

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

**Classroom Interaction in an Italian Primary School: Instructional Sequences
in Pedagogic Settings**

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List of Contents

Acknowledgements	pag. 9
Chapter 1: Questioning and Answering in Instruction Sequences: Beyond the Three-Move Exchange	
1. Introduction.....	pag. 11
2. The data	pag. 14
2.1. Collecting the data	pag. 17
3. The method	pag. 20
3.1. Transcribing the recordings	pag. 26
3.1.1. <i>Key of the transcription symbols.....</i>	pag. 28
3.2. Translating the data.....	pag. 35
4. Question-answer sequences in instruction sequences: some preliminary observations	pag. 40
4.1. What is a question?	pag. 41
4.2. Questions in classroom instructional sequences: the IRE model	pag. 49
4.2.1. <i>Assumptions and concerns of the Birmingham model</i>	pag. 49
4.2.2. <i>The method and the categories used in the analysis</i>	pag. 51
4.2.3. <i>Teaching exchanges</i>	pag. 52
5. The critique of the IRE model	pag. 55
6. Purposes and overview of the research	pag. 59
Chapter 2: How Teachers Build Recognizable Questioning Turns: The Format of Teachers' Questioning Turns and Their Sequential Consequences	
1. Introduction: The centrality of questioning in teaching	pag. 65
2. Interrogatives, questions and questioning: form and action.....	pag. 70
2.1. The grammatical form of questions and types of action.....	pag. 72
2.1.1. <i>Interrogatives perform actions other than questioning.....</i>	pag. 73
2.1.2. <i>The syntactic interrogative format isn't the only resource that speakers use to perform questioning.....</i>	pag. 76

2.2. The co-construction of questioning	pag. 81
3. The relationship between questioning and syntax.....	pag. 93
3.1. Interrogative syntactic formats.....	pag. 93
3.2. Non-interrogative formats	pag. 100
3.2.1. <i>Non-syntactic constructions</i>	pag. 101
3.2.2. <i>Non interrogative sentences as question substitutes</i>	pag. 114
4. Sequential consequences of questions.....	pag. 131
4.1. Eliciting a choral answer or selecting an individual respondent	pag. 131
4.1.1. <i>In-unison answers</i>	pag. 132
4.1.2. <i>The inserted selection sequence</i>	pag. 135
4.2. The structure delivery and deployment of answers	pag. 140
5. Concluding remarks.....	pag. 144

Chapter 3: How Teachers Build Answerable Questioning turns:

Building a Pedagogic Project Through Instruction Sequences

1. Introduction.....	pag. 147
2. <i>True</i> and <i>known-answer</i> questions.....	pag. 148
3. Features of turn construction: how to make a question answerable.....	pag. 151
4. Locating the information in order to make it accessible for recipients...	pag. 158
4.1. Reference to prior lessons.....	pag. 159
4.2. The physical availability and observability of the information.....	pag. 161
5. The conduciveness of questioning.....	pag. 165
5.1. The preference for contiguity and agreement: the deployment of the preferred option in alternative questions.....	pag. 166
5.2. Yes/no questions	pag. 169
5.3. Completing truncated utterances.....	pag. 172
5.4. Rear-loaded open questions	pag. 175
6. How to get the pupils to see something new: the delivery structure of questions in a series.....	pag. 177

6.1. Forms of accessible knowledge: the visible and the inferable.....	pag. 178
6.2. Open questions: the case of 'un/problematic' information.....	pag. 187
6.3. Yes/no questions: getting the right information when needed.....	pag. 190
6.4. If-formatted questions: constructing an 'online commentary' to provide evidence for the correct answer.....	pag. 192
6.5. Drawing conclusions through question-answer sequences.....	pag. 196
7. Conclusions.....	pag. 201
APPENDIX 1.....	pag. 203

Chapter 4: The 'Eliciting Turn Completion' Device.

1. Introduction	pag. 211
2. The questioning nature of the ELT device.....	pag. 216
2.1. Searching for a word or calling for completion	pag. 218
2.2. The orientation of the speakers to the device as doing questioning	pag. 222
3. How teachers build their questioning to be positive: the recycling of prior knowledge through the ETC device.....	pag. 228
3.1. The proximity in prior talk of the information elicited through the ETC device	pag. 229
3.2. The sequential consequences of variations in the proximity of prior occurrences	pag. 232
3.3. When the eliciting concerns matters of everyday knowledge.....	pag. 238
4. Contexts and uses of the ETC device.....	pag. 242
4.1. The first dimension of fragmentation: a conditional entry is one way to regain control over a competitive environment	pag. 243
4.2. The second dimension of fragmentation: eliciting collective appreciation of individual answers.....	pag. 257
4.2.1 <i>The ETC device is deployed in additional turn-constructive units in the course of the questioning</i>	pag. 262
4.2.2. <i>The ETC device is deployed in the course of the teacher evaluation of a prior answer.....</i>	pag. 266
4.3. Prompting a candidate answer.....	pag. 272

5. The pupils' mastery of the ETC device: providing turn continuation.....	pag. 275
6. Concluding remarks.....	pag. 280

Chapter 5: Answering at School: What a Child has to Know to Produce the

'Correct' Candidate Answer.

1. Introduction	pag. 285
1.1. The inferential framework of Q-A sequences in the classroom	pag. 287
1.2. Possibly correct answers, but deployed at the wrong moment	pag. 290
1.3. Correct answers, but produced by the wrong person	pag. 292
2. What a child need to know to arrive at a 'correct' answer: the 'Temperature' fragment	pag. 296
2.1. Responding to recognizable conventions of question constructions.....	pag. 297
2.2. Building on other children prior answers.....	pag. 300
2.2.1. <i>The instructing potential of a large responding audience</i>	pag. 301
2.2.2. <i>Building individual answering turns on material from prior answers</i>	pag. 305
2.3. Responding to the specific pedagogic action which is embodied in the question format.....	pag. 309
3. Responding to recognizable conventions of question construction: the case of no-answer questions	pag. 318
3.1. How to recognize a no-answer question: conventions of question construction at work.....	pag. 322
3.1.1. <i>No-answer questions are used to draw conclusions from prior talk</i>	pag. 324
3.1.2. <i>No-answer questions have a marked format</i>	pag. 329
3.1.3. <i>No-answer question accomplish repair-initiation</i>	pag. 333
4. Building on answers to prior questions	pag. 350
5. Recognizing the action which is embodied in the format of questions: positive evaluation or initiating repair	pag. 358
5.1. The overall structural organization of the sequence.....	pag. 361
5.2. Janin's first understanding: the teacher endorses her prior response	pag. 365
5.2.1. <i>Features of non-verbal behaviour</i>	pag. 366
5.2.2. <i>Features of turn delivery</i>	pag. 367
5.2.3. <i>Janin's first assumption</i>	pag. 368

5.3. Janin's second understanding and self-repair.....	pag. 369
6. Conclusions	pag. 372
 Chapter 6: Third-Turn Receipts: The Treatment of Answers	
1. Introduction.....	pag. 375
1.1. Previous research on teachers' third turn receipts.....	pag. 377
2. Positive assessments: verbatim repetitions	pag. 380
2.1. Celebrating the answer: the prosody of teachers' repetitions.....	pag. 386
2.1.1. <i>Verbal repetition</i>	pag. 386
2.1.2. <i>Prosodic repetition</i>	pag. 388
2.1.3. <i>Absence of temporal delay</i>	pag. 392
2.2. Addressing the audience through positive assessments	pag. 396
3. Other practices to re-inforce repetitions in TTR: features of turn construction	pag. 400
3.1. Post-repetition turn expansion.....	pag. 402
3.2. Embedded repetitions.....	pag. 407
4. The treatment of some problematic answers: re-voicing the answer.....	pag. 412
4.1. The teacher's delay in providing the TTR and the other pupils' repair....	pag. 417
4.2. The teacher's repair initiation: the first initiator technique.....	pag. 421
4.3. Reformulations: the second teacher's initiator technique.....	pag. 425
4.3.1. <i>Understanding checks</i>	pag. 425
4.3.2. <i>Indirect-speech format in the third person</i>	pag. 428
4.4. Disaffiliating with the answer through repetitions.....	pag. 434
5. Concluding remarks.....	pag. 439
Conclusions.....	pag. 443
References.....	pag. 455

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Chapter 1

Questioning and Answering in Instruction Sequences Beyond the Three-Move Exchange

1. Introduction

This chapter is intended as an introduction to the dissertation that will report on the research that I have conducted during the four years of my DPhil course. The study has focused on *instruction sequences* in two Year 3 classes in an Italian primary school. In this chapter a description of the type of data will be provided, together with the transcription conventions, the issues concerning data recoding and translation, and the analytical method that has been used. Finally, some of the core issues related to the research will be discussed and a general overview of the work will also be included.

Although all the talk that takes place in classrooms can be broadly defined as *instructional or connected to/accomplishing instructional activities* (Lerner, 1995), this research examines, in particular, teacher/pupils talk that takes place in the form of teacher-led sessions of talk at the beginning of one teaching unit. In the data at my disposal, all the lessons share a very similar structure beginning with a quite extended session of talk (20-45 minutes) in which teacher and pupils are involved in this form of conversation. This first part of the lesson constitutes a setting where teacher/pupils interaction is designed as a primary resource to accomplish specific pedagogic goals, such as introducing new concepts or refreshing some previously debated matters, explaining some specific procedures to solve a problem or to do an activity, discussing key notions to be later explored in the lesson. This examination aims at uncovering the *organization of interaction* in these initial whole-class phases of the lesson and, eventually, it will provide an account of the *methodical practices*

enacted by teachers and pupils that enable them to deploy and understand their own and others' conduct as *doing instruction*.

In my data corpus, instructional talk in this environment takes the shape of teacher-led interaction, with the teacher facing the pupils in whole class instruction. This form of talk has been described as one “where the social arrangements include a turn-taking system that, in the first place, allocates speaking turns to two parties – the teacher and the students” (Lerner, 2002). This speech-exchange system provides for a differential distribution of participation rights among participants (McHoul, 1978), where “only teachers can direct speakership in any creative way” (McHoul, 1978: 188).

As been evidenced by a number of studies on cultural variations in teaching children (Rogoff, 1990) and by ethnographic researches on educational practices (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1982; Heath, S. B. 1983; Philips, 1983; Ochs, 1982; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1983) in many societies instruction activities are conducted mainly through the observation and the imitation of the instructors/elders. In these pedagogic environments non-verbal behaviour seems to be the major form of instruction. By contrast, in the institutional educational settings of our Western societies *talk in interaction is the major* form of instruction activity (Cazden, 1986; Edwards and Westgate, 1987; Mehan, 1979; Lerner, 1995; 1985). It goes without saying that classroom interaction involves a number of different activities: teachers and pupils tell stories, read poetry, novels or tales, solve problems, write essays, and talk to each other as part of their teaching and learning assignments. These pedagogic activities involve stating ideas and concepts, describing facts, organizing knowledge, imparting abilities, practicing procedures, developing competences through specific activity types (Levinson, 1992). However, these and other tasks that are accomplished in the service of the general endeavour of imparting knowledge to a new generation of learners *are conducted mainly through talk*.

One predominant feature of this form of institutional talk is its organization based on *questioning*, as widely recognized by a number of studies (Gall, 1970; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; McHoul, 1978; French and McLure, 1981; Dillon, 1982; Mercer, 1995; Nassaji and Wells, 2000; Nystrand, 1997; Nystrand et al., 2003). In claiming that the use of questions in teaching comes all the way from Socrates, these investigations acknowledge the centrality of teachers' questioning in pedagogical discourse. Thus, in these studies teachers' questions have been classified in many ways, according to a myriad of different criteria: the type of the cognitive process required to answer the question (Bloom, 1956; Gall, 1970; Sanders, 1966; Riegle, 1976), to whom the questions are directed to (Green, Weade and Graham, 1988), with reference to their grammatical structure (Shuy, 1988), or with regards to their level of explicitness (Wilkinson, 1981)¹.

On the other hand, it is also obvious that a number of other activities and practices - besides questions and answers- take place at school and, certainly, there might be phases in the lesson where teachers lecture, or where students works in pairs or talk to each other. On some other occasions students might be working individually in silence, or the class might be listening to the teacher reading aloud to them. However, teachers ask question of pupils on a number of occasions: in instruction sequences addressed to the entire group-class, at the closing of the lesson in order to check students' understanding (Delamont, 1983; Nassaji and Wells, 2000; Mercer, 1995), in oral examinations. With regard to the teachers' pedagogic style of discourse, the practices used by teachers to address the class through questioning have been criticized insofar as they are designed to require precise and factual answers, and therefore considered to provide opportunities only for a very limited type of learning (Wood, 1992; Nystrand et al. 2003). However, both trends in this extensive literature –those that consider frequent and known-answer questions as detrimental for implementing meaningful

¹ Besides a way of ranking eliciting utterances according to whether they are more or less explicit, in this study Wilkinson provides also a classification based on aspects more related to sequential features.

interaction and those that see teachers' questions as a useful practice that foster pupils' learning process- recognize that *asking questions of students* is overwhelmingly the *principal technique* that teachers use for organizing talk at school either for eliciting, imparting and organizing knowledge, or for managing the class (McHoul, 1978; Edwards and Westgate, 1987; Brown and Wragg, 1993, Mercer, 1995).

In all these investigations, therefore, teachers' questions are seen as having a *central role* in the organization of discourse, although the very notion of question remains substantially unexplained. As will be discussed later in the chapter, the definition of questions is one of the most crucial issues in approaching classroom interaction. Considering the extensive literature on this topic, some preliminary observations are necessary. However, I will return later on these issues and, for the moment, let us first approach the data and some background information.

2. The data

The data have been collected in two third-year classes in an Italian primary school, located in Bologna: an average city of the most industrialized northern region of Italy. The school serves one of the city areas located immediately outside the centre. The school provides a full-time teaching programme to 10 classes, each composed of 20-25 children. The teaching staffs are composed of 25 teachers. A school day goes from 8.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. The full-time programme was first devised in the 1970's to meet the needs of a growing urban population, with both parents working full time.

This research started in 1999. At the time I was working as a teacher in the same school where I started to collect my data at the beginning of the following year. The choice of 3rd year groups was taken for two main reasons. First, we thought best to avoid the first and the last year of the five-year course of primary education, where we thought that some specific

pedagogic concerns would be involved. Second, we wanted teachers with a reasonable amount of experience. Teachers, headmaster, children and their parents had to give their consent and, therefore, agree with the aims and the methods of the research, in order to have their interaction video-recorded, and the teachers who had in charge the two 3 Year classes were more willing than others to participate in the project. Furthermore, being myself part of the staff constituted an advantage.

In the Italian school system children start school at the age of 6. In full-time classes 2 teachers are in charge of the pupils of each year group. Each teacher spends 4 hours a day with the same group of pupils, alternating with her/his colleague. The teacher is the only person who is responsible for everything that might occur during her presence in the classroom, being the only caretaker. The same teacher remains with the same group for the five years of the Primary Education Programme (“Scuola Elementare”), thus growing a very long lasting relationship with the children and their families. The professional training of a primary school teacher does not yet include any attendance at university courses. To become a primary school teacher people need a specific high school diploma and attending classes taught by more experienced colleagues. In order to be assigned a permanent position it is necessary to pass an examination on some general principles of teaching methodology.

In the two classes of the corpus, the teachers have a rather traditional teacher-lead method and classroom management. For most of the time, and particularly during the beginning phase of the lesson, the teacher faces the children who are seated in parallel rows, addressing the whole class. For these reasons I used two cameras in each classroom, so as to capture as much as possible the participants’ conduct from each party’s point of view. The cameras were placed and switched on before the beginning of the morning lessons and they kept going on all the time till the midday break. When the class left the room for lunch, a second recording was set for the afternoon lessons. Cameras were switched off after the class

had left the school at the end of each day. I was never present during the recording and they hardly saw me manipulating the cameras before or after the lessons. The recordings lasted one week for each of the two groups.

In this school, as in the majority of primary schools in Italy, children regularly spend most of the time in the same room where almost all the subjects are taught. The class moves out only to take foreign language, gymnastic lessons and other extra-teaching activities, such as visits to museums and to other learning environments (parks, archaeological sites, etc.). Meals are served in a large room where all the 10 classes gather together for lunch. There are two breaks during the day, which are spent regularly outdoors when the weather allows it. Otherwise children play in the same room where they take their lessons or in the corridor adjacent. For these reasons, the data base includes mainly pedagogically oriented activities.

The whole corpus consists of 35-hour recording for each of the two groups, amounting to a total of 70 hours. In the morning the teaching session lasts 4 hours with a 45-minute break. In the afternoon lessons start at about 2-2.30 p.m. after the meal and a long break. The teaching time amounts to an average of 6-6.30 hours per day. Lessons do not have fixed time limitation. Usually the class engages in 2 teaching sessions in the morning: one before and another after the break, and 1 further session in the afternoon. However, these aspects of teaching management are rather flexible, according to the working rhythm of each group.

The larger data corpus thus contains thirty lessons of variable length (from 1 and a half hr to 2 hrs) that have been given by the teachers in charge in each of the two classes (2 teachers per class) during one week. This research, in particular, has focused mainly on the interaction that takes place in the first section of 10 teaching units, whose topics range from history, geography, natural sciences, mathematics and Italian grammar, held by 4 different teachers. All extracts are taken from the teacher-led phase of the lesson with which the

lessons in these two classes usually begins. Extended sequences from each of the selected 10 teaching units have been transcribed.

2.1 Collecting the data

The choice of using video, rather than audio-recordings, has been determined by the features of the interaction itself, which is the object of this research. First, the physical arrangement and placement of people when they are in the presence of each other determines both their verbal interaction and their bodily comportment in the conduction of activities (Goffman, 1963, 1967; Kendon, 1990). Second, because the body of teacher and pupils are visually accessible to one another, gaze, gestures and other forms of bodily conduct arise continually in the course of the interaction. As demonstrated in literature (Goodwin, 1980, 1981, 1986; Heath, 1984a, 1984b, 1986), speakers coordinate their verbal production with the bodily conduct of their interlocutors. Thus, the visual conduct of the participants in the interaction is relevant for their reciprocal understanding. Particularly in teacher-led instructional sequences where the teacher faces the pupils, gaze, gestures and body orientation of both teacher and pupils are relevant features in a number of crucial moments such as next-speaker-selection sequences, or in the organization of repair-sequences, for instance. Third, when talking to each other in carrying on pedagogic activities, both teacher and pupils frequently use artefacts and point to or refer to objects and other material states, besides other persons (Heath, 1997; Goodwin, 2000). In order to render as fully as possible the situation and the constraints that participants themselves are experiencing, and to capture the features of non-verbal behaviour that are produced in the course of verbal interaction, video-cameras have been used to collect the data.

The second choice to be made regarded how detailed the recordings should be so as to catch the main stream of interaction occurring between teacher and pupils, together with all

the different types of interaction that might take place contemporaneously in this environment where a large number of people are present. Although video recordings provide more powerful resources than audio, insofar as the visual as well as the vocal features of interaction can be made subject of scrutiny, video-recording has its own limitations and constraints, due to the large number of participants. Obviously, positioning a video-camera means choosing a point of view that necessarily gives prominence to some features to the disadvantage of others. Considering the participants disposition in the room –with the teacher facing the students- I decided to place 2 opposite cameras in order to capture the teacher's behaviour with one, and to include as many pupils as possible with the other. Of course, the fine details of gaze and facial expression, especially those of the pupils, were not so precisely recorded. Recording with a video-camera, however, does not limit the possibilities of having audio-recordings more detailed than the video ones. I am referring here to the possibility of recording all the different exchanges that happen to occur in the class, often parallel to the main stream of the teacher/class interaction. Not infrequently pupils talk to those who are close to them, conducting parallel and peripheral activities, such as commenting on other people's behaviour or dealing with any issue that might incidentally arise. Of course, in order to be able to record all these types of interaction, one solution would have been to provide each participant with a microphone or to disseminate audio-recording appliances in various points in the room. This would have provided a huge amount of audio data to be added to the video recordings.

However, from the very start of this project, my interest was precisely on *teacher-led instructional sequences* and this study has been conceived with the purpose of investigating the practices that teachers and pupils methodically use in this whole-class interaction setting. The assumption was that the analysis of instructional sequences would shed light on some of the distinctive features of pedagogic discourse in institutional settings. The focus of the

research, therefore, was mainly on the “public” behaviour of the participants or, at least, on those types of interaction that participants themselves recognized as such in this context. For these reasons, no supplementary audio-recordings were disposed of, besides those provided by the two cameras.

One point that has to be raised here concerns the fact that, at that time, I had been working for 4 years as a teacher in the school where the recordings were taken. For a number of reasons this has been a great advantage for the project. One first thing to be considered concerns the fact that classroom interaction is an institutional form of interaction occurring in a well defined working place, where a number of constraints and limitations regarding people who do not belong to the institution are ruled by law and concerns precisely their having the permission from the authority to be present in the school building. In addition to that, because I was part of the teaching staffs, people had fewer reservations than they would have had if researchers were external to the institutional environment. As a third consequence, being myself an experienced teacher has been relevant to the research design in another quite crucial way, which concerns the reliability of the research.

As discussed by Peräkylä (1997), the accuracy and the public accessibility of tape and video recorded data have an intrinsic strength with reference to their reliability (Peräkylä, 1997: 203). On the other hand, it is also suggested that great attention is to be paid to their *inclusiveness*, in terms of whether some fundamental aspects should not be lost by taking single audio or video recordings, especially in institutional environments. Thus, for instance with reference to classroom interaction, it is worth recalling that the conduct of teachers and pupils is differently organized through different phases of each single event and, furthermore, through the numerous events that, on the whole, constitute one school day, then one term, and the academic year. In recording some specific events in these complex environments it is important to have the sense of the richness of the whole. In this sense, being a teacher myself,

all the fieldwork and non-participant observation that is useful before actually start recording, in order to gather a sense of the activities that are conducted (Heath, 1997), has not been necessary.

3. The method

Conversation analysis (hereafter CA) developed out of the seminal work of Harvey Sacks. Influenced by the work of Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel, he developed the principles of a science of social action based on reproducible and cumulative observation of naturally occurring events. The belief that the details of people's everyday life display an orderly organization based on the persons' capability of *making sense of everyday events* in their life and of *sharing the understanding* of these courses of actions with other social actors is the foundation of the research programme and perspective of CA. This orderliness is observable in the social interaction, where the persons' conducts embody a mutually shared interaction order.

Conversation and, in particular telephone calls, was a form of everyday conduct to which Sacks had access as recordable naturally occurring events. The recordings of telephone calls gave to researchers the same access to the specific event that participants' themselves had at the time of the actual occurrence of the call. Furthermore, audio recordings allowed for the first time a repeated examination of the event (Sacks, 1984).

In collaboration with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, Sacks developed a research methodology on talk-in-interaction as an object and an institutional entity on its own right (Schegloff, 1992; Heritage, 2001; Drew, 2003 and forth.). Their seminal work led to a number of investigations of interaction in different institutional settings and which have intersected a growing number of disciplines whose fields are related to the investigation of communication and social conduct. For the purposes of my research, mainly that of providing

a description for how teachers and pupils engage in their institutional activities, in a context where these are conducted almost exclusively through talk-in-interaction, the perspective and methodology of CA has constituted *the method*.

One fundamental feature of interaction is its *sequential organization* in turns at talk, through which speakers order their conduct. The model for the turn-taking organization for conversation (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) proposes at the most basic level of organization that speakers take turns by talking one at a time. Independently from the number of parties, the order and the length of turns, occurrences where more than one speaker are talking at the same time are brief. Speaker-change occurs at points where the turn reaches a transition-relevance place (TRP).

Consider the following sequence from a telephone call:

#1 Margaret From Heritage:0II:2:Call 4, 1:1-12

1 Mic: Woking three five one six?
 2 Edg: Michael?
 3 (.)
 4 Mic: Hullo?
 5 Edg: This is Edgerton:.
 6 Mic: Yes Edger[t ['n.
 7 Edg: [.h[Michael look ah:: I'm I'm phonin:g uh on
 8 beha:lf of Ilene and myse:lf. =We just heard abou:t
 9 poor um (0.4) Margaret.
 10 Mic: Yes ma:ddening isn't it.=
 11 Edg: =Oh:hh Lord.<And we were wondering if there's anything
 12 we can do to help<
 13 Mic: [Well that's]
 14 Edg: [I mean] can we do any shopping for her or
 15 something like tha:t?
 16 (0.7)
 17 Mic: Well that's most ki:nd Edgerton .hhh At the moment
 18 no:. Because we've still got two bo:ys at home.
 19 Edg: Of course.
 20 (0.2)

The two speakers take one turn at a time. The length of the turns vary considerably: lines 2, 4, and 19 are constructed out of one item, while Edgerton's turns in lines 7-9 and Michael's in lines 17-18, for example, are multi-units turns, composed of more than one sentence. Transition occurs at places where the prior turn has reached a point of possible completion.

These facts provide for a speech-exchange system which is locally managed and administered by the parties, where each turn displays the recipient's understanding of the prior as having reached its conclusion. But a second level of organization is intrinsic to the system: each second turn displays the recipient understanding of the prior also in terms of the action that is produced and what second action is projected as relevant next. This is connected with the *social character* of interaction.

“People’s engagement in the social world consists, in large part, of performing and responding to such activities. So, again, when we study conversation we’re studying not language idling, but language employed in the service of doing things in the social world. And we are focusing on the social organization of these activities being conducted in conversation”. (Drew, 2003)

A current turn, therefore, is understood and responded to by recipients also in terms of the action that it performs and of the implications with regards to the next action. Thus, if we consider again the sequence above, by *summoning* his recipient by his first name, the caller in line 2 displays his assumption that the recipient would recognize him immediately through the hearing of his voice. This projects an immediate *recognition* as the expected next action. The micro-pause in line 3 and the subsequent ‘hello’ show that Michael failed to recognize Edgerton, and this provides for the caller *self-identification*, which is finally *acknowledged* in line 6. Each turn, therefore, sets up a course of action to which recipient might mis/align with through a number of choices regarding the detail of turn construction.

Conversation is organized in sequences of pairs of actions: the *adjacency pair* sequences (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973: p.238), which are constructed out of two related actions. So, when a *first pair part* is produced by a current speaker, the recipient produces a *related second pair part* which belongs of the same pair type. Pair types are ‘greeting-greeting’, ‘question-answer’, and ‘offer-acceptance/refusal’. On some cases, following a current action - for instance when an *offer* is made - participants have alternative courses of actions, which speakers orient to as not equivalent. Thus,

routinely speakers accept an offer without delay and directly, while refusals are regularly withheld, delayed, mitigated, made indirect. Details of turn construction and features of turn delivery evidence this organization of *preference* in interaction.

In line 7 Edgerton produces a multi-unit turn where he packages the reason for the calling, precisely as an *offer*. However, an offer can take a variety of different shapes. One way to start considering how the action is performed is to see the position it occupies in the larger context of the sequence and, particularly, prior talk where the action we are considering is projected. In this case, the delivery of the offer is actually produced in lines 12-15. Before formulating his offer to help, Edgerton has to characterize the offer as the *reason for the call*, and to provide an *account for the offer* (lines 7-9).

The account is formulated as an indirect reference to some accident occurred to the recipient's wife; any further characterization of the event is left to Michael to be assessed (line 10). His assessment is formatted as a request for a sympathetic acknowledgment of the annoying consequences of the accident. These actions are dealt with in an inserted sequence (lines 10 and 11) which shows how initial assessments routinely provide the relevance for a second assessment, when both speakers have access to the referent (Pomerantz 1984a: p.61). This is particularly evident in this instance, owing to the *interrogative format* of Michael's first assessment (line 10).

Now, (1) having *introduced the reason for the call*, (2) having *provided an account* for how the projected action has arisen from precise circumstances, (3) this being *acknowledged* by the recipient and, (4) *responded to* by the caller, it is finally time for Edgerton (5) to make the *offer*.

Making an offer is a *first action* which initiates a new adjacency pair sequence. Recipients have alternative options in responding to offers: *acceptance* or *refusal*. If we

consider how Michael responds to the offer, we can notice a distinctive pattern which people routinely produce when declining offers (Davidson, 1984; Drew, 1984; Drew, 2003). The manner in which Michael constructs his response is a well documented pattern in CA research:

- [delay in answering] : the pause in line 16;
- [disagreement / rejection preface token] : /we11/ (line 17):
- [appreciation] : /that's most ki:nd Edgertonon/;
- [mitigated declining of the offer]: /.hhh At the moment no:./;
- [account]: / Because we've still got two bo:ys at home./.

Furthermore, the way in which Edgerton constructs the action is composed of a general offer to help (lines 11-12), followed by a more specific second version ('doing some shopping', in lines 14-15) provides participants with resources for managing their own understanding of each other's conduct. So, here, having provided a first offer, by line 14 Edgerton might already anticipate that a rejection is underway given that, although a response is being formulated (line 13), it has not have the distinctive features of an acceptance. This might have induced Edgerton's subsequent version (Davidson, 1984; Drew, 1984).

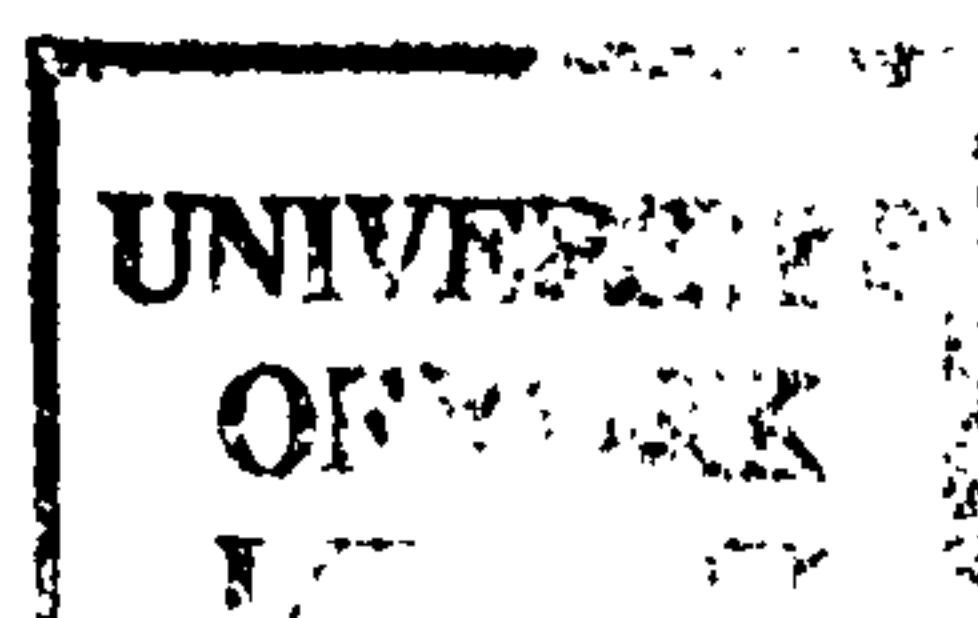
The analysis of this individual fragment of conversation has provided evidence for another fundamental idea which underlies CA perspective:

“Conversation can accommodate a wide range of situations, interactions in which persons in varieties (or varieties of groups) of identities are operating; it can be capable of dealing with a change of situation within a situation” (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1973).

For these reasons, the organization of the turn taking system for conversation, although applied to unique conversations, in terms of time, place, participants, and whatever circumstances, captures the methodical and recurrent practices which are used and mutually shared by social actors in interaction (Drew, forth.).

The CA perspective, therefore, provides a methodology for studying how people organize their conduct in the accomplishment of their everyday affairs both in ordinary and institutional settings. It provides a range of procedures for approaching data. One possible starting point would be that of looking for the *actions* that participants are doing (Drew, 2003). This should consist in a formulation of the action that some utterances implements (Schegloff, 1996b). However, this might not be such an immediate task. On a number of occasions, the understanding of what participants are doing can begin with the noticing of some *formal features* in the design of turns at talk, followed by a systematic investigation on the *sequential distribution* where these are employed by speakers. The process would then lead to the identification of the action that is accomplished through the participants' verbal choices. The studies on figurative expression by Drew and Holt (1998) and on the work accomplished by the particle 'oh' by Heritage (1984b; 1998) are exemplary studies.

Regarding the way in which my own research has progressed, both strategies to start the research which I have indicated above presented some initial obstacles. The initial problems were particularly connected with the complexities of the relationship between syntax and questioning and the ambiguities posed by the concept of *questions* that is so central in the construction of instruction sequences. I therefore began to approach data with a systematic observation of how *speaker transfer* occurs and the details of teachers' questioning format. These formal observations have been then further considered according to a sequence-organization perspective that is in terms of the options that were set up for the recipients. However, at least with one phenomenon, the ETC device (Eliciting Turn Completion device, Chapter 4), the analysis has began with the noticing of a number of distinctive features of speech delivery which are recurrently produced in a fixed combination and in a fixed sequential position.



3.1 Transcribing the recordings

The transcription notations used in this study are those developed by Gail Jefferson² and generally used in conversation analytic research. Transcribing, however, is partially a matter of interpreting stretches of talk as they sound, which produce recognizable patterns of intonation. Very little had been transcribed from Italian data when I started the research and, at the time, no data were accessible for comparison. To my knowledge, very few studies have been conducted on interaction in Italian using the conversation analytic transcription notation and, even in these very rare cases, the audio or video data are not available to be scrutinized in association with the transcript so to help the transcribing process. In case of doubts concerning transcription, therefore, the lack of an ‘established’ corpus of data to be consulted for controversial hearings has been quite an issue, particularly in the first stages of the research and, mostly, with the problems regarding how to render some intonation features.

The intonation contour of utterances is a particularly crucial matter in the Italian language. Because the word order of the sentence components isn’t as strict as it is in English, *intonation* has an important role in determining the pragmatic meaning of an utterance. This has a range of consequences. The first to be mentioned here, owing to the centrality of questioning in classroom interaction, regards the yes/no interrogative type. In Italian this interrogative type does not have any different syntactical format from the correspondent declarative utterance. Grammarians report that in Italian it is only the rising of the intonation in the last stressed syllable of the interrogative utterance that marks it as different from the declarative correspondent format (Bertinetto e Magno Caldognetto, 1993: 168-169). For instance, in the fragment 2 below, the teacher’s turn in line 3 “*siete degli esseri umani?*” is clearly understood by pupils as a question, as their answer in line 4 displays.

² See Atkinson and Heritage (1984: pp. ix-xvi).

#2 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography

	01	T	<u>Alo:ra</u> <u>SO:</u>		
	02		(0.2)		
→	03	T	siete degli esseri <u>uma:ni</u> ?		
			(YOU) are (PART.ART.) being human		
			are you human <u>bei:ngs</u> ?		
	04	Sts	s::i:::		
			ye:::s:::		

However, the correspondent declarative utterance would be:

*³ “*siete degli esseri umani.*”

As evidenced in the transcription, in this particular case, the intonation contour is very much like the description provided above by linguists: the utterance is delivered with a rising contour and some intonation features insisting on the last stressed syllable. This is a very clear and neat example. But very often things are not so plain and simple. Let us consider, for instance, extract 3 below, where the question has a more complex syntactic pattern:

#3 Two groups PM:LT:2:natural sciences

→	01	T	↑ <u>seco:ndo</u> voi, possiamo? dividere in due <u>gruppi</u> tu[tti =		
			↑in <u>you:r</u> view, can we? divide in two <u>groups</u> al[l =		
	02	St			[sɪ:..
	03	T	=questi eleme[n]ti;		
			=these elemen[ts];		
	04	St			[SI' ::::
	05	Sts	sɪ:::		

First of all, the turn has a prefacing questioning token (“*secondo voi*” / “*in your view*”), that projects a question to come. Therefore, anything that will be produced after that is going to be shaped/understood as a question. In this example the question is again a yes/no interrogative, like the one we have seen in the previous instance; and yet, the intonation

³ The (*) is used here to indicate that this is an invented example.

contour is very different: (1) the most distinctive rising intonation is produced in delivering the first component of the verb phrase that does not carry the S-V inversion (“*possiamo*” / “*can we*”), thus not in the last stressed syllable, as in the former extract. Furthermore, (2) the overall contour of the turn has a slightly less marked rising intonation (¿), and (3) the emphasis is produced in delivering the last stressed syllable of the last word before a possible turn transition point (/gruppi/), but the current speaker produces further talk after that. One pupil, in fact (in line 2), produces his answer in overlap with the teacher’s turn, adjacent to this possible completion point (Jefferson 1984, 1986).

The two instances above illustrate, although partially, the complexities of intonation patterns as connected with issues regarding the distinctive syntactic formats of the Italian language. Here I will provide a key for the transcription notation, using examples taken from my data. I will group the symbols and other types of notation with reference to the type of the phenomena described, partially following the categorization proposed by Atkinson and Heritage (1984, ix-xiv).

3.1.1 Key of the transcription symbols

Overlapping, simultaneous and contiguous utterances

a) Left square brackets indicate the onset of overlapping talk by a second speaker.

- 01 T che a:ngoli? sono questi qua [di qua
 what a:ngles? are these here [on this side
 ((she points to the four angles on the drawing))
- 02 St [↑i::ô
 [↑me::/((raising his hand))

The same symbol is used to indicate utterances starting simultaneously.

- 01 T DO:VE LE NA::VI::?
 WHE:RE THE SHI::PS::?
- 02 (1.0)
- 03 St [possono
 [can

04 T [DO::VE LE NA:VI possono essere ripa- ra::te::
[WHE::RE THE SHI:PS can be shel-te::red

b) Contiguous utterances

Equal signs (=) connect two lines of transcription to indicate:

1. that the second utterance produced by a different speaker is latched to the prior.
2. that the second line is part of the same flow of talk by the same speaker, occupying another line because of the intervening of overlapping talk by another speaker.
3. I used equal signs also to link different components of the same speaker's turn when they are produced without any audible interval.

01 T la grandezza dell'a::ngolo[lo, (.) che fo-
the width of the a::ng[le, (.) that fo-

3→ 02 St [uh=1::a grandezza degli angoli retti
[uh=the:: width of right angles

1→ 03 è sempre uguale=
is always the same=

04 T =la gra:[n- ↓momento la grandezza? dell'a::ngolo di un angolo=
=the wi:[d- ↓a moment the width? of the a::ngle of any=

05 St [↑io!
[↑me!

2→ 06 T =qualsiasi in questo caso dell'angolo rett' .hh seco:ndo voi?
=angle in this case of the right ang'.hh acco:rding to you?

07 dipende dalla lunghezza:,
does it depend on the length:,

08 (1.8)/((indicating the sides of the rectangle on the bb.))

09 T dei segmenti che lo fo::rma[no;
of the segments that fo::[rm;

10 Sts [NO:!

11 Sts [no::

12 T [no::

13 Sts [((children's indistinct talk))

Pauses and Gaps

c) **Gaps and pauses** are measured in tenth of a second and reported inside brackets. A full-stop indicates a micro-pause/gap, usually shorter than 2 tenths of a second.

- 01 T se io::? (0.2) so:-vra::-ppo::ngo::,
if I::? (0.2) make to o::-ve::r-la::p,
((she moves closer to the blackboard))
- 02 (1.0)
- 03 T ↓'coltate bene eh? (.) ↓bimbi <se io? sovrappongo;
↓ 'issen carefully eh?(.) ↓children <if I? make to overlap;
((she looks at the drawing on the blackboard))
- 04 (2.0)
- 05 T l'angolo? di questa carolina. un angolo qualsiasi.
the angle? of this postcard. any angle.
- 06 (1.2)
- 07 T eh?

Intonation and prosodic features

In the fragment above all the punctuation marks used to capture characteristics of speech delivery are represented. Thus, I will refer to those instances to illustrate these symbols.

Intonation contour

Punctuation marks are used to notate the intonation contour of the utterances. They work retrospectively on the preceding talk.

d) the **comma** at the end of line 1 indicates a **continuing intonation**, projecting more talk to come.

- 01 T se io::? (0.2) so:-vra::-ppo::ngo::,
if I::? (0.2) make to o::-ve::r-la::p,
((she moves closer to the blackboard))

e) the **question mark** indicates that the preceding flow of talk is produced with a **progressively rising intonation**, not necessarily indicating a question and not having any final implication (see also the question mark in line 5, example c) above).

f) the inverted question mark indicates a rising intonation weaker than a question mark but stronger than the continuing inflection that is marked with a comma. Example 2, line 3, provides one instance of this:

#2 Two groups PM:LT:2:natural sciences

01	T	↑ <u>seco:ndo</u> voi, possiamo? dividere in due <u>gruppi</u> tu[tti = ↑in <u>you:r</u> view, can we? divide in two <u>groups</u> al[l =
02	St	[si:.
→ 03	T	=questi eleme[nti; =these elemen[ts;
04	St	[SI' : : : :
05	Sts	si: : :

g) a period indicates a falling intonation that does not necessarily coincide with the grammatical ending of the sentence. Going back to example c), in line 5 the teacher produces a falling intonation (marked with the two periods) not coinciding with the end of the sentence. By line 5, in fact, the teacher has produced only the first component of an if-sentence.

05	T	l'angolo? di questa cartolina. un <u>angolo</u> qualsiasi. the angle? of this postcard. <u>any</u> <u>angle</u> .
----	---	--

Prosodic features

The symbols used to mark prosodic features refer to portions of ensuing talk, rather than to prior talk, as the punctuation marks that are used for describing intonation contours.

- Voice Pitch

h) Upward and downward arrows (↑↓) indicate variations in pitch. As in the lines provided below, the pitch rise and pitch fall of the voice affects only the word following the symbol in the transcript and not the whole intonation contour of the utterance produced so far. These symbols are used to indicate “sharp rises or falls in pitch” (Ochs, Schegloff

and Thompson, 1996. 464); this does not involve the volume of the voice. Thus, in the first line of example 2 below, the first syllable of the first word starts with a rather high pitch (acute / shrilled voice) in comparison to the surrounding talk. This high-pitched tone is maintained and even increased in the second syllable by deploying emphasis and sound stretching (see below point j.)

#2 Two groups PM:LT:2:natural sciences

01 T ↑seco:ndo voi, possiamo? dividere in due gruppi tu[t]ti =
↑in you:r view, can we? divide in two groups al[l] =

On the contrary, the downward arrow at the beginning of line 3 below indicates that the ensuing talk is produced with a down-pitched tone of voice (baritone voice).

03 T ↓'coltate bene eh? (.) ↓bimbi <se io? sovrappongo;
↓ 'issen carefully eh? (.) ↓children <if I? make to overlap;
((she looks at the drawing on the blackboard))

i) a colon marks the stretching of the sound indicated by the letter just preceding, as in line

1:

01 T se io::? (0.2) so:-vra::-ppo::ngo::,
if I::? (0.2) make to o::-ve::r-la::p,
((she moves closer to the blackboard))

- *Emphasis*

j) **underlining** indicates **emphasis or stress** in delivering a word or part of it:

#2 Two groups PM:LT:2:natural sciences

01 T ↑seco:ndo voi, possiamo? dividere in due gruppi tu[t]ti =
↑in you:r view, can we? divide in two groups al[l] =

02 St [si:.

In case of sound-stretching, when the underlining includes the colon (**wo::rd*), it indicates that a pitch rise is produced in the delivery of the sound stretching, as in the first underlined word in line 1 above. When, conversely, colons are not underlined (**wo::rd*), the emphasis

becomes weaker in the delivery of the sound-stretching, producing a pitch fall, as in the line below (Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson, 1996: 464).

01 T se io::? (0.2) so:-vra::-ppo::ngo::,
if I::? (0.2) make to o::-ve::r-la::p,
((she moves closer to the blackboard)

-Volume

k) Capital letters are used to indicate higher volume of voice

01 T da che parte si LE::va il sole <[SVEGLIA:::,
where from does the sun RI::se <[WAKE U:::P,
02 Sts [a:: est
[fro::m east

l) Degree signs (°...°) mark a lower volume of voice than the surrounding talk

01 T >°va bene°< [ciòè li faccio combacia::re
>°okay°< [that is I make them fit toge::ther
[((still keeping her gaze on the bb. with both hands she makes
the postcard fit exactly with the drawing))
02 (0.2)

-Speed

m) “Less than” (>....<) and “more than” (<....>) signs are used to indicate that the part of the utterance that is enclosed between the signs is delivered, correspondently, at a **quicker** or at a **slower pace** than the surrounding talk (compressed / expanded).

For instance, in the example above, ‘va bene’ is produced in a lower volume, but at a quicker pace than the remaining of the line. In the extract below, we notice that the word ‘*persone*’ is delivered at a slower pace and with a pitch fall in comparison to the preceding talk.

01 T >ALLORA< ↑più cresce il numero delle-
>THEREFORE< ↑the more it raises the number of-
02 (0.4)
03 ↓<persone>
↓<persons>
04 (.)

n) When only 1 “more than” (<...) sign is used by itself it shows that the ensuing talk is produced with a **rush**; thus, avoiding the physiological interval between utterances, as if to prevent the incoming for other speakers.

→ 01 cos'ha fatto quand'è arrivato qua.<si è-?
 what did he do when he arrived here. <he has-?
 ((raises hand))

02 St °g'ra°
 °tur'

03 St gira[to ((whispering))/((T. nods and actually turns))
 tu[rned

o) A dash (-) is used to indicate that the speaker stops talking abruptly.

01 T lei ha cerchiato tutto que:- tutta questa pa:rte.
 she's highlighted all tha:- all this pa:rt.
 ((she points to the drawing and, in particular, to one angle))

Laughter and other supra-segmental features

p) **Laughter** is transcribed by using the letter “h” in combination with the vowels that best represent the sound produced by the speaker, as in line 1 below:

01 T noi non lo sappiamo bene eh ehe eh ehe .hhh come si
 we don't know well eh ehe eh ehe .hhh what they are

02 chiama[no
 cal[led

03 St [semiretta!
 [halfline!

q) The letter “h” combined with a dot before or after it is used to show also that **inhalation** or **expiration** are produced.

Thus, in the fragment immediately above, a spate of laughter is followed by an inhalation, while in the fragment below both phenomena are produced:

01 St e::: secondo? perché così possono stare .hh tutte le
 a::nd second? because this way can (THEY) stay .hh all the

02 persone::, (0.4) °più vici-° hhh.
 perso::ns, (0.4) °more clo-° hhh

Non-verbal glosses

r) **Double parentheses** normally enclose glosses with the description of **gestures and body behaviour**. These often are linked to the talk with a square bracket that marks the gesture onset with reference to the verbal behaviour, as illustrated in the fragment below:

- 01 T s' \uparrow io sovrappongo [\uparrow l'angolo della cartolina;
 'f \uparrow I make overlap [\uparrow the angle of the postcard;
 [((she lays the postcard on the blackboard and turns to
 the bb. From now on she keeps her gaze towards the bb.)
- 02 (1.2)
- 03 T all'angolo:::, (.) ec'
 with the angle:::, (.) the' /((she makes one angle of the postcard
 overlap one of the the drawing))
- 04 (1.0)
- 05 T a un [angolo qualsiasi della:::,
 with [any angle of the:::,
 [((she turns to the class for a moment and then back to the bb.))
- 06 (.)
- 07 T eh:: di questa:::-
 eh:: of thi:s:::-
- 08 St cattedra
 teacher desk
- 09 T figu::ra
sha::pe
- 10 (0.4)

The parentheses used in the middle of a turn indicate doubts regarding the hearing and the understanding of words and sounds.

3.2. Translating the data

The translation of Italian data into an accessible idiomatic English version has involved taking difficult decisions and going through quite a few phases. At first, each line of the Italian transcription has been associated with a second line of a literal translation; this was then followed by a third, with a more idiomatic version. The following extract is the first draft of example 2, with which we are already familiar.

#2 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography

- 01 T Alo:ra
SO:
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 T siete degli esseri uma:ni?
are(YOU)some beings hu:man?
are you human bei:ngs?
- 03 Sts s::i:::
ye::s::
- 04 T alo:ra
so:
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 T queste schede che noi stiamo facendo adesso,
these exercises that we are doing now,
these exercises that we are doing now,
- 07 (0.2)
- 08 T ↓che sono uno due tre quattro cinque.
↓which are one two three four five.
↓which are one two three four five.
- 09 (.)
- 10 T ri↑GUA::RDANO (0.2) gli aniMA::li ?
con↑CE::RN (THEY) (0.2) the A::nimals ?
do they con↑CE::RN (0.2) A::nimals ?
- 11 Sts no:[::
- 12 St o:[:::
- 13 St [°no:::°

This practice, however, does not solve all the problems connected with translation. A language is not a nomenclature (Saussure, 1974: p.83). Thus, even the word-by-word translation poses some relevant issues, concerning the different grammatical organization of languages.

One first thing to be considered is the richer inflected system that the Italian language has, in comparison with English; for instance, with regard to verbs. Italian verbs inflect according to the categorization of the subject, through a different ending for each person.

Consequently, very often the subject can be inferred by simply looking at the verb ending and, thus, it is frequently omitted, as in line 3 and in line 10 of the above example. This difference between Italian and English is even more crucial with interrogative utterances, especially because in Italian there is no Subject/Verb inversion. Conveying the exact Italian syntactic pattern in these cases isn't just the matter of supplying a word-by-word translation, whereas adding further information in parentheses, as above, becomes crucial.

On the other hand, many lines of transcriptions do not require the distinction between literal and idiomatic translation, either because the turn is composed by one-word TCU as in lines 1, 3, and 4, or because the idiomatic translation happens to be rather "transparent", as in lines 6 and 8. In some other cases the translation might even be superfluous (lines 11-13). In order to avoid the redundancies of literal translation when these were not necessary and, conversely, to add supplementary grammatical information when needed, different decisions regarding which type of translation was more suitable were taken for each single case. Sometimes very detailed information regarding the grammatical categorization of words in terms of gender and number was relevant in order to provide the reader with all the necessary information to capture the exact nature of the course of action underway. The case of the fragment below illustrates the nature of these concerns.

Each of the arrowed lines indicates a turn produced by the teacher to elicit the final phrase ("*della cattedra*" / "*of the teacher's desk*") in the unfinished utterance (lines 14-16). Pupils fail to provide the item requested (line 17). The teacher, therefore, produces multiple subsequent eliciting turns (arrowed lines 2-4). These, however, are not identical repetition. Each time the teacher produces slightly different eliciting turns.

#6 Angles (1) PM:LT:5:geometry/right angles

14 T a ↑no:i interessa la parte inte::rna;
 ↑we: are interested in the inte::rnal part;

15 (0.2)

- 1→ 16 T cioè la pa:rte di a::ngolo? che fa pa::rte? di che co::sa:.
that is the pa:rt of an a::ngle? which is pa::rt? of wha::t.
- 17 (1.4) / ((she turns to her desk and with gestures indicates its surface))
- 2→ 18 T se è inte::rna? fa pa::rte del, - [MASC., SING.]
if it is inte::rnal? it's pa::rt of, -
- 19 (1.6)
- 3→ 20 T di che cosa. <della?- [FEM., SING.]
of what. <of the?-
- 21 (0.6)
- 22 St eh- del ban[co [MASC., SING.]
eh- of the de[sk
- 23 St [del ba[:nco!
[of the de[:sk!
- 24 T [della ca::tterra! [FEM., SING.]
[of the tea::cher desk!
- 4→ 25 del pia::no [MASC. SING.] della?- [FEM. SING.]
of the su::rface of the?-
- 26 St ca[:tterra
te[a:cher desk
- 27 T [cattedra. >va ben' <
[teacher desk. >'right < / ((she turns to the drawing on the bb.))

One major feature in these variations is the preposition 'of' that precedes the missing word. In Italian prepositions are in accordance with the gender and number of the word that follows. For instance, the preposition 'of' in Italian takes the following forms: 'del / dello / della / dei / degli / delle'. Hence, in the Italian version, the grammatical analyzability of the preposition 'of' is crucial for projecting the type of completion that is requested by the teacher's turn.

In order to supply the reader with this type of information, abbreviations referring to the relevant grammatical categories involved are provided in square brackets and, when more extended observations were required, these are supplied in footnotes. So, in the case of the example above, the translation will be further enriched with the following footnote:

If we consider the Q/A sequence beginning in line 16, we observe that the preposition '*della*' of line 20 projects a Fem. and Sing. noun, while '*del*' (line 18) is Masc. So, the completion provided by the children in lines 22, 23 ('*del banco*' / '*of the desk*') being Masc. and Sing., responds to the teacher's first eliciting turn in line 18, while the teacher's repair in line 24 ('*la cattedra*' / '*the teacher's desk*'), being Fem, is in accordance with the second eliciting turn in line 20.

A word-by-word translation alone, therefore, although very accurate, would not supply here the information needed to understand what is exactly at issue here in this sequence. The sole translation (either literal or idiomatic), in this case, would not account for a number of salient features of the action underway: (1) on what basis and through what means the teacher's turn in line 25 is substituting '*desk*' with '*teacher's desk*', (2) how it is relevant the fact that the other-repair initiation is performed in the third-turn receipt by means of an eliciting turn completion device.

In order to accommodate these issues, the final format that has been adopted is a two-line transcription when the idiomatic translation is "transparent". The literal translation has been inserted only when needed, with supplementary information provided, when needed, either in square brackets or in footnotes. The following example is the final format of the extract reproduced at the beginning of this section:

#2 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography

01	T	<u>Al</u> o:ra		
		<u>SO</u> :		
02		(0.2)		
03	T	siete	degli	esseri <u>uma</u> :ni?
		(YOU) are	(PART.ART.)	being human
		are you		human <u>bei</u> :ngs?
04	Sts	s::i:::		
		ye:::s:::		

4. Question-Answer sequences in instruction sequences: some preliminary observation to the study

Without doubt, in the teaching and learning process that takes place in classrooms the administration of information and the ways in which knowledge is imparted, elicited, displayed, checked, and processed are core issues. This is more crucially so with regard to *instruction sequences*, that constitutes those stages of a lesson where the content of teaching is first organized to be imparted to the class. Any competent speaker who hears the kind of talk that takes place between teacher and pupils in this environment would easily recognize the pedagogical character of such interaction: whatever is done and for whatever pedagogical purpose, this is accomplished through talk and, moreover, through a turn-taking system in which most of the time teacher and pupils are engaged in question/answer sequences (Q-A sequences hereafter). This is the basic mechanism whereby participants shape their conduct as teachers and pupils and accomplish their specific goals in this context.

Therefore, classroom interaction in general and, in particular, *teachers' questions* have been an extremely rich field of investigation either for researchers interested in the sociology of education (Cazden, 1986; Erickson, 1982; French and McLure, 1981; Wilkinson, 1981 and 1982; Green and Harker, 1988) and for linguists and other analysts interested in a pragmatic approach to language (Searle, 1969 and 1976; Sacks, 1992; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981; Levinson, 1983 and 1992, Schegloff, 1984). However, in referring to Q-A sequences in this context, and preliminarily to the presentation of the research, it might be worth pointing out some of the ambiguities that are implicit in the term '*question*' (Schegloff, 1984), as it has been understood by linguists, philosophers of language, discourse analysts and researchers in the field of conversation analysis. This is intended to avoid any possible misunderstandings and misconceptions when I will be referring to Q-A sequences hereafter in the course of the discussion. Hence, I will refer first, although very

briefly, to some of the major issues connected with the analysis of questions in general. Then, the discussion will focus on the treatment of questions in classroom interaction.

4.1 What is a question?

Among the reasons why questions have been so widely investigated, one is that, as observed by Sacks, “we can identify some object as ‘a question’” because a question has grammatical, formal and paralinguistic features that an answer, for instance, doesn’t have (Sacks, 1992, Part 1, p. 49). Second, as noted by Schegloff, because questions have so recognizable a form, “it might appear that linguistic resources will allow the construction and recognition of utterances as questions, and thus as actions of a certain type” (Schegloff, 1984: 30).

This approach to questions, underpinning the idea that interrogative utterances have a “common core which we can continue to think of as part of the semantic of questions” (Levinson, 1992: 93), derives mainly from a commonsensical view on language (Schegloff, 1984: 30) that has been indirectly supported by the most influential speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). The speech-act theory was developed in the field of the philosophy of language, precisely to accommodate the pragmatic features associated with those utterances that

“A. they do not ‘describe’ or ‘report’ or constate anything at all, are not ‘true or false’; and B. the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not *normally* be described as, or as ‘just’, saying something” (Austin, 1962: 4-5).

In this view, questions and answers are defined *speech acts* –and thus, actions- like, for instance, ‘giving some information or an assurance or a warning, announcing a verdict or an intention, pronouncing a sentence’ (Austin, 1962: 98-99) and so on. The classes of utterances

that accomplish these actions are described as consisting “characteristically in uttering words in sentences in certain contexts, under certain conditions and with certain intentions” (Searle, 1969: pp. 24-25). Thus, their characterization as actions of a certain type depends on a set of “felicity conditions” (Searle, 1969) or on a range of “appropriate circumstances” (Austin, 1962: 13) for the act to be happily performed. Specifically with regards to questions, Searle describes the conditions that are necessary and sufficient for this act to be successfully performed in the utterance of a given sentence as follows:

“Types of rule

Propositional content:	Any proposition or propositional function
Preparatory:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. S does not know ‘the answer’, i.e., does not know if the proposition is true, or, in the case of the propositional function, does not know the information needed to complete the proposition truly (but see comment below). 2. It is not obvious to both S and H that H will provide the information at that time without being asked.
Sincerity:	S wants this information.
Essential:	Counts as an attempt to elicit this information from H.
Comment:	There are two kinds of questions, (a) real questions, (b) exam questions. In real questions S wants to know (find out) the answer; in exam questions, S wants to know if H know” (Searle, 1969: 66).

As noted by Levinson (1992), the two categories devised in the comment section above, in terms of ‘real’ and ‘exam’ questions, fail to accommodate a number of instances where questions are asked both in ordinary conversation and, more crucially for our purposes, in classrooms. On this regard, it might be useful to look at example 2 again, this time from the point of view of action formation:

#2 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography

01	T	<u>Alo:ra</u> <u>SO:</u>
02		(0.2)
03	T	siete degli esseri <u>uma:ni</u> ? (YOU) are (PART.ART.) being human

are you human bei:ngs?

04 Sts s::i:::
ye:::s:::

Being interested in questioning practices, it would seem quite reasonable to start looking at this fragment as a clear instance of questioning in the classroom. The disjunctive marker produced in line 1 seems to indicate that a new sequence is beginning here and therefore to support the validity of this choice. However, if we try to classify the teacher's questioning turn in line 3 according to the categories provided by Searle, while it is rather clear that this is not a 'real' question, it is also doubtful whether it would fit in the 'exam' category. If it were an 'exam' question, the obviousness of the information that should be tested here and the choral production of the answer would rather indicate that something quite different is at issue here. The format of the interrogative type (yes/no question) sets for a request for confirmation, which is indeed supplied by the pupils in the following turn. But, as suggested in Drew (2003), a further step in analyzing data would be to look at the sequence that has led up to the initiation of this action. This involves considering prior talk, which is reported in the extract below:

#2 (ext.) Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography/pp.4-5

01 T Alo'
So

02 (0.4)

03 T quin-(.)di:() <antropizza:to> questa paro::la stra:na
there-(.)fo:re (.) <(ADJ.DERIV.)> this wo::rd strange
(from Greek "anthropos")
there-(.)fo:re (.)< (ADJ:DERIV.> this stra:nge wo::rd

04 (.)che deri:va da:l latino antro- antropos [mi pare
(.)that derives fro:m Latin antro- antropos [I think

05 St [°uh uhu uhu°

06 (0.2)

07 T eh?

08 (0.4)

- 09 T vuol ↑dire proprio uma::no:,
it ↑means exactly hu::ma:n,
- 10 (0.6)
- 11 che riguarda l'essere uma::no voi siete esseri uma:ni;
and it concerns hu::man beings are you human bei:ngs;
- 12 (0.6)
- 13 Sts sì:
ye:s
- 14 T sì;
yes;
- 15 (0.8)
- 16 T ho qualche dubbio.
I doubt it.
- 17 (0.4)
- 18 Sts mhh eh eheheh

19	T	<u>Alo:ra</u> <u>SO:</u>
20		(0.2)
→ 21	T	siete degli esseri uma:ni? (YOU) are (PART.ART.) being human are you human <u>bei:ngs</u> ?
22	Sts	s::i::: ye:::s::

First of all, the question under examination is a *second instance*, the first of which is produced in line 11 and packaged as the final item in an extended turn where a definition of a word is given. The deployment of a yes/no interrogative in line 11 seems to design the question as unproblematic, obvious, and its answer as a taken-for-granted confirmation. However, the question receives a delayed answer from pupils in line 13. A six-tenth-of-a-second gap is an indication of possible trouble. By delivering the third-turn receipt with a slightly rising intonation, the teacher marks this problematic aspects, which is further highlighted and turned into a matter of *humour* with the gap (line 15) and the ensuing assessment (line 16). This throws a definite new light on line 21, insofar as it seems to be designed to conclude a

sequence where humour is produced to deal with delayed answering turns and, implicitly with issues concerning recipients' problems.

On the other hand, the fact that the two categories devised above for questions fail to accommodate the range of actions embodied in question turns in classrooms as are strictly connected with the structural features of the institutional context is clear also in the fragment below:

#7 The sunrise PM:FZ:22a:geography

- 01 T da che parte si LE::va il sole <[SVEGLIA:::,
where from does the sun RI::se <[WAKE U:::P,
- 02 Sts [a:: est
[fro::m east
- 03 Sts a e::[st
from ea[::st
- 04 Sts [a: e::[st
[fro:m ea[::st
- 05 T [a e::st:::?. (.) e:[::-
[from ea::st:::?. (.) a:[::-

If we examine in detail the design of the turn in which the teacher produces the question, we notice that the key-word is delivered with a distinctive increase of volume and other features that mark an emphatic prosody and highlight the word 'rise' from the surrounding talk.

Furthermore, once the questioning has reached a point of possible completion, the teacher produces the ensuing encouragement to answer (1) with a very high volume of voice, (2) with a rush, and (3) in overlap with the answer offered by the first group of pupils. Under these circumstances, characterizing the question as an 'exam' or as a 'display question' seems rather minimal. The manner in which the question is delivered here would rather suggest that the teacher takes for granted that the pupils would know the answer and that precisely the certainty that the answer will be readily produced is the reason for the question to be formulated here and now.

If, on one hand, the characterization of questions as illocutionary acts leaves unexplained the social organization of interaction, on the other, one important outcome of the speech-act approach to language is the distinction between the *meaning* and the *form* of utterances. As captured by Wittgenstein's theory of 'language games' (1958) and by Searle's speech act theory (1969), the meaning of an utterance is the *action* that is accomplished when actually spoken in a definite context, while its form consists of the *grammatical features* of the utterance. This distinction between form and function (or action) of utterances has been extremely important because it shows that one type of utterance can accomplish different actions, since the relation between form and function is not based on a one-to-one rule (Levinson, 1983 and 1992; Clayman and Heritage, 2002).

So, for instance, when linguists refer to questions, they use the term '*interrogative*' to mean the form of questions, and '*question*' meaning a type of action. This lack of a one-to-one correspondence between form and function is clear, for example, when (1) speakers use declarative-formatted utterances, referring to some state of affairs known to the interlocutor (Labov and Fanshel, 1977; Pomerantz, 1980), in order to perform an *information-seeking activity*, either in ordinary conversation (Pomerantz, 1980) and in institutional talk (Labov and Fanshel, 1977; Heritage and Roth, 1995; Clayman and Heritage, 2002); or (2) when interrogative-formatted utterances are used to accomplish different actions such as requests, invitations, accusations, challenges, and so on.

However, it has to be said that a number of important limitations remain, deriving from the assumption that questions are actions types in themselves, as implied in the speech act theory. *First*, if we consider the conditions reported above with reference to questions, they seem to provide a characterization of the 'appropriate context' for the utterance as specific attributes of the participants, such as, for instance, some psychological states the performance of the act counts as expression of it (Searle, 1969: 65). These attributes are viewed as pre-

existent to interaction, thus external to it. However, as demonstrated in a number of studies in the field of conversation analysis (CA), in order to account for the felicity conditions of any utterance in interaction, the *primary social context* is its *sequential deployment* with reference to what a definite turn is designed to respond. Members produce utterances in an orderly way; that is, in a sequential context where tying rules between turns account for non-disorderability in conversation (Sacks, 1992, Part 1: 370-75). Thus, a Q-A pair, for example, is one instance where these tying rules are visible, insofar as a question is a *first pair part* and an answer is a *second pair part* in a couple of *linked actions*⁴.

Second, as argued by Schegloff (1992: xxiv-xxx), the object of inquiry in Searle's work are classes of utterances "that would satisfy whatever is required for them to effectively – felicitously- accomplish the speech act of 'promising'" (Schegloff, 1992: xxiv), rather than studying "particular utterances in a particular context" (Schegloff, 1992: xxv). So, for instance, by conceiving questions as a class of utterances, the focus is on the rules and conditions for the accomplishment of '*questioning*' as a pre-defined and given function, rather than on actual spoken utterances in a real context.

Consequentially, the *third* limitation of this approach refers to the fact that *questions* are considered *action types in themselves* without there being any definition of the precise type of action that speakers accomplish through these classes of utterances. It is, in fact, the definition of *question* as a *type of action* that raises a number of other critical issues which have been considered by Schegloff (1984) and Levinson (1992). Quoting Wittgenstein, Levinson concludes his search of "a common core which we can continue to think of as part of the semantics of question" by marking his distance from an approach on investigating language

⁴ However, as illustrated by Sacks, the sequential context in conversation provides for a more complex mechanism:

"One of the most obvious first speaker pairs is question-answer, the 'first' item being a 'question'. Now the first item, the question, can also be the 'second utterance of a pair' in following sort of way. Suppose one person has said "My opinion is X". Then we could have a question which would say something like "Why do you say that?", where that's partially tied to the prior, and provides for another" (Sacks, 1992, Part 1: 372).

that starts with the question: “What is a question?”. Schegloff, on his part, suggests not to take questions in the sense of a precise category of actions as analytic objects of interest, but rather to observe particular data (Schegloff, 1984: 30) and to refer to Q-A sequences in terms of “adjacency pairs” where questions are first actions that make relevant as next a second action, or a number of options (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973).

In this study, therefore, the reference to *questions* and *answers* will be in terms of “a conventionally recognizable pair of actions” (Heritage, 1984: 245); therefore, as conversational actions that are produced to address speaker B, to allocate next turn and to indicate the type of action that is relevant in that position (Atkinson and Drew, 1979: 47). In these terms, Q-A sequences are not different from other pairs of actions such as Summons-Acknowledgement, Request-Granting/Rejection, Invitation-Acceptance/Rejection, Accusations-Justifications/Excuses, etc. The production of a first part of an adjacency pair makes relevant for the addressed second speaker to produce the second part. As illustrated in Atkinson and Drew (1979: 48), the interrogative format of an utterance is not necessary in order to select a second speaker and to allocate the next turn; requests, for instance, can be formed as interrogatives or as declaratives, and in both cases the recipient is requested to grant or not the request, independently from the interrogative format. As concluded by Atkinson and Drew:

“Therefore it is not necessary for an utterance to be formed as a question to allocate the next turn, for questions are only one of the utterance types which can be used. Summons, requests and invitations are other types which can allocate the next turn independently of whether or not they are formed syntactically as questions. What these types have in common is that they are initial actions to which recipients are selected to do relevant next actions: they are first parts in sequences of paired actions [...] to which recipients should produce the second part (or one of the second part) in the respective pair” (Atkinson and Drew, 1979: 49).

Thus, as noted by Atkinson and Drew (1979) characterizing turns at talk as questions and answers is only a minimal one, because “another sense in which that is so is that other actions may be done in question or answer turns” (Atkinson and Drew, 1979: 69).

The important thing about Q-A sequences, therefore, is connected with the fact that they come as a linked pair of actions, whose second turn displays the analysis and understanding of the first by the recipient. So, for instance in the next example the kid treats the same questioning turn produced by the first speaker (Mum) as accomplishing two different actions:

#8 (Terasaki, 1976: 45)

→ Mom: Do you know who's going to that meeting?
 Kid: Who
 Mom: I don't know!
 Kid: Ou::h prob'ly: Mr Murphy an'Dad said prob'ly Mrs Timpote an' some o'the teachers.

In the turn immediately following Mum's turn, the kid displays his understanding of the question turn as performing a *pre-announcement* (Heritage, 1984a: 257)⁵ rather than a *seeking-information* action. However, as Mum's following reaction displays, the question was indeed designed to elicit information regarding the meeting. It is also to be noted that the son was indeed in possession of the information also when he produced line 2, having understood the question as a pre-announcement and aligning with it.

In conclusion, with linked actions, and with question-answer pairs, speakers have at their disposal a powerful tool to display their own understanding of the interlocutor's prior action and, moreover, their willingness to comply or to resist, to agree or disagree, to accept or to refuse, etc. (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973).

4.2 Questions in classroom instructional sequences: the IRE model

4.2.1 *Assumptions and concerns of the Birmingham model*

One key study of classroom discourse, based on examination of real examples of classroom talk, is the seminal work carried out by the research team of the English

⁵ See Levinson (1983), which presents a number of instances where questions are used to perform *pre-requests*.

Department of Birmingham University between 1970 and 1972. The priorities of the study were rather more inherent to linguistic issues than educational or social ones, as declared by the authors when they affirm that their work “set out to describe the linguistic aspects of teacher/pupil interaction” (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: p.1). Classroom talk was chosen on the theoretical grounds that it was “a more simple type of spoken discourse” (ibid. p.7). The researchers thought that the investigation of teacher/pupils interaction would more likely yield orderly features and patterns of discourse than the investigation of ordinary conversation. Their interest was “in the function of utterances and the structure of discourse” (ibid. pp. 3-4). In the introduction to their study, the main purposes of the research were defined as follows:

“We were looking for answers to such questions as: how are successive utterances related; who controls the discourse, how does he do it; how, if at all, do other participants take control; how do the roles of speaker and listener pass from one participant to another; how are new topics introduced and old ones ended; what linguistic evidence is there for discourse units larger than the utterance?” (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: p. 4)

In order to find the answers to these questions, the choice to focus on classroom interaction, rather than on ‘desultory conversation’ was taken because the former was considered a “form of discourse which had more structure and direction” (ibid., p. 6). This choice was based on some pre-determined assumptions on the organization of the interaction that was to be the subject of their investigation, as stated in the introduction to the presentation of the study:

“With these and many other problems inherent in conversation we decided it would be more productive to begin with a more simple type of spoken discourse, one which has much more overt structure, where one participant has acknowledged responsibility for the direction of the discourse, for deciding who shall speak when, and for introducing and ending topics. We also wanted a situation where all participants were genuinely trying to communicate, and where potentially ambiguous utterances were likely to have one accepted meaning. We found the kind of situation we wanted in the classroom (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: p. 8).

The research project aimed at producing a descriptive system of analysis which would account for “the way in which units above the rank of clauses are related and patterned”, rather than investigating interaction in itself. They wanted to see “the way in which such language functions as statements, questions, and command are realized through grammatical

structure and position in the discourse”(ibid: p.8). Therefore, the linguistic concerns, connected with the attempt of discovering a type of syntax for discourse, were by far the most prominent in the Birmingham project.

4.2.2 *The method and the categories used in the analysis*

The analysis was conducted using a *rank scale* to describe the data. This method was in line with the analytical model of the structural method in linguistics, from which the group inherited a highly formalistic approach to data and a set of precise criteria for designing a consistent analytic system: it was established that the descriptive apparatus should be finite, that symbols were to be used to label precise data units, and that the classification should be clear and replicable (ibid.: pp. 15-16).

The fundamental characteristic of this analytical approach is the identification of multiple levels for analysing language. According to this model, each level is composed of a *finite set* of units, in a hierarchical relation with those of the adjacent levels. One unit of the higher level is made of a combination of smaller units from the lower rank: *sentences* are made of *clauses*, *clauses* of *words*, *words* of *morphemes* and *morphemes* of *phonemes*. The idea was to expand this approach beyond the sentence rank to the analysis of discourse. The group devised a descriptive apparatus formed by 5 further levels inherent to discourse. Starting from the lowest rank, these are: *acts*, *move*, *exchange*, *transaction*, and *lesson*. The smallest units of the whole system are *acts*:

“The units at the lowest rank of discourse are *acts* and correspond most nearly to the grammatical unit *clause*, but when we describe an item as an act we are doing something very different from when we describe it as a clause. Grammar is concerned with the formal properties of an item, discourse with the functional properties, with what the speaker is using the item for. The four sentence types, declarative, interrogative, imperative, and moodless, realize twenty-one discourse acts, many of them specialized and some quite probably classroom-specific” (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: p.28).

In this way, the building bricks of the whole system consists in a repertoire of 21 different acts that participants have at their disposal to be combined in order to realize moves, exchanges and transactions in the classroom. These are: *marker, starter, elicitation, check, directive, informative, prompt, clue, cue, bid, nomination, acknowledge, reply, react, comment, accept, evaluate, silent stress, meta-statement, conclusion, loop, aside*. One characteristic of acts is that, although the smallest units in the system, they are realized by 'classes of items'. These are not further defined. They are described as formed by elements such as words (*well, OK, good, right, Sir, Miss, etc.*), groups of words (*hands up, come on, go on, etc.*) and, finally, by what the authors called the three situational categories (*command, statements and questions*) (ibid: pp.40-44).

Going upwards along the scale, the next level is made of 5 different *moves: Opening, Answering, Follow-up, Framing and Focusing*. In each move speakers combine the 21 acts according to the specific structure of the move. However, all the moves have a core pattern composed of a central element, called *head*, plus a *pre-head* and a *post-head*. Each element is realized by an act. Moves, then, are combined to form 2 different classes of exchanges: *Boundary and Teaching exchanges*. However, across levels the procedure remains the same: to combine units of the lower rank to build those of the higher.

4.2.3 Teaching exchanges

The class of teaching exchanges is divided in 11 sub-categories. Six of them are considered 'free' exchanges: *teacher inform, teacher direct, teacher elicit, pupil elicit, pupil inform, check*. Four of these are described as 'bound' exchanges, because they are attached to a previous free exchange; these are *re-initiation (i), re-initiation (ii), listing, reinforce*.

The exchange rank is particularly interesting because it gives a depiction of talk in a *sequence*, rather than a repertoire of items, either in isolation or in combination, as in the two

prior ranks of the scale (acts and moves). A typical teaching exchange pattern is described through the acronym IRF or IRE (Initiation-Response-Feedback / Evaluation), and consists of three moves in a sequence. Of the three types of acts that were identified as initiating a teaching exchange and constituting the head of the opening move –*elicitation, directive and informative-*, the *elicitation act* is the only one that, according to the model, provides for an extended verbal answer from pupils in the answering move. This is the description provided for the elicitation act: “Realized by question. Its function is to request a linguistic response” (ibid: p. 40). The other two acts – *directive* and *informative-* provide for a different type of behaviour: a *directive act* requires a “non-linguistic response” (ibid. p. 41) and an *informative act* is followed by “an acknowledgement of attention and understanding” as the only possible response. (ibid. p. 41). Therefore, if the teacher initiates the sequence with an elicitation move - typically a question - the student will respond with a reply. The answer will then be followed by a third move, where the teacher provides a feedback to the answer (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 21, 50). This structure is reported as being one of the most frequent patterns in teaching exchanges. These are a few examples:

a)

Teacher: Can you tell me why do you eat all that food?

Yes.

Pupil: To keep you strong,

Teacher: To keep you strong. Yes. To keep you strong.

Why do you want to be strong?

(Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:21)

b)

Teacher: Do you know what we mean by accent?

Pupil: It's the way you talk.

Teacher: The way we talk. This is a very broad comment

(Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:48)

c)

Teacher: What about this one? This I think is a super one. Isobel, can you think
What it means?

Pupil: Does it mean that there's been an accident further along the road?

Teacher: No

(Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:35)

In order to illustrate how the system works, I will reproduce below the analysis of example b)

#9

Classes of move		Structure of move	Classes of act
Opening	Do you know what we mean by accent?	head	elicitation
Answering	It's the way you talk	head	reply
Follow-up	The way we talk.	pre-head	accept
	This is a very broad comment.	head	evaluate

(Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 48):

The popularity of this model among researchers has determined, in part, its becoming the 'unmarked' discourse structure in classroom interaction (Cazden, 1986: p.436). This exchange has acquired a canonical status, becoming the trademark of classroom interaction. And, indeed, if we think about it comparatively, it is clear that this depiction captures an evidently key aspect of classroom interaction, insofar as its structure - Question, Answer, Confirmation - and, particularly the third move, 'establishes a pedagogical frame of reference' (Edwards and Westgate, 1987: p. 124). The third evaluative turn differentiates Q-A sequences which take place in the classroom from 'real' informative sequences which occur in everyday conversation; the distinctive feature being that the confirmation proposes the questioner as the knowledgeable party. (Drew, 1981: p. 261; Heritage, 1984a: p. 290, Edwards and Westgate, 1987: pp. 123-129). The research on classroom interaction has been largely influenced by the I-R-E model that has stemmed from the work of the Birmingham group led by Sinclair and Coulthard. Since then, the *teachers' elicitation act* has been identified with *questions* which, in their turn, have been an extremely rich field of investigation for researchers interested in the sociology of education (Cazden, 1986; Erickson, 1982; French and McLure, 1981; Wilkinson, 1981 and 1982; Green and Harker, 1988).

5. The critique of the IRE model

The analytical focus of my research, therefore, necessarily refers to and is informed by - although contrasting to- the three-move exchange as was primarily devised in the work of the Birmingham group (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981). The main critique to this descriptive system is in terms of its inadequacy to account for a number of structural features of classroom interaction. This inadequacy is determined by a number of factors.

First, the model assumes that categories such as ‘*question*’, ‘*command*’ and ‘*statements*’ are situational categories that refers to types of actions in themselves and, as such, they are self-evident and self-explicating. What *situational* means with reference to questions, commands and statements is accounted for the a type of “unsistemized knowledge” of the situation. These categories are viewed as connected with “the three major acts which probably occur in all form of spoken discourse –*elicitation*, *directive*, and *informative*” (ibid: 28). So, if the *elicitation act* is “realized by *questions*”, the *directive act* by *command*, and the *informative* by *statements*, on the other hand, the three acts are associated also with the three utterance types: *declarative*, *interrogative* and *imperative*. (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: pp. 27-39).

Second, the relationship between grammar and discourse is not resolved. The conditions for the mismatch between discourse categories (acts) and grammatical categories (syntactical pattern of utterances) remain obscure. Judgements regarding marked and unmarked forms of utterances are substantially based on a normative approach. For instance, the interpretation of an interrogative, such as “What are you laughing at” as a command, rather than as a question is considered a *marked* form. The imperative (“Shut the door”) is considered the *unmarked* form for a directive, while other syntactic realizations such as “can you shut the door, would you mind shutting the door, the door”, etc. are described as *marked* version. In order to

explain why speakers should use these marked formats -and, thereby, 'understand an interrogative as accomplishing a command instead of a question-, the analysis necessarily abandons grammar and discourse to consider another level: the *situation*.

“*Situation* here includes all relevant factors in the environment, social conventions, and the shared experience of the participants” (ibid: 28).

Quite contrasting to the formality of the descriptive system, the situation area is defined by using commonsensical and rather unspecialized assessments. They refer literally to the “unsystematized knowledge” about schools, classrooms and lessons, that would provide a re-classification of grammatical categories into situational; namely, the labelling of an interrogative “Can you shut the door” as a *command* and not as a *question*. It emerges a notion of context as an external and rather independent feature from the speakers’ verbal conduct. Thus, in order to re-classify an interrogative or a declarative as a command, very similarly to the “felicity conditions” advocated by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1976); it is necessary to refer to a definite set of rules, or conditions, that need be satisfied, such as the following (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 27-34):

- the utterance contains a modal (can you read the first paragraph John?);
- the subject of the utterance is the addressee (see above);
- the action described by the verb is physically feasible (see above);
- the action is proscribed (What are you laughing at?);
- or somebody ought to have performed or completed and he hasn't yet (the door is still open).

Third, the descriptive apparatus is in line with the structural and combinatorial view of language, whereby a spate of talk is disassembled into its components that are labelled as separate items. Thus, in the table below, the coding provides a formal classification for the utterances spoken, but does not tell us anything about the *actions* that people actually do with reference to their reciprocal understanding.

#10

Classes of move		Structure of move	Classes of act
Opening	A group of people used symbols to do their writing. They used pictures instead of as we write in words. Do you know who those people were? I'm sure you do. Joan.	pre-head head post-head sel	starter elicitation prompt nomination

(ibid: 46)

That the focus on the structural properties of language and on the classification of single items “tended to obscure the social relations of the environment it described” (Drew and Heritage, 1992: p.15) becomes clearer if we compare the analysis provided for the two extracts (10 and 11). In the following table, the subsequent requests performed by the pupil are coded as *elicitation acts* within *opening moves*, exactly like the teacher’s utterance in example 10 above, although very clearly they are produced to accomplish a completely different type of action in each of the two sequences. Here I will supply only part of the second example to be compared with the one above:

#11

Classes of move		Structure of move	Classes of act
Opening (pupil)	Sir. Sir. Can I go to the toilet?	sel sel head	bid bid elicitation
Answering	Yes.	head	reply
Opening (the teacher to another child)	If you’ve got a printed one you shouldn’t have	head	comment
Opening (pupil)	Sir. Can I go to the toilet?	sel head	bid elicitation

(ibid: 47)

For instance, is the teachers' *elicitation* in fragment 10 used to do the same thing as the elicitation produced by the pupil in 11? In both cases the interrogative utterance elicits a verbal response, but is this sufficient to consider the two instances as accomplishing the same act?

Forth, the sequential features of classroom interaction are overshadowed by the formal and abstract classificatory concerns of the method. If we limit our attention to the exchange level and, in particular, on those exchanges that are initiated by the teacher to elicit information, we observe that the structure proposed by the model is based on a sequence of three slots: Initiation, Response and Follow-up/Evaluation. Each slot is attributed to the moves produced alternately by teacher and student: *Opening, Answering and Follow-up*. The structure of each move is then described as a sequence of an initial part (pre-head), a medial part (the head) and a terminal part (post-head), each then realized by acts. The head of the *opening move*, that is its central part, works as a system providing four options: *elicitation, informative, directive or check*. In order to provide a suitable description that would account for all possible instances, other acts are included as components of the opening move. Thus, the structure has a pre-head and a post-head slot realized by other acts such as "marker, starter, prompt, clue e nomination". These are considered as mere options that *may* or *may not occur*. Different courses of actions are thus viewed as mere optional trajectories, with no linking relationships or sequential consequences with prior or talk, whether one choice or the other is made. For instance, after the head of the opening move, there is a post-head, realized by the *prompt* or/and the *clue* acts. These are indicated as optional acts, that might follow or not the head of the move, without any consideration regarding the conditions that might determine the arising of prompts after an elicitation, or the sequential relevancies of silence or other actions that might be produced by pupils after the teacher's elicitations. In the same

way, the other two moves of the triple structure (Answering and Follow-up), are described in terms of items that occur in head and pre- or post-head position. Their being produced one after the other, and what participants themselves make of each other's production, does not affect the classification of these elements and it is not treated as relevant by the researchers.

