze toward the teacher)) I mean ((moved his gaze to his book)) ah. ((pointing at his book))
Tea: No? Maybe you could drive a tank.
Bre: The sea the sea is is::: the guys ((hands were demonstrating the sea then the guys))
Tea: You get um ((hand was demonstrating vomiting)) sea sick? No?
Bre: No. The guy is no near the other person. ((hands were demonstrating the guy at sea is far away from other people))

Brent: Sorry. Sorry. I (mumbling) (shaking his head while looking at his book)

Stuart: (laughing to share with Brent his trouble to express himself)

Brent: I I (moved his gaze back to the teacher)

Tea: You’re always near people. Very crowded. (hands were demonstrating closeness). Too many people on the boat. (hands were demonstrating the tightness on the boat)

Sam: Don’t like the sea (looking at Brent)

Brent: Yeah. (hand was expressing agreement with the teacher, then moved his gaze to his book)

Tea: Too many people on the boat. It’s crowded on the boat.

Brent: Yes. Yes. Yes. (moved his gaze toward the teacher and back to his book)

Tea: I agree. Yes. It’s crowded on the boat. Yes. ((turning to the board and wrote down the word ‘crowded’))

Brent: ((moved his gaze toward the board to see the teacher’s writing))

In this social participation structure, the students were the center of an activity. The teacher called upon a student and asked him/her what his/her answer would be for a question in
an exercise. The whole class listened to the teacher to see which student would be called upon to answer the question. Turn taking hence was the teacher’s choice as the students waited for their names to be called to take turns. The students who were not called were expected to have their eyes on their books or to listen to their classmate’s answer. If the student who had been called upon did not answer the question correctly, the teacher would call upon another student. This process could continue until the teacher found an acceptable answer.

The exercise under discussion is provided in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government and Military Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Federal Government</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legislative Branch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. U.S. capitol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. house of representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. congressperson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. senate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. senator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Executive Branch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. white house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. vice president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. cabinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Judicial Branch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. supreme court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. justices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. chief justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The military</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. air force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. marines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. coast guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. national guard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Think about it. Discuss**

1) Should everyone have to serve in the military? Why or why not?

2) Would you prefer to run for city council or mayor? Why?
After explaining to the students the meanings of the vocabulary items, the teacher turned to Brent and asked ‘Brent. Would you prefer to serve in the army or navy?’ (line 1). The teacher’s purpose in calling on Brent was to pierce the anonymity of everyone, and to produce from an environment of cohorts a name addressed to just this one student (Macbeth, 1991). In line 2 Brent answered ‘I (. . .) would prefer’ then moved his gaze toward the teacher. Brent’s pause after the pronoun ‘I’ indicated that he was hesitant to continue. The pronunciation of the word ‘would’ was difficult for Brent as he had to round his lips to produce it. After a moment of hesitation, Brent proceeded ‘would prefer,’ but he did not finish the sentence. Instead, he moved his gaze toward the teacher to monitor the teacher’s response after his performance. In line 3 the teacher repeated ‘I would prefer,’ he then moved his gaze away from Brent, nodded, and looked at his book (lines 3 and 4). The teacher’s repetition of Brent’s utterance together with his nod signaled Brent that his pronunciation was correct, and it was safe now for him to move forward with the rest of his sentence. After receiving the teacher’s assurance, Brent repeated ‘I would prefer,’ he then moved his gaze to his book (line 5) as he needed to select either the ‘army’ or ‘navy’ to serve. Brent then uttered ‘the army’ and moved his gaze toward the teacher to let the teacher know that ‘the army’ was his answer (lines 5 and 6).

In line 7 the teacher corrected Brent’s utterance ‘to serve in the army’ while directing his gaze toward Brent. Kendon (1977) argued that gaze-direction can function “as an expressive sign and regulatory signal by which he (the gazer) may influence the behavior of the other” (p. 15). In this way, the teacher’s gaze to Brent signaled to Brent that he was requesting a response because Brent’s answer was not grammatically and semantically correct with respect to the question form. Without delay, Brent repeated after the teacher ‘to serve to serve in the army’ while
nodding his head (line 8). Brent’s production of the verb ‘to serve’ twice however was not an indication of his problem of speaking nor was his self-repair. Rather, it showed that Brent was learning how to add the verb ‘to serve’ in his answer. His nod indicated that he recognized the teacher’s correction and that he was making the correction accordingly.

As Brent’s answer now satisfied the teacher’s expectation in terms of grammar and meaning, the teacher moved on to ask Brent why he chose the army ‘Because?’ (line 9). The teacher’s question was intended to prompt longer and more complex responses because it calls the learner’s attention to his/her own thinking and his/her own knowledge (Cazden, 2000). The question however was too difficult for Brent due to his limited language proficiency. This is seen in line 10 when Brent merely repeated after the teacher ‘Because’ then turned his gaze to his book as he did not know what more to say. Brent’s mere repetition alerted the teacher that the question was too difficult for him. In line 11 the teacher asked a declarative question ‘You like walking?’ to favor a yes-response. In this way, Brent just had to answer ‘Yes’ without having to explain why he chose the army. After asking the question, the teacher continued ‘lot of lot of walking’ while demonstrating the walking action toward Brent (lines 11 and 12). The teacher’s simplified speech was in accordance with Anderson’s (1977) argument that until the infant can produce meaningful words or indicate language capacities, adults often use a conventionalized language system known as “baby talk” when talking to the infant. In addition to Anderson’s argument, our data shows that proficient speakers may also engage techniques that use both modified speech and embodied actions to communicate with beginning language learners (e.g., walking action to demonstrate lot of walking). The picture below illustrates the teacher’s walking action toward Brent concurrently with his utterance ‘lot of lot of walking.