6. Purposes and overview of the research

The analysis provided here aims at demonstrating that a *sequential approach* to the investigation on data uncovers a fairly more complex organization of the interaction in this setting than the depiction provided by the I-R-E model. The linguistic concerns and the speech-act-based approach is reflected in the hierarchical model of classes of acts, moves, exchanges and transactions that fails to accommodate the social organization of the interaction in a setting where questions, answers and evaluation turns are produced to accomplish a number of institutionally relevant courses of actions. Sinclair and Coulthard's model is based on a repertoire of acts that are then combined in fixed patterns of exchange types. The study presented here is in contrast to the basic assumptions underpinning the description of classroom interaction as consisting of a list of self-contained triple sequences, as devised by the Birmingham group, and which provides a model that substantially obscures the investigation of larger sequences of actions where question and answer turns are produced in the service of institutionally relevant actions. The investigation of Q-A sequences in the talk that takes place in classroom teacher-led interaction is therefore relevant for a number of reasons.

The study, explores the construction of Q-A sequences as a *mechanism designed to accomplish speaker-change* and to *organize the participation opportunities for teachers and pupils*. One characteristic of the classroom setting in general, but which is most crucial in these teacher-led sessions of talk, is the different organization in the distribution of

opportunities to talk among the parties. The I-R-E model envisages a system whereby, normally, the teacher addresses one single pupil at a time. However, as emerges from the scrutiny of data, participation patterns are various and changeable according to the participants' ends.

On some occasions, the distribution of talk is organized among *two parties*: the teacher on one side and the class on the other, with all the pupils' incomings performed in unison, as in extract 12:

#12 Roads PM:FZ:12b.geography

01 T LE STRA::DE è più facile costruirle in monta:gna? o in
RO::ADS is it easier to build them on the mou:ntains? or on

02 pianura
lawland

→ 03 Sts PIANU:::[RA::
LAW:::LA[::ND

04 St [nu::ra:
[la:::nd

The production in unison of the answer in line 3 displays the organization of the pupils as *one party* with all single pupils aggregated to align in the current activity of answering to the teacher's question (Schegloff, 1995). Sometimes, as illustrated in fragment 13 below, pupils form 2 o 3 groups of respondent.

#13 The sunrise PM:FZ:22a.geography

01 T da che parte si LE::va il sole <[SVEGLIA:::,
where from does the sun RI::se <[WAKE U:::P,

→ 02 Sts [a:: est
[fro::m east

→ 03 Sts a e::[st
from ea[::st

→ 04 Sts [a: e::[st
[fro:m ea[::st

05 T [a e::st:::? (.) e:[::-
[from ea::st:::? (.) a:[:nd-

As clearly visible in lines 2 to 4, pupils form 3 groups, each responding in unison, but deployed as slightly delayed in comparison to the group that answers before.

However, the turn next to a question can be allocated to a single pupil. The following extract is one example of this practice:

#14 PM:FZ:12: geography

- 01 T alo' ↑ne::lla figura numero ↑U::NO:::,
no' ↑i::n picture number ↑O:::NE,
- 02 (0.6)
- 03 T MA:rco: ↓ch'è mo:lto atte:nto::
MA:rco: ↓who's ve:ry atte:nti::ve
MA:rco: ↓who's paying very much atte:ntion
- 04 (1.2)
- 05 T MI ↑SAI dire un elemento (.) umanizza:to
to me(YOU)can say an element humanized
↑CAN YOU tell me a (.) man-ma:de element
- 06 (1.8)
- 07 T ↓cioè antropizza:to
↓that is (ADJ.DER.from Greek: anthropos)
- 08 (0.6)
- 09 St le: le case
the: the houses
- 10 T ↑LE ↓CA::SE::
the houses
↓HOU::SE::S

The teacher launches the forthcoming question (lines 5-6) in line 1; after a quite extended pause (line 2), the selection is performed. In line 3 the *naming* of the selected pupil is followed by a second turn component unit (TCU hereafter) alluding ironically to the lack of attention on Marco's side. On these circumstances, the distribution of talk is also organized among two parties, but quite differently from the former occurrences, *each party is composed of one single person*. Furthermore, the remaining pupils that are nevertheless present and maintain their own availability towards their own verbal involvement (Goffman, 1963), are

indeed addressed as a *third party* at different levels, as has been explored in the course of this study.

Thus, as illustrated so far, teachers can select one single next speaker by *nominating* him, as in the fragment above, or they can address and select the whole group of students through different practices inherent to the *verbal construction* of the turn. But they may even address a *selected recipient for one precise answer*, as in example 15 below:

#15 The harbour PM:FZ:12a:geography

- 01 T IL PO::RTO DICE LUI,
THE HAR::BOUR HE SAYS,
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 T alo' a ↑cos'è 'lpo::rto?
now ↑what's the ha::rbour?
((indicating Luca with the hand, but looking at the class))
- 04 (0.8) / ((T. keeps her gaze above the head of the children, children raise their hand))
- 05 T ↓lo diciamo a Maurizio
↓shall we tell Maurizio ((bending slightly towards Luca))
- 06 (0.4)
- Mau. 07 St io lo so
I know it
- 08 T alo' ↑cos'è il po::rto secondo voi
now ↑what's the har::bour for you⁶
((she gazes upwards towards the end of the turn))

In line 1 the teacher repeats some prior answer provided by the pupil named Luca to a former request to nominate artificial items (man-made) in a picture representing a marine landscape. In the question that follows (line 3) there is no verbal selection of the next speaker; moreover, the raising of the hands (line 4) displays that the pupils understand the teacher's non-verbal behaviour as addressing the whole class. However, before proceeding to the selection of the pupil which will answer to the question, the teacher produces the turn in line 5

⁶ 'You' here translates 'voi', that is the second person plural pronoun, used to address the whole class.

where one pupil is nominated as the favoured recipient of the forthcoming answer. In this case, three parties are involved in the interaction: the teacher, as a *questioner*, addresses the question to the whole class (*respondent*) and identifies a single pupil as *recipient*. On other occasions the selection of a single respondent also determines three-party organization, but with a different distribution of the participants with reference to the parties: the *questioner*, the *respondent* and the *overhearing audience*. A number of distinctive features in the construction of talk in classrooms show the participants' orientation towards an organization of the interaction where the whole class as a *third party* - the overhearing audience- plays a determinant role in the organization of Q-A sequences in this setting (see Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 6).

The few instances we have considered so far show that the selection procedure can be performed through a number of addressing practices that include (1) the *naming* of one pupil, (2) various features inherent the verbal construction of the questioning turn (*directives, interrogative types, sub-sentential interrogative clauses, appended questions, unfinished utterances, etc.*⁷), and (3) non verbal behaviour such as, *gazing at* the selected pupils, *pointing to* the person. These are not just different options that speakers have at their disposal, but are choices connected to the precise course of action that participants are engaged in, and linked to prior actions as conditional relevant, and embodying distinctively institutional concerns

The sequential approach of the study aims at understanding what Q-A sequences are used to do; what courses of actions are achieved. The analysis of the practices that teachers and pupils methodically use to achieve their purposes within the constraints of Q-A sequences will shed light on some of the distinctive features of pedagogic discourse in institutional settings.

⁷ These issues are dealt with in Chap.2, 3 and 4.

Chapter 2 and 3 focus on the features of questioning turns. Starting from a survey of teacher/pupils turn transition, recurrent turn constructions are identified. The adequacy of the interrogative syntactic patterns - as they are devised according to the tradition of grammatical description – to provide a full account of how questioning is accomplished in the classroom is discussed. The results of a second approach to the data, from a perspective giving greater prominence to sequence organization, are illustrated with reference to the underlying assumptions on pupil's access to knowledge. In Chapter 3 I describe two main strategies and their connected practices that are used by teachers to instruct pupils on the 'correct' answer. These considerations are then embedded in the analysis of the dynamics of a broader instruction sequence. Chapter 4 is entirely dedicated to one practice whereby teachers create a favourable environment for pupils to provide collaborative completion of unfinished teachers' utterances. In Chapter 5 the focus shifts to the exploration of the strategies used by pupils to arrive at the 'correct' answer. Answering questions implies the deployment of conversational competences which enable pupils to analyse prior talk and the requirements of teachers' questions. Finally, in Chapter 6, I will show how answers are acknowledged and evaluated in the classroom by the teacher and the pupils as member of the overhearing audience. Very often this activity involves the production of sequences where pupils other than the selected recipient initiate repair, comment on the answer, produce claims of knowledge, and generally participate actively in the activity of evaluating the answer.

Chapter 2

How teachers build recognizable questioning turns:

The format of teachers' questioning turns and their sequential consequences

1. Introduction: The centrality of questioning in teaching

The teachers' questioning of students is a central feature of classroom interaction.

Besides the vast range of studies that have focused on teachers' questions, the centrality of questioning in teaching is reflected also in the criticism to this pedagogic style. Since when the first systematic observations of classroom interaction were conducted, criticism has been raised with regards to the frequency and the type of questions that teachers ask of students.

Edwards and Westgate (1987) summarize this judgement as follows:

“In traditional whole-class teaching, teachers did most of the talking, decided who else was to talk, and normally evaluated what pupils were required or permitted to say (Friedrich, 1982). [...] Teacher asks very large numbers of questions, most of which elicited factual and brief answers rather than any extended display of reasoning (Hunter, 1972; Hargie, 1978) This tendency persisted even where more ‘open’ forms of questioning were indicated by the innovative curriculum being transmitted (Eggleston et al., 1976)” (p.83)

While it is widely recognized that the education of a new generation is accomplished by interacting and talking with learners, the ways in which talk is shaped for pedagogic purposes at home and in the class varies across societies, social groups or settings. The method whereby adults ask questions of younger learners through an “interactive and interventional style” is the norm in European and American middle-class cultures (Mercer, 1995: p.22; Erickson, 1982: p. 162).

As illustrated in a number of ethnographic research (Heath, 1983; Philips, 1972 and 1983; Ochs, 1982; Rogoff, 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1983), other communities have different approaches to what is relevant to teach children and the ways in which this task is accomplished. The use of questions as a distinct character of most Western societies, therefore, reflects the central role that questioning has in teaching practices in our society.

I will briefly refer to a selection of studies on classroom interaction which have focused on teachers' questions. These can be referred to as the *coding tradition*, the *linguistic approach*, and the *ethnographic approaches*. This review is not intended to be exhaustive. The intention here is to highlight the basis whereby questioning has been considered a prominent discourse strategy in classroom.

a) The *coding tradition*:

The *frequency* of Q-A sequences has been widely reported since the earlier studies on classroom interaction and still is considered a fundamental feature of classroom discourse (Flanders, 1970; Galton, Simon and Croll, 1980; Dillon, 1988; Wragg et al., 1998; Galton et al., 1999; Nassaj and Wells, 2000; Baumfield and Mroz, 2002; Nystrand et al., 2003; Hellerman, 2003).

Earlier studies, which began to flourish during the 1960s, consisted of *coding systems* of analysing verbal interaction in the classroom. These employed systematic observation methods based on pre-defined coding schedules. The focus was mostly on verbal interaction, and predominantly on the teacher's verbal behaviour in traditionally-led classes. Through the use of observational schedules, the researcher established a correlation between actual talk and the *functional categories*, which were defined in advance and supplied to the researcher before entering the class. The claim was to code classroom interaction through systematic and objective observation methods. Using these systems researchers would expect to measure the frequency of what the observer counted as 'questions', 'directions', 'opinions', 'accepting', etc. These coding methods made possible extended surveys and aimed at quantitative analyses.

According to these studies, questions constitute one of the most frequently represented categories and cover between 11 and 12 per cent of teacher talk (Wragg et al., 1998).

Questions, therefore, represented a central issue for researchers. Gall (1970) reports that “at least 11 classification systems have been proposed in recent years” (p.708) to code and group teachers’ questions. In their exploration of questions, researchers were mostly concerned to establish a correlation between questions and the cognitive processes which were required in order to answer. The main preoccupation of these studies was to examine the cognitive demands on pupils on one hand, and to assess and improve the effectiveness of teaching methodology, on the other. So, for instance, questions were coded and grouped according to whether students were expected to *provide evaluation and judgements, locate information, remember*, etc. Since the appearance of the first studies in the 1960s, projects based on coding classroom interaction have continued to proliferate and, consequently, categories have multiplied.

This systematic observational tradition underwent an energetic criticism in the 1970s (Hamilton and Delamont, 1974; Coulthard, 1975; Walker and Adelman, 1975), which “argued for more attention to be paid to the then neglected ethnographic tradition” (Delamont and Hamilton, 1984: p.5). Criticism emphasized as weaknesses of the *coding tradition* its quantitative and normative concerns, the emphasis on overt behaviour, the focus on categories rather than on actual talk, the absence of contextual data, which resulted in lack of reliability of the system itself. In the early 1970s classroom interaction has become a field for *linguistics oriented approaches* and *ethnographic studies*.

b) The *linguistic approach*:

The *linguistic approach* developed within the field of discourse analysis and, as was outlined in the previous chapter, was carried out by a group of researchers at the University of Birmingham between 1970 and 1972 (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). Based on speech act theory, and mostly concerned with the relationship between form and function, they focused

on classroom interaction because it was considered a more structured type of interaction than desultory conversation.

They devised a descriptive apparatus that included a close set of options for participants, either with regard to single *acts*, and possible sequential patterns (*moves and exchanges*) that could be produced through talk in the course of the lesson. Quite central in the model are the units of the first level:

“The units at the lowest rank of discourse are *acts* and correspond most nearly to the grammatical unit *clause*, but when we describe an item as an act we are doing something very different from when we describe it as a clause. Grammar is concerned with the *formal* properties of an item, discourse with the *functional* properties, with what the speaker is using the item for. The four sentence types, declarative, interrogative, imperative, and moodless, realize twenty-one discourse acts, many of them specialized and some quite probably classroom-specific” (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 27-28).

Despite the fact that one of the major concerns of the project was the distinction of the two analytical levels of grammar and discourse, the characterization of acts, as provided above, conveys the identification of actions with grammatical categories, such as: clause, declaratives, interrogatives, etc. This is further confirmed in the following definition of acts:

“The lowest rank of the discourse scale overlaps with the top of the grammar scale. Discourse acts are typically one free clause, plus any subordinate clauses, but there are certain closed classes where we can specify almost all the possible realizations which consist of single words and groups” (ibid.: 24).

So, if acts overlaps with clauses, moves overlaps with sentences.

Indeed, this outcome isn't so surprising if we consider that the model adopted by the Birmingham group to analyze data was originally devised in the field of structural linguistics. Thus, not only the number of actions is a finite set, but each act is realized by one single speaker, and is associated with minimal units of language, such as classes of sentences or clauses, and closed groups of words. The definition provided below of the evaluation act has these features:

“Realized by statements and tag questions including words and phrases such as ‘good’, ‘interesting’, ‘team point’, commenting on the quality of the reply, react or initiation, also by ‘yes’, ‘no’, ‘good’, ‘fine’, with a high fall intonation, and repetition of the pupil's

reply with either high fall (positive), or a rise of any kind (negative evaluation)” (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 43).

The listing of the lexical items that are described as accomplishing evaluation implies that speakers have alternative and interchangeable options: positive and negative evaluation being realized just by changing ‘yes’ with ‘no’ or ‘good’ with ‘bad’, depending on the judgement whether the answer is right or wrong.

The major concerns for classification and coding of language forms, rather than on the sequential organization of the participants’ social conduct is also evidenced in the definition of moves. Concerns regarding features of talk connected with the positioning of items are involved (1) in the definition of moves with reference to their deployment in the exchange: whether *initial* (opening), *medial* (answering) or *terminal* (follow-up), and (2) in the description of the deployment of the elements in the structure of each move: *starter*, *pre-head*, *head*, *post-head*. However, as transpires from the very naming of each item, these refer mainly to the criteria of an ordered list of linguistic items, rather than on the complexities associated with the relationships and the relevancies connected with the interplay of actions in interaction.

c) The *ethnographic tradition*:

Among the studies which developed along the *ethnographic tradition*, the vast majority have acknowledged the predominance of the IRE sequence and the predominance of teacher-student exchanges which are initiated with a question (Mehan, 1979; Shuy, 1988; McHoul, 1978 and 1990). I would like to recall that this is not intended to be a complete survey of the studies which have developed in the field. My concern here is mainly the treatment of questions. In this regard, it is worth noticing that, also in more ethnographically oriented research, the IRE model is assumed as one of the most typical features of classroom

interaction. Furthermore, when question-types come to be further specified, the main criteria for coding questions are the following:

- the interrogative format (Shuy, 1988: p.123);
- the cognitive processes involved in answering (Green, Weade and Graham, 1988: 42, table 5);
- the distribution of knowledge among speaker and recipients conceived in terms of 'real' / 'known-answer questions' (Nystrand et al., 2003).

From this brief survey, we might conclude that, while recognition of the importance of questioning in pedagogic discourse has led researchers to focus on questions as a *key factor* in the interaction between teacher and pupils in instructional sequences, on the other hand the main tendency remains that of describing questions in terms of *grammatical features*, or in relation to the *cognitive processes* they are supposed to promote and develop in learners, rather than to provide a description of how questions and answers are dealt by participants as embodying an order of mutual social participation.

My concerns here are not to express a position against or in favour of teachers' questions with reference to their frequency or type, but rather to acknowledge questioning as a central feature of instructional sequences and to investigate the manner in which questions are constructed so as to be recognized by teachers and students as constitutive of pedagogic work.

2. Interrogatives, questions and questioning: form and action

Quite differently from other categories –for instance, answers- questions can be located 'grammatically', they have a form and can be paralinguistically described. Thus, as observed by Sacks, "we can talk about 'asking questions' and identify some objects as 'a question'" (Sacks, 1992: vol.1: 49). Any speaker would therefore instinctively associate some definite linguistic features to the action of questioning, in the sense of *seeking information*.

Grammatical features are thus implicitly used to define a category of action, and consequently to establish the existence of a one-to-one relationship between grammar and action.

In line with this grammatical perspective, one way to approach the task of describing what is a question in my data and account for its recognizability would be that of selecting instances of *questions* in teacher talk on the basis of the grammatical form of utterances. As mentioned above, from a general point of view and by common sense, the action of questioning is commonly regarded as having a special and direct connection with the *interrogative format*. However, the relation between syntax and action is by no means so clear.

The fact that grammar is a fundamental resource for the construction of recognizable turns at talk has been widely demonstrated in a number of studies in the field of conversation analysis. (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Frankel, 1983; Heritage and Roth, 1995; Lerner, 1991 and 1996; Schegloff, Ochs and Thompson, 1996; Raymond, 2000; Clayman and Heritage, 2002). For instance, in their study of the news interview, Heritage and Roth (1995) have observed that this is particularly so “in organizing the recognizable production of questioning”.¹

However, their analysis highlights the fact that grammatical criteria alone, according to the canonical view of grammar, do not account for a number of other practices which are used to do questioning and function as question substitutes without taking the interrogative format (Heritage and Roth, 1995: pp. 9-21; Clayman and Heritage, 2002: pp.99-104). They argue that those grammatical criteria have been elaborated for the analysis of *isolated sentences*. However, when considering *forms of talk-in-interaction*, such as news interviews, we are concerned with utterances and, consequently, “we (are) compelled to consider an additional

¹ On this topic see also Clayman and Heritage (2002), pp.99-104.

set of phenomena that, though related to grammar, transform and situate its relevance for interaction” (Heritage and Roth, 1995: 23).

The relationship between the *grammatical form* of questions and the *actions* they accomplish is therefore a rather complex relationship.

2.1. The grammatical form of questions and types of action

In linguistics the grammatical form of an utterance is distinguished from the action that is performed through that utterance. The utterance ‘What is the time?’ has an *interrogative format* and performs a *question*. However, the correspondence between form and action does not work on a one-to-one basis. So, for instance, besides accomplishing *information-seeking activities* (‘What’s the time?’), a number of other actions are equally achieved through interrogative-formatted utterances, such as *requests* (‘Could you open the door for me, please?’), *complaints* (‘Why do you always do that?’), *invitations* (‘Why don’t you come and see me tomorrow?’), among others.

Despite these observations, the idea that questions are normally used to seek information, on one side, and the correspondence between questions and the interrogative format, on the other, seems persistently alive and robust. It is quite common to find in the work of linguists and grammarians that *interrogative sentences* are described mainly as ways of *requiring information*² (Renzi et. al., 1995, vol.III, p.70; Serianni, 1989; Simone, 1990:

² This commonsense conception of questions is largely adopted by linguists, who might expand their linguistic descriptions of questions with a pragmatic treatment of ‘question acts’, in the tradition of the speech acts approach.

“Within the interrogative type, the *canonical type* (or unmarked) is distinguishable from the *noncanonical type* (or marked). The latter is characterized by variations in its function and grammatical features in comparison with the former. (...) While direct interrogatives, in their canonical format, are associated with the illocutionary force of a request for information, whose motivation is to get a response, the noncanonical format corresponds to a variation from the canonical type of act.” (Renzi et al.1995: 72-74). Among the noncanonical interrogative type, the author list four variations: rethorical, questions which are used to express doubt, the so-called ‘echo-questions’, which substantially accomplish repair, and conducive questions. (pp.112-127).

p.243). Thus, the correspondence between the action of asking questions (in the sense of *seeking information*) and the interrogative pattern is generally regarded as close.

Conversation analytic investigations, however, have contributed grounds for a rather different perspective. With reference to this, Schegloff warns against the identification of a precise grammatical format with a definite social action:

“A ready bridge is apparently before us to cross from language to social behaviour, in which, it might appear, the syntax will bear the load. Though it might be conceded that no complete or neat linguistic account of questions is yet available, the relevant attributes being variously apportioned among syntax, prosody, and other resources, still it might appear that linguistic resources will allow the construction and recognition of utterances as questions, and thus as actions of a certain type. Now I think such a view is, or would be, as misleading with regards to questions as a way of bridging language and social action (...)” (Schegloff, 1984: 30)

This lack of correspondence works in both directions: (1) interrogative sentences are used to perform a range of actions other than seeking or eliciting information, (2) and questioning itself is accomplished through a range of verbal constructions other than interrogative sentences.

2.1.1. *Interrogatives perform actions other than questioning ('information seeking / eliciting')*:

In the following example, the answer produced in response to B's questioning turn displays the recipient's understanding of the question as *doing invitation* (Schegloff, 1984; Heritage, 1984a)

#1 (SBL:10:12 from Heritage, 1984a: 255)

→ B: Why don't you come and see me some[times]
A: [I would like to

As Heritage (1984) points out, B's turn could also be conceivably heard as *doing a complaint*. It is through the response type that the prior turn is understood as doing precisely an *invitation*, since the recipient does not provide any account for not having visited B.

In #2 below, speaker P uses the interrogative format to *make an offer*:

#2 (NB:52, p.248, From Davidson, 1984: 107)

→ P: Wul lissid- (.) uh:: d'you wah me uh come down'n
 getche t' [morrow er anythi]ng?
 A: [N o: d e: a r.]

In extract 3 the child turn is heard as *making a request*:

#3 (TW, Ga:E:73, From Atkinson and Drew, 1979: 48)

→ Ch: Will you read me this story
 M: Well, after I've washed the dishes I''read you that story (.) yes.

Again, in the example below, second speaker Shelly uses interrogative-formatted units to defend herself from the accusation of withdrawing from an arrangement to go on a trip because of her boyfriend. In this way she *challenges the accusation performed by Debbie* in prior turn:

#4 (Koshik, forth. 'Wh-questions used as challenges')

Deb: =I do' know, jus don't blow off your girlfriend for
 guy:s, Shel.
 → Shel: De:b I'm not. H[ow man-]e- when have I.=beside ya-
 Deb: [o ka:y]

This matter of the relationship between the syntactic format of interrogatives and the social action which interrogative utterances accomplish is particularly relevant in *institutional settings*. In courtroom examinations (Atkinson and Drew, 1979), medical care encounters (Frankel, 1983), and news interviews (Heritage and Roth, 1995; Clayman and Heritage, 2002), and indeed in instruction sequences in the classroom (McHoul, 1978; Drew, 1981; Drew and Heritage, 1992; Levinson, 1992) speakers attend to their institutional tasks through talk. Furthermore, the exchanges in these settings are predominantly shaped in Q-A sequences. Comparatively to ordinary conversation, in these settings, speakers have considerable restrictions: turns are not equally distributed; one party is entitled to a specialized type. Despite the large number of participants, the interaction takes place between two parties, turns are pre-allocated. These specialized turns are either 'questions' or 'answers'. The result is that the institutional party's turns are heard to do questioning and

recipients' to do answering. This mechanism is exploited by participants to accomplish their institutional and more local interactional goals.

Consider, for example, the case in Atkinson and Drew (1979: p. 70-71) from a court cross-examination. The first question by the counsel is followed by a second question (arrowed line), designed to suggest that there is a sort of discrepancy in the witness' report, thus *challenging the evidence of the witness*.

#5 (28) (Ou: 43,5) In Atkinson and Drew, 1979.

- C: And during that enti:re (.) evening (.) Miss
Lebrette (.) its your testimony (2.3) that there was:
(0.9) no indication as far as you could tell that the
defendant had been drinking.
- W: No
(3.1)
- C: Now miss Lebrette (1.2) when you were intervieu:ed by
the poli::ce sometimes later- sometime later that
evening (1.1) didn't you te:ll the police that the
defendant had been drinking (.) [(did you tell them that)
- W: [No I told them that
there was a coo:ler in the ca:r and that I never opened it

Instances of questions used to perform a *direct challenge to the interviewee* are reported also in a dramatic case of a news interview illustrated by Heritage and Roth (1995), which 'was widely regarded as a form of trial by television' (p. 46-47).

#6 (0:21.4.81. In Heritage and Roth, 1995: p. 46-47)

- IR: How can you be responsible and head of company when
all these things happen. .hh And you think by some
fake deal with Quincey Walker (.) for thousand
pou[nds (.) on June twenty-third]
- IE: [You have already assu:::d] You have already
assumed [a fake dea:l]
- IR: [How d'you get rid] of moral responsibility.
- Aud: Yeah.
- Aud: You can't
- Aud:

Heritage (2002) reports on a precise use of negative interrogatives in news interviews (of the type "Isn't it..." , "Doesn't this..." , " Don't you...") to *express point of view*, rather than seeking information, as evidenced in the response given by the interviewee in the example below, line 7:

#7 US Presidential Press Conference: 7 Mar 1997: Campaign

IR: Helen Thomas IE: Bill Clinton (In Clayman and Heritage, 2002: p. 210)

- 1 IR: W'l Mister President in your zea:l (.) for funds
 → 2 during the last campaign .hh didn't you put the
 3 Vice President (.) an'Maggie and all the others
 4 in your (0.4) administration top side .hh in a
 5 very vulnerable position, hh
 6 (0.5)
 7 IE: I disagree with that.hh u- How are we vulnerable
 8 because...

2.1.2. *The syntactic interrogative format isn't the only resource that speakers use to perform questioning (seeking/eliciting information).*

The one-to-one connection between interrogative format and information-seeking activity is disconfirmed also by those instances where speakers actually elicit information through resources other than interrogatives. Pomerantz (1980) reports that sometimes, instead of directly asking about something they want to know, people solicit information using *indirect practices* (pp. 186-187). In the example below, in the first arrowed line, speaker S informs the recipient about repeated attempts to get in touch with her over the phone. In reporting the circumstances which prevented the communication, she proposes the recipient as being informed on the reasons for what happened, being the only one knowledgeable about the use of his own telephone:

#8 [TC:I:1:2]

- G: ... dju j'see me pull us?=
 → S: =.hhh No:. I wz trying you all day. en the
line wz busy fer like hours
 G: Ohh:::::, ohh:::::, .hhhhh We::ll, hhh I'm
 g'nna c'm over in a little while help yer
 brother ou:t
 S: Goo[:d
 G: [.hhh cuz I know he needs some he::lp,
 ((morfully))
 S: .hh Ye:ah. Yeh he'd mention'that tihday.=
 G: =M-hm,=
 → S: .hhh Uh:m, tlk .hhh who wih yih ta:lking
 to.

Not having obtained any account for why the line was busy for so long, speaker S asks the question directly in the second arrowed turn. According to Pomerantz, in instances such as the one above “a speaker, in reporting an experience, is providing for the recipient to possibly volunteer some *particular* information.” (p. 187). The example shows that *declarative formatted turns*, as the one indicated with the first arrow in the example above are indeed produced to obtain information in an indirect way.

Instances where speakers seek information by means of turns which are grammatically shaped according criteria other than interrogative syntax are provided in the work of Heritage and Roth (1985) and Clayman and Heritage (2002). In the example below, for instance, the arrowed lines indicate instances where the questioning is accomplished through *statements* that formulate specific experience of the interviewee:

#9 (MacNeil/Lehrer 10/23/92:7) (In Heritage and Roth, 1995: p.12)

- 1 IR: .hhhh Do thuh Vietnamese say to you: (.) General Vessy
 2 <There are n:o Americans alive in our country.>
 3 IE: Yes.
 4 (0.2)
 → 5 IR: They look you 'cross thuh table and [s::ay (it)]
 6 IE: [E x actly]=
 → 7 IR =unequivo[cally,]
 8 IE: [.h h h]h h [h
 → 9 IR [And they say come and look?
 10 IE: Y:es. That's what they say.
 → 11 IR: >N::ow you- they say come and look at our records.
 12 IE: (°Yeh°) Now they say come and look at our records.
 → 13 IR: And you have nothing. up 'til now:: .hhh that you
 14 can point to:: duz- to indicate anything to thuh
 15 con::trar[y
 16 IE: [.hhhh Well what we have is the evidence from
 17 thuh PAST.

In their exploration of “how ‘questioning’ in the news interview is recognizably achieved” Heritage and Roth (1995) illustrate a number of cases which show that, in order to provide a full description of the manners in which questioning is achieved in news interviews, it is necessary to include other pragmatic criteria, besides grammatical categories. On those occasions, interviewers perform questioning without using the grammatically coded interrogative formats. These include cases where interviewers use *directives*, *B-event*

statements, and other procedures related to turn transition and turn allocation. These are *increments*, *third-party attributed statements*, *non-attributed statements* and *aspects of time and speaker management*.

From their analysis, questioning in news interviews results as being an activity whose course of action is visibly organized with reference to grammatical parameters. However, the relevance of grammar is to be treated with reference to the *in progress* character of interaction in its turn-by-turn sequential development.

Of course, these findings are extremely relevant also for the analysis of teachers' questioning in the classroom. For example, the cases below support the evidence for the need to verify how grammatical parameters are applied and exploited by participants in the ongoing development of talk, rather than relying merely on the grammatical analysis of isolated sentences. Consider, for instance, this fragment from one classroom instruction sequence:

#10 PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

- 01 T allora la città, (1.0) è diversa dal pae:se solo per un
so the town, (1.0) is different from the vi:llage only for one
- 02 motivo
reason
- 03 (1.8) / ((Janin raises her hand))
- Fab. 04 St perché è più piccola!
because (IT) is more little
because it is smaller!³

The teacher's turn is clearly a declarative-formatted statement. However, both Janin and Fabrizio recognize this turn as embodying a question: Janin by raising her hand, thus bidding to answer, and Fabrizio by actually designing his turn as an answer. Indeed, a

³ When the idiomatic translation is rather transparent in terms of the grammatical properties of the Italian language, I have omitted a third line in the transcript. Here, because of the distinctive ways in which the comparative is rendered in Italian, I have produced two versions in English. The line in *italics* corresponds to the idiomatic version.

number of features in Fabrizio's turn (line 4) indicate its being an answer to the teacher's prior turn. These are:

- the prefatory /perché / because /
- the production of cohesive elements which establish a correspondence between line 4 and lines 1-2 : (a) the comparative structure of the utterance, which responds to the teacher's proposal of finding the difference between towns and villages; (b) the feminine and singular ending of the adjective 'piccola/small' which indicates that Fabrizio is referring to the subject of the teacher's assessment. Incidentally, Fabrizio's answer is obviously wrong, in terms of its content.

The fragment is striking evidence that there isn't such tight a correspondence between questioning (in the sense of *eliciting/seeking information*) and the interrogative format. In the classroom participants display a mutual understanding of the principles at work in the speech exchange system for the classroom. Pupils hear teacher's turns as eliciting information, even in absence of any grammatical indication of interrogatives.

But let us observe a second exchange from classroom data, that constitutes another case of non-interrogative questioning, where eliciting information is designed specifically as a request to display that pupils have access to information:

#11 PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 01 | T | <u>ne::</u> lla terza immagine,
<u>i::</u> n the third picture, |
| 02 | | (0.6) |
| 03 | T | Robe:rto, |
| 04 | | (2.6) |
| → 05 | T | <u>c'è</u> una co::sa che- (.) salta proprio agli occhi eh;
<u>there's</u> one thi::ng that- (.) it jumps out at you eh; |
| 06 | | (.) |
| 07 | T | ed e' una cosa umanizzata
and it is a man-made thing |

	08		(0.2)
	09	T	↓che non so:no solo le ca::se, ↓which i:sn't just the hou::ses,
	10		(0.2)
Jan.	11	St	((raises her hand))
→	12	T	>cosa so::no?< >what a::re they?<
?(R)	13	St	°le [stra[de° °the [stree[ts°
X	14	St	[°stra[de° [°stree[ets°
	15	T	[le stra::-de:, [the stree::-ts, ((looking at the whole class))
	16		(.)

The teacher uses an extended declarative format to produce an assessment regarding a picture which is accessible by both parties for observation. A number of features points to the fact that, despite the absence of any grammatically codable questions, the teacher is orienting to questioning as a *request to display knowledge*:

- in line 1 the teacher explicitly refers to the picture they are now observing;
- by treating the picture as an available source of information for the children, the teacher indirectly suggests that there will be some kind of request concerning the picture;
- in line 3 the teacher selects Roberto as next speaker, by nominating him;
- the beginning of the declarative sentence in line 5 - /c'è una co::sa che- / there's one thi::ng that-/- is cut-off to specify further the visibility of something in the picture (salta proprio agli occhi eh;/it jumps out at you eh;), thus its being knowledgable because accessible, and whose further identification she nevertheless chooses to withhold;

- the two subsequent specifications regarding the nature of this object (which however remains not nominated, lines 7 and 9), remind of the type of definition for crosswords, suggesting that the identification of the object not nominated is expected;
- the production of an interrogative-formatted turn in line 12, after several failures to answer (lines 6, 8, 10), confirms that what the teachers wanted was, indeed, that precise piece of information.

In this way, the questioning is projected from line 1 and, as Janin's hand raising seems to suggest, it is understood as such by at least one recipient well before the production of the interrogative-formatted turn in line 12. Besides explicitly doing questioning –that is, here, eliciting from pupils the information requested and directly accessible from the picture- the turn in line 12 functions to block Janin's offer to answer, on one side (she is not the selected pupil) and, on the other, it re-addresses the question to Roberto –who, so far, has failed to answer- in a more formal and overt manner. In this sense, the fragment provides evidence for questioning as an interactional achievement, where grammatical features matter, as any other features of turn construction, but have to be considered in connection with the recipients' understanding of the course of action underway and with the contingencies of talk in progress.

2.2. The co-construction of questioning

The recognition that teachers' questioning – in terms of eliciting information as knowledge display- is a central feature for participants themselves, and the pupils' adherence to the specific convention of the turn-taking systems, and thus aligning with the teacher's orienting to information eliciting, is visible in situations where it is clear that pupils project and anticipate the content of the teacher's questioning, as shown in student P's turn in line 8 below.

In line 1 the teacher introduces a shift in topic from prior talk. In the sequence prior to fragment #12 below, the class has been commenting on a picture representing a village. They have classified elements in the picture according to whether they are natural or artificial. They now contrast the picture of a village they have just analyzed with that of a larger settlement.

#12 PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

- 01 T ↑la città.
↑the town.
- 02 (1.4)
- 03 T allora già l'abbiamo guardata questa immagine no⁴?
well already we looked at this picture did't we?
- 04 (.)
- 05 T allora
so
- 06 (1.0)
- 07 T la città è uguale (.) quasi al pae::se
the town is the same (.) almost as the vi::llage
- P. 08 St pe[rò c'è una cosa-
→ bu[t there is one thing-
- 09 T [so:::lo?-
[exce:::pt?-
- P. 10 St c'era il cartello °c'è disegnato un cartello°
→ there was a road sign °there's the drawing of a road sign°
- 11 T °quale cartello°
°which road sign°
- P. 12 St quelli:: quattro cartelli:, per le strade
tho::se four road si:gns, along the streets
- 13 T s:i sì
ye:s yes
- P. 14 St nel pae::- nel paese no.
→ in the vi::- not in the village.

In line 3 the teacher assesses the pupils' familiarity with the picture, thus overtly referring to the fact that they have now, and they have had before- *direct access* to it. After one of those

⁴ 'no' following a question is used as a question tag.

sequence-prefacing items ('allora / so') in line 5, the teacher draws a similarity between towns and villages (line 7). However, towns and villages differ in some respects, as conveyed by the quantifier 'quasi/almost', that modifies the trajectory of the teacher's assessment. Before the micropause in line 7, an assessment regarding the similarities of the two pictures could be expected.

The child in 8 deploys the observation regarding this difference in a position adjacent to the first transition relevance place in the teacher's prior turn. It is interesting to note that the continuation of the teacher's turn (line 9) and the pupil's prior turn (line 8), which overlap, both begin with a *disjunctive element* ('però, solo / but, except'); thus, aligning in providing the information relevant to assess that there is one precise single difference between the two pictures. It is clear that the pupil (1) has analysed the teacher's ongoing talk, (2) has understood the projected continuation in terms of a request for indicating a difference between the two pictures, (3) has anticipated the content of request and, on the basis of this interpretation, (4) offers a suitable contribution. No question is produced to elicit the precise information, but the pupil contributes an appropriate noticing, based on what he interprets the request would be.

The pupils' ability to anticipate that the teacher's turns will be *doing questioning* and, their ability to project even the *content* of the question, is evident in the fragment below. In example 13 below, the teacher shows how angles can be formed by changing direction. She is actually moving around in front of the children while she is doing an "online commentary"⁵ of her demonstration. The turn in lines 1-3 is shaped as an if-sentence. The potential for this structure to provide for cooperative completion by recipients has been illustrated in the work of Lerner (1991, 1996). Notably here, the child's answer in line 5 precedes the formulation of the typical beginning of the second component of an if-formatted

⁵ 'Online commentary' has been described by Heritage and Stivers (1998), as a type of physician communication "that describes what the physician is seeing, feeling or hearing during physical examination of the patient." (p. 1501)

utterance ('allora' / 'then'), which the teacher produces only in line 7, in overlap with the children's incoming.

#13 It was already an angle PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T invece se io cambio [↑]bru:scamente la direzione <tutt' in una
while if I change [↑]su:ddenly the direction <all at
- 02 volta >[°]↓e dico< [↑]a::lt! fermati lì, /((overtly acting out))
 once >[°]↓and i say< [↑]a::lt! stop you there,
- 03 (0.8)
- 04 T girati subito? (0.2) da quella pa::rte,
turn immediately? (0.2) on that si::de,
- 05 St era [già[:: (un angolo)
 it w[as [alre::ady (an angle)
- 06 St [sì!
 [yes!
- 07 T [allo::ra? ecco.
 [the::n? there.
- 08 St sì. è già un angolo.
 yes. it is already an angle.
- 09 T ec[co. <quando io giro,
 th[ere.<when I turn,
- 10 St [era già un angolo°
 [it was already an angle°
- 11 St °sì è [(già un angolo°)
 °yes it[is (already an angle°)
- 12 T [è ve:ro
 [alri:ght

The turn in line 5 is deployed when the if-clause of the teacher turn (which begins in line 1) has reached its ending. The child's incoming in line 5 is very clearly constructed as a collaborative completion (Lerner, 1991) of a multi-compound turn. The verb in the Past Tense form is the typical tense used in spoken Italian for the second component of an if-utterance. However, lines 6 and 8 are produced as answers to a projected question. While the second 'yes' (line 8) could be heard as an acknowledgement token to line 5, the first 'yes' (line 6) is too prematurely deployed to perform an acknowledgement of turn in line 5. The overlap onset is at the very beginning of prior turn, which is too early for the pupil in 6 to be able to project

the meaning of the turn on line 5. The animated tone, also, supports the suggestion that line 6 is an independently produced answer to a projected question: 'si formerebbero degli angoli? / would there be angles?'

If we look back at the sequence that comes *before* the fragment in #13, we realize that the student's turn in line 5 is designed to perform an answer which arises from the understanding of prior sequence. So, let us consider what comes before in the talk, as illustrated in #13b below. The sequence in the box corresponds to #13 above.

As the initial disjunctive marker in line 1 suggests ('invece / while'), fragment #16 above is a counter-example, a second step in the teacher's demonstration focusing on the fact that angles get formed by sudden changes of direction. Here is how the sequence has developed:

#13b It was already an angle PM:LT:5:geometry

1→	01	T	se ↑i:o girassi in questo mo::do, if ↑I: turned in this wa::y,	first comp. if-clause
	02		(.)	
	03	St	maeh	
	04	T	eh?	
	05		(0.4)	
	06	T	↑ <u>no::n</u> cambiando <u>bruscamente</u> >la direzione< < <u>no:n</u> cambiando ↑ <u>no::t</u> changing <u>suddenly</u> >the direction< < <u>no:t</u> changing	
	07		<u>tutt'</u> in una volta la direzione < <u>ma</u> cambiandola un po'- (0.8) <u>all</u> at once the direction <but changing little- (0.8)	
	08		alla vo::lta, <girandoti così pian pia:no; by:: little, <by turning around this way ve:ry slowly;	
	09		(0.2)	
	10	T	formerei una linea [<u>spezza::</u> ta. would I form a <u>cro</u> [o::ked l]ine.	second comp. yes/no quest.
	11	St	[°no°	
	12	Sts	[no::	
	13	St	[una linea [cu::r[va! [a wa::vi[ng:: lin[e!	

- 14 St [no!
- 15 T [↑u::na linea
[↑a:: wa::ving
- 16 cu::[rva.
lin[e.
- 17 St ['rva:
['vi:ng
- 2→ 18 T in quel caso [li? si formerebbero degli [a::ngoli; **second comp.**
in that case?[would there a::ngles be formed; **yes/no quest.**
- 19 St [°perché°
[°because°
- 20 St [no.
- 21 Sts no:.
- 22 T no.
- 23 (0.4)

- | | | | |
|----|----|----|--|
| 3→ | 24 | T | <u>invece</u> se io <u>cambio</u> ↑bru:scamente la direzione first comp.
<u>while</u> if I <u>change</u> ↑su:ddenly the direction if-clause |
| | 25 | | <tutt'in una volta >°↓e dico°< ↑a::lt! fermati lì,
<all at once >°↓and i say°< ↑a::lt! stop you there,
(overtly acting out) |
| | 26 | | (0.8) |
| | 27 | T | <u>girati</u> subito? (0.2) da quella pa::rte,
<u>turn</u> immediately? (0.2)on that si::de, |
| | 28 | St | era [già[: (un angolo)
it w[as [alre::ady (an angle) |
| | 29 | St | [sì!
[yes! |
| | 30 | T | [allo::ra? ecco.
[the::n? there. |
| | 31 | St | sì. è già un <u>angolo</u> .
yes. it is already an <u>angle</u> . |

The teacher constructs a series of three Q-A pairs (arrowed lines). The questions have all the same if-format: [first component: *if-clause*] + [second component: *yes/no question*], but reversed polarity: the first two project a *no-answer*, while the third projects a *yes-answer*. The shift from *no* to *yes* is provided by *changing the content* of the if-component, and by

highlighting the contrast with the *disjunctive conjunction* in turn initial position (line 24). By line 28, at the third questioning turn, children have recognized the pattern, have understood also that this time the second component will be a ‘yes/no’ question, though with reversed polarity, and consequently provide the answer, *before* the second question is actually delivered.

The tacit convention regarding the appropriate conduct in classroom settings, the participants’ understanding of the action underway, and their expectations on the other party’s behaviour, enable pupils to recognize exactly *when* and *where* to deploy missing pieces of information, without the teacher having even to elicit that information by formulating a question directly.

Cases of sequences where pupils contribute information to complete or continue the teacher’s talk, although not initiated by any interrogative-formatted turns, are rather frequent. For example, in fragment 14 below, the teacher’s turn in line 1 is again formatted as a *declarative*. She provides a recap of the discussion so far, as hinted by the connective marker / \uparrow alo::ra/ \uparrow no::w/ in turn initial position. The fragment occurs at the end of a conversation on the usefulness of roads.

#14 PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

01	T	\uparrow alo::ra la strada serve? <u>per</u> ? coll:-e::-ga[::re. \uparrow no::w streets are? <u>to</u> ? co::-[nne::ct.	
02	Sts		[°ga::re.° [°nne::ct.°
03	T	eh? ⁶ \uparrow coll::ega::re. eh? \uparrow co::nnect.	
04		(.)	
→ 05	T	\uparrow COLLEga:re, (.) \downarrow i pae::si? \uparrow CO:nnect, (.) \downarrow vi::llages?	
06	St	le città= towns=	

⁶ ‘eh’ is very often used as a tag question, reinforcing the previous TCU.

- 07 T =COLLEGARE le, cit::-
=CONNECT the, to:-
- 08 (.) / ((she lowers her head, gazing at the pupils while she is holding the articulation of the mid-word consonant sound /t/ in "città" / "towns"))
- 09 T ['à:::?
['w:::ns?
- 10 Sts ['à:::?
['w:::ns?
- 11 T COLLEGARE, ↓all'areo-
CONNECT, ↓to the air-
- 12 (0.2)
- 13 Sts ↓po[::rto,
↓po[::rt,
- 14 T [↓po::rto, <COLLEga::RE ↓all'ospe-
[po::rt, <CONNE::ct to ↓the hospi-
- 15 Sts ↓'da::le,
↓ 'ta::l,
- 16 St <alla scuola.
<to the school.
- 17 (.)
- 18 ↑COLLEGA::RE ↓alla scuola:
↑CONNE::CT ↓to the school:
- 19 (0.6)

In lines 1-5, the teacher constructs her summary assessment on the topic. She uses a number of emphatic features: sound stretching, raising intonation, stressed delivery. As illustrated in more detail in chapter 4, the combination of these features in the teacher's turn delivery are components of a precise device which is employed to invite the children to complete the teacher's turn.

In particular here, in line 1, the raising intonation⁷, matched with the emphatic production of the last item (per? / to?) before the key-word –“collegare / to connect”- creates an environment which invites recipients to provide the projected completion, which indeed pupils do in line 2. This is finally accomplished within the delivery of the word which is requested. The production of repeated sound-stretching in the delivery of the verb “collegare / to connect” in line 1 delays the full production of the word. This practice, however, produces a sort of syllable-by-syllable spelling, thus enacting the procedure of analyzing the word into its components. The stretching of each syllable provides the slot for a jointed production of the word by supplying the remaining syllables, as pupils do in line 2 with the first in-unison incoming of the sequence⁸. Through the repetition in line 3, together with the tag element (‘eh?’), the teacher re-states the assessment and acknowledges the pupils’ incoming.

After a micro pause the teacher designs her next turn (line 5) as projecting a list construction concerning all the elements that can be connected by roads. The structure of a list is conveyed through the packaging of the TCU; namely, the turn is constructed as an increment of the prior. The first item is the repetition of the word ‘to connect’, which is followed by a micro pause. In this way, the turn is constructed as composed of two parts: the key-word ‘to connect’ first, followed by an indication of what is to be connected (‘villages’).

⁷ It has to be recalled that the Italian construction of yes/no interrogatives (‘*polar / total* questions’ in Simone, 1990: 243) is mainly based on features of intonation. Other syntactic indexes -which constitute the main resources to construct interrogative sentences in other languages- such as the inversion of the Subject-Object order in the sentence or some specialized interrogative elements –are rather unfrequent (Serianni, 1989: 517-521). Language analysts describe the yes/no interrogative type and the alternative interrogatives in Italian (‘or’ questions) as distinguishable from their correspondent declarative sentences mainly for their intonational contour. The pragmatic features of these interrogative prosody depend on what element of the sentence is interested by a combination of intonation, stress, and pitch variation (Renzi, 1995: 94-95). With regards to the variation of the words order in the sentence, as a way of distinguishing the interrogative sentence from the declarative ones, it has to be recalled that the Italian language derives from Latin a certain mobility in the Subject –Verb order either in the declarative and in the interrogative type. (Simone, 1993: 76-77). Thereby, the inversion of these elements in the sentence cannot be used as an indication for the latter. In interrogatives, the inversion of the Subject-Object order is extremely rare and mainly used to indicate formality - as in the wedding ceremony: “Vuoi tu prendere come legittimo sposo Enzo?” (Simone, 1990: 244).

⁸ For a more detailed treatment of this practice, see chapter 4 on “The eliciting turn-completion device”.

Both, the rising intonation and the stretching of the vowel-sound of the word for 'villages', convey that another element is expected.

In this way, the teacher uses a second practice to perform an information eliciting by designing a statement as incomplete. While the former practice involved a delayed production of the word by means of multiple instances of sound-stretching, here the features of turn design and the prosodic contour convey that a list is underway; thus projecting that other items of the list are expected. This provides recipients with a recognizable and reproducible pattern for constructing their incomings. And, indeed, in line 6, the student proposes the next element that can constitute the next item of a list of things that can be connected through roads: 'towns', which the teacher incorporates in her following turn (line 7). It is interesting that, in repeating the word 'towns' to acknowledge the child's suggestion, the teacher leaves out the last vowel sound of the word for 'towns' / *citt:--* / so as, once again, to offer an opportunity for the children to join in to complete her turn, as in a rewinding loop-procedure. In lines 11-14 and 14-18 the same device is repeated. The fragment provides the example of a sequence where the child's contribution in line 6 shows his understanding of the teacher's assessment as a favourable environment for him to provide a piece of knowledge for the benefit of the progression of talk. In this sequence two different places work as favourable contexts for the children's incomings: the conclusive statement with the stretching of the final item (line 1) and the clausal increment which initiates a list (line 5).

In other words, although none of the teacher's turns prior to the children's incomings are constructed as interrogatives, nevertheless the children clearly understand them as opportunities for speaker-change and respond to them as '*calling for an answer*' (Heritage and Roth, 1995: 33). Notably, in both cases these children's turns are followed by the teacher's repetition (lines 3 and 7), which work as a positive acknowledgment of the answer. In this way the teacher displays that she is also orienting to the prior turns as being an *answer*.

So, although no questions -at least not in the canonical sense- are produced by the teacher, children seem to recognize that a place for their contribution is offered by the teacher. In both cases, *grammatical resources other than those which are canonically coded as interrogatives are exploited / understood by both parties* in order to provide/gain a 'conditional entry' into the turn of his-her/another speaker (Lerner, 1996). Using different turn construction designs the teacher builds *unfinished* utterances, conveying that some missing information is needed. In line 1 the teacher uses phonological/morphological means such as the stretching of the sounds that divides the word into its syllable components, in order to create a recognizable space for children to entry. In line 5 the contrast between the two elements of the turn is constructed through a combination of intonation and stress (Lerner, 1991: 450).

Examples such as those described above shed light on the institutional relevancies of features of turn construction and turn sequential deployment, as creating a favourable environment for *turn transition*. Grammatical resources are indeed exploited to instruct recipients to recognize *when* they are expected to come in, and *what type of action* is required; namely, here, providing the missing information to complete unfinished utterances. In this way, the institutional relevancies of questioning in the classroom emerge as being primarily *instructing practices*.

This is particularly evident if the analysis addresses issues regarding *practices of turn transition, features of turn construction* and *sequential organization*, rather than focusing on single sentence formats (syntactic interrogatives) or on categories of acts (questions). From the analysis of sequence construction it emerges that question/answer sequences are a co-constructed achievement. Participants follow tacit rules which enable them to interpret forms of conduct as appropriate to the teaching/learning environment.

Indeed, none of these relevancies emerge in the discourse-analysis-driven approach of the Birmingham project. And, indeed, the case of this co-constructed sequence would not possibly fit any of the categories of initiating moves and exchange types which are proposed by the IRE model. If we attempt an interpretation of examples like the two reported above, using either the syntactic description of interrogatives or the Birmingham descriptive apparatus, we would have to conclude that (1) *grammatical categories* won't accommodate those instances among questioning practices and (2) the *functional categories* of the Birmingham model are 'fatally general and imprecise' (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 15); based on a formalistic and abstract theory of action, more concerned with rules, criteria or definitions for classes of actions than with the situated practices enacted by participants in interaction.

For the purpose of understanding what courses of actions are achieved by the teachers through this particular way of questioning children, it is clear that the analysis of single utterances (interrogative sentences) or of abstract categories of actions (questions) are misleading points of departure (Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 1984; Drew and Heritage, 1992; Vinkhuyzen, Szymanski et al., forth). A description of questioning in classroom should account for how grammatical resources are exploited to construct questioning turns and, consequently, how they are understood by recipients as *doing questioning*. The syntax of interrogative sentences isn't the only resource which teachers employ or children recognize in order to construct their conduct as teachers and pupils.

The analysis of the teacher's questioning turns will take the following steps:

1. The different formats of questioning turns. Grammatical resources, lexical choice, syntactic variations from the canonical interrogatives, other resources of turn construction and speech delivery are exploited in the design of questions. (Section 3)

2. The sequential consequences of the different formats. Through the production of different types of questions, teachers display their assumptions on the expected responses with reference to the actions that should be accomplished and the accessibility of the information which is requested. (Section 4)
3. Features of preference organization and the sequential deployments of questioning units are used to optimize the chances of 'correct' answers (Chapter 3: sections 2 to 5).
4. The delivery structure of questions in a series (Chapter 3, section 6)

3. The relationship between questioning and syntax

The couple of examples of Q-A sequences from classroom interaction which we have examined in the previous section show how teachers and pupils deploy and understand grammatical features as embedded in the ongoing construction of turns. It won't be surprising, therefore, to find that, as in the case of the news interview, in classroom instruction sequences the interrogative patterns will not provide a suitable coverage for all the instances of teacher/pupils speaker transition. For the purposes of evaluating the role of questioning in instructional sequences, following the lines of an interactional approach to grammar, and inspired by the work of Heritage and Roth (1995), as a first step in the research, I have focused on places where turn-transition between teacher and pupils occurs. The list below illustrates the different formats used by teachers and recognizably understood by children as doing questioning in classroom.

3.1. Interrogative syntactic formats

The three categories described below include examples which can be reasonably described as the 'grammatical-canonical' interrogative types.

i) Yes/no questions⁹

In Italian these are normally realized through *patterns of intonation and stress*, while the syntactic structure of the utterance remains unchanged from the corresponding declarative form. The yes/no questions in the fragments below all deploy features of emphasis in the production of the key questioning item. These are sound stretching, emphasis, different degrees of raising intonation. In the examples below these features are deployed in particular as follows: #15, line 3: 'human beings'; in example #16, line 1: 'all the slots', and in line 5: 'full'; in example #17, line 2: 'full'. In this way, the intonation of the whole turn assumes an up-and-down waving contour with different patterns of rising and falling intonation.

#15 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography/pp.4-5

01	T	Alo:ra SO:
02		(0.2)
→ 03	T	siete degli esseri uma:ni? (YOU) are (PART.ART.) being human are you human <u>bei:ngs</u> ?
04	Sts	s::l::: ye:::s:::

16 Addition PM:LT:3:mathematics

1→ 01	T	↑nella tabella dell'addizione tu:tte le caselle:, (0.4) le ↑in the table of addition <u>a:ll</u> the slo:ts, (0.4) them ¹⁰ ↑in the table of addition <u>a:ll</u> the slo:ts, (0.4) can we
02		possiamo riempi::re? can (WE) fi::ll?

⁹ Some linguists (Renzi, et al.1995: 70-71) put *yes/no questions* in a larger category including *alternative questions*, since it is argued that also the former implies an alternative response (the alternative answer: *yes* or *no*). Others define *yes/no questions* 'total' or 'polar' questions (Serianni, 1989: 517; Simone, 1990: 243). The complexity of the task of coding questions, and the inability to provide a reasonable, exhaustive and coherent account of questions from a linguistic perspective, is reflected in the proliferation of a number of categories designed to include pragmatic features. So, for instance, Serianni (1989: 518-519), proposes a categorization of questions based on five types: (1) *real interrogatives*, which is the 'fundamental type and are used to ask about something we are interested to know' (p.518); (2) *rethorical, explicative*, which the speaker asks of himself, are used in monologues to keep the attention of the recipients; (3) *narrative*, which are used for the same purpose in story telling; (4) *deviated*, which include all the interrogative which are used to achieve other purposes besides asking for information, such as performing a command; (5) *questions of politness*, such as 'how do you do'.

¹⁰ The pronoun fem. plur. 'le'/'them' is preserved in the second line of the translation to illustrate the extreme mobility of the elements of the sentence, which characterizes the Italian language.

- fi::ll them?
- 03 (1.0)
- 04 St °sì::..°
°ye::s.°
- 2→ 05 T [eh?=risu[ltano pie:ne; [tutte le ca[selle
[eh?=(THEY)resu[lt full [all the slo[ts
[eh?=do the [slots result [all [fu:ll];
- 06 St [sì
[yes
- 07 St [sì riempiono
[they are full
- 08 St [°sì°
[°yes°
- 09 St [°tutte°
[°all°
- 10 St (sì)
(yes)

17 Subtraction PM:LT:3:mathematics

- 01 T e:::: con la 'na- tabella della sottrazio:ne? che cosa
and with the 'na table of sutraction what
a::::nd with the 'na- table of the subtra:ction? what
- 02 abbia::mo. abbiamo tutte le caselle pie:ne..
(WE) have (WE) have all the slots full
do we ha::ve. do we have all the slots fu:ll.
- 03 St n[o.
- 04 Sts [no::[:
- 05 Sts [no.
- 06 T n:o, (.) è vero;
n:o, (.) ((formulaic tag question))

As illustrated in examples 18 and 19 below, often yes/no answers are designed so as to include some specialized *interrogative phrases* addressing recipients directly. One of the most frequently used is “*secondo voi*” / “*according to you*“, which serves the function of indicating that what follows is produced in terms of eliciting an answer. It would seem that this element adds to the interrogative character of the utterance which otherwise would bear only on its intonation contour:

#18 Two groups PM:LT:2:natural sciences

→ 01 T ↑seco:ndo voi, possiamo? dividere in due gruppi tu[titi =
 ↑in you:r¹¹ view, can we? divide in two groups al[l =

02 St [si:.

03 T =questi eleme[n]ti;
 =these elemen[ts]

04 St [SI' ::::

05 Sts si:::

In example 19 below the teacher is asking one child to provide the infinitive form of a given verb construction. In this case, the verb under consideration is 'they were laid'. The pupil is required to provide the infinitive 'to lay'.

The syntactic construction of the question presents a *marked order*. The definition of a marked order of the elements in the sentence is based on a variation from the 'canonical' order: *subject + verb + object*. Here the grammatical object of the sentence –which is also the *questioning* element: 'they were laid' - is produced in line 1 immediately after the addressing clause ('dimmi Riccardo' / 'tell me Riccardo'), and before the subject (you) and verb in the sentence ('trovi / you find'), in line 5.

#19 Verbs PM:PG:19:Italian grammar

→ 01 T dimmi Riccardo = e::rano posati.
 tell me Riccardo= (THEY) we::re laid.

02 (0.2)

Ric. 03 St eh

04 (.)

→ 05 T secondo te. lo tro::vi sul vocabola:rio;
 according to you. it fi::nd on the di:ctionary;
 in your opinion. do you fi::nd it on the di:ctionary;

06 (1.0)

07 T n[o.

Ric. 08 St [no

¹¹ The teacher uses 'your' to address the whole group of pupils.

This produces the topicalization of the question-able through a number of features:

- (1) the left-dislocation of the grammatical object and questionable (line 1);
- (2) its emphatic delivery (sound stretching and emphasis);
- (3) the production of pauses after the questionable (line 2), in a non-transition place, which frames the questionable;
- (4) the insertion of elements -in this case the specialized questioning phrase 'secondo te / in your opinion' (line 5) - which separate the object of the questioning from the other sentence components.

The same marked construction is also visible in fragment 19 above (lines 1-2), where the left dislocation of the object ('tutte le caselle' / 'all the slots') requires the deployment of the pronoun 'le' / 'them') before the verb ('possiamo riempire' / 'can we fill')¹²

Yes/no questions, therefore, exploit (1) a range of *intonation patterns* to emphasise the object of the questioning, and (2) some *specialized questioning phrases* to address the recipients. As for the syntactic organization, (3) *variations from the 'normal' order* of the sentence components are used to frame the question-able element. However, it is worth recalling that in the Italian language these practices of topicalization are not exclusive of the interrogative format.

ii) Alternative questions ('or' questions)

¹² It is worth recalling that left-dislocation of the grammatical object in the sentence isn't a distinctive feature of interrogatives. The Italian language is characterized by a very high mobility of the sentence word order. This is pragmatically determined and it applies to declarative sentences as to any other sentence type. For a treatment of left-dislocation and marked/non-marked order in Italian, see Paola Benincà, Giampaolo Salvi, and Lorenza Frison, 'L'ordine degli elementi della frase e le costruzioni marcate', in Renzi et al., 1988: pp.115-226).

This interrogative type consists in the construction of alternative propositions, usually two. In example #20 (line 1) also the use of the future tense gives an interrogative flavour to the utterance

#20 Obtuse angles PM:LT:7:geometry

- 01 T o:ttu::so; <e l'angolo ottuso? allora sarà più
o:btu::se; <and the obtuse angle? therefore (IT) will be more
o:btu::se; <and the obtuse angle? therefore will it be
- 02 gra:nde o più piccolo dell'a:ngolo [retto
bi:g or more small than the a:ngle [right
bi:gger or smaller than the right [a:ngle
- 03 St [gr[ande
[bi[g
- 04 STs [gra:nde
[bi:g
- 05 T ↑sarà più gra::nde::
↑it will be more bi::g
↑it will be bi::gge::r
- 06 (0.4)
- 07 T d'acco::rdo; (.) va bene.
alri::ght; (.) okay.

#21 Roads PM:FZ:12b.geography

- 01 T è più comodo costruire lontano dai fiumi? o vicino
it's more convenient to build far from rivers? or close
- 02 ai fiu[mi
to riv[ers
- 03 Sts [vi[ci::no:
[cl[o::se to::
- 04 Sts [vici::no:::
[clo::se to::
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 T oh:::

iii) Open questions (partial or wh-questions)

The 'open question' interrogative type is characterized by the *wh-word*. This element can be an interrogative pronoun, an adjective or an adverb: '*chi, che cosa, cosa, che, come, dove,*

perché, quale, quando, quanto, or it can be a phrase which includes these elements (Renzi et al. 1995: 70; 75). According to linguistic descriptions, in the 'canonical' format, the wh-word occupies the first position (Renzi et al., 1995:97-99), as shown in the examples produced below:

#22 The sunrise PM:FZ:22a:geography

- 01 T **da che parte** si LE::va il sole <[SVEGLIA:::,
where from does the sun RI::se <[WAKE U:::P,
- 02 Sts [a:: est
[fro::m east
- 03 Sts a e::[st
from ea[::st
- 04 Sts [a: e::[st
[fro:m ea[::st
- 05 T [a e::st:::?. (.) e:[::-
[from ea::st:::?. (.) a:[:nd-

#23 Medicinal substances PM:FZ:12b:geography

- 01 T [perché- perché- perché dura di più la vita adesso
[why- why- why does life last longer now
- ((T.'s gaze goes from the central position to her right hand side little by little each time she says 'perché'))
- 02 St [()
- 03 Ma °i-° ((stretching her arm))
((this is the initial vowel sound of 'io', meaning 'me'))
- 04 Ja ci son- ((raising her hand))
there ar-
- 05 (0.6)/((T.'s gaze monitors the other half of the class, on her left hand side, looking at each child who raises his hand and passes over))
- 06 Fa io lo so!
I know it!

In extract 24, below, we observe a case where the wh-word is prefaced by [the addressing term (Valentina)] + [a specialized questioning phrase ('secondo te' / 'according to you')]. This causes a right-dislocation of the wh-word from its unmarked initial position in the utterance:

#24 Changing direction PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T Valentina seco:ndo te **quante volte** ha:::- hm'
Valentina in yo:ur opinion **how many times** di::d:-hm'
- 02 cambiato direzio::n[e Fili[ppo
Filippo change dire[:ctio[n
- 03 St [hhh°io!°
[hhh°me!°
- 04 St [io!
[me!
- 04 St io!
me!

A number of open questions in the data present variations from the format described here as the 'canonical' type. For example, in fragments 25 and 26 below, with the left-dislocation of the question-able item ('il braccio' / 'the arm' in 25 and 'il contorno' / the outline' in 26) the wh-element shifts to places other than the sentence initial position

#25 Globes PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T ↑il braccio; (0.2) stavolta **dov'è** gira::to (.)
↑the arm; (0.2) this time **where** does it po::int to (.)
- 02 verso? [che co::sa
to:? [wha::t
- 03 St [e: i: mappamondo
[e: the(PLUR.) globe (SING.)

The same phenomenon is visible in the extract below:

#26 The desk PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T ↑il conto::rno; (.) è vero <della cattedra; **che cos'è**
the ↑outli::ne; (.) alright <of the teacher desk; **what is it**
- 02 (0.4)

3.2. Non-interrogative formats

But teacher/pupil turn transition is accomplished also with different questioning formats. As argued by Heritage and Roth (1995) with regard to coding questioning using grammatical resources,

“ The conception of grammar used to code IR turns at talk must be able to accommodate the fact that many IR turns (1) are subsentential in their construction and (2) accomplish the pragmatic force of questioning without taking interrogative form (...)” (Heritage and Roth, 1995: 9)

From the inspection of turn-transition places in instructional sequences, I have identified 7 further classes of questioning formats which are not codable exclusively through the above syntactic criteria.

These have been separated in 2 different sets. The first includes cases of constructions which do not have a format that can be coded on a ‘canonical’ syntactic basis. The second set includes instances where the questioning is produced through the production of patterns recognizable as syntactic, but *other than interrogatives*: declaratives, if-formatted sentences, directives, and nominating.

3.2.1. *Non-syntactic constructions*

iv) Rear-loaded wh-questions

This type of turn construction exploits one main characteristic of the syntax of the Italian language: the considerable mobility of the word order in the sentence. We have seen that grammatical descriptions of open questions generally locate the wh-word in sentence initial position. However, as illustrated in the examples above (examples #25 and #26), the wh-component has great mobility. By virtue of this, in open questions the wh-word moves out of its ‘canonical’ position and can be variably dislocated along the utterance.

In a number of instances, the wh-element is dislocated in turn final position. In this way, the question component is *contiguous* to the projected answer. Answering these questions involves substituting the wh-element with the sentence component which is missing

#27 Angle (3) PM:LT:5:angles/right angles

01 T a ↑no:i interessa la parte inte::rna;
↑we: are interested in the inte::rnal part;

02 (0.2)

03 T cioè la pa:rte di a::ngolo? che fa pa::rte? di che co::sa:
that is the pa:rt of an a::ngle? which is pa::rt? of wha::t.

04 (1.4)/((she turns to her desk and with gestures indicates its surface))

#28 So far PM:LL:1a:history(212)

01 T Gabriele,

02 (.)

Gab. 03 St eh

04 (.)

05 T fi:no::ra?
so: fa::r?

06 (1.4)

07 T ↓ormai abbiamo la nausea? (.) di quest'argomento? (.) vero?
↓by now we feel sick? (.) about this subject? (.) right?

08 abbiamo parlato solta:nto, di che ↓co:sa.
we have talked o:nly, about ↓wha:t.

09 (0.4)

10 T in storia.
in history.

In this way, the utterance acquires its interrogative format only at the precise moment when the wh-word is produced in turn final position: the teacher avoids projecting the questioning from the very beginning of the utterance, and the turn can be turned into doing questioning virtually at any point of its trajectory.

#29 Right angles PM:LT:5:geometry/angles

01 T poi Caterina, (0.2) i tuoi compagni ieri sai son stati
then Caterina, (0.2) your friends yesterday you know they've

02 molto bravi perché.(0.4)hanno trovato innanzitutto, (0.6)così
been very good since.(0.4)they've found first of all, (0.6)

03 nell'ambiente che ci circonda qui nell'aula (0.4) tanti
in the place here around us in the room (0.4) many

04 angoli.
angles.

05 (0.6)

06 T è vero tanti angoli
right many angles

- 07 (0.8)
- 08 T e- devo dire una cosa che (0.2) l'angolo che va per la
and- I must say one thing that (0.2) the angle that is most
- 09 maggio::re diciamo quello che è più diffuso
po:pular let'say the one which is more diffused in the
- 10 nell'ambiente è proprio [che co:sa.
in the surrounding is exactly [wha:t.
- 11 St [uh
- 12 St [uh
- 13 St [l'angolo retto
[the right angle

There are two outcomes of this delayed questioning, both are associated with structural features of the interaction:

- (1) The teacher has a number of recipients who should pay attention to what she says.

Through this device, recipients need to follow the progression of the utterance for the time the teacher considers it is useful, in order not to miss the moment when the questioning is actually performed;

- (2) The kind of information which is requested by the teacher isn't just any possible acceptable answer; rather it is exactly that piece of information that fits that slot. The turn-space preceding the questioning can be used to provide clues which can help the students to find the correct answer.

For example, in extract #27 the teacher tries to convey that she is referring to the angles which are internal, those which belong to the surface of a rectangle, rather than the external ones. In example #28 the teacher specifies the answer as concerning the only topic they have treated for quite a while. In other words, the teacher uses the turn space prior to the interrogative token to provide clues which might indicate which is the 'correct' answer. This constitutes a further motivation for the students to listen to the teacher.

v) The production of ‘truncated utterances’ to elicit turn completion (the ETC device)¹³

Intonation and prosody are resources to convey meaning in language and undertake interactional work, as indicated in a range of studies in the field of conversational phonetics (Gumperz, 1982; Kelly and Local, 1989; Local, 1986; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 1996).

With regard to grammatical meanings, the Italian language uses intonation features to convey pragmatically ‘yes-no’ interrogative types. A second clear example where prosodic resources are used to accomplish questioning is represented by the production of incomplete utterances. It is precisely a defined cluster of prosodic features, such as stress, rising intonation, emphasis, cut-offs, and sound stretching, which makes the turn distinctively hearable as a ‘truncated utterance’, and which seems to work for pupils as a high predictor of turn-transition. This sense of incompleteness is conveyed also by the fact that teachers deploy these prosodic features in non transition-relevance position, such as mid-phrase or mid-word position.

This questioning construction constitutes perhaps the larger category of turn-transition devices in instruction sequences. In these circumstances the suspension of the turn before any possible transition relevance places coincides with an intonational climax, followed by a perceivably extended pause. The outcome of such practice is the creation of a recognizable relevant absence, an empty slot, which recipients feel compelled to complete. We have already observed instances of this practice in extract #14.

The next fragment is from a ‘show and tell’ session on angles. At the moment the fragment begins the teacher is showing how, by changing direction with her arm stretched in front of her, she virtually draws an angle in the air. In particular, here, she is repeating what a pupil has done immediately before. The teacher refers to this student when she formulates the first yes/no question in lines 1 and 2.

¹³ This practice is treated in details in Chapter 4: ‘the Eliciting Turn Completion device’.

#30 To go ahead PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T è andato ava::nti dopo;
did he go ahead then;
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 T °da qua° ↓no.
°from here° ↓no.
- 04 (.)
- 05 cos'ha fatto quand'è arrivato qua.<si è-?
what did he do when he arrived here. <he has-?
((raises hand))
- 06 St °g'ra°
°tur'
- 07 St gira[to ((whispering))/((T. nods and actually turns))
tu[rned
- 08 T [allo'.< ↑questo è il primo:?-
[so. < ↑this is the fi:rst?-
- 09 (0.8)
- 10 T gi::ro::
tu::rn::

In line 5 the teacher reformulates the question which students failed to answer in line 2.

The question is immediately followed by a rush-through production of the beginning of the answer /<si è-? /<he has-?/. Notably, she stops immediately before the production of the first two beats of the last TCU (the Past Participle of the verb 'to turn'), leaving it uncompleted. In lines 6 and 7 children provide the completion, which the teacher acknowledges by nodding and moving on in her demonstration. The same device is deployed later in line 8, where she withholds the continuation of a declarative utterance. This time, however, she doesn't succeed in obtaining a response.

Fragment #31 below provides another similar instance. The delivery of a declarative-formatted utterance is stopped in a non transition relevance place, before the production of the last item, which is then provided by the pupil in line 3.

#31 Verbs PM :PG :19 :Italian grammar

→ 01 T troverò 'n verbo,-
(I) will find a verb,-

02 (.)

03 St posare
to lay

04 St [e-

05 T [posa::re ((the teacher gets closer to the bb. to write))
[to la::y

What is noticeable here is the fact that this device can be applied to any possible sentence component. For example, in fragment #34, the teacher suspends her turn after the first syllable of the last item of a declarative sentence. This device projects a syllable-by-syllable spelling or the word 'lavoro / work' which, indeed, the students complete in lines 3 and 4.

#34 Work PM:FZ:12:geography

→ 01 T [LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la,-
[the people has need of wor-
[↑PEOPLE NEED wor,-

02 (.)

03 St °'vo[ro°
°'ki[g°

04 Sts ['vo::r[o:
['ki::n[g

05 T ['voro

In the fragment below the teacher exploits the compound structure of the word 'preistoria / prehistory', proposing to analyse the item as composed of its two parts: [prefix] + [name]:

#33 Prehistory PM:LL:1:history

→ 01 T quindi il periodo della pre-i-,
therefore the period of pre-hi-,

02 Sts sto[::ria
hi:[:story

03 T [della preisto^oria.= [paleolitico e neolitico
[of the prehist^ory.= [palaeolithic and neolithic

In line 2 the pupils provide the appropriate completion. But let's consider again fragment 14.

The teacher repeatedly uses this device. The completion from pupils is invited at each arrowed turn.

#14 PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

01 T ↑alo::ra la strada serve? per? coll:-e::-ga[:re. **last syllable**
↑no::w streets are? to? co::-[nne::ct.

02 Sts [°ga::re.°
[°nne::ct.°

03 T eh?¹⁴ ↑coll::ega::re.
eh? ↑co::nnect.

04 (.)

→ 05 T ↑COLLEga:re, (.) ↓i pae::si?
↑CO:nnect, (.) ↓vi::llages?

06 St le città=
towns=

→ 07 T =COLLEGARE le, cit::-
=CONNECT the, to:- **last sound**

08 (.) / ((she lowers her head, gazing at the pupils while she is holding the articulation of the mid-word consonant sound /t/ in "città" / "towns"))

09 T ['à:::?
['w:::ns?

10 Sts ['à:::?
['w:::ns?

→ 11 T COLLEGARE, ↓all'areo- **last word comp.**
CONNECT, ↓to the air-

12 (0.2)

13 Sts ↓po[:rto,
↓po[:rt,

→ 14 T [↓po::rto, <COLLEga::RE ↓all'ospe- **last 2 syllables**

¹⁴ 'eh' is very often used as a tag question, reinforcing the previous TCU.

[po::rt, <CONNe::ct to ↓the hospi-

- 15 Sts ↓'da::le,
↓ 'ta::l,
- 16 St <alla scuola.
<to the school.
- 17 (.)
- 18 ↑COLLEGA::RE ↓alla scuola:
↑CONNE::CT ↓to the school:
- 19 (0.6)

Each time, by withholding the progression of the last item in different positions, the teacher proposes the analysis of the word as based on different grammatical criteria.

This practice works through the teacher proposing and children recognizing each item as analyzable in its components, so that the last component can be projected and provided by recipients to complete the item (Lerner, 1991). It is evident, therefore, that the mechanism whereby this practice works renders it applicable virtually to any turn components or sub/components. This practice can work on the phonological level (syllables or single sounds), morphological or lexical (as in the case of compound words), and syntactical (as for the components of if-utterances). In this way, questioning can be deployed at any point in the utterance in progress.

The device works as a tool for maximizing the *potentiality for questioning*. This has some institutional relevance. The fact that the questioning potential of teachers' turns can be uniformly spread in talk might be related (1) to the presence of a large number of competitors for speakership in the audience -thus with the issue of granting to as many students as possible an opportunity to answer-, and (2) to its being an interactional tool for keeping a large audience attentive to what the teacher is saying, given the fact that pupils can be requested to provide completion virtually at any point of the teacher's ongoing turn.

vi) Subsentential units (appendor questioning turns¹⁵)

If 'rear-loaded wh-questions' and 'truncated utterances' provide for an *intensive exploitation of grammatical features in the service of questioning*, the production of subsentential questioning units¹⁶ has the effect of expanding the Q-A sequence with the minimum of sequence disruption.

Following the students' prior answer, the teacher produces subsentential -mainly clausal- units that are heard by students as an invitation to detail their prior answer. The description of this practice in terms of 'appended questions' refers to 2 main features: (1) they are subsentential units and, consequently, they are syntactically built on the prior turn; (2) they are intended and understood as providing further opportunities to speaker B for elaborating on his/her prior turn.

In the fragments below the a-arrowed lines indicate the full sentential interrogative units which initiate the sequence. The b-arrowed lines indicate the subsentential questioning which is produced as appended to the students' prior answer.

#34 The crooked line PM:LT:5:geometry

a→ 01 T ↑il conto::rno; (.) è vero <della cattedra; che cos'è
 the ↑outli:::ne; (.) alright <of the teacher desk; what is it
 02 (0.4)

¹⁵ 'Appendor questions' is a phenomenon explored by Sacks (1992, Vol.1, Part VI, pp.659-664). The material he considers is the following:

A: They make miserable coffee.
 B: -across the street?

A: ... and it turned out very good.
 B: -from the old man vewpoint?

A: Gimme another life saver I'm about to drawn.
 B: -in your humility?

These are defined as follows:

"First, I'm defining 'appendor questions' as prepositional phrases. That i sto say, there are lots of other intended completions that are done; we're talking about a set of them that are prepositional phrases. And they're prepositional phrases which have question intonation on them" (Sacks, 1992: 660)

¹⁶ Heritage and Roth (1995: 14-15) consider questioning turns with lexical and clausal/phrasal forms with rising intonation as one of the "turn constructional variations from the grammatical nucleus" in news interviews.

- 03 T è forma::to? >da che cos'< <da una linea? co::me
is fo::rmed? >by what< <by a line? ho::w
- 04 (0.6)
- 05 St i::o[::! spezzata!
me::[::! crooked!
- 06 St [spezzata!
[crooked!
- 07 St `zata
`ked
- b→ 08 T aperta o chiu::sa
open or clo::sed
- 09 St io lo [so
I know [it
- 10 Sts [chiu[::sa
[clo:[::sed
- 09 Sts [chiu:sa
[clo:sed
- 11 T [chiu::sa::,
[clo:::sed,
- 12 (0.2)
- 13 T è ve::ro?
i::sn't it?

In lines 1-3 the teacher produces a series of rear-loaded wh-questions which get answered in lines 5-7. Directly after the answers, the teacher produces a further request for detailing the information provided about the line (line 8), which makes the questioning progress with the minimum of disruption. This can be accomplished, as illustrated in example 35 below, by producing an interrogative clause appended to the answer (line 7).

#35 Circles PM:FZ:21:maths

- a→ 01 T ALO:RA: QUI DOVETE FARE CHE CO:[SA.
NOW:THE:N HERE HAVE (YOU) TO DO WHAT THI[:NG.
NOW:THE:N HERE YOU¹⁷ HAVE TO DO WHA[:T
- 02 St [i cerchi
[the circles
- 03 T I,- sotto,-
THE,- sub,-

¹⁷ 'you' refers to 'you all'.

04 (0.2)
 05 Sts insie[:mi
 se[:ts
 06 Sts [insiemi
 [sets
 b→ 07 T da qua:nto,
 with ho:w many (ITEMS),
 08 Sts da ci:nque
 with fi:ve

In line 1 the teacher produces a rear-loaded question (with the 'wh-word' in final position). The answer in line 2 is then repaired through its substitution with a more specialized term ('subsets' for 'circles'); this being elicited with the unfinished word produced by the teacher in line 3 and completed by students in lines 5 and 6. Following the answering turns the teacher adds an interrogative clause that refers directly to the answer.

Variations from this basic pattern include the packaging of the interrogative clause with a prefacing repetition of the answer, or part of it, to which the questioning refers to, as in # 36 below:

#36 Building towns PM:FZ:12:geography

a→ 01 T ↑perché l'uomo deci::de di costruire le città:: di-
 ↑why men deci::de to build tow::ns to-
 02 .hh ingrandi:re questi spa:zi di queste ca:se [↑perché
 .hh make bi:gger these pla:ces of these hou:ses [↑why
 03 [perché
 [because
 04 St la gente è (matta)
 people are (crazy)
 05 (0.8)
 06 T ((the teacher bents her head toward the child sitting next to her))
 07 T sentia::mo
 let's he::ar
 08 (0.6)

- S. 09 St perché. così le; case sono tutte::: (.) le abitazioni sono
because. so the; houses are a::ll (.) the dwellings are
- 10 più vicini?ne::: 'on bisogna fare tanta strada.
clo:::ser? one doesn't need to go very far.
- b→ 11 T tanta strada? per che ↓co::sa
very far? for ↓wha::t
- S. 12 St pe::r arrivare a:: un'altra: abitazione
in order to:: go to:: ano:ther dwelling
- 33 (0.4)

In line 11, the repetition of the pupil's answer to the prior question is immediately followed by an interrogative clause which uses the answer to expand the prior question. The mechanism is provided by the possibility to remove the 'wh-word' from the initial position in the sentence so as to substitute any item that might be subject to questioning. Moreover, considering the fact that this format can be attached virtually to any answer, this constitutes another practice which exploits the potential of grammar in interaction to increase the opportunity for questioning and providing students with more chances for participation.

This practice accomplishes some important ends: (1) it provides an indirect *acknowledgement* for the answer as acceptable, although not complete; (2) through the elliptical inclusion of the answer as part of the next question, it performs a *co-produced new question* (Sacks, 1992, vol.1, Part IV: pp. 528-529); and (3) it re-directs the new question to the same student, thus performing an indirect *selection* of the next respondent. As noted by Sacks (1992, vol. 1, Part VI: 660), these "transitional materials are between completion and next speakership".

It should not pass unnoticed, however, that interrogative clauses or single question words are turn-constructive devices used to accomplish other-initiated repair (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977: 367). One instance of this is illustrated in the following extract:

#10 Who's bigger PM:FZ:12:geography

- 01 T allora la città, (1.0) è diversa dal pae:se solo per
so the town, (1.0) is different from the vi:llage except for

	02		un motivo one reason	
	03		(1.8) / ((Janan raises her hand))	
Mau.	04	St	perché è più <u>piccola</u> ¹⁸ ! because it is <u>smaller</u> !	
	05		(0.2)	
→	06	T	chi? who?	1st repair-init.
	07		(0.2)	
X	08	St	il <u>paese</u> the <u>village</u>	repair
Y	09	St	[il paese [the village	repair

The 'wh-word' produced by the teacher in line 6, following Maurizio's wrong claiming that towns are smaller than villages, is indeed in line with the description given above of appendor questions. However, two distinctive features are present here that characterize this instance as that as accomplishing repair:

- the gap between the pupils' answer and the teacher's subsequent turn, that projects dispreferred action;
- the interrogative pronoun used by the teacher ('who') is grammatically inapposite, insofar as it is normally used to refer to persons. In his case 'what' would be the correct form to be used;
- the slightly rising intonation of the NTRI (Next Turn repair Initiator).

These two additional features can be heard as being produced to make the 'who' understood distinctively as doing repair. Although grammatically more correct, the use of the interrogative word 'what' ('che cosa') in this position could be heard as one of the 'open' class repair initiators (Drew, 1997) that do not locate "specifically where or what the difficulty

¹⁸ Maurizio declines the adjective 'piccola' –for 'small'– as feminine. Consider that in Italian 'town' is feminine, while 'village' is masculine.

is” (p. 70). The use of ‘who’, instead, although grammatically wrong in referring to objects, it indicates that the trouble with the answer is precisely on ‘what is smaller than what’; thus instructing the recipient on the precise nature of the repairable, and avoiding any misunderstanding on the type of repair that is accomplished here.

On the other hand, it is also to be noted that in the previous examples the deployment of appendor questions qualifies the pupils’ prior turn as not sufficient, insofar as it invites the recipient to provide a more detailed elaboration on the prior answer. In these sense, they can be seen as accomplishing a downgraded form of repair¹⁹.

From the analysis of this set of non-syntactic constructions it emerges that these practices have the potential to render almost anything into a question. Virtually any units of the teacher’s turns and, furthermore, any answer turns can provide opportunities for turn-transitions, besides the canonical interrogative-types. In this way, the teacher’s conduct is shaped to meet the *institutional demands* of this educational setting: (1) a *distribution of the opportunities* to speak in a large audience; and (2) the *maintenance of the pupils’ attention*.

3.2.2. *Non interrogative sentences as question substitutes*

The classes of questioning which are included in this subset include utterances which have a specific syntactic format and which recognizably accomplish questioning through a non-interrogative syntactic format.

vii) If-formatted utterances

A particularly favorable environment for speaker transition is provided by if-formatted utterances. The format of these utterances has been described by Lerner (1991) as a

¹⁹ For a more detailed analysis of some of the examples presented here, in connection with the discussion of repair sequences, see Chapter 6.

compound turn-constructural unit. According to Lerner, the recipient of utterances that have multiple components recognizes the end of each component unit as a proper place for speaker change, where they can supply turn completion.

So, for instance, the end of the if-clause can constitute an appropriate place for a recipient to provide a collaborative completion of the utterance-in-progress. The recognizability of the syntactic format of the sentence, in this way, works as a resource for turn-transition. I have already examined, in examples #13 and #13b above, how this format is used by teachers and recognized by pupils who can project the questioning in the second component of the teacher turn, and provide a 'premature' answer, assuming what would be the question.

The potential of this syntactical format to generate responses is illustrated also in the example below. The child's turn in line 4 shows that he has understood that the if-component in line 1 is designed to project a question, which would be deployed in the second component slot. In line 4 he provides a candidate answer. The child anticipates that after an if-component a question is likely to occur as confirmed in line 5, where the teacher produces an open question. Unfortunately for the child, he was mistaken about the content of the question:

#37 If we look at PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T i:nfa:tti se ↑no:i guardia::mo il pia:no della?-
i:nfa:ct if ↑we: loo::k at the su:rface of the?-
- 02 (0.6)
- 03 T 'l pia[no della cattedra,
the su[rface of the teacher desk,
- 04 St [è'na li:nea spezza::ta!
[it's a croo::ked li:ne!
- 05 T quanti angoli ha il [piano
how many angles in the [surface
- 06 St [uhn' qua:[ttro
[uhn' fo[u:r

- 07 Sts [quattro
[four
- 08 Sts quattro
four
- 09 T qua[::ttro. uno, due, tre?-
fou[::r.
- 10 Sts [quattro
[four
- 11 (0.8)
- 12 T ↑e uno? quattro. (.) è chia::ro?
↑and one? four. (.) is it cle::ar?

Finally, on a number of occasions this format might occur in combination with some of the other non-syntactic questioning practices that have been described above. In this way, the questioning potential of the *if*-format is empowered with other questioning practices, as illustrated in the example below²⁰:

#38 Full slots PM:LT:3:maths

- 01 T **se** le [caselle risultano tutte piene; **cosa** vorrà dire. <che-,
if the [slots result all full; **what** would that mean. <that-,
- 02 St [()
- 03 (0.8)
- 04 St ()
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 St no (ma) mi sono dimenticata quello che avevo chie[sto
no (but) I forgot what I ask[ed
- 07 St [che si
[that it is
- 08 può contare- (.) di più, in tutti e due i sensi.
possible to count- (.) more, in both ways.

The teacher builds an *if*-clause whose second component is a *wh*-question, soon followed by the beginning of the answer. This is delivered with the special intonation contour of the *truncated turns*.

²⁰ The characters in bold are used here to indicate the main questioning formats.

Again, in the example below, the second component following the *if-clause* is constructed with a *rear-loaded wh-question*:

#30 Roads PM:FZ:12:geography

- 01 T s::::: s:- ↑se u::no? (0.2) inventa la stra::da. <inventa la
s::::: s:- ↑if so::mebody (0.2) invents stree::ts. <he
- 02 strada per **che** co::sa. pro:va a allargare un pochino it tuo:-
invents streets for wha::t. try: to widen you:r-(M.)
- 03 la [tua mente
your [mind /((here 'your' is FEMININE)
- 04 St [↑i:h:! ↓i:h:!
- Z 05 St [perché se uno:: si deve sposta::re, al- uh- uno non
[because if one:: has to go somewhe::re, so- uh- one
- 06 deve:: andare a piedi.
doesn't have to:: go on foot.

In the example below the teacher uses another if-construction. The teacher's orienting to this format as doing questioning is evidenced by the multiple subsequent attempts to elicit from the pupils the name of the segments. This is done mainly by withholding the last item of the second component (b-arrowed lines):

#40 We don't know it PM:LT:5:geometry

- 1a→ 01 T si↑cco::me ci sono quattro, (0.4) pezzettini di linea?
↑si::nce there are four, (0.4) little pieces of a line?
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 St °eh°
- 04 (0.4)
- 1b→ 05 T che noi sappiamo bene che si chiama::noꝫ-
which we know well that they are ca::lledꝫ-
- 06 (0.8)
- 2a→ 07 T **siccome** hanno un inizio e una fine, <↓**siccome** hanno
since they have a beginning and a end, <↓**since** they have
- 2b→ 08 un inizio e una fine si chiamanoꝫ
a beginning and a end they are calledꝫ

- 09 (1.6)
- 3→ 10 T noi non lo sappiamo bene eh ehe eh ehe .hhh come si
we don't know well eh ehe eh ehe .hhh what they are
- 11 chiama[no
cal[led
- 12 St [semiretta!²¹
[halfline!
- 4→ 13 T se:,- (.) uhm=↓no. (.) se:,-
se:,- (.) uhm==↓no. (.) se:,-
- 14 Sts i segme:[nti
the se:g[ments
- 15 St ['me:n[ti
['me:n[ts
- 16 T [segme::nti:::
[se::gme::nts;
- 17 (0.4)
- 18 T eh?

The teacher produces two subsequent questions (lines 1-5; 7-8). These are constructed in the same manner: with a first [if-formatted clause], followed by a second [truncated clause]. The pupils fail to answer and the teacher pursues the answer by producing an open question in lines 10-11. The answer which is then produced happens to be wrong and the teacher elicits the correct answer by withholding the remaining of the word after the first syllable (line 13).

viii) Statements

By now we begin to realize that instructional sequences are an environment which is *especially sensitized to questioning*. And indeed, as we have already had the opportunity to observe, in the first examples at the beginning of the chapter (#10 and #11), *statement-formatted utterances* also provide the context for the children to produce answers. In the two examples below the verbal construction of the turns which follows the teacher's arrowed turns show the participant's orientation to these as distinctively doing questioning. In example #13,

²¹ Note that in Italian the two words "semiretta"/"halfline" (the repairable) and "segmento" / "segment" (the repair) begin with the same sounds.

the verbal construction of the child's turn in line 4 and, particularly, the initial answering-token display that the child's turn is 'doing answering'.

#10 PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

→ 01 T allora la città, (1.0) è diversa dal pae:se solo per un
so the town, (1.0) is different from the vi:llage only for one

02 motivo
reason

03 (1.8) / ((Janin raises her hand))

Jan. 04 St perché è più piccola!
because it is smaller!

05 (0.2)

Again, in example 10, the raising hand of Janin in line 11, and the syntactic-formatted open question in line 12, provide evidence for the participants' orientation to the prior teacher's turns as clearly 'doing questioning'.

#11 PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

→ 01 T ne::lla terza immagine,
i::n the third picture,

02 (0.6)

03 T Robe:rto,

04 (2.6)

05 T c'è una co::sa che- (.) salta proprio agli occhi eh;
ther's one thi::ng that- (.) it jumps out at you eh;

06 (.)

07 T ed e' una cosa umanizzata
and it is a humanized thing

08 (0.2)

09 T ↓che non so:no solo le ca::se,
↓which i:sn't just the hou::ses,

10 (0.2)

Jan. 11 St ((raises her hand))

→ 12 T >cosa so::no?<
>what a::re they?<

?(R) 13 St °le [stra[de°

```

          °the [ stree[ts°
x  14  St      [ °stra[de°
          [ °stre[ets°

          15  T          [le stra::-de:,
          [the::- stree:ts, ((looking at the whole class))
          16          (.)

```

ix) Directives and Nominating

Questioning can be accomplished through directives. The most common environment for directives is when the teacher formulates a question that is designed to elicit answers from pupils who shall respond in turn, one after the other. The two fragments below illustrate this environment:

#41 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

```

01  T  al↓lo:ra >io vi voglio fare una do↓ma:nda ↓bimbi< ↑vi
      no:w↓then >I want to ask you a ↓que:stion ↓children< ↑do
02      ricor↓da::te, (1.0) visto che io ieri mi son dimenticata
      you re↓me::mber, (1.0) since I forgot yesterday
03      po:i, (0.2) di copiare le vostre risposte alla lavagna,
      the:n, (0.2) to copy your answers on to the blackboard,
04      (1.4) quali sono gli elementi che compongono il terre:no,
      (1.4) which are the elements which compound terrai:n,
05      secondo vo::i, ↑che risposte? avete ↓dato.
      accor↓ding to you::, ↑which answers? ↓did you give.

```

#42 PM:LL:6: history

```

01  T  ↑perché >secondo voi l'uomo ha bisogno di vivere insieme agli
      ↑why >according to you22 do men need to live with other
02      altri.<
      men.<
03      (0.4)
04  St  eh::[::: / ((raising his hand))
05  T      [vediamo chi VUOLE DIRE qualco[sa
          [let's see who WANTS SAY somet[hing
06  St
          [i-

```

²² 'you' here is intended as 'you all'.

[m-

07 (1.0)

08 T liberamente
whatever

09 (2.6)

((at least 5 pupils raise their hands; the teacher monitors the class))

In classroom instructional sequences pupils can be requested to respond in unison or to participate as singles. In the examples above the requirements of the question (the question is designed to elicit more than one answer) and the presence of large numbers of potential respondents set up for subsequent individual answers, rather than the production of a single answer in unison. Therefore, although the question is grammatically formulated in the first place as addressed to the whole group of children, the delivery of the question in itself makes relevant as next action the identification of the selected respondent who shall produce an answer in turn. This can be accomplished through *directives*, as those highlighted in the arrowed lines in the examples below:

#43 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

→ 01 T dimmi=
tell me=

02 St =[I::O: c'e:ro
=[I::: wa:s first

03 St =[ghiaia GHIAIA
=[pebbles PEBBLES

04 T ghiaia /((she writes it))
pebbles

#44 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

→ 01 T di:m'
te:ll me.

02 (0.4)

03 T s:::::

04 St sa:bbia.
sa:nd.

05 (1.4)

#45 The soil PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 22 T <dimmi °Gabri[ele°
<tell me °Gab[riele°
- Raf. 01 St [l'argilla io ave- avevo detto
[clay I sai- I said
- 02 T a:lora l'↑argilla:,
no:w ↑cla:y,

On a rather large number of cases the teacher also nominates the selected pupil, packaging the *nominating* with the *directives* in the the same turn:

#46 Apart from joking PM:LL:6:prehistory

- 7 T allora (.) a parte gli scherzi. allora Marco dimmi,
now (.) apart from joking. now Marco tell me,
- Mar. 8 St i bisogni servono a- all'uomo che:: (.) servono a:nche
the needs are for- for the man who:: (.) they are a:lso

((Marco lowers his hand))
- 9 ad evolversi ()
to evolve (REFL:) ()
- 10 T sono la spi:nta è vero- Jessica dimmi
they are the pu:sh aren't they- Jessica tell me
- Jes. 11 St sono le cose più:: necessarie per l'uomo
they are the things mo::st necessary for the man

The selection of the pupil who will answer by naming directly the person can be embedded within the questioning turn (as in #11, #19; #24; #29) but, in a large number of cases the speaker management can be accomplished by simply nominating the pupil: in this case, naming next speaker can take a single separated turn. Each time the teacher formulates a question without naming the selected pupil or which isn't designed to address the whole class, the teacher's question opens up a competition. When the question implies multiple subsequent candidate answers from different children, this is bound to be repeated after each answer. The examples below are taken from a Q-A session where the teacher is eliciting from the pupils

the name of the various components of the soil. Each time the original question is implied by the teacher's nominating the next selected answerer:

#47 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 01 T Si[lvia
 02 St [conchi::glie!
 [she::lls!
 03 (0.6)
 04 T con[↑chi:glie, ((she writes it))
 ↑sh[e:lls,

#48 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 01 T Desiré
 02 St °i::o°
 °me::°
 Des. 03 St radi[:ci
roo:[ts
 04 T [ra::dici;
 [roo::ts;

The fragment which follows is from a history lesson. The teacher is writing a list on the blackboard with everything that pupils mention as things that cavemen needed to survive:

#49 What cavemen needed PM:LL:1:prehistory

- 01 T R::ta=
 Rit. 02 St =vestiti
 =clothes
 03 (0.2)
 Rit. 04 St mh:[:: oppure coperte
 Mh:[:: or also blankets
 05 T [vesti:ti.
 [clo:thes
 Mas. 06 St ()
 07 St sì ()
 yes

08 (4.0)

→ 09 T all::o::ra.(.) Desirée¿
no::w::.. (.)Desirée¿

Giu. 10 St io=
me=

11 St =i:::
=m:::

Des. 12 St oggetti per cacciare
objects for hunting

13 (0.6)

14 T oggetti per caccia:re¿ scriviamo oggetti per caccia:re¿
objects for hu:nting¿ let's write objects for hu:nting¿

Sar. 15 St ↑°io maes::[tra!°
↑°me tea::c[her!°

X 16 St [↑°io ce l'ho pu:re u::no[
[↑°I a:lso have o::n[e:°.

Q 17 St [↑°maestra posso
[↑°teacher can I

18 dirlo io°
say it°

19 (1.0)

M 20 St ↑°maestra°
↑°teacher°

21 (2.4)

→ 22 T [Valentina

Sar. 23 St [↑°io maestra!°
[↑°me teacher!°

Val. 24 St mangia:re
to e:at

25 (0.6)

By nominating the child (see each of the arrowed turns in line 1, 9, and 22) the teacher is re-issuing the original question she has formulated much earlier.

50 PM:LL:1:history

→ 01 T Rosa

Ros. 02 St fuoco
fire

03 St ↑oh s:i:: ((almost singing))
↑oh ye::s

04 T fuoꝫco
fiꝫre

51 PM:LL:1:history

→ 01 T R::ta=

Rit. 02 St =vestiti
=clothes

03 (0.2)

Rit. 04 St mh:[:: oppure coperte
mh:[:: or blankets

05 T [vesti:ti.
[clo:thes.

x) Other speaker management practices

As mentioned above, due to the structural properties associated with the turn-taking system in the classroom setting, once the question is formulated and no selection is embedded in the questioning turn, a procedure is activated whereupon the selection is nevertheless finally achieved. Children enact a range of verbal and nonverbal practices, aiming at displaying that they know the answer.

These practices are various and are observable in the example below: they produce claims of knowledge (line 7), or they just self-nominate (line 3).

#52 Growing population PM:FZ:12:geography

01 T [perché perché perché dura di più la vita adesso
[why why why does it last more life now

02 St [()

Mar. 03 St °i-° /((stretching her arm))

Jan. 04 St ci son- /((raising her hand))
→ ther ar-

05 (0.6)

06 T ((teacher gazes at the children))

- X 07 St io lo so!
I know it!
- 08 T °mhm?° ((looking at the boy of line 17))
- X 09 St perché inventano- m:- .hh inventano le medicine
because they invent- m:- .hh they invent medicines

Sometimes pupils combine different practices producing very sophisticated offers to answer. For instance, the student in line 4 manages to provide evidence that she knows the answer and, at the same time, that she adheres to the rules of selection. This delicate and complex result is accomplished by producing only the initial syllables of the answer and by withholding the rest of the turn, as though self-constraining. This displays that she has the answer on the tip of the tongue, but doesn't fully articulate it, in respect to the tacit rules of the turn-taking system. We can see this device at work in the fragment above, in Janin's turn (line 4).

Very often, on these circumstances, the selection is performed through non-verbal behaviour: in association with the other verbal practices, the teacher might gaze at the selected pupil, or he/she might point or nod to him/her, as indicated in the glosse in line 8, fragment 52 above, and in the arrowed lines below:

53 Building towns PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

- 01 T ↑perché l'uomo deci::de di costruire le città::
↑why men deci::de to build tow::ns
- 02 di- .hh ingrandi:re questi spa:zi di queste
to- .hh make bi:gger these pla:ces of these
- 03 ca:se [↑perché
hou:ses [↑why
- X 04 St [perché la gente è (matta)
[because people are (crazy)
- 05 (0.8)
- 06 T ((the teacher bents her head toward the child sitting next to her))
- 07 T sentia::mo
let's he::ar
- 08 (0.6)

- S. 09 St perché. così le; case sono tutte::: (.) le abitazioni sono
because. so the; houses are a::ll (.) the dwellings are
- 10 più vicini?ne::: 'on bisogna fare tanta strada.
clo:::ser? one doesn't need to go very far.

#54 Big towns PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

- 02 T [perché l'uo::mo piuttosto di costruire- =alora nascono ta:-
[why ma::n instead of building- =now they are born ma:-
- 03 (.)nasce tanta più gente, (0.2) la gente: vive meglio,
(.)a lot more people are born, (0.2) peopl:e live better,
- 04 la gente: inventa (.) si cura meglio, (0.2) perché? si
peopl:e invent (.) have better tretments, (0.2) why? they
- 05 decide di andare a stare, (0.2) tutti insieme: e diventare
decides to go to stay, (0.2) all togethe:r and make
- 06 grossa questa città; eh =>sempre di più sempre di più<
big this city; eh =>always more and more<
- 07 >piuttò' di costruire< tanti piccoli centri.
>inste- of building< many small cities.
- 08 (2.2)
- 09 St io lo s-
I know-
- 10 (1.0) ((teacher turns her gaze from the right side to the center, where
this last bid comes from))
- X 11 St ci provo
I'll try
- 12 T mh

So far, we have examined 10 formats that questioning turns can take (see table n.2).

Syntactical interrogative formats accomplish questioning together with a variety of other constructions which are not grammatically codable as interrogatives. I have also highlighted, particularly with reference to non-syntactic construction, some of the institutional relevancies that these practices have in the classroom setting as far as speaker selction is concerned and relative matters involving speaking opportunties among the parties. The survey of the formats used to accomplish turn-transition in the classroom has revealed that (1) there is a

mutual orientation to questioning by both parties as eliciting information and requesting display of knowledge; (2) that Q-A sequences are a co-constructed interactional achievement, and (3) that these practices reflect the structural properties of interaction. Furthermore, a number of formats have the potential of render almost any turn components into a question. The empowerment of the teachers' questioning potential has consequences also on the recipients' behaviour, insofar as recipients need to pay a more sustained and continued attention, given the fact that questioning might occur at any time in the progression of the teacher's talk, and not only in turn completion relevance places.

In the table below the questioning formats I have illustrated above are listed:

Table 2

Interrogative syntactic formats	i) Yes/no question
	ii) Alternative (or) questions
	iii) Open (wh-) questions
Non-interrogative formats	
<i>- non-syntactic constructions:</i>	iv) Rear-loaded wh-questions
	v) Truncated utterances (Eliciting Completion Device)
	vi) Subsentential units (increments)
<i>- non-interrogative constructions as questions substitutes:</i>	vii) If-formatted utterances
	viii) Statements
	ix) Directives and Nominating
	x) Other Speaker management practices

However, this can only be a first step in the analysis of teachers' questioning. The way in which these different questioning types are performed depends on a number of options that speaker realize with reference to their understanding of the courses of actions that are to be accomplished. So, for instance, an utterance can be coded as an *open question*, and yet this

remains a label which tells us very little about *how* the questioning is performed, with regards to the requirements on the recipient's behaviour, the assumptions of the questioner on the recipient's knowledge of the answer. Consider, for example, the following case, where the teacher and the class are observing some pictures with natural and artificial elements in them:

#55 PM:FZ:12: geography

- 01 T MA:rco: ↓ch'è mo:lto atte:nto::
MA:rco: ↓who's ve:ry atte:nti::ve
MA:rco: ↓who's paying very much atte:ntion
- 02 (1.2)
- 03 T MI ↑SAI dire un elemento (.) umanizza:to
to me(YOU)can say an element humanized
↑CAN YOU tell me a (.) man-ma:de element
- 04 (1.8)
- 05 T ↓cioè antropizza:to
↓that is (ADJ.DER.from Greek: anthropos)
- 06 (0.6)
- 07 St le: le case
the: the houses
- 08 T ↑LE ↓CA::SE::
the houses
↓HOU::SE::S

If we consider the syntactical construction of the question, literally speaking, we would probably have to include this format in the 'yes-no' interrogative type. However, here this format is used to perform an open question, since the answers 'yes' or 'no', although possible, are not the appropriate type of answers. The question sets up for a range of possible candidate answers, and therefore it works as an 'open question'.

However, as Pomerantz has illustrated in her research on information seeking strategies (1998), "speakers make implicit claims about their own state of knowledge and imply expectations regarding the recipients' knowledge" (p.365). These assumptions are built into the question turns through choices regarding words, phonology, syntax, or prosody.

"With an unmarked question, for example, "What time is it?", a speaker implies that the recipient is expected to know the answer. With markers, for example, "Would you

know...” or “Would you happen to know...” a speaker indicates that he/she does not expect or presume that the recipient knows the answer (p.365).

So, if we consider the example below (#56), where the teacher produces one unmarked open question, and if we compare its verbal construction with the questioning turns in #55, line 3, it is clear that in the former the issue is Marco’s ability to answer, while in example #56 the teacher assumes that the answer is more accessible. The fact that other children besides the selected pupil offer to answer, displaying their being knowledgeable on the matter, seems to support this interpretation.

#56 PM:LT:5: geometry

- 01 T Caterina seco:ndo te quante volte ha:::- hm’ cambiato
Caterina in yo:ur opinion how many times did he:::-hm’ change
- 02 direzio::n[e Giusepp[e
dire::ctio[n Giusepp[e
- 03 St [hhh°io!°
[hhh°me!°
- 04 St [io!
[me!
- 05 St io!
me!

The pupils’ display of knowledge in #57 is particularly relevant if we observe that in both cases the teacher addresses the question to a selected pupil by naming the person that is invited to respond.. However, only in #56 pupils feel entitled to show that they know the answer. This suggest to take into consideration as a line of investigation the analysis of the conventions of question construction. Consequentially, it seems that coding question turns by using syntactical criteria such open questions, directives, or yes/no questions does not accommodate a number of interactional aspects which recipients clearly orient to. As stated above, the questions in the two preceding examples are both codable as *open interrogative types*, and in both cases the teacher is addressing one precise student. However, these features do not account for the different sequential consequences with regard to the way in which the

answer is produced. It is evident that grammatical features alone do not account for the participants' interactional work in Q-A sequences. The construction of questioning involves a range of details of turn design, such as lexical choices, verbal constructions, sequential deployment, intonation, stress, and other features of turn delivery. These features are recognized and understood by recipients as having a number of sequential consequences for the type of answer which is thus made relevant. This will be object of inquiry for the next two sections.

4. Sequential consequences of questions.

The survey of the formats of teachers' questioning turns has revealed that quite a few of these constructions are frequently designed to address the whole class in order to elicit a *choral response*. In particular, the deployment of 'truncated utterances' in turn final position, 'or' questions, and often yes/no questions are answered by the whole group of pupils. Furthermore, some of these formats provide for an increased occurrence of questioning, in comparison to the other 'canonical' interrogative types. They provide favourable places where speaker transition occurs and questioning is achieved also in non-transition relevance places. In this way, grammatical resources are exploited interactionally, in the moment-by-moment progression of talk, for specific institutional purposes.

As a next step in my analysis, I will report on the results of a second run through the data; this time from a perspective more focused on the sequential consequences of question turns on the way in which answers are produced.

4.1. Eliciting a choral answer or selecting an individual respondent

From a quantitative survey based on a sample of 4 extended instructional sequences it emerges that the following constructions are the most frequently used questioning devices:

- (1) *open questions* (e.g., “perché dura di più la vita adesso / why does life last longer now”),
 (2) *yes-no question* (e.g., “siete degli esseri uma:ni? / are you human bei:ngs?”),
 (3) *truncated utterances* (‘la gente ha bisogno di la-? / people need wor-?’)

Out of the 156 different questioning formats coded in the sample, *open questions* amounted to 36.5% (plus another 3% referred to *rear-loaded open questions*), *yes/no questions* to 15.4% and *truncated utterances* to 25%.²³ Although not so frequently used, also ‘*or*’ questions (5.7%) very frequently elicit an answer in unison. While truncated utterances, ‘*or*’ questions and ‘*yes/no*’ questions overwhelmingly elicit a choral answer in unison, in sequences which are initiated by *open questions* the pupils’ answers might take *two distinctive formats*.

4.1.1. *In-unison answers*

The first sequence pattern is illustrated in the examples below where the open question shares with the other three most frequent questioning formats (‘*yes-no*’ questions, truncated utterances and ‘*or*’ questions) the same answering format: the answer is produced directly after the question, through a choral production, as indicated in the arrowed lines.

#57 The sunrise PM:FZ:22a:geography open question

- 01 T da che parte si LE::va il sole <[SVEGLIA::,
 where from does the sun RI::se <[WAKE U:::P,
- 02 Sts [a:: est
 [fro::m east
- 03 Sts a e::[st
 from ea[::st
- 04 Sts [a: e::[st
 [fro:m ea[::st
- 05 T [a e::st:::?. (.) e:[::-
 [from ea::st:::?. (.) a:[:nd-

²³ Directives and forms of speaker management together amount to 9%; *if-formatted* and *statements* as questioning substitutes amount to 2,5% each.

#58 Boxes PM:FZ:21:mathematics yes-no question

- 01 T io so [GIA' CHE CI SONO NOVE CONTENITO::RI,
I know [ALREADY THAT THERE ARE NINE CONTA::INERS,
- 02 T [((she beats the rythm: one beat for each word))
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 T DEVO TROVARE IL NUMERO DELLE SCA::TOLE?
DO I HAVE TO FIND THE NUMBER OF THE BO::XES?
- 05 Sts NO:[::
- 06 Sts [NO::[:
- 07 Sts [O::::

#59 Work From: Enza12b.geography**truncated utterances**

- 01 T LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la,-
the people have need of wor,-
↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED of wor,-
- 02 (.)
- 03 St °'vo[ro°
°'ki[g°
- 04 Sts ['vo:::r[o:
['ki:::n[g
- 05 T ['voro
['king

#60 Roads PM:FZ:12b.geography**'or' questions**

- 01 T LE STRA::DE è più facile costruirle in monta:gna? o in
RO::ADS is it easier to build them on the mou:ntains? or on
- 02 pianura
lawland
- 03 Sts PIANU:::[RA::
LAW:::LA[::ND
- 04 St [nu::ra:
[la:::nd

A few preliminary observations on the above small collection can be raised:

First, very frequently the definition of 'open question', as in the case of fragment #57, is a misnomer. In many cases these questions have only one correct answer or a limited set of

possible answers. This is evidenced by the delivery of the answer through a choral production by three groups of pupils who perform a series of 'echoing' answers.

Second, these *choral-answer questions* seem a powerful tool to optimize a large co-production of the answer from all the students or, at least, the majority of them. The question is addressed to the class as a whole. In this environment, the first instances of the answer work as a way of suggesting to other children, who might not know the answer, what to say. In this way, the first single student or group that answers instructs the other children about the 'correct' answer. As can be seen in the examples above, the answers sequential pattern shows that the first syllables of the first responding turns serve as a clue for the other pupils.

Third, and notably, because of this contingency, the selection sequence which otherwise would be inserted between question and answer can be by-passed.

Fourth, even in cases where the selection is made, as in example 61 below, when the selected child displays some form of hesitation in responding, answers from other pupils are accepted, as indicated in the teacher's third turn receipt in line 7 below.

#61 Window PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T Alora be::ne Giuseppe
SO goo::d Giuseppe
- 02 (0.4)/((the teacher raises her own arm to mirror Giuseppe's posture))
- 03 T ↑il braccio adesso dove guarda. <verso la, -
 ↑the arm now where does it point to. <to the, -
- 04 T ((T.holds straight her arm to point to the window))
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 Sts fi[nestra
wi[ndow
- 07 T [finestra. allora.
 [window. now then.

4.1.2. *The inserted selection sequence*

The second sequence type includes cases where a selection procedure is produced between the question and the answer. In the example below, the bulleted lines indicate the responses (other than the answer to the content of the question) which make relevant the teacher's selection of the pupil which will be entitled to answer.

#62 Medicinal substances PM:FZ:12b:geography

- q→01 T [perché- perché- perché dura di più la vita adesso
 ((T.'s gaze goes from the central position to her right hand side little by little each time she says 'perché'))
- 02 St [()
 - 03 Fa °i-° ((stretching her arm)
 ((this is the initial vowel sound of 'io', meaning 'me'))
 - 04 Ja ci son- ((raising her hand))
 there ar-
 - 05 (0.6)/((T.'s gaze monitors the other half of the class, on her left hand side, looking at each child who raises his hand and passes over))
 - 06 Fa io lo so!
 I know it!
 - 07 T °mhm?°((turning to the other side and looking at Fabrizio))
- a→08 Fa perché inventano- m:- .hh inventano le medi[cine [che:::,
 because they invent- m:-.hh invent the medi[cines[tha:::,
 09 T ((the teacher in the meantime nods very lightly while looking at Fabrizio))
 10 T [((T.points to Fa.))
 11 T [↑inventano
 [↑they
 [((in
 12 le medici::ne cioè l'uomo impara a curarsi, (.)
 invent the medici::nes that is men learn how to treat
 ((delivering this turn she points to M. with her hand, but looks at the other
 13 meglio. eh;
 himself, (.) better. eh;
 children))

Grammatically speaking, the question in line 1 is an 'open question', like the question in fragment #58 above. In addition, exactly like the question in #57, the teacher does not address

a specific pupil. Despite the fact that both questions belongs to the same grammatical format, they have different sequential consequences. If we compare the choral delivery of the answers in extract #57 with the answering sequence in this last fragment (#62, bulleted lines), we observe that in the latter children do not answer in unison. Rather the pupils' turns subsequent to the teacher's turn do not refer to the content of the projected answer, and yet they are equally consequential and appropriate to the requirements of the questioning in this environment. Pupils have distinctively recognized the different constraints of the question in example 62; they have understood that the information which is elicited by the teacher has a different *status* for the participants, in comparison to that which is provided through answers that are produced in unison. The question produced by the teacher in line 1 of this last example requires the application of a quite different answering procedure. Consequently, children differentiate their responses by proposing themselves as single competitors and by displaying their knowing the answer rather than co-ordinating their response in order to produce directly a choral production. In this way, the information is treated by participants as having a different relevance in the talk and the teacher's request is understood as providing different opportunities for the pupils to participate.

a) A first counter-example:

Observing these different sequential outcomes of two questions which would be classified both as open questions on a sheer grammatical basis, one first consideration would be that the two different answering sequences might reflect the different grammatical format of the projected answer. So, for instance, one might deduce that pupils respond in unison when questions project a single-item answer, as is the case of *yes-no question, truncated utterances, 'or' questions*, and those *open questions* which project one word or one phrase as the appropriate answer. If we compare the open questions in #57 and #62 it can be noticed

that the former projects a shorter and more compact answer type than the latter does.

Arguments in favour of this hypothesis would be that the shorter and more specific the answer, the easier it would be for a large audience to time and co-ordinate its conduct to be produced in unison.

A second observation would be that in #62 the question is intrinsically more ‘open’ to a range of different and equally acceptable answers (men live longer nowadays because they eat better, or because natural selection has made them stronger, etc.) in comparison to #57, where the correct answer is one, among a restricted set of possible answers.

But the example below presents a case where the options for the answer are rather limited, the projected ‘correct’ answer (‘an angle’) is a rather short and compact unit, and yet the response is not choral. The phenomenon of answers produced in unison, immediately following the question, does not seem to be automatically connected with the format of the answer (one single short unit), nor with restriction regarding the possible available options.

In fragment 63, the question is followed by an extended inserted selection sequence (bulleted lines), before the answer is actually produced (lines 10 and 11), this time in unison:

#63 The angle PM:LT:5:geometry

- q→ 01 T ↑co:sa faccio [io <[↑co:sa fo::rmo
 ↑wha:t is it that[I do <[↑wha:t do I fo::rm
- 02 St [I:o lo so::!
 - [ME: I know::it!!
 - 03 (3.0)/((children talking in the background))
 - 04 St io!
 - me!
 - 05 (2.2)
 - 06 T lo facciamo dire,
 - we'll let it,
 - 07 (0.2)
 - 08 T ai tuoi [compagni. <↑che cosa [fo:rmo
 - your classma[tes say it. <↑what do [I fo:rm
 - 09 St [i:o

[me:

a→ 10 Sts [un angolo
[an angle

a→ 11 Sts un a:ng[olo
an an:[gle

12 T [↑u:n ↓a::ngolo.
[↑an: ↓an::gle.

As can be argued from lines 8 and 9, here there is an issue concerning who is the main recipient of the question, who is meant to answer. It might be useful to know that this fragment is from a larger instruction sequence where the class is revising a prior activity for the benefit of Caterina, who was not present when the class covered this a few days before. So far, Caterina has been the main addressee for the teacher. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that the selection sequence occurs here because there is a conflict regarding who is exactly the teacher's main recipient at this point.

b) A second counter-example

But let us observe another instance of choral answer following an open question. In #64 the teacher has nominated a specific respondent, and yet choral responses are accepted from pupils other than the selected speaker.

#64 Boxes II PM:FZ:21:mathematics

01 T SCA::TO::LE:, ↑cosa so:no? le sca::tole Jani::n?
BO::XE::S, ↑what a:re? the bo::xes Jani::n?

02 (1.0) / ((Janin is busy writing))

→ 03 St °contenitori°
°containers°

→ 04 Sts °con[tenitori°
°con[tainers°

→ 05 Sts [conte[nito:ri
[conta[:iners

Jan 06 St [son' contenito::[ri

4.2. The structure delivery and deployment of answers

Fragment #66 illustrates the case where the same answer –namely a list of items- is elicited twice, each time implementing a different type of answering sequence. It is interesting to notice that the second time the same answers are elicited, despite the fact that pupils have already given these answers -showing that they know what the teacher is asking. The sequence is rather extended. Numbers are associated to the arrowed lines which refer to the questioning and answering turns.

66 Do you remember PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 01 T al↓lo:ra >io vi voglio fare una do↓ma:nda ↓bimbi< ↑vi
no:w↓then >I want to ask you a ↓que:stion ↓children< ↑do
- 02 ricor↓da::te, (1.0) visto che io ieri mi son dimenticata
you re↓me::mber, (1.0) since I forgot yesterday
- 03 po:i, (0.2) di copiare le vostre risposte alla lavagna,
the:n, (0.2) to copy your answers on the blackboard,
- 04 (1.4)
- 1q→ 05 quali sono gli elementi che compongono il terre:no,
which are the elements which compound terrai:n,
- 06 secondo vo::i, ↑che risposte? avete ↓dato.=
according to you::, ↑which answers? ↓did you give.=
- 1a→ 07 St =la sabbia, il fango[:,
= sand, mu[:d,
- 08 T [alo:ra [facciamo così
[no:w le[t's do this way
[(The teacher holds the right arm with the palm
facing the children)]
- 1a→ 09 St [la lettiE[::-
[c o m p o [: :²⁴-
- 1a→ 10 St [argI:l1-
[clA::²⁵-
- 11 T [A[DESSO facciamo=
[N[OW let's do=
- 1a→ 12 St [AR-
[CL²⁶-

²⁴ From the Italian version it results clear that the child here mens 'compost'

²⁵ This is for 'clay'

²⁶ 'Clay' again

- 13 St [uh::
- 14 T =co[si
=th[is way
- 15 St [COsa.
[WHAt.
- 16 T U:no all:a vo:lta >se no non capia:mo< uno alla
O:ne a:t a ti:me >otherwise we don't understa:nd< one at a
- 17 vo:lta ↓'lzate [la mano
ti:me ↓you raise [your hand
[((quite a few children raise their hands))
- 18 St [()
- 19 T [e li riprendiamo tutte quegli elementi che voi avete ()
[and we get them back all tose elements which you have()
- 20 St [((some children talking together))
.
.
.
- 41 T eh, <vediam'un²⁷- eh. ci son già dei bimbi
eh, <let's see- eh. there are already some children
- 42 T con la mano alza'
with their hand rais'
- 2q→ 43 T <dimmi °Raffa[ele°
<tell me °Raf[faele°
- Raf. 44 St [l'argilla io ave- avevo detto
2a→ [clay I sai- I said
- 45 T a:lora l'↑argilla:,
no:w ↑cla:y,
- 46 T (2.0) ((the T. holds both palms open towards the children, then stands up
and goes to the blackboard))
.
.
.
- 2q→ 61 T di:m'
te:ll me
- 62 (0.4)

²⁷ the cutoff 'un' here projects 'un po', which is an idiomatic minimizing token (un po' / un pochino / un pochettino)

- 61 T s:::~::~:
- 2a→ 63 St sa:bbia.
sa:nd.
- 64 (1.4)
- 65 T 'bbia?
'and? / ((she writes on the blackboard))
- 66 St (°hai detto.°)
(°you said°)
- 67 St io
- 68 (.)
- 69 St .hh i- i:o
- 70 St °eheheheh.°
- 71 T senza dire ↑io perché vi chiamo ↓tutti. eh;
without you saying ↑me because I'll call you ↓all. eh;

Although the information has been already offered (lines 7, 9, 10, 12) in response to the open question (lines 5-6), the teacher re-addresses the questioning (lines 43 and 61) in order to implement a procedure whereby each answer comes after the speaker selection.

The first answers which children provide show clearly that the substance of the question is already known by the children. How well children know the answer is evident in the manner in which answers are produced. In line 7 the turn is delivered immediately after the question, latched to the teacher's turn. Other items are subsequently offered as answers to the question. As a consequence, the purpose of re-issuing the question through a different questioning procedure cannot be motivated by the realization that children lack that information.

Instead, the two sequential outcomes seem to suggest that for the purposes of the participants, having a common understanding of the type/level of knowledge the children are supposed to have on a precise topic is a pre-condition for how the sequence would develop further. For the purposes of the interaction, to establish whether *pupils possess the information or not* does not constitute the goal of the teacher's questioning. This is a

condition for the *teacher's pedagogic project* where it matters *how* and *when* the information is to be deployed in a subsequent Q-A sequence, where the *status* and the *degree* of their being informed is dealt with interactionally, through tacit procedures which teachers and pupils share and mutually understand.

As we will see in the following chapter, instruction sequences are built out of series of questions where teacher and pupils balance different levels of knowledge of the answers. First, questions which are directly followed by collective answers –either in unison or in a cascade of slightly delayed answers from single students or small groups- treat the information requested as non problematic, immediately available to the children, almost taken-for-granted. Second, on other occasions, when the answer sequence is organized with an inserted selection sequence between question and answer, the information is considered problematic, as somehow not completely accessible. In this case, the answering activity is treated as requiring more interactional work than just providing completion, or filling-in the wh-slot in the teacher's question. This does not seem to be connected with the fact that children already possess that information and, indeed, on some occasions, as in example #61, they have already shown to know the answer quite well.

As will be shown in the next chapter, teachers strongly orient to *forms of pre-existing knowledge* in the construction of instruction sequences. Through the balancing of practices which make reference to the accessibility of the information and features of preference organization, series of related questions are constructed which guide the students to the construction of new pieces of knowledge, which arise from on pre-existing information. It would seem that the different question formats reflect how assured the teacher are that the pupils will get the expected answer, thus providing the precise piece of information that would make the sequence progress according to the teacher's project. This pedagogic project

deeply informs the way in which Q-A sequences are constructed. This will constitute the focus of chapter 3.

5. Concluding remarks

I started this chapter with a survey of teacher/pupils turn-transitions in instruction sequences, which has revealed that teachers' questioning is accomplished through a variety of turn constructional formats, besides the three 'canonical' formats of interrogatives -yes/no, alternative, and open questions- as they are coded according to traditional linguistic descriptions. These other formats include a number of non-syntactical questioning formats, and syntactic formats, other than interrogatives, which are used as question substitutes.

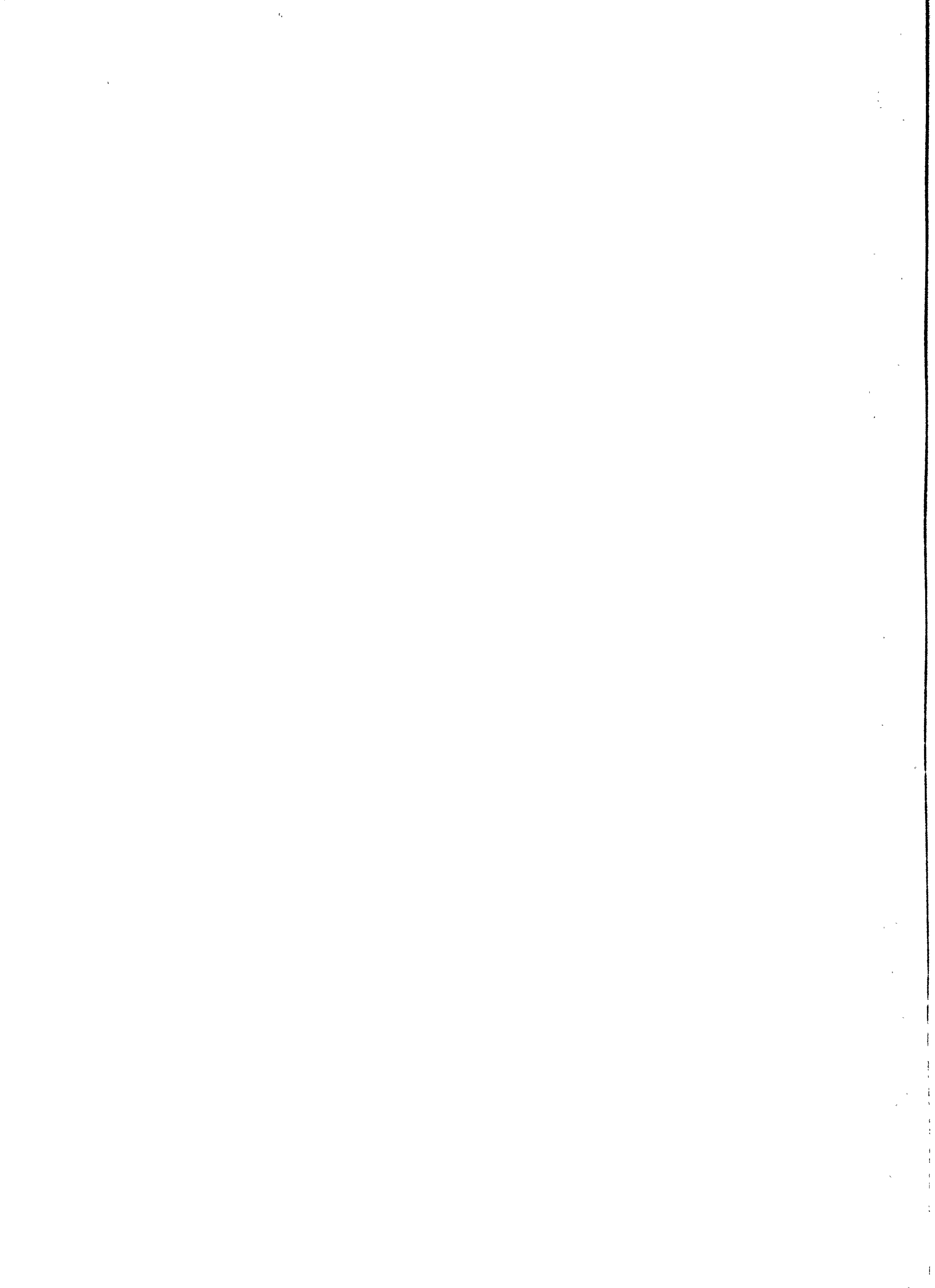
In this way, the questioning potential of teachers' turns is considerably increased. The deployment of those non-syntactic formats, which have been identified in the first survey, make possible speaker change to occur very frequently in non-transition relevance points in the ongoing teacher's turns. Intonation features and word dislocations are the main resources which teachers use to increase the opportunities for children's participation in completing unfinished utterances, providing missing items, responding in unison, offering to answer.

In this way, instruction sequences constitute an environment where teacher and pupils strongly orient to questioning and answering, and pupils recognize and interpret features of turn construction and turn delivery in the teacher's turns as 'doing questioning'. This emerges quite evidently on a number of occurrences where premature answers reveal that pupils have analyzed and interpreted the ongoing talk as projecting a question. From this emerges also that the means through which teachers accomplish questioning are *methodical practices* whereby pupils are instructed to recognize *when* questioning is accomplished.

A second run through the data, this time from a sequence organization perspective, has included observations regarding the shape and deployment of answering turns. Not

surprisingly, this has caused a re-classification of questioning formats according to the type of the subsequent answer turns and their delivery structure: (1) the delivery of answers in unison, (2) the insertion of a sequence for the selection of the individual respondent. Thus, through the deployment of different questioning formats teachers instruct pupils also on *how* to answer. The alternate deployment of these two different structures of answering appears to be connected with the teacher's assumptions regarding whether and to what degree the answer is accessible to pupils.

In the next chapter I will further explore features of question design and sequential deployment with regard to those practices which enable pupils to provide the 'correct' candidate answer. Different questioning formats are used (1) to provide clues regarding the expected candidate answer, (2) to convey the teacher's expectations on the accessibility of that answer, and (3) to mobilize features of preference organization. From the exploration of how subsequent and connected questions are produced in a series emerges that instruction sequences are built to achieve the pedagogic project of guiding students to arrive at novel pieces of information from pre-existing information as an interactional achievement.



Chapter 3

How teachers build answerable questioning turns: Building a pedagogic project through instruction sequences

1. Introduction

This chapter follows directly from the prior, which has reported on some of results of a survey of teacher/pupil turn-transition in instruction sequences. The sequential perspective of the analysis has revealed that, in the organization of Q-A sequences, issues regarding the participants' assumptions about the 'accessibility' to students of information underlie the format of teacher's questioning turns and, consequently, the practices involved in answering.

Now, it seems a rather obvious thing to say that a great deal of what goes on in classrooms, and mainly in instructional sequences, has a lot to do with *information-seeking* activities and the accessibility of knowledge: what information is available to students, in which forms, how and at what level this is so, how assured the teacher can be that specific pieces of information are possessed by the students. However, as Pomerantz (1988) suggests, (1) seeking information cannot be considered as a two-pole type of action where the questioner is the uninformed and the answerer the knowledgeable. In addition to that, (2) this action has to be defined with reference to the specific setting in which it takes place. Of course, the interaction that takes place in instruction sequences at school is indeed an environment where the status of knowledge has some relevance. Furthermore, (3) speakers engage in information-seeking activities to achieve some distinctive ends, and teachers and pupils have specific goals to accomplish through talk. Therefore, the relationship between the information-seeking activity that takes place in classroom instructional sequences and the participants' characterization as knowledgeable parties presents a number of complexities.

2. *True and known-answer questions*

In the vast majority of studies on classroom interaction this issue has been regarded mainly in terms of the *authenticity* of the teachers' questions. The fact that teachers know in advance the answers to the questions they ask has been considered distinctive of classroom discourse. For instance, in the analysis of classroom discourse, as proposed by the Birmingham research group, the teachers' previous knowledge of the answer to the questions is a fundamental issue, as stated below:

“The elicit exchanges which occur in the classroom have a different function from most occurring outside the classroom. Usually when we ask a question we don't know the answer; almost invariably the teacher does know the answer and children can get quite annoyed if he doesn't -after all that's his job. This fact enables us to explain why feedback is an essential element in an exchange inside the classroom”. (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 51)

A more recent work on the use of the 'triadic dialogue'¹ in classroom interaction (Nassaj and Wells, 2000) addresses the issue of the *authenticity* of the teachers' questions in the classification of questions which they propose:

“*Assumed Known Information* (where one party, almost always the teacher, already knows the answer and is concerned to discover whether students can supply it, e.g. 'Who was the king of France?' Let's see who remembers this'); *Personal Information* (where the information is known to the person addressed, e.g. 'what did other people think when they were watching the experiment? Did it surprise you the way that the water mixed or didn't mix?'); and *Negotiatory Information* (where the 'answer' is to be reached through open-ended discussion between teacher and students together, e.g. 'Neil has said that there are not enough troops... what are you saying in response to that?; Do you agree with Nir? Give us a reason’). (pp. 384-385).

In line with the position of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), this classification further elaborates the concept of authenticity as connected with the questioner's lack/knowledge of the answer. The implication is that the value of teachers' questions is judged on the basis of a number of variables as indicators. The authenticity of the question is considered to have great relevance for the pedagogic efficacy of classroom discourse. Whereas 'known-answer questions' are judged non productive pedagogically, a genuine interaction based on 'real

¹ By 'triadic dialogue' the authors intend to refer to the IRE exchange

questions which', by contrast, allows participants to expand their contributions through *dialogic discourse* and it is believed to improve learning (Nystrand, 1997).

Although my interest here, as I have already mentioned on a number of occasions, is not that of attributing any pedagogic value to questioning practices, I would like to underline here that knowing in advance the answer of the questions is obviously part of any teacher's work. This does not mean that the relationship between questions and the assumptions on the other participants' knowledge of the answer does not deserve any consideration. Rather, this point of view has to be carefully reframed.

The characterization of questions as *genuine* or *known-answer questions* proposes a dichotomous perspective (Pomerantz, 1988) on the matter. In line with this perspective questions and answers are described as having meaning independent from the ways and the context in which they are actually produced. Therefore, teachers would ask questions of the type: "What's the capital of France?" and pupils would answer correctly or fail depending on whether they have this information. Indeed, as will be shown, issues regarding the pupils' not/having access to the information is a fundamental matter. But this issue is closely connected to the teacher's assumptions about what is known or not known by the pupils, at which level this is so, and to the manner in which questions are constructed on the basis of these assumptions. So, on the one hand, participants display an understanding of the relevance of knowledge as organized along a continuum, rather than being defined in terms of 'yes or no'. On the other, this organization and its relevance for the participants themselves is made recognizable in the ways in which they shape their conduct. Defining teacher's questions as belonging to one or the other opposite pole *known/not-known* answers does not advance any further the understanding of the courses of actions which are accomplished through questioning in the classroom.

Besides being known to the teacher answers must be at least partially known also to the students, or else it would be hard to see how any teacher could expect to elicit information from students who are completely ignorant of the answers. This stance, which counters *authentic* against *known-answer questions*, together with its premises, seems to impoverish the complexity of the actions embodied by questioning.

As already mentioned, the work by Pomerantz (1988) has demonstrated that the activities of *seeking* and *giving information* are not opposite, but rather “lie along a continuum” (p. 373). She has also shown that an essential feature of asking a question is the fact that questioners “make implicit claims about their own state of knowledge and imply expectations regarding the recipients’ knowledge” (p.365). It appears therefore more profitable to abandon this ‘dichotomous’ approach as misleading for any investigations on teachers’ questions.

In this chapter I will show that the participants’ verbal conduct evidences that the contrast between *known/not known answers*, posed as such, isn’t relevant for their purposes. Rather than drawing from criteria external to interactional contingencies, the focus of my analysis here is on how teachers and pupils treat the information with reference to the students’ accessibility / knowledgeability.

In other words, through precise choices of verbal construction, teachers and pupils come to a mutual understanding about whether the question is likely to be appropriately answered. These assumptions (1) guide students to understand the type of answer which is favoured at this precise moment; (2) are reflected in the delivery structure of series of questions which teachers design with a view to leading students to ‘find’ something new they didn’t know before.

The analysis of larger sequences where questions are delivered in a series will provide an account of the specific pedagogic purposes which are achieved in instruction sequences.

3. Features of turn construction: how to make a question answerable

In chapter 2 I explored teachers' questioning turns from a grammatical perspective. Grammatical resources were considered with reference to how they are deployed in talk. This revealed that the inventory of linguistic resources which traditionally are indicated as *interrogative* should be expanded to include other grammatical and non-grammatical question formats. Comparing these different question designs, it emerged that a number of these formats are distinctively designed to elicit choral responses. These are *yes-no questions*, *incomplete utterances* and *alternative questions*. As for *open* questions, which together with *yes-no questions* and *incomplete utterances* are numerically the most representative in our corpus, we have observed that the sequence can progress in two distinctive ways: (1) questions which are followed immediately by answers produced in unison, and (2) questions which generate a selection sequence before the answer.

These two main sequential patterns have been compared in section 4 of Chapter 2. The analysis of a few extended sequences initiated by open questions have shown that the syntax of the questioning turn *per se*, does not account for the different sequential consequences. The occurrence of one or other answering sequence seems to depend on issues concerning participants' assumptions about whether and at which level the information is accessible to students. In other words, a relevant criterion seems to be whether the information is known, thus usable to construct questions which are likely to be successfully answered by children, or it is more problematic, and consequently subject to further treatment. The way in which this affects interaction is observable in the sequential organization of instructional sequences.

In this section the analysis will focus on a number of features of question construction which teachers employ to display how assured they are that the question will be answered. The following two examples illustrate how this issue underlies and is oriented to in the participants' interactional conduct.

Consider case #1 below, where three subsequent reformulations of the answer are produced (arrowed lines):

#1 We don't know it well PM:LT:5:geometry

- 1→ 01 T si↑cco::me ci sono quattro, (0.4) pezzettini di linea?
 be↑cau::se there are four, (0.4) little pieces of a line?
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 St °eh°
- 04 (0.4)
- 1→ 05 T che noi sappiamo bene che si chiama::noꝫ-
 which we know well that they are ca::lledꝫ-
- 06 (0.8)
- 2→ 07 T siccome hanno un inizio e una fine, <↓siccome hanno
 because they have a beginning and a end, <↓because they have
- 2→ 08 un inizio e una fine si chiamanoꝫ
 a beginning and a end they are calledꝫ
- 09 (1.6)
- 3→ 10 T noi non lo sappiamo bene eh ehe eh ehe .hhh come si
 we don't know well eh ehe eh ehe .hhh what they are
- 3→ 11 chiama[no
 cal[led
- 12 St [semiretta!²
 [halflīne!
- 13 T se:, - (.) uhm=↓no. (.) se:, -
se:, - (.) uhm=↓no. (.) se:, -
- 14 Sts i segme:[nti
 the se:g[ments
- 15 St ['me:n[ti
 ['me:n[ts
- 16 T [segme::nti::ꝫ
 [se::gme::ntsꝫ
- 17 (0.4)
- 18 T eh?
- 19 (2.0)

² Not that in Italian the two words "semiretta"/"halflīne" (the repairable) and "segmento" / "segment" begin with the same sounds ('se-').

- 20 T abbiamo quattro segme::nti::?
we have four se::gments?
- 21 St (°an[co::ra°)
(°ag[a::in°)
- 22 T [abbiamo anche ↓quattro?-
[we have also ↓four?-
- 23 (0.8)
- 24 T a:[n:goli.
a:[n:gles.
- 25 Sts [°angoli°
[°angles°
- 26 T d'aco::rdo
is that oka::y

The teacher reformulates the question several times, because pupils fail to answer on three occasions; in lines 6, 9 and 12. The subsequent reformulations of the question produced by the teacher illustrate the connection between question design and the teacher's assumptions on the degree of answerability of the question. The fragment shows that the teacher orients to the accessibility of the information as an interactional achievement, rather than considering the answer as the sheer expression of the children's external and independent mental status. Indeed, if the purpose of these questions were to establish whether pupils knew or did not know the answer, she would have reached a conclusion by line 6. Instead, the teacher persists in asking and modifying her questioning. The change in the teacher's assumptions regarding how assured she is that the pupils would answer is visible through the development of the questioning sequence.

- (1) In line 5 the teacher constructs an *incidental* questioning. In the middle of a compound if-formatted turn, she inserts an incidental clause ('which we know well that') whose last item is withheld. Considering the extensive use made by teachers of incomplete utterances to elicit completion in instruction sequence, the intra-turn pause in line 1 and that in line 2 and 4 can all be interpreted as being deployed to elicit the missing word 'segmenti / segments', in each position prior to line 6. Through this device the teacher

provides the opportunity for the children to shape their answer as a *collaborative completion*. In this case, pupils are requested to provide a technical word ('segmenti / segments'). The deployment in a parenthetical unit of the eliciting device displays that the teacher assumes that the information is secondary to the main line of reasoning.

Because of the truncated-utterance device, it is clear that she expects a choral completion.

- (2) However, given the absence of a response, the teacher produces a second questioning format. In lines 7 and 8 the eliciting device remains the same. This time, however, the eliciting completion device is not anymore produced at the end of an incidental clause, as in line 5. The teacher slightly changes the grammatical format of the question, though maintaining the if-format. Pupils, again, are requested to provide the last item of the second component of an if-sentence, but this time the teacher constructs the turn so as to deploy the missing information in the main sentence, rather than in a parenthetical unit. The first component of the TCU is repeated twice. This suggests that the information requested can be inferred from the content of the first component. The information is still considered accessible to the respondents.

The extended gap in line 9 is followed by a next turn where the teacher finally assesses the fact that the information is not as immediately accessible to the children as she supposed it would have been (line 10). Laughter mitigates the statement.

- (3) Although at this point it is clear that answering to the question is rather problematic, the question is nevertheless delivered for the third time, this time as a single interrogative TCU, shaped as a fully grammatical wh-question ('what are they called'). For the first time in the sequence a candidate answer is produced in line 12.

The answer proves to be wrong. This does not yet constitute sufficient evidence for the teacher that the correct answer could not be obtained eventually. The initial item of the

subsequent turn (line 13) seems to indicate that, from the hearing of the first syllable, the teacher is prepared to repeat –that is, to acknowledge positively³- the expected correct answer. Indeed, the correct answer ('segmenti') and the candidate wrong one ('semiretta', line 12) share the same beginning sound. In line 13 the teacher seems to realize that what she was expecting ('segmenti'), as projected from the initial sounds of the answer, is not what the pupil is going to say. This subsequent understanding of the answer is reflected in the teacher's self repair in the middle of line 13, which also constitutes a repair initiation on the pupil's answer. Again, the teacher does not yet provide the correction. Instead, she constructs the repair initiation (line 13) so as to provide a further opportunity to the children to provide the correct answer, which is finally produced in line 14.

This fragment demonstrates that:

- (a) the teacher designs her questioning in relation to different *assumptions* regarding the possibilities that the children would be able to answer;
- (b) the students' failure to answer is not treated as *sufficient* to conclude that they won't be able to answer.

The reverse case has been observed in the last fragment of chapter 2 (#61). In that sequence, the production of answers hasn't prevented the teacher from formulating subsequent versions of the same question. Here, the repeated failure to provide the answer doesn't stop the teacher from pursuing the 'correct' answer.

The non-coincidence between *answering* and *knowing the answer* is an assumption shared by pupils as well, as illustrated in fragment #2 below and, specifically, in line 12:

#2 Living together PM:FZ:12:geography

- 01 T \uparrow perché? si decide di andare a sta:re:, (0.2) tutti insIE:ME::,
 \uparrow why? do people decide to go to li::ve, (0.2) all toGE:THE::R,
- 02 (.)e:,diventare grossa questa città;(.)eh =>sempre di più sempre
 (.) a:nd, become big this town;(.)eh => more and more<

³ The exploration of the teacher's third-turn receipt of correct answers is reported in charter 6.

- 03 di più< >>↑piuttosto di costruire<< tanti piccoli centri.
>>↑instea' of building<< many small villages.
- 04 (2.2) / ((noise))
- 05 St io lo s-
I know i'-
- 06 (1.0) ((teacher turns her gaze from right to the center where the summon comes from))
- A 07 St ci provo
I'll try
- 08 T mh
- A 09 St perché (0.2) se uno sta male::, 'n- fa meno strada per arrivare
because (0.2) if one is si::ck, 'n- has less to walk to get
- 10 vicino a UN' [ALTRA ABITAZione, (per[ché
to ONE [OTHER HOne, (be[cause
- 11 T [((teacher head starts lifting upwards to nod))
- B 12 St [è quello che volevo dire io.
→ [it is what I wanted to say myself.
- 13 T [un'A::ltra abitazio'
[an O::ther hous'
- 14 T bene. <perché ha bisogno del vicino.
right. <because he needs the neighbour.

The pupil's comment on his classmate's answer (line 9) claims that other students, besides the one who actually answers, can also be informed parties. Structural features, such as the numerical asymmetry of the two parties, the presence of a number of potential competitive next speakers at each turn transition and the different interactional contingencies generated by the questioning turns⁴, make distinctive constraints and limitations on the single student's participation opportunities. The turn in line 12 displays that the pupil is orienting to these structural properties and their consequences with regards to the possibility of displaying (the pupil) and ascertaining (the teacher) who is knowledgeable in the classroom.

In the sequence illustrated in fragment #2 above, the question is followed by the selection sequence (lines 4-8). Prior to the turn in line 12, the teacher has selected the

⁴ whereby each time the students' participation rights might vary: the teacher might address the class as a whole or she can have a single interlocutor. In this latter case, the other students become part of the overhearing audience.

answerer, the answer has been produced and, moreover, it was correct. Furthermore, the teacher is beginning to evaluate that answer as correct (line 11). However, there is still an opportunity for the other children to claim that they know the answer too. This opportunity is realized here in line 12, where a post-answer claim of knowledge is produced.

This action isn't sanctioned, nor apparently acknowledged by the teacher. On a number of occasions, like the one in extract #3 below, these claims of knowledge are acknowledged by the teacher, but certainly never sanctioned.

#3 To defend oneself PM:LL:1:history/prehistorical men

	01	St	lo volevo dire io (difende[rsi] I wanted to say that (to d[efend)
→	02	T	[(anche) tu Luigi volevi dire [(you) too Luigi did you want to
	03		<u>questo</u> ¿ say <u>this</u> ¿
	04	St	anch' <u>i</u> :o me <u>too</u> :

It would seem that both parties are aware that the actual production of the answer and the knowledge of the information are not necessarily connected events. In example #1, the teacher treats the students' failure to answer as not automatically implying that they cannot eventually answer. The students in fragments #2 and #3 suggest that those who do not answer can be nevertheless informed. Furthermore, the teacher's behaviour in #1 shows that she takes the achievement of the correct answer to depend on aspects of turn construction. This explains why the failure to answer one question -which in other contexts could be taken as a sign that the answer is not known- does not prevent teachers from producing subsequent reformulations of the question.

In what follows I will illustrate the techniques that teachers exploit to construct questioning turns that are likely to be answered appropriately. I will sketch the two main strategies, and a number of connected practices, that teachers use to assist children in

accessing the information needed to answer and to identify the type of response which is expected.

The first technique involves *providing clues about where to locate the information*: either in past experiences or directly in the observable reality of facts and objects. The second involves *features of question polarity*.

4. Locating the information in order to make it accessible for recipients

In delivering their questions, teachers very often construct compound turns, where TCUs or TCU components are used to provide recipients with clues regarding the accessibility of the answer. Consider case #4 below.

#4 So far PM:LL:1a:history

	01	T	Gabriele,
	02		(.)
Gab.	03	St	eh
	04		(.)
	05	T	<u>fi</u> :no::ra? <u>so</u> : fa::r?
	06		(1.4)
→	07	T	↓ormai abbiamo la nausea? (.) di quest'argomento? (.) vero; ↓by now we feel sick? (.) of this subject? (.) right;
→	08		abbiamo parlato <u>solta:nto</u> , di che ↓co:sa. we have talked <u>o:nly</u> , about ↓wha:t.
	09		(0.4)
	10	T	<u>in</u> storia. <u>in</u> history.

The teacher dedicates a parenthetical unit (line 7) to highlight the accessibility of the answer. She stresses how long they have been talking about this topic (so long that they '*feel sick*' of it). She also adds a further clue to help children to locate the answer (line 8); by suggesting that what she is looking for is the only topic they have treated in history so far. In

this way, the teacher constructs a questioning turn which includes a number of assumptions about the requested item: it is accessible in the memory and easily recoverable by children because is the only subject they have treated and they have done it for a long time. She is clearly orienting to a question which is to be successfully answered. It is noticeable that she uses a *rear-loaded wh-question* (line 8).

4.1. Reference to prior lessons

These ways of making reference to past experiences are very frequent in this kind of question. In fragments #5 and #6 some prior treatment of the information is indicated as having taken place as recently as 'yesterday':

#5 Answers (PM:LT:2.natural sciences/the soil)

- 01 T ↑a↓lo:[ra (ragazzi) ↑incomin↓ciamo intanto [noi °bimbi°
 ↑no:w↓[then (boys) ↑let's we ↓start in the me[anwhile °children°
- [((teacher raises her
 right hand with the palm fronting a couple of children that stand up and lean on
 the floor, apparently collecting something from the floor))
- 02 St [la Ro::sa:
 [Ro::sa:
- 03 T Andrea,
- 04 (4.0)
- 05 T a pensa::re alle risposte che abbiamo dato ieri. eh,
 to thi::nk about the answers whe gave yesterday. eh,
- 06 a proposit[o,
 regardi[ng,
- 07 St [()
- 08 St di co:sa;
 wha:t;

#6 (cont.) Answers II (PM:LT:2:natural sciences)

- 01 T a↓lo:ra io vi voglio fare una do↓ma:nda ↓>bimbi< ↑vi
 now↓the:n I want to ask you a ↓que:stion ↓>children< ↑do you
- 02 ricor↓da::te, (1.0) visto che io ieri mi son dimenticata po:i,
 re↓membe::r, (1.0) considering that I forgot yesterday the:n,

- 03 (.)di copiare le vostre risposte alla lavagna, (1.4)quali sono
(.)to copy your answer on the blackboard, (1.4) what are
- 04 gli elementi che compongono il terre:no secondo vo::i. ↑che
the elements that form the terra:in according to you::.. ↑what
- 05 risposte? avete ↓dato.=
answers ? did you ↓give.=
- 06 St =la sabbia il fango[:
= sand mu[:d
- 07 [alo:ra [facciamo cosi
[we:ll [let's do this way
[((The teacher holds her right arm with he palm
facing the children))

In extract #7 the information is referred to as something which has been mentioned only 'a

few moments ago:

#7 A few minutes ago PM:LL:6:history/the needs of primitive men

- 01 T ↑a: ll[ora.
↑no:w [then.
- Cat. 02 St [mae::stra: / ((while moving towards the T.))
[tea::cher:
- 03 T cosa'bbiam detto- (.) pochi istanti fa::,
what did we say- (.) a few minutes ago::,
- 04 (0.4)
- 05 T questi bisogni cosa fa:nno (.) sono che cosa rappresentano
these needs what do they do:, (.) are they what represent
- 06 che cosa per l'uomo
they what to man

Again, in fragment #8 below, reference is made to what the class did 'yesterday':

#8 Angles.III PM:LT:6a:geometry/angles

- 01 T alora ↑'scolta Giuseppe;(0.2)provia:mo a dire alla Caterina
now ↑'isten Giuseppe;(0.2) shall we try: to tell Caterina
- 02 quello che abbiamo fatto ieri sugli angoli
what we did yesterday about angles
- 03 (0.8)

- 04 T se vuoi parte:ndo:(0.8) uh::: (0.4)racconta:ndo:(0.4)
if you like to begin with (0.8) uh::: (0.4)sayi:ng(0.4)
- 05 se vuoi partire a racconta'n'tutto quello che abbiamo
if you like you may start by tellin' n' all that we
- 06 fa:tto anche ieri ti ricordi la [Desiré °cos'ha fatto°
did yesterday also do you remember what[°did Desirée do°
- 07 St [io io i-
[me me m-
- ((a girl in the front row raises her hand))
- Giu. 08 St sì °mi ricordo°
yes °I remember°
- 09 T (davvero) cos'ha fatto °la Desiré°
(do you really) what did she do °Desiré°
(with a smile))

4.2. The physical availability and observability of the information

A second way in which teachers provide clues about where to locate some 'known' information is pointing out its *visible availability*. Teachers explicitly refer to the possibility of observing some state of affairs, hence their potentiality for being assessed by pupils.

In fragment #9, teachers and pupils are looking at some pictures, which represent different types of human dwellings and settlements. The task here is to distinguish between natural and artificial elements that are present in the pictures. The arrowed lines contain elements which refer to the physical presence, and thus the observability, of the information which is needed to answer the question.

#9 Open your eyes PM:FZ:12:geography/harbours and towns

- 01 T <↑nel paesaggio abitato dall'uomo vedo tutte co:se
<↑in the places where man lives do I see only natural
- 02 natura↑::li>
thi↑::ngs>
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 St no::
- 05 T ↑apri l'occ:hio,
↑open your e:yes,

- 06 (0.4)
- 07 T ↑vedo tutte cose natu[ra::li
↑do I see only, na::tural [things
- 08 St [NO::
- 09 St [no::
- 10 T [in queste sche::de che i::o ho fatto che io .hh ho
[in these pictu::res which I:: have do::ne which I .hh have
- 11 colora:to,
co:loured,
- 12 St no:
- 13 T ↓alo'. ade:so >facciamo la domandina.< (.) mhm?
↓so. no:w >we ask the question.(DIMIN.)< (.) mhm?

The visibility of the information is also pointed out in lines 10 and 11, where the teacher indirectly refers to the fact that the children have already had the opportunity to examine and observe those specific pictures because they have already worked on them.

In the two examples below other occurrences of this practice are provided.

#10 Streets PM:FZ:12:geography/harbours and towns

- 01 T nella terza immagine,
in the third picture,
- 02 (0.6)
- 03 T Riccardo
- 04 (2.6)
- 05 T c'è una co::sa che-(.)salta proprio agli occhi eh;(.) ed e'
there's one thi::ng that-(.)is very visible eh;(.)and it is
- 06 una cosa umanizzata
something humanized⁵
- 07 (0.2)
- 08 T che non so:no solo le ca:se
which a:ren't just the ho:uses
- 09 (0.2)
- Jan. 10 St ((raises her hand))

⁵ The teacher uses this neologism, meaning 'artificial', in the sense of 'produced/built by man; not natural'.

Ric.	11	St	°le [stra[de° °s[treets°
X	12	St	[°stra[de° [°stre[ets°
	13	T	[le stra::de [the stree::ts

#11 People need to work PM:FZ:12:geography/harbours and towns

	01	T	↑cos'è? che <u>c'è</u> (.) c'è un elemento che io ho ↑what is it? that is <u>there</u> (.)ther's an element that I have
	02		(0.4)
→	03	T	<u>colora</u> :to, [e che risa:lta: <u>co</u> :lored, [and that sho:ws u:p
	04	St	[do:ve? [whe:re?
	05		(0.2)
	06	T	eh?

In the fragment below the teacher is materially showing to the children an example of the thing she wants them to nominate. It is a geometry lesson on the concept of angles. Children have been invited to look for types of angles in the objects that are present in the room. When the fragment begins, the teacher holds a book and points to its four right angles:

#12 The book PM:LT:5:angles/right angles

	01	T	<u>A</u> :llora. No:w.
	02		(0.2)
→	03	T	ta::nti tipi di a:n:'<se <u>io</u> gua::rdo:, ma::ny types of a:n:'<if <u>I</u> lo::k a:t,
→	04		(0.4) / ((she holds a book))
→	05	T	e:c' he:r'
	06	St	[cioè:: [so::
→	07	T	[il- tu::- contorno di questo libro? [the- a::ll- the outline of this book?

- 08 (0.8)
- 09 T anche qua che cosa ve::do
here again what do I see::
- 10 (0.4)
- 11 T tan::[ti angoli,
ma::n[y angles,
- 12 Sts [angoli retti
[right angles
- 13 T ta::n[ti angoli retti.
ma::n[y right angles.

The question takes the shape of an if-sentence. The first clause constructs an indirect directive to *look at* the book outline, thus conveying that the answer depends on the pupils' ability to register the information. Furthermore she characterizes the answer as recoverable from the pupils' prior experience by introducing the second interrogative clause with the expression '*here again*'. In this way it is assumed that the question isn't just *a* question, but is *a second occurrence* of the preceding one, thus indirectly providing a clue about the type of answer which expected.

A further observation might be relevant to conclude this section with reference to the beginning issues of *questions in/authenticity*. It is obvious that teachers ask known-answer questions. The answers are known to the teacher, as it is clearly part of their job to be more knowledgeable than their recipients. However, in addressing pupils, they propose that recipients are knowledgeable parties as well. Furthermore, features of question design show the teacher's assumptions regarding how and to which degree pupils have access to information. But what is relevant here is not just to establish whether pupils know or not know the answer. What really matters here is the manner in which teachers construct their questioning so as to display their assumptions with regards to the expectation of a successfully answered question and the connected practices which are embodied in features of turn construction and their sequential deployment.

So far, I have outlined two different practices which shape questions as means of instructing pupils on where to access the information: either in the pupils' past experience or in its physical presence in that very moment. I now turn to the second of the techniques which teachers use to direct students to information, involving features of question polarity and therefore projecting the desired answer type.

5. The conduciveness of questioning

The issue of how participants orient to one specific response type has been addressed both by linguists and conversation analysts, mainly with reference to *yes/no questions*. Linguists refer to grammatical features of *yes/no questions* as *conducive* to affirmative or negative answers (Quirk et al., 1985). Apparently, the affirmative or negative format of the question seems to be associated, corresponding, to an affirmative or negative answer. Also the presence of *quantifiers* seems to be responsible for the reversed polarity of affirmative questions⁶.

In conversation analysis this phenomenon is related to the concept of *preference*. Conversational events display a preference organization insofar as one first action projects responses which are alternative, but not equivalent. (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984: pp.53-56). So, for instance, requests, offers, invitations, proposals, can be accepted or rejected. But, in accomplishing one of these two second actions, speakers display a preference for acceptance. The accomplishment of acceptances and rejections presents distinctive features whereupon the two alternative options are systematically done in different ways.

“The generic term ‘preference’ is used to reference these basic differences. Actions which are characteristically performed straightforwardly and without delay are termed ‘preferred’ actions, while those which are delayed, qualified and accounted for are termed ‘dispreferred’” (Heritage, 1984a: pp. 267).

⁶ In his study on the interpretation of universal quantifiers as they are used by five English speakers, Labov observes the work that they do in terms of expressing the “social orientation toward the linguistic proposition: the commitment of the self to the proposition” (1984: 44).

The organization of preference is therefore related both to the courses of actions which is initiated by a first action, and to features of turn construction. For instance, Heritage (2002) illustrates that, in news interviews,

“negative interrogative concerning matters about which there is a shared knowledge are built to prefer ‘yes’ answer”. They are heard by recipients as hostile statements. Interviewees “respond to them in ways that deny their status” (Heritage, *ibid.*).

In classroom interaction, teachers combine the practices illustrated above with specific patterns of turn construction to convey a *preference* which displays which is the favoured type of response.

5.1. The preference for contiguity and agreement: the deployment of the preferred option in alternative questions

Teachers tend to design ‘or’ questions so that the correct candidate answer is in second position.

13 Roads PM:FZ:12b.geography

→ 01 T LE STRA::DE è più facile costruirle in monta:gna? o in
RO::ADS is it easier to build them on the mou:ntains? or on

02 pianura
lawland

03 Sts PIANU:::[RA::
LAW:::LA[:::ND

04 St [nu::ra:
[la:::nd

Though elliptical in their format, alternative questions can be considered multiple questions. In this respect, Sacks observes that in cases where multiple questions are produced, respondents tend to answer first to the second positioned question, so as to preserve contiguity between question and answer (Sacks, 1973/1987: p.60-61), as is the case of the following example:

14 (Sacks, 1973/1987: p. 59-60)

A: Well that’s good uh how is yer arthritis. Yuh still taking shots?

B: Yeah. Well it's, it's awright I mean it's uh, it hurts once 'n a While but it's okay.

First B answers 'yeah.' to A's second question 'Yuh still taking shots?' and only after that does he answer to A's first question regarding his arthritis.

Sacks observes that Q-A pairs display also a preference for *agreement*, which interacts with the preference for contiguity. So, agreeing answers tend to occur contiguously while disagreeing answers are delayed. (p. 58).

Producing the correct answer to alternative questions consists of repeating the final item of the prior questioning turn. It isn't unusual to have cases where the answer is delivered in overlap with the last item of the question. Teacher and pupils seem to co-ordinate their activity so as to maximize the *contiguity* between question and answer. In this way, the preference for contiguity between question and answer and the preference for *agreement* seem to be preserved (Sacks, 1973/1987).

#15 Rivers PM:FZ:12b.geography

- 01 T è più comodo costruire lontano dai fiumi? o vicino
it's more convenient to build far from rivers? or close
- 02 ai fiu[mi
to riv[ers
- 03 Sts [vi[ci::no:
[cl[o::se to::
- 04 Sts [vici::no:::
[clo::se to::
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 T oh:::

#16 Open or closed PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T ↑il conto::rno; (.) è vero <della cattedra; che cos'è
the ↑outli::ne; (.) alright <of the teacher desk; what is it
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 T è forma::to? >da che cos'< <da una linea? co::me
is fo::rmed? >by what< <by a line? ho::w
- 04 (0.6)

05 St i::o[::! spezzata!
me::[::! crooked!

06 St [spezzata!
[crooked!

07 St `zata
`ked

08 T aperta o chiu::sa
open or clo::sed

09 St io lo [so
I know [it

→ 10 Sts [chiu[::sa
[clo:[::sed

→ 11 Sts [chiu:sa
[clo:sed

11 T [chiu::sa::,
[clo::::sed,

#17 Temperature PM:FZ:geography

01 T quindi LA- (.) tempe::-↓ra::-,-
so THE- (.)tempe::-↓ra::-,-

02 (.)

03 Sts tu:::ra:::?
tu:::re:::?

04 T cosa fa <si alza o si abbassa di n[otte.
what does it<does it rise or fall at ni[ght.

→ 05 Sts [si [abba::ssa::
[it [fa::ll

→ 06 Sts [si abba::[ssa::
[it fa::[ll

→ 07 Sts [si
[it

08 abbassa::
fa::ll

09 T si abba::ssa::.
it fa::ll.

The systematic deployment illustrated in examples 15-17 of the correct option in second position seems a very powerful tool to optimise the probability of a correct answer and a collective response.

5.2. Yes/no questions

Answers to yes/no questions are very frequently produced in unison. This conveys the sense that the information is obviously known to the pupils, almost taken for granted. This sense of obviousness is produced by a number of features:

- yes/no questions are usually addressed to the whole class;
- recipients respond in unison, or they time their delivery in small groups which are slightly delayed one after the other;
- answers are frequently produced in overlap with, or latched to, the last syllable of the questioning turn.

#18 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography

01 T Alo:ra
SO:

02 (0.2)

03 T siete degli esseri uma:ni?
are you human bei:ngs?

→ 04 Sts s::i:::
ye:::s::

#19 Two groups II PM:LT:2:natural sciences

22 T ↑seco:ndo voi, possiamo? dividere in due gruppi tu[tti =
↑in you:r view, can we? divide in two groups al[l =

00 St [sì:.

01 T =questi eleme[n]ti;
=these elemen[ts];

→ 02 St [SI':::.

→ 03 Sts sì:::

#20 Temperature PM:FZ:22:geography

01 T questo per indica:::re ↓che co::sa.<che la temperatura è
this to indica:::te ↓wha::t. <that the temperature is

02 sempre la stessa? durante la giorna:::ta.=
always the same? during the da:::y.=

→ 03 Sts =no:::.

04 T n:o:::

→ 05 Sts [no:::.

#21 Maths tables PM:LT:3:maths

- 01 T e:::: con la 'na- tabella della sottrazio:ne? che cosa
a::::nd with the 'na- table of the subtra:ction? what
- 02 abbia::mo. abbiamo tutte le caselle pie:ne:.
do we ha::ve. do we have all the slots fu::ll.
- 03 St n[o.
- 04 Sts [no::[:
- 05 Sts [no.
- 06 T n:o,
- 07 (.)
- 08 T è vero? ((FORMULAIC TAG QUESTION))

However, from observing features of question design in connection to its polarity, it emerges that the each answer seems to be related to the conduciveness of the question format.

The comparison of yes-answer questions (#18 and #19) with examples of no-answer questions (#20 and #21) shows that *unmarked single* yes-no questions get a positive answer. By contrast, questions which favour a negative answer -a disagreement with the sentential content of the questions, but in agreement with the preference of the question format- have a distinctive *marked format*:

- the wh-word is placed in mid-turn position, producing a *cleft-utterance*;
- what follows the wh-word is hearable as a *candidate answer*;
- the delivery of wh-word has a distinctive falling intonation, and it is immediately followed by a candidate answer. This produces a rhetorical, almost *sceptical*, flavour.
- this scepticism is also conveyed by *quantifiers* ('*always* the same' in #20; '*all* full' in #21), which reverse the polarity of the question.