3 Notice that the term “baby talk” is now referred to “child directed speech” (CDS) in the literature.
The teacher was demonstrating the walking action toward Brent concurrently with his utterance ‘lot of lot of walking’

Contrary to the teacher’s expectation of a yes-response, while the teacher was demonstrating the walking action, Brent replied ‘No. I don’t’ (line 13). He then tried to give the teacher a reason why he liked the army ‘I uh I like uh maybe driving’ (line 13). Brent’s interjection ‘uh’ was described by Jefferson (1974) as a format “by which one can display that one is correcting an error one almost, but did not, produce” (p. 181). Concurrently with his interjection speech, Brent moved his gaze toward the teacher then put his two hands together to make movement circles as if he were handling the wheel in a car (lines 13 and 14), as seen in the picture below.

Brent was demonstrating the driving action while gazing at the teacher.

Here Brent was making use of his driving experience to explain to the teacher why he liked the army. His driving action yields the unremarkable coherence and familiar sense of everyday life that the life of the classroom reflects (Macbeth, 1991). In line 15 the teacher
acknowledged Brent’s reason why he liked the army ‘You like driving’ while imitating Brent’s driving action. Here we see again another example of modified speech concurrently with embodied actions when the teacher talked to Brent. In line 16 Brent agreed with the teacher ‘Yeah’ then moved his gaze to his book to indicate his closure for the current discussion. Brent’s verbal and embodied closure indicated that he now had nothing new or more to say about the topic, and thus gave a “free” turn to a next who can, without violating topic coherence, take the occasion to introduce a new topic (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). This is seen in line 17 when the teacher opened up a new discussion ‘Ah. So you could try.’ The teacher however could not finish his turn as Brent, unexpectedly at this moment, uttered ‘No. I mean. Ah’ while moving his gaze from the teacher to his book and then pointing at it (lines 18 and 19). Brent’s unexpected utterance ‘No. I mean’ signaled to the teacher that he wanted to express his idea on a topic that was not congruent with the teacher’s. However, his limited vocabulary did not allow him to express it. This is seen in the subsequent turn when he uttered the token ‘Ah’ while pointing at his book in frustration, as seen in the picture below.

*Brent uttered ‘Ah’ while pointing at his book in frustration.*

Ignoring Brent’s difficulty in expressing himself, the teacher continued his new topic which was interrupted by Brent earlier ‘No? Maybe you could drive a tank’ (line 20). At this point, the teacher’s understanding and Brent’s communicative intent were not on the same page. Instead of taking up the teacher’s suggestion that he could drive a tank, Brent took his next turn
in a totally new direction ‘The sea the sea is is::: the guys’ (line 21) while his hands were
demonstrating the sea and the guys (lines 21 and 22), as seen in the pictures below.

_Brent was using his hands to demonstrate the sea and the guys to aid his communication_

Being aware of his limited vocabulary on the topic, Brent used gesture to aid the
utterance which he was producing with difficulty. He first used one hand to describe ‘the sea’
and then both hands to illustrate ‘the guys.’ Brent’s intensive labor with the verbal utterance and
gesture alerted the teacher that he was having difficulty expressing his communicative intent.
Without hesitation, the teacher alleviated Brent’s problem by guessing about what he was trying
to say ‘You get um sea sick? No?’ and in the meantime used his hand to demonstrate the
vomiting action (line 23). According to C. Goodwin (1995), in order to make that guess, a key
inferential resource used by the teacher is his orientation to the relevant activity. Here, it is
through the immediate and local activity that both the teacher and Brent are engaged in (the sea)
that the teacher managed to figure out what Brent was trying to say. In line 24 Brent rejected the
teacher’s guess ‘No’ then continued to finish his turn ‘The guy is no near the other person’ and in
the meantime used his hands to demonstrate how the guy at sea is not near the other person (lines
25 and 26), as seen in the pictures below.
Brent’s gesture to demonstrate how the guy is no near the other person.

Here Brent was using gesture to demonstrate that the guy at sea is in fact not near (or is far away) from the people on land (and that was the reason he preferred the army to the navy). The teacher, however, was entirely uncertain of what Brent was trying to say. He first uttered a series of tokens to acknowledge Brent’s intended communication ‘Yes. Ah. Okay;’ he then interpreted Brent’s utterance in a different way ‘Well. I think you’re very near other people on the ship’ while his hands were demonstrating the closeness/tightness on the ship (lines 27 and 28). He then continued ‘But yes’ (line 28) to indicate that there could be another meaning in Brent’s utterance that he was quite unsure about. However, uninterested in what it could be, he walked back to his table to indicate his closure for the current topic (line 29). The teacher’s interpretation, which changed the current topic about the man being isolated at sea to the closeness/tightness of men on the ship, rendered Brent apologetic for not being able to express himself clearly due to his limited vocabulary. This is seen in lines 30 and 31 when Brent uttered a series of tokens to blame himself ‘Sorry. Sorry. I.’ He then mumbled and shook his head while withdrawing his gaze from the teacher to his book. Brent’s verbal and embodied actions as a failed communicator generated sympathy among his classmates. They laughed to alleviate his trouble (line 32). In line 33 Brent once again expressed his failure to communicate in frustration ‘I I’ while directing his gaze back to the teacher.
Brent’s continuous failure to express his communicative intent put him at a disadvantage with regard to the current talk as the teacher now dominated the conversation. In lines 34, 35, and 36 the teacher asserted his previous interpretation ‘You’re always near people. Very crowded. Too many people on the boat’ and in the meantime used his hands to demonstrate the tightness/closeness on the boat. Here the teacher’s assertion is an example illustrating the teacher’s power which, according to Gutierrez and Larson (1995), is constituted through the various configurations of talk and interaction in the classroom. In line 37 Sam aligned with the teacher by rephrasing his assertion ‘Don’t like the sea’ while directing his gaze toward Brent. In the midst of Sam’s alignment, Brent came to realize that his position in the current talk had been lost. He therefore gave in and agreed with the teacher ‘Yeah’ and in the meantime used his hand to demonstrate his agreement while gazing at the teacher; he then moved his gaze to his book (lines 38 and 39). The picture below illustrates Brent’s giving-in moment.