With reference to this last feature, according to Labov (1984) quantifiers works as *intensifiers* by expressing the "social orientation toward the linguistic proposition: the commitment of the self to the proposition" (p.44). By using these quantifiers, the teacher

conveys a *negative stance* towards the sentence content of the question, thus preferring a *disconfirmation*. In other words through this marked format the teacher provides a wrong candidate answer which is clearly designed to be disconfirmed.

The procedure whereby speakers provide recipients with a candidate answer in seeking information activities is described by Pomerantz as follows (1988):

“An information-seeker has options as to how much or how little guidance to give a recipient with respect to what information is relevant and appropriate. When interactants incorporate Candidate Answers in their inquiries, they give the co-interactants model of the types of answers that would satisfy their purposes. In providing a model, an interactant instructs a co-interactant as to just what kind of information is being sought.” (p.366)

One of the examples she reports is the following:

(The high school attendance clerk called to speak with the mother but the absent student answered. When the clerk was told that the mother was not at home, she sought some information regarding the absence from the student)

Clerk: Well how- have you been home from school i:ll Renee,
(0.5)
Stud: Yeah
(2.0)
Clerk: Okay, when was the first day that you were out ill
(2.2)
Stud: I don' know
→ Clerk: Well you know how long it's been, couple weeks? Or what.
Stud: yeh

In the arrowed line the clerk provides a candidate answer “couple week?” which indicates the recipients the type of information she is seeking: a vague definition of time (Pomerantz, 1988: p. 368).

In designing no-answer questions, teachers provide an evidently wrong candidate answer. Sometimes, the wrong candidate answer instructs the children about what is the correct one, as in the example below:

#22 Temperature PM:FZ:22:geography

→ 01 T [e::::- (2.2) po- ↑po::i piano piano? il sole cosa fa.
[a::::nd- (2.2) th- ↑the::n very slowly? the sun what does it do.
02 St ci riscalda.
it warms us up.
03 St eh::[:

- 04 T cosa fa. <resta sempre a est;
what does it do. <does it stay always at east;
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 St no:
- 07 St va:: a:l sud
it go::es south
- 08 T va al sud:.
it goes sou:th.

The answer to the first question (line 2) isn't exactly what the teacher was looking for.

In line 4 she reformulates the prior question, where she incorporates a wrong candidate answer. This instructs children on the type of answer the teacher was looking for in line 1. As evidenced in line 7, the no-answer is followed by a specification which finally responds correctly to the original question in line 1.

5.3. Completing truncated utterances

As illustrated in chapter 2 (section 3), teachers accomplish questioning also through a number of non-syntactic formats. One of the most frequently used is the production of *incomplete utterances* to elicit completion of the teacher's ongoing turn (the Eliciting Turn Completion device). Through the employment of this practice, teachers invite students to step in the space of their ongoing turn in order to provide the final item, as in the example below:

#23 Friday From: Enza22b.geography/temperature

- 01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
WE:::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-⁷
[((teacher seats
down
- 02 (0.2) / ((some children are talking))
- 03 Sts [((2 of the 5 boys
are actually sitting down at this point))
- V. 04 St [((V. is still
standing up, turning her back to to the teacher, talking to some girls;
at this precise moment she turns for a tenth of a second towards the teacher
and then back to chat with some girls))
- 05 Sts [((two children,

⁷ Here again, the word in English has only 2 syllables, compared to the 3 in 've-ner-di'. Therefore, in the translation I had to take into account this aspect. I tried however to reproduce that pattern where the beat before the last is normally produced with emphasis, the last ends with a slightly raising intonation and a cut off.

from this moment, abandon their prior activity and turn their gaze to the teacher))

→ 06 Sts \vee dl:::,
 \vee day:::,⁸

Through the spelling of the name of the day syllable by syllable, the teacher proposes an analysis of the word in syllables, which makes recognizable to the recipients the task they are invited to accomplish. In the prior chapter I have already illustrated how this practice works (and in chapter 4 I will explore in detail the practices connected with this manner of eliciting collaborative completion through truncated utterances). However it is worth recalling a number of observations:

- the practice is deployed within a parenthetical unit, which characterizes the information as secondary;
- the part which is left to the students to be produced is the morpheme for 'day', which is the same for all the names of the days, therefore highly predictable;
- the practice is used to address the whole class;
- in this case, as in the vast majority of these cases, students respond in unison, with a perfect timing of each single delivery;
- in some cases, as the one produced here, students deliver their response also with the intonation contour which is projected by the teacher's prior turn.

As it is clearly visible here, pupils have understood the parenthetical nature of the TCU and produce their completion rather emphatically, with a rising intonation.

The length and type of the part which is left to the students to complete varies considerably from case to case. This variation is related to whether the information is directly available, because visible, or whether it is recoverable in prior talk or in past experience.

In the example below, for instance, the teacher leaves out the whole word:

⁸ \vee : this symbol is proposed here to indicate an intonational countour where a falling intonation is followed by a distinctive raise. This produces an up-and-down wawing pattern.

#24 Window PM:LT:5: geometry/angles

- 01 T alora bene Giovanni
so good Giovanni
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 T il braccio adesso dove guarda=verso la, -
the arm now where does it point to=to the, -
- 04 T ((T. holds straight her arm to point to the window))
- 05 (0.2)
- 06 Sts fi[nestra
wi[ndow
- 07 T [fine[stra.
[win[dow.

The class is following a demonstration, where the information requested is visually accessible to the children. Thus, the teacher combines the two main resources to project the requested answer: reference to the accessibility of the information and features of turn design. The requested information is directly accessible to children, as illustrated in the gloss (line 4). The teacher, therefore, can withhold the whole lexical item and be sure pupils will answer correctly.

Some times this device is used to re-cycle verbal material from prior talk. The proximity of a prior occurrence of the item which is now elicited makes recognizable the response. In extract 26 below the teacher provides only the first of the three syllables which compound the word 'la-vo-ro' (line 1). This could project a number of different words as completion, but the specific lexical item requested here has been earlier produced in the talk. The child in 3 understands the word. The second syllable makes the word fully available also to the other children who, at this time, come in with a choral response.

#26 Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns

- 01 T [LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la, -
[THE ↑PEOPLE HAS NEED for wor, -
[↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED of wor, -

02 (.)
 03 St °'vo[rɔ°
 °'ki[g°
 04 Sts ['vo:::r[ɔ:
 ['ki:::n[g

This practice of withholding part of the turn accomplishes a type of questioning whereby the answer is treated as non-problematic because both parties orient to the fact that the information is available to recipients: either the information is *recoverable in prior talk* (#25) or it could be made accessible to recipients on the basis of its *observability* (#24), or because of the *grammatical projectability* of the item (#23).

5.4. Rear-loaded open questions

Open questions constitute one of the larger groups of teachers' questioning turns. However, as illustrated in chapter 2 (sections 3 and 4), a grammatically based description of questions is generally unable to provide an account for a number of features of teachers' questioning. In particular, with reference to open questions, I have shown the different sequential outcomes of teachers' questions which linguists would include in the same category of *wh*-questions. On that occasion we have observed two different outcomes of open questions:

- (1) questions which are answered by students in unison;
- (2) questions which have an inserted selection sequence before the answer.

I have argued that through these different treatments teachers and children show a common orientation to non-problematic answers, those which involve the taken-from-granted information type; against those which are considered more problematic, because the information is less accessible.

In this section we have seen that a number of questioning formats (e.g.: *alternative questions, yes/no questions, truncated utterances*) are treated by participants as conducive of certain responses or actions (e.g.: *completion, confirmation, disconfirmation*) which is recognizably projected by the format taken by the question. This is reflected in the manner in which the Q-A sequence develops. In particular, these questioning formats make relevant as next action a choral production of the answer or, at least, the avoidance of the inserted selection sequence. The answer is produced with minimal delay and sequence disruption.

Among open questions, one particular construction achieves the same outcomes: the format which has the wh-word deployed in the turn final position. It avoids systematically the deployment of any inserted sequences between question and answer -thus optimising the contiguity between question and answer- and it is frequently directed to the class as a whole.

#26 Posters PM:LT:5:geometry/angles

- 01 T be::ne.(.)↑il braccio; (0.2)stavolta dov'è gira::to
we::ll.(.)↑the arm; (0.2) this time where does it po::int
- 02 ve:rso? [che cosa
to:? [what
- 03 St [e: i: mappamondo
[e: the(PLUR.) globe (SING.)
- 04 St verso:: i: que::[:
to:: the: tho[:::se
- 05 St [e:
- 06 St i car[tello:ni
the p[o:sters
- 07 St [i cartel[li
[the posters
- 08 T [verso i cartelloni vero = che stanno in
[to the posters right = which are hanging
- 09 fondo all' aula.
at the bottom of the classroom.

#27 Circles

- 01 T ALO:RA: QUI DOVETE FARE CHE CO:[SA.
NOW:THE:N HERE YOU HAVE TO DO WHA[:T

02 St

[i cerchi
[the circles

The device is designed to elicit a form of turn completion, similar to the type of responses which follow truncated utterances. In this case, pupils are requested to substitute the wh-word with the missing lexical item.

As this repertoire of practices show, teachers shape their questioning turns in a variety of ways. They exploit grammatical resources -syntax, phonetics, prosody, morphology- in the construction of questioning turn, in order to *optimise the possibilities of a correct answer*. These practices reflect the teachers' assumptions on the probability that questions will be correctly answered. These assumptions are conveyed mainly on an interactional basis: the organization of preference and the deployment of clues regarding the accessibility of the information. It emerges that teachers build their questions on what pupils already know or can be guided towards knowing through the development of Q-A sequences.

In the following section I will illustrate how these practices are deployed in delivering series of questions. Observations regarding the specific pedagogic purposes of instruction sequences will be proposed.

6. How to get the pupils to see something new: the delivery structure of questions in a series

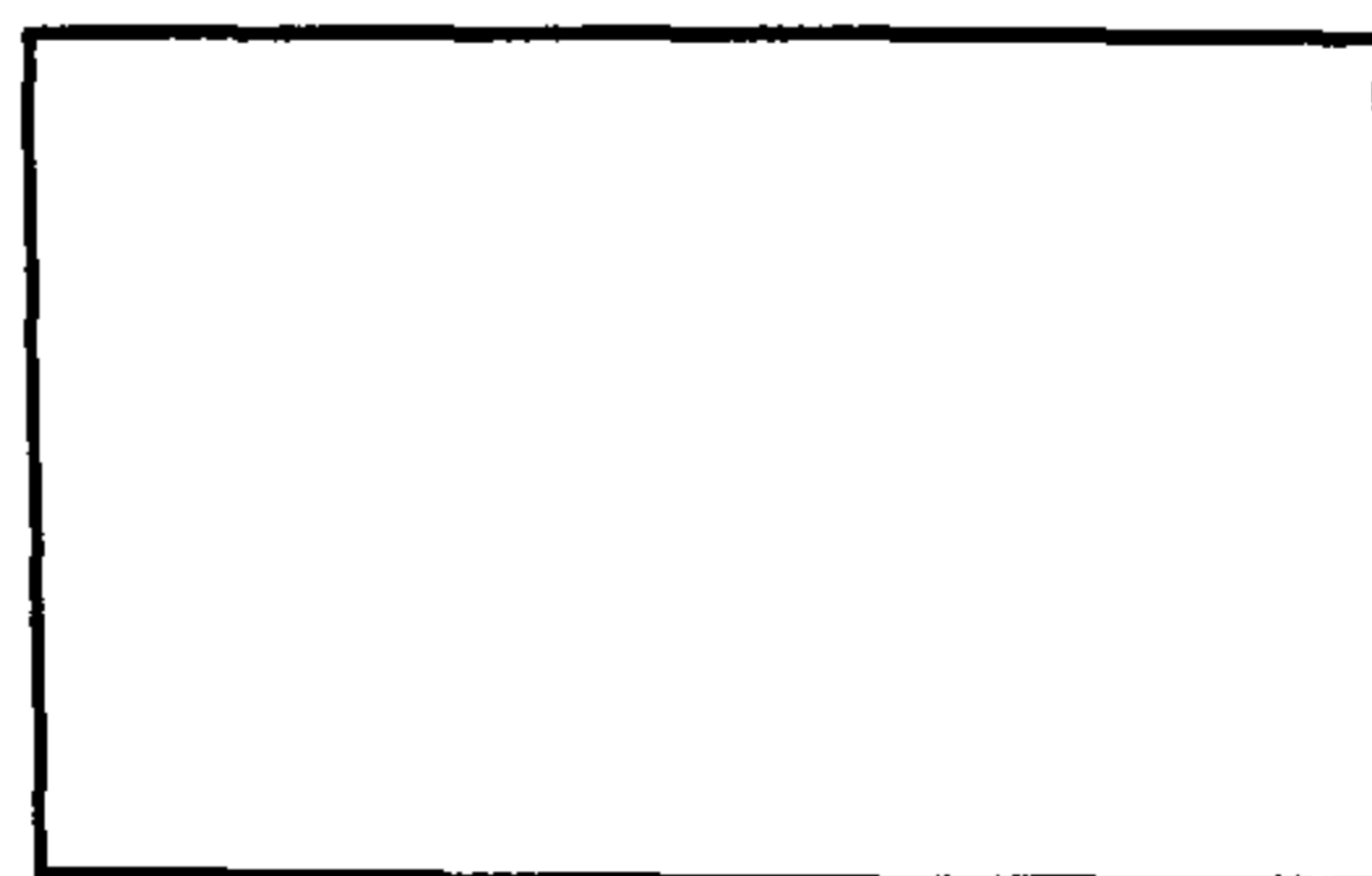
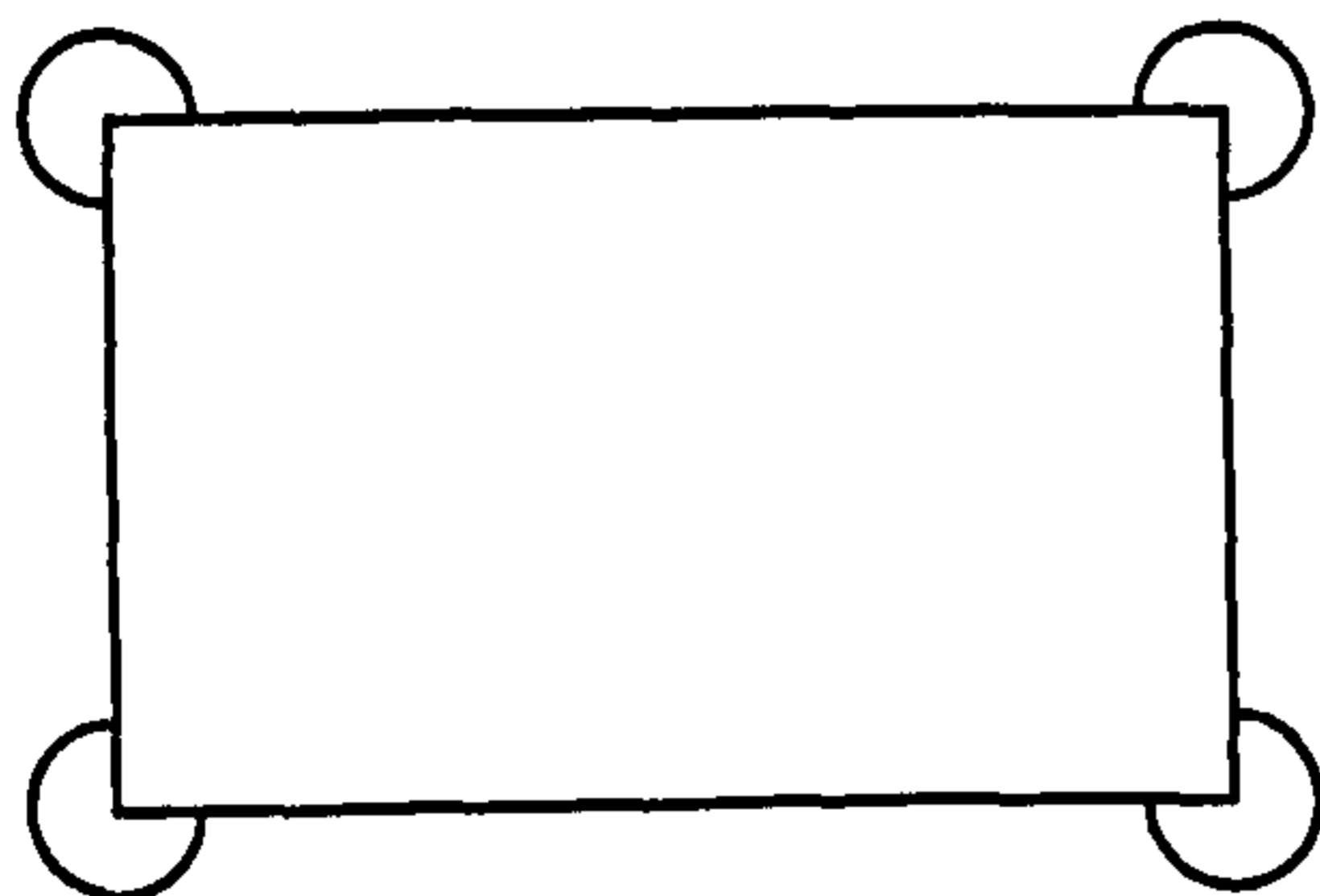
In this section I will focus on a series of connected questions. The ways in which teachers make choices with regards to the syntactic patterns and the construction of polarity of their questioning will be here seen at work in the larger context of instruction sequences where subsequent questions are delivered. I will illustrate how different question formats are deployed in a sequence to serve the function of leading pupils to arrive at new information starting from some pre-existing knowledge. The trajectory of this pedagogic project emerges from the production of a number of connected Q-A pairs.

I will mainly refer to one instruction sequence in particular as the main thread of my analysis, but a number of extracts from other instruction sequences will be used at each key-passage to illustrate analogies and similarities.

The whole extended fragment is provided in Appendix 1 (at the end of of this chapter). Here I will deal with one of the 5 sequences at a time. The topic of the lesson is the concept of *angle* in geometry. This lesson has a quite extended lecturing phase. The teacher has organized a number of activities which are conducted with the participation of the whole class in plenary session, before children are given task to work on individually. When the fragment begins, Giada has just finished drawing on the blackboard the shape of a rectangle, which represents the teacher's desk. She has been invited to indicate the four angles by drawing little circles around them.

6.1. Forms of accessible knowledge: the visible and the inferable

The teacher begins by establishing the object of their talk: the 'internal part' (1-8). She then corrects the drawing which Giada has made on the blackboard and, precisely, the manner in which Giada has indicated the angles in the shape (see the gloss in line 9). The little circles that Giada has drawn to highlight the angles include both the internal and the external surface with reference to the rectangle outline (picture on the left). The teacher corrects the drawing of the small circles, signing only the angles internal to the shape (picture on the right). She then specifies that they will be looking only at the internal angles of the shape⁹.



⁹ The teacher is drawing attention to the fact that geometrical shapes such as triangles, squares, rectangles, etc. have 'internal' and 'external' angles. For instance, each time two sides of the rectangle join together they create two angles: one that is internal to the surface of rectangle, the other that belongs to the external surface.

After the visual correction and the verbal definition of the object, the ‘internal angle’ (lines 1-8), the teacher proposes a further specification of ‘internal part’ (lines 16-27). The teacher’s question that initiates the first sequence in the extract below focuses on the definition of ‘internal angles’ in a rectangular shape. The question in line 16 concerns the meaning of the word ‘internal’ with reference to the shape of the teacher’s desk.

This specification is shaped as a *rear-loaded wh-question* (line 16). Pupils fail to answer (line 17). The arrowed lines in the sequence that follows (# 28) indicate the 4 subsequent reformulations of the question, in the attempt to elicit from children the definition of ‘internal’ in terms of ‘belonging to the surface of the desk’. The discussion will focus on the teacher’s re-issuing of the questioning¹⁰.

28 Angles (1) PM:LT:5:geometry/right angles

- 01 T lei ha cerchiato tutto que:- tutta questa pa:rte. adesso
she's highlighted all tha:- all this pa:rt. now
 ((she points to the drawing and, in particular, to one angle))
- 02 noi<la parte che interessa,>[brava Giada °vai pure al posto°
 we <the part that matters,> [very good Giada °you can go back°
- 03 Sts [(start clapping hands while Giada goes
 back to seat)]
- 04 T la pa:rte che interessa,
 the pa:rt that matters,
- 05 (1.6)/((she seems to look for a piece of chalk))
- 06 T di questo:: (.) di questi an::goli,
 of thi::s (.) of these a::ngles,
- 07 (1.0)
- 08 T è quella (.) inte::rna, <↑questa qua.
 it is the (.) inte::rnal, <↑this one here.
- 09 (0.8)/((she signs with the chalk the internal angles in the rectangle))
- 10 T eh? >allora.< possiamo fare anche così.
 eh? >now.< we can do in this way also.
- 11 (0.2)

¹⁰ In order to capture the sense of the interaction it is worth pointing out that in Italian the word for ‘surface’, here ‘piano’ is masculine, while the word for ‘desk’, here ‘cattedra’ is feminine. Therefore the corresponding preposition ‘of the’ is masculine ‘del piano’ / ‘of the surface’, but it is feminine in ‘della cattedra’ / ‘of the desk’.

- 12 T va be:ne;
oka:y;
- 13 (.)
- Sequence 1**
- 14 T a no:i interessa la parte inte::rna;
we: are interested in the inte::rnal part;
- 15 (0.2)
- 1→ 16 T cioè la pa:rte di a::ngolo? che fa pa::rte? di che co::sa:
that is the pa:rt of an a::ngle? which is pa::rt? of wha::t.
- 17 (1.4)/((she turns to her desk and with gestures indicates its surface))
- 2→ 18 T se è inte::rna? fa pa::rte del,- [MASC., SING.]
if it is inte::rnal? it's pa::rt of,-
- 19 (1.6)
- 3→ 20 T di che cosa. <della?- [FEM., SING.]
of what. <of the?-
- 21 (0.6)
- 22 St eh- del ban[co [MASC., SING.]
eh- of the de[sk
- 23 St [del ba[::nco!
[of the de[::sk!
- 24 T [della ca::tterda![FEM., SING.]
[of the tea::cher desk!
- 4→ 25 del pia::no¹¹ della?-
of the su::rface of the?-
- 26 St ca[:ttedra
te[a:cher desk
- 27 T [cattedra. >va ben';<
[teacher desk. >'right;< /((she turns to the drawing on the bb.))
- 28 (1.0)

The rear-loaded format of the open question in line 16 is a consequence of the fact that the questioning is built as a dependent clause. Using this format in this position, the teacher implies that the information is consequential from prior talk; somehow self-evident. The packaging of the question within a secondary clause -which draws the conclusion from the prior demonstrative sequence- treats the information as directly accessible for the recipients.

¹¹ The word 'piano' /'surface' in Italian is masc. and sing.

This accessibility is hinted at by the teacher gestures (line 17) when she turns to the actual object –the teacher’s desk- when the pupils fail to produce the answer.

The procedure of eliciting the missing item is immediately repeated in line 18 (see example below) where the teacher re-states the connection with the premises through an incomplete *if-formatted utterance*, as typical of the *truncated-utterance device*:

29

2→ 18 T se è inte::rna? fa pa::rte del,- [MASC., SING.]
if it is inte::rnal? it's pa::rt of,-
19 (1.6)

Again, for the teacher the answer is self-evident and physically there in front of them. In comparison to the first question, here the preposition ‘del’ provides further clues for the missing word, because of its grammatical features: being masculine and singular it projects a noun which should have the same characteristics (‘del piano della cattedra’ / ‘of the surface of the desk’). Again, children do not answer, and the teacher makes a third attempt (line 20):

31

3→ 20 T di che cosa. <della?- [FEM., SING.]
of what. <of the?-
21 (0.6)
22 St eh- del ban[co [MASC., SING.]
eh- of the de[sk
23 St [del ba[::nco!
[of the de[::sk!
24 T [della ca::tterra! [FEM., SING.]
[of the tea::cher desk!

In line 20 the teacher insists on pursuing the elicitation of the missing word inviting the completion of an incomplete utterance. This time, however, she produces a feminine version of the same preposition: ‘della’, which project ‘cattedra’ / desk’ instead of , literally, ‘del

piano della cattedra' / of the surface of the desk'. Line 20 is constructed as the syntactic continuation of the prior if-formatted question in line 18 that pupils failed to complete.

#32

- 2→ 18 T se è inte::rna? fa pa::rte del,- [MASC., SING.]
if it is inte::rnal? it's pa::rt of,-
- 19 (1.6)
- 3→ 20 T di che cosa. <della?- [FEM., SING.]
of what. <of the?-
- 21 (0.6)
- 22 St eh- del ban[co [MASC., SING.]
eh- of the de[sk
- 23 St [del ba[::nco!
[of the de[::sk!

After the gap in line 21, pupils produce an answer.

In this way, through subsequent attempts the teacher constructs a series of turns which make the question progress each time a little further, until the point when it incorporates the beginning of the candidate answer (#32: line 20).

The completion provided in line 22 and 23 is grammatically appropriated to the former elicitation line 18. In line 24 the teacher repairs the answer, substituting the phrase provided by the pupils 'del banco' with 'della cattedra', thus making it grammatically shaped in accordance to her last elicitation of line 20.

#33

- 3→ 20 T di che cosa. <della?- [FEM., SING.]
of what. <of the?-
- 21 (0.6)
- 22 St eh- del ban[co¹² [MASC., SING.]
eh- of the de[sk

¹² If we consider the Q/A sequence (that begins in #32), lines 18 and 20, we observe that the preposition 'della' of line 20 projects a fem. and sing. noun, while 'del' (line 18) is masc. So, the completion provided by the children in #33 lines 22, 23 ('del banco' / 'of the desk') being masc. and sing., is in accordance with the teacher's first eliciting turn in line 18, while the teacher's repair in line 24 ('la cattedra' / 'the teacher's desk'), being fem., is in accordance with the second eliciting turn in line 20.

- 23 St [del ba[:nco!
[of the de[:sk!
- 24 T [della ca[:tterda! [FEM., SING.]
[of the tea[:cher desk!
- 4→ 25 del pia::no¹³ della?-
of the su::rface of the?-
- 26 St ca[:ttedra
te[a:cher desk
- 27 T [cattedra. >va ben'¿<
[teacher desk. >'right¿< /((she turns to the drawing on the bb.))
- 28 (1.0)

She then continues her turn (line 25) by making reference to the extended phrase 'del pia::no della?- / of the su::rface of the?-' /, leaving the pupils to complete with the repetition of the word 'cattedra' / 'desk' / that she has previously repaired in line 24. It is interesting to notice also that in the course of repairing the pupils' prior answers she performs an elicitation of the correct answer.

In this sequence the teacher uses two practices: the Eliciting Turn Completion device by means of *truncated utterances* and *rear-loaded wh-questions*, as means of eliciting the completion of the turn, or of some parts of it. The request for completion treats the information as immediately available to the pupils either because it is observable, or because it can be easily inferred or projected from prior talk, or by a combination of the two.

To demonstrate that these questioning formats are systematically used to elicit information which is treated as being accessible I will discuss a couple of further examples.

In the fragment below the teacher is eliciting a report on the position of the arm of one child who is making a demonstration. The arm of the child points to the window. Besides, the teacher too stretches her arm to point at window (line 2). The teacher can assume that pupils would provide the appropriate completion here because there is *observable evidence* for what she is looking for.

¹³ The word 'piano' / 'surface' in Italian is masc. and sing.

34 PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T ↑il braccio adesso dove guarda. <verso la, -
↑the arm now where does it point to. <to the, -
- 02 T ((T. holds her arm straight, also to point to the window))
- 03 (0.2)
- 04 Sts fi[nestra
wi[ndow
- 05 T [finestra.
[window.

In the following example, the request to provide completion to the truncated utterance in line 11 is built on the observability of the actual action which the teacher herself performs (lines 1 and 7) and her having previously named the action as 'rotating' (lines 7 and 11).

35 PM:LT:5:geometry: angles

- 01 T ↑cosa fa il braccio
↑what does the arm do. / ((turns several times tossing her head to
invite children to answer))
- 02 St si gi[ra
it tu[rns (REFLEX.)
- 03 St [ha cambiato direzione
[(IT) has changed direction
- 04 T si gi::ra:.
it tu::rns:.
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 St eh-
- 07 T cioè? () ruo::ta:, ↑fa una rotazio::ne:,
that is? () it tu::rns, ↑it does a rota::tion, / ((she turns
again))
- 08 (.)
- 09 T d'acco:rdo;
alri:ght;
- 10 (1.4) / ((background noise))
- 11 T per cambia:re dire↑zio:ne, (0.2) io faccio una ro- [ta:-
to cha:nge ↑dire:ction, (0.2) I do a ro- [ta:-
- 12 St [rotazione
[rotation

13 St 'zio::ne.
'tio::n.

14 'zio::ne.
'tio::n.

In the two fragments below the device is built on the children's capability of recognizing the incomplete word. In both cases, the high projectability of the word is based on the word's morphology:

36 PM:FZ:22: geography

→ 01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
WE::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-¹⁴
[(teacher seats
down
02 (0.2)/((some children are talking))
03 Sts [(2 of the 5 boys
are actually sitting down at this point))
V. 04 St [(V. is still
standing up, turning her back to to the teacher, talking to some girls;
at this precise moment she turns for a tenth of a second towards the teacher
and then back to chat with some girls))
05 Sts [(two children,
from this moment, abandon their prior activity and turn their gaze to the
teacher))
06 Sts √di:::,
√day:::,¹⁵

#37 PM:FZ:22:geography

→ 01 T quindi LA- (.) tempe::-↓ra::,-
so THE- (.) tempe::-↓ra::,-
02 (.)
03 Sts tu:::ra:::?
tu:::re:::?

Finally, in the example below, we observe another case where a *rear-loaded wh-question* (arrowed lines) is used in environments in which the teacher proposes that some consequences are to be drawn from prior talk, and in combination with the production of incomplete utterances to elicit completion from children.

¹⁴ Here again, the word in English has only 2 syllables, compared to the 3 in 've-ner-di'. Therefore, in the translation I had to take into account this aspect. I tried however to reproduce that pattern where the beat before the last is normally produced with emphasis, the last ends with a slightly raising intonation and a cut off.

¹⁵ √: this symbol is proposed here to indicate an intonational countour where a falling intonation is followed by a distinctive raise. This produces an up-and-down wawing pattern.

#38 PM:LL:1:history/prehistory

- 01 T bisognava in qualche modo vivere;-
it was necessary some how to live;-
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 T in pa:ce tra di lo:ro, quindi vivere in[:,-
in pe:ace among themse:lves,thus live i[:n,-
- 04 St [non litigare!
[not to argue!
- 05 T >↓non litigare fra di loro< e bisognava quindi
>↓not to argue with each other< and it was necessary therefore
- 06 tenere sotto controllo che co:s[a,=
to keep under control wha[:t,=
- 07 St [vivere in pace
[live in peace
- 08 T =amministrare bene che cosa la, giu,-
=to administer well what the, ju,-
- 09 St la giusti[zia
the justi[ce
- 10 Sts [la giustizia
[the justice
- 11 T [la giusti:zia e loro () avere la capacità
[the ju:stice and them () have the capability
- 12 St [la giusti:zia
- 13 T anche di essere giusti fra di loro.
also to be just to one another.

In line 8 the teacher produces one reformulation of the prior question (line 5), using the format of the open question with the wh-word in final position, immediately followed by a truncated version of the candidate answer, which then the pupils complete (lines 9-10).

Teachers seem to use these two practices in environments where the information is easily accessible to pupils, either because it is directly observable, or because it can be inferred quite easily on a linguistic basis ('Fri-day').

6.2. Open questions: the case of 'un/problematic' information.

If we return to the initial extended transcript on angles, in line 29 the teacher addresses an *open question* to the class, which initiates the second sequence of the series concerning the type of angles in the rectangular shape that has been drawn on the blackboard. Fragment # 39 below begins at the point where we left, that is when prior sequence closes in # 29.

#39 Angles (2) PM:LT:5:geometry

Sequence 2

- 27 T [cattedra. >va ben';<
[teacher desk. >'right;< /((she turns to the drawing on the bb.))
- 28 (1.0)
- 29 T che a:ngoli? sono questi qua [di qua
what a:ngles? are these here [on this side
(she points to the four angles on the drawing))
- 30 St [↑i::o
[↑me::/((raising his hand))
- 31 St i[o
m[e
- 32 T [dim'
[tell me
- 33 St son degli angoli re:tti
they are right a:ngles
- 34 T so::no degli angoli re::tti. <però io vorrei sentire parlare
they a::re ri::ght angles. <but I'd like to hear everybody
- 35 un po' tutti eh? <non soltanto::, .hh uh:: i soliti
say something eh? <not only::, .hh uh:: the same
- .
- ((a few lines in which they talk about the fact that everybody should pay attention))
- .
- 36 T alo::ra vediamo un po', ↑io ho qui? (.) tante cartoli::ne
no::w let see, ↑I have here? (.) many postca::rds
- 37 (2.4)/((she moves towards the back of her desk and rummages in her bag))
- .
- ((talk about the postcards while the teacher get them out of her bag))
- .

In chapter 2 I have already illustrated the formats of open questions in relation to the position of the wh-word. The question in line 29 has an unmarked format: the wh-word is in first position. The question is produced as a single-unit turn. Open questions with these characteristics are routinely responded to with a *selection sequence* before the actual answer to the content of the question, which is produced here in lines 30-32.

As is clearly visible in this extract, the question in line 29 is produced as initiating a new sequence. In the turns immediately prior to this (lines 27-28), the teacher has provided the closure for the previous problematic elicitation practice. She has marked this conclusion in line 27 with a third-turn receipt of the answer (a repetition of the answer), packaged with the compressed delivery of 'va bene'/'alright', which emphasises that the 'correct' answer has been finally reached. Following the question children raise their hands and verbally propose themselves as knowledgeable respondents (lines 30-31). After the teacher selection (line 32), the answer is given (line 33).

The selection sequence shows that children have recognized that the question is designed to make relevant a totally different answering procedure, in comparison to the other questioning practices we have seen in sequence 1, in which the information is treated as unproblematic and easily accessible to pupils.

The problematic nature of the information which these open questions elicit is sometimes re-enforced by devices which point to the special 'puzzling' character of the question, as in the fragment below, where the repetition of the wh-word achieves the audience attention and gives prominence to the question. In this way the teacher seems to convey that she is asking a tricky extemporized question:

40 PM:FZ:12b:geography

→ 01 T **perché- perché- perché** dura di più la vita adesso
 ((T.'s gaze goes from the central position to her right hand side little by little each time she says 'perché'))

02 St [()

- 03 Ma °i-° ((stretching her arm))
 ((this is the initial vowel sound of 'io', meaning 'me'))
- 04 Ja ci son- ((raising her hand))
 there ar-
- 05 (0.6)/((T.'s gaze monitors the other half of the class, on her left hand side,
 looking at each child who raises his hand and passes over))
- 06 Fa io lo so!
 I know it!
- 07 T °mhm?°((turning to the other side and looking at Fabrizio))
- 08 Fa perché inventano- m:- .hh inventano le medi[cine [che:::,
 because they invent- m:-.hh invent the medi[cines[tha:::,
- 09 T ((the teacher in the meantime nods very lightly while looking at Fabrizio))
- 10 T [((T.points to Fa.))
- 11 T [↑inventano
 [↑they
 [(in
- 12 le medici::ne cioè l'uomo impara a curarsi, (.)
 invent the medici::nes that is men learn how to treat
 delivering this turn she points to M. with her hand, but looks at the other
- 13 meglio. eh;
 himself, (.) better. eh;
 children))

This is visible also in the fragment below, where the puzzling flavor of the question is enhanced by additional use of the upgrading questioning token 'chissà' / 'who knows'.

#41 PM:FZ:12b:geography

- 01 T e ↑chissà perché (0.2) da pae::se, da villaggio
 and ↑who knows why (0.2) from vi::llages, from villages
- 02 ci trasf- ci si trasforma (0.4) in cose più gra::ndi.
 one get- one is transformed (0.4) in something bi::ger.
- 04 (1.4)
- Jan. 05 St ((raises her hand))
 06 (0.4)
- X 07 St uh- uh- ↑io!
 Uh- uh- ↑me!
- 08 (1.0)
- Mar. 09 St [((raises his hand))
- 10 T [pensa::re

- [thin::k
((she raises her forefinger))
- 11 (0.2)
- 12 St [per-
[bec-
- 13 St [i- io io!
[m- me me!
- 14 (2.4)
- 15 T alo' sentiam' Janin
well let's listen to Janin

In all these cases the 'canonical' formatted open question is followed by the speaker selection sequence. The suggestion that the question is addressing issues which children might not be able to answer is evidenced also by the teacher's invitation to think (line 10.

6.3. Yes/no questions: getting the right information when needed

Yes/no questions work in a rather distinctive way in the classroom:

- (1) single-unit turn formatted as yes/no questions, often prefaced by specialized questioning phrases such as 'secondo voi / according to you' prefer a yes-answer, which is usually produced chorally;
- (2) when a yes/no question has a marked cleft format, with the wh-word in mid-turn position, the question is hearable as incorporating a candidate wrong answer and eliciting a no-answer. The reverse polarity of this question-type is also empowered by the use of quantifiers.

This allows the teacher to have definite assessments regarding some state of affairs, at the moment when they are needed.

In the fragment we have one such typical case in sequence 3, as reproduced below.

#42 Angles (3) PM:LT:5:geometry

Sequence 3

- 38 T bene.
right. /((she takes a standing position behind her desk holding one
postcard))

- 39 (1.0) / ((some children continue talking))
- 40 T seco::ndo? vo::i,
acco::rding? to you::,
 ((she holds one postcard in front of the children))
- 41 (2.0) / ((one child keeps talking))
- 42 T gli angoli? delle cartoline sono?-
 the angles? of the postcards are?-
- 43 (0.2) / ((she turns the postcard upside down a few times))
- 44 T angoli retti;
 right angles;
- 45 Sts sì:::
 ye::s
- 46 Sts [sì:::
 [ye::s
- 47 T [sì?
 [yes?
- 48 (0.6)

The preference for a yes-answer is built on a number of resources:

- (1) the unmarked format of the yes/no interrogative type, which favours a yes-answer;
- (2) the reference to the visual evidence of the answer, which is performed through the gesture of showing a postcard (a rectangle with four right angles), which is turned upside down several times.

Recall that the notion of right angles has been elicited in the sequence immediately prior to this through an open question. While on that occasion the answer has been produced by a single student who has been selected by the teacher, here through a yes/no question the teacher elicits a collective answer which confirms the concept of right angle.

6.4. If-formatted questions: constructing an “online commentary”¹⁶ to provide evidence for the correct answer

The fourth sequence is constituted by a single if-formatted utterance, which begins in line 49 and arrives at its closure only in line 86. It seems an extraordinarily lengthy turn. However, this isn't so surprising. *If-formatted utterances* are compound-turn constructions: the if-clause is followed by the main clause as second component. Because of its being highly recognizable as composed of two parts, the end of the first component (if-clause) is frequently heard by recipients as an opportunity for turn-transition, in which to offer as a collaborative completion the second component (Lerner, 1991).

Here the teacher clearly orients to this possibility when she delays the completion of the if-clause (the first component) by producing a series of inserted sequences to specify the content of the question.

#43 Angles (4) PM:LT:5:geometry¹⁷

Sequence 4

→ 49	T	se io::? (0.2) so:-vra::-ppo::ngo::, if-clause if I::? (0.2) make to o::-ve::-r-la::p, ((she moves closer to the blackboard))
------	---	---

50 (1.0)

(1) 51	T	↓'coltate bene eh? (.) ↓bimbi <se io? sovrappongo; → ↓ 'issen carefully eh?(.) ↓children <if I? make to overlap; if-clause ((she looks at the drawing on the blackboard))
--------	---	---

52 (2.0)

(2) 53	T	l'angolo? di questa carolina. un <u>angolo</u> <u>qualsiasi</u> . the angle? of this postcard. <u>any</u> <u>angle</u> .
--------	---	---

54 (1.2)

¹⁶ “Online commentaries” have been analysed with reference to medical examinations by Heritage and Stivers (1998). Although cautions have to be used because of the completely different environments, however I'd like to highlight some similarities with the situation illustrated in the fragment, insofar as online commentaries are produced to accompany examinations and ‘build up evidence incrementally’ (p.1510), forming the basis for the diagnostic conclusions and leading the patient to acquiescence with the physician's perspective. As we will see, in the fragment under observation here, the teacher produces an online commentary of a demonstration about right angles which clearly provides the basis for some kind of inferential observation which will constitute the answer to the question.

¹⁷ The two components of the if-utterance are in squares. Numbers indicate the insertions. Arrowed turns indicate subsequent repetitions of the if-clause.

- 55 T eh?
- 56 (0.4)
- 57 T perché dico un angolo qualsiasi <co[me sono? questi=
why do I say any angle <ho[w are? these=
(PLUR. MASC.)
- 58 St [(minori)
[(minor)[PLUR. MASC.]]
- 59 T =an[goli
=an[gles/((she points to the four angles))
- 60 Sts [ugua[:li
[the [sa:me
- 61 Sts [ugua::[li
[the sa[:me
- 62 Sts [ugua[li
[the [same
- 63 T [son tu:tti uguali. quindi posso
[they are a:ll the same. so I can
- 64 sovrapporre questo, (.) questo ↓questo questo?
make overlap this, (.) this ↓this this?
((she points to the four angles again))
- 65 (1.0)
- 66 T indi:fferentemente, (.) va bene?
it doesn't ma:tter, (.) alright?
- 67 (.)
- 68 T s' ↑io sovrappongo [↑l'angolo della cartolina;
if-clause 'f ↑I make overlap [↑the angle of the postcard;
[((she lays the postcard on the blackboard and turns to
the bb. From now on she keeps her gaze towards the bb.)
- 69 (1.2)
- 70 T all'angolo:::, (.) ec'
with the angle:::, (.) the' /((she makes one angle of the postcard
overlap one of the the drawing))
- 71 (1.0)
- 72 T a un [angolo qualsiasi della::,
with [any angle of the::,
[((she turns to the class for a moment and then back to the bb.))
- 73 (.)
- 74 T eh:: di questa:::-
eh:: of thi:s:::-
- 75 St cattedra
teacher desk

- 76 T figu::ra
sha::pe
- 77 (0.4)
- 78 T [eh ?
- 79 St [è sempre così
[it's always so
- 80 T >°va bene°< [ciòè li faccio combacia::re
>°okay°< [that is I make them fit toge::ther
[((still keeping her gaze on the bb. with both hands she makes
the postcard fit exactly with the drawing))
- 81 (0.2)
- 82 T eh?
- 83 (.)
- 84 T prefettamente.
exactly.
- 85 (0.6)

→ 86 T [che cosa? avrò.
2nd comp [what? would I have.
[((she now turns to the children))

- 87 (.)
- 88 T che?-
that?-
- 89 St che sono u[guali
that they [are the same
- 90 St [i::o l'
[I:: n'
- 91 St u[guali
t[he same
- 92 T [s::o::no?-
[they a::re?-
- 93 (0.2)
- 94 T ugua::li.
the sa::me.
- 95 (1.0)
- 96 T va bene. <sono uguali.
alright. <they are the same.
- 97 (0.2)

In our extract, the teacher produces one *first insertion* in line 51, where she addresses the audience in order to invite the students to pay attention. A *second expansion* is initiated by the ‘any angle’ increment in line 53. Having addressed the audience with a minimal acknowledgement request (‘eh?’), the teacher constructs a long inserted sequence (from line 57 to line 66) centred on the meaning of ‘any angle’: in line 57 she builds a multiple-TCU questioning turn which arrives at its conclusion in line 66.

The if-component is then repeated in line 68 when she re-starts her main line of questioning. This time the verbal production is accompanied by a physical demonstration. She lays the postcard on the rectangular shape which has been drawn on the blackboard. From now on the teacher produces a sort of an *online commentary* (Heritage and Stivers, 1998) of her attempt to make the angle of the postcard overlap perfectly with the angle of the shape on the blackboard. The talk is designed to be timed with the actual operation in which she is engaged. The commentary is produced with a number of extended pauses. This also shows that the operation takes time, and requires attention. This meaning is re-enforced by the teacher body posture: she is turned to the blackboard for most of the time, while manipulating the two objects with extreme attention so as to make them fit perfectly. Several times, in the course of this commentary she produces requests for acknowledgement (line 78, 80, and 82).

The second component, in line 86, completes the if-formatted questioning that was initiated in line 59. Line 86 is produced as a result of a long effort to make the two things overlap perfectly. Furthermore, the sense of the teacher’s verbalization of the action is somehow upgraded through the use of the terms ‘to overlap’ (line 69) and ‘to make them fit together perfectly’ (line 80 and 84). This perfect matching is thus greatly emphasised and arrives at its closure when the teacher formulates the question and turns to the class at line 86.

In this case the if-format constitutes a favourable device to sustain and expand the turn for the time needed to accomplish an activity, comment upon it, provide clues to the pupils

with regards to what is expected from them to answer. Furthermore, through the commentary, the teacher gives a number of verbal and non-verbal indications about the answer that is expected. At this point, in line 88, the teacher deploys the Eliciting Turn Completion device, soliciting the answer from the students. This is produced in lines 89-91, where pupils claim that the angles have the same width, as expected. Notice that the teacher formats her third-turn receipt in line 92 in a truncated version to invite a more choral participation.

6.5. Drawing conclusions through question-answer sequences

The last sequence of our fragment is constructed as a series of 4 connected question-answer pairs. Each question is built closely connected to the prior one. Furthermore, and in contrast with the prior sequences, especially with the length of the prior one, the questioning turn are designed here as neat and sharp. This produces this sense of getting to some kind of conclusion.

#44 Angles (5) PM:LT:5: geometry

Sequence 5

98 T vi voglio far vedere notare una co::sa, però
I want to show you make you see one thi::ng, however

99 (0.4) / ((she removed the postcard from the bb))

→	100	T	[la cartoli:na? è piú gra:[nde o piú piccola rispe[tto:: [the postcard is more big ¹⁸ or more small with respect to [the po:stcard?is bigge[:r or smaller with re[spect to:: [((she encompasses the postcard between thumb and index)) [((she points to the drawing, going along the outer edge with her index finger))
	101	Sts	[piú [more piccola:: sma::ll
	102	Sts	pi[:ccola:: sm[a::ll
	103	T	[piú piccola::!

¹⁸ In Italian the comparative is formed with the adverbs 'more' and 'less' before the adjective.

[more sma::ll!

104 St più pic::-cho[hla
more smha::[h:ll

→ 105 T [i segmenti? (.) che formano?
[the segments? (.) which form?
[the sides? (.) which form?
((she follows the four sides of the postcard))

106 (2.4)

107 T il contorno della cartolina sono (.) più co::rti? o più
the outline of the postcard are (.) more short or more
the outline of the postcard are (.) sho::rter? or

108 lun[ghi [dei segmenti che-
lon[g than the segments that-
lon[ger than the sides that-
((she turns to the drawing on the bb.))

109 St [.hh=↑i:o!
[.hh=↑me:!

110 Sts [più co[r*t*i
[more s[h*o*r*t*
[sh o r*t*er

111 Sts [co::[r*t*i
[sho::[r*t*

112 St [più corti.
[more short.
[shorter.

113 T più? co::rti, sono più co::rti dei segmenti che
more? sho::rt¹⁹, they are more sho::rt than the segments that
((she lays again the postcard on the bb, in correspondence to the drawing))

114 formano questa figura.
form this shape.

115 St come [()
how [()

→ 116 T [però l'angolo? com'è l'ango[:lo;
[but the angle? how's the an[:gle;

117 St [ugua::le
[the sa::me

118 St ugu[ale
the [same

119 T [↑è ugua::le. <alo::ra,

¹⁹ In this case is rather difficult to provide an idiomatic translation which would respect the pattern whereby the teacher delivers with raising intonation the adverb of comparison before the adjective 'corto' / 'short'. Since the literal translation is rather transparent, the idiomatic line is not provided here.

[↑it's the sa::me. <so::,

120 (1.0)

- 121 T la grandezza dell'a::ngo[lo, (.) che fo-
the width of the a::ng[le, (.) that fo-
- 122 St [uh=l::a grandezza degli angoli retti
[uh=the:: width of right angles
- 123 è sempre uguale=
is always the same=
- 124 T =la gra:[n- ↓momento la grandezza? dell'a:ngolo di un angolo
=the wi:[d- ↓a moment the width? of the a:ngle of any
- 125 St [↑io!
[↑me!
- 126 T qualsiasi in questo caso dell'angolo rett' .hh seco:ndo voi?
angle in this case of the right ang' .hh acco:rding to you?
- 127 dipende dalla lunghezza:,
does it depend on the length:,
- 128 (1.8)/((indicating the sides of the rectangle on the bb.))
- 129 T dei segmenti che lo fo::rma[no;
of the segments that fo::[rm;
- 130 Sts [NO:!
- 131 Sts [no::
- 132 T [no::
- 133 Sts [((children's indistinct talk))
- 134 T e::h?
- 135 (0.2)
- 136 T no, non? dipende dalla grandezza dei segmenti che lo
no, it doesn't? depend on the length of the segments that
- 137 formano; vero?
fo:rm it; right?

138 (2.0)/((she removes the postcard from the bb.))

139 T facciamo un altro ese:mpio.
let's do another exa:mple.

The *first two* questions are *or-questions* (line 100 and line 105). This interrogative type always gets a choral response. These questions tend to have the correct candidate answer in second position, as is the case of the question in line 100. The teacher here underlines the

visual resources with the use of gestures which highlight the different dimensions of the two objects to be compared (see the gloss to line 100). The second question is produced in overlap with the answer to the prior (line 105). The teacher insists on the issue of the smaller dimension of the postcard, this time with reference to its sides. It is interesting to notice that this time the teacher inverts the position of the two alternative answers, thus placing the correct candidate option in first position. One possible interpretation for this would be that the comparison has already been successfully stated in the prior Q-A sequence and therefore she can be now sure that the pupils will provide the correct answer.

The *third* question in the series is an open question (line 116). The prefacing contrasting adverb ('però / 'but') clearly makes the question hearable as closely connected to the prior two, and furthermore contrasting with them. The inference to be drawn is clearly that the two objects have different dimensions but same angles; and this is exactly what is implied in the pupils' answers. (line 117 and 118).

The *fourth* and last question of this series is constructed to encompass all the relevant information of the demonstration so far: 'the width of the angle', 'any angle', 'and right angle'. In order to be sure that the question encompasses all the information, before having the pupils to answer, the teacher needs to hold the floor. To this purpose, the questioning element ('secondo voi' / 'according to you') is deployed only in line 126, although the questioning is heard as beginning much earlier, in line 121. Children themselves recognize that a questioning turn is underway. Despite the teacher having delayed the placement of the questioning specialized phrase ('according to you') till line 126, a premature answer is produced in line 122. This isn't exactly the answer the teacher intended to elicit.

But the pupil's incoming has sequential consequences for the teacher's further talk. In line 124 the teacher produces a self-repair in the reformulation of the question, which this time includes the mentioning of the right angle (line 126).

On linguistic bases, this last question is codable as a yes/no question. From the very beginning it is designed as closely connected to prior talk. In line 119 the teacher produces a two-unit turn /↑è ugua::le.<alo::ra, /↑it's the sa::me.<so::,/. The first unit closes the prior sequence through the repetition of the prior answer, while the second –which is produced with the rush-through of ‘allora’/’now’- projects the beginning of the new questioning sequence. Only after having launched the talk that is to come does the teacher allow herself a one-second pause. Furthermore, as we have seen, the teacher delays the overt indication that a question is underway, through a late deployment of the questioning phrase (‘according to you’). In this way, the teacher differentiates the format of this yes/no question from the single-unit unmarked yes/no questions which normally favour a yes-answer. And, as expected, the answer is a choral and sound ‘no’ (lines 130-131).

By following the deployment of different questioning formats it is possible to observe that the teacher uses features of turn construction connected to the conduciveness of questions in order to be certain that pupils would be able to supply that specific piece of information, in precisely the position necessary for the progression of her line of reasoning. In this way, the series of questions is built to lead the pupils to arrive at the appreciation of something which is new to them, starting from some observable or inferable facts. In this case the new information concerns the fact that the width of angles is independent from the dimension of the geometrical shape.

To accomplish this pedagogic project, teachers need to optimize those chances for the ‘correct’ answer. For this purpose teachers mobilize features of preference organization and clueing practices which instruct pupils about the preferred answer.

7. Conclusions

Through the observation of the deployment of questions in a larger context, we begin to see that there is a trajectory in instruction sequences which realizes a precise *pedagogic project*. This is built as a series of questions connected the one to the other. By answering the teacher's questions, pupils are led to follow this trajectory and to acquire new pieces of knowledge such as, in the example above, the notion that the width of angles does not depend on the length of the sides.

In this environment, questions serve the function of eliciting from pupils precise *pieces of information* at exactly *the right moment* necessary to build the line of reasoning. Starting by eliciting self-evident type of knowledge, teachers optimize the chances for 'correct' candidate answers through the use of methodical practices of question design. These consist on a balance between (1) precise references to the *accessibility of the answer* (the information can be easily inferred or remembered from *prior talk*, or it can be directly accessed through *visual resources*), and (2) features of *preference organization*. To construct *recognizable* and *answerable* questions, teachers exploit syntactic features (UN/marked formats, variations in the sentence word order, word dislocations and clefting), lexical choices, different intonation patterns, non-verbal behaviour, and visual resources. These practices instruct students to project the favoured answer either in terms of its content and of features of delivery of the answer (*direct choral answer / selection + individual answer*).

Focusing on questioning turn constructions from a sequence organization perspective has revealed that by mobilizing one or the other type of answering sequence, teachers' questions address issues regarding the relevance of the teacher's assumptions about the recipients' knowledge of the answer. This also provides clues to pupils with regard to the type of response and its interactional organization.

Thus, the *appropriateness* of an answer in instruction sequences does not depend exclusively on the 'truth value' of the content, but rather on its being connected to the interactional resources that participants mobilize in the construction of Q-A sequences, and mostly on the contingencies that teachers regularly display as relevant in question design. Instruction sequences are question-driven sequences whose main goal -that of leading students to see something not known before- is built and accomplished mainly on an interactional basis.

APPENDIX 1: The delivery structure of questions in a series

Internal angles PM:LT:5:geometry/right angles

Sequence 1

- 01 T lei ha cerchiato tutto que:- tutta questa pa:rte. adesso
she's highlighted all tha:- all this pa:rt. now
(she points to the drawing and, in particular, to one angle)
- 02 noi<la parte che interessa,>[brava Giada °vai pure al posto°
we <the part that matters,> [very good Giada °you can go back°
- 03 Sts [((start clapping hands while Giada goes
back to seat))
- 04 T la pa:rte che interessa,
the pa:rt that matters,
- 05 (1.6)/((she seems to look for a piece of chalk))
- 06 T di questo:: (.) di questi an::goli,
of thi::s (.) of these a::ngles,
- 07 (1.0)
- 08 T è quella (.) inte::rna, <↑questa qua.
it is the (.) inte::rnal, <↑this one here.
- 09 (0.8)/((she signs with the chalk the internal angles in the rectangle))
- 10 T eh? >allora.< possiamo fare anche così.
eh? >now.< we can do in this way also.
- 11 (0.2)
- 12 T va be:ne;
oka:y;
- 13 (.)
- 14 T a ↑no:i interessa la parte inte::rna;
↑we: are interested in the inte::rnal part;
- 15 (0.2)
- 16 T cioè la pa:rte di a::ngolo? che fa pa::rte? di che co::sa:.
that is the pa:rt of an a::ngle? which is pa::rt? of wha::t.
- 17 (1.4)/((she turns to her desk and with gestures indicates its surface))
- 18 T se è inte::rna? fa pa::rte del,- [MASC., SING.]
if it is inte::rnal? it's pa::rt of,-
- 19 (1.6)
- 20 T di che cosa. <della?- [FEM., SING.]
of what. <of the?-
- 21 (0.6)

- 22 St eh- del ban[co²⁰ [MASC., SING.]
eh- of the de[sk
- 23 St [del ba[:nco!
[of the de[:sk!
- 24 T [della ca::tterda! [FEM., SING.]
[of the tea::cher desk!
- 25 del pia::no²¹ della?-
of the su::rface of the?-
- 26 St ca[:ttedra
te[a:cher desk
- 27 T [cattedra. >va ben'¿<
[teacher desk. >'right¿< /((she turns to the drawing on the bb.))
- 28 (1.0)

Sequence 2

- 29 T che a:ngoli? sono questi qua [di qua
what a:ngles? are these here [on this side
((she points to the four angles on the drawing))
- 30 St [↑i::o
[↑me::/((raising his hand))
- 31 St i[o
m[e
- 32 T [dim'
[tell me
- 33 St son degli angoli re:tti
they are right a:ngles
- 34 T so::no degli angoli re::tti. <però io vorrei sentire parlare
they a::re ri::ght angles. <but I'd like to hear everybody
- 35 un po' tutti eh? <non soltanto::, .hh uh:: i soliti
say something eh? <not only::, .hh uh:: the same
- .
(a few lines in which they talk about the fact that everybody should pay attention))
.
- 36 T alo::ra vediamo un po', ↑io ho qui? (.) tante cartoli::ne
no::w let see, ↑I have here? (.) many postca::rds
- 37 (2.4) /((she moves towards the back of her desk and rummages in her bag))

²⁰ If we consider lines 18 and 20, we observe that the preposition 'della' of line 20 projects a Fem. and Sing. Noun, while 'del' (line 18) is Masc. So, the completion provided by the children –the desk- being Masc. and Sing., is in accordance with line 18, while the teacher's proposal –the teacher's desk'-being Fem, is in accordance with line 20.

²¹ The word 'piano' /'surface' in Italian is Masc. and Sing.

.
 ((talk about the postcards while the teacher get them out of her bag))
 .

Sequence 3

38 T bene.
right. /((she takes a standing position behind her desk holding one
 postcard))

39 (1.0) /((some children continue talking))

→ 40 T seco::ndo? vo::i,
acco::rding? to you::,
 ((she holds one postcard in front of the children))

41 (2.0) / ((one child keeps talking))

42 T gli angoli? delle cartoline sono? -
 the angles? of the postcards are? -

43 (0.2) / ((she turns the postcard upside down a few times))

44 T angoli retti;
 right angles;

45 Sts sì:::
 ye::s

46 Sts [sì::
 [ye::s

47 T [sì?
 [yes?

48 (0.6)

Sequence 4

49 T se io::? (0.2) so:-vra::-ppo::ngo::,
 if I::? (0.2) make to o::-ve::-la::p,
 ((she moves closer to the blackboard))

50 (1.0)

51 T ↓'coltate bene eh? (.) ↓bimbi <se io? sovrappongo;
 ↓'issen carefully eh?(.) ↓children <if I? make to overlap;
 ((she looks at the drawing on the blackboard))

52 (2.0)

53 T l'angolo? di questa cartolina. un angolo qualsiasi.
 the angle? of this postcard. any angle.

54 (1.2)

55 T eh?

56 (0.4)

→ 57 T perché dico un angolo qualsiasi <co[me sono? questi=
 why do I say any angle <ho[w are? these=

- 58 St [(minori)
[(minor) [PLUR. MASC.]])
- 59 T =an[goli
=an[gles/((she points to the four angles))
- 60 Sts [ugua[:li
[the [sa:me
- 61 Sts [ugua::[li
[the sa[:me
- 62 Sts [ugua[li
[the [same
- 63 T [son tu:ttti uguali. quindi posso
[they are a:ll the same. so I can
- 64 sovrapporre questo, (.) questo ↓ questo questo?
make overlap this, (.) this ↓ this this?
((she points to the four angles again))
- 65 (1.0)
- 66 T indi:fferentemente, (.) va bene?
it doesn't ma:tter, (.) alright?
- 67 (.)
- 68 T s' ↑io sovrappongo [↑l'angolo della cartolina;
'f ↑I make overlap [↑the angle of the postcard;
[((she lays the postcard on the blackboard and turns to
the bb. From now on she keeps her gaze towards the bb.)
- 69 (1.2)
- 70 T all'angolo:::, (.) ec'
with the angle:::, (.) the' /((she makes one angle of the postcard
overlap one of the the drawing))
- 71 (1.0)
- 72 T a un [angolo qualsiasi della::,
with [any angle of the::,
[((she turns to the class for a moment and then back to the bb.))
- 73 (.)
- 74 T eh:: di questa:::-
eh:: of thi:s:::-
- 75 St cattedra
teacher desk
- 76 T figu:::ra
sha:::pe
- 77 (0.4)
- 78 T [eh ?

- 79 St [è sempre così
[it's always so
- 80 T >°va bene°< [cioè li faccio combacia::re
>°okay°< [that is I make them fit toge::ther
[((still keeping her gaze on the bb. with both hands she makes
the postcard fit exactly with the drawing))
- 81 (0.2)
- 82 T eh?
- 83 (.)
- 84 T prefettamente.
exactly.
- 85 (0.6)
- 86 T [che cosa? avrò.
[what? would I have.
[((she now turns to the children))
- 87 (.)
- 88 T che?-
that?-
- 89 St che sono u[guali
that they [are the same
- 90 St [i::o l'
[I:: n'
- 91 St u[guali
t[he same
- 92 T [s:o::noꝫ-
[they a::reꝫ-
- 93 (0.2)
- 94 T ugua::li.
the sa::me.
- 95 (1.0)
- 96 T va bene. <sono uguali.
alright. <they are the same.
- 97 (0.2)
- Sequence 5**
- 98 T vi voglio far vedere notare una co::sa, però
I want to show you make you see one thi::ng, however
- 99 (0.4)/((she removed the postcard from the bb))
- 100 T [la cartoli:na? è più gra:[nde o più piccola rispe[tto::
[the postcard is more big²² or more small with respect to

²² In Italian the comparative is formed with the adverbs 'more' and 'less' before the adjective.

[the postcard?is bigge[:r or smaller with re[spect to::
 [(she encompasses the postcard between thumb and index))
 [(she points to the drawing, going along
 the outer edge with her index finger))

- 101 Sts [più
[more
- piccola::
sma::ll
- 102 Sts pi[:ccola::
sm[a::ll
- 103 T [più piccola::!
[more sma::ll!
- 104 St più pic::-cho[hla
more smha:[h:ll
- 105 T [i segmenti? (.) che formano?
[the segments? (.) which form?
[the sides? (.) which form?
(she follows the four sides of the postcard)
- 106 (2.4)
- 107 T il contorno della cartolina sono (.) più co::rti? o più
the outline of the postcard are (.) more short or more
the outline of the postcard are (.) sho::rter? or
- 108 lun[ghi [dei segmenti che-
lon[g than the segments that-
lon[ger than the sides that-
(she turns to the drawing on the bb.))
- 109 St [.hh=↑i:o!
[.hh=↑me:!
- 110 Sts [più co[rti
[more s[hort
[sh o r[ter
- 111 Sts [co::[rti
[sho::[rt
- 112 St [più corti.
[more short.
[shorter.
- 113 T più? co::rti, sono più co::rti dei segmenti che
more? sho::rt²³, they are more sho::rt than the segments that
(she lays again the postcard on the bb, in correspondence to the drawing)
- 114 formano questa figura.
form this shape.

²³ In this case is rather difficult to provide an idiomatic translation which would respect the pattern whereby the teacher delivers with raising intonation the adverb of comparison before the adjective 'corto' / 'short'. Since the literal translation is rather transparent, the idiomatic line is not provided here.

- 115 St come [()
how [()
- 116 T [però l'angolo? com'è l'ango[:lo;
[but the angle? how's the an[:gle;
- 117 St [ugua::le
[the sa::me
- 118 St ugu[ale
the [same
- 119 T [↑è ugua::le. <alo::ra,
[↑it's the sa::me. <so::,
- 120 (1.0)
- 121 T la grandezza dell'a::ngolo, (.) che fo-
the width of the a::ng[le, (.) that fo-
- 122 St [uh=l::a grandezza degli angoli retti
[uh=the:: width of right angles
- 123 è sempre uguale=
is always the same=
- 124 T =la gra:[n- ↓momento la grandezza? dell'a:ngolo di un angolo
=the wi:[d- ↓a moment the width? of the a:ngle of any
- 125 St [↑io!
[↑me!
- 126 T qualsiasi in questo caso dell'angolo rett' .hh seco:ndo voi?
angle in this case of the right ang' .hh acco:rding to you?
- 127 dipende dalla lunghezza:,
does it depend on the length:,
- 128 (1.8)/((indicating the sides of the rectangle on the bb.))
- 129 T dei segmenti che lo fo::rma[no;
of the segments that fo::[rm;
- 130 Sts [NO:!
- 131 Sts [no::
- 132 T [no::
- 133 Sts [(children's indistinct talk)]
- 134 T e::h?
- 135 (0.2)
- 136 T no, non? dipende dalla grandezza dei segmenti che lo
no, it doesn't? depend on the length of the segments that
- 137 formano; vero?

fo:rm it; right?

138 (2.0)/((she removes the postcard from the bb.))

139 T facciamo un altro ese:mpio.
let's do another exa:mple.

Chapter 4

The 'Eliciting Turn Completion' Device

1. Introduction

The second more frequent turn format that teachers use in order to accomplish questioning involves the production of *truncated utterances* and the suspension of the talk as a way of eliciting completion by recipients. As illustrated in table n.1 below¹, speaker transition between teacher and pupils occurs in the 36.5% of cases after the *open-question* format. If we consider the figures regarding the three main interrogative syntactic formats below, the result is that in 57.6% of cases speaker change occurs on the basis of grammatical resources.

However in 42% of cases where turn transfer occurs teacher's turn has a distinctive non-syntactical format, and in one out of four of all points of speaker transition teachers accomplish turn transfer by producing truncated utterances and suspending the turn underway in order to elicit completion by students.

Table n. 1

Interrogative syntactic formats	
Yes/no questions	15.4%
Alternative (or) questions	5.7%
Open (wh-) questions	36.5%
Non-Interrogative formats	
Rear-loaded wh- questions	3%
Truncated utterances (Eliciting Turn Completion Device)	25%
Sub-sentential units ('appendor questions')	0.3%
If-formatted utterances	2.5%
Statements	2.5%
Directives, Nominating & Other Speaker management devices	9%

¹ See Chapter 2 for observations on the distribution of questioning formats. These figures are based on a sample of data that includes 4 fairly extended instructional sequences and 156 instances of teachers' questioning turns.

This chapter investigates the manner in which teachers elicit the completion of their unfinished utterances through this particular device. We will focus on features of turn construction, how this device arises from prior talk, and its sequential consequences.

The Eliciting Turn Completion device (hereafter ETC device) can be described as follows: in the course of the ongoing turn, the teacher delays or suspends further continuation by halting the talk underway, which results in the production of truncated utterances². The halting is very often delivered with emphatic intonation and a cluster of prosodic features which brings off a form of dis-fluency in the delivery of the turn: (1) *cut-offs* in mid-word position, for instance at syllable endings, (2) instances of *sound stretching* which produce a prolonged stop in the articulation of a consonant or a vowel sound, and (3) the *withholding of the last item* of the utterance. In this way the teacher produces an incomplete utterance where the missing item can be either a last sound or syllable of a word, an entire word, a phrase, or a clause in compound turns. Cut-offs, sound stretching, and the withholding of words are frequently deployed in non transition-relevance points prior to TCU or turn completion. In this way, the last TCU or turn item, whether it be a single sound, a syllable, a word, a phrase or a clause is projected but not produced.

Consider the example below:

#1 Finding the verb. PM:PG:19: Italian grammar/verbs

01	T	secondo te. lo <u>tro::vo</u> sul vocabola:rio;
		in your opinion. it (I) <u>fi::nd</u> on the <u>di:ctionary</u> ;
		in your opinion. do I <u>fi::nd</u> it on the <u>di:ctionary</u> ;
02		(1)
03	T	n[o.
04	St	[no
05		(1)

² I have introduced this device in Charter 2, as one distinctive format of teachers' questioning turns which consists in the production of truncated (incomplete) utterances.

- 06 T troverò 'n verbo,-
(I) will find a verb,-
- 07 (.)
- 08 St [posare
[to lay
- 09 St [era-

The teacher is trying to convey that verbs are classified in three groups, according to the ending of the present tense of the infinitive mode. Instead of just plainly saying so, he gets the child to say it by asking him about verb forms which are unlikely to appear in the dictionary. The question in line 1 is followed by the incomplete production of the candidate answer in line 6. The teacher constructs his turn so as to withhold the very last item; he delivers the truncated utterance with suspended intonation. The upshot of this form of questioning is the elicitation of one word, which would complete the utterance in line 6. Completion is produced by the addressed child after a very short pause (line 8). In this way, through a combination of a fully articulated question such as the one provided in line 1 and the ETC device in line 6, the teacher manages to get the explanation packaged in a collaborative way. In this case, the halting is produced by withholding the production of the last item in the turn, but in other cases, when the ongoing turn is stopped in mid-word position, sound stretching and cut-offs are produced to elicit word components.

The following extract illustrates such an instance:

#2 Prehistory PM:LL:1: history/prehistory

- 01 St paleolitico e neolitico
palaeolithic and neolithic
- 02 T quindi il periodo della pre-i,-
therefore the period of pre-hi,-
- 03 Sts sto[::ria
hi[::story
- 04 T [della preisto^oria.
[of the prehist^ory.

In this case, completion is elicited on the second element of a compound noun, "prehistory". The teacher performs two subsequent cut-offs, thus almost producing a syllable-by-syllable spelling. This succession of cut-offs and the emphasis that is displayed in the last beat before the last cutting-off of the word is also very frequent. The suspending intonation is an additional typical feature of this device. The deployment of a variety of resources such as sound stretching, pitch stress, suspending or rising intonation, variations in pitch either in the "beat" immediately preceding or concomitant with the halting, or sometimes in both positions, are routinely produced in combination to elicit turn completion by students.

This pattern recurs very often, as illustrated in the examples below where teachers leave one word unfinished after one or two syllables, which the students provide:

3 Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns

- 01 T LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la,-
the people have need of wor,-
↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED of wor,-
- 02 (.)
- 03 St °'vo[ro°
°'ki[g°
- 04 Sts ['vo::r[o:
['ki::n[g
- 05 T ['voro
['king

#4 Friday PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
WE::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-
[((teacher seats
down
- 02 (0.2)/((some children are talking))
- 03 Sts [((2 of the 5 boys
are actually sitting down at this point))
- V. 04 St [((V. is still
standing up, turning her back to to the teacher, talking to some girls;
at this precise moment she turns for a tenth of a second towards the teacher
and then back to chat with some girls))
- 05 Sts [((two children,
from this moment, abandon their prior activity and turn their gaze to the
teacher))

06 Sts \vee di:::,
 \vee day:::,³

#5 Justice PM:LL:1:history/prehistory

→ 01 T amministrare bene che cosa la, giu,-
 administer well what thing the ju,-
 to administer well what the, ju,-

02 St la giusti[zia
 justi[ce

03 Sts [la giustizia
 [justice

The pattern associated with ETCs can be summarized thus:

- the speaker produces a sort of word spelling in syllables;
- the syllable before the last is produced with stressed articulation;
- the last syllable is produced with suspending intonation;
- the word is cut-off.

Conversation analytic literature has widely documented the way in which in ordinary conversation speakers happen to start talking in positions other than transition relevance places (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 1979; Schegloff 1982; Schegloff 2000; Jefferson 1986; Lerner 1996; Lerner 1991; Goodwin and Goodwin 1986; Sacks 1992).

Overlap, sentence collaborative completion, continuers, word searches are among those instances where participants start to speak at points where the turn hasn't yet reached possible completion. However, in the case of the ETC device, as used in instruction sequences, what is most noticeable is this character of distinctively *calling for pupils' incomings*, as though instructing recipients on the possible components of the unit underway. In this way, the teacher actually hands his/her turn's space over to the children to complete it, through the

³ \vee : this symbol is proposed here to indicate an intonation contour where a falling intonation is followed by a distinctive rise. This produces an up-and-down waving pattern.

implementation of a number of features. It is on these features that I will focus the analysis, as well as on the characterization of the actions this practice embodies in pedagogical talk.

2. The questioning nature of the ETC device

The way in which teachers construct unfinished turns, such as those evidenced in the examples above, is a method of questioning children and of providing for them opportunities for participation. In describing this practice as *questioning*, I intended to refer to those features which explicitly construct the teacher's turn as one where some information is relevantly missing. In this way, recipients are addressed as being knowledgeable about what is requested in order to complete the teacher's truncated utterances in the turn. This creates an environment in which the teacher's first action calls for completion as its next relevant second action.

In other words, these incomplete utterances constitute an elliptical type of questioning format requiring recipients to produce a second turn which has to be fitted for the empty slot in the prior turn. Evidence that this practice is devised to ask for a "missing" piece of information is the deployment of the teacher's confirmation in third-turn position. This is packaged in the shape of repetitions, which is a routine format of positive assessments of pupils' prior answers⁴.

The minimal basic format of a sequence which is initiated by the ETC device is illustrated in the excerpt below:

#6 Verbs PM:PG:19b:grammar/verbs

- | | | | |
|-----|----|----|--|
| (1) | 01 | T | viene dal verbo,-
comes from the verb,- |
| (2) | 02 | St | reggere
to hold |

⁴ see Heritage, 1985 for third-turn responsive actions to questions. A detailed analysis of teachers' third-turn receipts is provided here in Chapter 6.

(3) 03 T reggere
to hold

In (1) the teacher stops talking in a non-completion point; the uncompleted turn is delivered with suspending intonation. In next turn (2) recipient or recipients produce the item that completes the prior turn. Subsequently (3) the teacher provides a confirmation by repeating the completion.

(1) teacher: uncompleted turn

(2) pupil: completion

(3) teacher: confirmation via repetition.

This minimal format can be extended by the deployment of a pause between first and second action, as in the example below:

#7 Eight steps PM:LT:5a.geometry/angles

01 T Desiré ieri ne ha fatti,-
Desiré yesterday made,-

02 (0.2)

03 St o[ttò
e[ight

04 T [o::ttò: in quel se:nso vi ricorda:
[ei:ght in that di:rection do you reme:mb'

Through the production of an unfinished turn and, moreover, by allowing time for quite extended pauses, the teacher shows that she is abandoning the role of speaker as an *intentionally planned action*.

This character of deliberation is brought about by other features of speech delivery such as:

1. the emphasis which is produced in the proximity of the halting, in the beat preceding the cut-off and/or in the previous one (see also #2, #3 and #5 above);

2. the deployment of a typical continuing intonation, sometimes even of a marked rising inflection in approaching the turn suspension; features which are very clearly visible in the example below:

#4b Friday PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
WE:::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO:::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-
[(teacher seats
down
- 02 (0.2)/((some children are talking))
- 03 Sts [(2 of the 5 boys
are actually sitting down at this point))
- V. 04 St [(v. is still
standing up, turning her back to to the teacher, talking to some girls;
at this precise moment she turns for a tenth of a second towards the teacher
and then back to chat with some girls))
- 05 Sts [(two children,
from this moment, abandon their prior activity and turn their gaze to the
teacher))
- 06 Sts √di:::,
√day:::,

2.1. Searching for a word or calling for completion

The flavour of deliberation, this intentional character of the teacher's withholding of part of his/her turn in order to invite the pupils' completion is particularly evidenced by the absence of any features of hesitancy such as dis-fluencies or perturbations in the course of the turn underway, when the speaker is approaching the slot which should pertain to the missing item.

This is clear if we compare features of ETC device with instances of word-searches. In these latter cases too, the speaker doesn't complete his turn: pauses and dis-fluencies are produced within the turn progression. However, the pauses are deployed within the ongoing hesitant delivery of the talk. Moreover, in word-searches, other distinctive features are produced which delay the progression of the speech. The distinctive features which produce the hesitant character of the turn in word searches differ in many respects from those

produced in the teachers' truncated utterances, showing that *word-search*, rather than *questioning for completion*, is enacted.

The example below illustrates one such instance of word-searches.

#8 DEC 1.1.7 p. 490 (0:12)

01 Clr: The sickness (0.4) is (0.4) is if anything, seems to be
 02 getting worse at the moment, she can't keep water down Doc
 → 03 (Tranker) did give 'er: .hh so:me u:m (.) sachets of a
 → 04 sort'uv'a- uh-
 05 Doc: pt Stematil, is it?=
 06 Clr: =Ye(p), [(Doray)
 07 Doc: [or Diorolite,=
 08 Clr: =(loyt) (Dorali-) yeah,

In this call to the doctor, the mother describes her daughter's conditions and informs the doctor about the treatment she is having. The caller's turn is suspended before completion in line 04, when the mother is searching for the name of the medication. In line 05 the doctor provides a candidate completion in the subsequent turn, which turns out not to be the one that has been searched for. If we focus on lines 3 and 4, we will see how, in this case, the trajectory of the action is completely different from that of the teachers' ETC device.

In the course of the turn delivery, when approaching the missing item, the speaker produces a range of features:

- searching tokens such as "'er:";
- sound stretching;
- in-breath;
- thinking-display tokens such as "u:m" or "uh-";
- tentative alternative progression provided by "so:me u:m (.) sachets of a sort'uv'a-uh-".

These are all indexes that an 'internal' search is underway, the speaker not being able to produce the word which is needed there.

If we compare this example with instances of the ETC device in the examples produced above, we realize that a number of these features do not appear at all in teachers' incomplete

turns, which result as having a comparatively very neat format. The *absence of speech perturbations* shows that the speaker knows the missing item, but is leaving it to *others* to find.

But also the format which the pupils' turn takes in response to the teacher's elicitation characterizes the device as distinctively calling for completion, rather than a genuine search for a word. The arrowed turns in the examples below indicate the pupils' answers.

#2 Prehistory PM:LL:1: history/prehistory

- 01 St paleolitico e neolitico
palaeolithic and neolithic
- 02 T quindi il periodo della pre-i:-
therefore the period of pre-hi:-
- 03 Sts sto[::ria
hi[::story
- 04 T [della preisto°ria.
[of the prehist°ory.

In line 3 pupils provide the missing word of the compound noun 'prehistory'. The word is delivered in unison and with the sound stretching in the stressed syllable of the word. These features match the slowing down the teacher's prior turn, resulting from the cut-off and the sound stretch. The production in unison enhances the sense of complying with a request that is recognized precisely as such. Furthermore, the emphasis on the stressed syllable of the missing word adds to the impression of obviousness that is implied in the teacher's request.

#3 Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns

- 01 T LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la,-
the people have need of wor,-
↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED of wor,-
- 02 (.)
- 03 St °'vo[ro°
°'ki[g°
- 04 Sts ['vo:::r[o:
['ki:::n[g
- 05 T ['voro

['king

#4 Friday PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
WE:::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-
[((teacher seats
down
- 02 (0.2) / ((some children are talking))
- 03 Sts [((2 of the 5 boys
are actually sitting down at this point))
- V. 04 St [((V. is still
standing up, turning her back to to the teacher, talking to some girls;
at this precise moment she turns for a tenth of a second towards the teacher
and then back to chat with some girls))
- 05 Sts [((two children,
from this moment, abandon their prior activity and turn their gaze to the
teacher))
- 06 Sts √di:::,
√day:::,

In contrast to the word search in # 8 above, it is worth observing that pupils provide exactly and *only* the part which is missing. In offering completion for the teacher's turn there is no sign of being puzzled about whether that is the word that was sought for. For instance, in #8 (line 5) in supplying the candidate word the doctor asks for confirmation, which is totally absent in the children's turns.

Further evidence that this practice is designed as an 'other-speaker word search', rather than a manner of displaying that an 'internal' word search is underway by the same speaker (the teacher) is shown in the example below:

#9 Boxes PM:FZ:21a.maths./problems

- 01 T alo'a devo scoprire?-
so (I) have to find out?-
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 T le,-
the,-
- 04 (0.6)
- 05 T Paoletta:¿

06 St eh

→ 07 T devo scoprire le,-
(I) have to find out the,-

08 (.)

→ 09 T sca,-
bo,-

10 St 'tole
'xes

Following the pupil's failure to provide the missing word, the teacher pursues the response by adding further elements (the article in line 3 and the first syllable of the word in line 9) in order to assist the child in finding the word.

2.2. The orientation of speakers to the device as doing questioning

Inspection of features of turn construction and the development of sequences which are initiated by the ETC device provide further arguments for the *questioning* rather than the *searching* nature of the teachers' conduct in withholding turn completion. This is particularly visible (1) by the way in which teachers pursue completion from recipients when they seem not to be able to provide any suitable item, and (2) in the teachers' third-turn receipt following completion.

a) *How teachers pursue the pupils' completion*

#10 Neolithic PM:LL:1a.history/prehistory

01 T 'biamo fatto GIA:' u:n passo avanti nell'evoluzione e
we moved ALREA:DY a: step forward in the evolution and

→ 02 siamo già entrati, ↓nel,-
we already entered, ↓in the,-

03 (1.0)

→ 04 T n[el?-
i[n the?-

05 St [ne- neo-l:i[tico
[ne- neo-li:[thic

06 St [°neo[litico°

[°neo[lithic°

07 T

[neo°litico°.
[neo°lithic°.

In line 2 the teacher produces one of these turn completion withholdings. The cut-off immediately before the missing item is delivered with *suspended* and *stressed intonation* both in the beat just before the cut-off ($\downarrow_{ne1, -}$) and in the immediately prior one ($entrati,$). The extended pause that follows in line 3 suggests that children are having trouble in providing completion. After the pause, the teacher pursues turn completion by merely repeating the last item with more rising intonation. As observed with regard to #3 and #4 above, the absence of speech perturbations in producing the ETC device in line 2 displays that the *teacher is knowledgeable* about the missing information.

Furthermore, similarly to #9, after the pupils' failure to respond, the teacher avoids providing any reformulations or following alternative routes, displaying that the *teacher relies on the recipients' ability to provide completion*. Pursuing a response when recipients initially fail to complete the teacher's unfinished word or phrase highlights the relevance of the response as the next sequential object. Furthermore, the absence of any reformulation of the questioning turn when recipients fail to answer, as in fragments # 9 and #10 above, displays that the teacher assumes that pupils are knowledgeable on the matter.

b) The teacher's third-turn receipt⁵

The teachers' orientation to the device as 'doing questioning' and the relevance of the pupils' completion as satisfying the requests of this questioning type is further displayed in the type of the third-turn receipt that teachers produce to assess the completion provided by children. In ordinary conversation, when questions are used to elicit information, first speakers produce a variety of different actions in third-turn position to assess the news they have elicited (Heritage, 1985). Similarly the teacher receipts the pupils' responses by

⁵ For the discussion of third-turn receipt turns see Chapter 6.

producing a distinctive form of assessment. With some regularity, teachers ratify correct answers by repeating the item provided in the answer.