_Brent used his hand to demonstrate agreement with the teacher while gazing at him._

Although by now, Brent had completely disengaged from the conversation, the teacher continued ‘Too many people on the boat. It’s crowded on the boat’ (line 40). At this point, Brent no longer had any interest in prolonging the talk of which he was obviously not a part. Hence, he rushed into agreement with the teacher when the teacher was still in the middle of his turn ‘Yes. Yes’ while gazing at him (line 41). He then moved his gaze to his book to indicate his closure for the current topic (lines 41 and 42). Brent’s indication of closure however was not
recognized by the teacher. In line 43 when the teacher prolonged the topic ‘I agree.’ It was uncertain at this moment who and what the teacher agreed with as he spoke. The teacher then once again repeated his assertion ‘Yes. It’s crowded on the boat. Yes’ (line 43). He then turned to the board and wrote down the word ‘crowded’ (lines 43 and 44). While the teacher was writing on the board, Brent turned his gaze back to the teacher (lines 45 and 46). Brent’s gaze indicated that he recognized the teacher’s extended talk (Rossano et al., 2009) even though he was no longer a part of it.

This section discussed how the teacher repaired Brent’s communicative intent due to his limited vocabulary on the topic. The analysis revealed that the teacher misunderstood Brent’s utterance and gesture to indicate the men being isolated at sea from people on land and interpreted his talk and gesture as the closeness/tightness of men on a ship. The teacher’s misinterpretation rendered Brent apologetic for not being able to express himself clearly. This is evidenced by Brent’s constant use of the token ‘Sorry’ to blame himself and his repetition of the pronoun ‘I’ to express his frustration, concurrently with his head-shake and his gaze-withdrawal from the talk. Brent’s failure to express his communicative intent put him at a disadvantage with respect to the current talk as the teacher now dominated the conversation. This is seen in the teacher’s subsequent assertions of the closeness/crowdedness on the boat and Brent’s spontaneous yielding-in actions with the teacher, both verbally (Yeah. Yes) and nonverbally (gesture to indicate agreement and gaze to recognize the teacher extended talk).

III. Support or sport?

This section discusses the teacher’s misunderstanding of Kent’s intended question and Kent’s pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport,’ and how Kent expressed his disagreement with the
teacher’s misunderstanding. The transcription segment below illustrates Kent’s disagreement with the teacher’s misunderstanding.

Note that the following abbreviations are used for names.

Tea: teacher  Stu: student(s)  Ken: Kent

Other students who are also in the transcript are Brent and Lisa.

01 Ken: We need our bones. They support our bodies so we can stand.
02 ((reading from the book))
03 Tea: Alright. Very good. Thank you. So support is what number on
04 page 90? ((looking at the book then turning to walk toward the
05 board))
06 Ken: Thirteen.
07 Tea: Good job. Thank you. Number thirteen is support. ((walking
08 toward the board then writing ‘support’ in the line next to
09 item thirteen on the board))
10 Ken: ((moved his gaze toward the teacher))
11 Ken: Support same fan? ((gazing at the teacher))
12 Tea: ((erasing the board))
13 Ken: ((moved his gaze to his book))
14 Tea: Huh? ((turning away from the board then walking toward Kent))
15 Ken: Support uh:: ((moved his gaze to the teacher and scratching his
16 head))
17  Tea: Support means to keep something up. ((raising both hands up high)) To keep it up. Support. ((both hands were still raising up high))
18   Ken: ((stopped scratching his head, his eyes were still at the teacher))
19   Tea: Support can also mean to help you. For example my father and my mother support me. ((tapping his fingers in the air to make a rhythm while speaking)) That means they give me the money. ((both hands were expressing the giving action))
20   Ken: Support same fan? Fan. Team fans. Team fans support? ((hand was making multiple movements in the air to support his speaking))
21   No? ((hand covered his mouth))
22   Tea: ((turned to the board then drew the sign opposite '≠' next to the word 'support' then wrote the word 'sport')) It’s not the same as sport. ((turning away from the board to Kent))
23   Ken: ((hand covered his face)) No:::
24   Tea: Right. Sup-. You’re right. Right. You know difference? Right? ((nodding head, hands were raising up to assure difference))
Okay. Very good. ((walking away from Kent toward the board))

Ken: But

Tea: Yes. Support your local team. ((erasing the word 'sport' on the board)) Yes. That means ((turning away from the board then walking to Kent))

Sam: Your mother and your father support you. ((hand was making movements in the air to illustrate parents’ authority))

Tea: Yes. Your mother and father support you. Yes. They give you money. They help you.

Stu: ((Brent, Sam, and Lisa were laughing))

Ken: You don’t understand me. ((hand was directing to the teacher then to himself))

Tea: Right. I don’t understand you. One more time. We’ll try.

Ken: Support is:: fans team fans. ((hand was making multiple movements in the air to support his speaking))

Tea: Yes. Right. So fans support their team. Yes. It’s true.
In this social participation structure, the students were the center of an activity that involved going over homework. The teacher called on a student and asked him/her what his/her answer would be for an item in an exercise (this exercise is the same exercise that was discussed in Section 9.1). The whole class listened to the teacher to see which student would be called upon to answer the item assigned. Turn taking hence was the teacher’s choice as the students waited for their names to be called to take turns. The students who were not called were expected to have their eyes on their books and listen to their classmate’s answer. If the student who had been called upon did not answer the item correctly, the teacher would call upon another student to answer the question. This process could continue until the teacher found the correct answer.