As can be seen in examples #2, #6 and #7 above, teachers regularly repeat children's answers. Teachers' repetitions are quite often deployed in overlap with children's answers, as in examples #10 and #11 below:

#10 Neolithic PM:LL:1a.history/prehistory

01 T 'biamo fatto GIA:' u:n passo avanti nell'evoluzione e
we moved ALREA:DY a: step forward in the evolution and

02 siamo già entrati, ↓nel,-
we already entered, ↓in the,-

03 (1.0)

04 T n[el?-
i[n the?-

05 St [ne- neo-l:i[tico
[ne- neo-li:[thic

06 St [°neo[litico°
[°neo[lithic°

→ 07 T [neo°litico°.
[neo°lithic°.

#11 Window PM:LT:5:geometry/angles

01 T il braccio adesso dove guarda=verso la, -
the arm now where looks=towards the, -
the arm now where does it point to=to the, -

02 T ((T. holds straight her arm to point to the window))

03 (0.2)

04 Sts fi[nestra
wi[ndow

→ 05 T [finestra.
[window.

Besides being both repetitions of the answer, the two third-turn receipts in fragments #10 and #11 have another feature in common. The *position of the teachers' overlap onset* reflects the fact the teacher expects from children exactly that type of completion. The

confirmation is indeed deployed as soon as the item is made recognizable, and no later than that. The sequential deployment of the third-turn receipt is consistent with the questioner as being a knowledgeable party. For instance, in example #11, the teacher comes in after the first syllable of the word. Having designed her questioning to elicit precisely that word, this is sufficient for her to project the correct answer. The same pattern is produced in example #10, where the teacher produces her repetition after the first part of the compound noun. It is worth recalling here that the word 'Neolithic' belongs to a group of words which all have the same ending -'lithic' and which differ just by their beginning. The first word component is sufficient to indicate that pupils have recognized the correct item.

In this respect, consider example #5 below. The overlap onset of the teacher receipt in line 11 is similarly deployed at precisely the next beat after the truncation of the item in line 8. Only one further syllable ("sti-") after the first truncated beat ("giu-") is sufficient for the teacher to tell that the students have recognized the word that is requested. Hence, in line 11 the teacher comes in with the repetition at exactly that point, and no later than that.

That the word has been recognized is, on the other hand, made clear by the perfectly timed incomings by students in lines 3 and 5, in overlap with the teacher's turn.

#5 Justice PM:LL:1:history/prehistory

- 01 T amministrare bene che cosa la, giu,-
administer well what thing the ju,-
to administer well what the, ju,-
- 02 St la giusti[zia
justi[ce
- 03 Sts [la giustizia
[justice
- 04 T [la giusti:zia e loro () avere la capacità
[the justi:ce and them () have the capability
- 05 St [la giusti:zia
[justi:ce
- 06 T anche di essere giusti fra di loro.
also to be just to one another.

Sometimes, when the first attempt to provide completion of the teacher's turn is performed by only one child and, moreover, when it has features that characterize it as tentative or hesitant -such as a very low volume of the voice (as in excerpt #3 below), or speech perturbations like restarting or sound stretches (as in the "Neolithic" example #10, line 5 and 6)-, the teacher usually waits until more than one student has produced a response before acknowledging the completion.

3 Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns

01 T LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la,-
the people have need of wor,-
↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED of wor,-

02 (.)

03 St °'vo[ro°
°'ki[g°

04 Sts ['vo:::r[o:
['ki:::n[g

→ 05 T ['voro
['king

The teacher's orientation to the pupils' recognition of the solicited item is manifest in some instances where the third-turn receipt is deployed after only a very small particle of the word is actually produced by the children. In fragment #12 below, the vowel-sound "o" is the minimal input which is sufficient to let the teacher know that the children have unmistakably understood what she was looking for.

#12 Six pieces of soap PM:FZ:21a.maths./problems

01 T se::i saponette ↑i:n?
si::x pieces of soaps ↑i:n?

02 St °o[::°
°e[::°

→ 03 T [o::gni sca- = quando si fan' i dati biso'a star attenti
[e::ach bo- = when one deals with data has to be careful

Following the same pattern, in the next example the production of this same vowel sound “o” is again enough to identify the number “eight / otto”, which was the item requested.

#7 Eight steps PM:LT: 5a.geometry/angles

- 01 T Desiré ieri ne ha fatti,-
Desiré yesterday made,-
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 St o[ttò
e[ight
- 04 T [o::tto: in quel se:nso vi ricorda:’
[ei:għt in that di:rection do you reme:mb’

For the same reason in eliciting the production of these precise words, the teacher stops before providing any initial sound, which would make the word recognition too obvious and therefore deprive it of any questioning value.

There is a very clear link, therefore, between the way in which the teacher performs the elicitation and the way in which the completion is assessed in third-turn position. (1) By withholding the turn completion and avoiding any feature of uncertainty, the teacher displays she is an *informed speaker* who isn’t searching for a new piece of information. Rather, she is calling for a *precise piece of information*, which she treats as being available to pupils. (2) By designing the uncompleted turn so as to invite and pursue completion, the teacher shows her interest in eliciting the production of the item from recipients, hence referring to them as possibly *knowledgeable speakers*. This is further confirmed by the avoidance of any reformulation of the questioning turn when pupils delay completion. (3) The repetition format of the third-turn receipt, which is the same that is routinely used by teachers to assess correct answers, reconfirms the device as doing questioning. (4) The deployment of the receipt in recognitional overlap onset with the pupils’ response reconfirms the teacher as an informed questioner.

3. How teachers build their questioning to be positive: the recycling of prior knowledge through the ETC device

Among all the Q-A instances initiated with the ETC device, only a few cases are unsuccessful in achieving completion in a reasonably short time. The positive outcome of this form of questioning resides in the manner in which prior talk makes the item which is sought for projectable. The children's successful recognition of the item to be produced is related to the following dimensions: (1) the position where the ETC device is deployed in the context of the instruction sequence; (2) which part of the item to be completed is produced before the cut-off. Consider, for instance, one of the previous examples:

3 Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns

→ 01 T LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la,-
the people have need of wor,-
↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED of wor,-

02 (.)

The cut-off just before the first syllable of the last item might project a wide range of different words, all beginning with the same first syllable "la", and which could all provide a grammatically appropriate completion. Nevertheless, the teacher's optimistic expectations regarding the pupils' ability to recognize exactly the sought-for word are soon to be fulfilled with two subsequent entries, the second of which is produced in unison:

3 Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns

01 T LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la,-
the people have need of wor,-
↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED of wor,-

02 (.)

→ 03 St °'vo[ro°
°'ki[g°

→ 04 Sts ['vo:::r[o:
['ki:::n[g

05 T ['voro
['king

We see here, again, how the production of the second syllable of the word “vo”, which is produced by the student in line 3, although delivered with low voice, nevertheless suffices to make other students recognize the word and provide the expected full completion in line 4, where the teacher joins in (line 5).

As we have seen, the deployment of this device suggests that the teacher takes it that the children will provide completion. In the following sections I will attempt to account for the teacher’s optimistic expectations.

3.1. The proximity in prior talk of the information elicited through the ETC device

The analysis of the deployment of the ETC device, with reference to the larger context of the sequence, will show that, in most cases, this assumption is based on the *proximity* of the elicited item in prior talk. In this section we will see *where* the ETC device is produced in the sequence, and its connections with prior occurrences of the item which is elicited.

In the extended sequence below, the lines in the boxes indicate where the information which the teacher is to elicit later from pupils in line 18 is located in the talk prior to the elicitation. I used bold characters to highlight the lexical item as it occurs in prior turns. The excerpt begins with an answer to the teacher’s question about why so many people abandon small villages and go to live in larger towns.

3 (extended) Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns.

.		
.		
.		
01	St	eh- alora.(.) pri:mo <u>perché</u> (0.4) eh:::mh face:n:do le:: mh eh- so.(.) fi:rst <u>because</u> v(0.4) eh:::mh ma:ki:ng the:: mh
02		la <u>ca:se:</u> ,mettono anche più negozi così le persone ↓possono the ho:use:s, put(THEY)also more shops so the people ↓can
03		anche <u>lavorare</u> di <u>più:</u> , also work <u>mo:re,</u>
04		(.)

05 T \uparrow mhm,

06 (0.4)

07	T	la città offre più lavoro ↓ voi dire. town offers more jobs ↓ you mean.
----	---	--

08 St °mhm°.

09 T mhm?

10 St e::: secondo? perché così possono stare .hh tutte le
a::nd second? because this way can (THEY) stay .hh all the

11 persone::, (0.4) °più vici-° hhh.
perso::ns, (0.4) °more clo-° hhh.

. ((several lines are omitted))

.

.

12 T [PERO'LA [PRIMA COSA CHE HAI D[ETTO è: più:: (0.2)
[BUT THE [FIRST THING THAT YOU S[AID i:s mo::re(0.2)

13 St [°no°
[°no°

14 St [uh:!

15 T mira:[ta più giusta::
preci[:se more corRE::CT

16 St [no io
[no me

17 St posso [pro-
can(I) [tr-

18	T	[LA \uparrow GENTE HA BISOGNO <u>di</u> la,- [the people have need of wor,- [\uparrow PEOPLE ARE IN NEED <u>of</u> wor,-
----	---	---

19 (.)

20 St °'vo[ro°
°'ki[g°

21 Sts ['vo:::r[o:
['ki:::n[g

22 T ['voro
['king

Following the sequential progression, we realize that the noun 'lavoro' and the verb 'lavorare' have occurred twice previously. The pupil himself uses the verb form ("lavorare")

for the first time in answering to the question (line 3); the teacher uses the correspondent noun (“lavoro”) in her reformulation of the pupil’s answer, which positively assesses the response (line 7). Therefore, when the ETC device is produced in the course of the teacher’s further elaborated evaluation of the student’s answer (line 18), it is produced specifically to elicit that very lexical item which is available from its proximity earlier in the talk. It is worth noticing that in line 18 the teacher’s turn is designed in such a way that both the noun (“lavoro”) and verb (“lavorare”) are equally fitted for an appropriate completion.

Furthermore, we might observe that, in this way, the ETC device provides an opportunity where the information itself is made accessible also to those pupils who might not have paid enough attention to the former instances.

Similarly, in the following excerpt, the teacher invites the pupils to provide completion for the word “rotazione” / “rotating”. The word is a specialized term defining the kind of movement that involve swivelling your waist, to make your trunk rotate.

#13 Rotation PM:LT:6b.geometry/angles

→ 01 T per cambiare dire[↑]zio:ne (.) io faccio una ro,-[ta:ʎ-
to change [↑]direction (.) I make a ro,-[ta:ʎ-

02 St [rotazione
[rotation

03 T zio::ne.
tio::n.

This time, the term which is requested in line 1 has its antecedent in a more proximate position than in the preceding “Work” example (# 3 ext.). In the extended sequence provided below, the first occurrence is produced by the teacher herself in line 6. It is quite interesting to notice that here too, as in the “Work” example, the ETC device is deployed in the teacher’s very next turn, elaborating the positive evaluation of the pupils’ prior answers (lines 2-4).

#13 (extended) Rotation PM:LT:6b.geometry/angles

01 T [↑]cosa fa? il braccio
[↑]what does? the arm do.

02 St si gi[ra
it tu[rns (REFLEX.)

03 St [ha gira-
[it turn-

04 St [ha cambiato direzione
[(IT) has changed direction

05 T si gi::ra:, (.) eh=cioè? (.) ruo::ta: fa una
it tu::rns:, (.) eh=therefore?(.) (IT) tu::rns round (IT) makes a

06 rotazio::ne: d'accordo
ro::ta:tion alright

07 (0.4)

08 St ((background children's talk))

09	T	per cambiare dire [↑] zio:ne (.) io faccio una ro,-[ta:ɔ- to change ↑direction (.) I make a ro,-[ta:ɔ-
10	St	[rotazione [rotation
11	T	zio::ne. tio::n.

3.2. The sequential consequences of variations in the proximity of prior occurrences

The examples show that there might be variations concerning (1) *the proximity of prior occurrences of the information* (how distant in the sequence the antecedent occurrence of the item is produced for the first time) and (2) *who produces it* (whether it be the teacher or the pupils). According to the type of activity the class is engaged in, there might be repeated elicitations of this kind in a very short space of time, as happens in very narrowly focused activities (mathematical problems). On other occasions, the elicitation might be employed only later after the first production of the information as it might happen during more general discussion.

So for instance in the example below from a lesson on mathematics, in the sequence just prior to the extract, the teacher has read the problem aloud a couple of times; she has asked a few questions about it, children have provided the answer, and she has explained what operation is necessary to solve the problem. At the point where the extract starts, the teacher

is reading the problem again before giving instructions on the solution procedure. Therefore, the information she is eliciting has been already made accessible in multiple forms in prior talk. As indicated in the arrowed lines, the teacher performs several uncompleted turns.

#14 Boxes PM:FZ:21a.maths/problems

	01	T	<u>alo:r'</u> <u>so:</u>
	02		(.)
	03	T	<u>u::na</u> profumiera mette cinquantaquattro saponette in <u>a::</u> perfumery assistant puts fifty four pieces of soap in
→	04		NO::VE?- NI::NE?-
	05		(0.2)
	06	T	[SCA::TO:LE [BO::XE:S
	07	Sts	[sca::to:le [bo::xe:s
→	09	T	<u>QUA::NTE?-</u> <u>HOW::</u> MANY?-
	10		(0.6)
	11	St	> <u>sapONEt</u> te°:: in ogni [sca- > <u>pieCES</u> °of so::ap in each [bo-
→	12	T	[<u>QUA::NTE?-</u> [<u>HO::W</u> MANY?-
	13	Sts	sapo[ne::tte in <u>o::gni</u> scatola pie:[:ces of soap in <u>e::ach</u> box
	14	Sts	[ne::tte [so::ap

The next example, by contrast, belongs to a quite extended session from a history lesson, during which the teacher has engaged the class in recalling what they have been covered so far in history. In line 1 the teacher asks about the periods in prehistory they have been talking about. The word “Neolithic” is provided for the first time by one of the pupils in line 3 and then confirmed by the teacher in line 6:

#10 (extended) Neolithic PM:LL:1a.history/prehistory

01 T ABBIAMO ANALIZZATO ↓quali periodi storici
 WE HAVE ANALYZED ↓which historical periods
 ((one girl in the front row in the middle is talking to somebody
 to her left))

02 (0.2)

03 St paleolitico e neolitico
 Palaeolithic and Neolithic

04 T quindi il periodo della pre-i-,
 therefore the period of pre-hi-,

05 Sts sto[::ria
 hi[::story

06 T [della preisto^oria.= [paleolitico e neolitico-
 [of the prehist^ory. [Palaeolithic and Neolithic-

Raf. 07 St [anche- anche l'età dei metalli.
 [also- also the Iron Age.

08 (0.4)

.
 .
 .

((omitted 33 lines))

The class is revising in details the topics connected with the Palaeolithic period

.
 .

09 T 'biamo fatto GIA:' u:n passo avanti nell'evoluzione e siamo
 we moved ALREA:DY a: step forward in the evolution and (WE)

→ 10 già entrati, ↓nel,-
 already entered, ↓in the,-

11 (1.0)

→ 12 T n[el?-
 i[n?-

13 St [ne- neo-l:i[tico
 [Ne- Neo-l:i[thic

14 St [°neo[litico°
 [°Neo[lithic°

15 T [neo°litico°.
 [Neo°lithic°

This time the elicitation is performed in a quite distant position from the former
 occurrence of the information. In addition to that, in the earlier occurrences the lexical item

(“Neolithic”) was packaged as a whole noun-phrase together with the related word “Palaeolithic”. Both these aspects might account for the pupils’ difficulties in supplying the completion in line 11, which suggests a link between how distant the first occurrences in talk of the information are from the ETC device and its positive outcome. This possibility seems to be further sustained by the evidence provided by two other instances where the class is engaged in remembering information covered much earlier (in the same year or even the year before) than in the examples examined so far.

For example, in the case of the ‘Pygmy’ fragment below, the teacher is asking for the name of an African population which pupils encountered in some recent past lessons:

#15 Pygmy PM:LL:1a.history/prehistory

- 01 T vi ricordate? quando abbiamo detto come poteva essere la vita
do you remember? when we talked about how everyday life
- 02 quotidia:na nel paleolitico.
could have been in the Palaeolithic.
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 T nel paleolitico non nel neolitico nel paleolitico
in the Palaeolithic not in the Neolithic in the Palaeolithic
- 05 (.)
- 06 va bene
alright
- 07 (.)
- 08 e l'esempio è stato fatto con:,-
and the example has been made wi:th,-
- 09 (0.6)
- 10 T i Pi?-
the Py?-
- 11 (0.4)
- 12 St i [Pigmei
the [Pygmy
- 13 St [Pigm[e::i
[Py::[gmy
- 14 St [i Pigme:i
[the Py::gmy

- 15 T [i Pigmei cioè una popolazione attualmente vivente?
[the Pygmy that is a population nowadays living ?
- 16 nell'↓Africa centra:le,
in ↓central Africa,
- 17 (0.4)

The teacher is referring to information from lessons that have taken place some time earlier. The antecedent occurrences of the information are therefore more distant in time in comparison to those in the "Work" and in the "Rotation" example. The pupils' difficulty in retrieving the information is shown in the pause that follows the first ETC in line 8. The teacher needs to produce the first syllable of the name in order to enable the children to recognize and supply the information.

In the next example, the ETC device aims at retrieving information that pupils encountered the year before. The teacher engages in eliciting the noun "servizi / services", a category-word which includes schools, hospital, airport and all the other town services.

#16 Services PM:FZ:12a.geography/arbours and towns

- 01 T °s::°'biam fatto tant[o tempo fa:::, nella mia
°s::° 've done it lo[ng time ago:::, in my
- 02 St [e:: io lo so
[e:: I know it
- 03 città ci son tanti?-
town there are many?-
- 04 (1.0)
- 05 St es[se
e[s
- 06 St [SO[lidi
[MO[ney
- 07 St [ta
[ta
- 08 St [↑m:::
[↑m:::
- 09 (0.4)

- 10 T ↓l'ospeda:::°le°
↓the ho:::s°pital°
- 11 St soccorsi
aids
- 12 T n:::(.)↓la scuo:::la non è'n soc[corso
n:::(.)↓the schoo:::l isn't 'n a[id
- 13 St [lui lo sa
[he knows it
- ((St.points to the st.next to the T./T. bends to listen to him))
- 14 (0.2)
- 15 T l'aeroporto non è un soccorso
the airport is not an aid
- 16 (0.6)
- 17 T ↑tanti?-
↑many?-
- 18 St abitazioni
houses
- 19 T [↑nao,
[↑nope,
- 20 St [io lo so
[I it know
- 21 T ↑tanti?-
↑many?-
- 22 St ser[vizi
ser[vices
- 23 T [servizi
[services
- 24 (0.4)
- 25 T ci sono tanti, servizi:: eh?
there are many, se::rvices eh?
- 26 (.)
- 27 T >ALLORA< ↑più cresce il numero delle-
>THEREFORE< ↑the more it raises the number of-
- 28 (0.4)
- 29 ↓<persone>
↓<persons>
- 30 (.)
- 31 ↑più queste persone hanno bisogno di ser-

↑the more these persons are in need of ser-
 (.)

32 Sts vi:[zi:
 vi:[ce:s

33 T [↑VI::ZI:
 [↑VI::CE:S!

34 (0.6)

35 T oke::i,
 oka::i,

It is interesting to notice how in this case the assumptions that the item is unlikely to be retrievable by children, given the fact that the topic was introduced so long before, is displayed in the way in which the process of eliciting progresses as a sort of a guessing game. Children provide subsequent attempts, and the teacher is aligning with the playfulness of the activity. This is conveyed by the special denying token the teacher produces in line 19 “↑nao, / ↑nope,” This distinctive format for ‘no’ shows that the teacher is endorsing the children’s understanding of the activity as playful.

3.3. When the eliciting concerns matters of everyday knowledge

One last remark will be made about those instances where, although no prior mention has been made in the talk before the elicitation, nevertheless the teacher has a different basis on which to expect the children will be able to complete the word. This basis is the ‘common knowledge’ character of the information sought.

In # 4 the children are to provide the final suffix of the name of the day. This object is obviously projectable, if we consider that the name of 5 out of 7 days in the week has the same suffix-ending “di”: the ancient noun (which derives from Latin), for the most recent “giorno”/ “day”.

#4 Friday PM:FZ:22.geography

01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
 WE:::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-
 [((teacher seats
 down

- 02 (0.2)/((some children are talking))
- 03 Sts [((2 of the 5 boys
are actually sitting down at this point))
- V. 04 St [((V. is still
standing up, turning her back to to the teacher, talking to some girls;
at this precise moment she turns for a tenth of a second towards the teacher
and then back to chat with some girls))
- 05 Sts [((two children,
from this moment, abandon their prior activity and turn their gaze to the
teacher))
- 06 Sts \di:::,
\day:::,

In other cases, the recognition of the item is expected on the basis of the shared, common, everyday knowledge, such that which is implied in requesting completion in excerpt 17 below. Here the connection between harbours and ships seems to be expected as common knowledge for children of that age:

#17 Ships PM:FZ:12b.geography/harbours and towns

- 01 T alora i:l po::rto è do::ve:,
so the: ha::rbour is whe::re:,
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 T va:nno a: ripararsi? (.) le,
go: to: shelter?(REFL.) (.) the,
they go: to: find a shelter? (.) the,
- 04 St na[:vi
sh[:ips
- 05 T [na::vi:..
[sh::ips:..

And again below, the verb “to anchor” can be expected as a “known” word, connected with ships and harbours, especially after the first syllable is produced by the teacher:

#18 Anchor PM:FZ:12b.geography/harbours and towns

- 01 T do:ve si [an:- an:[:::co::rano, an:corano le,-
whe:re are [an:- an:[:::chored, an:chored the,-
whe:re they [an:- an:[:::chor, an:chor the,-
- 02 St [↑eh!
- 03 St [an[corano
[an[chor
- 04 Sts [°corano°

[°chor°

05 (.)
 06 Sts [°na::vi°
 [°sh::ips°
 07 St [oppure dove si fermano
 [or where they stop

In other situations, where teachers cannot take for granted that pupils have immediate access to the precise item, they make it retrievable by packaging the item in idiomatic phrases, where the usage of that particular word is frequently connected with that semantic context. So for instance, in the example below, the verb “to administrate” is used in connection to the noun “justice”:

#5 Justice PM:LL:1:history/prehistory

→ 01 T amministrare bene che cosa la, giu,-
 administer well what thing the ju,-
 to administer well what the, ju,-
 02 St la giusti[zia
 justi[ce
 03 Sts [la giustizia
 [justice
 04 T [la giusti:zia e loro () avere la capacità
 [the just*ice* and them () have the capability
 05 St [la giusti:zia
 [justi:ce
 06 T anche di essere giusti fra di loro.
 also to be just to one another.

Similarly in #19 below, the noun phrase “the same thing” (line 5) is fairly easily projectable after the teacher has produced the prior part of the sentence “they all mean more or less.....” (lines 3-4), on the basis of the frequent usage of the idiomatic utterances: “more or less the same”.

#19 Paroline PM:LT:2a.natural sciences/soil composition

- 01 T ↑adesso vediamo un- ↑qua ci ↓sono (0.6) ↑dei termini tipo (.)
 ↑now let's see a- ↑there there ↓are (0.6) ↑some terms such us (.)
- 02 < terre::no terri::ccio te:rra >(0.4) in realtà? queste tre (.)
 <(DERIV.N.)(DERIV.N.) ea:rth >(0.4)in reality? these three (.)
 <terrai::n pottin compost ea:rth >(0.4) these three(.) words
- 03 paroline che cosa vogliono dire più o meno
 words(+DIMIN)what thing want(THEY)to say more or less
 what do they actually mean more or less
- 04 vogliono dire,-
 they mean,
- 05 St [la stessa cosa
 [the same thing
- 06 St [TUTTI LA STESSA COSA
 [ALL THE SAME THING
- 07 T la stessa co:sa?
 the same thi:ng?
- 08 St °si°
 °yes°

Concluding this section, we observe that this form of questioning is very successful device to elicit the expected response by pupils. (1) Characteristics of speech delivery and turn design and (2) the sequential deployment of the ETC device with reference to prior occurrences of the requested item are both accountable for the participants' orientation to treating the requested item as information which is known, available, and projectable from prior talk.

A more detailed inquiry into the organization of larger sequences where this device is used has shown that the proximity in prior talk of the piece of information which is elicited might account for this positive polarity of the phenomenon, and for the teacher's reasonably optimistic expectations that children will be able to produce the requested or expected completion.

Teachers construct their talk to instruct recipients that the relevant next action is providing completion to incomplete utterances. This provides recipients the opportunity to produce very limited and controlled incomings, which would fill in the empty slots created through the ETC device. This form of questioning is specifically designed to elicit only *one precise item* that would be *fitted for that precise place*. The format of the pupils' answering turn, which provide exactly the missing part of the truncated unit, shows that both parties are orienting to eliciting/providing precisely what is missing in order to complete the utterance underway. While pupils produce exactly the missing part, teachers maximize the pupils' recognition of the item first, by highlighting that the turn is approaching a suspension of the delivery, and, second, by using this device to elicit information which has been earlier mentioned or which are easily accessible to recipients.

4. Contexts and uses of the ETC device.

Teachers produce incomplete turns in a variety of different contexts. By means of the ETC device, they draw the attention of the class to a specific item in order to accomplish different actions, which are all related to the management of the *fragmentation* of the recipients' participation. A strategic role in re-framing the participation setting is played by the proximity of the required information, its availability for all the children, and hence the projectability of the item needed to complete the turn. The closer to hand the elicited piece of information is in prior talk, the more successful is the teacher's attempt to have all the pupils focused on one activity.

4.1. The first dimension of fragmentation: a conditional entry is one way to regain control over a competitive environment.

On many occasions, children find themselves in a situation where they know how to respond to a question but have no right to speak. In such contexts it might happen that children engage in activities which are set in parallel with the main interaction participation framework, thus causing its fragmentation. When this happens, pupils are not commonly focused; they are competing for the floor and the possibility for “schism” arises⁶. The distribution of turns is not controlled by the teacher. There is an additional increment of the number of parties, besides those involved in the two main participation settings (teacher/pupil or teacher/class) which are two-party conversations. I will analyse two sequences, in particular, where turns are distributed among more than two parties. In this environment the ETC device is used to restore the teacher/class conversation framework.

The first example I will analyse in relation to the environment where the ETC is produced is the “Work” fragment with which we are already familiar.

3 Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns

	01	T	LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO <u>di</u> la,- the people have need of wor,- ↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED <u>of</u> wor,-
	02		(.)
→	03	St	°'vo[ro° °'ki[g°
→	04	Sts	['vo:::r[o: ['ki:::n[g
	05	T	['voro ['king

⁶ See Egbert (1997) on “schisming” in conversation

We have seen that the teacher's optimistic expectations of obtaining the expected completion are grounded on a number of prior occurrences of the item which is elicited in line 1. However, a further observation about the proximate sequential context will reveal some interesting features of the immediate context, which will shed light on one of the specific uses of this device in classroom interaction.

As is shown in the extended sequence which I reproduce below, the five turns above conclude the elaborated evaluation of Marina's answer. Extract #3 (ext.) below begins with the second part of Marina's answer.

3 (ext.) Work From: Enza12b.geography/arbours and towns

- Mar. 01 St e::: secondo? perché così possono stare .hh tutte le
a::nd second? because this way they can stay .hh all the
- 02 persone::, (0.4) °più vici-° hhh.
perso::ns, (0.4) °more clo-° hhh.
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 T la ca:sa:: a [bitava]- AN[CHE SE ABITAVANO NE' PA[ESE:,
the ho::use l[ived]- EV[EN IF LIVED(THEY) IN'DA V[ILLA:GE,
- 05 St [()]
- Mar. 06 St [ata- 'bitava-
[-ed 'ived-
- Mar. 07 St [le TE:R-
[the LA:N-
- Mar. 08 St NO perché se te- nascono .hh an[cora::,=
NO because if you- more people are[bo::rn,=
- 09 T [((starts nodding))=eh
- Mar. 10 St eh[:: () sempre di più .hhh il [po:↓polo e[::
eh[:: () more and more .hhh the[pe:o↓ple a[::nd
- 11 St [dopo ()
[then ()
- 12 T [((she nods)) [il po:↑polo
[the pe:↑ople
- 13 e quindi bisogna edificare di più, ↓> costru[ire di più, <
and so needed(PASSIV.)erect more, ↓> bui[ld more, <
and so they need to erect more, ↓> bui[ld more, <

- 14 St [posso prova:re ↓a
[can(I) try: ↓to
- 15 di[:rlo
sa[y: it
- 16 T [PERO'LA [PRIMA COSA CHE HAI D[ETTO è: più:: (0.2)
[BUT THE [FIRST THING THAT YOU S[AID i:s mo::re(0.2)
- 17 St [°no°
[°no°
- 18 St [uh:!
- 19 T mira:[ta più giusta::
preci[:se more corRE::CT
- 20 St [no io
[no me
- 21 St posso [pro-
can(I) [tr-

22	T	[LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO <u>di</u> la,- [the people have need of wor,- [↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED <u>of</u> wor,-
23		(.)
24	St	°'vo[ro° °'ki[ng°
25	Sts	['vo:::r[o: ['ki:::n[g

26 T ['voro la bis- e la gente ha bisogno di
['king the nee- and people need

27 mangia:re
ea:ting

In order to capture the purpose which the teacher achieves by deploying the ETC device in line 22, we must step backward to see the larger sequence construction.

First sequence

Lines 1-2:

The fragment begins with Marina's *answer* which is concluding. The turn in lines 1 and 2 constitutes the closing of a **Second Action**.

Line 4:

The teacher packages a **Third-Turn Receipt** of the answer as an assessment which *casts some doubts about* the acceptability of the pupil's last part of the response. By casting some doubts on the answer, the teacher's turn constitutes a **First Action**, which makes relevant a *defence*.

Lines 6-10:

Marina's energetic *defence* (**Second Action**) of the position which she has expressed in the answer is accomplished through several interjacent incomings. When finally she manages to talk in the clear (line 8), she formats her account for her earlier answer as a disagreement with the teacher's prior assessment.

Line 9; lines 12-13:

In the course of Marina's defence, the teacher performs **Third-Turn Receipts** which acknowledge Marina's account, providing a substantial **positive evaluation**. The format of the teacher turn, as illustrated below, presents a number features which characterize third-turn receipts in this type of setting⁷:

1	[acknowledgment token]	the nodding
2	[repetition of part of the answer]	/i:l <u>po</u> :↑pɔlo/
3	[re-formulation]	/e quindi bisogna edificare di <u>più</u> ,/

At this point, the sequence has reached a *possible closure*, as is evident in the other pupils' behaviour which follows. The sequence closure which is finally accomplished through the teacher's positive evaluation of Marina's answer makes relevant the beginning of a next sequence.

⁷ See Chapter 6 for a treatment of teachers' third-turn receipt in instructional sequences.

It has to be recalled that the teacher's original question is designed to have more than one candidate answer. Before the fragment we are observing here, a number of other responses have been provided to the teacher's question:

- 01 T e ↑perché:? (0.2) e perché? un paese diventa città
e why:? (0.2) and why? a village becomes a town
- 02 (0.4)

Therefore, at this point there is the possibility of initiating a new sequence. However, while students are orienting towards the beginning of a new sequence, the teacher decides to elaborate further her evaluation of Marina's answer, till its actual closure with the ETC device in line 22. This tension creates a disruption of the participation framework, which so far has been a two-party conversation between Marina and the teacher with the remaining pupils acting as the overhearing silent audience.

I will now focus on how the conversation further develops to see how this contrast is managed. In particular it is interesting to notice where pupils produce their incoming in relation to the teacher's turns.

#3b "Work"

- 12 T [(she nods)] [il po:↑polo
[the pe:↑ople
- 13 e quindi bisogna edificare di più, ↓>costru[ire di più, <
and so needed(PASSIV.)erect more, ↓> bui[ld more, <
and so they need to erect more, ↓> bui[ld more, <
- 14 St [posso prova:re ↓a
[can(I) try: ↓to
- 15 di[:rlo
sa[y: it
- 16 T [PERO'LA [PRIMA COSA CHE HAI D[ETTO è: più:: (0.2)
[BUT THE [FIRST THING THAT YOU S[AID i:s mo::re(0.2)
- 17 St [°no°
[°no°
- 18 St [uh:!

- 19 T mira:[ta più giustA::
 preci[:se more corRE::CT
- 20 St [no io
 [no me
- 21 St posso [pro-
 can(I) [tr-

22	T	[LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO <u>di</u> la,- [the people have need of wor,- [↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED <u>of</u> wor,-
----	---	--

Line 14:

All the turns produced by pupils in this sequential space are in overlap with the teacher's further evaluation of the answer. The first of such incomings (request to be selected as next speaker) is deployed in recognitional onset (Jefferson, 1984). By the first syllable of the verb "costruire" / "to build" after the possible completion of the prior TCU / e quindi bisogna edificare di più, /, the pupil has recognized that the teacher will be producing a second item of a couple of re-formulations, which are packaged as a whole. Hence, the pupils' turn anticipates next transition-relevance place.

It might be relevant to recall what Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) note on multi-party interaction. In this setting –and classroom interaction is one of those settings where multi-party interaction occurs- at transition-relevance points "there will be pressure for minimization of turn size."(p. 713).

"In two-party conversation, a current non-speaker can pass any given transition-relevance place which is non-obligatory (i.e., where 'current selects next' technique has not been used) with full assurance of being 'next speaker' at some point; but with three or more parties, this is not assured. If a current non-speaker, interested in speaking next, should not self-select at a next transition-relevance place, then some other current non-speaker might self-select, and in his turn select someone else; or current speaker might continue, and in his continuation select some other current non-speaker. Therefore a current non-speaker. If interested in speaking next, will be under constraint to self-select at first possible transition point, and at each successive such point." (Op.cit. p.712-713).

Of course, the turn-taking system in classroom interaction in instructional sequences does not allow for speakers' self-selection as it takes place in other settings. However, if

there is one environment where pupils have the right of self-selecting it is exactly in this context where the prior Q-A sequence arrives at closure, and they are entitled to perform offers to answer next.

Line 17:

This turn is clearly produced in response to line 14. The ‘no’ responds to the prior request, which the teacher let to pass unnoticed. Also the place where it is deployed supports the connection with the pupil’s turn.

Line 18:

This second request for speaking is deployed in a totally interjacent position with reference to the teacher’s turn. However, the format of the request –its non-lexical nature /uh: !/-, and its animated tone are coherently produced to indicate the ‘spontaneous’ nature of the action, as though something urgent to say had just crossed the pupil’s mind. Hence its being interjacent with respect to the teacher’s turn is designed to provide further evidence for its supposed ‘naturalness’.

Line 20:

This offer, preceded by the denial, seems to be produced as a response to line 18.

Line 21:

This fourth request for speaking next is finally produced in transition space.

This account shows that, in overlap with the teacher’s continuation of the talk underway, 4 pupils address the teacher with requests to be selected as next speakers, to which at least 2 pupils respond by denying that request, thus engaging in very short conversation, parallel to the teacher’s talk addressed to Marina. Through this behaviour, pupils display that they are very strongly orienting to sequence organization and that they are alert to issues of speakership administration. The outcome of the pressure for self-selecting among 25 or so potential “next speakers” results in a highly *competitive* environment for speakership.

It is in such a context that the teacher, having resumed her turn at a high volume, before reaching TCU completion, finally produces the ETC device in line 22.

It is rather interesting also to look at the manner how talk develops after the ETC device. Consider the continuation of the sequence in the fragment below:

#3c Work

22	T	[LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO <u>di</u> la,- [the people have need of wor,- [↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED <u>of</u> wor,-
23		(.)
24	St	°'vo[ro° °'ki[g°
25	Sts	['vo:::r[o: ['ki:::n[g
26	T	['voro la bis- <u>e</u> la gente ha bisogno di ['king the nee- <u>and</u> people need
27		mangia:re <u>ea:ting</u>
28		(0.6)
29	T	di consuma:::re no? to consu:::me no?
30		(0.2)
31	T	alora è più co:::modo ↑sia per avere un aiuto, (1.2) il vicino so it is more conve:::nient↑either to get help, (1.2) the
32	T	d- (.) il vicino di ca:sa. (0.8) okay se io sto neighbour o-(.)the nei:ghbour (0.8) okay if I am <u>not</u>
33		ma:::le:, (0.8) ho qualcuno vici:::no:, <↓questa è stata la we:::ll, (0.8)there's somebody clo:::se, <↓this was the first
34		prima risposta. (0.6) ↑PERO', (0.6) ho anche bisogno? (.) di answer. (0.6) ↑BUT, (0.6) I) also need? (.) to
35		avere tante <u>cose</u> vicino che possono <u>ser</u> ,- have many <u>things</u> at hand which I might <u>ne:::,-</u>
36		(0.2)
37	Sts	[vi:re:. [e:d.
38	T	[vi:re:. [e:d.

39 (0.2)

The outcome of the practice is clearly visible:

1. the whole audience is again responding in unison (lines 25 and 37);
2. the distribution of turns doesn't present any further sign of competitiveness;
3. the teacher performs very long multiple-TCU turns;
4. pauses are deployed within multiple-TCU turns; these are not exploited to accomplish turn-transition;
5. children's incomings are elicited, regulated and in unison.

In other words, through the ETC device, *the participation framework is re-shaped*, the second party is re-grouped, the parties' identities and rights are restored⁸.

Another environment in instructional sequences where pupils are not commonly focused and the participation framework becomes fragmented is when lessons get started. On these occasions children are busy talking to each other, conducting individual business in pairs or in small groups.

One example which illustrates such situations is the "Friday" fragment. The school day is at its very beginning. Teacher and pupils have just entered the room. Children have laid

⁸ This function of managing the organization of participation in instructional activities by means of inviting choral responses is illustrated in the analysis of the following example by Lerner (1995):

#20 CIRC:Dugg

1	Teacher:	Where <u>was</u> this book published?
2		.
3	Teacher:	Macmillan publishing company <u>in</u> ?
4		(.)
5→	Class:	New York ((mostly in unison))
6	Teacher:	Okay,

In line 3 the teacher withholds the last TCU item in providing the beginning of the reply, after an elicitation question (line 1).

"The teacher has designed the further increment of her turn in a manner that makes a choral response especially relevant.

[.....] By halting her utterance prior to a recognizable completion, stressing the final word, and producing it with upward intonation, the teacher can invite and coordinate completion by the class as a whole. (This seems like an apt procedure to employ with a talkative class, since it musters, coordinates, and limits the participation of all those students who prepared to reply.)" (Lerner, 1995: p.117)

their schoolbags and books on their desk and quite a few of them are walking around, chatting, playing and exchanging objects. The teacher is getting ready for the day too: she is organizing her material on her desk and in the cupboard. While carrying on these early-morning activities, before the very beginning of the lesson, the teacher gives instructions to a couple of children on how to complete a poster who is hanging on the wall. It is at this point that the excerpt below begins:

#4 Friday PM:FZ:22a.geography/temperature

- 01 T po::i la Silvia,
the::n Silvia,
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 T fa quella delle ↑pi::le:,
makes that for the↑ba::tteries,
- 04 (0.2)
- 05 T facendo star dentro 'grande di quella verde::, ↓>se vuoi e
trying to put inside 'big that the gree::n, ↓>if you want
- 06 guardar com'è quella [verde là che è già stata attacca::ta:,
to see how's that [green there that has already been
- 07 Sts [((background talking increases))
- 08 T < al cartel[lo::ne>
<to the po::ster>
- 09 T ((teacher encourages gesturally Silvia to go and look at the poster in the
back of the class))
- 10 St [()
- 11 T E POI METTI IN RISALTO LA BUCHETTA:: DELLE PILE::
AND THEN HIGHLIGHT THE LITTLE HO::LE FOR BATTERIE::S
- 12 (9.0) ((children go on talking and moving around))
- 13 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
WE::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-
[((teacher seats
down
- 14 (0.2)/((some children are talking))
- 15 Sts [((2 of the 5 boys
are actually sitting down at this point))
- V. 16 St [((V. is still
standing up, turning her back to to the teacher, talking to some girls;
at this precise moment she turns for a tenth of a second towards the teacher
and then back to chat with some girls))
- 17 Sts [((two children,

- from this moment, abandon their prior activity and turn their gaze to the teacher))
- 18 Sts Vdi:::,
Vday:::,
- 19 T 'indi ci sarà il compito- da- [fa[re::- [ca::sa
'ence there will be the homework- to-[do[a::t-[ho::me
- 20 Sts [ca::sa
- 21 Sts [((indistinct talk))
- 22 St [co::sa?
[wha::t?

I will focus on the features of turn construction which the teacher uses in delivering the incomplete turn in line 13, indicating the beginning of a new sequence.

First, it is produced after a fairly long pause that marks the closing of the preceding set of instructions. Second, the first lexical TCU of the turn (BE:NE::/ WE::LL.) is one of those lexical units which mark a change of sequence, when deployed in turn beginning position. Its prosodic contour –the high volume and the sound stretching- has to be accounted for by the fact the children are busy talking to each other.

The second TCU (↑ALO::RA) also is a lexical unit that marks sequence beginning. Its high pitch in initial position marks its being a "first" or a "beginning" TCU. Moreover, the non-falling intonation suggests that the teacher is projecting further talk.

Right from the beginning of the third TCU ('STA:: MATTI::NA,/ THI::S MO::RNING) it is clear that:

- a sentential TCU has begun;
- that presumably the teacher is going to announce the plans for the day.

The turn is constructed with a certain emphasis, owing to its intonation features and the two subsequent sequence-opening markers. Considering the environment in which the teacher performs this turn, we might well say that it is a gathering of 25 or so people where everyone is attending to his own business, including the teacher. Although everybody is present, in the

sequence before line 13 the class as such "is not yet there". And the teacher too, in her fully institutional role, "is not yet there", or at least she is not there for all the components of the class.

Focusing on the prior sequence where instructions are given to Silvia, we realize that the teacher has begun to address the class much earlier than line 13.

Consider, for example, the construction of lines 1-3. The teacher constructs the turn as if she were addressing the other children also. The use of the third person in referring to Silvia ("Silvia makes...") shows that the teacher is including the children in the audience as recipients of her talk, besides Silvia. However, in the next turns, when instructions get more detailed, she passes to the second person (you). While the teacher gets more involved with Silvia, the other children get more involved in their individual business, as indicated in the glosses in line 7 and 12, and in the high volume used in lines 11 and 13.

Thus, the features of turn design in line 13 -the two sequence-opening markers, the whole prosody of this turn beginning, and specifically that of the third TCU- all are deployed to work as a way of alerting the audience that there is something which is to begin. It is at this point that the teacher suspends the production of the turn, prior to TCU completion, performing the ETC device.

It is interesting to notice that she abandons the high volume well before the final cut-off since, in the very short spate of talk that goes from the last syllable of "MATTI::NA/MO::RNING" and the last cut-off "ner,-", the background talking of children has diminished. It is also worth noticing that the cut-off is preceded by a previous one after the first syllable of the word for 'Friday'. In this way the teacher performs a syllable-by-syllable spelling of the name of the day.

At this point a pause is deployed, after which the choral production of the last syllable is issued by the vast majority of children. Two observations are significant:

- a) in uttering the completion, children also adopt a strongly characterized prosody, which echoes and almost parodies the teacher's invitation. The exceedingly long sound stretch and the down-up intonation contour display not only that they have correctly interpreted the teacher's action as an invitation to complete the word, but also that they recognize it as a routine practice: something they are requested to recognize and acquiesce to, as in fact they do. Recall that in order to do an imitation or a parody you would have to have been exposed to it several times, to remember and recognize it. The suspending final intonation shows that children correctly understand that there is more to come.
- b) children who are busy attending to their particular business abandon their individual projects to join in the choral activity. This behaviour is evidence for this practice as being deeply rooted in teacher-pupils interaction as a feature of talk which all the participants strongly orient to as a *tool for turn management in classroom*.

The observation of the data in video, as indicated in the glosses, is extremely interesting⁹.

- before the teacher starts her turn in line 13, there are about 5 pupils who are not yet sitting down and at least 3 of them are wandering around in the room. From the position of the head of those who are already sitting at their desk, we see that the majority of them are busy talking with their friends. Only few look at the teacher who is in front of them.
- at the moment when the teacher begins to say “STA::/THI::S” one of them, at the back, who has just started to move away from his place to join a friend, turns back, showing that he is abandoning the project to move away;
- at “ner,-“ two of those who were standing have already taken their seat;
- when the class comes in with line 18 “dì:::/da::y,” one girl is still standing half way from her place at the back of the room, turning her back to the teacher while talking to a friend.

⁹ I have provided pictures from the video-recording of this fragment in Chapter 5, where this fragment is analysed to investigate pupils' answering strategies.

When the class produces the choral completion, this girl almost freezes halfway, with her head turned towards the teacher for a tenth of a second simultaneously with the “di:::, /da::y,” thus suspending her activity precisely in that fraction of a second. The two boys in the last row at the back are still standing up and attending to their own business, although one of them has abandoned the plan of leaving his place:

- a couple of those who are sitting distinctively raise their head from their business and look at the teacher.

This shows that the ETC device is a very powerful resource to restore children's attention.

The use of this practice to invite choral, controlled and limited entry into the teacher's turn space accomplishes different purposes at the same time:

1. *Institutional identities of teacher and pupils are reasserted.* The former enters in the role of the speaker that is entitled and has the administration of speaker selection. The practice allows the teacher to select the class as next speaker
2. Participants to talk-in-interaction are subject to group re-shaping. By suspending her ongoing turn in a position where completion is highly recognizable, almost obvious, *the teacher addresses more than one individual student, making a choral response relevant* (Lerner, 1995). Scattered talk-in-interaction in pairs or in small groups are abandoned in favour of the participation to the choral activity of providing completion to the teacher's turn.
3. The way in which the teacher designs her turn invites student's completion as a production by a whole class, strongly relies on the work of recognizing the missing item. The teacher's behaviour proposes that what she is saying is known by recipients. *Recipients are treated as informed parties* and the sought for piece of information, which is needed to complete the turn, is known, recognizable, familiar and available to recipients.

The action embodied by this practice is a request to display a confirmation of their being already informed and, on the basis of that, to offer 'consensus' for being treated as part of a body, thus confirming that the class, or the majority of them, is on board, displaying receptivity. It is therefore a request to abandon their individual aims to act together, and to coordinate their reply.

4.2. The second dimension of fragmentation: eliciting collective appreciation of individual answers

It has already been argued that the ETC device relies in part on the proximity of the requested information in prior talk. And we have seen that the antecedent occurrences of the item needed in order to provide the completion of the teacher's turn can be located either in one of the students' prior answer (the 'Work' fragment # 3 ext.), or in the teacher prior talk (the 'Rotation' excerpt # 13 ext.). The proximity of prior knowledge accounts for the device being successfully deployed and fulfilled.

One of the payoffs of this eliciting strategy is the *recycling of information*. This acquires a special import, especially if we consider the disparity of individual receptive skills among a numerous and differentiated audience in the classroom. This latter dimension seems to be related to the specific institutional constraints of classroom interaction

Thus, as illustrated in the prior section, one main purpose for the use of the ETC device is connected to the fragmentation and possibilities of schism which arise in the classroom multi-party setting. In delivering instruction to a large audience of pupils the teacher has to be assured that each individual receives the same amount of information. Situations where the main conversation is disrupted might create an obstacle to the achievement of this purpose.

But, there is another purpose that the ETC device serves. This is closely related to the re-shaping of a two-party interaction from a fragmented participation framework, and precisely to the achievement of a common appreciation of prior contributions. In situations where the competitiveness of a multiparty reciprocity might cause disruption of the interaction the ETC device serves the function of having all the pupils commonly focused together on the same track. For instance in the fragment below (line 21) the deployment of the ETC device provides an opportunity for the previously unappreciated answer to be re-issued and acknowledged as positive by the entire class.

#21 Ships PM:FZ:12b/geography (harbours and towns)

01 T le ca::se. o:ltre alle ca[:se
the hou::ses. be:sides the hou[:ses

02 St [io!
[me!

03 St io
me

04 St >m'estra io LO SO!<
>teacher I IT KNOW<
>teacher I KNOW IT<

05 St io
me

06 St >m'estra io LO SO!<
>t'cher I KNOW IT!<

07 St i[:
m[:

08 T ((teacher points to the girl, to stop her to give the suggestion,
which she produces anyway in line 9 below))

09 St [le na::vi[:
[the shi::[ps

10 T [s:::

11 T ol:[tre alle CASE NELL[A SECO:NDA FIGURA CE N'E'=
be:[yond to the HAUSES IN T[HE SE:COND PICTURE THERE IS =
be:[sides HAUSES IN T[HE SE:COND PICTURE THERE IS=

12 St [le na-
[the shi-

13 St [le na-
[the shi-

14 T =[UN A:LTRO::
 =[AN O:THE::R

15 St [GLI OMBRE::LLI
 [THE UMBRE::LLAS
 [UMBRE::LLAS

16 St gli ombre[lloni
 the umbre[llas(+SUFF.=big)
 umbre[llas(+SUFF.=big)

17 St [gli ombrelloni
 [the umbrellas((+SUFF.=big)

18 T ((T. points to the same girl she was pointing to above,
 this time to indicate she wants them to say the answer she
 has offered before))

19 St [gli ombrello-
 [the umbrel-

20 St °le [navi°
 °the[ships°
 ° sh[ips

→	21	T	[<u>LE</u> , - [<u>THE</u> , -
	22	Sts	[na:vi: [shi:ps:
	23	T	[NA:VI: [SHI:PS:

Before passing to analyse the sequence, it might help to know that the task is to identify artificial/manufactured ('humanized') or natural elements in a picture, according to the teacher's request as indicated in the extract below.

#21 (extended) PM:FZ:12b/geography (harbours and towns)

01 T nella seconda figura I::SLA:M
 in the second picture I::SLA:M

02 (1.6)

03 T MI SAI DI- ↓seconda figura eh
 to me you can say second picture eh
 CAN YOU TE- ↓second picture eh

04 (0.8)

05 T >nella seconda figura<
 >in the second picture<

((T. signs 2 with the fingers))

06 MI ↑SAI DIRE (.) UN ELEMENTO (0.2) U:MANIZZA:TO
to me can you tell an element humanized
↑CAN YOU TELL ME (.) A HU:MANI:ZED (0.2) ELEMENT

07 (5.0)

08 St ((one girl raises her hand))

09 T cioè che riguarda: l'e:ssere uman
that is to say that it belon:gs to the hu:man being

The answer “houses” which is assessed in line 1 in the “Ship” sequence (#21) is responding to the question above.

The “Ship” sequence (#21) reflects the tension I have indicated above between the structural features of the interaction –the large audience, the number of potential next speakers, the possibility for the disruption of the participation framework, the different individual receptive skills of the participants-, and the pedagogic goal of granting equal access to knowledge, so as to have everybody on board.

Let us return to the “Ship” fragment (#21).

First Sequence

Line 1:

The teacher produces a multi-TCU turn which is composed of a

Third-Turn Receipt: the repetition which *evaluates the answer as positive*;

First Action: the declarative-formatted utterance which actually *re-issues the prior question*.

Lines 2-7:

As a **Second Action**, pupils produce *offers to respond*. In this way, they display adherence to the selection procedure which is thus initiated.

Line 8:

Instead of selecting next respondent, the teacher produces a gesture with her arm towards one girl close to her as though she wanted to stop her. Evidently, the girls must have said

something in a low tone of voice, not audible in the distance. The teacher's gesture is therefore a response to what the pupil has said. This inserted sequence blocks the selection procedure.

Line 9:

Despite the teacher's injunction not to speak, the child in line 9 (the same who has been stopped by the teacher's gesture) produces the answer aloud. In this way the pupils publicly produce the answer. Note that the response to the question (**Second Action**) is correct in terms of its content, but totally inappropriate in terms of the other participants' expectations.

Line 10:

The teacher's **Third-Turn Receipt** *sanctions* the pupils' response, through a second overt injunction not to speak.

Second Sequence

Line 11:

The teacher designs her turn as explicitly resuming her questioning¹⁰ where it has been interrupted, thus indicating that she is starting again with the First Action. Note that in line 11 she repeats exactly the same sentence beginning "oltre alle case / besides houses" of line 1. This indicates that she is repairing the departure from the projected sequence development, caused by the pupil's inappropriate incoming in line 9.

Lines 12-17:

However, the production of the first answer in line 9 determines the children's subsequent answers, which are deployed in the course of the teacher's questioning turn. A couple of pupils repeat the "ship" answer; a few others indicate a different item ("umbrella"). This alternative answer might be due to the fact that the first occurrence of "ship" (line 9) has been

¹⁰ Note that the teacher uses the declarative utterance as a question substitute. For a detailed analysis of questioning formats in instructional sequences see Chapter 2.

sanctioned and the two subsequent occurrences (lines 12 and 13) have passed unnoticed. This might have led the other children to think that 'ship' was wrong.

Lines 18-23:

At this point there are two different answers on the floor, which are equally correct.

Furthermore, one of these has been sanctioned. The teacher also faces the fact that the pupil in line 9 has challenged her injunction not to answer. It appears that the teacher's gesture in line 18 and the ETC device in 21 are deployed to accomplish two purposes:

- (1) by selecting *now* the girl who has misbehaved in line 9, the teacher marks this moment as the appropriate time to answer. Thus, indirectly, she is affirming her right to allocate turns.
- (2) by using the ETC device to elicit the earlier unappreciated and sanctioned response she evaluates that answer as correct in terms of content.

As this example has shown, pupils can provide correct answers in terms of content, but which are however misplaced in terms of sequential deployment. Consequentially, a correct answer can be unappreciated or neglected by the remaining children. Because of the inappropriate placement of such answers, the teacher faces the conflicting task of sanctioning and appreciating at the same time a 'correct' but misplaced answer. In the following sections we will see some instances where the teacher overcomes this situation through the ETC device.

4.2.1. *The ETC is deployed in additional turn-constructive unit in the course of the questioning*

One way to deal with misplaced answers is to continue the questioning through additional turn-constructive units. In the course of the turn progression, the use of the ETC device is a way of making the majority of pupils appreciate a correct but *misplaced* response, as is visible also in the example below:

#22 Straight line PM:LT:5a:geometry/angles

01	T	la direzione è la stessa, the direction is the same,
02		(0.4)
→ 03	T	<u>cambia solo il,-</u> (IT) <u>changes only the,-</u>
042	St	<u>verso</u> <u>direction</u>
05	T	se:nso. wa:y.
06		(.)
07	T	va <u>bene</u> <u>alright</u>
08		(.)
09	T	quindi io per terra, therefore I on the floor,
10		(0.4)
→ 11	T	cosa traccio = traccio una linea, what do I draw = I draw a line,
12	St	re[t- st[rai-
→ 13	T	[che chiamo,- [that I call,- [that is called,-
14		(.)
15	St	[<u>retta</u> [<u>straight</u>
→ 16	T	[linea,- [line,-
17	St	<u>ret</u> [ta. <u>str</u> [aight.
18	Sts	[retta. [straight.
19	T	[<u>retta</u> . d'accordo. [<u>straight</u> . alright.

In lines 9-11, the teacher constructs an eliciting question which is latched to the immediate production of the beginning of the answer. The turn is incomplete also by virtue of

the pupil's production of the last item which is deployed in line 12. In overlap with the response, the teacher provides additional turn-constructive components.

Two observations emerge:

- (1) the beginning of the answer in line 11 doesn't present all the emphatic features which normally characterize the ETC device;
- (2) the last item is produced by a single pupil.

The increment in line 13 produces a second opportunity for providing completion. Again, only one student gives the answer. The emphasis in the first syllable of the word (in line 15) indicates that this is a second occurrence of the same answer, which is designed as though the teacher hadn't heard the prior in line 12. Consider that the teacher's turn in line 13 has overlapped that occurrence.

The turn in line 15 also is overlapped by the teacher further continuation. This time the completion is provided in unison in line 18. It is only at this point that the teacher produces her positive evaluation through [repetition] + [confirmation].

From the example above it is evident that the ETC device is designed precisely to elicit a choral response. When the completion is provided by a single student, through additional turn-constructive units, the teacher creates further opportunities in which to deploy the ETC device, by means of additional turn-constructive units. In this way the teacher achieves a response in unison, which indicates a collective appreciation of the answer.

In the following fragment two instances of the ETC device are produced in course of the progressive construction of the questioning. It is worth comparing the two instances of ETC and the different sequential outcome that they occasion.

#23 Direction PM:LT:5b.geometry/angles

- 01 T l'angolo che cos'è. = è
the angle what is it. = it is
- 02 (0.6)

- (1)→ 03 T forma:to è dovu:to? al cambio di ?-
fo:rmed it is due:? to the change of ?-
- 04 St °di-°
°di°-
- 05 Sts [direz:io:ne
[di:rectio:n
- 06 Sts [direzione
[direction
- (2a)→07 T di? di:-re-zione. e quindi?-
of? di:- re-ction. and therefore?-
- 08 (2.0)
- (2b)→09 T è generato da u:na ?-
it is originated by a: ?-
- 10 St rota[zio-
rota[tio-
- (2c)→11 T [ro:-ta ?-
[ro:-ta ?-
- 12 Sts zio::[ne
tio::[n
- 13 T ['zio::ne. da una rotazione.
['tio::n. by a rotation.

First sequence (ll.1-7)

In lines 1-3 we see another occurrence of teachers' questioning where an interrogative utterance (first TCU in line 1) is immediately latched to the incomplete beginning of the answer, where the ETC device is deployed. The elicitation in line 3 is soon answered by the tentative response in line 4 which is immediately followed by collective incomings. The answering sequence develops according to the usual format of answers in unison; that is, subsequent answers are produced soon after the first respondent has produced the first syllable/beat of the item which is requested. The achievement of a response produced in unison is positively ratified by the teacher's turn in line 7.

Second sequence (ll.7-13)

After the repetition of the elicited item the teacher continues her questioning, adding the beginning of the next TCU (line 7), and deploying the second ETC device in the delivery of

the adverb (“therefore”) which opens the next clause. The two-second pause indicates that pupils have trouble in recognizing the suitable completion.

Line 9 provides the continuation of the clause, which is however left incomplete. The completion is provided by *one* student in line 10. Note how the teacher manages to have all the pupils to respond in unison in line 11. The repetition of the pupil’s answer is truncated. In this way she acknowledges the answer is correct and invites the remaining pupils to join in, which they do in line 12.

4.2.2. *The ETC device is deployed in the course of the teacher evaluation of a prior answer*

The teacher’s orientation to a more general involvement of the class in the appreciation of a piece of information which hasn’t been fully understood is embodied by the use of the ETC device also in the course of the teacher’s evaluation. In the examples above we have seen that the questioning might be incremented through additional turn-constructive units which provide further opportunities to deploy the ETC device. In a similar way, the third-turn evaluation can also be expanded. When this happens, not infrequently teachers use the ETC device to elicit further occurrences of the item. In this way the teacher encourages collective incomings from students within the actual process of positively evaluating a prior answer.

Consider fragment #16 below. The word “servizi / services” has already been elicited in the talk prior to the sequence in the box. Pupils have already provided the word, which has also already been evaluated by the teacher (lines 1-25).

#16 Services PM:FZ:12a.geography/arbours and towns

- 01 T °s::°'biam fatto tant[o tempo fa:::, nella mia
°s::° 've done it lo[ng time ago::, in my
- 02 St [e:: io lo so
[e:: I know it
- 03 città ci, son tanti?-
town there are many?-
- 04 (1.0)

- 05 St es[se
e[s
- 06 St [SO[ldi
[MO[ney
- 07 St [ta
[ta
- 08 St [↑m:::
[↑m:::
- 09 (0.4)
- 10 T ↓l'ospeda:::°le°
↓the ho:::°s°pital°
- 11 St soccorsi
aids
- 12 T n:::(.)↓la scuo:::la non è'n soc[corso
n:::(.)↓the schoo:::l isn't 'n a[id
- 13 St [lui lo sa
[he knows it
- ((St.points to the st.next to the T./T. bends to listen to him))
- 14 (0.2)
- 15 T l'aeroporto non è un soccorso
the airport is not an aid
- 16 (0.6)
- 17 T ↑tanti?-
↑many?-
- 18 St abitazioni
houses
- 19 T [↑nao,
[↑nope,
- 20 St [io lo so
[I it know
- 21 T ↑tanti?-
↑many?-
- 22 St ser[vizi
ser[vices
- 23 T [servizi
[services
- 24 (0.4)

25 T ci sono tanti, servizi:: eh?
there are many, se::rvices eh?

26 (.)

→ 27 T >ALLORA< ↑più cresce il numero delle-
>THEREFORE< ↑the more it raises the number of-

28 (0.4)

29 ↓<persone>

↓<persons>

30 (.)

→ 31 ↑più queste persone hanno bisogno di ser-
↑the more these persons are in need of ser-

(.)

32 Sts vi:[zi:
vi:[ce:s

33 T [↑VI::ZI:!
[↑VI::CE:S!

34 (0.6)

35 T oke::i,
oka::i,

It is worth noticing that the word which completes the eliciting, and which is produced in line 22, is provided by a single student. In lines 27-35 the teacher further elaborates her evaluation of the answer in which she embeds the word “services” as the last item, and leaves her turn incomplete through the ETC device in line 31. This being this a second occurrence of the word, this time the completion is provided in unison.

In this way the teacher invites a collective ratification of a prior individual response. The ETC device appears to be a resource for eliciting visible and collective consensus from those who, so far, have not been involved in the Q-A sequence. In this way, they abandon the overhearing role to become a participating party in the talk-in-interaction.

Fragment #24 below is a further example where the ETC device is used to manage a general consensus by means of a collective ratification of some prior piece of information.

The pupils' conditional entry is invited as embedded in the positive assessment of a pupil's prior answer.

The sequence below is particularly interesting because the teacher constructs incomplete turns using two different resources:

1. list construction

2. ETC device.

#24 PM:FZ:12.geography/Towns

01 T ↑alo::ra la strada serve? per? coll:-e::-ga[:re.
↑no::w streets are? to? co::-[nne::ct.

02 Sts [°ga::re.°
[°nne::ct.°

03 T eh?¹¹ ↑coll::ega::re.
eh? ↑co::nnect.

04 (.)

→ 05 T ↑COLLEga:re, (.) ↓i pae::si?
↑CO:nnect, (.) ↓vi::llages?

06 St le città=
towns=

→ 07 T =COLLEGARE le, cit::-
=CONNECT the, to:-

08 (.) / ((she lowers her head, gazing at the pupils while she is holding the articulation of the mid-word consonant sound /t/ in "città" / "towns"))

09 T ['à:::?
['w:::ns?

10 Sts ['à:::?
['w:::ns?

→ 11 T COLLEGARE, ↓all'areo-
CONNECT, ↓to the air-

12 (0.2)

13 Sts ↓po[:rtó,
↓po[:rt,

→ 14 T [↓po::rto, <COLLEga::RE ↓all'ospe-
[po::rt, <CONNe::ct to ↓the hospi-

¹¹ 'eh' is very often used as a tag question, reinforcing the previous TCU.

- 15 Sts ↓'da::le,
↓ 'ta::l,
- 16 St <alla scuola.
<to the school.
- 17 (.)
- 18 T ↑COLLEGA::RE ↓alla scuola:
↑COLLEGA::RE ↓to the school:
- 19 (0.6)

In particular, the ETC device is used to foster a list construction activity which is projected in line 5. Once the list construction is implemented, the pupil's incoming is positively evaluated through truncated repetitions of the item provided in the response. In this way, the audience is invited to provide completion.

As illustrated by Jefferson (1990), the organization of list construction, as usually consisting in a three-part pattern, provides for its being recognized as such before it reaches completion. Uses of three-part list construction have been illustrated with reference to different settings by Atkinson (1984), Heritage and Greatbatch (1986), and Lerner (1994).

Lerner (1995) has documented the use of three-part list construction also in classroom instructional activities.

"List items are produced in a way that can provide an opportunity space for anticipatory completion (Lerner 1987; 1991) of a not-yet-completed list. Leti's utterance at line 4 in excerpt 7 demonstrates this.

(7) [CIRC:Simson]

- 1 Teacher: This 'to' has an extra 'o' (.) so that's a plus plus plus (.)
2 plus plus plus (.) like to::big, (0.2) to::many,
3 (0.2)
4 Leti: too[::small]
5 Teacher: [too::far]

The list structure provides both a different type of place and a different form for students participation than, for example, an elicitation question. Beginning a list opens the possibility of student involvement. Through the inductive procedure of illustration, a list-in-progress furnishes recipients with the characteristics and form of a proper list item and a site for it to be issued. A list-in-progress furnishes a form for additions (a next list item of the type already produced), and as such as it provides an opportunity for syntactically tying subsequent utterances by various participants to a prior turn as an extension of it. This can relax the proscription against entering another's turn at talk, insofar as a next

item is designed as a completion for an extension of the prior turn. The affiliated list item is designed as and can be treated as a conditional entry into the turn of another participant.” (Lerner, 1995: p.118)

In our sequence #24, in line 5, the teacher recognizably projects a list-in-progress composed by the items that would be appropriately used as referring to everything which can be connected with roads.

In line 1 the teacher discusses the function of streets. This function is described as “to connect”. Note how the teachers elicit this word through a very emphatic version of the ETC device. In line 3, following the pupils’ completion, she repeats the word one first time, concluding and acknowledging the eliciting.

However, in line 5, the teacher produces an increment to line 1, where she provides an indication of something which roads are used to connect (‘villages’). This time, the initial high pitch, the rise in volume, and the suspending intonation foreground the verb ‘to connect’, which is followed by a micro-pause that suspends the progression of the turn. The word produced after the pause is delivered with a *contrasting* low pitch, lower volume, and a distinctive rising intonation. In this way the teacher designs a unit which is recognizably made of two distinct parts: the verb “to connect” plus a list of places which are connected.

This contrasting pattern is recognized by recipients (line 6) as providing an opportunity to produce other items that have the same characteristics of the word “villages”; that is, here, other places which are connected by roads. The item proposed in line 6 (‘towns’) is indeed a good substitute of “villages”. The sequence then develops through subsequent ETC devices that are produced to elicit other places (arrowed lines).

It is also interesting to notice that, when the list construction starts with the item provided in line 6, the teacher invites the other children’s appreciation by embedding the ETC

device in the course of repetition of the pupil's prior incoming. The elicitation is strengthened by the lowering of her head together with her gazing the children. In this way, teacher and pupils collaboratively produce an acknowledgment of the child's prior utterance (line 8).

4.3. Prompting a candidate answer

The questioning character of the ETC device also emerges in contexts where teachers use this device to pursue answers which prior questioning has failed to achieve.

In the extended "Justice" fragment reproduced below, the arrowed lines have been labelled to show the different types of questioning format device that teachers subsequently deploy in pursuing a response.

#5 Justice PM:LL:1:history/prehistory

- (e1)→01 T a parte ques::to:: (0.6) bisognava in qualche modo vivere;-
a part from thi::s: (0.6) it was necessary some how to live;-
- 02 (0.2)
- (e2→ 03 T in pa:ce tra di lo:ro, quindi vivere in[:,-
in pe:ace among themse:lves,thus live i[:n,-
- 04 St [non litigare!
[not to argue!
- (q1)→05 T >↓non litigare fra di loro< e bisognava
>↓not to argue with each other< and it was necessary
- 06 quindi tenere sotto controllo che co:s[a,
therefore to keep under control wha[:t,=
- 07 St [vivere in pace
[live in peace
- 08 T =amministrare bene che cosa la, giu,-
(q+e) =administer well what thing the, ju,-
=to administer well what the, ju,-
- 09 St la giusti[zia
the justi[ce
- 10 Sts [la giustizia
[the justice
- 11 T [la giusti:zia e loro () avere la capacità
[the ju:stice and them () have the capability
- 12 St [la giusti:zia

13 T anche di essere giusti fra di loro.
 also to be just to one another.

In line 1 the teacher's elicitation is disattended and unanswered. The teacher herself provides completion after the pause in line 2, which is immediately followed by the production of a further uncompleted TCU in the same turn (line 3). In line 3 the teacher re-proposes for completion the same verb phrase: "vivere in / to live in" which she has herself completed in line 3.

From the recipients' point of view, the difficulty in providing a the completion which would fit the second unfinished turn in line 3 is due to the contrasting effect of the adverb which introduces the unfinished TCU, which projects a reformulation of what has been assessed before, and the repetition of the same verb phrase "vivere in pace/ live in peace" which has been completed immediately before by the teacher herself.

This might induce recipients to wonder whether the teacher is looking for a further and different completion or for a *reformulation* or a *repetition*. This difficulty is visible in the child's suggestion in line 4, which manages to solve this dilemma in a very clever way; that is, by producing a synonym for "to live in peace": "not to argue". This completion is semantically appropriate, but syntactically mismatched. In line 5, nevertheless, the teacher acknowledges the proposal of line 4. The answer is repeated and embedded within the teacher's continuing talk.

The structure of delivery of the teacher turn develops according to a recurrent pattern: the question is followed by the truncated candidate answer. This furnishes recipients with further information on the answer. First, the word has to be syntactically and semantically fitted to the verb "to administer"; second, the beginning syllable is "giu-"; third, according to the article "la" the word is feminine and singular.

Example #25 below is a further example of this reiterated effort to obtain a response, by means of a combination of rear-loaded wh-questions and ETC device. Here the teacher is engaged in conveying the difference between the internal and external areas that a perimeter separates on a plane surface.

#25 Angles PM:LT:5b.geometry/angles

- 01 T a no:i interessa la parte inte::rna;
 ↑we: are interested in the inte::rnal part;
- 02 (0.2)
- q1→03 T cioè la pa:rte di a::ngolo? che fa pa::rte? di che co::sa:.
 that is the pa:rt of an a::ngle? which is pa::rt? of wha::t.
- 04 (1.4)/((she turns to her desk and with gestures indicates its surface))
- e1→05 T se è inte::rna? fa pa::rte del, - [MASC., SING.]
 if it is inte::rnal? it's pa::rt of, -
- 06 (1.6)
- 07 T di che cosa. <della?- [FEM., SING.]
 q+e of what. <of the?-
- 08 (0.6)
- 09 St eh- del ban[co¹² [MASC., SING.]
 eh- of the de[sk
- 10 St [del ba[::nco!
 [of the de[::sk!
- 11 T [della ca::tterda![FEM., SING.]
 [of the tea::cher desk!
- e2→12 del pia::no¹³ della?-
 of the su::rface of the?-
- 13 St ca[:ttedra
 te[a:cher desk
- 14 T [cattedra. >va ben'?<
 [teacher desk. >'right?< /((she turns to the drawing on the bb.))
- 15 (1.0)

¹² If we consider lines 5 and 7, we observe that the preposition 'della' in line 7 projects a Fem. and Sing. Noun, while 'del' (line5) is Masc. So, the completion provided by the children -*the desk*- being Masc. and Sing., is in accordance with line 5, while the teacher's proposal -*the teacher's desk*'- being Fem, is in accordance with line 7.

¹³ The word '*piano*' /'*surface*' in Italian is Masc. and Sing.

The question in line 3 is not answered. Through the ETC device in line 5 the teacher provides an alternative opportunity for pupils to answer to the question. Furthermore, the preposition “of”, which is here produced in the masculine and singular version, gives some further clues about the word which is requested.

In line 7 the teacher produces a third instance of questioning. The turn substantially continues the prior eliciting in line 5 by producing the wh-word, plus the beginning of the candidate answer. This time however, the preposition “of” has changed gender, since “della” is feminine. The turn is accompanied by the teacher’s large circular gesture with both hands over her desk. Note that in Italian the name “cattedra” for indicating the teacher’s desk is feminine. Note also that this contrasts with the prior elicitation in line 5.

However, apparently this time the questioning has been more successful than the previous attempts. There are two answers in line 9 and 10. But the item produced “banco” is masculine. Although semantically appropriate to the elicitation, there is no concord with the last teacher’s attempt, but rather with the previous one.

The third-turn receipt which the teacher produces in line 10 reveals that the teacher herself was eliciting the word “surface” (in Italian, “piano”, which is masculine) first, and “teacher’s desk” (in Italian “cattedra”, which is feminine), after. We see both items combined in line 10: “of the surface of the teacher’s desk”.

The sequence presents a very concentrated use of ETC device in conjunction with other questioning formats in pursuing the candidate answer. In particular, the ETC device can be used to produce a truncated answer. In this way recipients are provided with information on the item which is requested.

5. The pupils' mastery of the ETC device: providing turn continuation

On some occasions, as we have seen in the examples analysed so far, pupils fail to recognize the suitable completion. But there are circumstances in which pupils do not

understand what they are expected to say in order to complete the teacher's turn and yet manage to provide a contribution for the progression of talk, instead of keep silent. For this purpose pupils analyse the teacher's turn construction and provide an appropriate syntactical progression of the truncated turn.

In example 26, the class has been discussing harbours, what they are and what they are used for. The teacher is explaining that harbours have to be built in special geographical locations. Our target line is the continuation which the pupil provides in line 19.

#26 Ships PM:FZ:12b:geography/harbours and towns

- 01 T ve[↑]dete che ha un' forma
do you [↑]see that it has a shape
- 02 deve fa:rlo in un po:sto qua:si a cerchio
(HE)has to do: it in a pla:ce a:lmost a circle
- 03 a semicerchio () disegno
a half-circle () drawing
- 04 (.)
- 05 T vol [↑]di::re che il porto::, 'N VIENE FA:TTO IN QUALSIASI
it [↑]mea::ns that the harbou::r, 'NOT IS BUI:LT IN ANY
- 06 PO::STO.
PLA::CE.
- 07 St eh eh
- 08 T uno si sveglia [↑]la mattina e dice adesso costruisco un
one wakes up [↑]one morning and says now I build a
- 09 porto no
harbour no
- 10 (.)
- 11 St hmh hmh
- 12 St ()
- 13 T deve fa:rlo in un po:sto (0.6) geografico
(HE) has to build it in a pla:ce (0.6) geographical
- 14 >therefore of the Earth,<
>quindi della terra,<
- 15 (0.4)

16	St	(ma [(but[
17	T	[↑DO:VE LE ↑NA::VI?- [↑WHE:RE THE ↑SH::IPS?-
18		(1.0)
→ 19	St	[possono [can (THEY)
20	T	[DO::VE LE ↑NA:VI possono essere ripa?- [WHE::RE THE ↑S:HIPS can (THEY) be pro?-
21		(0.2)
22	T	ra:[:te:: te:[cte::d
23	Sts	[°rate° [°cted°

As the extended pause in line 18 makes evident, pupils do not understand where the teacher is heading to with the ETC in line 17. Although not knowing how to complete the teacher's prior turn in terms of content, the pupil in line 19 has nevertheless recognized that the turn should continue with a verb referred to ships. The continuation provide is the verb "can". In this way the pupil manages to produce a suitable syntactic continuation of the teacher's turn, without providing any additional meaning.

The pupil offers a collaborative continuation on merely a syntactic basis: the accordance subject-verb with a semantically "empty" verb "possono / they can". (In Italian the verb "potere /can" conveys no substantial change of meaning to the verb it is referring to, but rather a change in the "mode"). The pupil seems to have no idea how the turn should progress in terms of content. Nevertheless he produces a syntactically appropriate completion. This is indeed accepted and embedded in the teacher's following turn where further clues are furnished.

This feature represents evidence for the primary import of the recipients' recognitional activity in teacher-pupils interaction. These examples of "missing" or "failed" responses are of interest because pupils' alternative responses reveal their interpretative work of the

teacher's current talk. Although pupils do not have access to the content item that would constitute a suitable completion for the teacher's turn, nevertheless they display a complex syntactic analysis that enables them to provide a very well fitted next-turn.

This ability to recognize the syntactical implication of the teacher's turns is visible in line 10 in the fragment below. They are discussing the fact that early in the morning it is colder than it would be later during the day although it is sunny, because during the night the temperature has decreased. Our target turn is in line 10.

27 It is cold PM:FZ:22a.geography/temperature

01	T	alora la mattina quando arriviamo a SCUO:: <u>LA</u> :, so in the morning when we arrive at SCHOO:: <u>L</u> ,
02		((she knocks three times with her hand on the desk))
03	T	anche se c'è il [↑] sole:, even though there's the [↑] su:n,
04		(0.8)
05	St	[()]
06	T	[ci verrebbe da vestirci, [we would like to put on ,
07		(0.2)
08	T	leggero light clothes
09	St	eh
→ 10	St	inv- bu-
11	T	invece è [ancora, but instead is[still,
12	St	[c'è freddo [it's cold
14		(1.0)
15	St	fre[ddo c[old
16	St	['ddo ['old

17 Sts [freddo
[cold

18 T [freddo
[cold

The clause introduced by the conjunction “even though” projects a contrast as a continuation. The teacher is conveying the idea that although it is sunny in the morning and we think we would feel hot because of the sun; but, because it’s early in the morning, it is still cold. The contrast which is projected from the very beginning of the teacher’s turn in line 3 is understood by the pupil in line 10, which expresses this opposition with the adverbial construction “but” (line 10). Noticeably, the following teacher’s turn begins in the same way: “but instead” (line 11). To be able to provide this type of turn continuation recipients do not need to know what exactly the teacher was going to say. Recognizing the gist of the turn is sufficient.

The ability of pupils to recognize the syntactic format of the teacher’s turn so as to infer from that what kind of completion can be appropriately supplied is well illustrated in the example below, line 4.

#28 Now you tell me PM:FZ:12b:geography/harbours and towns

01 T ↑E::::: E ADESSO MI DITE cos'è l'aeroporto, (0.2)
 ↑A::::ND AND NOW TELL ME what's the airport, (0.2)

02 cos' [è la scuola:::,
 what' [s the schOO::::L,

03 St1 [>dov'si° (fanno) gli aerei°
 [>wher'you° (make) the planes°

→ 04 St2 co[s'è
 wh[at's

05 T [COS'E' L'OSPEDA::LE vedi[amo se arriviamo
 [WHAT'S THE HO::SPITAL we[see if we get to the point

The teacher is formulating a three-part list. While the first student in line 3 responds to the first request, the second student in line 4 recognizes the three-part list pattern and

anticipates the third beginning, thus interpreting the teachers' turn at the discourse organization level.

6. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have focused my analysis on one recurrent phenomenon in teachers' questioning turns: in suspending their ongoing turn, teachers produce a number of 'neat' cut-offs and sound stretches (without the disfluencies and perturbations associated with word searches) which invite completion from recipients. This phenomenon is very frequently deployed in the delivery of the last item in the turn or in one of its components. I have called this practice the ETC (Eliciting Turn Completion) device. The ETC device draws its resources from the *recognitional work* (Jefferson, 1986) which recipients do in monitoring turn organization in order to exploit opportunities for participation. This is particularly relevant in interaction settings where the presence of a large audience can be easily transformed into a cohort of potential next speakers. The disruptive effect of a competitive participation contrasts with the institutional goal of having all the pupils on the same track. As illustrated in this chapter, the ETC device seems to be a suitable method for achieving a collective participation and re-shaping a disrupted participation framework (schism) back into a two-party interaction.

That conversation is a matter of being alert to very fine-grained inputs and of monitoring projectable turn endings in order to time next turn onset, has been widely investigated in CA literature. In particular, the work of Jefferson (1986) on the orderliness of overlap onset has demonstrated that "people can and do react to small particles" and that such "small particles" on which speakers/recipients rely to manage and monitor turn organization are primarily used for *recognitional work*. According to Jefferson, the organization of overlap

"exhibits a recipient/next speaker's in-course parsing of a turn in progress, working with the repertoire of rules and procedures for the production of coherent, rational talk. They need not and do not await absolute termination to find -overwhelmingly correct- what this word is, and where it is ending and -again overwhelmingly- with it, the utterance. (Jefferson, 1984).

The two examples below illustrate two cases where this recognitional work is particularly evident. As these fragments show, in monitoring turn organization speakers are extremely alert to identifying and recognizing sentence items as objects that might be used to express consensus, acknowledgement and co-participation.

NB:IV:13:R:12

Emma: What city is] it i↓:n.
 (0.8)
Lottie: Wul 't 's in Cos [ta Me] :sa]
→ Emma: () [Costa Mes] a

NB:II:5R:3

Emma: 'e wantih pull a tooth'n make me a new go:ld uh: .hhh
 (0.2) bridge fer (.) EI:GHT HUNDER'DOLLARS.
Lottie: °Oh:: sh:: i [:t.°]
→ Emma: () [Shi]:t. (0.2) is ↓ri:ght.

This potential for projecting what will follow from the analysis of prior talk seems to be the basis on which teachers successfully construct the ETC device as a way of providing opportunities for pupils' entry.

As Lerner (1991) has described in his study on sentence collaborative completion, speakers can use any aspect of a prior utterance to project an opportunity for entry into the current speaker's turn.

"Any aspect of the organization of talk in interaction that includes a projectable compound turn-unit format therein provides the resources for completion by another participant" (Lerner, 1991:450)

The study shows how strongly teachers and pupils rely on this ability to recognize the organization and format of turns in order to provide suitable completion. Teachers use a vast range of resources to instruct pupils that completion is expected and to provide clues in the type of response which is requested:

a) a cluster of features of speech delivery: the high density of a number of intonational features before the turn halting - sound stretching, cutoffs, halting, suspending or raising

intonation, pitch stress- emphasizes the place where the item is withheld and completion is expected;

b) pauses: quite often pupils' completion is waited for. In the vast majority of cases the intra-turn pauses length which follows the turn suspension is over 2 tenths of a second;

c) pursuing questioning: the ETC device is often deployed in sequences with a high density of questioning turns.

e) pursuing a choral response: sometimes the teacher elicits completion of a word that has already been uttered by children. This generates a series of repetitions whose timing results in a sort of choral utterance in the actual production of the word. Only after the production of a choral response the conversation moves forwards.

Teachers use the device to restore institutional roles and identities in moments of transition where participants are not yet in their role or when the conversation trajectory has developed to a point of fragmentation and competitive interaction. The potential of the ETC device to generate choral responses is used also to implement the class consensus and appreciation of individual answers.

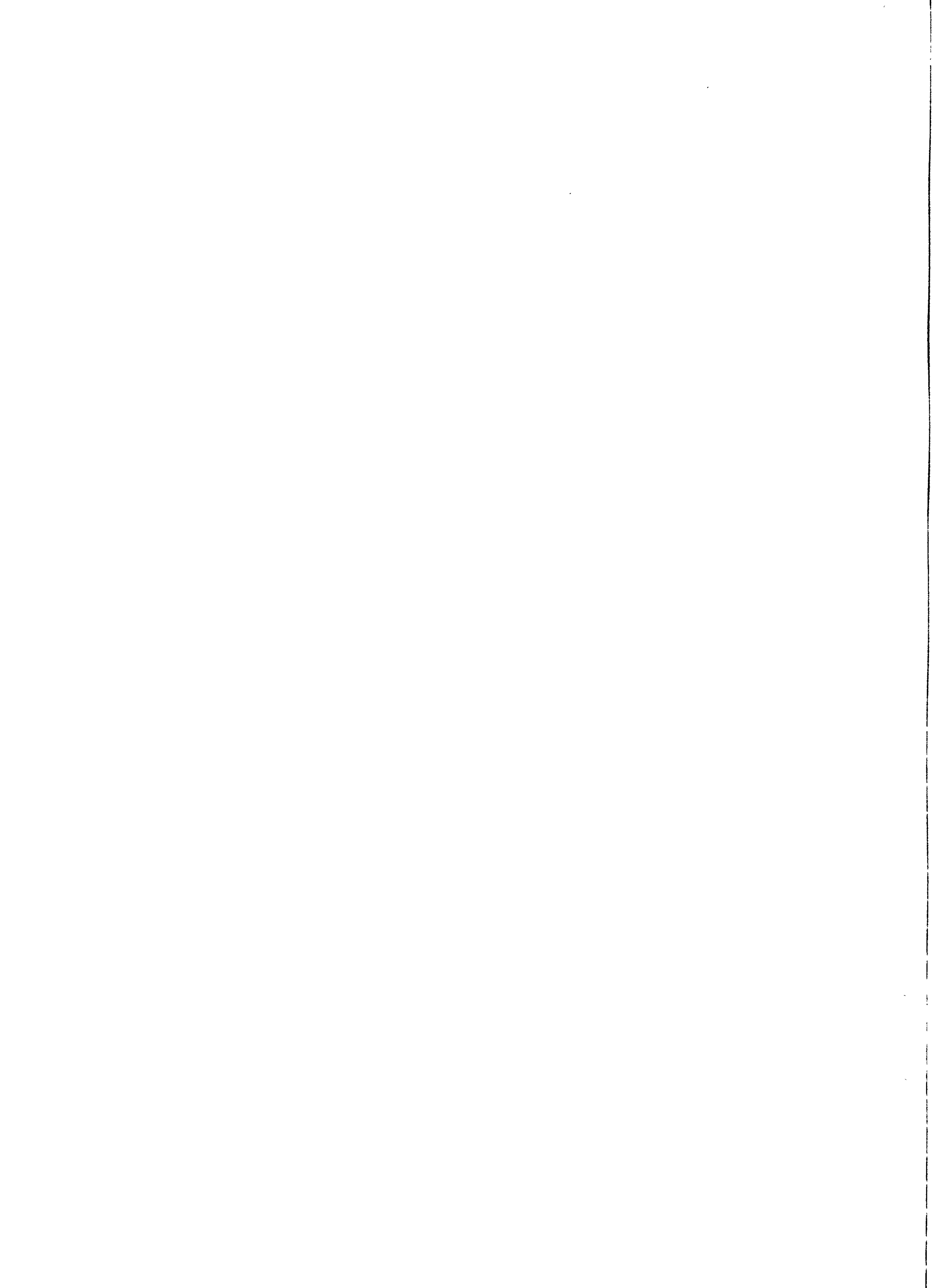
The children's mastering of the practice is evident in situations where the response isn't actually available to children. Children also exploit their mastery of this practice in order to provide satisfactory continuation of the ongoing turn in cases where completion isn't accessible, in terms of talk content. On these occasions, the recognitional work which pupils do on prior talk enables them to provide forms of continuation which are inferred from their knowledge of "the repertoire of rules and procedures for the production of coherent, rational talk". (Jefferson, 1984).

I would like to conclude this section by recalling the "automobile discussion" segment in Sacks' lecture "A collaboratively built sentence; The use of 'We'" Lecture 3, Fall 1965, in which he analyses an occurrence from a group therapy session for teenage boys, where three

of them collaborate in producing a sentence. In the course of the lecture, Sacks argues that

“We get, then, a kind of extraordinary tie between syntactic possibilities and phenomena like social organization. That is, an extremely strong way that these kids go about demonstrating that, for one, there is a group here, is their getting together to put this sentence together, collaboratively.”

Of course, being collaborative in classroom interaction and especially when it is teacher and pupils that produce talk collaboratively in quite a traditional teacher-lead setting, has completely different implications than those which are involved in the “automobile discussion”. Furthermore, in the cases of ETC device in classroom interaction, the collaborative participation is invited, encouraged and strongly suggested by teachers. But, still, I think it is worth considering the import of the fact that the teachers’ job of imparting knowledge gets done by promoting collaborative talk.



Chapter 5

Answering at School:

What a Child has to Know to Produce The 'Correct' Candidate Answer

1. Introduction

Producing answers is one of the major opportunities for children to display their participation in the talk underway during the lessons, and their understanding of what they are being taught. While in the prior chapters I have been focusing mainly on the teacher's questioning turns, here I move to focus on the methodical practices that children use in answering to those questions.

In this chapter I will explore how pupils display their recognition of the teacher's questioning activity and arrive at producing a 'correct' candidate answer, having understood the purposes and the type of actions which are embodied in the teacher's questions. Some preliminary considerations will be useful to introduce the main issues which will be addressed in the analysis.

The first and perhaps most obvious thing that one can think a child should know in order to meet the requirements of the teacher's questions successfully, is *to know the answer*. From the inspection of the details of answering turns it emerges that what is actually involved in answering to questions at school relates to a number of issues that go beyond being knowledgeable in terms of the sheer substance of the question: these issues are connected to the social conventions of talk in formal instruction settings.

A number of seminal studies in CA have focused on the investigation of Q-A sequences in various settings (Sacks, 1992, vol.1. Part I, 1964-1965, lecture 7; vol.2. Part VIII, Spring 1972; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Heritage, 1984a; Schegloff, 1984; Heritage and Roth, 1985; Pomerantz, 1988; Raymond, 2000; Clayman and Heritage, 2002). These have shown that questions and answers are a pair of related actions, whose organization displays a normative character. This is reflected in the fact that both first

(questioner) and second speaker (answerer) overtly attend to expectations and relevancies which the question proposes.

As illustrated by Heritage (1984a):

“a questioner, in addition to proposing that an answer should be provided ‘next’ by a selected next speaker, also proposes through the production of a question to be ‘uninformed’ about the substance of the question. Moreover the questioner also proposes by the act of questioning that the recipient is likely to be ‘informed’ about this same matter”. (Heritage, 1984a:250)

These prescriptions are particularly evident in cases where the addressed answerer fails to provide the information which is elicited by the questioner (Heritage, 1984a: 248-252). In such cases, respondents have ways of accounting for the missing answer: by providing an account for their inability to answer, second speakers normally assert their lack of information (‘I don’t know’) and give explanations for it. Thus, although they are not literally responding to the questions, speakers display that they are orienting to expectations and requirements with regards to their having *access to the information* the question asks about.

The way in which Q-A pairs work in classroom seem to display rather different orientations to the expectations and the requirements of questions as they are produced in other settings. *First*, the teacher - the knowledgeable party- is the questioner, and the pupil - the uninformed party - is the one who is entitled to answer. Thus, it is clear that *the information-seeking activity*, as accomplished in classrooms, is done for purposes other than being informed about the substance of the question. *Second*, as a consequence of the fact that the purpose of the questioner is not to access the information, for the respondent *being informed* on the content of the question is not always a sufficient, and sometimes not even necessary, condition to answer *appropriately* to the question on these precise circumstances.

The answer has to meet the specific purposes of the teacher’s questioning at that precise moment. For these reasons what might constitute an appropriate answer to the question, in terms of abstract content, might be completely inapposite, depending on a number of interactional structural features. This is the case, for example, when the information provided

in the answer is right, but too prematurely deployed. For instance, a pupil might arrive at the correct answer too early with respect to the *pedagogic project* which the teacher is pursuing through the series of questions. Or, in other circumstances, a pupil might know the answer but not being the person selected to speak. *Third*, even without having any pre-existing knowledge of the content of the candidate ‘correct’ answer, by following closely enough the format of the question, a pupil can be led to identify the correct answer. Hence, I am arguing that the knowledge of the answer isn’t always a sufficient or even necessary condition to answer appropriately in this context.

In the course of this chapter I will show that, on a number of occasions, the cognitive state of knowing the answer isn’t a pre-condition, but rather *the product of the construction of the question* and of the recipients’ understanding of the action embodied in the questioning. I will now provide examples of each of the three points I have illustrated so far:

1. Pupils and teachers share the understanding that teachers have other purposes for asking than that of being informed;
2. The answer is correct but deployed at the wrong moment;
3. The answer is correct but provided by the wrong person.

1.1. The inferential framework of Q-A sequences in the classroom

In classroom instruction sequences a pupil answers on the understanding that *he knows that the teacher knows the answer*. Here, as recipient of the teacher’s questions, the pupil assumes that questioning isn’t done merely in order to seek information, but that there are some other specific purposes. This is a relevant issue for recipients. As Pomerantz has illustrated (1988), in responding to information seeking, recipients infer the purpose of the query and, on this ground, they *select what is relevant to say at that precise point* (p. 362-365).

Consider fragment 1. If we observe how the question is answered in the kid's turns (arrowed lines), we realize that, each time, he makes two different types of inferences regarding the purpose of the mother's inquiry: a) the mother asks the question to perform a pre-announcement, presumably before giving the information herself; b) she does not know who will be at the meeting, therefore she seeks information.

#1 (Terasaki, 1976: 45)

- Mom: Do you know who's going to that meeting?
 → Kid: Who
 Mom: I don't know!
 → Kid: Ou::h prob'ly: Mr Murphy an' Dad said prob'ly Mrs Timppte an' some o'the teachers.

The two answers in the arrowed turns reflect the two different understanding of the question.

It is noticeable that, in responding to the question the first time, the second speaker was prepared to be informed about a state of affairs he already knew, as the second answering turn clearly manifests. Thus, instances of Q-A from ordinary conversation reveal that, on some occasions, answering and being informed are not coincident.

The divergent direction of cognitive states from speakers' actual behaviour is visible also in the case analysed by Drew (1989), where Betty, a teenage girl, doesn't provide a recognition on identification of a visitor, Victor, an elderly relative visiting from Germany.

The question asked by Victor in 28 and 32 is treated by Betty as a recollection from the past:

#2 (Birthday Party)

- 24 B: Hi..
 25 V: That's Betty.
 26 ((Betty and Victor shake hands))
 27 J: I haven't seen ([]Debbie no w-
 28 V: [Kennst du mich noch?=Do-
 29 do you- do you know me[:?]
 30 J: [hehh=
 31 I: =See hehe[.hh
 32 V: [°huh? Do you know me?
 33 (1.9)
 → 34 B: Unh (0.4) I don't know(h) (h) [(whether I)
 35 J: [Uh let's go=
 → 36 B: remember [(you)
 37 J: [=inside 'n close the door.
 38 I: [remember

This conversation is taking place at the door of Betty's home while she is receiving relatives invited to her mother's birthday party, among them Victor, an elderly relative visiting from Germany. As Drew demonstrates there are grounds for assuming that Betty knows who Victor is and that she could provide an answer. But, very similarly to #1,

“Here too, (...) Betty could come up with an answer to Victor's enquiry by naming him: but instead she treats the enquiry's business as one of recalling/remembering Victor, an analysis which she makes explicit in her answer in lines 34-36 that ‘I don't know (h) (h) (whether I) remember you’. (Drew, 1989:107, 108)

So according to Drew (1989) speakers overtly display the ‘independence between thought and action’ on occasions where the speakers’ ‘knowing’ isn't determinant of their ‘saying’ what they know (op.cit.112). These two examples show that speakers might have reasons for not giving an answer also in cases where they actually know it. These reasons are grounded in a social organisation, and particularly, in the speakers’ understanding of the way in which actions are linked in talk.

Also in responding to the teacher's questions, pupils make use of inferences about the reason why the teacher is asking that question at that precise moment to that specific person. Their answers reflect these inferences. So, for instance, in the fragment which follows, the pupil has two possible understandings of the teacher's question:

- a) the question has a literal meaning; that is, the teacher wants to know whether the information about the number of boxes is available;
- b) the question is initiating repair on the pupil's prior answer.

These two alternative interpretations are visible in the two subsequent and opposite answering turns, both produced by Janin in the arrowed lines:

#3 Boxes PM:FZ:21:5/01-07

01 T: si SA::nno¹? le sc[a:tole Janin
do we KNO::w? the number of bo[:xes Janin
[(J. turns to the teacher)]

¹ In this use of ‘sapere’ (literally ‘to know’) the reference to the number of boxes is implied.

→ 02 Ja: no.
 03 (0.4)
 04 Sts: SI' [:::::
 YE: [:::::S
 05 Sts: [sɪ [:::::
 [ye [:::::
 → 06 Ja: [SI' <NO:ve.
 [YES <NI:ne.

The first time Janin hears the teacher's question as a genuine inquiry about whether this information - the number of the boxes - is actually available to the pupils. However, by line 6 she has realized that the question was originally produced to initiate repair on her prior answer. The outcome of these two different understandings of the action embodied in the question is the subsequent production of the two contrasting answers.

1.2. Possibly correct answers, but deployed at the wrong moment

On this basis, it can be argued that a description of the answering activity as based on the cognitive state of *knowing/not knowing* the answer is not an adequate approach to describing what happens in instruction sequences. One would expect that the most important requirement, especially in teaching/learning activities, is the cognitive possession of the substance of the question. So, for instance, typically the teacher would ask questions such as "What's the capital of France?", and either the pupil knows that Paris is the answer, and responds successfully, or he doesn't know, and fails. In actual talk things are not so simple.

Consider the fragment below:

#4 The sun PM:FZ:22:geography

→ 01 T ↑po::i piano piano? il sole cosa fa.
 then slowly slowly the sun what (IT)does.
 ↑the::n very slowly? the sun what does it do.
 02 St ci riscalda.
 it warms us up.
 03 St eh::[:

04 T cosa fa. <resta sempre a est;>
 what does it do. <does it stay always at east;>

Rather than being satisfied by only one particular answer, not infrequently teachers' questions set up for *a range of possible 'correct' answers*. For example, in response to the question in line 1, a number of possible answers might be treatable as correct, in a sense. Here the teacher is referring to what happens in the morning, with regards to the sun. For example one would say that after dawn the sun rises higher in the sky, or that it gives us light, gives us heat, shines on us, and so on.

And, indeed, the answer produced in line 2 is not any different from these, in terms of its truth value. However, when multiple correct answers are possible, still quite often it is *only one* that comes to be treated by teachers as fitted for that precise question. By line 3, we begin to realize that the answer in line 2 is not exactly what the teacher was looking for, or else we would have had here a third-turn receipt or a form of acknowledgement. Instead, the repetition of the question in line 4 clearly shows that the teacher is still pursuing *the candidate answer*.

What the pupil has just said passes unnoticed. The teacher manages not to comment on the answer in line 2. This is probably due to the fact that the answer, although it isn't the appropriate answer there, still it isn't wrong either. Hence, one pupil might have correct information, and can also answer the question, but this might turn out to be inappropriate for other reasons; in a sense, wrong for the moment. For instance, it can have been produced prematurely in terms of the project that the teacher is going to develop through the series of questions.

The sense of a project which the teacher constructs through a series of questions has been illustrated in the last section of Chapter 3. In instruction sequences questions are linked to one the other. In this way they build relationships and connections which guide pupils to have access to new bits of information. This is achieved through practices which provide

clues to pupils regarding pieces of knowledge which they possess already, or which they might access through features of preference organization or details of turn construction.

Within the progression of such a project, answers can be correct on an abstract content-base evaluation, but they might turn out to be inappropriate, according to their sequential deployment, thus undermining the outcome of the project embodied in the delivery structure of the instructional sequence.

1.3. Correct answers, but produced by the wrong person

But the offering of the correct answer, when this is exactly what the teacher is looking for, can still nevertheless be evaluated as inappropriate, and even sanctioned, for another reason. As already mentioned, this is the case when a pupil has the correct answer, but he is not being the person selected to do so. One such instance is clearly illustrated in fragment 5.

#5 Italian verbs PM:PG:19:grammar

- 01 T allora Marti:na il terzo verbo- il quarto verbo lo fai tu=
now Marti:na the third verb- the fourth verb you do it=
- 02 =dimmi Fabrizio qual è il quarto verbo ?
=tell me Fabrizio what is the fourth verb?
- 03 Fa. ricoperte
(THEY)were covered(FEM.PLUR.)
- 04 (0.4)
- 05 St eh?
- 06 St erano ricoper[te
were cover[ed
- 07 T [e::rano ricope::rte.
[(THEY) we::re co::vered.
((he underscores gesturally the two words that make the single verb form, looking at Martina))
- 08 Sts ((children raise their hands))
- 09 St ah beh anche io () va bene anche così
ah well me too () it's alright like that also
- 10 St i::o::
me:::
- 11 St io [lo so

- I [know it
- 12 St [i::o:: i::o::
[me::: me:::
- 13 T ricopr[a::re²
- 14 St [ric- ricopr-
[co- cover-
- 15 St erano-
(THEY) were-
- 16 T s:::
((he holds his palm up to stop the children))
- 17 St ricoprire
to cover
- 18 T EH!
((he turns towards them quite abruptly))
- 19 (0.4)
- 20 St io lo so
I know it
- 21 (.)
- 22 T no!
- 23 St i::o
me::
- 24 T lo deve fare lei
she has to do it
- Mar. 25 St i::re.³

In the first arrowed line the teacher sanctions the prior answer (bulleted line) exactly *because it is correct but not produced by the pupil entitled to answer*. This is made even clearer in the next arrowed line, where the teacher explicitly indicates Martina as the only one who has the right to answer.

A further aspect to consider is related to the observations that I made on teachers' questioning turns (Chapter 2 and 3) and, precisely, on the *conduciveness of questioning*

² Here the teacher provides a candidate answer with the wrong ending. The Infinitive form of the verb is 'ricopr-ire', not 'ricopr-are'.

³ This is the correct ending for the Infinitive Present form of the verb 'to cover / ricoprire'

formats. Speakers have a number of practices to display their orientation towards the preferred answer. (1) Features of preference organization, (2) aspects of turn construction, such as the use of quantifiers (Labov, 1984; Raymond, 2000; Heritage, 2002; Koshik, forth), or the inclusion of the candidate answer within the construction of the questioning turn (Pomerantz, 1988), all are first speakers' strategies to instruct recipients on the type and format of the favoured answer. By following the format of the question, a recipient can provide the answer without being informed about the precise substance of the question.

For instance, *yes/no questions* are differently constructed and deployed according to whether they favor a *yes* or a *no answer*. Other questioning formats exploit other resources to provide information and clues about the candidate correct answer. So, for example in *or-questions* the candidate answer is usually in final position. From these observations it emerges that, in answering, a significant part is played by the local management of interaction.

Providing an answer is the coordinated product of the construction of the question and of the recipients' understanding of the question's requirements, rather than being the sheer expression of the recipients' pre-existing state of knowledge.

These themes are addressed, in part, in the work of Mehan on the social organization in the classroom (Mehan, 1979). In his definition of 'interactional competence' and 'competent membership' he refers to the distinction between *form* and *content*, where 'content' stands for the academic skills and 'form' for the interactional ones:

"Competent membership in the classroom community obviously involves academic skills and abilities. To be successful in the classroom, students must indeed master academic subject matter. They must learn to read, write, and compute. They must learn the content of such subjects as history, social studies, and science.

But classroom competence is not limited to academic matters. As I will show, classroom competence involves matters of form as well as of content. To be successful in the classroom, students not only must know the content of academic subjects, they must learn the appropriate form in which to cast their academic knowledge. That is, competent membership in the classroom community involves employing interactional skills and abilities in the display of academic knowledge. They must know with whom, when, and where they can speak and act, and they must provide the speech and behaviour that are appropriate for a given classroom situation. Students must also be able to relate

behaviour, both academic and social, to varying classroom situations by interpreting implicit classroom rules.” (Mehan, 1979: 133)

According to this *form/content distinction*, it could be argued that answering at school - as in the cases illustrated above - is merely a matter of combining academic (content) and interactional (form) abilities. These abilities seem to coincide with the abilities to adhere to the appropriate rules for turn-taking when giving an answer. These are described as follows:

“Under normal classroom circumstances, the teacher allocates turns by nominating individual students, by inviting students to bid for the floor, or by inviting direct replies. Each of these procedures proscribes different behaviour. On some occasions pupils can reply directly, while on others they must receive permission to reply. To contribute successfully to classroom lessons, students must discriminate among the subtleties of these normative procedures. (...) When these two dimensions of classroom discourse, form and content, are integrated, interaction between teachers and students proceeds smoothly.” (Mehan, 1979:135)

I find this view rather misleading. As is illustrated in the examples above, and as will be argued in this chapter, the relationship between *knowing the answer* and *answering appropriately* presents complexities which are not sufficiently represented in Mehan’s account.

In instructional sequences, the knowledge of a possibly correct answer to the question is not always the fundamental component to which social skills are just added up. This relationship is of a *reflexive type*, rather than being a summing up of different competencies, as Mehan’s description seems to indicate. I will argue here that providing the correct answer in instruction sequences is an interactional co-constructed achievement.

In order to explain the different perspective which is adopted here, I argue that the pupils’ activity of answering in instructional sequences has a number of similarities with that of asking for a drink in Subanum (Frake, 1964). As illustrated in the work of Frake, the drinking of *gasi* (a beverage resembling beer, mainly made of fermented rice) among Subanum occurs in festive encounters where the drinking of beer has an important social role. These drinking encounters develop according to different stages, each with its function, rules

and type of drinking talk. In such a context it is necessary to know “what kind of things to say in what message forms to what kind of people in what kind of situations.” (pp. 87-88).

“To ask appropriately for a drink among the Subanum it is not enough to know how to construct a grammatical utterance in Subanum translatable in English as a request for a drink. Rendering such an utterance might elicit praise for one’s fluency in Subanum, but it probably would not get one a drink. To speak appropriately it is not enough to speak grammatically or even sensibly” (Frake, 1964, 1972: p. 87).

Very similarly, in the classroom, in order to answer appropriately to questions in instruction sequences, a pupil needs to be able to make decisions regarding the social organization of Q-A sequences, besides and apart from simply knowing the answer.

In section 2 one fairly extended instructional sequence will be considered in order to introduce the main strategies that pupils use in answering. Each strategy will be then described in further detail in the remaining sections of the chapter. In each section, the description of the four strategies will be supported with the analysis of extracts from other sequences in the corpus.

2. What a child need to know to arrive at a ‘correct’ answer: the ‘Temperature’ fragment

All the examples in this second section are from one sequence which takes place at the opening of the first morning lesson of the day. Following the unfolding of the sequence, I will provide a first introduction of the three main strategies that pupils use in answering. These will be then further described in more detail in the following sections:

1. recognizing conventions of question construction;
2. building on other pupils’ answers;
3. responding to the action embodied in the teacher’s questioning.

2.1. Responding to recognizable conventions of question constructions

This strategy implies the recognition of *features of question construction* used by the teachers to instruct recipients about the favored type of answer. I illustrated a number of these in the chapters on questions, where the reader can find a more extensive description of features of question design.

For the purpose of illustrating the pupils' answering strategies, I will focus only on those which are relevant with reference to the data presented here. In section 3 I will return to the subject with a more fully documented analysis.

Before looking at fragment #6 below, it might be useful to know that the bars which the teacher is referring to at the beginning of the first extract are those of a graph representing the temperature measurements the class has taken during the week twice a day: early in the morning and at midday. These then have been recorded with bars of two different colors on a graph.

#6 Temperature PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T avete visto che c'eran' le colonne aranci[↑]o::ni::?
you saw that there were the [↑]o::ra::nge bars?
- 02 (0.8)
- 03 e le colonne, (0.6) ro:sse[::,
and the bars, (0.6) re:[::d,
- 04 Sts [((some children' indistinctive talk))
- 05 T s::::::::::
- 06 (.)
- 07 T questo per indica::re ↓che co::sa. <che la temperatura è
this to indica::te ↓wha::t. <that the temperature is
- 08 sempre la stessa? durante la giorna::ta.=
always the same? during the da::y.=
- 09 Sts =no:::
- 10 T n:[o:::
- 11 Sts [no:::

The answers in line 9 and 11 are produced in unison. This suggests that the teachers' turn in line 7 has been understood by the large majority of the children as doing questioning, as being addressed to the class a whole, and as projecting a no-answer response. The teacher's turn has a number of features which embody this *request for disconfirmation of the candidate answer*:

- The question is clearly designed as closely *related to prior talk*. The pronoun ('questo' / 'this'), which is produced in first position, connects to the teacher's prior turns (lines 1-3). It proposes that there is a conclusion to be drawn. A specific purpose of the question is thus conveyed.
- The format of the question can be described as a *clefting*. The deployment of the wh-word in the middle of the utterance splits the turn up in two parts. In this way, the wh-word frames the second part, which is thus hearable as a *candidate answer* ('that the temperature is always the same') to the question which precedes the wh-word;
- The use of *quantifiers* ('always the same') in the construction of the candidate answer definitely *reverses the polarity of the question*, projecting a no-answer.

It might be worth recalling, as illustrated in Chapter 3, that in comparison with no-answer questions, yes-answer questions have an *unmarked* format, consists of a single-TCU turn, and are sequentially deployed as *initiating new sequences*, rather than leading to conclusions.

Later in the sequence we find a second instance of a no-answer question:

#7 During the night PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T >allora< durante la notte c'è il ↑so::le?
>so< during the night is there the ↑su::n?
- 02 St °no:..°
- 03 Sts no::: :

This question has a less marked construction in comparison to # 6 (lines 7-8). This is most probably due to the obviousness of the substance of the question. It is also likely that this could be the reason why the first answer (line 81) is produced with a soft voice, which indicates the tentativeness of the answerer.

However, if we consider the talk leading to this question, we see also that the question in #7 has arisen out of a previous sequence, initiated by an un-answered question (as indicated in #7b ext. below).

#7b ext. During the night PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T \uparrow cosa succe:de? [durante la no[tte <quando noi dor-
 \uparrow what ha:ppens? [during the ni[ght <when we sle-
 [((she gets up and moves towards the cupboard))
- 02 St [è un bel po' più FRE:ddo
 [it is quite a lot CO:Lder
- 03 T [cosa c'è::: in giro <c'è: la lu::ce? c'è::-
 [what is the:::re around <is the:re li::ght? the::re's-
 [((she turns slightly and then points to the window))
- 04 (.) cioè pe- pensa::te
 (.)well thi- you th::ink
- 05 (1.4) / ((T. closes the cupboard door and the door of the room))
- 06 T cos'è? che fa diventare ca::l[do.
 what is it? that makes hea:[:th.
- 07 St [°il so'°
 [°the su'°
- 08 (0.4)
- 09 St il sole
 the sun
- 10 (0.6)
- | | |
|--------|---|
| 11 T | >allora< durante la notte c'è il \uparrow so::le?
>so< during the night is there the \uparrow su::n? |
| 12 St | °no:.° |
| 13 Sts | no::: |

In line 1 the teacher produces an open question. The answer in line 2 passes unnoticed. In line 3 a reformulation of the question is provided, which goes unanswered. The question in line 6 is a third version of the question, which provides an alternative path to the candidate 'correct' answer to the original question. This third attempt succeeds. The answer is provided in line 7 and 9. The question in line 11 (#7: line 1) is therefore produced as concluding this search for the precise answer which the teacher has attempted to elicit since the earlier question in line 1.

Considered within the larger context in which it is deployed, the question is distinctively hearable as arriving at conclusion. The slower pace which is used to produce adverb ('allora' / 'so') designs the TCU which follows as a consequence from prior talk.

In both cases, the marked format and the sequential deployment of the question are recognized by pupils as being conducive to 'no' as the favoured answer.

2.2. Building on other children prior answers

The details of answer design and their sequential deployment reveal that the activity of answering is very largely determined by a 'finely granulated attention' (Jefferson, 1986) to prior talk. Of course, the most immediate and relevant prior turn is the teacher's question. However, if we look at the data closely enough, we realize also that other turn-types (ie. besides question and answer) are produced in Q-A sequences. So, because of the large number of recipients, (1) the answer can be produced in unison by the whole class or the vast majority of students; (2) the class can respond with slightly delayed choral answers, produced by groups of pupils; (3) the answer can be produced by a selected pupil and, in the vicinity, other pupils give their own individual answers, can produce other type of responses, or comments on the answers of others⁴.

⁴ In Chapter 1 I have illustrated in detail answering sequences and the different intervening actions in Q-A pairs.

2.2.1. *The instructing potential of a large responding audience*

Fragments #6 and #7 present a number of features which reveal that pupils seem to pay attention to the other children's behaviour and to how the teacher evaluates their responses.

So for instance in fragment #6 the answer is produced in unison by two groups of children. While the first occurrence (line 9) is latched to the question, the answer produced by the second group is delivered in overlap with the teacher's positive evaluation of the prior. The children in line 11 have waited for the first certain indication that their classmates' answer was right, before coming in with their own answer. This confirmation is provided by the beginning consonant sound of the teacher's 'no', which immediately differentiates it from the alternative 'yes'.

This works differently in #7. Here there is first a tentative answer, produced by a single student, followed by the choral production. In this case there is a single respondent who serves as the 'lead' answerer for the others who respond in unison. To illustrate this answering-sequence format more clearly, consider fragment #8 below, from the 'Temperature' fragment. The teacher introduces the idea that we feel changes in temperature in our body through the skin.

#8 Skin PM:FZ:22.geography

01	T	e:: ↑che cos'abbiamo qui noi. a::d ↑what do we <u>have</u> here. ((keeps stroking))
02		(0.4) / ((keeps stroking))
03	T	c'me si <u>chiama</u> questa. what's this (FEM.) <u>called</u> . ((keeps stroking))
04		(0.2) / ((stroking her neck))
→	05	St °la <u>pell</u> [e!° °the <u>ski</u> [n!°
→	06	St [PE:l[le [SKI:[N
	07	T [pe::lle::.

[ski::n::..

The first answer in line 5 seems to prompt the other student, who comes in when the answer is recognizable by the production of the first syllable of the word 'pelle'. Again, in #9 below, there is first a single respondent followed by subsequent answers by different groups of children in unison. The teacher here is referring to the fact that early in the morning, even if the sun is shining, the temperature is lower than it would be later at midday.

#9 It's cold (I) PM:FZ:22.geography

01 T invece an[co::ra:,-
but inste[ad it is sti::ll,-

→ 02 St [c'è freddo
 [it's cold

03 (1.0)

→ 04 Sts fred[do
 co[lld

→ 05 Sts [-do
 [-ld

06 St [freddo
 [cold

07 T [fre:ddo::.
 [co::ld.

This manner of producing answers through subsequent overlapping turns is indeed a very frequent pattern in answering. The following extract illustrates very nicely the *cascade effect* that these answering sequences realize.

#10 Falling down PM:FZ:22.geography

01 T quindi LA- (.) tempe::-↓ra::,-
so THE- (.)tempe::-↓ra::,-

02 (.)

03 Sts tu:::ra:::?
 tu:::re:::?

04 T cosa fa <si alza o si abbassa di n[otte.

what does it <does it rise or fall at ni[ght.

- 05 Sts [si [abba::ssa::
[it [fa::ll
- 06 Sts [si abba::[ssa::
[it fa::ll
- 07 Sts [si
[it
- 08 abbassa::
fa::ll
- 09 T si abba::ssa::.
it fa::ll.

This fragment is particularly interesting because it demonstrates very clearly how answering is a collaborative achievement arising from the deployment of conventions of question design which pupils recognize as conducive of precise types of responses.

The question design has a number of *marked features*, especially if we compare the questioning turn with the unmarked version of the question: “La temperature si alza o si abbassa?” / “Does the temperature rise or fall ?”.

- The questioning turn is a combination of *open question* and *or-question*;
- the inversion wh-word / subject foregrounds the questionable – the temperature - in turn first position⁵;
- the deployment of the *eliciting turn completion device* in delivering the word ‘temperature’ re-enforces the foregrounding of the questionable;
- the production of the *or-question* soon after the wh-word, provides for the location of the wh-word in mid-turn position, so to construct a *clefting format*, whereby the second part is hearable as providing clues for the candidate answer;
- finally, the or-question has the correct alternative in final position.

So far I have illustrated the resources that can be drawn from features of question design which might have instructed and assisted the children who respond in line 5 to choose

⁵ Recall that the unmarked format of open questions have the wh-word in first position.

the correct answer. However, those who respond in subsequent turns can draw indications from additional resources provided by the prior answering turns. Although the onset of the answer in line 6 is after the first syllable of the prior answering turn, this does not seem to work as an indication for deciding which of the two possible answers is correct. In Italian the two verbs: 'rise' and 'fall' are reflexive and, therefore, are both equally prefaced the reflexive pronoun 'si'. But, for those who answer in line 7, the beginning of the verb 'to fall / abbassarsi' is a precise indication of the answer which the majority has chosen as correct.

Hearing and relying on other pupils' answer as a possible indication for the correct answer is visible also in the following extract which immediately follows fragment 10:

#11 East PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T e:: la mattinaa::, (.) è ancora freddo anche se c'è
a::nd in the mornii::ng, (.)it's still cold even if there is
- 02 il [sole che si LE::va:::,da che parte si le:va il so:[le;
the[sun which RI::se:::s, where from does the su:n ri:[se;
- 03 Sts [((children speak))
- 05 St [a est
[from
east
- 05 St ad [est
from [east
- 06 St [est
[east
- 07 St est
east
- 08 T da che parte si LE::va il sole <[SVEGLIA:::,
from which side RI::se the sun <[WAKE U:::P,
which side does the sun RI::se <[WAKE U:::P,
- 09 Sts [a:: est
[fro::m east
- 10 Sts a . e::[st
from ea[::st
- 11 Sts [a: e::[st
[fro:m ea[::st

12 T [a e::st:::?
[from ea::st:::?

The rising volume that the teacher produces in line 2, coinciding with the occurrence of the children beginning to talk in line 3, shows that the teacher has a problem in getting the pupils' attention. The teacher produces the same question twice, although quite a few children have already responded the first time. The fact that the teacher doesn't change the format of the question the second time and the call for attention ('sveglia' / 'wake up'), clearly suggest that the repetition of the question calls for a choral response from the class, rather than initiating repair on the prior answer. The pupils' answers are produced in successive in-unison responses from different groups.

2.2.2. *Building individual answering turns on material from prior answers*

For the purpose of constructing individual correct answers, pupils draw on resources from earlier talk, though not always so immediately close to the delivery of the answer. For instance one pupil can take some lexical items from prior answers produced by other children much earlier in the talk. On these occasions, the pupil who is invited to answer individually can still refer specifically to prior answers, drawing material and suggestion for his own individual endeavour. This material is then elaborated and embedded in the new answer. The fragment which follows presents one such case:

#12 It's cold (II) PM:FZ:22.geography

01 T allora la mattina quando arriviamo a SCUO::LA::,-
so in the morning when we arrive at SCHOO::L,-
02 (2.4) / ((T. taps 3 times on the desk))
03 T ↓anche se c'è il so::le:ǃ
↓even if there is the su::nǃ
04 (1.2)

- 05 T [ci verrebbe da vestirci? -
[we would tend to put on? -
- 06 Sts [()
- 07 (.)
- 08 T legge:[ro
li:ght[dresses
- 09 St [(no)
- 10 (0.2)
- 11 St eh.
eh.
- 12 St (perché)
(because)
- 13 T invece an[co::ra:,-
but inste[ad it is sti::ll,-
- 14 St [c'è freddo
[it's cold
- 15 (1.0)
- 16 Sts fred[do
co[ld
- 17 Sts [-do
[-ld
- 18 St [freddo
[cold
- 19 T [fre:ddo::.. perché durante la notte cosa su↓cce:de
[co::ld. because during the night what ↓ha:ppens
- 20 (2.6)
- 21 T ↑cosa succe:de? [durante la no[tte <quando noi dor-
↑what ha:ppens? [during the ni[ght <when we sle-
[((she gets up and moves towards the cupboard))
- 22 St [è un bel po' più FRE:ddo
[it is quite a lot CO:Lder
- 23 T [cosa c'è::: in giro <c'è: la lu::ce? c'è:::-
[what is the:::re around <is the:re li::ght? the::re's-
[((she turns slightly and then points to the window))
- 24 (.) cioè pe- pensa::te
(.)well thi- you th::ink
- 25 (1.4) / ((T. closes the cupboard door and the door of the room))
- 26 T cos'è? che fa diventare ca::l[do.
what is it? that makes hea::[:th.

- 27 St [°il so'°
[°the su'°
- 28 (0.4)
- 29 St il sole
the sun
- 30 (0.6)
- 31 T >allora< durante la notte c'è il ↑so::le?
>so< during the night is there the ↑su::n?
- 32 St °no:..°
- 33 Sts no::::
- 34 T a[lo::ra::,
s[o no:::w:,
- 35 St [°c'è il buio°
[°there's dark°

In answering to the question about 'what happens at night', the child in line 22 produces an upgraded version of the assessment produced in lines 14-18 above, in response to a question about the morning temperature. A prior occurrence of what constitutes the answer here, "It's cold", has been previously positively acknowledged by the teacher through the repetition in line 19. Therefore, the child in 22 seems to have drawn the conclusion that "it is cold", although with some adjustments, can constitute a 'safe' answer.

This interpretation is supported by a second occurrence of this strategy, which is produced later in the same sequence:

#13 To make it warmer PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T LA temperatu::ra, ↓anche se c'è il ↓so::le::,
THE temperatu::re, ↓even if there's the ↓su:::n,
- 02 (1.4)
- 03 T vero⁶ Maurizio
isn't it Maurizio
- 04 (.)
- 05 T ci mette un po' a- ri- scal',-

⁶ 'Vero' works here as a tag question, which can be attached to any prior utterance. Its form doesn't change.

it takes a while to- get,-

- 06 Sts da[:re
wa[:rm
- Ma. 07 St [da:[:re
→ [wa:[:rm
- 08 T [a riscalda[:re.
[to get wa:[:rm.
- 09 (.)
- 10 T quindi ↑no:i? ci mettiamo ↓co:me la mattina Maurizio;
therefore we put on what in the morning Maurizio;
therefore ↑we:? we dress ↓how: in the morning Maurizio;
- 11 (1.3)
- Ma. 12 St con:=uh- le giacche
with:=uh- the jackets
- 13 T con le giacche.
with the jackets.
- 14 St °s[i ()°
°y[es ()°
- 15 T [e:::- (2.2) po- ↑po::i piano piano? il sole cosa
[a::nd-(2.2) th-↑the::n very slowly? the sun what does it
- 16 fa.
do.
- 17 St ci riscalda⁸.
it warms us up.
- 18 St eh::[:
- 19 T cosa fa. <resta sempre a est;
what does it do. <does it remain always at east;
- 20 (0.2)
- 21 St no:
- 22 St va:: a:l sud
it go::es south
- 23 T va al sud:.
it goes sou:th.

⁷ The teacher uses a four-syllable verb 'riscaldare/ris-cal-da-re' which derives from 'caldo=hot', meaning 'make it warm'. Here it is not clear whether the verb is used in the reflexive meaning -the temperature gets warm- or in the transitive meaning - the temperature warms things up. The child in line 17, who uses the same verb in responding to the question uses the transitive form: 'ci riscalda' / 'it warms us up'. The translation does not preserve the number of syllables of the Italian verb form. As you can see the teacher exploits the fact the it is a multiple-syllable word to shape her turn.

⁸ Note that the pupil uses here the same verb 'riscaldare' that the teacher has elicited in line 18.

Here, the pupil who answers in line 17 uses exactly the same lexical item that the teacher has elicited in line 5 ('riscaldare'), and confirmed in line 8. However, just as in fragment #12, here the answer which is constructed on prior responses is not the appropriate answer. In both cases the teacher pursues her questioning without taking notice of these incomings.

2.3 Responding to the specific pedagogic action which is embodied in the question format

It emerges from the analysis so far, that children are orienting to Q-A sequences as building a framework for eliciting/providing *the correct answer* as a display of knowledge. To satisfy this precise requirement of the teacher's questioning turns, they exploit a range of resources and interactional strategies which involve (1) the recognition of convention of question construction and (2) the observation of the teacher's and other children's behaviour in prior occurrences of Q-A sequences on which they build their subsequent answering turns. However, to answer appropriately implies also a third competence: (3) the recognition of the *purposes for asking*, with reference to the specific instruction setting, where being informed about the question is not usually the reason why teachers ask questions of pupils. In this section, I will show one example from the 'Temperature fragment' (example 15 below), in which pupils display their understanding of the purposes of the teacher's questioning in line 1 as performing a *call for attention*.

But before presenting the fragment and the analysis, it might be worth a short preface, recalling that the characterization of *questioning* here refers precisely to the conventions of turn construction, that are used by teachers to provide opportunities for turn transition and to promote the pupils' chances to speak. In other words, we should not consider here questioning as associated, in any pre-determinate way and solely, with the *information-eliciting* activity. Of course, on many occasions teachers address pupils with the precise purpose of eliciting

information. However, in order to describe the teachers questioning turns as doing precisely so, this has to be accounted for by features of turn construction and action formation. In the interaction that takes place in classroom instructional sequences, teachers quite often produce questioning turns in which the information-eliciting is done in the service of other courses of actions.

Thus, for instance, if we consider the questioning turn in line 3 in the fragment below, this is clearly produced to elicit the answer in line 4, as shown by the pupils' choral incomings. However, the characterization of line 3 as *eliciting information* would be rather misleading. It would be more appropriate to describe it in terms of *confirmation request*. Despite its having an interrogative format, if any information is there, indeed this is expressed in the teacher's question rather than in the pupils' answering turn that only confirm what the question implies.

#14 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography/pp.4-5

01	T	Alo:ra		
		<u>SO:</u>		
02		(0.2)		
→ 03	T	siete	degli	esseri <u>uma:ni?</u>
		(YOU) are	(PART.ART.)	being human
		are you		human <u>bei:ngs?</u>
04	Sts	s::i:::		
		ye:::s:::		

In addition to that, if we consider the sequence leading up to the fragment in #14 (see the extended version in extract 14b below), the teacher's question above acquires a rather different meaning. Instead of aiming at getting confirmation in itself, the question seems to be produced in the service of a larger course of action, where the creation of humour appears to be the purpose of the teacher (see line 18). In the sequence below, the above Q-A sequence is in the square:

#14 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography/pp.4-5

01	T	<u>Alo'</u>
----	---	-------------

So

02 (0.4)

03 T quin-(.)di:(.) <antropizza:to> questa paro::la stra:na
 there-(.)fo:re (.) <(ADJ.DERIV.)> this wo::rd stra:nge
 (from Greek "anthropos")
 there-(.)fo:re (.)< (ADJ:DERIV.)> this stra:nge wo::rd

04 (.)che deri:va da:l latino antro- antropos [mi pare
 (.)that derives fro:m Latin anthro- anthropos [I think

05 St [°uh uhu uhu°

06 (0.2)

07 T eh?

08 (0.4)

09 T vuol ↑dire proprio uma::no:,
 it ↑means exactly hu::ma:n,

10 (0.6)

11 che riguarda l'essere uma::no voi siete esseri uma:ni;
 and it concerns hu::man beings are you human bei:ngs;

12 (0.6)

13 Sts sì:
ye:s14 T sì;
yes;

15 (0.8)

16 T ho qualche dubbio.
 have(I) some doubts.
 I doubt it./I am unsure.

17 (0.4)

18 Sts mhh eh eheheh

19 T Alo:ra
SO:

20 (0.2)

→ 21 T siete degli esseri uma:ni?
 (YOU) are (PART.ART.) being human
 are you human bei:ngs?

22 Sts s::i:::
ye::s::

Thus, I would like to recall that questioning here is used mainly with reference to the features of the turn-taking system, thus including a range of turn constructional patterns that have been described in Chapter 2 and listed in table 2. None of these are intended as automatically associated with *information-seeking* or *eliciting activities*, unless clearly evidenced in the data; this being the purpose of the research. In this section we will examine one of these methodical procedures used by teachers in instructional sequences: namely the ETC device. The analysis will show how pupils display their recognition of the precise action that is achieved in one precise setting: the very beginning of the lesson.

The example comes immediately before extract #6. When the fragment begins, and immediately before the teacher's turn in 1, at least 5 children are not yet sitting at their desks, while the majority of the class is already seated.

#15 Friday PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
WE:::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-
[(teacher seats
down
- 02 (0.2)/((some children are talking))
- 03 Sts [(2 of the 5 boys
are actually sitting down at this point))
- V. 04 St [(V. is still
→ standing up, turning her back to the teacher, talking to some girls;
at this precise moment she turns for a tenth of a second towards the teacher
and then back to chat with some girls))
- 05 Sts [(two children,
from this moment, abandon their prior activity and turn their gaze to the
teacher))
- 06 Sts √di:::,
√day:::,⁹
- 07 T ['indi ci sarà il compito- (.) da- fare::-
['ence there will be the homework-(.)to- do::-
- 08 Sts [(the remaining 2 children who were still standing are sitting down))
- 09 T a- (.) ca::sa,
a::t- (.) ho::me,

⁹√: this symbol is proposed here to indicate an intonational contour where a falling intonation is followed by a distinctive raise. This produces an up-and-down wawing pattern.

The teacher is clearly embarking on the very beginning of the lesson. In doing so, she uses a device to elicit from recipients' the completion of the item which is withheld. This is located in mid-turn position. She starts by delivering 'venerdi' / 'Friday' with a sort of syllable-by-syllable spelling which ends up with the withholding of the last syllable of the word. We have already seen that this is a distinctive and very frequent device whereby teachers elicit the completion from pupils through the production of truncated utterances. The pause which follows shows that the teacher refrains from completing the delivery of the name of the day.

In the analysis which follows, I will provide a description of the pupils' non-verbal behaviour, as evidence of the outcome of the practice in terms of the pupils' understanding of the action which is embodied.

The comparison of the children's position and postures before and after the deployment of the device is visible in Picture 1 and 2 below. The changes in the pupils' body orientation show their understanding of the action which is embodied in this interactional strategy. Recall that this is the very beginning of the morning lesson. Teacher and pupils have just entered the room. So far they have been busy talking to each other while the teacher has addressed some pupils individually. Everybody has been moving around, while organizing his belongings for the day. After a few minutes, the majority of the children have taken their seats, as illustrated in Picture 1.

Picture 1



01 T: BE::NE::

However, 5 children are still standing up and the vast majority of those who have already taken their seats are interacting with their classmates. A number of them are turning towards the back of the room. The teacher is not visible, but she is standing behind her desk, which is located in front of the children.

In Picture 2, below, we can observe the situation after the children have provided the completion of Friday: 2 of the children who were standing in Picture 1 have now taken their seat, and most of the children are looking towards the teacher, distinctively engaged in the interaction with her.

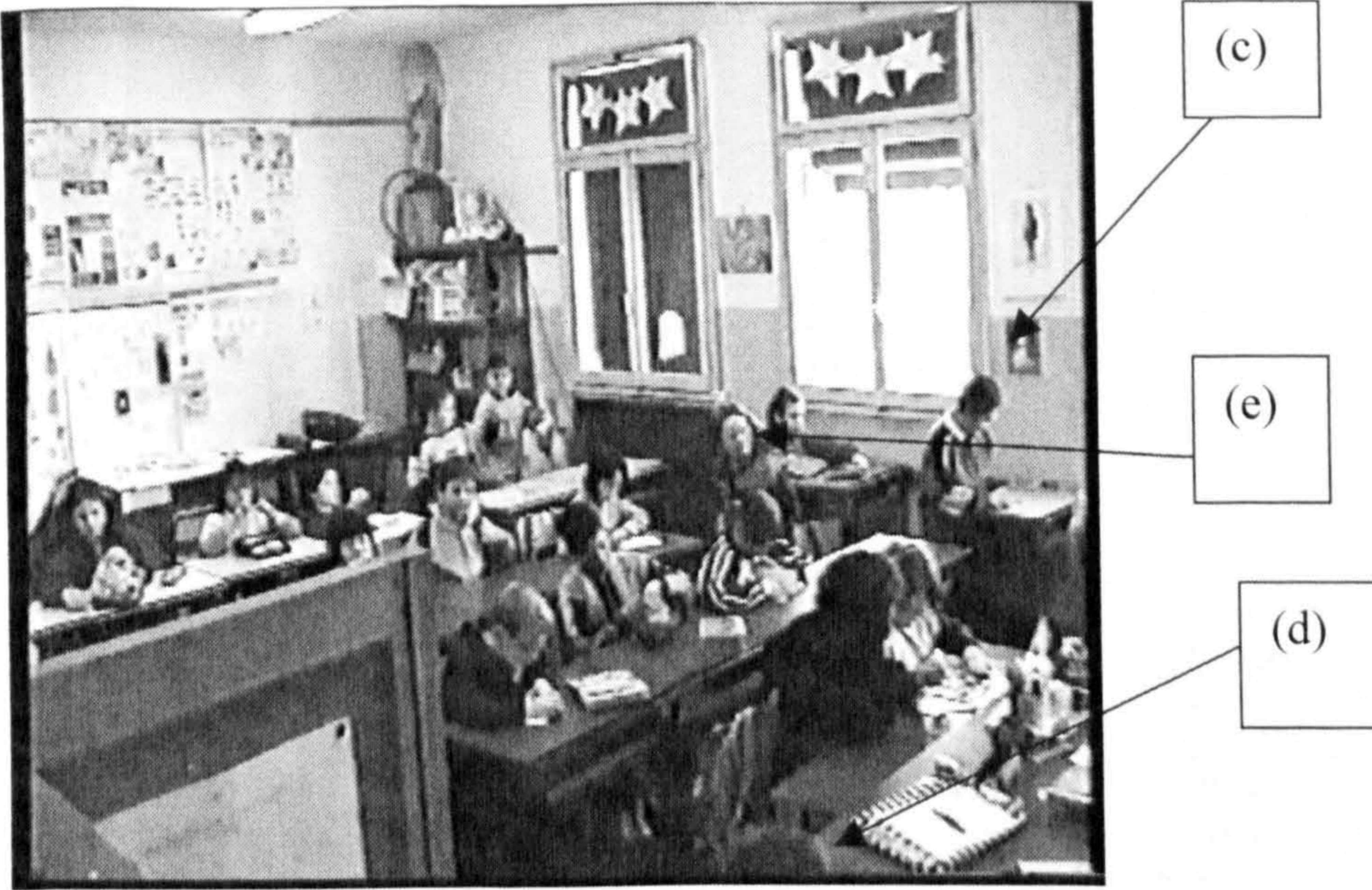
Picture 2



07 T: [**'**indi ci sarà il compito- (.)

But let us observe in detail what happens immediately before the last cut-off of 'Friday', which leads up to the completion by the students. This precise moment is illustrated below in Picture 3, and indicated by the arrow and the bold character in the line of transcript below:

Picture 3



01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve- [ner,-
 WE:::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO::RNING ↓that is- [fri,-



After the first cut-off in line 1, two of the five children who were standing up take their seats (c) (d). This action is coincident with the teacher delivery of 'ner,-'. Up to this point Vittoria (e) has been turning her back to the teacher while busy talking to a girlfriend. At this point, for a fraction of a second she turns her head and the upper part of her body towards the teacher.

After a fraction of a second, two other children among those who were already sitting, but busy talking or organizing their belongings on the desk, stop doing that and turn head and gaze to the teacher (f) (g)

Picture 4



01 T BE::NE:: ↑ALO::RA 'STA:: MATTI::NA ↓che è ve-[↑]ner,-
WE:::LL ↑NO::W THI::S MO:::RNING ↓that is-_↑fri,-

I will now focus on the features of turn delivery of the pupils' completion. First of all, the delivery of the syllable is stretched. The intonation contour of the waving profile ending with a suspending intonation indicates that pupils have not only recognized the task of completing the name of the day, but also the parenthetical meaning of the clause where the device is deployed ('which is Friday' / 'che è venerdì') projecting that further talk is to come.

The manner in which they shape the completion - that is a perfect choral production where the intonation matches emphatically the projected meaning of the clause where the device is deployed - displays that they have perfectly understood that the teacher is doing a *request of being all on board*; a request which they are able to satisfy. The perfect timing and the appropriate intonation almost imply that they *were already on board*, only apparently busy in other activities. For these reasons, line 6 might be heard even as displaying a very slight flavour of *teasing*.

It is clear, however, that the children's response to the teacher is not at all oriented towards providing any missing information. Neither is the teacher's questioning recognizably constructed to elicit information. The item where the device is deployed -'di' / 'day'- cannot possibly be taken as missing information. Nobody would fail to provide such a completion. It is plain that a number of other issues are involved here, and that participants do orient to these, as the discussion has illustrated. The manner in which children provide completion display that they have recognized the the action embodied in the teachers' eliciting turn. To conclude this introductory section on the pupils' methods for providing a correct answer, I have introduced three main practices in answering:

- (1) recognizing conventions of question construction;
- (2) referring to prior talk and, mainly to other children's answers to prior questions;
- (3) recognizing the action which is embodied in the format of questions.

These have been illustrated through examples taken from one instruction sequence. In the three sections which follow, each strategy will be further explored. The analysis will be supported with extracts from other lessons.

3. Responding to recognizable conventions of question construction: the case of no-answer questions.

In Chapter 3, I pointed out that children are very frequently requested to provide answers as a collective accomplishment. This is the case, for example, with *collaborative completion*, *or-questions*, the vast majority of *yes/no questions*, a large number of *open questions* -especially those which have a marked format, where the *wh-word* is *rear-loaded*, and those which are delivered as the second component in an *if-formatted* turn- and a number of other questioning formats, such as *sub sentential questioning turns*.

As was illustrated in the case of the ‘Friday example’ #14 above, one distinctive character of answering in unison is the sense of *obviousness* which is conveyed by the fact that a large audience of recipients self-select to answer the questions together at the same time and in exactly the same way.

One possible relevant feature of collectively produced answers is the minimal length and the high recognizability of the item which constitutes the requested answer. Supposedly, this can make the production in unison more compact, so that the answers come all at once, as in the ‘Friday example’(#15).

However, this compactness – the character whereby answers are done briefly and all at once- seems to be more closely connected with the respondents’ recognition of the nature of the request than to the actual length of the missing item. So for instance, in cases when more than one syllable is left out, answering is frequently led by a single pupil who provides the continuation of teacher’s turn first, soon to be taken over by the remaining children, as in #16 below:

#16 Justice PM:LL:1:history/prehistory

01	T	amministrare bene che cosa	<u>la</u> , giu,-
		administer well what thing	the ju,-
		to administer well what	<u>the</u> , ju,-
→	02	St	la giusti[zia justi[ce
→	03	Sts	[la giustizia [justice

The production in unison does not seem to be strictly and unilaterally associated with the length in syllables of the material which is needed for the completion. There are occasions on which children produce in unison the entire word, once they have recognized what exactly is the precise item the question elicits, as in the example below:

#17 Window PM:LT:5:geometry/angles

- 01 T il braccio adesso dove guarda=verso la, -
the arm now where looks=towards the, -
the arm now where does it point to=to the, -
- 02 T ((T. holds straight her arm to point to the window))
- 03 (0.2)
- 04 Sts finestra
window

In this case the teacher's gesture, glossed in line 2, provides sufficient visual resources for children to access the information and, consequently, to be able to provide the answer in unison. These examples show that the phenomenon of answering in unison seems to arise from the ability to recognize the answer, rather than being associated with its formal features, such as the length of the item that constitutes the answer itself.

Yes/no answers share with collaborative completion this sense of obviousness which derives from the delivery in unison, as shown in the following examples:

#18 Human beings PM:FZ:12:geography

- 01 T Alo:ra
SO:
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 T siete degli esseri uma:ni?
are you human bei:ngs?
- 04 Sts s::i:::
ye:::s::

#19 What do we have PM:LT:3:mathematics

- 01 T e::: con la 'na- tabella della sottrazio:ne? che cosa
a:::nd with the 'na- table of the subtra:ction? what
- 02 abbia::mo. abbiamo tutte le caselle pie:ne:.
do we ha::ve. do we have all the slots fu::ll.
- 03 St n[o.
- 04 Sts [no::[:
- 05 Sts [no.
- 06 T n:o, (.) è vero?
n:o, (.) (FORMULAIC TAG QUESTION)

07 St sono::[: , un poco vuote
they a[:re, partly empty

#20 Two groups again PM:LT:2:natural sciences

01 T ↑seco:ndo voi, possiamo? dividere in due gruppi tu[tti =
↑in you:r view, can we? divide in two groups al[l =

→ 02 St [si:.

03 T =questi eleme[n]ti;
=these elemen[ts];

→ 04 St [SI' ::::

→ 05 Sts si:::

#21 Pictures PM:FZ:12:geography

01 T alo:ra
so:

02 (0.2)

03 T queste schede che noi stiamo facendo adesso,
these exercises that we are doing now,

04 (0.2)

05 T ↓che sono uno due tre quattro cinque.
↓which are one two three four five.

06 (.)

07 T ri↑GUA::RDANO, (0.2) gli aniMA::li ?
con↑CE::RN, (0.2) A::nimals ?

→ 08 Sts no:[::

→ 09 St [o:[::::

→ 10 St [°no:::°

The way in which these answers are produced - the absence of delay, the production in unison, the emphasis produced through the stretching of the vowel - exhibits their being *preferred* answers. Children have recognized the type of answer that these questions are built to prefer.

However, the small collection of fragments above shows that *both* 'yes' and 'no' can be produced as preferred answers. Therefore I decided to focus on yes/no questions and, in

particular, on the restricted set of those whose answers are produced in unison, to search for features of turn construction and sequential deployment which would account for the preference organization of each alternative option.

3.1. How to recognize a no-answer question: conventions of question construction at work

My data search yielded a number of no-answers produced in unison and without delay. Further evidence for this being the preferred answer is also the subsequent repetition of the answer provided by the teacher, as in #19, line 6 and in #22, line 4.

#19 What do we have PM:LT:3:mathematics

- 01 T e:::: con la 'na- tabella della sottrazio:ne? che cosa
a::::nd with the 'na- table of the subtra:ction? what
- 02 abbia::mo. abbiamo tutte le caselle pie:ne:.
do we ha::ve. do we have all the slots fu:ll.
- 03 St n[o.
- 04 Sts [no::[:
- 05 Sts [no.
- ⇒ 06 T n:o, (.) è vero?
n:o, (.) (FORMULAIC TAG QUESTION)
- 07 St sono::[: , un poco vuote
they a[::re, partly empty

#22 Temperature PM:FZ:geography

- 01 T questo per indica:::re ↓che co::sa. <che la temperatura è
this to indica:::te ↓wha::t. <that the temperature is
- 02 sempre la stessa? durante la giorna::ta.=
always the same? during the da::y.=
- 03 Sts =no::::
- ⇒ 04 T n: [o:::
- 05 Sts [no::::

23 Divisions (I) PM:FZ:21:maths

- 01 T ALO::RA ↑E' UNA DIVISIONE DI CONTENE::NZA?
 now (IT)is a division about containing
 SO:: ↑IS IT A DIVISION ABOUT CONTA::INING?
- 02 Sts no::[::;
- 03 Sts [NO::::
- 04 T se so già:: che ci sono no::ve;
 if I alre::dy know that that there are ni::ne;
- 05 Sts °no° ((they are working))

24 Divisions (II) PM:FZ:21:maths

- 01 T >alora< le sca::tole so::no dei contenito::ri,
 >so now< bo::xes a::re conta::iners,
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 T io so [GIA' CHE CI SONO NOVE CONTENITO::RI,
 ↑¹⁰ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
 I know [ALREADY THAT THERE ARE NINE CONTA::INERS,
- 04 T [((she beats the rythm: one beat for each word))
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 T DEVO TROVARE IL NUMERO DELLE SCA::TOLE¿
 (I)must find the number of the boxes
 DO I HAVE TO FIND THE NUMBER OF THE BO::XES¿
- 07 Sts NO:[::
- 08 Sts [NO::[:
- 09 Sts [O::::

25 The sun PM:FZ:geography

- 01 T >allora< durante la notte c'è il ↑so::le?
 so during the night theres the sun
 >so< during the night is there the ↑su::n?
- 02 St °no::°
- 03 Sts no::::

¹⁰ arrows indicate where the teacher highlights the rythmical pattern of her utterance by beating on the desk.

If we consider this small collection it is clear that children recognize the *negative polarity* of the question. The features of question design and sequential deployment characterizing *no-answer* from *yes-answer questions* will be described in the sections below.

3.1.1. *No-answer questions are used to draw conclusions from prior talk*

One immediately evident feature that these occurrences have in common is their design as *arising from prior talk*. In #19 the teacher prefaces the questioning with the emphatic production of the conjunction ‘and’, thus characterizing the question in lines 1-2 as being a second occurrence. In #22 the anaphoric pronoun (‘questo’ / ‘this’) in first position refers to what has been stated before (“observing that in the morning and at midday the temperature measures are different”) and designs the ensuing question as a way of drawing conclusions from that.

The relationship between *sequential deployment* and *preference organization* is well illustrated in fragment #23 and #24. These are both taken from the same instruction sequence. I will first consider some features which are visible also if we look at them as separate Q-A sequences, before reviewing the sequence as a whole, in order to provide further evidence for the analysis.

In #23 the question is prefaced by ‘allora’ / ‘so’, which is packaged with the question as one single turn. This particle is often used by teachers, and most frequently constitutes a turn on its own. In other cases, when deployed as a single-unit turn, it might work as a *disjunctive token*, marking the beginning of a new sequence. On other occasions, as in #23, it is packaged in the turn with other turn components, thus accomplishing the work of marking a *connection with prior talk*. In this case, this understanding is subsequently confirmed by the fact that the teacher explicitly refers to the assumptions which generated the answer (in the if-clause) in

line 4, after the question and the relative answers are delivered. In this way, the teacher seems to emphasize that the question arises from some prior taken-for-granted assumptions.

In #24 the question in line 6 is deployed after two prior assessments. The teacher formulates the question using the first singular person of the verb ('I'), which is also the same subject used for the preceding assessment in line 3. In this way the question is designed as directly connected to the prior statement, thus clearly drawing from those premises.

But let us now look at these fragments in the larger sequence. The teacher is reading aloud a problem of mathematical division to the class. This is the second reading: the first time the teacher had invited Vittoria to read the problem. This time Vittoria joins the teacher in line 2. After the first reading the pupils have already suggested contrasting solutions to the problem. The second reading which initiates the sequence illustrated in #26 is done to repair the prior wrong answers. Fragments #23 and #24 are reproduced below in the boxes. The bulleted lines indicate the teacher's questions.

#26 Boxes of soap PM:FZ:21:maths

- 01 T u::na [profumiE::ra mette cinquantaquattro sapo[↑]ne::tte?]-
a:: [perfuU::mes seller puts fiftyfour [↑]pieces of so::ap?]-
- V. 02 St [profumie::ra mette cinquantaquattro saponette?]
[perfu::mes seller puts fiftyfour pieces of soap?]
- 03 in [o::gni scato[::la::;
in [ea::ch bo:[::x;
- 04 Sts [((other pupils are reading with v.))
- 05 T [i::[n:?-
- V. 06 St [no::ve scato::[le::;
[ni::ne bo:::xe[::s;
- 1• 07 T alo::ra, si sanno? () sca::tole::?
so one knows(PASSIV.)() boxes
so::, does one know? () bo:::xe::s?
- 08 (2.6) / ((children are talking))

- 2• 09 T >°alora°< ci SO::NO NO::VE?- (.) SCA::TOLE::, (.) ↑CO::SA
>°so°< there A::RE NI::NE?- (.) BO::XE::S, (.) ↑WHA::T
- 10 SONO? LE SCA::TOLE JANI::N?
ARE? BO::XES JANI::N?
- 11 (1.2)
- 12 St °contenito:ri°
°conta:iners°
- 13 (.)
- 14 Sts con[tenitori
con[tainers
- 15 Sts [conte[nitori
[conta[iners
- J. 16 St [sono i contenito::[ri
[they are contai::n[ers
- 17 T [CONTENITO::RI::,
[CONTAI::NE::RS,
- 18 (.)
- 3• 18 T LI SO:: I? CONTENI[TO::RI [QUANTI SO::NO::;
them (I) know the containers how many are (THEY)
DO I KNOW::? CONTA[I::NERS [HOW MANY A::RE THEY?
- 19 St [sì
[yes
- 20 St [si:::
[ye:::s
- 21 St SI'[:::
YE:[::S
- 22 Sts [sì:
[ye:s
- 4• 23 T ALO::RA ↑E' UNA DIVISIONE DI CONTENE::NZA?
now (IT)is a division about containing
SO:: ↑IS IT A DIVISION ABOUT CONTA::INING?

→ 24 Sts no::[::;

→ 25 Sts [NO:::
- 26 T se so già:: che ci sono no::ve;
if I alre::dy know that that there are ni::ne;
- 27 Sts °no° ((they are working))

28	T	>alora< le sca::tole so::no dei contenito::ri, >so now< bo::xes a::re conta::iners,
29		(0.2)
30	T	io so [GIA' CHE CI SONO NOVE CONTENITO::RI, ↑ ¹¹ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ I know [ALREADY THAT THERE ARE NINE CONTA::INERS,
31	T	[((she beats the rythm: one beat for each word))
32		(0.4)
5•	33	T DEVO TROVARE IL NUMERO DELLE <u>SCA::TOLE</u> ? (I) must find the number of the boxes DO I HAVE TO FIND THE NUMBER OF THE <u>BO::XES</u> ?
→	34	Sts NO:::
→	35	Sts [NO:::
→	36	Sts [O:::

In line 7 the teacher asks the first question. The information needed for answering correctly to the question is available in the text which has been just read (line 6). Pupils fail to answer 'yes'. From now on the teacher chooses to follow an *alternative project*¹², which consists in a series of subsequent questions (bulleted lines). She produces first an *open question* in line 9, then a *yes-answer question* in line 18, which eventually is successfully answered: this is followed by the two subsequent *no-answer questions*. The no-answer questions are deployed here to elicit information which is available or can be inferred from prior talk, as closing a series of questions.

The last example in our small collection (#25) is also the concluding question of a series, as illustrated in the analysis of the 'Temperature fragment' (#5) provided in section 2. In this way, the teacher provides an environment in which the question is hearable as eliciting one precise answer, as a conclusion of prior talk.

¹¹ arrows indicate where the teacher highlights the rythmical pattern of her utterance by beating on the desk.

¹² The manner in which teachers "show the child another route to a correct answer" through reformulations of unanswered questions has been illustrated by Drew (1981: pp.259-260)

We can conclude these observations on the sequential deployment of no-answer questions thus: the context from which this question type arises most frequently is at the closing phase of a sequence of questions, where conclusions are to be drawn from prior talk. Comparatively, the environment where yes-answer questions are produced, instead, has completely different characteristics. Consider, for example, extract #27 below:

#27 Two Groups PM:LT:5:natural sciences

01 T d'acco:rdo
alri:ght

02 (1.0)

03 T ↑seco:ndo voi, possiamo? dividere in due gruppi tu[tti =
according to you (WE) can divide in two groups all
↑in you:r view, can we? divide in two groups all =

04 St [si:.

05 T =questi eleme[nti;
=these elemen[ts;

→ 06 St [SI' : : : :

→ 07 Sts si: : :

In contrast to no-answer questions, yes-answer questions are packaged as initiating a new series of questions, as the example in the fragment above illustrates:

- the conclusive token in line 1 marks the end of the prior sequence;
- the ensuing extended pause in line 2 is a further disjunctive element;
- the questioning phrase 'secondo voi' / 'according to you', as is delivered here, with the high pitch which very often characterizes turn beginning.

All these features are associated with a question which clearly opens up a new line of questioning, rather than closing it.

3.1.2. No-answer questioning turn have a marked format

Questions which prefer no-answers are characterised by a number of turn design features contrasting with the format of yes-answer questions.

i) *The delivery structure:*

Yes-answer questions tend to be produced with the ‘standard’ syntactic format of interrogatives and are packaged in single-TCU turn. In example #27 above and #28 below, sentence components are deployed according to the unmarked subject-verb order, which interrogatives share with declarative sentences:

#28 The beach PM:FZ:12:geography

- 01 T ↑la spiaggia è natura::le
 the beach is natural
 ↑is the beach na::tural .
- 02 St s:i
 y:es ((T. stars nodding meaning ‘yes’))
- 03 Sts uhm uhm.
- 04 St .hhh NO NO!
- 05 St [SI’ SI’::[:::?]
 [YES YE::[:::S?
- 06 Sts [sì:::
 [ye:::s

Recall that in Italian yes/no interrogative types do not involve the inversion verb-subject, nor are auxiliary verb forms used. As illustrated in Chapter 3, to convey the questioning potential of the utterance, speakers use *intonation features* to delivery the questionable item. In#28, for instance, the stretching and the emphasis which is deployed on the stressed syllable of the word ‘naturale’ (line 1), indicates that the ‘questionable’ here is the qualification of the subject of the utterance -the beach- as natural or artificial. Also the use of address terms and specialized questioning phrases, such as ‘secondo voi’ / ‘according to you’,

as in #27, line 3, are used to project that a question is underway. Furthermore, they are packaged as the only turn component.

So, if we now look back at our small collection of no-answer questions, we realize that comparatively their format and the delivery structure present a number of features which construct them as having a marked format, different from those which are routinely used to build yes-answer questions. This arises from their sequential deployment as final questions in a series and from their being distinctively designed to be heard as connected to prior talk. Either they are deployed as second occurrences *to draw a contrast* with prior questions, or they come last in a series *to draw the conclusions* of a line of reasoning. But let us now focus on these marked features.

The question in fragment #19 is a second question, which comes after the teacher has asked the students about maths addition table, whose slots have all positive numbers.

#19 What do we have PM:LT:3:mathematics

- 01 T e:::: con la 'na- tabella della sottrazio:ne? che cosa
a::::nd with the 'na- table of the subtra:ction? what
- 02 abbia::mo. abbiamo tutte le caselle pie:ne:.
do we ha::ve. do we have all the slots fu::ll.
- 03 St n[o.
- 04 Sts [no::[:
- 05 Sts [no.
- ⇒ 06 T n:o, (.) è vero?
n:o, (.) (FORMULAIC TAG QUESTION)
- 07 St sono::[: , un poco vuote
they a[::re, partly empty

In order to draw the contrast, the teacher needs to foreground 'the table of subtraction'. She does so by placing this in first position followed by the wh-question 'what do we have'. In this way we have an open question where the wh-element moves from its standard initial position to the right. Consequently, the yes/no question which follows /abbiamo tutte le

caselle pie:ne:. / do we have all the slots fu::ll./, is packaged in this multi-question turn and is hearable as embedding a candidate answer. The questioning turn in lines 1-2 has a *clefting structure* where the wh-element in the middle frames the matter about which the question is being asked, which is located in initial position, before the wh-element, and the candidate answer after it.

Fragment #22 below has the same clefting structure:

[questionable] + [wh-element] + [candidate answer]

#22 Temperature PM:FZ:geography

- 01 T questo per indica:::re ↓che co::sa. <che la temperatura è
this to indica:::te ↓wha::t. <that the temperature is
- 02 sempre la stessa? durante la giorna:::ta.=
always the same? during the da::y.=
- 03 Sts =no::::
- ⇒ 04 T n::o:::
- 05 Sts [no::::

The teacher foregrounds the purpose of the question through an open question: ‘this to indicate what’, followed by a candidate answer, which is to be denied. This question comes after she has previously stated that the temperature measures they have been taken during the week have been reported in a graph with bars of two different colors: red for the morning measures and orange for those taken at midday. Here, therefore, the question is posed in order to draw some conclusion about that.

ii) The use of quantifiers to reverse the speaker’s stance to the question

A second feature which examples #19 and #22 have in common is the employment of quantifiers such as ‘always’ and ‘all’ in the construction of the questions. In his study of intensity, Labov (1984) refers to the work of Labov and Waletzky (1967). They indicate “four kinds of intensifiers that serve as evaluating devices in narrative: verbal and nonverbal gestures; expressive phonology, including sudden changes in length, pitch, duration, and

vowel quality; repetition; and the use of quantifiers” (Labov, 1984:8). In his study on the interpretation of universal quantifiers as they are used by five English speakers, Labov discusses the use of quantifiers in the following examples from a 20-minute telephone call from the Ripley interview¹³:

(14a) She ain't had no kind o' nobody to bring her up.

(14b) Just to say you been around and been some place, 'cause you ain't never been no place.

(14c) I didn' bring none of my clothes back I left 'em all down there. That's right. I left all of'em down there.

The discussion focuses on the *cognitive contradiction* which is involved in the use of quantifiers such as 'nobody', 'never', 'none', and 'all':

“It is possible in (14a) that a child had no one to care for him or her in growing up, though it isn't likely. But it is not possible that the children being addressed in (14b) had never been any place, nor is it possible, looking at Dolly Ripley in New York City, to say that she had left all of her clothes in North Carolina.” (Labov, 1984:48-49)

Particularly relevant to the use of quantifiers that the teachers use in the examples above, is the work on 'intensity' which, according to Labov's analysis, quantifiers do in terms of expressing the “social orientation toward the linguistic proposition: the commitment of the self to the proposition” (op. cit.:44). In this regard, the concept of 'cognitive contradiction', which is associated with 'intensity' as described above, seem to be particularly relevant to the way in which quantifiers such as 'tutte/all' and 'sempre/always', in examples 19 and 22, are employed to project a negative answer. It appears that children, by providing a choral disconfirmation to such questions, have perfectly well understood the commitment of teachers to these 'intensified' and 'contradictory' questions. Consequently, by answering 'no', they meet the requirements of the question in terms of their alignment with the teacher's stance conveyed by the question.

¹³ The examples are from a telephone call the informant, Dolly Ripley, had during the interview which was part of the Lower East Side study of New York City (Labov, 1966). The call was recorded although it wasn't part of the interview because the informant was wearing a lavalier microphone.

iii) Features of turn delivery

Teachers also use changes in volume to differentiate these questions from the surrounding talk, especially when the word order produced in the questioning is not changed from that which is normally used to produce yes-answer questions or declaratives, as in #23 and #24. As in the 'Boxes of soap' sequence (#26), the teacher raises the volume in delivering the questions which are produced after the first question in line 7, which is not answered. One possible assumption underlining this practice is the teacher's interpretation that the failure to answer is caused by lack of attention. Pupils fail to answer because they have listened neither to the question nor to what has been said before. This is evidence that the teacher is orienting to the availability of the answer in prior talk.

3.1.3. No-answer questions accomplish repair-initiation

No-answer questions are a powerful means for instructing recipients that the answer which is sought is the disconfirmation of the candidate answer which is embedded in the questioning. Because of this potentiality, this questioning format is frequently used as *repair initiation*.

In our discussion of #26 above I have pointed out that the use of no-answer questions is connected with the function of dealing with missing or inappropriate answers. The series of questions which arrives at conclusion with no-answer questions are produced to provide children with a different line of reasoning which would eventually lead them to the correct candidate answer. In fragment #26 children have failed to answer to the first question in line 7. The subsequent series of answers closes with the two no-answer questions.

The deployment of these questions to deal with problems in answering is clearly visible also in sequence #29 below.

The class is studying Italian verbs. They have to classify a number of verb forms, falling into three main categories, according to their endings: *-are*, *-ere*, and *-ire*. Maurizio is the first pupil to be addressed for the task. The verb is 'apriva', which is a Past Tense, 3rd Person Singular, translatable in English as 's/he opened'. In order to find the place where it belongs, Maurizio should know the infinitive form of the verb: 'aprire' (third class). Maurizio does not know the answer; he is trying to locate the verb 'apriva', as it is, in one of the three categories. The teacher then asks him to look up on the dictionary, although only infinitive forms are reported there.

Extract #29 shows the third attempt to help Maurizio to realize that, in order to find a place for the verb, he first has to find the corresponding infinitive form. The fragment begins with the teacher asking why he couldn't find 'apriva' in the dictionary (line 1). The conversation takes place with Maurizio facing the teacher, in front of the class.

#29 To open PM:PG:19:grammar

- | | | |
|---------|----|---|
| 01 | T | ↑per↓ché secondo <u>te</u>
↑why ↓do <u>you</u> think |
| 02 | | (1.6) |
| Mau. 03 | St | perché non c'è i::re::,
because there isn't i::re::, ¹⁴ |
| 04 | St | io lo so
I know it |
| Mau. 05 | St | non c'è <u>a</u> -
there isn't <u>a</u> - ¹⁵ |
| 06 | | (0.6/ ((Maurizio bends his body on one side, gazing at the teacher. The two are facing each other in front of the class. The teacher imitates this gestures. The teachers then moves closer to the blackboard)) |

¹⁴ '-ire' is the third verb-ending.

¹⁵ this could be the beginning of another ending of the Infinitive: '-are'.

- 07 T alo::ra.
so::.
- 08 (0.2)
- 09 T tu apri::va puoi fare (.) a-pra::re,
you (S/HE) open::ed can you make (.) a-pra::re,¹⁶
- 10 T [((teacher knocks on the blackboard in correspondence with the "-are"
termination of the infinitive))
- 11 Sts ah aha AH:::
- Mau. 12 St ((Maurizio shakes 'no'))
- 13 T [apre::re,¹⁷
- 14 Sts [EH:::::
- Mau. 15 St ((Maurizio shakes 'no'))
- 16 T apri::re,¹⁸
to o::pen,
- Mau. 17 St ((Maurizio nods 'yes'))
- 18 T ((The teacher opens his arms, palms open downwards and looks at
Maurizio))
- 19 T allora apri::va, (.) lo scriviamo qua,
so (S/HE) open::ed, (.) we write it here,
((writing on the blackboard, while Maurizio turns round and goes back
to his seat.))

Maurizio's attempt to answer (line 3 and 5) is clearly problematic. Maurizio projects a list-format which he cuts off and does not pursue any further. He switches from speech to gestural communication (line 6). Having reciprocated the gesture, acknowledging Maurizio's inability to answer, the teacher initiates a series of three yes/no questions. Each includes a candidate answer: the first two elicit disconfirmation, while the third, and last, is correct. No-answer questions are used here to provide clues about the correct answer by excluding the incorrect alternatives.

This potential to guide recipients towards the correct conclusion through inferences from prior talk is also to be found in those turns which pupils produce after

¹⁶ The teacher assembles the beginning of the verb with the first verb-ending of the Infinitive, which is wrong.

¹⁷ beginning with the 2nd ending of the Infinitive

¹⁸ this is the right ending of the verbs of the 3rd group.

no-answers. In the two fragments below we can see that subsequent answering turns are produced following the no-answer. The arrowed lines in the two fragments below display that pupils draw inferences from the prior Q-A sequence.

30 Dark PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T >allora< durante la notte c'è il [↑]so::le?
 so during the night theres the sun
 >so< during the night is there the [↑]su::n?
- 02 St °no:..°
- 03 Sts no::::
- 04 T a[lo::ra::,
 s[o no:::w:,
- 05 St [°c'è il buio°
 [°there's dark°

31 Going South PM:FZ:22.geography

- 01 T [e:::- (2.2) po- [↑]po::i piano piano? il sole cosa
 [a:::nd-(2.2) th-[↑]the::n very slowly? the sun what does it
- 02 fa.
 do.
- 03 St ci riscalda.
 it warms us up.
- 04 St eh::[:
- 05 T cosa fa. <resta sempre a est;
 what does it do. <does it remain always at east;
- 06 (0.2)
- 07 St no:
- 08 St va:: a:l sud
 it go::es south
- 09 T va al sud:.
 it goes sou:th.

I will consider first #31 and return later to #30. The questioning turn in line 5 (what does it do. <does it remain always at east;), containing the no-answer question as its second TCU, is deployed in a sequence initiated with an open question (line 1), which pupils

fail to answer correctly. In line 5 the teacher re-issues the question (what does it do.), indicating that the answer provided in line 3 is not satisfactory. However, the repetition of the original question (line 5) is packaged in the turn with the rushing-through production of a second question which implies a negative answer. This latter question differs from the former because it incorporates a candidate answer (Pomerantz, 1988). The format of the sequence has a number of similarities with the example reported in Pomerantz (1988, p. 368):

[Med. 6]

(The high school attendance clerk called to speak with the mother but the absent student answered. When the clerk was told that the mother was not home, she sought some information regarding the absence from the student.)

Clerk: Well how- have you been home from school i:ll Renee,
(0.5)
Stud: Yeah
(2.0)
Clerk: Okay, when was the first day that you were out ill
(2.2)
Stud: I don' know
→ Clerk: Well you know how long it's bee, couple weeks? or what.
Stud: Yeh

There is a first answer (open answer) which goes unanswered, or incorrectly answered.

The questioner produces a second question (yes/no question) incorporating a “model for a satisfactory answer” (Pomerantz, 1988: p. 368).

“Given the difficulty that the student exhibited or claimed in answering the prior question, the clerk eased up in both her implied expectations of the student’s knowledge and in the specificity of the knowledge sought. The clerk provided an approximate or imprecise Candidate Answer, “couple of weeks ? or what.” By providing the Candidate Answer, she cued the student that, unlike the previous question, she now sought only an approximation. When recipients exhibit difficulty in supplying the information that interactants seek, interactants frequently give ‘cues’ or ‘hints’ or ‘prods’ by offering Candidate Answers” (Pomerantz, 1988: p369)

In #31, the question regarding the whereabouts of the sun after sunrise receives a first unsatisfactory answer in line 3. The subsequent question in line 5 implies a no-answer, but also suggests the type of knowledge the teacher was eliciting with the first question in line 1: the trajectory of the sun, with reference to the cardinal points. This

implication of the teacher's second question is thus displayed in the answer that the child produces in line 8. The sequence can be described according to the following pattern:

1. open question (line 1)
2. incorrect answer/failure to answer (line 3)
3. [re-issuing of the question] + [no-answer question] (line 5)
4. no-answer (line 7)
5. further elaboration (line 8)

In order to understand the similarities between #30 and #31 with respect to this pattern, it is important to consider #30 within the larger sequence where the no-answer question is produced, as shown below (the original fragment #30 highlighted by being in a square):

#30 ext. Dark PM:FZ:22.geography

- 1→ 01 T perché durante la notte cosa su↓cce:de
because during the night what ↓ha:ppens
- 02 (2.6)
- 2→ 03 T ↑cosa succe:de? durante la no[tte <quando noi dor-
↑what ha:ppens? during the ni[ght <when we sle-
↑((she gets up and moves towards the cupboard))
- 04 St [è un bel po' più FRE:ddo
[it is quite a lot CO:Lder
- 3→ 05 T cosa c'è::: in giro <c'è: la lu::ce? c'è::-
what is the:::re around <is the:re li::ght? the::re's-
↑((she turns slightly and then points to the window))
- 06 (.) cioè pe- pensa::te
(.)well thi-you th::ink
- 07 (1.4) / ((T. closes the cupboard door and the door of the room))
- 08 T cos'è? che fa diventare ca::l[do.
what is it? that makes hea::[th.
- 09 St [°il so'°

[°the su'°

10 (0.4)

11 St il sole
the sun

12 (0.6)

→ 13 T >allora< durante la notte c'è il ↑so::le?
>so< during the night is there the ↑su::n?