The exercise in Section 9.1 is provided again in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thinking about the target vocabulary (page 90)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. Find the words and phrases in <strong>bold</strong> in the reading “Bones” on page 89. Write them in the list in alphabetical order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. adults 6. ______________ 11. ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. bones 7. ______________ 12. ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. __________ 8. ______________ 13. ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. __________ 9. ______________ 14. ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. __________ 10. ______________ 15. ______________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In lines 1 and 2 Kent was reading a sentence from the reading ‘Bones’ on page 89 ‘We need our bones. They support our bodies so we can stand.’ After the reading, the teacher complimented Kent ‘Alright. Very good. Thank you’ (line 3). He then asked Kent ‘So support is what number on page 90?’ while looking at the book; he then turned his body to walk toward the
board (lines 3, 4, and 5). Kent answered the teacher ‘Thirteen’ (line 6). The teacher then complimented Kent ‘Good job. Thank you. Number thirteen is support’ while walking toward the board then writing ‘support’ in the line next to item thirteen (lines 7, 8, and 9). Meanwhile, Kent moved his gaze to the teacher to see the teacher’s writing (line 10). Here we see again another example of teacher-initiation, student-response, and teacher-evaluation/feedback (IRE/IRF), which, according to Cazden (2000), may be still the most common pattern of classroom discourse.

In line 11 Kent asked the teacher ‘Support same fan?’ while gazing at him. Here, in addition to the meaning of ‘support’ in the sentence ‘Bones support our bodies so we can stand,’ Kent was trying to ask the teacher if ‘support’ could also be used in the sentence ‘Fans support their team.’ Kent’s question however was grammatically and semantically incorrect, and therefore it was not initially recognized by the teacher. This is seen in line 12 when the teacher was erasing the board instead of responding to Kent’s question. Seeing that the teacher was occupied with the board-erasing task, Kent withdrew his gaze from the teacher to his book (line 13). While Kent was no longer expecting any responses from the teacher, in line 14 the teacher initiated a repair ‘Huh?’ while turning away from the board and walking toward Kent. The teacher’s initiation of repair and his embodied movement toward Kent indicated that he had failed to hear Kent’s question and wanted Kent to repeat it. In line 15 Kent repeated the question ‘Support uh::’ while moving his gaze back to the teacher and scratching his head (lines 15 and 16). In this way, Kent was aware that the question that he had asked previously was not semantically and grammatically correct and therefore was hesitant to repeat it. The picture below illustrates Kent scratching his head in frustration as he did not know how to find the words for the question that he wanted to ask.
Kent was scratching his head in frustration as he did not know how to find the words for the question that he wanted to ask.

Kent’s use of the continuer ‘uh:::’ while lengthening it indicated that the question was incomplete. His embodied action (head scratching) showed that he was having a difficult time completing the question due to his limited vocabulary on the topic. C. Goodwin (1986) argued that when a speaker engages in a word-search, recipients continue attentively to gaze at the speaker. Though such recipients orient to the speaker, they remain silent and thus grant the speaker the opportunity to find the word on his own. Contrary to C. Goodwin’s argument that the recipient remains silent during the speaker’s word search, the teacher went on to explain Kent’s incomplete question ‘Support means to keep something up. To keep it up. Support’ while raising both his hands high illustrating its meaning (lines 17, 18, and 19). The teacher’s explanation together with his embodied action illustrating the meaning of ‘support’ failed to address Kent’s original question about ‘support’ and ‘fan.’ The teacher’s explanation hence did not receive any uptake or acknowledgement from Kent. This is seen in lines 20 and 21 when Kent stopped scratching his head, but his gaze was still at the teacher as if he was waiting for further explanation which, he hoped, would relate to the topic ‘support’ and ‘fan.’ Totally unaware that his explanation was not what Kent was looking for, the teacher continued ‘Support can also mean to help you. For example my father and my mother support me. That means they give me
the money,’ and in the meantime used gesture to illustrate his utterances (lines 22, 23, 24, and 25), as seen in the pictures below.

The teacher’s gesture when talking about parents supporting their children and his gesture when talking about money-giving were, according to Streeck (2009), aimed for a representation that was adequate for his communicative intent at the moment. Seeing that the teacher was going too far away from his original question instead of helping him find the words for the question he was having trouble with, Kent re-stated the question which he was hesitant to produce earlier ‘Support same fan?’ (line 26). This time, being aware that the question was not grammatically and semantically correct, Kent added more utterances ‘Fan. Team fans. Team fans support?’ while his hand was making multiple movements in the air to aid his intended meaning (lines 26 and 27), as seen in the picture below.

Kent’s hand was making multiple movements in the air to aid his intended utterances.
After adding more utterances to make the meaning of his question clearer, Kent asked the teacher if what he was trying to say was correct ‘No?’ he then covered his mouth and waited for the teacher’s response (line 28), as seen in the picture below.

Kent covered his mouth and waited for the teacher’s response after his question

Kent’s question which was formed in favor of a disconfirming response, together with his embodied action (covering his mouth) indicated his lack of confidence in what he was trying to say. This created an opportunity for the teacher to dominate the discussion, and he once again misinterpreted Kent’s intended question. In lines 29, 30, and 31 the teacher turned to the board and drew the opposite sign (≠) next to the word ‘support’ and then wrote the word ‘sport’ next to it. He then uttered ‘It is not the same as sport’ while turning away from the board and back to Kent. Here by making the association with the words Kent offered such as ‘fan’ ‘team fans,’ and ‘team fans support,’ the teacher misunderstood Kent’s pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport,’ which was not what Kent intended to say. Kent thus was frustrated with the teacher’s misunderstanding. In line 32 Kent rejected the teacher ‘No::’ while covering his face. Kent’s rejection together with his embodied action displayed his frustration, which according to C. Goodwin (1995) “was an emotion which was not a state internal to himself, but what he had not been able to accomplish in the midst of the contingencies of action within which he was embedded” (p. 21). The picture below illustrates Kent’s frustration.
Kent covered his face in frustration

Kent’s frustration made the teacher realize that ‘sport’ was not what he meant. The teacher then assured Kent to ease his frustration ‘Right. Sup-. You’re right. Right. You know difference. Right?’ while nodding and raising his hands (lines 33 and 34), as seen in the picture below.

The teacher was assuring Kent that he knew the difference between ‘support’ and ‘sport’ to ease his frustration.

Here the teacher’s cut-off in the middle of the word ‘Sup-’ indicated that he was planning to discuss more about ‘support’ initially, but he then changed the topic to a more urgent one – alleviating Kent’s frustration. This is seen in his subsequent turns when he repeatedly assured Kent that he was right ‘You are right. Right. You know difference. Right?’ The teacher then uttered ‘Okay. Very good’ while walking away from Kent toward the board (line 35) to indicate his closure for the current discussion. At this point, Kent was still frustrated because his question had not yet been answered; he thus attempted to re-open the discussion ‘But’ (line 36). It was also at this point that the teacher started to realize Kent’s intended question (thanks to his
embodied frustration toward the word ‘sport’). In lines 37 and 38 the teacher uttered ‘Yes. Support your local team’ while erasing the word ‘sport’ on the board. He then continued ‘Yes. That means’ while turning away from the board and walking back to Kent (lines 38 and 39).

While the teacher was leading the discussion toward the direction which seemed to finally help answer Kent’s question, in line 40 Sam abruptly cut the teacher off and brought the topic back to the frustration point ‘Your mother and your father support you.’ In the meantime he used gesture to illustrate his utterance (lines 40 and 41), as seen in the picture below.

![Sam’s gesture when talking about parents supporting their children](image)

Sam’s abrupt-join in the midst of the teacher’s talk was described by Local and Walker (2004) as involving resistance to possible topic closure or new topic which was started-up by the teacher. Instead of continuing the discussion which helped to answer Kent’s question, the teacher took up the new direction which was initiated by Sam ‘Yes. Your mother and your father support you. Yes. They give you money. They help you’ (lines 42 and 43). While the teacher was talking, Brent, Lisa, and Sam burst into laughter to align with the teacher’s new direction on the topic (line 44). As a result, Kent once again expressed his frustration ‘You don’t understand me’ while directing his hand toward the teacher then toward himself (lines 45 and 46), as seen in the pictures below.
Kent was directing his hand toward the teacher then to himself. Kent’s gesture first toward the teacher then toward himself indicated that there was a miscommunication between the teacher and him, and that he was still waiting for an appropriate answer to his question. The pronoun ‘You’ that Kent used referred to the teacher, on the one hand; but, on the other hand, it showed the teacher that he misunderstood the type of information Kent was seeking. Kent’s frustrated utterance ‘You don’t understand me’ seemed to blame the teacher that he was responsible for the miscommunication. Here, it appeared that the teacher was responsible for the trouble, however, according to Robinson (2006), “any unit of talk that participants orient to as ‘troubling’ can possibly represent more than one type of trouble, and more than one type of trouble can mean that both participants are responsible for trouble” (p. 141). In this way, the miscommunication between the teacher and Kent could be due to either Kent’s trouble speaking or the teacher’s trouble hearing, or both. In line 47 the teacher tried to alleviate Kent’s frustration ‘Right. I don’t understand you. One more time. We’ll try.’ Taking advantage of the teacher’s willingness to revisit the topic, Kent tried to reword the question differently from the previous ones to make it more understandable for the teacher ‘Support is::: fans team fans’ while his hand was making multiple movements in the air to support his utterances (lines 48 and 49) (they were the same hand movements we saw in lines 26 and 27). In line 50 the teacher finally gave Kent the answer which he was looking for ‘Yes. Right. So fans support their team. Yes. It’s true.’
This section discussed the teacher’s misunderstanding of Kent’s intended question and Kent’s pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport.’ The analysis revealed three issues during the teacher’s misunderstanding. First, the teacher ignored Kent’s verbal and embodied actions indicating his difficulty while looking for the appropriate words for his question. Those were the continuers ‘uh:::’ and his head-scratching. The teacher thus misinterpreted Kent’s intended question and explained it as ‘support means to keep something up’ and ‘support means your parents support you,’ which was not what Kent intended to ask. Second, the teacher misunderstood Kent’s pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport’ based on the association he made from the words Kent offered such as ‘fan,’ ‘team fans,’ and ‘team fans support.’ Last, instead of leading the discussion toward the direction which seemed to finally help answer Kent’s question, the teacher took the discussion to a new direction which was initiated by Sam. This new direction however brought the discussion back to Kent’s frustration about ‘parents support their children,’ which was again not what Kent intended to ask about.

IV. Conclusion and pedagogical suggestions

This chapter discussed how the teacher potentially changed the communicative intent of students due to their incorrect pronunciation and their lack of ability to retrieve words when needed. It first looked at how the teacher corrected Ted’s pronunciation of ‘similar’ or ‘several.’ It then examined how the teacher repaired Brent’s communicative intent due to his limited vocabulary on the topic of the armed forces. Last, it discussed the teacher’s misunderstanding of Kent’s intended question and Kent’s pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport.’ The analysis revealed the following issues during the teacher’s correction. First, the teacher’s embodied positions and movements, and his questions formulated in one word utterances created pressure for Ted to answer the questions the way the teacher wanted. Second, the teacher did not effectively take
into consideration Sam’s and Kent’s efforts to clarify Ted’s communicative intent. It was clear that their suggestion of ‘same’ or ‘similar’ was a better way to express the equivalence between ‘kinds’ and ‘types’ than ‘several.’ Third, the teacher misunderstood Brent’s utterance and gesture to indicate the man being isolated at sea and interpreted it as the closeness/tightness of men on a ship. The teacher’s misinterpretation rendered Brent apologetic for not being able to express himself clearly, and eventually, he withdrew himself from the current talk. This created an opportunity for the teacher to dominate the conversation. This was seen in the teacher’s subsequent assertions about the closeness/tightness of men on a ship and Brent’s yielding in actions to agree with the teacher, both verbally (Yes. Yeah) and nonverbally (gesture to indicate agreement and gaze to recognize the teacher’s extended talk). Fourth, the teacher ignored Kent’s difficulty in finding the words for the question he intended to ask (e.g., his use of the continuer ‘uh’ and his head-scratching), and then the teacher misinterpreted it. His misinterpretation made Kent try harder to re-state the question, but the teacher then misunderstood Brent’s pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport’ based on the association he made with the words Kent had offered. Last, instead of leading the discussion in a direction that seemed to finally help answer Kent’s question, the teacher took the discussion in a new direction (initiated by Sam). This new direction brought the discussion back to “parents support their children” which was again not what Kent had intended to ask about.