14 St °no:..°

15 Sts no::::

16 T a[lo::ra::,
s[o no:::w:,17 St [°c'è il buio°
[°there's dark°

18 (.)

19 T quindi LA- (.) tempe::-↓ra::-,-
so THE- (.)tempe::-↓ra::-,-

20 (.)

21 Sts tu:::ra:::?
tu:::re:::?22 T cosa fa <si alza o si abbassa di n[otte.
what does it <does it rise or fall at ni[ght.

The basic mechanism is as follows:

First, there is a failure to answer (line 2) or children produce an incorrect answer (line 4).

The teacher produces a two-TCU turn in which she reissues the question, which is followed by a no-answer question (line 5).

- 1 open question (line 1)
- 2 absence of an answer (line 2)

- 1 re-issuing of the question (line 3)
- 2 incorrect answer (line 4)
- 3 [reformulation of the prior question] + [no-answer question] (line 5)

However, by line 7 it is clear that children have problems in supplying the information the teacher is seeking. That is, the practice of packaging a no-answer question after the reformulation of the answer which pupils find difficult to answer (line 5) does not work here. The question hasn't been appropriately answered and, therefore, a second pair part is still expected. So the whole sequence we have considered (lines 1-7) can be described as a first pair part with a missing or incorrect second pair part.

In line 8, the teacher re-initiates the Q-A sequence in which she will eventually deploy a second instance of a no-answer question (line 13) that would finally lead children towards the answer that was sought for originally in line 1, and thus closing the Q-A sequence initiated with the question: 'what happens during the night'.

As shown in 3.1.a), one of the features characterizing no-answer questions is their being designed as connected and consequential from prior talk, which makes them hearable as a means to draw conclusions. The conjunctive token />allora</ which prefaces the question in line 13, clearly connects the question to prior talk: to the failure to answer in lines 1-7 and to the re-initiation of the Q-A sequence (line 8). The way in which no-answer questions function as a mechanism to deal with a missing or incorrect answer (lines 1-7) is strictly connected to their deployment in the sequence (following missing or incorrect answers) and to features of turn construction (conjunctive tokens and/or their being packaged as second component in a two-TCU turn). In this way, these questions are distinctively hearable as second attempts to elicit the correct answer which pupils failed in some earlier occurrences. These questions elicit a no-answer that disconfirms the candidate answer incorporated in the question itself. In example #30, the teacher achieves the production of the negative answer in unison (line 15) by connecting the question in line 13 to the prior Q-A sequence.

However, sometimes these questions makes relevant a further answering turn, besides the 'no', as shown in line 17. The answer 'there's dark' displays the pupil's further

elaboration following the 'no', which constitutes the answer the teacher was seeking at the beginning of the whole sequence.

Teachers seem to exploit this potential of no-answer questions to *initiate repair* sequences in which eventually *the repair will be accomplished by the pupils themselves*, as in the following examples taken from lesson on the natural sciences.

The teacher has elicited from pupils a long list of the components of soil. She now wants them to divide these components into two groups: non-living (minerals) and living beings (animals and vegetation). Here is her question.

#32 Two Groups (II) PM:LT:5:natural sciences

	01		(0.4)
	02	T	d'acco:rdo alri:ght
	03		(1.0)
→	04	T	↑seco:ndo voi, possiamo? dividere in due gruppi tu[tti = ↑in you:r view, can we? divide in two groups all =
	05	St	[si:.
	06	T	=questi eleme[nti; =these elemen[ts;
	07	St	[SI':::
	08	Sts	si:::
→	09	T	la pri:ma co::sa che, (.) ci viene in mente quale the fi:rst thi::ng that, (.) comes to our mind what
	10		può essere. can it be.
	11	St	↑i::o!
	12	T	vediamo <u>Laura</u> let's see <u>Laura</u>

Grammatically speaking, the question in line 4 is a yes/no question type, exactly like no-answer questions we have considered above. However, from a sequence organization perspective, this question has a number of different features in contrast with those identified

with regard to no-answer questions above, as highlighted in the previous description of this fragment reported in example #27 (p. 325).

The most significant differences concern the deployment of this answer with reference to prior talk. This question (#32) is produced as disjuncted from prior talk, initiating a new Q-A sequence. On this regard, consider the extended pause in line 3 preceding the delivery of the question and the disjunctive function of the turn in line 2, which concludes the prior sequence. Furthermore, the addressing token (↑seco:ndo voi,) prefacing the actual delivery of the question with its initial high pitch emphasises the beginning of a new Q-A sequence, rather than suggesting a connection with prior talk. The question addresses the whole class is thus designed to elicit a yes-answer.

In line 9 the teacher asks the pupils to mention the first thing they can think of concerning the two groups. A number of children have their hand up. One calls out to be selected to answer (line 11). The teacher then selects one child at a time.

We will consider the whole answering sequence, looking at the manner in which children answer to the question and paying attention to the teacher's turns subsequent to those answers. All the answers provided are incorrect. Children do not have an appropriate answer for the question, and this is particularly evident in the first attempt made by Laura (#33 and #34). However, the collaborative work done by the pupils in answering and by the teacher in doing reparative work on those answers eventually lead the children to the answer which is sought for. In all fragments the arrowed lines indicate the third-turn receipt after the pupils' tentative answers. These are then followed by a no-answer question (double-arrowed lines).

#33 Answer n. 1 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

01	T	vediamo <u>Laura</u> let's see <u>Laura</u>
02		(0.2)
L.	03	St la prima cosa è? che- (1.2) mhm- e:::- che resti di the first thing is? that(1.2)mhm- e:::- that remains of

- 04 anima::li oppure gli anima::li.
anima::ls or the a::nimals.
- 05 (0.8)
- 06 T resti di anima::li? e di anima:li. e [secondo voi =
remains of a::nimals? and of a:nimals. and [in your view =
- L. 07 St [°o anima-°
- ⇒ 08 T = questa è la prima co::sa? (.) importa::[nte::?
= this is the first thi::ng? (.)impo::rta[nt::?
- L. 09 St [°sì°.

The lesson follows an observation session. The teacher has brought in class a turf of grass for observation. Among the items that children have mentioned and which are listed on the blackboard as being present and observable under the soil, animals and parts of animals (like shells, fur, small dead animals) are indicated together with grass, leaves, roots, pebbles, sand, clay, rocks, and other elements. In her answer Laura mentions animals and parts of animals.

The gap in line 5 projects a non positive acknowledgment. In line 6 the teacher constructs a two-TCU turn in which she packages a repetition of the answer as the first unit and a question as the second. Repeating the child's prior turn is a very frequent practice to acknowledge the answer in the classroom (cfr. Chapter 6). However, the delay first, and then the reformulation of the question after the repetition imply that the question hasn't been satisfactorily answered.

Two observations can be made. First, in repeating the answer the teacher replaces the 'oppure' ('or') produced by Laura in line 4 with the conjunction 'e' ('and'). This replacement doesn't pass unnoticed by Laura (line 7), who repairs the teacher's repetition by repeating the conjunction. Second, Laura seems to contrast the teacher's negative evaluation of the answer by providing a positive answer (line 9). One reason for her keeping the position against the teacher's feedback seems to depend on the teacher's failure to fully understand her answer. Consider how the sequence develops, as shown in #32(ext.) below:

#33 Answer n. 1 (ext.) PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 10¹⁹ e tutte le altre cose? [ma scusami eh-
and all the other things? [but excuse me eh-
- L. 11 St [i resti di animali (poi anche)
[the remains of animal (then also)
- 12 sono:?-
a:re?-
- 13 T non dobbiamo mica escludere le altre co[::se attenzione eh
we must not exclude the other thi[:ngs be careful eh
- L. 14 St [sì ma quelli,
[yes but those-
- 15 (magari) [°fanno parte di altre°-
(probably) [°belongs to other°-
- 16 T [no:, no; no.
- 17 (.)
- 18 T momento
wait a moment

The manner in which talk develops shows that the question in line 8, produced almost to express disbelief, was indeed designed to project a no-answer. On the other hand, Laura insists in her point that what she meant was to indicate only *one* of the two categories, so that all the rest can go in the other (line 14), thus substantially disagreeing with the teacher's comment. That Laura's insistence in defending her own point of view is grounded in what she thinks a misunderstanding on the teacher's side of her previous answer, and mainly on the teacher's failure to understand the meaning of Laura's 'oppure' in line 4, is clear in the fragment below, where Laura reformulates her prior answer. This time she clearly indicates that she refers to *only one* group, as shown in the beginning of turn in line 28.

#34 Answer n. 2 PM:LT:2:natural sciences/p.37:01-23

- L. 28 St uno- uno pu- può essere, (0.2) d- degli anima:- dei resti di
one- one ca- can be, (0.2) of- of anima:- of remains of
- 29 animali o anima::li.
animals or a::nimals.

¹⁹ In each fragment of this section the line numbers follow from the previous excerpt, in order to maintain the sense of how the whole sequence develops.

- 30 T res[ti di anima:[li o anima[li
rem[ains of a[:nimals or[animals
- 31 St [.hh=uh!
- 32 St [↑io lo-
[↑io kno-
- 33 St [lo so:: io!
[I do know:: it!
- ⇒ 34 T la roccia? è un anima:le o:- o un resto di anima::le;
rocks? are a:nimals o:r- or a remain of an a::nimal;
- 35 (0.2)
- 36 St uhm [ehe eh
- L. 37 St [no:!
- 38 T no::.
- 39 St non è nie[nite
it is not[hing

This time the teacher's repetition in line 30 preserves the 'o' /'or'/ in Laura's answer and yet the answer isn't accepted as correct. After the repetition of the answer, the teacher designs a question (line 34) that projects a no-answer (line 37), whose function is to identify the repairable in Laura's prior answer. Similarly to the no-answer questions we have seen above, once again this type of practice provides for a further answering opportunity besides the 'no', as shown in line 39. It is rather clear that children did not know how to classify rocks. On the other hand, the teacher's question in line 35 has made rather clear that rocks need been classified somehow. This is how the sequence develops:

#35 Answer n. 3 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 40 T [allora attenzione<↑vediamo intanto [cosa dice:,
[so now careful <↑let's see now wh[at does thi:s,
- Rit. 41 St [>io<
- 42 (.)
- 43 T °cosa di'°
°what do you s'°
- Ant. 44 St in un insieme?- c:- ci metti tutti i vegetali, (.) in un
in one set?- you p:-put all the vegetation, (.) in

- 45 altro insieme? tu::tti resti di:: animali e:: tuh- gli
another set? a::ll the remains o::f animals a::nd thuh- the
- 46 animali.=
animals.=
- 47 T = alo:ra. vegetali da una pa:rte, anima:li,
= so:. vegetation on one si:de, a:nimals,
- 48 St .hh=uh!/((a few children are raising hands))
- 49 T [dall'al[tra.
[on the [other.
- 50 St [°no::°
- 51 St [io posso di:r[telo
[can I sa:y it [to you
- ⇒ 52 T [allora io-uh::- rifaccio la domanda
[now I- uh::- ask the question again
- 53 allora e la roccia, la sabbia,
so and rocks, sand,
- 54 Sts (4.0)/((children are bidding to answer))
- 55 T l'argilla?
clay?
- 56 (0.2)
- 56 T dove li metto. <sono ani[ma::li?
where do I put them. <are they a[::nimals?
- Ant. 58 St [lì nei vegeta:li
[there in the vegeta:tion

In his answer (lines 44-46) Antonio elaborates on Laura's first suggestion by adding a new category, besides animals, for vegetation which is supposed to include rocks. Antonio's assumption that rocks belong to vegetation results clear from his answer (line 58) to the teacher's subsequent no-answer question (lines 52-56). Antonio's answer is repeated, again, by the teacher in lines 47 and 49. This time the subsequent no-answer question is prefaced by the teacher's announcement that she will repeat once again the same question (line 52), emphasising that the request hasn't been satisfied yet. This confirms the teacher's orientation to this questioning format as a form of *repair-initiations* designed to indicate where the problem lays with the pupils' answer, ie. to locate the repairable.

In the next extract, the answer formulated by Rita (lines 3-6) seems to satisfy the requirements of the question made by the teacher in the first place:

#36 Answer n. 5 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 01 T va be::ne. <vediamo un'altra::, (0.2) un'altra proposta
alri::ght. <let's see anothe::r, (0.2) another suggestion
↑((she turns her gaze to the whole
class and tosses her head slightly, at the same time Rita, who was holding
up her hand, puts her hand down and gears to speak))
- 02 di:- ((T. waves her arm left and right))
o:f-
- Rit. 03 St ḥ-(le er[be]?-
ḥ-(gras[s]?-)
- 04 T [di divisione in gruppi.
[if diviosion into groups.
- Rit. 05 St hẹ-=gli animali che si trovano in:- nell'erbe .hhh e:: da
hẹ-=animals which are in:- in the grass.hhh a::nd in
- 06 un'altra parte i sass::i, l'argilla:::,
another side pe::bbles, cla::y,
- 07 T >allora< da una parte le erbe?
>so< on one side grass?
- 08 (.)
- Rit. 09 St con gli animali.
with animals.
- 10 T con gli animali. [e dall'altra parte?
with animals. [and on the other side?
- Rit. 11 St [°si°
[°yes°
- Rit. 12 St >e dall'altra parte,< l'argilla, °la sabbia, il terriccio,°
>and on the other side,< clay, °sand, (DER.from 'earth'),°
- 13 (2.0)/((she directs her gaze from Rita to the other children, with a sort
of a nodding and then moves from the desk to the blackboard))
- 14 T va be:ne a::llora riflettiamo su quest'ultima [proposta
oka:y no::w let's think about this last sugges[tion
- X. 15 St [i::o:
- 16 (0.2)

From the manner in which Rita constructs her answer (lines 3-6) it is clear that what she says isn't the result of a prior knowledge about how elements can be classified into categories

such as minerals, vegetation and animals; nor the result of an abstract reasoning about the similarities between vegetation and animals which, being both organisms, should be put in the same category, separated from minerals. Rather, Rita's answer seems to be the product of her having understood on what elements prior answers have been constructed and the type of treatment provided by the teacher by means of no-answer questions that incorporate the candidate answer that was sought for (Pomerantz, 1988).

Before analysing the details of Rita's final suggestion, consider the overview of the talk so far. The first proposal made by Laura in extracts #33 and #34 indicates animals as the first main category. In #34, the teacher's receipts the answer, as follows:

- 30 T res[ti di anima:[li o anima[li
rem[ains of a[:nimals or[animals
- 31 St [.hh=uh!
- 32 St [↑io lo-
[↑io kno-
- 33 St [lo so:: io!
[I do know:: it!
- ⇒ 34 T la roccia? è un anima:le o:- o un resto di anima::le;
rocks? are a:nimals o:r- or a remain of an a::nimal;

Thus, it is through the no-answer question in line 34 that the teacher cues the children that rocks should be included in the candidate answer. And, indeed, the following answer by Antonio (#35) is meant to include rocks within the vegetation group, as line 58 shows. In other words, it is clear that children do not know how to group together all those elements they have observed as being part of a turf of grass. Being asked to divide all those things into two groups, the first who is selected to answer has a try, the teacher provides a feedback, and the next respondent elaborates his own answer upon his understanding of the prior Q-A sequence. From the treatment that the teacher has provided to Laura's answer, Antonio has understood that the other group should include rocks, which he establishes must be that of vegetation. At this point it is the re-issuing of the question about rocks made by the teacher so

emphatically (#35, line 52) that tells children that putting that animals on one side and vegetation on the other does not solve the problem, because in this way the subsets are three: animals, vegetation, and all the remaining stuff (rocks, sand and clay).

Now, observing how Rita describes the division she makes, it is clear that this has been worked out from the conversation so far. It is clear that they have to make two groups out of three, and it is also clear from the teacher's question that rocks, clay and sand belong to a category a part. Therefore animals and vegetation (grass) should go together. It also clear that she does not know that animals and vegetation belong to the same group because they are living organisms. However, she has made the inference that they should go together. This is how she elaborates the relationship between animals and grass:

#36 Answer n. 5 PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 01 T va be::ne. <vediamo un'altra::, (0.2) un'altra proposta
alri::ght. <let's see anothe::r, (0.2) another suggestion
 ↑((she turns her gaze to the whole class and tosses her head slightly, at the same time Rita, who was holding up her hand, puts her hand down and gears to speak))
- 02 di:- ((T. waves her arm left and right))
o:f-
- Rit. 03 St hḵ-(le er[be]?-
 → hḵ-(gras[s?)-
- 04 T [di divisione in gruppi.
 [if division into groups.
- Rit. 05 St heḵ==gli animali che si trovano in:- nell'erbe .hhh e:: da
 heḵ==animals which are in:- in the grass.hhh a::nd in
- 06 un'altra parte i sass::i, l'argilla:::,
 another side pe::bbles, cla::y,

Animal and vegetations should go together because animals are *in* the grass; hence, presumably, pebbles, clay and rocks being under the surface of the soil must go in the other group.

The whole interaction described in the sequence proceeds on the basis that when children answered 'yes' to the first teacher's question in #32 initiating the sequence they did

not know how to divide all the items into two groups. And yet they said they could. The format and the sequential deployment of that answer gave them indication that they should answer positively to the answer. The Q-A sequence that follows that first question is the result of the conjoint work of attempts made by children plus the reparative work done by the teacher by means of no-answer questions which incorporate elements guiding children towards the candidate answer. At the end of the process the answer is finally produced as an interactional collaborative activity where they have used their ability to recognize the conventions of question construction employed by the teacher to guide them towards the correct answer.

4. Building on answers to prior questions

The analysis of the sequence on the categories to classify elements in the natural sciences that we have seen in section n. 3 has focused on the teacher's methodical practices in constructiong and deploying questions in order to lead children towards new concepts. The analysis has shown also that children's answers are built on their ability to understand how features of question construction work in terms of instructing them as to the type of answer that is being sought (Pomerantz, 1988).

In this section we will look at a Q-A sequence taken from a pre-history lesson, whose topic are the primordial needs of human beings. The analysis here will focus mainly on the format of the pupils' answer. Focusing on the verbal material used by pupils in the production of a series of answers, an underlying pattern emerges showing that each single answer is the result of cumulative interpretation that pupils do on previous answers. Here is how the teacher initiates the sequence:

#37 Live together PM:LL:6:prehistory/p.13

→ 01 T [↑]perché >secondo voi l'uomo ha bisogno di vivere insieme agli
[↑]why >according to you do men need to live with other

02 altri.<
men.<

03 (0.4)

04 St eh::[::: / ((raising his hand))

05 T [vediamo chi VUOLE DIRE qualco[sa
[let's see who WANTS SAY somet[hing

06 St [i-
[m-

07 (1.0)

08 T liberamente
whatever

09 (2.6)
((at least 5 pupils raise their hands; the teacher monitors the class))

The question in line 1 presents a number of features in common with other questions designed to initiate a new sequence, as illustrated in #32: the question is the only unit of the turn, it is delivered with a distinctive high pitch and initial stressed intonation in the first element, the question is addressed to the whole class by means of the questioning phrase /'secondo voi' / 'according to you'/. This question, in particular, makes relevant a list of different "correct" answers.

The first two answers are reproduced below. The bold characters highlight verbal material which is recurrently used in the sequence of answers from different pupils:

#38 Answer 1 PM:LL:6:prehistory/p.14

01 T An[to'

Ant. 02 St [che:- pe::r andare a caccia e:: **ammazzare gli animali**
→ [tha:t- in order to:: go hunting a::nd **kill ferocious**

03 **feroci**
animals

04 (0.2)

#39 Answer 2 PM:LL:6:prehistory/p.15

01 T ↑se qualcu:no deve dire la ↑stessa cosa di Antonio,
↑if so:mebody has to say the ↑same thing that Antonio (said),

02 (0.2)

- 03 giù la mano quando interverrà la prossima volta dirà
down the hand when (HE)'ll speak next time he'll say
- 04 qualcos'altro.
something else.
- 05 (.)
- 06 Rosa?
- Rosa 07 St **per cacciare me::glio.**
→ **in order to hunt be::tter.**
- 08 (0.2)
- 09 St eh hhhhhh.
- 10 T è la stessa cosa che ha detto Anto:nio.
(IT)is the same thing that (HE)said Antonio
it's the same thing that Anto:nio said.

The second answer essentially repeats Antonio's in #38:2, although the teacher has just requested children not to do so in #39:1-4. Rosa's answer apparently contradicts the teacher's request not to repeat what has been said by other children.

However, the way in which Rosa constructs her answer displays that she doesn't treat the teacher's turn as applying to her answer. In particular, the stress in /me::glio./ be::tter./, emphasises this adverb as a key element which differentiates her answer from Antonio's. Through this adverb, Rosa introduces a **comparative dimension** in her answer which wasn't present in Antonio's prior answer. The way in which she designs her answer displays her understanding of the teacher's question as implying an implicit comparison: 'why does man need to live with other humans *rather than alone*', which she overtly responds to. But instead, in line 10, the teacher treats Rosa's contribution as a repetition: /è la stessa cosa che ha detto Anto:nio. /it's the same thing that Anto:nio said./

If we were to limit our observation to these couple of answers, we would consider this as *just a case of repetition in answering which gets sanctioned*. However, the way in which the answering sequence develops shows that there is a precise practice at work, which consists of building individual answers out of material taken from previous answering turns. A

methodical practice seems to emerge, whereby children tend to take either words or concepts from prior answers as material with which to construct their own personal contribution.

So, if we look at the third answer, we see that this pupil elaborates on the comparative concept which Rosa has first understood as implied in the question in #37: “[↑]perché
>secondo voi l’uomo ha bisogno di vivere insieme agli altri.< / [↑]why
>according to you do men need to live with other men.<”. The two children –Rosa in #39 and the pupil in #40 below- have understood that the teacher’s question implies a comparison between the advantages and disadvantages of social life and life in isolation. Although the teacher’s question doesn’t explicitly phrase the question in that way, Rosa first and other children afterwards seem to elaborate this point, taking hints and suggestions from prior answers.

Rosa expresses this comparative dimension in fragment #39 by means of ‘meglio/better’. This same concept is then more directly addressed, and more overtly referred to in #40, when the pupil explains the negative consequences of living in isolation. In line 4, the pupil makes an explicit reference to this so far implicit second term of comparison, by using an hypothetical negative if-clause: ‘if they didn’t live in groups’:

#40 Answer n. 3 PM:LL:6.prehistory/p.15

- 01 (0.4) ((T. points to another girl))
- 02 St1 perché così:(.) tutti si: possono aiutare tra di lo:ro,
because in this wa:y, (.) they a:ll can help each o:ther,
- 03 .hhh [↑]e:- e così:(.) possono fare tante cose fra di loro
.hhh [↑]a:n- and so:(.) they can do many things among themselves
- 04 <perché [.hhh >se no:n:< non era:no in (gruppi),
<because [.hhh >if they we::ren’t< they weren’t in (groups),
- 05 St2 [(lo volevo dire anch’io)
[(I wanted to say it too)
- 06 St1 uh- uno non ave:va il suo lavoro e loro allora non .hhh non
uh- one didn’t ha:ve his job and so they didn’t .hhh didn’t
- 07 avevano il cibo:: uh- i:n abbonda:nza.
have foo::d uh- enou::gh.

08 (0.2)

Therefore, as Rosa has taken from Antonio the **'hunting' concept**, to which she has added the **comparative dimension**, now, in the third answer, this pupil elaborates further the comparison component which Rosa has introduced, adding a reference to the benefits of the **division of labour**.

This building on prior answers by taking words and concepts to be further elaborated, and producing slightly changed contributions is again very evident in the fourth answer given by Giada, shown below:

#41 Answer n. 4 PM:LL:6:history/p.16

01 T Giad[a
 Gia. 02 St [oppur' ↑per difendersi? meglio °perché°
 → [or ↑in order to defend themselves? better ° because°
 03 se no uno? incontra un animale feroce non pote:va
 otherwise one? meets a ferocious animal he cou:ldn't
 → 04 difen[dersi
 defend [himself
 05 T [da so:lo.
 [on his o:wn.
 06 (0.2)

In her answer Giada produces a combination of a number of elements taken from prior answers by Antonio and Rosa. She uses the exact repetition of one element which is present in Antonio's answer: **'animale feroce / ferocious animal'**. She also takes from Rosa the **comparative dimension: 'better'**. She combines the two and adds to it her individual contribution by using the verb **'to defend'**, as a variation from prior **'to kill'** or **'to hunt'**.

We therefore begin to see how the design of answers seems to reveal aspects of a *collaborative and cumulative work in answering*, which creates a web of references. Rather than producing totally diverse and original answers, children seem to explore the opportunities offered by prior talk, each time moving one step forward in the path designed by

prior answers. Children seem to orient to this collaborative mechanism, where a major role is played by a very locally deployed activity, especially on occasions where the question requires a number of different possibly correct answers. Although they are providing individual answers, the design of their answers reveals that they are orienting to prior talk as a main resource to accomplish the task of answering.

Further evidence is provided in the connections that the fifth answer below establishes with prior answer number 3:

#42 Answer n. 5 PM:LL:6:history/p.16

01 T Andre:a

An. 02 St (loro) stavano insieme perché (.) .hh **si costruivano**
→ (they) live together because (.) .hh **they made**

An. 03 **le armi e (dopo) 'evano il loro mestiere.**
→ **arms and (then they) 'ave their own craft.**

04 (0.6)

05 T (e quindi) facevano il loro mestie::re.
(and so) they did their own cra::ft.

Andrea's proposal focuses on two concepts: **'making arms'** and **'the division of labour'**. While the first is a variation from Giada's prior reference to the need of **defending themselves** (#41), the latter seems to be taken from answer number three –reproduced again below- , where this idea has been firstly introduced (arrowed lines and bold):

#40 Answer n. 3 PM:LL:6.prehistory/p.15

01 (0.4) ((T. points to another girl))

→ 02 St1 perché così:(.) tutti si: possono aiutare tra di lo:ro,
because in this wa:y, (.) they a:ll can help each o:ther,

→ 03 .hhh ↑e:- e così: , possono fare tante cose fra di loro
.hhh ↑a:n- and so: , they can do many things among themselves

→ 04 <perché [.hhh >se no:n:< non era:no in (gruppi),
<because [.hhh >if they we::ren't< they weren't in (groups),

05 St2 [(lo volevo dire anch'io)
[(I wanted to say it too)

→ 06 St1 uh- uno non ave:va il suo lavoro e loro allora non .hhh non
uh- one didn't ha:ve his job and so they didn't .hhh didn't

- 07 avevano il cibo:: uh- i:n abbonda:nza.
 have foo::d uh- enou::gh.
- 08 (0.2)

The child here seems to refer to the advantages connected with the social organization of labour which is made possible by living in groups rather than in isolation.

In the same way, later in the sequence, the quite erratic answer produced by Massi (answer 9), following a few unsuccessful attempts to answer, offers the clue enabling Rita to produce her answer about food.

#43 Answer n. 9 PM:LL:6:history/pp.20-21

- 01 T aspe[ttiamo. Massimo
 let' [s wait. Massimo
- 02 T [(pointing at Massimo))
- Mas. 03 St eh- perché così se per esempio come c'è disegnato
 eh- because in this way if for instance as in the drawing
- 04 qua (0.2) se per esempio una tigre (cacciava) un- un mammoth
 here(0.2) if for example a tigre (hunted) a- a mammoth
- 05 (0.2) poi dopo::, (.) poi dopo:, la tigre, (.) se- se-
 (0.2) then after::r, (.) then after:, the tiger, (.) if- if-
- 06 uh- qua-quando- s::e la tigre vedeva come si dice (.) tutte
 uh- wh- when- i::f the tiger saw how can I say (.) all
- 04 quelle- tutti que- quegli uomini tutti in- eh- uh-
 the- all the- these men all in eh- uh-
- 05 tutti in gruppo, e dopo si spaventava e andava via e
 all in group, and then it got frightened and went away and
- 06 gli uomini si potevano prendere (.) i::l mammoth da
 men could take for themselves (.) the:: mammoth
- 07 [mangiare.
 [to eat.
- 08 Sts [(little laughter))

The eating of the mammoth suggested by Massimo has given Rita the idea about the food, and how to cook it ('fire', in line 7), as displayed in her answer below. It is worth observing also that again Rita is taking the notion of food, as suggested from the prior answer, but that she re-proposes the 'comparative' dimension by using 'più cibo' / 'more food':

#44 Answer n. 10 PM:LL:6:history/p.21

- Rit. 01 St [(altrimenti,) (or ,)]
- 02 T [(Le::i)]
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 St maestra ma-
teacher but-
- Rit. 05 St si p- può servire anche? (.) a cercare più ci::bo: ()
→ one c-it could be useful also?(.)to look for more foo::d()
- 06 T può servire anche a cercare più ci[bo = però se c- ci STA::te
it could also be useful to look fo[r more food=but if you ARE
- Rit. 07 St [oppure il fuO:co
[or fI:RE
- 08 T riflette::ndo, più o meno state ripetendo delle cose che
thinki::ng, more or less you are repeating things that have
- 09 St
- 10 T sono [state già dett:[e
alr[eady be sa::i[d
- 11 St [eh
- 12 St [il fuoco
[the fire

Borrowing concepts and lexical material from other children's answers, as shown in this sequence, is also captured by the teacher's comment in lines 6-10. This practice is openly referred to by the teacher as 'more or less repeating things that have already been said'. By defining the children's behaviour in this way, the teacher analyzes and sanctions this practice as a 'natural' common practice, which they usually enact 'without thinking', taking it that children will normally 'more or less' repeat things which have been previously said. And that it involves special thinking – that is 'reflecting' - to realize that what they are doing is exactly so.

Concluding this section, we observe that in accomplishing the task answering pupils monitor carefully the answers produced by other pupils. This happens either when the class produces choral answers, and also when only one precise answer is requested as an individual

production. We have seen that when the teacher addresses the class as a whole, children analyse their classmates' earlier production in order to recognize the answer which is projected from the first syllables, and to be able to join in. When, however, the question is addressed to a single pupil, and it has only one possible correct answer, the pupils in the audience monitor the details of the behaviour of the selected pupil so as to be able to produce claims of knowledge, offers to answer, in case there should be a delay in answering. They also pay attention to the actual answer, in order to have grounds for further comments after the answer has been made. Very often in this position children register if the answer is a repetition of some prior or say that they would have answered in the same way. This monitoring activity, however, is a very useful resource in situations when a list of items is made relevant by the teacher's question. The analysis of the features of a ten-answer series shows the ways in which each pupil elaborates on concepts and ideas that have been introduced before, making variations and combining material from other answers.

5. Recognizing the action which is embodied in the format of questions: positive evaluation or initiating repair.

In the discussion so far, I have illustrated two main strategies that pupils use to produce the candidate 'correct' answer. These are not necessarily connected to any precise prior knowledge of the substance of the answer; but we have seen that, in their search for the precise answer, pupils orient to the question as designed precisely to instruct them on the preferred response. So, for instance, pupils listen to prior talk and, on the basis of their recognition of conventions for the construction and deployment of questions, they are able to construct their answers in accordance to the preference organization of the question-type. We have observed how this practice works in the case of yes/no answer.

Furthermore, in order to arrive at the correct answer, resources from prior answers which are given by other pupils are used to construct individual answers to open questions. In contexts where more than one answer satisfies the requirements of the question, the analysis of a series of answers produced in response to one open question has shown that these are the result of elaborating prior material which others have previously introduced.

In this last section I will focus on a third resource. Observing one sequence from a mathematics lesson, we see that coming to an answer reflects the respondent's *understanding of the course of actions* embodied in the prior talk.

Consider the fragment below:

#45 Boxes PM:FZ:21:5/01-07

- 39 T: si SA::nno²⁰? le sc[a:tole Janin
 one knows (PASSIV.) the boxes Janin
 can we KNO::W²¹? the number of bo[:xes Janin
 [(J. turns to the teacher)]
- 40 Ja: no.
- 41 (0.4)
- 42 Sts: SI' [:::::
 YE: [:::::S
- 43 Sts: [sì [:::::
 [ye [:::::
- 44 Ja: [SI' <NO:ve.
 [YES <NI:ne.
- 45 (3.0)

One relevant feature of this fragment is the production of both alternative answers to a yes/no question by the same pupil (line 40, then line 44). A second observation regards the

²⁰ In this use of 'sapere' (literally 'to know') the reference to the number of boxes is implied. It can be useful to point out that the verb 'sapere' has the meaning of 'having access to specific knowledge, notions, information', therefore having the correct information. This is coincident with one of the first meanings of 'knowing' in English. However, different meanings, which equally expressed in English with the verb 'to know', such as 'knowing a place, a book, an idea' or 'knowing somebody because you've met him/her' is conveyed in Italian with the verb: 'conoscere'.

The teacher uses an impersonal form of the verb 'si sanno'. In this way she is referring to a piece of information that is available to *anyone*, not just to the addressed pupil.

²¹ see note 1.

construction of line 44: besides answering 'yes' according to the requirements of the question, Janin packages also some extra-information, namely the number of the boxes. In line 44 Janin very clearly self-repairs her prior answer. However, she does more than that. By not only confirming that the number of boxes is known and available, but also adding the answer to the question –and moreover the correct answer- , it looks as though she did possess the information when answering in line 40, when she chose to say 'no' apparently on grounds other than the possession of the precise information.

It looks as though the question is hearable by Janin as having two possible meanings. We know that in answering to questions recipients' inferences on the purposes of the question are relevant for the type of answer (Pomerantz, 1988). Janin's assumptions regarding the purpose of the teacher in addressing to her that precise question seem to be:

1. the teacher literally wants to know whether the information (the number of the boxes) is available;
2. the question is produced as a repair-initiation on Janin's prior answer.

The first answer reflects the first understanding. The second reveals that, at that point, Janin has realized that the question was produced as a repair-initiation.

I will now illustrate how the teacher's question arises from prior talk and how Janin arrives at dealing with this dilemma. But, first, some background information.

The 'Boxes' fragment belongs to a larger sequence from a mathematics lesson. It is afternoon and the class has just returned to work after break-time. A number of children are still out. The teacher has already set to work those who are in the class. The activity consists in reading aloud a problem on division. One girl, Vincenza, is selected to read the problem. In the problem the actual question is missing. The task for the children consists in finding out which is the appropriate question in order to solve the problem.

Prior to the fragment in #45, the reading has been interrupted because of the late arrival of some girls from the playground. A second reading is then initiated by the teacher, who reads from the blackboard, where she has previously written the main data; her reading is then taken over by Vincenza, on completion of which children engage in a number of different activities, including offering alternatively one of the two possible candidate solutions. Although the problem is a very simple one -54 pieces of soap have to be put in nine boxes- children suggest both options as possible: (1) how many boxes in all and (2) how many pieces of soap in each box.

5.1. The overall structural organization of the sequence

The sequence has a rather complex structure, since a number of different actions occur at the same time and prior to the targeted fragment. In order to help the reader I have numbered the lines with reference to the activities described below:

- (1) a dispute which Maurizio engages with Vincenza about the correct reading of the word 'saponette' ('pieces of soaps') at which a third boy is laughing at (lines: 13; 17; 20-21; 25-26; 24)
- (2) one girl is collecting some material from the floor to be taken to the teacher (lines: 22; 27)
- (3) the comment produced by Riccardo pointing out that Vincenza's incoming just repeats what he himself had said before (line 37).

This is the whole sequence. Arrowed lines indicate the turns where the pupils respond to the requirements of the activity:

#46 Boxes (ext.) PM:FZ:21:5/01-07

```

07   T   alo::RA::: comINCIA:- >↓alo:ra<-
      no:::W      (it stA:RTS- >↓no:w<-
08     (0.2)

```


- 09 T una profumiE::RA ME:tte cinquanta[quattro::,
a perfumes selle::R PU:ts fifty[fo::ur,
- Vin. 10 St [quattro
[four
- 11 St saponette in nove [scatole
soaps in nine [boxes
- 12 T [↑IN no::[ve sca:tole:::
[↑IN ni::[ne bo:xe:::s
- Mau. 13 St [ma che ()
(1) [but what ()
- Vin. 14 St qua:::n[te,
ho::w m[any,
- 16 T [s:::[::
- Mau. 17 St [sapone[:tte::!/((correcting Vincenza's reading))
(1) [so:[a:ps !
- Ric. 18 St [((raises his hand))
- X 19→ St io lo so !
I know it!
- Vin. 20 St saponette (ho detto)=/((turning to Maurizio))
(1) soaps (I said)=
- Mau. 21 St =(ho capito ['ponette)
(1) =(I understood ['oops)
- H 22 St [mae::stra:::
(2) [te::ache::r
((collecting some sheets of paper from the floor and going towards the teacher))
- Ism. 23→ St [>quante scatole< [in tut[to
[>how many boxes< [in a[ll
- Mic. 24 St [ah::: aha ah:::
(1)
- Vin. 25 St [capisci sempre =
(1) [you always =
- (1) 26 St = male [te
= misun[derstand
- H 27 St [ho trovato delle schede per terra
(2) [I found some paper on the floor
- Jan. 28→ St [((J. raises her hand))
- Jan. 29→ St quante scatole in tutto::?
how many boxes in a::ll?
- 30 (0.6)/((some talk is audible))

(‘si sanno/does anyone know’). In this way no reference is made to any of the two different suggestions proposed by the children in lines 23-34, but at the same time the teacher implicitly suggests that the information is available to everybody, not just to the selected pupil. In addition, it can be noted also that the teacher has so far resisted providing any feedback or clues whatsoever on which of the candidates is the correct answer. The sequence structure can be described as follows:

1ST ACTION: lines 7-12	Eliciting responses from pupils about the appropriate question to the problem	Reading the problem
Inserted sequence 1: lines 13-21 lines 24-26	Dispute between Maurizio and Vincenza about Vincenza’s reading	
Inserted sequence 2: lines 22,27	Announcement regarding pieces of papers	
2nd ACTION: arrowed lines	Pupils’ responses to the task of finding the question to the problems	
3rd ACTION: lines 35, 39	Teacher’s providing feedback to the pupils’ responses	Yes/no question
Inserted sequence 3: line 37	Riccardo claims the authorship of the answer	

The rather complex structure of the sequence has a number of consequences. First, there are two alternative and competing answers to which the teacher provides feedback. Second, in line 39 the teacher turn is addresses Janin, but the way in which this turn is designed – the impersonal verb form - implicitly suggests that the information elicited is a matter of common knowledge.

In this context, therefore, the reason for addressing Janin instead of any other pupil among those who have provided a response remains rather problematic. At this point, Janin has at least two possible understandings of the reasons why the question is being addressed to her. The basis on which Janin, and other children, might interpret the teacher's question is its third-turn position, in which a response to/assessment of pupils' prior attempts might be expected. Hence, it might seem to Janin either:

1. the teacher produces a literal question which implies 'no' as the answer. The teacher addresses Janin because her prior suggestion was correct. The teacher's question indirectly serves the function of repairing those who have provided the other question as the solution ('-How many pieces of soaps in each box?');
or
2. the teacher addresses Janin because she was wrong. The answer to the question is 'yes'. The question is used to initiate repair precisely on Janin's prior suggestion.

5.2 Janin's first understanding: the teacher endorses her prior response

Before proceeding, it might be useful to clear away those hypotheses which are external or peripheral to the interactional work, such as some possible inattentiveness²³ or mishearing on Janin's side, as being the cause for the wrong answer. For this purpose, the analysis of non-verbal behaviour and, in particular, the precise timing of Janin's turning her head to face the teacher will provide some insights into her degree of involvement and participation in the Q-A actions.

²³ Of course, a certain degree of inattentiveness is involved in Janin's behaviour. Especially if we consider that the problem has been read twice, that the main information is also on the blackboard, and that the teacher has drawn attention to it by highlighting it on the blackboard and by asking the children to do the same on their note-books. However, if we take into account the presence and deployment of multiple sign systems (Goodwin, 2000) in this setting, and the general standard of attention displayed by the class, Janin's behaviour doesn't reveal any particular level of inattentiveness. I am not referring here to any specific analysis or measurement of the level of attention as it would be possible to test experimentally. I am merely arguing that, for the purpose of this analysis, Janin's behaviour conforms to the expected standard of attentiveness, as shown by the participants' behaviour.

5.2.1. *Features of non-verbal behaviour*

In the course of the delivery of the question, we see Janin turning to the teacher, thus displaying her involvement in answering the question. Before that, she had been engaged in some interaction with Riccardo, the boy sitting next to her. However, she displays her involvement in the interaction with the teacher *before* the teacher addresses her at the end of the question, as indicated in the gloss to line 39 in the fragment above. This, together with the teacher's high volume and stressed delivery of the question, might constitute sufficient grounds for not supporting the idea that her failure in producing the correct answer is caused by her inattentiveness.

On the other hand, the inspection of the non-verbal behaviour of participants and, in particular, the timing of Janin's turning to the teacher before the question-unit reaches its possible completion, supports the interpretation that the teacher addresses the question specifically to Janin *because she has turned her gaze* to the teacher at that precise moment, rather than the opposite (ie. that *Janin is turning to the teacher because of her being summoned*).

Other observations support this conclusion. In the course of the teacher's delivery of the question, hardly any pupil is looking towards the teacher. In addition, at the time of Janin's disengagement with Riccardo and her re-engagement in the activity of solving the problem - coinciding with the delivery of the question's last item - *Janin is the only pupil* who actually is looking at the teacher and overtly listening to what the teacher is doing. I am suggesting that Janin's very evident head and body turning from Riccardo to the teacher differentiates her very distinctively from the other children with regards to the way in which they display their involvement in the activity. And that, because of her distinctive display of reciprocity, the teacher addresses the question to her. As Heath (1984) has described the display of reciprocity

through body posture and gaze shift systematically elicits an action from the co-interactant (op. cit.p.251)²⁴

It is useful to recall that on this occasion, as very frequently happens in classrooms, this activity makes relevant the participants' orientation to a number of different kinds of semiotic resources (Goodwin, 2000), which are all co-present and which have to be attended to by pupils, often simultaneously: the blackboard where the teacher has written the main information, the book where Vincenza is reading from, the notebook on which each student is working, besides the teacher's herself. From the video recordings we know that the problem is written on the blackboard, from which the teacher reads (line 9). In addition, prior to the sequence she has also highlighted the relevant information by underlining it with green chalk, and she has invited the children to do the same on their individual notebook.

In this context, the relevance of Janin's gaze towards the teacher should be considered in relation to this complex system of different resources. It is because of these specific structural features that Janin's body movement is particularly relevant.

5.2.2. Features of timing and speech delivery

The sense that the answer is correct for Janin can also be drawn from a couple of other observations. First, the timing of her first answer. Janin produces her 'no' straight away, with no hesitation, nor in timing or in speech delivery. Also the falling intonation contributes to hearing it as produced confidently.

Second, in answering 'no' Janin is reasserting her own previous candidate suggestion (#46: 29) for what the question of the problem should be. Indeed, in the sequence following

²⁴ I am particularly indebted to Tony Wootton for having suggested this line of analysis during the Graduate Video Workshop he held at the University of York in the spring term 2003. In the same period, I had the opportunity to show him some of my data and to benefit from a number of his observations on the participants non-verbal behaviour, which gave me a number of valuable insights into the relevance of body movement in interaction.

Vincenza's reading, where children produce their contrasting candidate solutions, in line 28 and 29 Janin endorses Ismail's earlier suggestion (line 23).

It can be also noted that the question she proposes for the problem: 'how many boxes in all?' is consistent with the fact that the number of boxes is not known. By answering 'no' (#45: 40) Janin is thus re-doing her prior offer.

5.2.3. *Janin's first assumption*

But besides just answering the question -providing the information the question elicits- Janin's answer also displays a number of assumptions regarding the analysis of the sequence where the question is deployed, the actions embodied in the teacher's question, and her view about what is the expected pedagogic accomplishment which the question carries out. This requires revising a number of points.

i) 'no' is the preferred answer:

As indicated above, the absence of any delay, perturbations, or hesitations in producing the negative answer treats the question, from Janin's viewpoint, as designed to project exactly such a negative answer. This is an observation which has to be considered, especially in relation to the fact that unmarked self-standing 'yes/no' questions, in general, have a preference for 'yes' answers.

It is evident that here Janin considers the question not as a self-standing single turn, similar to those yes-answer questions which initiate new questioning sequences. On the contrary, she hears the question as closely connected to prior talk, designed to draw the candidate correct answer as the right conclusion.

ii) The question is produced to endorse Janin's correct response:

In addition, because her first answer is consistent with the option previously stated by Janin, it is evident that she takes it that her prior offer ('how many boxes in all?') must be the correct candidate solution. Considering that the teacher hasn't so far provided any feedback,

and that this is the first time the teacher addresses one of the children who have contributed possible answers and solutions, this is evidently the basis for Janin to treat the teacher's question as selecting and endorsing her proposal as the correct candidate suggestion.

iii) 'no-answer' questions are a recognizable practice:

But how is it that this question is treated by Janin as positively acknowledging her position by eliciting a disconfirmation, rather than doing a repair-initiation?

First of all the question is produced as a single-unit turn. That is to say, it isn't preceded by a repetition of any of the children's prior talk, as we have seen is commonly used in initiating repair on pupils' inappropriate answers. Also the impersonal formulation of the question -'si sanno le scatole / does anyone know the boxes '- gives the impression of its detachment from any of the prior offers and, moreover, from Janin's own answer, which happens to be of all the incomings the least contiguous with the teacher's turn, being produced at the beginning of the series of the pupils' suggestions.

With regards to this, we know that the teacher repair-initiation of children's prior answers is performed by means of 'no-answer' questions which are packaged in the same turn or immediately subsequent to the repetition of the answer that is to be repaired, thus in a position contiguous to the repairable. Here the teacher's question is not at all contiguous to Janin's prior answer. This must have provided some ground for Janin to understand that she was being picked because her prior response was correct.

Finally, it is worth recalling that the teacher has yet to provide feedback to both the right and to the wrong response. This contingency seems relevant for Janin also. According to Janin's first understanding the teacher's question serves two functions at the same time: it endorses Janin's prior response and initiates repair on the opposite wrong responses provided by the other pupils. From Janin's point of view, by asking whether the number of boxes is known, and expecting a 'no', the teacher is showing to the others why Janin's solution for the

problem is correct. These assumptions are not just positively stated by the teacher, but rather hinted at through the proposal of the wrong candidate, which has to be disconfirmed. In this way the correct answer is proposed as an inferential process, whereby the teacher initiates the repair sequence, but the actual repair is left to the pupils themselves. Hence, the process of arriving at the correct answer is also made available to those who didn't actually manage to do so.

We see how this pedagogic device of proposing a candidate which is rhetorically and overtly wrong in order to guide the children towards the opposite and correct proposal, is rather strong and has its roots in practices of teacher and pupils talk, where participants have distinctive expectations about the teacher's behaviour and her institutional responsibilities.

5.3. Janin's second understanding and self-repair

From the two subsequent and contrasting answers to the 'yes/no' question and, most noticeably from the way in which Janin constructs her self-repair in line 44 below, it looks as though the number of boxes was indeed known by Janin. Therefore, although she apparently knew the answer to the question, she has answered incorrectly the first time by saying 'no'. And we saw that what she was doing was to interpret the teacher's question as a literal question, thus implying the 'no'. What she didn't see was that the question was a repair-initiation. The sequence, therefore, provides grounds for the argument that the logic of children's answers is interactionally generated and responds to expectations and constraints which are inherent in the type of interaction itself, rather than be produced on a mere cognitive basis.

Consequently, we see that things that come in interrogative form are not necessarily doing a straightforward question. Children, like Janin on this occasion, have to be alert to these possibilities.

To assist the reader in following the report on Janin's self-repair; I have reproduced the targeted fragment below:

#45 Boxes PM:FZ:21:5/01-07

- 39 T: si SA::nno? le sc[a:tole Janin
 one know(PASSIV.) the boxes Janin
 does anyone KNO::W? the number of bo[:xes Janin
 [(J. turns to the teacher)]
- 40 Ja: no.
- 41 (0.4)
- 42 Sts: SI' [:::::
YE: [:::::S
- 43 Sts: [si [:::::
 [ye [:::::
- 44 Ja: [SI' <NO:ve.
 [YES <NI:ne.
- 45 (3.0)

The gap which follows Janin's answer in line 41 marks the absence of any signs of positive evaluation, confirmation, or endorsement on the teacher's part. It is perhaps because of this relevant absence that children have grounds for their choral repair in lines 42 and 43. On this occasion, again, children show that their answer is constructed on an interactional basis. In a situation of competition between two contrasting answers, the recognition of the correct option is strictly connected with the ability to make sense for the lack of the teacher's acknowledgement in line 41.

In line 44 Janin finds herself in a conflicting position. First, her answer in line 40 turns out to be the wrong option and, moreover, it has occupied the position which was provided for her by the teacher's repair initiation, where she could have produced her self-repair. Second, the ensuing gap has given the other children the opportunity to understand and produce the repair in her place.

In line 44 Janin joins in with a very loud 'yes', soon followed by the stating of the information which provides the basis for the 'yes' as the correct answer. Her mentioning the number of boxes soon after the 'yes' - so soon that almost suppresses the normal beat of time between one TCU ('yes') and the other ('nine') - is therefore a device which evidences that Janin produces the self-repair autonomously, and not parasitically on the other children's incoming. The knowledge of the number of the boxes *is the exact information* on which the 'yes' is grounded.

It is also worth noticing that children in lines 42 and 43 do not mention the actual number of boxes, which Janin does. This might raise some doubts about what exactly has brought children to do the repair: (1) children have some prior knowledge that the boxes are 9, based on the readings and on the other visual resources, or (2) they have inferred *at that very moment from features of turn delivery*, such as the pause in line 44 (ie. without actually knowing or having noticed that the information was already available), that the absence of the teacher's positive evaluation following Janin's answer projects a negative evaluation; hence the "correct" answers should be 'yes'. By offering the relevant information on the number of the boxes, Janin successfully differentiates herself from other children.

6. Conclusions

The sequence analysed in this section shows that the work of answering teachers' questions at school reflects the *children's understanding of the action* which is embodied in the questioning. When answering, children make assumptions on the purposes of the question. This understanding shapes their answers. They realize that teacher's interrogative utterances do not just accomplish the work that a literal question does, but that there are specific pedagogic actions which are embodied in the questioning. For instance, we saw that, although Janin apparently knew that there were nine boxes, her first answer denies this knowledge

because she has interpreted the teacher's question as endorsing her prior contribution. We have seen that Janin's understanding of the sequence that led up the question has been determinant in her hearing the question as doing a positive evaluation, rather than initiating repair. Therefore, pupils analyse other participants' behaviour, reach an understanding of the actions which are embodied in questions and answers, and have distinctive expectations with regards to the type of actions that are accomplished in Q-a sequences in this setting.

Pupils' answers are also based on their *interpretation of features of turn construction and sequential deployment*. We have seen that usually, when teachers' questions initiate repair they are usually packaged in multi-unit turns, where the question is produced after the repetition of the answer which is to be repaired. The absence of any reference to the repairable in the questioning turn produced by the teacher in the 'Boxes' fragment has evidently influenced Janin's erroneous interpretation of the question.

Therefore the manner in which questions are constructed and the position which they occupy in the larger sequence are extremely relevant in shaping the answers. In this regard it is useful to recall that teachers and pupils display a mutual orientation to questions as eliciting one precise answer as the *correct candidate answer*. This is connected to the overall structure of the series of question which constitute instruction sequences. In this larger context questions are connected together to accomplish a precise *pedagogic project*. For this reason teachers formulate questions which are designed to elicit precisely that answer at that moment. Thus, features of question design are used to pursue these specific ends. Pupils produce their answer having recognized such features, and responding to features of preference organization. These are reflected in the conventions of question construction and sequential deployment.

The pupils' answering activity draws resources also from the answers which are produced by other pupils, earlier in the sequence. The inspection of the details of verbal

construction of answers which are produced in a series has shown that each answer uses ideas and linguistic material from prior answer, which are then combined and slightly changed to produce new individual responses. In this way they manage to exploit resources that they can draw from prior talk and, at the same time, to adhere to the specific rule which forbids repeating what other pupils have already said.

The analysis has shown that answering to questions in instruction sequences is the result of a mutual interactional achievement of the parties rather than being the sheer expression of some pre-existing knowledge, independent from the setting where instruction occurs.

Chapter 6

Third-Turn Receipts: The Treatment of Answers

1. Introduction

Within the tradition of research in classroom interaction, the *third action* which is accomplished by the teacher following pupils' answers to questions is a distinctive feature of the three-part structure of instructional interaction (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979; McHoul, 1978; Drew, 1981; Nassaji and Wells, 2000; Hellermann, 2003). The presence of a third move has been described as characterizing classroom interaction with reference to *participants' speaking obligations and rights*:

“Teachers have the right and obligation to give – once an answer has been produced – a comment on the sufficiency of that answer. What Sacks (1967: October 31) has called ‘utterance pairs’ include question-answer (Q-A) pairs. In the classroom situation this becomes an ‘utterance-triad’, question-answer-comment on the sufficiency of that answer (Q-A-C).” (McHoul, 1978: pp.190-191).

Furthermore, as Drew (1981) argued, this three-part structure appears to be closely associated with the specific institutional purposes of the interaction and with the parties' positions of being *instructor* and *recipients of instruction*.

“Routinely, sequences in which one party asks co-participant questions as part of instructing recipient are not completed by the production of an answer; instead, the questioner generally confirms that the answer is correct:

(13) (BDLP: Extract B)

- T: Is it a hill or a mountain
 R: A hill
 → T: A hill / yes
 T: And whats on the hill
 R: Ice
 → T Yes /ice

In each case in (13), T confirms R's answer by repeating the answer, together with an affirmative (in other cases, affirmative such as ‘Yes, that's right’ are also used). Thus, the action in such sequences is organized into this structure:

- A: Question
 B: Answer
 A: Confirmation

The importance of this sequential structure is that it differentiates instruction sequences from information sequences. Were A's initial question to be treated as simply a request

for information, A would not then confirm B's answer, for by confirming an answer, A makes it into one which he already knew, and over which he retains control to decide its correctness" (Drew, 1981: p.260-261)

The centrality of this structure as connected to instructional activities is reflected in the work of Tarplee (1996), who has found a similar three-part structure also in other modes of instructional interaction. The work of Tarplee focuses on activities where young children are engaged in labelling pictures from books with their care-takers.

"A labelling sequence typically opens with some kind of eliciting turn from the adult, which is followed by a labelling utterance from the child, which is in turn followed by a receipt of some kind from the adult. This third position receipting turn takes different forms, but one recurrent turn shape found in this position is an exact repetition of the child's prior labelling utterance"¹.(Tarplee, 1996: p. 408-409)

As we saw in Chapter 1, within the structure of discourse as devised in the work of the Birmingham group (Sinclair and Coulthard; 1975), the third-move is a constituent part of what they call *the teaching exchange unit*. The hierarchical organization of their model, devised as a rank scale, defines the IRF exchange as a fixed and abstract structure. The IRF exchange is part of a model where the structure of the units at each rank level is realized by units at the lowest rank. This structure is proposed as being fixed, abstract and formal. According to this description, the *teaching exchange* constitutes the third rank, whose elements -Initiation, Response, and Feedback- are each realized by a class of *move*: Opening, Answering and Follow-up. Every move, then, is realized in turn by a class of *act*: Accept, Evaluate and Comment.

In this way, for the units at each level, the model proposes a closed set of options and fixed combinations of units at the lower rank. Consequently, the third turn is described as

¹ The work of Tarplee deals with the prosodic details of repetitions and focuses on the distinction between reparative and affirmative repetitions with reference to the phonetic realization. I will report here one example:

adult: o { oh } who's that
 child: ([eh])
 (1.0)
 child: li: on
 → adult: l:i: on
 (5.0)

being composed of different combinations of a restricted set of the three predetermined acts (Accept, Evaluate, and Comment).

The example below illustrates one such exchange (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: p.48):

Teacher: Do you know what we mean by accent?
 Pupil: It's the way you talk
 Teacher: The way we talk. This is a very broad comment.

Here the Follow-up move is realized by *Accept* ('The way we talk') plus *Evaluate* ('This is a very broad comment').

However, Sinclair and Coulthard describe the central function of the third move in the IRF model as that of *evaluating*.²

"A teacher rarely asks a question because wants to know the answer; he asks a question because he wants to know whether a pupil knows the answer. In such a situation the pupils need to know whether their answer was 'right', and an act we label *evaluate* is of vital importance." (op.cit. 1975: p.36-37)

1.1. Previous research on teachers' third turn receipts

So far we have seen that a number of studies have ascertained the centrality of the teacher's third-turn receipt in instructional sequences. The slot which follows pupils' answers seems to be a key-place in this environment, especially if we analyse it against the background of the specialized turn-taking system for the classroom, where turn order and the allocation of turn types are fixed.

As research in the field of conversation analysis has demonstrated, the centrality of the sequential organization in conversation provides the context in which in each next turn the recipient displays his understanding of the prior. Recipients model their actions as responsive to those which are embodied in prior turns. The analysis of third-turn receipts, therefore, has to take into account the immediate environment in which it is deployed.

² For the centrality of the act of *evaluate* the model is also known as the IRE model.

In this respect, the description provided by the Birmingham model of the act of evaluating seems not to account for the sequential implications of talk. Consider the description of the *evaluate act* below:

“realized by statements and tag questions including words and phrases such as ‘good’, ‘interesting’, ‘team point’, commenting on the quality of the reply, react or initiation, also by ‘yes’, ‘no’, ‘good’, ‘fine’, with a high fall intonation, and repetition of the pupil’s reply with either high fall, (positive), or a rise of any kind, (negative evaluation)”. (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: p.43)

The definition above includes a number of lexical items and a reference to different intonation contours according to whether the evaluation is positive or negative. The third-turn receipt, as described above, seems to be constructed to be responsive to two possible response-types: right or wrong. This seems also to imply that each realization is equivalent. The details of the sequential contexts which arise from different types of pupils’ answers or from the absence of the answer are passed over. Nor is consideration given to the details of turn construction in teachers’ third-position and their sequential implications for further talk.

However, a number of studies have addressed some of these issues: Drew (1981) and McHoul (1990) have analysed examples of instructional sequences in the classroom with reference to the *repairing work* of the teacher’s turn subsequent to the answer, either incorrect or missing. In these cases, the role of *reformulations* in third-turn position is highlighted.

The modification of the ‘basic’ three-part structure is illustrated in the work by Drew (1981) where he examines the model proposed by Wells and Montgomery to analyse data of children/adults talk. Drew proposes two alternative sequential structures to the ‘basic’ three-part which I have indicated above.

First, an expanded version: when the answer is not forthcoming the teacher produces a reformulation, or a series of reformulations, of the question:

(1)

A: Question
B: Non-response

- A: Reformulation
 B: Answer

Second, as an altered version, the teacher provides the answer him/herself following an incorrect or missing response:

(2)

- A: Question
 B: Non-response/incorrect answer
 A: Answer
 B: Acknowledgment (or Display)

Examples of sequences like type (1), where teachers produce reformulations of the initial question following an incorrect answer to lead students to correct answers are analyzed by McHoul (1990). He defines this procedure as *cluing*, and as closely connected to other-repair initiation:

“Cluing begins to look very much like correction-initiation when we consider that (a) cluing occurs immediately following answers, in comment slots, and (b) if comments are absent, this has marked consequences for the talk going on in any given sequence of questioning and answering in classroom” (McHoul, 1990: p.357)

This procedure is described as congruent to other-initiation repair insofar as question reformulations act as a way of withholding correction in the service of other-repair initiation.

More recently, the studies conducted by Tarplee (1996) and Hellermann (2003) have focused on the details of the *phonetic realization* of third-turn receipt in instructional sequences, and particularly, on those which are produced as *repetitions*³ of the pupil's answer. Tarplee demonstrated that reparative repetitions can be grouped according to two main features which are recognized by children as doing reparative work: (1) a distinctive pitch contour, similar to that associated with self-corrections (Local, 1992) and contrastive to

³ Recall that ‘repetitions’ are mentioned as one type of realizations of the evaluate act, as indicated by Sinclair and Coulthard.

the prior child's answer; and (2) a temporal delay which is heard by children as doing a re-elicitation. As Tarplee argues, these findings suggest

“caution in the interpretation of the somewhat superficial treatment of a class of objects like ‘repetitions’ which appears at times in the child language literature” (Tarplee, 1996:, 431)

The more recent work of Hellermann (2003) on two 12 and 11 grade American classes focuses on teachers' third-turn repetitions and on the interactive work of prosody as displayed in this environment. He found that in teachers' lexical repetitions a number of features indicate affiliation and positive evaluation. These are rhythmical placement in synchrony with student response, falling pitch contour, mid level pitch, longer duration than student responses (p.88). Conversely, the absence of some of these indicators treats the answer in a non-routine way, thus accomplishing other interactive work: indicating some forms of inappropriateness of the answer, mitigating a dis-preferred feedback.

This chapter is an attempt to describe the methodical practices that are used in instructional sequences to respond to pupils' answers and to deal with different levels or degrees of correctness or appropriateness. The analysis focuses on the TTR position and looks at recurrent features in turn design and in sequential development following the pupil's answers.

2. Positive assessments: verbatim repetitions

In my collection, the vast majority of third-turn receipts are verbatim repetitions of children's prior turn. The teacher re-produces exactly the response in terms of its lexical content, usually with no delay intervening between the child's turn and the repetition⁴; sometimes the TTR is even slightly incursive in the pupils' prior answer (#1, #5, and #6).

⁴ As the fragment below shows, when the teacher is engaged in a parallel activity, such as writing the pupil's answer on the blackboard, the TTR might be deployed with some delay:

#1 PM:LT:6a:geometry.

- 01 T lo facciamo dire, (0.2) ai tuoi compagni ↑cosa [fo:rmo
we'll let, (0.2) your classmates say it ↑what [do I draw:
- 02 Sts [un an°golo°
[an an°gle°
- 03 Sts un a:ng[olo
an an:[gle
- 04 T [↑u:n ↓a::ngolo.
[↑an: ↓an::gle.

#2 PM:FZ:12b:geography

- 01 T alo' ↑ne::lla figura numero ↑U::NO:::,
now ↑i::n picture number ↑O:::NE,
- 02 (0.6)
- 03 T MA:rco: ↓ch'è mo:lto atte:nto::
MA:rco: ↓who's paying very much atte:ntion)
- 04 (1.2)
- 05 T MI ↑SAI dire un elemento (.) umanizza:to
TO ME ↑CAN(YOU) say an element (.) humani:zed
↑CAN YOU tell me a (.) humani:zed element
.
.
.
- 06 St le: le case
the: the houses
- 07 T ↑LE ↓CA::SE::
↑THE ↓HOU::SE::S

Sand PM:LT:2a.natural sciences

- 01 T di:m'
tell:m'
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 T s:::~::~:
- 04 St sabbia.
sand.
- 05 (0.8)
- 06 T °sa°bbia,
°sa°nd,

((she writes on the blackboard))

08 (0.4)

#3 PM:PG19:verbs/Italian grammar

01 T viene dal verbo,
comes from the verb,

02 St reggere
to hold

→ 03 T reggere
to hold

#4 PM:LT:6a:geometry

01 T Caterina seco:ndo te quante volte ha::: m' cambiato
Caterina in your opinion how many times did he::: m' change

02 direzion[e secondo [te
directio[n according[to you

.

.

.

03 St due volte
two times
twice

→ 04 T due volte.
two times
twice.

#5 PM:FZ:12b:geography

01 T nella terza immagine,
in the third picture,

02 (0.6)

03 T Riccardo

04 (2.6)

05 T c'è una co::sa che- (.) salta proprio agli occhi eh;
there's one th::ing that- (.) is very evident eh;

06 (.)

07 T ed e' una cosa umanizzata
and it's a thing humanized
and which is a humanized thing

08 (0.2)

09 che non so:no solo le ca:se

which not a:re just the hou:ses
 which isn:'t just the houses

- 10 (0.2)
- Jan. 11 St ((raises her hand))
- 12 St °le [stra[de°
 °st[r e e[t s°
- 13 St [°stra[de°
 [°stre[ets°
- 14 T [le stra::de
 [stree::sts

#6 PM:LT:5a:geometry

- 01 T verso il fondo dell'aula. ↑do:podiché quando è arrivato là
 to the back of the classroom. ↑S:o that when he reached it
- 02 cos'ha fa:tto,
 what did he do
- 03 St s'è gira[to
 he turn[ed
- 04 Sts [s'è gir[ato ((chorally))
 [he turn[ed
- 05 T [si è girato
 [he turned

#7 Subtraction PM:LT:3:mathematics

- 01 T e:::: con la 'na- tabella della sottrazio:ne? che cosa
 a::::nd with the 'na- table of the subtra:ction? what
- 02 abbia::mo. abbiamo tutte le caselle pie:ne:.
 do we ha::ve. do we have all the slots fu::ll.
- 03 St n[o.
- 04 Sts [no::[:
- 05 Sts [no.
- 06 T n:o, (.) è vero?
 n:o, (.) ((formulaic tag question))

#8 Boxes PM:FZ:21:maths

- 07 T >allora< ci SO:NO NO::VE:,-
 >now< there A:RE NI::NE,-
- 08 (.)

- 09 T SCA::TO::LE:, ↑cosa so:no? le sca::tole Jana::n?
BO::XE::S, ↑what a:re? the bo::xes Jana::n?
10 (1.0) / ((Janan is busy writing))
- 11 St °contenitori°
°containers°
- 12 Sts °con[tenitori°
°con[tainers°
- 13 Sts [conte[nito:ri
[conta[:iners
- Jan 14 St [son' contenito::[ri
[they're conta::in[ers
- 15 T [CONTENITO::RI::,
[CONTA::INE::RS,
- 16 (.)

#9 Temperature PM:FZ:22:geography

- 16 T questo per indica:::re ↓che co::sa. <che la temperatura è sempre
this to indica:::te ↓wha::t. <that the temperature is always
- 17 la stessa? durante la giorna::ta.=
the same? during the da::y.=
- 18 Sts =no::::
- 19 T n::[o:::
- 20 Sts [no::::

A quite large group of repetitions in third-turn position are deployed in those Q-A sequences where the questioning is produced through the practice of inviting pupils to step into the teacher's turn space to provide completion of an unfinished turn (the ETC device). Examples 10-12 are reproduced below to provide the reader with a selection from the broader collection shown in Chapter 4.

#10 Neolithic PM:LL:1a.history/prehistory

- 01 T 'biamo fatto GIA:' u:n passo avanti nell'evoluzione e siamo
we moved ALREA:DY a: step forward in the evolution and (WE)
- 02 già entrati, ↓nel,-
already entered, ↓in the,-

03 (1.0)

04 T n[el?-
i[n?-

05 St [ne- neo-l:i[tico
[Ne- Neo-l:i[thic

06 St [°neo[litico°
[°Neo[lithic°

→ 07 T [ne°litico°.
[Ne°lithic°.

#11 Window PM:LT:5:geometry/angles

01 T il braccio adesso dove guarda=verso la, -
the arm now where looks=towards the, -
the arm now where does it point to=to the, -

02 T ((T. holds straight her arm to point to the window))

03 (0.2)

04 Sts fi[nestra
wi[ndow

→ 05 T [finestra.
[window.

12 Work PM:FZ:12: geography/arbours and town

01 T [LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO di la, -
[the people have need of wor, -
[↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED of wor, -

02 (.)

03 St °'vo[ro°
°'ki[g°

04 Sts ['vo:::r[o:
['ki:::n[g

→ 05 T ['voro
['king

The overwhelming occurrence of verbatim repetition in third-turn position seems to represent a clear case of a very discernible pattern which has an equally discernible distribution in talk (Drew & Holt, 1997). The use of repetitions, so massively deployed in

third-turn position, seems therefore to represent one of those practices of talk that has to be investigated "to see what's done with them" (Sacks, 1992, vol.II: 422).

2.1. Celebrating the answer: the prosody of teachers' repetitions

All the instances I have listed above share a number of features:

2.1.1. *Verbal repetition*

The repetition is an *exact lexical reduplication* of the pupil's prior answer. In her study on the prosody of repetition, Couper-Kuhlen (1996) highlights the relation between prosodic and verbal repetition, arguing that both words and prosody can be repeated, but that there are also situations where only one component is repeated. So, for instance, repetitions can involve the reduplication of the same words with differing intonation contour or a speaker can reduplicate the prosody of a prior turn using different lexical material. In the case of teachers' TTR, repetitions are overwhelmingly produced to reduplicate exactly the verbal content of the pupil's prior answer.

The massive use of repetition to assess positively the answer is even more striking if compared with the extremely exiguous number of instances where such evaluation is expressed in a different way, such as, for example, with a positive appreciation of the pupil for the correct answer. The examples below are the only two occurrences of the type I could find in the corpus.

#13 PM:LT:5a:geometry/angles

01	T	↑ <u>inve:</u> [ce Giuseppe? (0.2) ti ha fatto veder[e che?- ↑ <u>whi:</u> [le Giuseppe? (0.2) has shown yo[u that?-
02	St	[e-
03	St	[la linea spezzata [the crooked <u>line</u>
→ 04	T	e::cco, <u>bra</u> :::vo ti ha fatto vedere che cosa. < <u>che</u> - the::re, <u>goo</u> :::d he showed you what. < <u>that</u> -

- 05 (.)
- 06 T quand'i' cambio direzio::ne:, fra l'altro formo? (.)↓per terra
when I change direction::, by the way I form?(.)↓on the floor
- 07 una bella linea,-
a beautifully line,-
- 08 (.)
- 09 T s:pezzata.
croo:ked.
- 10 (0.2)
- 11 T ↓bravo.
↓good boy.

#14 Verbs PM:PG:19:Italian grammar/verbs

- 01 T Riccardo
- 02 (.)
- 03 T e::rano posa::ti do::ve lo posso mette[re.
they we::re lai::d whe::re can I put [it.
- Ric. 04 St [are
[(1st ending)
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 T bravo.
good boy.
- 08 (2.0)
(The teacher turns to the blackboard to write the verb where Riccardo has indicated)

If we observe the manner in which the answers are produced in these two sequences, in comparison to the prior occurrences, we see that the use of this alternative receipting format ('bravo /good boy') seems to be associated with instances where one single pupil is particularly quick in placing the correct answer. It might be noticed also that, in both cases, the answers are deployed at the first possible completion point. It seems therefore that this specific format of TTR is used to assess answers as unexpectedly good, in comparison to the correct answers which are routinely produced in the classroom. On the other hand, repetitions

seem to be used to assess answers which the teacher expected to be given correctly and whose production and deployment is co-ordinated with the teacher's prior eliciting turn, either with regard to the tempo and the location of the answer's production.

2.1.2. *Prosodic repetition*

With regard to the prosodic reduplication of pupils' answers, teacher's repetitions are routinely characterized by a *different intonation contour*, in comparison to the prior answers. However, as argued by Tarplee (1996) in suggesting caution in the interpretation of repetitions and, furthermore, as demonstrated in her exploration of the different prosodic features of adults' repetitions of children's answers, the fine details of the prosody of repetitions are used to accomplish distinctive and contrastive actions such as affirmative or reparative work to the prior answers. Hence, a definition of the prosodic realizations of the teachers' repetitions as being *different* from the pupils' answers isn't sufficient for the purpose of characterizing the action that teachers do by means of these specific repetitions.

For instance, Tarplee (1966) shows that reparative work in adults' repetitions is achieved through *prosodic contrastivity* and *temporal delay* in the deployment of the TTR. Thus, *contrastivity* specifies how the repetition is different in terms of prosody from the object which is repeated.

To describe the prosody of the TTRs in the examples of my corpus, in order to define precisely the way in which they differ from the prosody of the pupils' answers, I will refer to the three dimensions which Couper-Kuhlen (1996) indicates with regard to the *prosodic repetition* of the same utterance (p.369), as is the case of our TTRs.

“When we speak of *prosodic repetition* we can therefore distinguish a repetition or a copying of **syllable loudness**, of **syllable duration** and of **syllable pitch**⁵. These features are, however, directly comparable only provided the utterances in question have identical syllables.” (Couper-Khulen, 1996: p.369)

Looking at the examples of teachers' TTRs we observe that their distinctive prosody is characterized by (1) sound stretching, (2) variation in volume or in pitch contour, and (3) stressed delivery. Hence, if we want to correlate the three indicators mentioned by Couper-Khulen with the features of speech delivery which have been captured in the transcript, we observe that *sound stretching*, indicating a *longer syllable duration*, is a very frequent feature in the teachers' repetitions.

#15 PM:FZ:12b:geography

Jan. 01 St ((raises her hand))
 02 St °le [stra[de°
 °st[r e e[t s°
 03 St [°stra[de°
 [°stre[ets°
 → 04 T [le stra::de
 [stree::sts

#16 PM:FZ:12b:geography

01 St le: le case
 the: the houses
 → 02 T ↑LE ↓CA::SE::
 ↑THE ↓HOU::SE::S

Also *variations in volume* and *in pitch* are very commonly used by teachers, in combination with sound stretching:

#16 PM:FZ:12b:geography

01 St le: le case
 the: the houses
 → 02 T ↑LE ↓CA::SE::
 ↑THE ↓HOU::SE::S

#17 Boxes PM:FZ:21:maths

01 St °contenitori°
 °containers°
 02 Sts °con[tenitori°
 °con[tainers°

⁵ The bold characters are mine.

03 Sts [conte[nito:ri
[conta[:iners

Jan 04 St [son' contenito::[ri
[they're conta::in[ers

→ 05 T [CONTENITO::RI::,
[CONTA::INE::RS,

#18 PM:LT:6a:geometry.

01 T lo facciamo dire, (0.2) ai tuoi compagni ↑cosa [fo:rmo
we'll let, (0.2) your classmates say it ↑what [do I draw:

02 Sts [un an°golo°
[an an°gle°

03 Sts un a:ng[olo
an an:[gle

→ 04 T [↑u:n ↓a::ngolo.
[↑an: ↓an::gle.

Usually repetitions are done with *higher volume* and *rising pitch*.

Furthermore, very often teachers *strengthen the production* of part of the word, as indicated in #16, #18, and in the example below:

#19 Temperature PM:FZ:22:geography

16 T questo per indica:::re ↓che co::sa. <che la temperatura è sempre
this to indica:::te ↓wha::t. <that the temperature is always

17 la stessa? durante la giorna::ta.=
the same? during the da::y.=

18 Sts =no::::

→ 19 T n::[o:::

20 Sts [no::::

Teachers' repetitions tend to have at least one of the three indicators listed above, although very often they employ a combination of these prosodic features. It appears that teachers use those features which are not present in the pupils' answers. Hence, where the answer is produced with sound stretching, as in #19 above, the teacher adds this strengthened production to differentiate the repetition. Similarly in example #18, since sound stretching is

already present in the answer, the teacher produced a pitch variation in the repetition. The example below is a further example:

#20 Skin PM:FZ:geography

- 01 T ↑qual è l'organo::, (.) che ci fa capi::re::, (0.2) °organo di
 ↑which is the orga::n, (.)that makes us understa::nd, (.)°sense
- 02 sense (intendevo [dire]° che ci fa capire quando è
 organ (I wanted [to say]°that makes us understand when it's
- 03 caldo e quando è fre:ddo.
 warm and when it is coldz
- 04 St .hhh e::: per [()/((raising her hand))
 .hhh e::: per [()]
- 05 T [c'me si chia[:ma
 [what d'you c[a:ll it
 [((tosses her head to select who answers))
- 06 St il tatto!
 the touch!
- 07 T ↑I::L TATTO::
 ↑THE:: TOU::CH

In a number of cases, this accentuating effect is achieved with the addition of some formulaic tag, as in the example below:

#21 Subtraction PM:LT:3:mathematics

- 01 T e::: con la 'na- tabella della sottra:zio:ne? che cosa
 a:::nd with the 'na- table of the subtra:ction? what
- 02 abbia::mo. abbiamo tutte le caselle pie:ne:.
 do we ha::ve. do we have all the slots fu::ll.
- 03 St n[o.
- 04 Sts [no::[:
- 05 Sts [no.
- 06 T n:o, (.) è veroz
 n:o, (.) ((formulaic tag question))

The analysis shows that, in order to accomplish their actions, speakers select their resources in consideration of the choices that are deployed in prior turns. In this case, in order to perform repetition which embodies a positive assessment of the answer, teachers

reduplicate the verbal content of the answer, but select those prosodic features which bring off emphasis in comparison to the manner in which the answer is produced.

However, these features might also convey slightly different nuances in acknowledging the answer. So, for instance, the overemphasized repetition in examples #16, #17, #18, and #19 appears to foreground the teacher's complete affiliation with the answer. Sometimes the stress is produced to highlight the main informative element of the answer, as in #4 and in #10. In this latter case it is worth noticing that the teacher underlines with a stressed intonation the initial part of the word - 'neolitico / Neolithic'-, which distinguishes the word from the correlated 'paleolitico / Palaeolithic'.

In particular, according to Hellermann, some of these indicators, such as the sound stretching which lengthens the repetition, are considered elements which "add salience to the student response by increasing the time that the student's contribution is active in the discourse" (Hellermann, 2003: p. 90).

In general, we observe that the prosodic repetitions in teachers' TTRs produce a much more *emphatic second occurrence* of the pupils' answer. The exact verbal repetition plus the emphatic prosody characterize the TTR as an affirmative and affiliating repetition which acknowledges the answer as correct. The teacher seems to welcome/greet/celebrate the fact that the pupil has made exactly the point the teacher was aiming in her questioning.

2.1.3. *Absence of temporal delay*

These repetitions are usually deployed also with *no temporal delay*, apart from those occurrences where teachers are engaged in other parallel activities such as writing on the blackboard (see footnote 1 above). Not infrequently, as visible in the examples above (#15, #17, and #18), repetitions are produced *in overlap* with the answer turns.

Tarplee (1996: pp.423-426) showed that the absence of temporal delay in the production of a repetition in third-turn position is recognized as doing affirmation rather than repair work by children who are engaged in labelling activities. On the other hand, the association of the absence of temporal delay with preferred actions has been demonstrated in conversation analysis literature (Sacks, 1987 [1973]; Pomerantz, 1984a; Davidson, 1984; Drew, 1984). This feature adds the *sense of confirmation*. In other words, through an early-deployed verbatim repetition the teacher displays that he ratifies an answer which was expected and which, because expected, is recognized from the production of the first syllables.

The sequence in example #22 supports the observation that temporal deployment is a distinctive feature of a positive assessment of the answer. In the fragment below, the absence of any form of receipt in line 3 is interpreted by the pupils in the audience as an indication of the teacher's negative assessment of the answer in line 2. The absence of the teacher's TTR is thereby treated as doing reparative work, as indicated by the pupils' subsequent turns in lines 4-6, including the self-repair of the pupil who provided the wrong answer in line 2.

#22 Boxes PM:FZ:21:5/01-07

- 01 T: si SA::nno⁶? le sc[a:tole Janin
do we KNO::w⁷? the number of bo[:xes Janin
[(J. turns to the teacher)]
- 02 Ja: no.
- 03 (0.4)
- 04 Sts: SI' [:::::
YE: [:::::S
- 05 Sts: [sɪ [:::::
[ye [:::::
- 06 Ja: [SI' <NO:ve.
[YES <NI:ne.

In example #23 below the extended pause in line 6 following the pupil's answer is treated as implying the teacher's negative evaluation of prior answer. Children are providing

⁶ In this use of 'sapere' (literally 'to know') the reference to the number of boxes is implied.

subsequent answers after the teacher has elicited the name of the components of the soil, inviting the students to remember a list of items that they provided the day before. In line 5 the student gives his answer to the question.

#23 Soil PM:LT:2a:natural sciences

01	St	IO MAESTRA <u>i[:o!</u> ME TEACHER <u>m[e:!</u>
02	St	[mae[stra [tea[cher
03	T	[s:::
04	T	<u>no.</u>
05	St	°ma'stra° suolo aveva detto: la::- °teach'° soil said the::- ⁸
→ 06		(1.0) ((children are talking))
07	St	shih shuohol ⁹ yeha shoihl
08	T	<u>e:cco</u> ↑ <u>il suo::lo::</u> , <u>we:ll</u> ↑ <u>the so:::il</u> ,
09		(0.2)
10	T	sì è vero ricordo anch'io.< <u>però</u> il suolo ↑ <u>che</u> cos'è. yes it's true I remember too.< <u>but</u> the soil ↑ <u>what</u> is it.
11		(0.6)
12	St	°allo[ra° °we[ll°
13	St	[(maestra!) [(teacher!)
14	St	[↑i::- ↑i::o ↑i:- ↑i[::o [↑me:- ↑me::: ↑m- ↑m[e::
15	St	[è terra [it is earth

⁷ see note 1.

⁸ In Italian, in the spoken language, proper feminine names are preceded by the definite article

⁹ The pupil constructs here a derogatory remark based on the following contrast: the turn is constructed as though expressing agreement with the pupil's prior response ([yes] + [repetition]); however, the turn is injected with laughter. This contrast produces an ironical effect, implying that the answer is so obviously wrong that moves people to laugh.

The answer is followed by an extended gap (line 6). Recall that the teacher is writing on the blackboard the items mentioned by the pupils, and that answers are provided in a round by each pupil in turn. Therefore the teacher might be busy writing the prior answer when the next pupil answers in line 3. Hence, we might suppose that a certain amount of time can be tolerated before the absence of any comment on the teacher's side is heard as a relevant absence.

However, the one-second gap¹⁰ must clearly indicate to the child in line 7 that the answer is not correct. He produces a derogatory remark on the prior answer through a repetition which is prefaced by an accepting token ('yes') and injected with laughter.

Also the teacher's TTR which is finally produced in line 8, is a modulated repetition of the wrong answer. In addition to that, consider that a clear reference to the answer is further postponed by the delay/disjunctive token ('ecco/well') which prefaced the repetition. The actual repetition is produced with sound stretching, rising pitch and stressed delivery. However, the delayed temporal deployment has been interpreted by pupils as an indication that the answer is not correct.

The subsequent turn which actually accomplishes the repair-initiation through the question in line 10 is marked by a two-TCU format. The first TCU, which further delays the repair-initiation on the answer, is produced to accept the answer which is going to be repaired, probably to mitigate the derogatory comment in line 7. It is worth considering that the activity involves that pupils recall items that they have mentioned the day before. By using indirect-speech, the student in line 5 constructs his turn just as recalling somebody else's suggestion from the prior lesson, implying that he is just handing over to the class a suggestion offered by someone else. This is what the teacher acknowledges in the first TCU of her turn in line 10 preceding the repair initiation that follows.