The findings from our analyses yield two pedagogical suggestions for the teacher’s corrections when students mispronounce a word or when they cannot retrieve words for the talk.

First, when a student mispronounces a word, the teacher should take into consideration the following factors when initiating a repair. First, the teacher’s embodied positions and movements, and his repair formulated in one-word questions can potentially create pressure for
the student to answer the questions the way the teacher wants. Next, peers’ effort to deliver their peer’s communicative intent is generally assumed accurate due to their shared knowledge of the current topic so the teacher should take into account their suggestions. Last, instead of guessing the mispronounced words, the teacher should look at how the student forms the question. It is common that the student uses the word-order from his/her native language and translates it to English. Rearranging the word-order in the student’s question to make it grammatical in English can help the teacher understand his/her intended question in a much less painful manner.

Second, when a student cannot express his communicative intent clearly due to his lack of ability to retrieve words, the teacher should give him more time or prompt him to understand what he is trying to say. The teacher should avoid interpreting the student’s communicative intent when he is still looking for words. When a student withdraws from the current talk due to his limited vocabulary on the topic being discussed, the teacher should avoid dominating the conversation or employing a series of assertions to move the discussion in a different direction. Last, when a student initiates a new topic that is not relevant to the current one, the teacher should not allow it, as it could distract the teacher and the student from the main discussion where its purpose is to gain some common understanding.
Chapter 10: Conclusion

This study examined in what way the teacher’s instruction facilitates student engagement, and in what way it fails to effectively elicit student responses (or in what way engagement between the teacher and his students seems to break down). In particular, I looked at: 1) how the teacher facilitated student engagement in learning new vocabulary items, 2) how the students showed their disengagement during class activities such as checking homework, grammar practice exercises, and following the teacher’s directives, and 3) how the teacher potentially changed the students’ communicative intent due to their incorrect pronunciation and their lack of ability to retrieve words when needed.

I. Teaching that facilitated student engagement in learning new vocabulary items

With regard to the teaching which facilitated student engagement in learning new vocabulary items, the analysis revealed that the teacher raised student consciousness/awareness of new vocabulary items by using verbal, nonverbal, and voice demonstrations to initiate, monitor, incorporate, and elicit engagement. The teaching style involved the teacher’s embedded correction, acting out as an animator, humor, monitoring student participation through gaze, gesture, facial expressions, bodily movements, repetitive sound production, and emphatic speech. As a result of the teacher’s facilitation, the students showed their engagement with the material through peer apprenticeship, peer surveillance, verbal participation, turn shark behavior, embodied demonstrations, gaze toward the teacher, laughter at the teacher’s sense of humor, and ceasing sanctionable activities as a result of the teacher’s portending look.

The findings from our analysis called for the following pedagogical suggestions when teaching new vocabulary items to beginning language learners. First, it is suggested that teachers incorporate nonverbal behaviors (bodily actions, facial expressions, gesture, gaze) while
explaining new vocabulary items for students. This approach allows students to relate the meanings of the new words through the teachers’ embodied actions. These actions are more effective than using definitions from dictionaries due to the students’ limited language proficiency. Second, it is suggested that teachers design humorous situations to create laughter among students as it has been shown that laughter helps to motivate student learning, lower their anxiety, and create a social bond between teachers and students in classrooms. Last, it is suggested that teachers use voiced demonstration such as repetitive sound production and emphatic speech to make the new vocabulary items more memorable to students. These unusual verbal utterances can significantly elicit student involvement (observed through their gaze toward the teacher, their laughter, and their verbal responses after the teacher’s voiced demonstration, etc.). Such involvement increases their chances of remembering the new vocabulary items longer and in a more enjoyable and relaxing manner than by memorizing dictionary definitions.

II. Student disengagement during homework checking activity, grammar practice exercises, and the teacher’s directives

The study also looked at various classroom activities where the students showed their disengagement during instruction. These include their underlife acts during the homework checking activity, their non-participation during the grammar practice exercise, and their non-compliance during the times when the teacher initiated directives. During the homework checking activity, Helen’s nonverbal underlife act occurred before the cell phone ringing event and accelerated during and after it. Before the cell phone rang, Helen was consistently involved in numerous open concealed challenges while the teacher was getting the students ready for the homework exercise (employing a flick check, throwing a paper ball at Wes, hopping out of her
chair and leaning over the table, getting the cell phone, and checking for unusual incidents on her cell). At the moment her cell phone rang, Helen turned the classroom’s formal order into a jungle where she, Kao, Kent, and other students freely expressed their joy by laughing. After her cell phone rang, Helen’s underlife act accelerated when she kept throwing objects at Wes in the midst of the teacher’s compliments on her good performance (she answered an item from the homework correctly).

During the grammar practice activity, student disengagement was seen in two instances. First, Brent’s and Lisa’s inappropriate behavior throughout the activity (talking to each other) disturbed Tom’s and Kent’s orientation to the task at hand. Specifically, Tom’s glance at Brent and Lisa while they were talking distracted him from the current task. His attention to the task hence was temporarily jeopardized. Kent’s employment of constant “judging” looks at Brent and Lisa prevented him from being attentive to the teacher’s questions (this was seen in his competing gaze pattern among three entities – Brent/Lisa, his book, and the teacher while the teacher was asking the questions). Second, there was a problem in the teacher’s example to illustrate the grammatical function of ‘taste.’ The example reinforced the possibility that ‘taste’ is a noun rather than helping the students understand whether it is a noun. As a result, the teacher’s questions failed to elicit any responses from the students despite the fact that some of them had tried to (e.g., Kent’s and Sam’s constant gaze pattern toward the teacher and then to their books during the questions).

During the time when the teacher initiated the directives, the analysis revealed four reasons why the directives failed to elicit compliance from the students. First, the teacher’s use of “please” mitigated his request. Second, the teacher’s embodied movement away from the spotlight during the directives minimized his monitoring and control over students’ compliance.
Third, the teacher’s failure to establish an appropriate type of facing formation such as face-to-face did not warrant him the joint attention needed for compliance to take place. Finally, the teacher’s use of a form of mitigation, his trouble source with incorrect lexical choice, and his non-commanding voice significantly reduced the social force of the directives. Hence, the directives resulted in non-compliance from the students. Students’ non-compliance was seen in behaviors such as their overtly talking to each other while the teacher was delivering the directives (Lisa and Kevin), their being involved in a task which was not congruent with the teacher’s request (Tom), and their silence throughout the pair work discussion-time (whole class).

The findings from our analyses yield the following pedagogical suggestions for the underlife, the grammar practices, and the teacher’s directives, respectively.

a) While the student is participating in activities related to the underlife, it is suggested that the teacher orient his body toward the student to create joint attention while complimenting him/her. When joint attention has been established, the student is more likely to stop his/her underlife act and be attentive to the compliments. It is also suggested that the teacher move to the spotlight (the teacher table) where he can monitor and exercise control over students’ compliance. When spotting the underlife act, the teacher could employ “the look” to signal to the student a possible intervention or use a command to maintain classroom order such as “Everyone, no noise please.” The pronoun “everyone” can address anyone, and the student who is involved in the underlife act would be aware of the disturbance s/he is creating and eventually stop his/her disruptive behavior. Using commands addressing the whole class helps the teacher gain control over classroom order, on the one hand, and maintain “face” for the underlife actor, on the other.
b) With respect to the grammar practices, it is suggested that the teacher employ “the look” to signal to the students a possible intervention for their inappropriate behavior (e.g., talking to each other), or use commands such as “Can I have your attention, please” while his eyes are directed at the students to orient them back to the current task. To elicit students’ responses for the question whether “taste” is only a noun, it is suggested that the teacher give examples that illustrate “taste” as both a noun and a verb (e.g., Your coffee has a delicious taste, but my coffee tastes very bad). The teacher would then explain to the students that “taste” in the first sentence is a noun, whereas it is a verb in the second sentence. The teacher then can pursue the True/False question ‘True or False. (Taste is) Only a noun.’ To engage the students in the production of “taste” as a noun, it is suggested that the teacher produce a model sentence first (e.g., I don’t like the taste of diet coke) then call on the students to reproduce the sentence replacing “diet coke” with a noun of their choice (e.g., I don’t like the taste of coffee, I don’t like the taste of broccoli, I don’t like the taste of durian, etc.) The same procedure can be used to illustrate that “taste” is a verb – the teacher first produces a model sentence (e.g., This coffee tastes very good) and then calls on the students to reproduce the sentence with changes of their own on either the subject or the adjective or both (e.g., This broccoli tastes very bad. This coffee tastes very bitter. This fruit tastes very sweet/sour/bland). Last, it is suggested that the teacher give the students enough wait-time to respond to questions. As Crookes and Chaudron (2001) argued, when wait-time is increased, there is an improvement in learning as well as in the quality of classroom discourse.

c) Regarding the teacher’s directives, it is suggested that the teacher move to the spotlight so that he can monitor and exercise control over students’ compliance. The teacher then establishes a type of facing formation (face-to-face) with commands such as “Attention, please,” “Can we start now?” “Are you ready?” to direct students’ gaze toward him. Once the teacher
establishes the joint attention needed for compliance to take place, he then issues directives. It is possible for the teacher to use the word “please” to mitigate his request. However, it is suggested that the teacher pursue his request if compliance is lacking. Last, it is suggested that the teacher use a tone of voice which shows his determination that compliance is required or mandatory while issuing directives.

**III. How the teacher potentially changed the students’ communicative intent due to their incorrect pronunciation and their lack of ability to retrieve words when needed**

The study also discussed how the teacher potentially changed the students’ communicative intent due to their incorrect pronunciation and their lack of ability to retrieve words when needed. I first looked at how the teacher corrected Ted’s pronunciation between ‘similar’ and ‘several.’ The analysis revealed two issues during the teacher’s correction. First, the teacher’s close distance from Ted, his form of facing formation (face-to-face), his embodied movement, and his questions formulated in one-word utterances created pressure for Ted to answer the questions the way the teacher wanted. Second, Sam’s and Kent’s effort to deliver Ted’s communicative intent was not effectively taken into consideration by the teacher. It was clear that ‘same’ or ‘similar’ was better for expressing the equivalence between ‘kinds’ and ‘types’ than ‘several.’