¹⁰ In her investigation on the duration of silence in conversation Jefferson (1989) demonstrated that one second is approximately the standard maximum length.

2.2. Addressing the audience through positive assessments

The point which arises from the analysis of the extracts so far is that a teacher's repetition which positively evaluates a prior pupil's answer is characterized as being an emphatic version of the pupil's version. The second version reduplicates the lexical content of the answer, but varies its prosodic contour as to *add 'physical' substance* to the answer: longer in duration, higher in volume and pitch, strengthened in stress.

However, if we focus on instances of teachers' repetitions which respond to choral answers, it might be noticed that the teacher's repetition doesn't always have this emphatic contour. So, for instance, in extract #24, the teacher's repetition in line 5 isn't does not have the features outlined above.

#24 Window PM:LT:5:geometry/angles

01	T	<u>il</u> braccio adesso dove guarda= <u>verso</u> <u>la</u> ,-
		<u>the</u> arm now where looks= <u>towards</u> <u>the</u> ,-
		<u>the</u> arm now where does it point to= <u>to</u> <u>the</u> ,-
02	T	((T. holds straight her arm to point to the window))
03		(0.2)
04	Sts	<u>fi</u> [nestra <u>wi</u> [ndow
→ 05	T	[finestra. [window.

In fragments #25 and #26 below the teacher limits her repetition by joining in with the completion:

24 Work PM:FZ:12: geography/arbours and town

01	T	[LA ↑GENTE HA BISOGNO <u>di</u> <u>la</u> ,-
		[the people have need of wor,-
		[↑PEOPLE ARE IN NEED <u>of</u> wor,-
02		(.)
03	St	°'vo[ro°

°'ki[g°

04 Sts ['vo:::r[o:
['ki:::n[g

→ 05 T ['voro
['king

26 Streets PM:FZ:12: geography/arbours and town

01 T dove le cose sono vertica:li oblique od orizzon?ta:li
where things are ve:rtical at an angle or? horizo:ntal

02 (1.2)

03 St o[rizzontali
h[orizontal

04 Sts [orizzon[tali
[horizon[tal

05 St ['zon[tali
['zon[tal

→ 06 T [orizzonta:li
[horizo:ntal

07 (0.4)

The two examples which follow below illustrate the same minimal prosodic contour in comparison to the pupils' answers:

#27 Neolithic PM:LL:1a.history/prehistory

01 T ABBIAMO ANALIZZATO ↓quali periodi storici
WE HAVE ANALYZED ↓which historical periods

((one girl in the front row in the middle is talking to somebody to her left))

02 (0.2)

03 St paleolitico e neolitico
Palaeolithic and Neolithic

04 T quindi il periodo della pre-i-,
therefore the period of pre-hi-,

05 Sts sto[::ria
hi[::story

→ 06 T [della preisto°ria.
[of the prehist°ory.

#28 Pygmy PM:LL:1a.history/prehistory

01 e l'esempio è stato fatto con:, -
and the example has been made with:, -

02 (0.6)

03 T i Pi? -
the Py? -

04 (0.4)

05 St i [Pigmei
the [Pygmy

06 St [Pigm[e::i
[Py::[gmy

07 St [i Pigme:i
[the Py::gmy

→ 08 T [i Pigmei
[the Pygmy

It would seem that once the answer is produced as a choral accomplishment, then the teacher can refrain from adding further emphasis on the correctness of the answer. This throws a different light also on the function of the emphatic repetitions. It seems that the emphasis which is deployed in the TTR repetitions might be produced also to address the overhearing audience which isn't, at the moment, taking part in the interaction verbally.

Drew and Heritage (1992) point out that, classroom interaction shares with other "formal" forms of institutional interaction, such as courtroom interaction and news interviews, a turn-taking system which "is strongly constrained within quite sharply defined procedures"(p.27). The turn-taking system provides for "differential participation rights" in the classroom (McHoul, 1978: p.189). Since the teacher has "exclusive access to the use of creative 'current speaker selects next speaker' techniques" (McHoul, 1978: p.211), pre-allocation procedures of fixed types of turns is operating. Drew and Heritage (1992) note also that in courtrooms and classrooms "the audience is co-present and the turn-taking system is designed, at least in part, to control or curtail the nature of audience participation in any ongoing exchange" (p.27).

In many respects, some circumstances in which teacher/pupils interaction takes place are indeed rather similar to those illustrated for courtroom interaction:

"However, the talk between attorney and witness in examination is, of course, designed to be heard, understood, and assessed by a group of nonspeaking overhearers, the jury. Whilst they do not ordinarily participate, at least verbally in the interaction between attorney and witness, they are required to make a decision on the basis of what they have heard during a trial. The structural feature that talk in (cross)-examination is designed for multiparty reciprocity by nonspeaking overhearers can immediately be seen to have certain consequences for sequential patterns and activities in the talk." (Drew, 1992: 475).

Similarly in the classroom, the organization of talk between the teacher and one single pupil at a time is designed to be heard and understood by the remaining audience, which is expected to behave as nonspeaking overhearing audience. In this respect, Atkinson and Drew draw the following similarities between courts and classrooms and one kind of organizational problem they share:

"Thus, while classrooms clearly exhibit differences from courts in the way that the turn-taking system is organized, one organizational problem which they share is how to achieve and sustain the minimal conditions for everyone to be able to monitor one speaker speaking at a time in the face of the probability that the turn-taking system for conversation, if left unmodified, would provide for more than one conversation to take place at the same time" (Atkinson and Drew, 1979: p. 220)

A second similarity consists in the fact that children who don't take part verbally in the interaction are nonetheless requested to follow the discussion, to use the information they hear, to make inferences on the basis of that, in order to carry on some activities or, simply, to understand subsequent explanations. Although children aren't completely banned from taking part verbally in the interaction, it is however desirable that their verbal participation should be regulated. At the same time, the teacher aspires to be fully understood by each individual pupil and designs his/her turn consequently.

As illustrated by Drew (1992), the use of repetition by the attorney in courtroom examination to acknowledge the witness' response is "a means of emphasizing a point for the benefit of the jury" (Drew, 1992:476). It would seem that repetitions which follow pupils' answers, in some respects, accomplish similar work.

We have already seen in previous chapters that, in order to minimize the restrictions of the turn-taking system and to achieve the aim of having all the pupils on board, teachers use a variety of practices in designing their questioning which invite answers in unison. The use of repetitions in TTR seems to be a further feature, directed at countering the effects of those restrictions which characterize classroom interaction. Teachers' repetitions of a child's prior turn are, in fact, another practice to promote understanding from the overhearing audience. By creating a sort of a 'megaphone effect' in the service of those who are part of the audience, the teacher provides a second opportunity for them to hear it.

3. Other practices to re-enforce repetitions in TTR: features of turn construction

We have focused so far on the comparison between the two versions of the same lexical item as it is repeated in third-turn position by the teacher to accomplish a positive assessment of the answer. This analysis has revealed that the *prosodic features* and the *temporal deployment* of teachers' repetitions vary in accordance to pupils' prior turns. In order to convey a positive evaluation of the child's prior answer, teachers produce a verbatim repetition, in terms of the linguistic material being used on the one side, which is varying in terms of its prosodic contour, on the other. These variations involve changes with respect to the prosodic features used by the pupil in providing the answer. Hence, the emphasis provided in the repetition by the teacher is associated with the prosodic details of the pupil's prior turn.

Furthermore, the comparison of different instances of repetitions with reference to whether the answer was produced by individual students or by the whole class responding in unison has shown that in the latter case teachers' repetitions do not always have the emphatic contour that characterizes TTR following the answer when it is produced by an individual speaker. This might suggest that the repetition format of TTR also accomplishes an interactive

work: that of providing the overhearing audience with additional opportunities to hear the correct answer when this is provided by one student.

However, teachers have other means to re-enforce the correct answer, besides prosody. In particular, turn construction is one main resource. In receipting a correct answer the teacher has two main options. The first is represented below. The repetition in line 7 is a single-TCU turn.

#29 PM:FZ:12b:geography

01 T alo' ↑ne::lla figura numero ↑U::NO:::,
now ↑i::n picture number ↑O:::NE,

02 (0.6)

03 T MA:rco: ↓ch'è mo:lto atte:nto::
MA:rco: ↓who's paying very much atte:ntion)

04 (1.2)

05 T MI ↑SAI dire un elemento (.) umanizza:to
TO ME ↑CAN(YOU) say an element (.) humani:zed
↑CAN YOU tell me a (.) humani:zed element

.

.

.

06 St le: le case
the: the houses

→ 07 T ↑LE ↓CA::SE::
↑THE ↓HOU::SE::S

08 (0.4)

In this way the answer is assessed as correct and complete, totally satisfying the question.

However, the TTR can be expanded with additional TCUs which follow the repetition. We have already seen that adding further verbal material to the repetition is used to re-enforce the positive assessment of the answer, as in #30 below:

#30 Subtraction PM:LT:3:mathematics

01 T e::: con la 'na- tabella della sottrazio:ne? che cosa
a:::nd with the 'na- table of the subtra:ction? what

02 abbia::mo. abbiamo tutte le caselle pie:ne::

do we ha::ve. do we have all the slots fu::ll.

03 St n[o.

04 Sts [no::[:

05 Sts [no.

→ 06 T n:o, (.) è vero?
n:o, (.) ((formulaic tag question))

The formulaic tag “è vero” is used to elicit affiliative responses from recipients, thus to re-enforce the positive evaluation expressed with the repetition of the answer. But the turn continuation can be expanded in other ways to accomplish other interactional work.

3.1. Post-repetition turn expansion

When third-turn receipts are constructed in an expanded format which includes the repetition of the child's answer within a multi-TCU turn, one possible pattern is the following:

[repetition] + [reformulation of the answer], as in the example below.

#31 Medicines PM:FZ:12:geography

01 T ↑perchè::=i-=perchè, perchè dura di più la vita ade[ssò
↑why::=the-=why, why does life last longer n[ow

02 [((noise))

03 St °uh-°

04 St ci so:-
there a::r-

05 (0.8)/{((there is some noise))}

06 St ↑i:o lo so::!
↑I: kno::w it!

07 T mhm? =

08 St =perché inventano::?-°mhmh°-.hh=inventano le medicine
=because(they)inve::nt?-°mhmh°-.hh=invent the medicines

09 [che:::,
[tha:::t,

→ 10 T [↑inventano le medici::ne. <cioè l'uomo? impara a cura:rsi.
[↑invent me::dicines. <that is man? learns how to cure

→ 11 <meglio.
 himself.<better.
 12 (.)

In lines 10-11 the teacher designs a multi-TCU turn. In first position the repetition of the answer is produced with an emphasized prosody and a concluding intonation¹¹, which displays a judgment of the answer as complete and correct. But in this case, quite differently from example #2, the anticipated production of the following TCU suggests an intervening analysis.

It would seem that the teacher considers the response as requiring a more explicit explanation of the reasons why she has endorsed the answer as correct. The anticipated deployment of the expansion and the prefacing re-formulation token (“cioè/that is”) mark the TCU as doing a sort of clarification. First, the teacher’s “learning to cure himself better” provides a link in reasoning between the answer (“they invent medicines”; line 8) and the question (“Why does life last longer nowadays?”). Second, by providing a re-formulation of the answer which has been already evaluated as correct, the teacher accomplishes additional interactional work besides evaluating the answer.

1) The instructing potential of post-repetition TCUs:

Teachers’ reformulations in instructional sequences have been considered by Drew (1981), who observed how reformulations of questions post children’s silence are distinctive features of instructional activities, insofar as they display that the questioner already possesses the answer and produces these reformulations “to show the child another route to a correct answer” (p.260). In our case, however, the reformulation follows a correct answer, which has been evaluated as complete, thus satisfying the question. It might be noted that adding an

¹¹ Hellermann (2003) suggests that the falling contour in teachers’ repetitions “ indicates that mutual understanding has been achieved and further negotiation is not necessary” (p.90), while the rising intonation at the

affirmatory reformulation, that is, a reformulation which adds arguments for the correct evaluation of the answer (rather than, for instance, questioning the recipients), is also “compatible with the speaker (i.e. questioner) already possessing the answer”, as indicated by Drew (1981. p.260), and, as a matter of fact, as a questioner who has a *better understanding of the answer* than the answerer himself. In other words, through these clarifying reformulations which reveal why the answer is correct, the teacher accomplishes his instructing role.

2) *Addressing the audience:*

A second consideration might be relevant in this regard. As indicated several times before, classrooms are multi-party settings where the overhearing audience has a prominent role in determining the speakers' behavior. Recalling the similarities between classroom interaction and other types of ‘formal’ interactional settings, I would like to say more about Drew's observations concerning the use of repetitions by the attorney in courtroom examination to acknowledge the witness' response as “a means of emphasizing a point for the benefit of the jury” (Drew, 1992:476), as arising from the limited participation rights of the nonspeaking overhearers:

“The structural feature that talk in (cross)-examination is designed for multiparty reciprocity by nonspeaking overhearers can immediately be seen to have certain consequences for sequential patterns and activities in the talk. For instance, the major resource in conversation for displaying understanding, and for checking whether a recipient has properly understood, is what the recipient says/does in the next turn. A speaker may inspect a recipient's response in the next turn as a kind of proof procedure, to see whether that response displays a “correct” understanding of the speakers' prior turn But this resource is unavailable for checking the understandings of those nonspeaking overhearers.....” (Drew, 1992: 475).

The turn-taking system in classroom interaction is similarly designed to control and limit the audience's verbal participation. The fixed order of turns, the differential participation rights among teacher and students, and the large number of potential speakers do not allow an

opportunity for everybody in the audience to display their spontaneous understanding of the talk underway.

Reformulations of the correct answer, in providing an account for the positive evaluation of the answer, furnish additional elements to the nonspeaking children clarifying or consolidating how the answer satisfies the question. In other terms, this type of post-repetition turn expansion can be regarded as a way of pursuing the emphatic reduplication of the answer. These additional TCUs do to the verbal content of the repetition what sound stretching, raised volume and changes in pitch and stress do to the prosodic reduplication of the answer.

The interactional work which is accomplished with the production of one additional TCU which reformulates and clarifies the answer is more visible when compared with other types of turn expansions. In the example below the turn in line 4 is constructed as follows: [repetition] + [question].

#32 PM:LT:5a:geometry

- 01 T Caterina seco:ndo te quante volte ha::: m' cambiato
Caterina in your opinion how many times did he::: m' change
- 02 direzion[e secondo [te
directio[n according[to you
- .
- .
- .
- 03 St due volte
two times
twice
- 04 T due volte. [quando Caterina
two times [when Caterina
twice. [when Caterina
- 05 (1.0) [(moves backwards to the door)]
- 06 T la prima qua::ndo. è partito da qua.
the first time whe::n. he left from here.
- 07 (0.8)

In line 4 the teacher packages the repetition as a distinctive and complete TCU which confirms the answer, like the repetition in #31. A second similarity with example #31 is also that the turn is expanded through the production of a second TCU which is produced with a rush-through. However, this time, the question is designed by producing a wh-word parasitically on the answer. In this way the turn is produced to progress the sequence further, initiating a second Q-A sequence. Example #33 below provides a further example of this expanded TTR format.

#33 Boxes PM:FZ:21:maths

01	T	↑cosa so:no? le sca::tole Jana::n?
		↑what a:re? the bo::xes Jana::n?
02		(1.0) / ((Janan is busy writing))
03	St	°contenitori° °containers°
04	Sts	°con[tenitori° °con[tainers°
05	Sts	[conte[nito:ri [conta[:iners
Jan 06	St	[son' contenito::[ri [they're <u>conta::in[ers</u>
→ 07	T	[CONTENITO::RI::, LI SO::? I [CONTE::INE::RS, DO I KNOW::?
08		I CONTENITO::RI QUANTI SO?NO::= THE CONTA::INERS HOW MANY THEY? A::RE=
09	St	=SI' [:: =YE: [:
10	Sts	[°sì:::° [°ye::s°

The answers produced by pupils (lines 3-6) is repeated with emphasis by the teacher in line 7 and immediately followed by a second TCU addressing a new question. The suspended intonation of the repetition and the same intonation used to deliver the question packages the two TCUs a single turn. In both these two examples, the expansions provided after the repetition of the answer make the sequence progress. The answer which is positively

acknowledged is thus treated as correct and complete. The additional TCU following the repetition of the answer initiates a new Q-A sequence.

3.2. Embedded repetitions

In the fragments we have considered so far, TTRs are constructed either as exact verbal repetition of the answer (single-TCU turn) or expanded with additional TCUs which are produced following the repetition (two-TCU turn). When the TTR includes a second component besides the repetition of the answer the teacher either reformulates the answer or initiates a new Q-A sequence by producing a new question.

Teachers use a third means to assess the answer as positive: the TTR includes the repetition of the answer, but this is located within a larger unit where the item which is repeated is deployed in a larger syntactical context. Consider #34 below:

#34 Eight PM:LT:5a:geometry

- 01 T ↑Desiré ieri ne ha fattiꜰ-
 ↑Desiré yesterday has takenꜰ-
- 02 (0.2)
- 03 St o[tto
 e[ight
- 04 St [°quasi (otto)°
 [almost (eight)°
- 05 T [o::[tto: in quel se:nso <vi ricorda:'
 [ei::[ght in that di:rection <do you reme:mb'
- 06 Sts ['to::
 ['i::ght
- 07 St [°quasi (otto)°
 [almost (eight)°
- 08 (0.6)
- 09 T Alora be::ne Giuseppe
 SO goo::d Giuseppe

In line 5 the repetition of the answer ('eight') is packaged as part of a larger phrase which expands the completion provided by the pupil in lines 3 and 4. This is then further expanded with a second TCU where the teacher elicits confirmation from recipients. The device of constructing a turn in which what has been said by the pupils is encompassed as part of it implies that the pupils' answer is perfectly appropriate to the talk underway; particularly in this case, where the pupils' prior turn was produced in order to complete the teacher's unfinished utterance in line 1. Through the embedded format of the TTR the teacher underlines the perfect matching between the pupil's answer and what was projected in the teacher's talk.

In example #35 the teacher further elaborates on the answer to the question by producing a TTR which includes a syntactic expansion of the single word 'no', plus a formulaic tag ('vero' / 'right').

#35 PM:LT:5: geometry/angles

01	T	si formano degli a:[ngoli are formed some a:[gles can you form a:[ngles this way
02	St	[no
03	Sts	[no
04	T	[('bbiamo già detto di) [('ve(WE)already said that)
05	Sts	no::
→	06	T <u>no:</u> non si formano degli angoli >vero< <u>no:</u> not are formed (ART.) angles>right< <u>no:</u> angles cannot be formed >right<
	07	(0.4)

While with *verbatim repetitions* the prosodic variations mark the repetition as doing affirmative work through intonational emphasis, with *embedded repetition* the positive evaluation is accomplished through a sort of syntactical expansion of the original format of the answer as provided by the children. Through this amplification and 'physical' extension of

the answer, the teacher puts the answer back in the syntactical context where it belonged, adding more more salience to the answer. For instance, in the example above the answer 'no' provides a sufficient answer to the question in line 1. However, in the TTR the teacher elaborates on the answer, constructing the full sentence which is implied in the negation. In other words, the expansion here works on a syntactical basis rather than on phonetics.

A similar point is touched on by McHoul (1990), in considering cases where

“a direct acceptance/rejection from the teacher is absent, following a student’s answer, but where that answer is nevertheless shown to be acceptable by virtue of the teacher doing a thematic continuation of it”. (p.357)

The example is the following:

- | | | |
|-----|----|--|
| 1 | D: | the factors that would influence:: the manufacturing would be
(1.0) |
| 2 | D: | um
(1.0) |
| 3 | D: | what type of industry’s going on –like whether it was an export industry or
import – and it was export it would then it would have t’be – located
somewhere – on the harbor – so as to |
| 4 | D: | provide means of transporing the goods out of the palce or into it= |
| → 5 | T: | =So the major
(0.3) |
| 6 | T: | manufacturing concentration is along the
(0.3) |
| 7 | T: | coastline.... |

According to McHoul, by continuing the syntax of the student’s prior turn the teacher accepts the student’s answer as part of the lesson’s “officially sanctioned knowledge”, thus being the equivalent of an accepting comment (p.357).

In our cases, however, the teacher explicitly acknowledges the answer as correct by repeating the item. The positive acknowledgment which is accomplished by means of the repetition is then further upgraded by this syntactical re-location of the answer as an integral part of the teacher’s continuing talk. The answer is thus treated as pivotal to turn continuation

The embedding process of the pupil’s answer in the teacher’s TTR is well represented in example #36 below:

#36 Right PM:LT:5:geometry

- 01 T \uparrow do:podiché quando è arrivato là cos'ha fa:tto,
 \uparrow So that when he reached it what did he do
- 02 St s'è gira[to
 he turn[ed
- 03 Sts [s'è gir[ato ((chorally))
 [he turned
- 04 T [si è girato
 [he turned
- 05 Sts 'la sua de[stra
 his ri[ght
- 06 T [di nuo::vo. stavolta verso **destra**. ed è andato
 [agai::n. this time to the **right**. and he went
- 07 av[anti in quel se::nso:
 st[raight on in that way::

In line 6 the teacher encompasses the pupils' suggestion as part of her own turn.

In the example below teacher and children are commenting on Giuseppe's performance.

They are describing what he has just done: he has walked around in the room, changing direction several times, according to the teacher's instructions. They are trying to verbalize his trajectory. The answer in line 2 is included in the first TCU of the teacher's TTR. The teacher constructs a noun phrase which includes the answer.

#37 Window PM:LT:5a:geometry

- 01 T all'inizio il braccio dove guardava
 at the beginning where did the arm point to
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 St **la fine:**[stra
the win[do:w
- 04 T [verso la **finestra** sempre. \uparrow poi cos'ha \downarrow fatto
 [to the **window** always. \uparrow then what \downarrow has done
- 05 Giuseppe

The sequence in the fragment below gives ground to the claim that through this practice of locating the answer in a larger syntactical context, the teacher marks the answer as a fundamental contribution to the instructional activity.

#38 Handclock PM:LT5a:geometry

- 1 T che cos:' d'bbiamo guardare ↓nell'orolo:[gio.
wha:'ve got to look at in ↓the clo[:ck.
- 2 St [le lanCE[tte
[the HANd[s of the clock
- 3 St [>ve[diamo<
[>we[look<the
- 4 l'O::RA::
HO::UR::
5 St [le
[the
- 6 St lance::[tte::
ha::nd[s
- 7 St [delle lance--=
[the hand--=
- 8 T =[se] parliamo di a::ngoli, guar[diamo le ↓[lance[tte.<↑le
=[if]we talk about a::gles, we lo[ok the ↓[hands. <↑the
- 9 lancette
hands

The answer is treated not only as correct in terms of its content. The teacher's TTR in line 8 re-locates the answer in the syntactic context of an if-formatted assessment which evaluates the answer as correct. By encompassing the item in the progression of the teacher's talk the answer is furthermore evaluated as especially fitted to complete the teacher's questioning.

The examples we have observed so far, have shown that the following formats

- [verbal repetition] + [no temporal delay] + [emphatic prosody]
- post-repetition turn expansions
- embedded repetitions in larger syntactical units

are indications that the answer is accepted as correct.

The employment of these resources additionally accomplishes other interactional activities, such as addressing the audience and providing opportunities for the non-speaking pupils to appreciate a correct answer, by instructing pupils on the reasons why the answer is considered positively.

4. The treatment of some problematic answers: re-voicing the answer

In this section I will illustrate a few examples where the teacher treats answers as having been problematic. In comparison with positive assessments, the analysis of the TTRs produced after an inappropriate answer shows that teachers use a different practice in re-voicing the answer. While positive answers are receipted with contiguous repetitions of the pupil's prior turn, which are re-enforced by an emphatic prosody and enriched by additional TCUs, in treating problematic answers teachers produce delayed TTRs which are used to accomplish subsequent repair-initiations. Through these practices a *reparative sequence* is constructed whereby teachers withhold corrections, thus providing opportunities (1) to the pupil who has produced the wrong answer to self-repair and (2) to the other pupils in the audience to initiate or accomplish repair.

We have already seen one such case illustrated in example #39 below:

#39 Soil PM:LT:2a:natural sciences

01	St	IO MAESTRA <u>i[:o!</u> ME TEACHER <u>m[e:!</u>
02	St	[mae[stra [tea[cher
03	T	[s:::
04	T	<u>no.</u>
05	St	°ma'stra° suolo aveva detto: la::- °teach'° soil said the::-
→ 06		(1.0) ((children are talking))
07	St	shih shuohol yeha shoihl

- 08 T e:cco ↑il suo::lo::,
we:ll ↑the so:::il,
- 09 (0.2)
- 10 T sì è vero ricordo anch'io.< però il suolo ↑che cos'è.
 yes it's true I remember too.< but the soil ↑what is it.
- 12 (0.6)
- 12 St °allo[ra°
 °we[ll°
- 13 St [(maestra!)
 [(teacher!)]
- 14 St [↑i::- ↑i::o ↑i:- ↑i[::o
 [↑me:- ↑me::: ↑m- ↑m[e::
- 15 St [è terra
 [it is earth

The teacher's delay in providing her evaluation of the answer in line 6 is treated by the pupil in line 7 as presaging a negative evaluation. Actually, the pupil in line 7 produces a repetition of the answer. However, the yes-prefaced repetition and the laughter in delivering the turn creates an ironic remark on the classmate's prior turn.

Indeed, the teacher's own turn in line 8 is also a repetition of the answer. However, the way in which the teacher constructs her TTR has a number of similarities with the construction of dispreferred responses in conversation (Pomerantz, 1984; Davidson, 1984): (1) as noted with respect to the gap in line 6, following the pupils' answer in line 5 there is 'no immediately forthcoming talk' (Pomerantz, 1984) from the teacher; (2) the teacher's difficulties in treating the answer as correct are based on the distinctive design of her turn in line 8 and, particularly, on the production of a well-prefaced repetition of the answer (Davidson, 1984); (3) prior to the question in line 10 doing repair-initiation, the teacher produces an appreciation of the answer that is to be repaired. These three features: [temporal delay] + [well prefaced repetition] + [appreciation of the answer] contribute to the projection of dispreferred action.

If we compare the two sequences in the boxes in the example below, we immediately see the different temporal deployment of a subsequent turn after correct answers -as those in line 25 and 26-, and Maurizio's incorrect answer in line 4. The delay in receipting the answer in line 5 is a clear indication that the teacher has problems in accepting the response as correct.

#40 Who's bigger PM:FZ:12:geography

	01	T	allora <u>la</u> città, (1.0) è diversa dal pae:se solo per so <u>the</u> town, (1.0) is different from the <u>vi:llage</u> except for	
	02		un motivo one reason	
	03		(1.8) / ((Janan raises her hand))	
Mau.	04	St	perché è più <u>piccola</u> ¹² ! because it is <u>smaller</u> !	
→	05		(0.2)	
	06	T	chi: who ¹³ :	1st repair-init.
	07		(0.2)	
X	08	St	il pae[se the <u>vi[llage</u>	repair
Y	09	St	[il paese [the village	repair
	10		(1.0)	
	11	T	allora la cit[<u>tà</u> soggetto è più piccola del pae:se. now <u>towns</u> [subject are smaller than village:s.	2 nd repair-init.
	12	St	[()	
Mau.	13	St	↑eh	
	14		(1.0)	
	15	St	e poi [() and th[en ()	

¹² Maurizio declines the adjective 'piccola' -for 'small'- as feminine. Consider that in Italian 'town' is feminine, while 'village' is masculine.

¹³ The teacher produces here the equivalent for 'who', instead on 'what'. In Italian 'chi' ('who') is used to indicate people, so 'what' ('cosa') is more grammatically appropriated here. One possibile interpretation for using 'who' instead of 'what' in this environment might be that 'who', better than 'what', locates the repairable in one of the two terms of comparison (town or village) which Maurizio has switched in his answer, rather than on the general comparative character of the sentence.

Jan. 16	St	((raises her hand))	
17	T	[quando si parla Maurizio?(.)soggetto predi[cato = [when speaking Maurizio? (.)subject predi[cate =	
X 18	St		[il paese [villages
19	T	= verbo	3 rd repair-init.
X 20		è più piccolo della [città are smaller than [towns	repair
21	T	[allora [now	
22		(1.0)	
23	T	la città::, (.) è più?- tow::ns, (.) are?-	
24		(.)	
25	Sts	gra[nde big[ger	
26	Sts	[gra[nde [big[ger	
→ 27	T	[grande::, (0.2) del pae::se [bigge::r, (0.2) that village::s	
28		(0.6)	
29	T	oke:yç	

However, the point of major interest in this sequence, as in the vast majority of reparative sequences in instructional activities, is the series of subsequent attempts which the teacher performs in pursuing the correct answer without her doing the correction. Consider that the repairable occurs in line 4 and the repair is not performed until line 20.

Another relevant point to be observed here is the use of the specific interrogative pronoun used by the teacher as NTRI (Next Turn Repair Initiator). The choice of the pronoun 'chi' ('who') –that refers to persons- instead of the more correct 'che cosa' ('what') seems to be accountable for the double nature of the the latter. As demonstrated by Drew (1997), other-initiated repair can be done by means of 'open' forms of repair initiations which do not locate precisely the source of trouble, but refer to the whole turn as being problematic. One of these 'open' class repair initiators is the interrogative 'what' (in Italian 'che cosa'). Having

analysed the sequences prior to the employment of this class of NTRI, Drew has demonstrated that their use is associated with situations where (1) the repairable turn is heard as topically disconnected with the talk so far or (2) inappropriate as a response to prior turn or, again, (3) in circumstances in which speaker b displays difficulties in hearing. Thus, in this precise environment, the employment of 'what' would imply either the teacher hadn't heard Maurizio's answer or, having heard it, it had been judged as totally incongruous with respect to the topic at issue here. However, here, there is a precise source of trouble: the fact that Maurizio has turned upsidedown the two terms of comparison. The pronoun '*what*' would be the appropriate means to refer to the nature of the repairable, grammatically speaking. However, because of its 'open' type, it could also be heard as referring to Maurizio's answer as a totally inapposite answer. Hence, the teacher's choice for the alternative pronoun '*who*', although grammatically not appropriate, it would serve better the function of locating the repairable for Maurizio.

The preference for self-correction in classroom interaction has been demonstrated by McHoul (1990). After a trouble source, according to McHoul, teachers use the strategy of indicating unacceptable answers through a *cluing procedure*, leaving the work of self-correction to the students:

"However it should be noted that instances of teachers initiating and carrying out corrections on students' talk are greatly outnumbered by instances of a slightly different sequence [...] where teachers perform initiations but withhold any corrections they might have in mind. This type of sequence provides for a subsequent slot, following the teacher's initiation, for students to self-correct" (p.353)

Data in my corpus substantially confirm what McHoul has found with regard to the fact that teachers tend to withhold correction and to "lead students to correct answers by small steps" (McHoul, 1990: p.355). However, I think it is important to underline that the practice of producing delayed TTR in the form of repair initiators in the classroom produces a range of sequential consequences which involve not only the actual producer of the problematic

answer as recipient, but also the other pupils in the audience. The absence of an immediate TTR and the teacher's repair initiators *calls for the other pupils either to initiate or to do repair on the wrong answer.*

If we return to look at the sequence in example #40 above, we observe that the teacher performs three subsequent repair-initiations after Maurizio's answer. In each case the repair is accomplished by pupils other than Maurizio. In lines 8 and 9 pupils respond to the repair initiation in line 6. Other children in 15 and 16 display their orientation to respond to the teacher's second repair initiation (line 11), in contrast to Maurizio's acknowledgment in line 13. Also the actual correction in lines 18 and 20 isn't done by Maurizio. Incomings from other pupils whose verbal participation has so far been limited are very frequent in this environment, and display an orientation to their entitlement to answer once the selected child has failed or is unable to answer.

I will describe the reparative sequence by illustrating the subsequent positions where the teacher withholds correction and provides opportunities for the answerer and the remaining pupils to do self-correction, repair initiation, and repair.

4.1. The teacher's delay in providing the TTR and the other pupils' repair

First, the *gap* following a problematic answer marks the absence of the preferred positive TTR as relevant, thus implying that the answer is somehow problematic. However, classrooms are multi-party settings, where those who have been part of the overhearing audience with limited verbal participation rights, might be entitled to verbal participation on precise circumstances. The slot which follows the relevant absence of the teacher's comment on a problematic answer constitutes one such favourable environment for the pupils in the audience to take their turn and initiate repair or, even accomplish repair themselves, as indicated in the two fragments below.

In fragment #41, the teacher has addressed the question in line 1 to Janin, by directly nominating her. The answer is provided without hesitancy in line 2. The teacher's receipts the response in line 2 with a gap. This is sufficient for the other pupils in the audience to interpret the absence of a comment as a negative evaluation of the answer. However, besides implying that the answer is wrong, the absence of the teacher's TTR is understood also as a method for conferring to other students the right to actually do the repair.

#41 Boxes PM:FZ:21:5/01-07

01	T:	si <u>SA::nno</u> ¹⁴ ? do we <u>KNO::w</u> ¹⁵ ?	le sc[a:tole Janin the number of bo[:xes Janin [(J. turns to the teacher)]
02	Ja:	no.	
→ 03		(0.4)	
04	Sts:	SI' [::::: YE: [:::::S	other-repair
05	Sts:	[sì [::::: [ye [:::::	other-repair
06	Ja:	[SI' <NO:ve. [YES <NI:ne.	Self-repair

The fact that the teacher's withholding of the TTR is interpreted by the other children as free pass for them to take the floor and do other-initiation repair is visible also in example #42 below:

#42 Soil PM:LT:2a:natural sciences

01	St	IO MAESTRA <u>i[:o!</u> ME TEACHER <u>m[e:!</u>	
02	St		[mae[stra [tea[cher
03	T		[s:::
04	T	<u>no.</u>	
05	St	°ma'stra° suolo aveva detto: la::- °teach'° soil said the::- ¹⁶	

¹⁴ In this use of 'sapere' (literally 'to know') the reference to the number of boxes is implied.

¹⁵ see note 1.

→ 06 (1.0) ((children are talking))
 07 St shih shuohol other-repair init.
 yeha shoihl

The pause left by the teacher after the answer is interpreted as allowing the other children to intervene with comments. The pupil in line 7 marks his repetition as a negative acknowledgment of the answer through the laughter which expresses contempt for the answer. The prefacing 'yes' adds further to the derision.

However, the slot which is created by the absence of the teacher's TTR can be used also to re-activate the procedure for next-speaker selection. This suggests that the audience understands that the question has not been satisfied by the answer and, consequently, children in the audience are entitled to bid for answering next.

In the fragment below Giuseppe is hesitant. However, his turn reaches completion in line 6. Consider the turns in the box.

#43 PM:LL:1a:history/prehistory

01 T Giuseppe ci spiega ↑co::sa vuole dire ↓pa::leolitico
 Giuseppe us explain ↑wha::t means ↓Pa::laeolithic
 02 (.)
 Giu. 03 St che::
 tha::t
 04 St mhm?
 ((while holding up his arm))
 05 (0.2)
 Giu. 06 (s::) incom [inciano già:: a::m [costruire::()
 (s::)they've [alrea::dy started uh::m [to bui::ld ()

07	Sts	((in the meanwhile several children raise their arms up))
08	St	[.hhh /((holding the arm up))
09	St	[ma'stra posso= [teacher can I=
10		=dirlo°io° =say °it°

11	Sts		[((children start lowering their arms))
Sar. 12	St	°facilissimo° °very easy°	
13		(1.6) ((a few children are mumbling))	
14	St	↑i::o, ↑me::,	
15		(0.6)	
16	St	[↓i:o [↓me:	
17	T	[s:::	
18	St	>io ma's[::tra!< >me tea:[:cher!<	

→ 19 T [incominciano già,
[they've already started,

Giu. 20 St °eh a [costruire°
°eh to [build°

21 St [()

Lines 7-18 consist of several offers to answer. Some of these are produced in the course of Giuseppe's answer. Others are deployed after Giuseppe has completed his answer in line 6. In particular, the hand rising in lines 7-8 and the verbal request in line 9 can be interpreted as competing with Giuseppe. Indeed, towards the completion of Giuseppe's turn, a number of those who have raised their hand are returning to the position of overhearing audience, by lowering their hands.

But Sara's comment in line 12, produced after Giuseppe's answer, is indeed a negative evaluation of the answer itself. Similarly, the children's incomings in lines 14, 16, and 18 can be interpreted as reparative actions, insofar as these children propose themselves as substitute answerers.

4.2 The teacher's repair initiation: the first initiator technique

The reparative sequence in extract #43 above also offers an example of the second strategy used by the teacher to withhold correction and to provide an opportunity for self-repair. Following the pupils' offer to answer, the teacher chooses to address Giuseppe with a partial repetition of his problematic answer (line 19).

The incomplete reduplication of the answer creates a slot for the pupil where self-repair can be done. The part of the answer which is repeated by the teacher "they've already started", is indeed consistent with a possible forthcoming correct definition of the word 'Palaeolithic', were it followed by something like "to chip stones", instead of Giuseppe's original version "to build" (in the Palaeolithic Age men started to use stones and bones to make arms and utensils). By repeating one part of Giuseppe's answer the teacher invites him to revise and replace the other mistaken part.

"Partial repeat of the trouble-source turn, plus a question word" (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1997: pp.367-368) is one of the *repair initiator techniques* in other-initiated repair (Jefferson, 1972; Schegloff, 1992b and 1997). The use of this technique, including the question word, is visible in example #44, arrowed line:

#44 A reason PM:FZ:12b.geography/harbours and towns

- | | | | |
|---|----|----|---|
| | 01 | T | sentia::mo
let's <u>li::</u> sten |
| | 02 | | (0.6) |
| M | 03 | St | perché, così le; case sono tutte::: (.) le abitazioni sono
because, this way; the houses are a::ll (.) the (SPEC.N.) are |
| | 04 | | più vicini?ne::: 'on bisogna fare tanta <u>strada</u> .
clo::?ser you don't need to go very <u>far</u> . |
| → | 05 | T | tanta strada? per che ↓co::sa
to go far? for ↓wha::t |
| M | 06 | St | pe::r arrivare a:: un'altra: abitazione
to:: get to:: anothe:r house |
| | 07 | | (0.4) |

The teacher repeats part of the pupil's answer and adds a question whose answer would provide further elements to the answer. Once the second answer is given, the gap in line 7 indicates some remaining doubts about the acceptability of the answer.

The example below illustrates the development of a reparative sequence which includes the two subsequent positions where the teacher and the other children display their orientation to reparative work as characterized by the teacher's withholding of correction and the involvement of pupils (other than the initial answerer) as entitled to accomplish repair. In order to understand the reparative work which is accomplished in this sequence it is worth recalling that the pupil in line 5 responds to the question: "What are the components of the soil?". Of course the question makes relevant a list of items. Quite a few answers have been given and the teacher has listed the items on the blackboard. The answer in line 5 is obviously incorrect, considering that the pupil mentions the soil as being a component of the soil itself.

#45 Soil PM:LT:2a:natural sciences

	01	St	IO MAESTRA <u>i[:o!</u> ME TEACHER <u>m[e:!</u>	
	02	St	[mae[stra [tea[cher	
	03	T	[s:::	
	04	T	<u>no.</u>	
	05	St	°ma'stra° suolo aveva detto: la::- °teach'° soil said the:: ¹⁷ -	repairable
(1)	06		(1.0) ((children are talking))	
(2)	07	St	shih shuohol yeha shoihl	
	08	T	<u>e:cco</u> ↑ <u>il</u> <u>suo::lo::</u> , <u>we:ll</u> ↑ <u>the</u> <u>so:::il</u> ,	
	09		(0.2)	
(3)	10	T	sì è vero ricordo anch'io.< <u>però</u> il suolo ↑ <u>che</u> cos'è. yes it's true I remember too.< <u>but</u> the soil ↑ <u>what</u> is it.	
	13		(0.6)	

¹⁷ In spoken Italian proper feminine names are preceded by the definite article.

12	St	°allo[ra° °we[ll°	
13	St	[(maestra!) [(teacher!)]	selection proced.
14	St	[↑i:::- ↑i::o ↑i:- ↑i[::o [↑me:- ↑me::: ↑m- ↑m[e::	selection proced.
15	St	[è terra [it is earth	repair

The gap in line 6, withholding a positive TTR, provides for the child in line 7 to be entitled to treat the answer as wrong. The subsequent teacher's acceptance of the answer arises probably to mitigate the derogatory remark and is followed by the teacher's question which accomplishes a *repair initiation*.

However the teacher's question in line 10 initiates a procedure to *locate the repairable* that involve opening up a new selection procedure (lines 13 and 14). This indicates that participants are orienting to the involvement of the pupils in the audience as entitled to answer and to participate in the reparative sequence which is initiated by the teachers' TTR (lines 6-10):

#45b (ext.) Soil PM:LT:2a:natural sciences

	01	St	IO MAESTRA <u>i[:o!</u> ME TEACHER <u>m[e:!</u>	
	02	St	[mae[stra [tea[cher	
	03	T	[s:::	
	04	T	<u>no.</u>	
	05	St	°ma'stra° suolo aveva detto: la::- °teach'° soil said the::-	repairable
(1)	06		(1.0) ((children are talking))	
(2)	07	St	shih shuohol yeha shoihl	
	08	T	<u>e:cco</u> ↑ <u>il</u> <u>suo::lo::,</u> <u>we:ll</u> ↑ <u>the</u> <u>so:::il,</u>	
	09		(0.2)	
(3)	10	T	si è vero ricordo anch'io.< <u>però</u> il suolo ↑ <u>che</u> cos'è.	

yes it's true I remember too.< but the soil ↑what is it.

14 (0.6)

12 St °allo[ra°
°we[ll°

13 St [(maestra!) selection proced.
[(teacher!)]

14 St [↑i:::- ↑i::o ↑i:- ↑i[::o selection proced.
[↑me:- ↑me::: ↑m- ↑m[e::

15 St [è terra
[it is earth

→ 16 T momen[to. la definizione di suo::lo.
wait a [moment.the definition of so::il.

17 St [è tutto suolo
[it is everything the soil

18 St [i:o

19 St [lettiera
[compost

→ 20 T tu cosa dici::=mh::
you what do you sa::y=mh::
(Teacher points to the child and keeps pointing while the child answers)

Raf. 21 St è tutto il suolo
it is everything the soil

→ 22 T alora. Raffae:le dice il suolo è tutto.
now.. Raffae:le says the soil is everything.

23 St i[:o

→ 24 T [cioè [il suo::lo:¿
[that [is to say the so::il:¿

25 St [io

26 (0.2)

→ 27 T [>cosa vuol dir'< è tutto::.
[>what does it mean< it's everything.

28 St [è tutta la terra.
[it is the whole earth.

29 (0.4)

30 Sts ((children talk at once))

X 31 St che c'è:, (.) [(tutte quelle) cose lì che è scritto
that there i:s,(.)[(all those)things there that it is

	32	T		[s:::
X	33	St	alla lavagna [cioè:: written on the b[lackboard or rathe::r	
	34	T		[↑tu::tte queste co:se ↓sono (.) il suolo [↑a::ll these thi:ngs ↓are (.) the soil

The repairable is eventually located by the pupil in line 15. As can be noted, the turn is produced in overlap with line 14. Therefore this might be the reason why in line 16 the teacher re-issues the former question with the noun-phrase that works here as a question substitute. After that, as indicated in the arrowed lines, the teacher performs a number of other elicitation aiming at locating the problem connected with the prior answer (line 5). In this way the identification of the repairable is accounted for, highlighted and shaped as a collaborative achievement, and finally positively assessed by the teacher in line 34:

4.3. Reformulations: the teacher's second initiator technique

Another frequent initiator technique which teachers use is a *re-voicing of the answer* through different types of *reformulations*. In this way the teacher displays different levels of affiliation to the understanding that she/he proposes.

4.3.1. *Understanding checks*

The examples we have seen so far have illustrated cases of wrong answers. However, between correct and wrong answers there can be a great range of nuances. One practice frequently used is the understanding check, which takes the form of ["you mean"] + [candidate understanding] (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977: p.378). We have one example in line 7 in the example below:

#46 Building houses PM:FZ:12a:geography

Mar. 01 St eh- allora. (.) pri:mo perché (0.4) eh:::mh face:n:do le::: mh
eh- so. (.) fi:rst because (0.4) eh:::mh ma:ki:ng the::: mh
(PLUR.)

02 la ca:se:, mettono anche più negozi così le persone

the ho:use:s, they put also more shops so the people
(SING.) (PLUR.)

03 anche lavorare di più:,
↓can ↓possono also work mo:re,

04 (.)

→ 05 T ↑mhm, acknowledg.

06 (0.4)

→ 07 T la città offre più lavoro ↓voi dire. Repair-init.
town offers more jobs ↓you mean.

08 St °mhm°.

09 T mhm?

The teacher's TTR in line 5 is deployed as a weak acknowledgment of the answer after a temporal delay, although minimal. The reformulation of the answer which the teacher proposes in line 7 marks the answer as acceptable although the teacher is not enthusiastically appreciating it. By contrasting this form of re-voicing of the answer with the verbatim repetition in a positive TTR, we immediately see that here the teacher displays some reservations about the acceptability of the answer.

In the following sequence we have another example of re-formulation doing a downgraded acceptance of the answer. The class is discussing the reasons why people move from small villages to live in larger towns. Numbered lines indicate subsequent repair-initiations.

#46 A reason PM:FZ:12b.geography/harbours and towns

01 T sentia:mo
let's li::sten

02 (0.6)

M 03 St perché, così le? case sono tutte::: (.) le abitazioni sono
because, this way? the houses are a::ll (.) the houses are

04 più vicini?ne::: 'on bisogna fare tanta strada.
clo::?ser you don't need to go very far.

1→ 05 T tanta strada? per che ↓co::sa
to go far? for ↓wha::t

- M 06 St pe::r arrivare a:: un'altra: abitazione
to:: get to:: anothe:r house
- 07 (0.4)
- 2→ 08 T mh:. cioè tu dici che io costruisco la casa vicino alla tu:a
mh:. that is you say that I build the house next to you:rs
- 09 così faccio prima [a venirti a trova:re
so it takes me shorter time [to come and vi:sit you
((looking at him))
- 10 St [((starts nodding))
- 11 (0.4)
- 3→ 12 T è così;
is that so;
- M 13 St ((nodding))
- 14 T mhm. **acknowledgment**
- 15 T m'be' può ess[ere >°un motivo°<
m'well it can[be >°a reason°< **TTR**

Following the answer, in line 5 the teacher packages the repetition of the last item of the pupil's response as a questioning turn, thus assessing the answer as not sufficient. By enquiring about the pupil's answer, rather than confirming or commenting the response, the teacher's withholds his/her evaluation and produces a form of repair-initiation. The particular format of this first repair-initiation has been already discussed with regard to # 44 above.

In line 6 a slot is provided for the answerer, where additional information can be produced to complete the prior answer. The pupil's additional answer is followed by the gap in line 7 which, as we have seen, projects that the forthcoming receipt is not completely positive.

The teacher's turn in line 8 is designed as a reformulation of the answer. When produced after an emphatic repetition of the answer, reformulations provide a positive acknowledgement of the answer (see #31 above). By contrast, in this case the teacher does not repeat the answer and, furthermore, the reformulation is prefaced by the turn-initial

minimal acknowledging token (mh:.). Through this particular design, the teacher disaffiliates with the answer, especially because this particular form of TTR contrasts with the way in which correct answers are routinely receipted (verbatim repetitions which are upgraded by a prosodic emphasis). It would seem that the teacher is taking her time before evaluating. Indeed, by offering a candidate interpretation of the answer through the reformulation in line 8 the teacher offers a further opportunity for the pupil to dis/confirm or correct the interpretation which is thus offered. And, indeed, the pupil confirms the teacher's understanding with a nodding in line 10.

That the teacher's reformulation is produced to invite self-correction is also confirmed by the subsequent teacher's turn in line 12, where a request for confirmation is overtly formulated. Note that, in line 15, the teacher eventually provides a downgraded appreciation of the answer.

4.3.2. *Indirect-speech format*

The sequence in fragment #47 below is another example of reparative work on incorrect answers. The question in line 1 is formatted as a directive. The answer is provided in line 6. We are already familiar with the first part of the sequence. Giuseppe provides a hesitant answer, after which the other pupils, exploiting the teacher's delay in receipting the answer, feel entitled to produce their own offers to answer next.

#47 PM:LL:1a:history/prehistory

01	T	Giuseppe ci spiega [↑] co::sa vuole dire [↓] pa::leolitico Giuseppe us explain [↑] wha::t means [↓] Pa::laeolithic
02		(.)
Giu. 03	St	che:: tha::t
04	St	mhm? ((while holding up his arm))
05		(0.2)

- Giu. 06 (s::) incom [inciano già::: a:::m [costruire::()
(s::)they've [alrea::dy started uh::m [to bui::ld ()
- 07 Sts ((in the meanwhile several children raise their arms up))
- 08 St [.hhh /((holding the arm up))
- 09 St [ma'stra posso=
[teacher can I=
- 10 =dirlo°io°
=say °it°
- 11 Sts [((children start
lowering their arms))
- Sar. 12 St °facilissimo°
°very easy°
- 13 (1.6)
((a few children are mumbling))
- 14 St ↑i::o,
↑me::,
- 15 (0.6)
- 16 St [↓i:o
[↓me:
- 17 T [s:::
- 18 St >io ma's[::tra!<
>me tea:[::cher!<
- 1→ 19 T [incominciano già,
[they've already started,
- Giu. 20 St °eh a [costruire°
°eh to [build°
- 21 St [()
- 2→ 22 T la paro::la paleoliti[co? così come ci han- abiam trovato
the wo::rd Palaeolit[hic? as they have- we've found
- 23 St [↑mhm mh
- 24 T scritto sul libro [↓così come ci han[no spieGA::TO-
written on the book [↓as it has be[en explAI::NED-
- 28 St [()
- Ser. 29 St [>↑maestra posso=
[>↑teacher can I:=
- 30 =dirtelo i:o<

=tell you:< /((pointing her arm up and toward the teacher))

- 31 T ai due musei che abbiamo visita::to? la parola
in the two museums that we have vi::sited? The word
- 32 paleolitico ↓secondo Giuse::ppe? vuol dire cominciano a
paleolithic ↓according to Giuseppe? means (THEY) start to
- 33 costruire.
build.
- 34 St no
- Ser. 35 St .hh maestra! [maestra!
.hh teacher! [teacher!

In line 19 the teacher produces a partial repetition of Giuseppe's answer, leaving him to complete the turn. This constitutes the first instance of other-initiation repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, Sacks, 1977: p.368). Giuseppe fails to self-repair and substantially repeats his prior version "they've already started to build", instead of substituting the last phrase with a more appropriate continuation. This is followed by the second repair-initiation technique (line 22): a very extended and elaborated version of the answer which, in the end, takes the shape of the indirect-speech format: "the word Palaeolithic, according to Giuseppe means...."

The *indirect-speech reformulation* takes the *third person format* ('he says'). If we compare this particular format with the TTR in #29 (lines 8-9) above, where the teacher addresses the respondent with an indirect-speech reformulation in the second-person (you), we realize that here the teacher overtly addresses the other children who, as a consequence of this format, feel entitled to comment, evaluate, and even perform repair on Giuseppe's answer. The consequence of this strategy is visible in line 34 where the pupil offers his negative response to the teacher reformulation of the answer.

The example below constitutes another clear instance of this practice.

#48 He says PM:PG:19:Italian grammar/verbs

- 01 T a:pri::va¹⁸. secondo te Maurizio, (0.6) do::ve lo d:- potrei
o:pen::ed. fo you Maurizio, (0.6) whe::re it sh:- I could
- 02 mettere apri::va
put open::ed
- 03 (0.2)
- 04 T in a:re, cioè lui finisce all'infinito in a:re in ere?
in (FIRST END), so it ends in the Infinitive in a:re in ere?
- 05 o in ire.
or in ire¹⁹.
- 06 St io lo (so)
I it (know)
I know it
- 07 (0.6)
- 08 St anch'io
me too
- 09 (0.2)
(teacher looks at Maurizio and he waves horizontally his left hand
to invite Maurizio to answer, the gesture suggesting that the answer
is obvious)
- 10 T [di'
[tell
- Mau. 11 St [da nessuna ↑par'
[in no ↑pla'
[nowher'
- 12 T da nessuna pa:rte ah per [forza [dice apriI::VA:
nowhe:re ah for [sure [(HE) says apriI::VA: ²⁰
[((the teacher turns to gaze the other
children))
- 13 St [no::
[((this comes from one of those
pupils who have been addressed with the gaze in line 12))

In line 1 the teacher addresses the question to Maurizio. In order to be able to answer Maurizio needs to know the ending of the infinitive form of the verb 'to open'. The gap in line 3 is a first indication that the pupil has problems in answering. The teacher therefore

¹⁸ 'apri::va' is the past tense of the verb 'aprire' ('to open'). In order to locate the verb in the right group, the pupil needs to know the infinitive form of the verb.

¹⁹ -are, -ere, and -ire are the verb ending in the infinitive form.

²⁰ the past tense form (indicative mode).

proceeds by providing a reformulation of the question. This time the question includes the candidate answer as one of the three options he mentions ('-are -ere -ire'). Following the re-issuing of the question no answer comes from the selected child, while other children offer to answer instead (lines 6-9). At this point the teacher addresses Maurizio for the third time either gesturally (as glossed in line 9) and verbally through a directive (line 10).

The answer in line 11 is incorrect. Maurizio does not fail because he includes the verb in the wrong group. By saying that the verb 'apriva'²¹ cannot be included in any of the three categories suggested by the teacher he clearly displays his inability to derive the infinitive form from the past tense form, as implied in the teacher's question.

At this point (line 12) the teacher addresses the pupils in the audience with an indirect-speech formatted TTR in the third person ('he says'). The teacher's orientation to the audience as being entitled to intervene in the evaluation of Maurizio's answer is evidenced also by the teacher's non-verbal behaviour. While the teacher's body posture has been distinctively oriented towards Maurizio in the eliciting phase, as indicated in the gloss in line 9, after the answer he turns to the class while delivering the TTR. In line 13 the pupil in the audience is ready to respond to the teacher's solicitation to comment on Maurizio's answer.

In the pictures the teacher's body and gaze orientation in the *eliciting phase*, when he addresses Maurizio, and in the *evaluating phase*, when he turns to the class, are associated with the verbal production reported under each shot

²¹It is worth knowing that the verb the teacher is referring to in his question 'apriva' is in the past tense form. In order to answer Maurizio has to know the infinitive form of the verb.

Picture 1



Maurizio

→ 12 T

da nessuna pa:rte ah per [forza [dice aprI::VA:
 nowhe:re ah for [sure [(HE) says aprI::VA:
 [((the teacher turns to gaze the other
 children))

Picture 2



→ 12 T

da nessuna pa:rte ah per [forza [**dice** aprI::VA:
 nowhe:re ah for [sure [**(HE) says** aprI::VA:
 [((the teacher turns to gaze the other
 children))

The turning of the teacher's gaze and body posture from Maurizio in picture n. 1 to the other children in picture n. 2 is associated with the production of the the two TCUs in line 12. When repeating Maurizio's answer he turns to him with gaze and body posture; while producing the second TCU he has already turned to the other children. I

In doing reparative work on the pupils' incorrect answers, teachers seem to be orienting to a *preference for self-repair* and of *other-initiation repair*. This consists of the exploitation of practices to withhold correction and provide multiple opportunities for intervening actions between the wrong answer and the repair. In reparative sequences the audience has a determinant role insofar as the teacher enacts different verbal and non-verbal practices in order to engage other pupils to locate the repairable and do repair.

The analysis has evidenced that, in considering self-repair and other-initiation repair in classroom settings, the preference for self-repair is to be interpreted as including the other participants in the audience, besides the selected answerer, as repair agents. Similarly, in considering other-repair initiations, the pupils other than the addressed answerers are included in the 'other' category, besides the teacher.

4.4. Disaffiliating with the answer through repetitions

The teacher expresses disaffiliation with an answer and calls for the audience's participation with another form of repair initiation, which employs the verbatim repetition of the answer. This employment of repetitions contrasts with the emphatic repetition which is used to assess a positive answer. When the teacher repeats an answer and in so doing treats it as *incorrect*, the contrast with affirmative repeats is based on the following features:

- the TTR is delayed;
- the verbatim repetition isn't produced with emphatic prosody;

- the repetition is located in a multi-TCU context where, following the verbal reduplication of the answer, the former questioning is re-addressed.

Fragment #49 is an example of this practice. The class is discussing the manner of dividing into two different sets all the soil components. The teacher is trying to devise one set which would include all the living beings (animals and vegetations), and a second group with the minerals. Referring to the list of items written on the blackboard the teacher poses the following questions²²:

#49 Two subsets PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 01 T questo è un insieme di elementi. che secondo no:i formano
this is a set of elements. which in o:ur view they form
- 02 il?- (0.2) suo:lo.
the?- (0.2) so:il.
- 03 St °mhm°
- 04 T >va ben'< che si trovano nel suolo.
>alright< which can be found in the soil.
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 T d'acco:rdo
alri:ght
- 07 (1.0)
- 08 T ↑seco:ndo voi, possiamo? dividere in due gruppi tu[tti] =
↑in you:r view, can we? divide in two groups al[l] =
- 09 St [si:..
- 10 T =questi eleme[nti];
=these elemen[ts];
- 11 St [SI' ::::]
- 12 Sts si:::
- 13 T la pri:ma co::sa che, (.) ci viene in mente quale
the fi:rst thi::ng that, (.) comes to our mind what
- 14 può essere.
can it be.

²² This sequence has been considered in Charter 5, section 3, in which we focused on no-answer questions as being treated by pupils as doing repair.

15 St ↑i::o!

The question is then addressed to individual pupils in a round. Laura, in the next extract, is the first to answer. Lines numbers follow from prior example.

#50 The first thing PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- 16 T vediamo Laura
let's see Laura
- 17 (0.2)
- L. 18 St la prima cosa è? che- (1.2) mhm- e:::- che resti di
the first thing is? that-(1.2)mhm- e:::- that remains of
- 19 anima::li oppure gli anima::li.
anima::ls or the a::nimals.
- 20 (0.8)
- 21 T resti di anima::li? e di anima:li. e [secondo voi =
remains of a::nimals? and of a:nimals. and [in your view =
- L. 22 Sts [sì ()
- 23 T = questa è la prima cosa? importante? (0.2) e tutte le alter
= this is the first thing? important? (0.2) and all the other
- 24 cose? [ma scusami eh-
things? [but excuse me eh-
- 25 St [i resti di animali (poi anche) sono:?-
[the remains of animal (then also) a:re?-
- 26 T non dobbiamo mica escludere le altre co[::se attenzione eh
we must not exclude the other thi[::ngs careful eh

The answer is receipted with an extended gap in line 20, followed by a repetition of the answer (line 21). We observe that the teacher doesn't design the repetition as confirming the answer: (1) the duplication of the answer lacks the emphasis which is usually produced in affirming repetition (as we have seen above in section 2 in this chapter); (2) the temporal delay in line 20 is a first indication that the answer is problematic.

The repetition format seems to be taken, at least by Laura, as doing confirmation, as indicated in line 22. However, the teacher continues her turn by re-issuing the original

questioning (# 49, line 13: “what is the first thing?”), thus indicating that reparative work is on the way. Notice that this time the teacher addresses the question to the whole class rather than to Laura only. In the Italian version “according to you” is clearly addressed to the class, as the plural form of the second person (“voi”) indicates more than one addressee.

One main resource which teachers use in dealing with reparative work is to *call for the other pupil’s participation in evaluating the answer and in doing repair*, thus avoiding a negative evaluation and correction produced by the teacher straight after an incorrect answer.

In the fragment below, in which we can see the third attempt to answer the question, the teacher latches the TTR directly to Antonio’s answer (line 4). However, the partial repetition is prefaced by the delaying token “allora/now”. We have seen above that a prefaced repetition is an indication of a dispreferred action, showing a sort of disaffiliation with the answer.

Notice that this indication of a negative evaluation is recognized by the pupils in lines 7 and 8, who offer to provide an alternative answer.

#51 In one set PM:LT:2:natural sciences

- Ant. 01 St in un insieme?- c:- ci metti tutti i vegetali, (.) in un
in one set?- you p:-put all the vegetation, (.) in
- 02 altro insieme? tu::tti resti di:: animali e:: tuh- gli
another set? a::ll the remains o::f animals a::nd thuh- the
- 03 animali.=
animals.=
- 04 T = alo:ra. vegetali da una pa:rte, anima:li,
= no:w. vegetation on one si:de, a:nimals,
- 05 St .hh=uh!/((a few children are raising hands))
- 06 T [dall'al[tra.
[on the [other.
- 07 St [°no::°
- 08 St [io posso di:r[telo
[can I sa:y it [to you
- 09 T [allora io- uh::- rifaccio la domanda

[now I- uh::- ask the question again

- 10 allora e la roccia, la sabbia,
so and rocks, sand,
- 11 Sts (4.0)/((children are bidding to answer))
- 12 T l'argilla?
clay?
- 13 (0.2)
- 14 T dove li metto. <sono ani[ma::li?
where do I put them. <are they a[::nimals?
- 15 St [li nei vegeta:li
[there in the vegeta:tion
- 16 St mae[stra-
tea[cher-
- 17 T [sono vegeta::li la ro[ccia e l'argilla
[are they vegeta::tion ro[cks and clay
- M. 18 St [maestra posso dirlo [dop-
[teacher can I say it[aft-
- 19 St [no
- M. 20 posso di:rte[lo
can I sa:y [it to you
- 21 T [pensateci be:ne.
[think about it.

It is also noticeable that the repetition is followed by the pupils incoming in lines 7 and 8 which display their orientation to the repetition as accomplishing a negative evaluation. This is confirmed in line 9 where the teacher overtly indicates that she is re-issuing the question, thus indicating that (1) reparative work is to be done, and that (2) the other children are expected to participate in the reparative activity.

5. Concluding remarks

The investigation of TTR presented in this chapter has focused on the methodical practices used in the classroom to receipt pupils' answers. One *first point* which arises from the analysis is that the structural features of the classroom multi-party setting are reflected in the involvement of the verbal participation of the audience in the treatment of the answer. This is evidenced in the particular emphatic prosody of the answer reduplication in case of positive evaluation, and it is also visible in the trajectory of the reparative sequences following a problematic or wrong answer. Thus, the analytical perspective which proposes the teacher as the only party who is responsible for the evaluation of the answer - as is suggested by the IRE model- is cast into some doubt as to its analytic reliability.

In this respect the analysis has also shown that the exception to the "highly constrained occurrence of other correction" to which Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977: pp.380-381) refer as a transitional usage in instructional domain of adult-child interaction (in particular they are referring to parent-child), does not seem to be supported by classroom data where children interact with teacher in more 'formal' settings. Relevant in this context is the definition of the categories of *self* and *other* in the multi-party setting which characterizes the domain of teacher-pupil interaction. As the data show, in the particular environment constituted by third-turn position in Q-A sequences, pupils in the audience are invited to participate in the evaluation of the answer; either when the teacher elicits the appreciation of correct answer by means of the ETC device in TTR and when the teacher directly addresses the class in the reparative sequence which follows a problematic answer. This demonstrates that the teacher isn't the only party entitled to evaluate the answers in the class and that the categories of *self* and *other* in considering the reparative work in the classroom reflect the structural features of the interaction in this setting.

A *second point* regards the distinctive features which characterize the methodical practices enacted by teachers to differentiate positive and negative assessments of the answers. Three main features have been found to be associated with the understanding of TTR as doing positive appreciation or initiating repair on the answer:

1. On the *verbal level*, the repetition of the answer can be differently modulated and each format marks a different level of the teachers' affiliation with the answer that is reduplicated. So, *verbatim repetition* are used to display a complete affiliation with the answer; *reformulations* in the form of understanding checks prelude to a downgraded acceptance of the answer, and *third-person indirect speech* re-voicing convey a substantial negative evaluation. The direct involvement of the audience to produce repair marks this indirect negative assessment of the answer. This is further evident in the last format on the affiliation scale which is used to mark a completely wrong answer: *[the partial repetition] + [the re-issuing of the original question]*

2. On the *prosodic level*, a positive evaluation is performed with the employment of emphatic features which are completely absent when forms of partial repetitions are used to mark a very problematic answer and to initiate repair. The analysis has shown that the teacher's choice of the prosodic features which would achieve emphasis reflects an analysis of the prosody of the answer itself. This particular emphatic contour is less prominent in cases where the answer is produced in unison by the whole class or by its majority. This suggests that part of the prosodic contour of TTRs in receipting correct answers is used to provide the audience, who might be inattentive, a further sample to the correct answer.

3. The *temporal deployment* is a determinant feature in designing a positive / negative evaluation. These features, used in combination with other delay tokens, such as prefacing items or minimal acknowledgment contribute to the production of modulated forms of TTRs.

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Conclusions

Instructional sequences are one major setting where pedagogical activities take place in the classroom. This research has explored the talk that occurs in these sessions, in which teacher and students are engaged in multi-party interaction. Instructional sequences are a core event in the classroom, in which instruction is imparted to members of a young generation, as an institutional activity. The research has explored the recurrent practices through which teachers and pupils accomplish the institutional task of guiding pupils / learning to grasp new information in a context where all the participants distinctively orient to the co-presence of a large audience where the participation of a number of potential next speakers is a fundamental feature.

The field of classroom interaction has been widely explored since the '60. The vast majority of these investigations have considered the three-moves pattern (Initiation, Reply, and Evaluation) as the most distinctive feature of instructional talk in formal settings, although differing in their approaches and concerns. In particular, in the class of initiating moves, as envisaged by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), questions have received greater attention by researchers, as the most frequent and relevant feature of classroom interaction. Teachers' questions have been traditionally analysed in terms of (1) their grammatical structure, (2) the type of cognitive demands on pupils, and, finally, (3) the teacher's prior knowledge of the answer. The IRE exchange in general and questions, in particular, have been mainly considered as related to the students' learning achievements (Nystrand, 1997; Nassaji and Wells, 2000; Nystrand, Gamoran, Zeiser and Long, 2003). Thus the organization of interaction in the classroom has been fossilized as though all the talk that takes place in the classroom were shaped according to the IRE model, on the one hand; and, on the other, this practice has been both evaluated and criticized with regards to its supposed consequences on students' learning and on the cognitive processes that different types of question would

stimulate (Dillon, 1989; Mercer 1995; Nystrand 1997; Nassaji and Wells, 2000).

By adopting the CA method in investigating instructional sequences in classroom interaction, the present research has approached the data without aprioristic assumptions on the type of discourse organization or expectations regarding which practices and forms of conduct would be performed by teachers and pupils. Nor was my intent that of drawing any practical implications for pedagogy. The focus of the research has arisen from the detailed observation of video-recorded data, with the aim of discovering the *participants' own practical concerns* in taking part in instructional sequences and their *methodical and systematic practices* in doing that as a recognizable practice. Therefore, my interest was not to measure or judge the effectiveness of the teacher's discourse or that of the students' learning improvements, nor to express any evaluation of the participants' conduct. I was rather interested in understanding *how* teacher and pupils accomplish their tasks and make their conduct mutually recognizable as being engaged in pedagogic activities.

The first fundamental premise of this research is that pedagogic activities are conducted mainly through talk. The second premise involves the recognition that talk is not just language used to communicate, as though transferring from one person to another, thoughts, information or knowledge (Drew, 2003). When talking together people engage themselves in forms of interactions whose organization embodies social actions. In other words, people *do things* by talking together. The mechanism of conversation and its sequential organization provide a set of procedures through which participants produce their own conducts as mutually recognizable. So, as in any other types of conversations, also in the interaction that takes place in the classroom, people employ conversational rules and practices to accomplish their specific tasks. The exploration of the conventions which underlie teacher-pupil interaction in instructional sequences throws light on the process of giving/receiving instruction as a social achievement.

The present analysis shares with other approaches to classroom interaction the premise that talk is the major resource used by teachers and pupils and that questioning turns have a central role in instructional sequences. However, the description of the interaction, if limited to these basic observations, has proved to be simplistic and inadequate to account for a range of activities that take place in the classroom among teacher and pupils. It is *the manner* in which teachers ask questions that make relevant certain types or answers and not others, being constitutive of the instructional activity in which teachers and pupils are involved

The inspection of turn-transition places has revealed the fundamental features of teachers' questions as they are recognizably produced and understood by participants. The analysis has shown that, besides the grammatical types of questions, on a number of occasions teachers and pupils orient to other non-grammatical questioning practices, which are systematically used to accomplish speaker change in terms of eliciting knowledge display, dis/confirmation and completion of teachers' turns by pupils, and which have different sequential consequences on the production of answers by pupils. The sequential analytical perspective has revealed that the deployment of different questioning formats is strictly related to the structural features of the classroom multi-party setting. The co-presence of a large audience presents a number of organisational problems: (1) having the pupils all focused on the main activity, (2) limiting the verbal participation of all the pupils in the audience, others than those selected to speak, (3) achieving the conditions whereby each student is paying attention to what is being said, (4) preventing the disruption of interaction in a number of different conversations taking place at the same time (Atkinson and Drew, 1979: p. 220; Egbert 1997). In order to achieve these ends, a number of resources are mobilized in the design of questions.

On one hand, by virtue of non-grammatical patterns, teachers maximize the opportunities for turn transition by distributing questioning virtually at any place in their

ongoing turn. Furthermore, in order to elicit the 'correct' answer teachers mobilize features of conduciveness in the construction of their questioning turns which instruct the pupils on the type of the expected answer. These practices determine the inclusion of the candidate answer in the question and features of preference organization. So, to indicate some of these practices, the teacher can suspend the progression of the ongoing turn to invite completion from pupils in non-transition relevance places, or she might substitute any sentence component with the correspondent wh-word to turn any declarative-formatted utterance into a question. A further example of conduciveness are yes/no question types whose design and sequential deployment differ according to whether the answer which is sought is 'yes' or 'no'.

The particular structure of Q-A sequences displays that the talk is designed to meet the demands of the classroom multi-party setting and, particularly, that of delivering the talk to a large audience, of controlling the participation of a large number of potential next speakers (Drew and Heritage, 1992: p. 27), of providing the opportunities for a choral participation which would balance the limitations of having one speaker speaking at a time (Atkinson and Drew, 1979: p. 220).

On the other hand, the pupils' ability to recognize the conventions of question construction –as illustrated above- allows the teacher to be reasonably assured to have from the audience the expected answer, deployed at the right time. Each Q-A sequence isn't an exchange in isolation; each question is built on the answer provided to the prior; thus embodying one step within a larger pedagogical project through which pupils are lead towards new information.

The discussion on the Q-A structure (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) has shown how participants' conduct reflects the structural features of interaction. It has been demonstrated that for teachers asking questions of pupils isn't just a matter of eliciting verbal responses or of making cognitive demands on recipients, as though these were independent from the

interaction. The talk that takes place in the classroom meets the institutional demands which are inherent to classroom interaction: (1) providing the conditions for a large participation in a multi-party setting, in the face of the need of controlling and limiting the possibility of talk disruption; and (2) bringing the students to learn something which they didn't know before they entered the class and their engagement in that particular interaction.

The consequences of the multi-party setting on the turn-taking system are visible also in the way in which the feedback to the answers is provided (Chapter 6). As proposed by the IRE model, following a student's answer the teacher is the only party entitled to provide a comment or an evaluation on the answer. According to this perspective, the third move closes the exchange and provides for the initiation of a new one. By virtue of the teacher's predominant and privileged social role in terms of speaking rights and superior knowledge, the action of evaluating the pupils' answer is considered as being the teachers' exclusive right. The present investigation has shown that *the teacher is not the only party who is entitled to provide feedback on the answer*. As demonstrated in the analysis, teachers even tend to avoid providing a direct negative evaluation of incorrect answers. When the answer is not correct, they perform a variety of recurrent practices in order to delay or to avoid doing repair themselves, in favour of the third party –the pupils in the audience- who are directly addressed and invited to intervene in repair sequences.

But also when correct answers are produced, often the overhearing audience is involved by the teacher in choral forms of positive acknowledgement. For instance, after a correct answer is provided by the selected speaker, other pupils might feel entitled to perform claims of knowledge in order make public that they have their own independent knowledge of the answer. These unsolicited incomings from pupils in the audience are never sanctioned, and indeed they are often positively acknowledged by the teacher. This seems to be a further evidence that both teacher and pupils orient to the pedagogic talk in instructional activities as

being produced for the benefit of, and subject to the overhearing audience that is co-present and has a number of speaking rights, either when it is addressed as one-body party and when an individual student is invited to answer. As the analysis has shown, besides answering pupils initiate and do repair on wrong answers, acknowledge positive answers, perform claims of knowledge.

Finally, the inspection of the answering turns has focused on the pupils' systematic practices used in order to produce the 'correct' answer (Chapter 5). It has been shown that pupils draw on a number of resources which involve forms of understanding and interpretation of prior talk. With reference to questions, the structure and the sequential deployment of answers display that these are the product of the pupils' recognition of conventions of question construction and of features of preference organization. Thus, pupils produce answers which respond to the requirements of the question. The pupils' ability to interpret the question implies also making assumptions on the type of action the question is designed to achieve in relation to the position it occupies in the sequence: that is, for instance, whether the teacher's question is formulating a positive evaluation or it is done to elicit other-initiated repair from the children in the audience.

Thus, the investigation of the pupils' behaviour in answering reveals their ability to recognize the requirements of questions, to make assumptions on the teacher's behaviour, and to come to an understanding of the sequential development of the interaction so far as resources to arrive at the correct answer. However, the pupils' interpretive work is not limited to the analysis of the teacher's talk. Pupils show that they are alert also in monitoring other pupils' answers. On a number of occasions, the construction of answers displays that they have been built on the precise linguistic material that has been previously used by other children. The analysis of series of subsequent answers has evidenced the presence of a web of connections whereby it appears that children take linguistic material and concepts from prior

answering turns and, through slight variations and a sort of combinatory work, they manage to produce different versions that can be heard as different and original answer. The interpretive work of children on prior talk -as applied to the teacher and to the other pupils' prior turns-, and their assumptions on the teacher's action and evaluation of prior answers plays a relevant part in their answering activity.

One main implication that this analysis seems to have is that answering cannot be seen as the outcome of the mind of a single person, or the result of a state of knowledge which somehow pre-exists and is independent from the interaction itself. In answering the teacher's questions, knowing or not knowing the answer is not a sufficient, and not even a necessary condition for them to be able to produce the correct answer. On a number of occasions the answer which is sought for is recognizable from the format and delivery of the question; on others, knowing the correct answer and even saying it is not treated as appropriate by the teacher if the pupil who answer is not the person designed to do so, or the moment is not appropriate. Hence, the activity of answering, as shown by the participants' orientation, appears to be mainly an *interactional achievement*. This view suggests the need to reconsider what pupils need to know in order to answer in terms of the communicative and interactional competencies that are involved in participating in instructional sequences.

The present research and its findings, on the whole, propose a revision of the main premise which underlies most of the educational studies on classroom interaction and, precisely, the long debated issue concerning the role of questioning in learning (Dillon, 1988; Edwards and Westgate, 1987; Mercer, 1995). In these studies much analytic attention has been given to discover the relationship, if there is any, between teachers' questions, the cognitive demands on students, and their academic achievement. The basic idea is that questions stimulate thought. For this purpose, questions were coded, counted and classified according to whether they were used to stimulate low or high level cognitive processes (Gall,

1970; Dillon, 1982). However, the researchers' opinion on these issues remains controversial (Edwards and Westgate, 1987; Dillon, 1988; Hellermann, 2003; Nystrand, Gamoran, Zeiser and Long, 2003). In these studies, much analytic work has focused on discovering a connection between questions and answers as though this could be exclusively the product of a cognitive process which is stimulated in one mind by a precise type of question. Along this analytic line, providing the answer would seem to be the result of the possession of a certain type of knowledge and of cognitive abilities that are independent from the organization of the interaction, as though suspended in time and space. According to these perspective, the interaction between teacher and pupils is the vehicle for the student to bring this knowledge to the surface, make it explicit and subsequently acknowledged and evaluated by the teacher.

In contrast, this research poses the problem of pedagogic activities and, on the whole, that of learning as a *situated activity*, where the contingencies of interaction play a fundamental role in shaping the participants' behaviour, assumptions, and expectations. These include the Q-A sequence as the main basic structure in instructional talk, and the manner in which question and answers are designed and deployed in the sequence, so as to structure the different participation opportunities for teacher and pupils. In other words, taking part in instructional sequence involve a range of rules and practices which are mutually recognizable and through which participants negotiate meaning, form assumptions and acquire knowledge *within* the unfolding of interaction. The exploration of these rules and practices, therefore, might illuminate the way in which knowledge is imparted and learnt through instructional sequences. On this regard, in line with other researches which have focused on the analysis of Q-A sequences in a variety of institutional interactions (Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Frankel, 1983; Maynard and Mairlaire, 1992; Heritage and Roth, 1995; Clayman and Heritage, 2002) this research shows the "in-process instructing and learning" (Maynard and Marlaire, 1992) which is performed through instructional activity by means of the distinctive manner in which

Q-A sequences are shaped for achieving specific pedagogic purposes in the classroom multi-party setting.

A second implication of this research is to propose a reconsideration of the IRE model and to question the consistency of the description it proposes of the interaction that takes place in the classroom. The main basis of the critique lays on the fact that it does not accommodate a number of phenomena that intervene in the construction of Q-A sequences in instructional sequences. As the research has shown, participants perform a variety of activities in taking part to the interaction, which go beyond the definition of these actions in terms of questioning, answering and evaluate. Furthermore, the model is based on a limited set of classes of actions, which propose an idealized and abstract representation of interaction. The research proposes to break the IRE glasses through which pedagogic interaction has been long observed and reduced to a normative and idealized model.

Finally, it contributes to the understanding of the organization of classroom interaction as a speech-exchange system which is different both from the organization of the turn-taking system in conversation and from other systems in a range of institutional settings. In particular, the research offers insight in the characterization of the speech-exchange system for classroom interaction with regards to its position within the 'linear array' of the turn-taking systems which preserve 'one party talks at a time' (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974: p. 729). As demonstrated by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), the allocational arrangements provide for a characterization of each speech-exchange system as a variation from the basic form for conversation with respect to their consequences on a number of functions, and, in particular on the following two: (1) the definition of the set of next potential speakers and (2) the equalization of turns among speakers (Sacks et al., 1974: p. 730). The analysis conducted by McHoul (1978) on the systematic modifications of the turn-taking system for conversation which characterize classroom interaction has demonstrated that in

classroom situations “the speech-exchange system is pre-allocated to a large extent”

(McHoul, 1978: p. 210):

“What we are dealing with then is a heavily pre-allocated system in which the locally managed component is largely the domain of teachers, student participation rights being limited to the choice between continuing or selecting the teacher as next speaker” (McHoul, 1978: p. 211).

I hope that the present work would be a further contribution in the direction of providing a description of the organization of talk in the classroom, which takes into consideration the alternative organizational arrangements as being linked to the specific structural features of the institutional context and to the distinctive tasks which participants are called to accomplish (Drew and Heritage, 1992, Clayman and Heritage, 2002). In particular, I hope that this work would offer an insight into a definition of multi-party setting, as is structured in classroom situations. At various points in the work it has been noted the relevance of the multi-party setting for the way in which the interaction is shaped. Each time this has been described as (1) the presence of a large number of interlocutors, (2) of an overhearing audience, or (3) of numerous competitors as potential next speakers. So, for instance, we have seen that a range of questioning formats are produced to orchestrate answers in unison, as alternative devices to questions which are addressed to individual students. Also the repetition format in receipting a correct answer, which is so massively used in the classroom, seems to reflect the presence of an overhearing audience whose limited participation rights might cause talk disruption and difficulties in monitoring the main ongoing interaction between the teacher and the selected interlocutor. A further and well documented phenomenon, such as the practice employed by teachers to produce emphatic suspension of their ongoing talk in places where turn completion is not relevant, has been described in terms of the sequential consequences in the pupils' behaviour. Finally, the role of the overhearing audience has been highlighted in the management of repair sequences, where repair is initiated and performed by the party other than the pupil who has produced the repairable, and not by the teacher either.

I hope that the discussion regarding the different topics included in this work will have provided at least some evidence for the phenomena which I have outlined, and their relevance for a better understanding of how teacher and pupils organize their conducts in instructional sequences.

One last remark will concern the analysis of gestures, non-verbal communication and the orientation of the participants to some material entities which are relevant for the activities conducted in the class (Goodwin, 2000). The interaction that takes place in the classroom, and especially in instructional sequences, involves not only talk. Very often teachers produce gestures to accomplish a range of actions: select next speaker, provide evaluation, sanction the pupils' behaviour. Pupils use a range of non-verbal practices too as a means for proposing themselves as next speaker, claiming knowledge, doing repair, displaying their orientation to being recipients of the teacher's talk. At various points in the research I have pointed out some issues concerning the importance of non-verbal behaviour in this setting. Glosses which describe the participants' gestures have been very often included in the transcriptions and I have also provided some fragments from the video recordings to illustrate the most salient cases.

But there is a whole range of gestures and forms of body deployment which are produced in relation to objects which are thus treated as relevant for the ongoing interaction, or in order to represent and refer to entities which might not be present, and still are important for the talk underway. Furthermore, the blackboard, the posters, the room, the walls, the objects which pupils and teachers manipulate, observe and refer to are often used as integral part of the interaction. Some efforts have been done with regards to investigating how these might be relevant in the interaction, but the analysis has not proceeded very systematically in that direction. But this, of course, would constitute material for an entirely new project.

Thinking about suggestions for further research, it is worth recalling that the interaction

which takes place in the classroom includes a vast range of other environments besides instructional sequences. During a school day or even in the course of a single lesson teacher and pupils engage in a variety of different activities besides sessions of instructional sequences through plenary talk. Although traditionally the research on classroom interaction has focused mainly on teacher-led forms of interaction in plenary sessions, as is the focus of this research, some recent studies have considered also other types of activities and different interaction organizations such as the research conducted by Szymanski (2003) and Thornborrow (2003) on pupils' interaction in different group settings. Furthermore, instructing and being instructed isn't the only type of activity that takes place in the classroom. For instance, considering teacher/whole class interaction, another area of interest would be the exploration of those practices of talk that are used to achieve a common orientation by the audience to the teacher's major speaking rights, especially on those cases of talk disruption in the classroom, and the investigation of how teacher's authority is managed (Macbeth, 1991).

Finally, the description of how instructional activities are organized in formal pedagogic settings can be relevant to illustrate how instructional sequences are accomplished in other contexts outside the classroom, ranging from ordinary conversation to other institutional interactions. A comparative research into instructional talk in different environments would project further insight into the nature of instructing/being instructed inside and outside the classroom.

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