I then examined how the teacher repaired Brent’s communicative intent due to his limited vocabulary on the topic of the armed forces. The analysis revealed that the teacher misunderstood Brent’s utterance and gesture to indicate the men being isolated at sea from people on land and interpreted this as the closeness/tightness of men on a ship. The teacher’s misinterpretation rendered Brent apologetic for not being able to express himself clearly. This is evidenced by Brent’s constant use of the token ‘Sorry’ to blame himself and his repetition of the
pronoun ‘I’ to express his frustration, concurrently with his head-shake and his gaze-withdrawal from the talk. Brent’s failure to express his communicative intent put him at a disadvantage with respect to the current talk as the teacher now dominated the conversation. This is seen in the teacher’s subsequent assertions of the closeness/crowdedness on the boat and Brent’s spontaneous yielding-in actions with the teacher, both verbally (Yeah. Yes) and nonverbally (gesture to indicate agreement and gaze to recognize the teacher extended talk).

Last, I discussed the teacher’s misunderstanding of Kent’s intended question and Kent’s pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport.’ The analysis revealed three issues during the teacher’s misunderstanding. First, the teacher ignored Kent’s verbal and embodied actions indicating his difficulty while looking for the appropriate words for his question. Those were the continuer ‘uh:::’ and his head-scratching. The teacher thus misinterpreted Kent’s intended question and explained it as ‘support means to keep something up’ and ‘support means your parents support you,’ which was not what Kent intended to ask. Second, the teacher misunderstood Kent’s pronunciation of ‘support’ as ‘sport’ based on the association he made with the words Kent offered such as ‘fan,’ ‘team fans,’ and ‘team fans support.’ Last, instead of leading the discussion toward the direction which seemed to finally help address Kent’s question, the teacher took the discussion to a new direction which was initiated by Sam. This new direction, however, brought the discussion back to ‘parents support their children,’ which was again not what Kent intended to ask about.

The findings from our analyses yield two pedagogical suggestions for the teacher’s correction when misunderstanding occurs due to students’ incorrect pronunciation and their lack of ability to retrieve words when needed.
First, when the teacher misunderstands a student’s communicative intent due to his/her incorrect pronunciation, it is suggested that the teacher take into consideration the following factors when initiating a repair. First, the teacher’s close distance from the student, his facing formation (face-to-face), his embodied movements, and his repair-questions formulated in one-word utterances can potentially create pressure for the student to answer the questions the way the teacher wants, which may not be what the student intends to say. Next, it is suggested that the teacher take into consideration peers’ effort to save their peer when miscommunication occurs, as it is generally assumed that peers can elaborate their peer’s communicative intent better than the teacher due to their shared knowledge on the relevant topic. Last, it is suggested that the teacher avoid guessing the mispronounced words based on the information he hears from the student. Instead, the teacher should consider how the student forms the question. In particular, how the word-order in his/her utterances helps the teacher depict his/her intended question. It is common for the student to use the word-order from his/her native language and translates it to English. Instead of guessing, rearranging the word-order in the student’s question to make it grammatical in English, can help the teacher understand the intended question in a much less painful manner.

Second, when the student cannot express his/her communicative intent clearly due to his/her lack of ability to retrieve words when needed, it is suggested that the teacher give the student more time to express his/her idea and elicit more responses from the student by prompting him/her to understand what he/she is trying to say. The teacher should avoid interpreting the student’s communicative intent when the teacher is uncertain of his/her intended meaning, or when the student is still looking for words (indicating by the continuers ‘uh:::’ and embodied movements such as head-scratching). When the student shows his/her disadvantage
with respect to the current talk, the teacher should avoid dominating the discussion or employing a series of assertions to move the discussion in a different direction. Last, it is suggested that the teacher not allow other students to open a new topic if it is not relevant to the current talk, as it could potentially damage the main discussion where the teacher and a student are trying to gain a common understanding of the topic.

IV. Relevance of the study to current research

During the last two decades, the field of conversation analysis has been used in second language classroom research to understand how teachers and students achieve teaching and learning. Typical studies in this area include teacher elicitation turns that assist student revision in ESL post-secondary one-on-one writing conferences (Koshik, 1999), talk that occurs at the boundaries of different classroom speech exchange systems (e.g., how teachers regain control of the classroom agenda) (Markee, 2004), and using conversation analysis to understand second language acquisition (Markee, 2008), to name a few.

However, recent scholars have taken an approach that combines talk and the body. For instance, Olsher (2003) incorporated talk and the body in his research to understand how learners manage their talk in small-group interaction. Similarly, Amador and Adams (in press) examined how embodied and verbal actions facilitate affiliative behaviors that increase language learning opportunities in infant and adult learners. Along these lines, this study examined how talk and bodily movements which the teacher employed during the course of his teaching facilitated student engagement, and how it failed to effectively elicit student responses. I believe that understanding the natural characteristics of the successes as well as the failures in teacher-student interaction will help identify ways for the teacher to improve his/her rate of success, on
the one hand, and to improve his/her teaching techniques, which eventually leads to better learning, on the other.

To conclude this study, I would like to reiterate Orellana and Gutierrez’s (2006) appeal to ESL teachers and language educators: Rather than asking ESL students to adapt to dominant educational and cultural practices, we (as language teachers and educators) might want to ask ourselves how schools and classroom practices can be transformed to better serve these students.
Appendix

Transcription Symbols

Data are transcribed according to the system developed by Jefferson and described in Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974: 731-733).

**Bold italics**: Italics indicate some form of emphasis, which may be signaled by changes in pitch and/or amplitude.

**Overlap bracket**: A left bracket marks the point at which the current talk is overlapped by other talk.

**Lengthening**: Colons indicate that the sound immediately preceding has been noticeably lengthened.

**Intonation**: Punctuation symbols are used to mark intonation changes rather than as grammatical symbols:

- A period indicates a falling contour.
- A question mark indicates a raising contour.

**Comments**: Double parentheses enclose material that is not part of the talk being transcribed.

**Problematic Hearing**: Material in single parentheses indicates a hearing that the transcriber was uncertain about.

**Time**: Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, represented in seconds. For example, (5.0) represents 5 seconds of silence.

**Pause**: A dot in parentheses (.) indicates micropause. It is hearable but not readily measurable.
References


